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National Security Challenges in Nigeria: Issues and Options

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Abstract:
National security doctrine is one of the indispensable principles of modern statehood. The capacity of the modern state to defend the nation against external threats is a crucial ingredient of traditional conceptions of sovereignty. The changes in the security environment after the end of the cold war influenced the development of the concept of human security. Human security implies protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. Nigeria in the last one decade has been going through tough National Security challenges that doubts are being raised about its survival as a nation. For many Nigerians, a sense of insecurity comes from the concerns about their survival, self-preservation and wellbeing. Security means protection from the threat of diseases, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental degradation. Addressing the complex security challenges, requires given precedence to the issue of governance most especially institutionalizing a culture of democratic accountability at all levels of government, building and/or consolidating a culture of peace in the political system; broadening the participation of the citizenry in the political process; ensuring that marginalized groups – especially women and the youth - are better represented; defending the human and civil rights of the citizenry; the entrenchment of the rule of law principles; putting in place more stringent laws against corruption and having a legislative framework for SALW Control.

Keywords: National Security, Human Security

1. Introduction

The doctrine of national security remains one of the essential defining principles of modern statehood. The capacity of the modern state to defend the nation against external threats is a crucial ingredient of traditional conceptions of sovereignty. If the state does not have the capacity to secure its territory and protect its people then its very *raison detre* can be called into question. Security has been seen as the priority obligation of the state. National security has, therefore, been understood traditionally in military terms as the acquisition, deployment and the use of military force to achieve national goals (Buzan, Waever & Wilde, 1998). In the past, security strategy has often been focused on external threats, and more specifically external military threats (which therefore require a military response). The security of states was therefore threatened by any change that might endanger that monopoly of the instruments of violence, whether through external invasion or internal rebellion.

Much of the scholarship, (Buzan, Waever & Wilde, 1998), on national security was dominated by the conventional wisdom that only a sophisticated military capability can provide security for the state. Thus, states should develop enough military capabilities to deal with threats. It was in this regard that Walter Lippmann (1943) argued that: "A nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war and is able, if challenged to maintain them by victory in such a war." Similarly, Wolfers (1962) contended that "security in any objective sense measures the absence of threats to acquired values and in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values would be attacked."   In the Westphalian world of (internally) strong states, there is less danger of internal conflict, and the international system was marked by conflicts among states rather than within them.

The changes in the security environment after the end of the cold war influenced the development of the concept of human security. It is this combination of non-military security dimensions and non-state referent objects that gave birth to the concept of human security. The human security was finally conceptualized and presented to the global public in a Human Development Report (United Nations Development Programme, (UNDP, 1994) and since then the concept has evolved and has been used universally.

Essentially, human security means protecting vital freedoms. It implies protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood. Human security connects different types of freedoms - freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one's own behalf. Human security complements state security, furthers human development and enhances human rights. It complements state security by being people-centered and addressing insecurities that have not been considered as state security threats. The threat spectrum includes the following threats: economic threats, food threats, health threats, environmental threats,

personal threats, community threats, political threats, demographic threats, crime in all forms, including terrorism, natural disasters, violent conflicts and wars, genocide, anti-personnel mines, small arms and light weapons (SALW), etc.

There was a simultaneous horizontal and vertical broadening of national security at the conceptual level after the end of Cold War. Horizontal broadening refers to incorporating "new"7 non-military aspects of security, such as environmental, economic, demographic, criminal, terrorist, health, information, immigration and other aspects (or sectors and dimensions as called by some), while vertical broadening of security referred to incorporation of other non-state referent objects, such as individuals, local communities, groups of people by common ethnic, religious or ideological characteristics, global community, among others.

Nigeria, like many countries in the world has continued to experience new and more complex challenges to the traditional concept of National Security. In Nigeria, security has been understood traditionally in primarily military terms as the acquisition, deployment and the use of military force to achieve national goals.   Security strategy has focused essentially on external threats, and more specifically external military threats (which therefore require a military response). Security is dominated by the conventional wisdom that only a sophisticated military capability can provide security for the country.

Thus, the narrow interpretation of security as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy has for too long undermined the legitimate concerns of common people and their perpetual quest for individual security in their daily lives. For many Nigerians, a sense of insecurity comes not so much from the traditional security concerns, but from the concerns about their survival, self-preservation and wellbeing. Security means protection from the threat of diseases, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental degradation.

2. National Security Challenges in Nigeria: The Issues

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) specifies in Section 14(2) (b) that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government". A key objective of the Nigeria's Vision 20: 2020 also emphasized the centrality of security to the realization of the Vision (National Planning Commission, 2009). There is no doubt that Nigeria is going through its toughest National Security challenges since the civil war. The challenges are so enormous that doubts are being raised about the survival of Nigeria as a nation. Let us provide some illustrations.

The National Intelligence Council (NIC) in the United States convened a group of top US experts on Sub-Saharan Africa in 2005 to discuss likely trends in the region over the next 15years, from 2005, and they ended up with a prediction of the outright collapse of Nigeria (NIC 2005). Nigeria scored particularly low on security, political stability, human rights, control of corruption, rule of law, child mortality and access to improved water sources and sanitation facilities. It was also the 'expert' opinion of NIC that a failed Nigeria probably could not be reconstituted.

Similarly, a report by the Brookings Institution ranking 141 countries according to their performance in critical areas classified Nigeria as "critically weak" (Rice & Patrick, 2008). The features of a critical weak state include high rate of poverty, weak education system, weak basic health care system, high level of illiteracy, weak social and physical infrastructure, high level of corruption and unstable political system among others. Critically weak states are 15 times more prone to civil war, with such violence both more extreme and longer lasting than even in other developing countries. What this is saying is that Nigeria needs to be admitted in the Intensive Care Unit for proper diagnosis and maximum attention.

It is our contention that Nigeria is currently facing a number of National Security challenges which requires urgent and sustained attention. Let us examine some of the major challenges currently facing Nigeria at this point.

2.1. Quality of Governance

The concept of "governance" has dominated public discussions, especially in the last two decades in Nigeria. The sustained attention that governance is receiving is not just about the manner in which public functions are carried out, public resources are managed and public regulatory powers are exercised, but the governance gaps, which have negatively affected the socio-economic and socio-political transformation of the lives of the people in the country.

The Mo Ibrahim Foundation assessed and ranked African countries on good governance using the Ibrahim Foundation Index of African Governance (IIAG). Nigeria ranked 39th position out of 48 African countries in 2008. Nigeria's ranking improved considerably to 35th position out of 53 countries in sub-Saharan Africa IN2009. However, by 2010, the country slipped to 40th position and 41st in 2011. In 2012, Nigeria dropped abysmally into the bottom 10 countries in the overall rankings for the first time. The country was ranked 14th out of the 16 countries in west Africa and 43rd out of the 52 countries listed overall (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2016)

This is consistent with most of the indices of the UN Human Development Report, the Failed State Index and the Ease of Doing Business in Africa Index. For instance, on the Ease of Doing Business index prepared by the World Bank/International Finance Corporation released in April 2012, Nigeria maintained its lowly ranking of 131 out of 185 economies - same as in the previous year. In the Failed State Index, it equally maintained its 14th position as the most Failed State out of 177 countries assessed. And in the United Nations Human Development reports, the country is not fairing any better.

Nigeria has fallen four steps on the global ranking of countries listed on the Corruption Perception Index (CPI), released by Transparency International. The list, announced by the Berlin based anti-corruption watchdog, showed that Nigeria in the last four years (2013-2016) has not recorded any significant improvement in the Transparency International Corruption Perception ranking. In spite of President Buhari's fight against corruption since coming to power in May 2015, Nigeria was ranked 136 out of 176 and scored 28 out of 100 in 2016. In 2013, 2014 and 2015 the country ranked 144 of 177, 136 of 176 and 136 of 176 countries respectively

(Transparency International). According to Global Financial Integrity about US$ 157 billion was estimated to have left the shores of Nigeria illicitly between 2005 and 2014 (Global Financial Integrity, 2017).

One of the greatest threats to National security is corruption. This has become so pervasive in government circles to the extent that very few government officials in Nigeria can be said to be free of corrupt practices. The categories of corruption in Nigeria are largely Governmental, corruption in the Public Service, Political Corruption, Moral Corruption, corruption in various institutions, academic or traditional, and corruption in the private sector of the economy. The levels of government appear to have different benchmark for fighting corruption. It is corruption that is breeding poor governance of public money and assets; shoddy system planning and project preparation work leading to inaccuracy of costing, cost/benefit analysis and prioritization in deciding the spending pattern and plan for any given year; Sloppy fiscal management through ineffective expenditure management, institutions, processes and control mechanisms; poor resource allocation decisions and non-identification of the costs and benefits of alternative expenditure decisions; Haphazard liquidity management of public funds; Technical inefficiency in managing and utilizing resources; among many others. Fighting corruption in Nigeria would require an intergovernmental relations approach.

Similarly, Nigeria ranks 152nd position out of 187 countries with comparable data in the 2016 Human Development Index of the UNDP Human Development Report released on 18th April, 2017. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite statistics of life expectancy, education, and per capita income indicators that measures the quality of life of the citizens of countries on an annual basis. It indicates inequality in the distribution of human development across the population in the country. The Report indicates that Nigeria retains 2015 status as there was no formal or backward shift from the computation of 0.527 which was 2 points above 2014 computation of 0.525. The Report placed Nigeria below Ghana, Zambia, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. Nigeria ranked below the regional average on Low Human Development (UNDP, 2017).

According to the Failed States Index Reports, Nigeria was ranked 14th most fragile state out of 177 countries repeatedly in 2010, 2011 and 2012. The country in 2005 ranked 54th, however by 2009 it ranked 15th, mostly as a result of Boko Haram activities that escalated that year. In 2013, 2014 and 2015 it ranked 16th out of 178, 17th out of 177 and 14th out of 177 respectively (Fund for Peace, 2011-2017). However, in 2016 and 2017 (as at May), it remains at 13th position out of 178 which means that it has been in a stagnant status since 2015. Nonetheless, it is pertinent to note that even though political and social tension may have dampened to some extent since after the 2015 elections, and the degrading of Boko Haram is progressing, Nigeria remains a weak and fragile state particularly with the recent clamour for restructuring of the federal system.

A number of factors have conspired to impact on the quality of governance in Nigeria. These factors include the uncoordinated nature of the levels of government within the federal system, which tends to affect policy implementation; the high level of corruption which tend to drain the much needed resources required for human development and infrastructure; the lack of adherence to the principle of subsidiarity in the allocation of powers among the levels of government that has brought about a lopsided central government that is overstretched, overtasked, and overwhelmed with its increasing inability of the to respond to or cope with the complex and escalating task of governance in a heterogeneous society; the existence of weak institutions of economic and corporate governance as a constraint on sustainable development; the pervasive poverty condition among many others.

The governing elites are not delivering governance but rather playing politics with the lives of many Nigerians. The Chapter II of the Federal Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 provides for the "Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy". Section 13 specifies that "It shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this Constitution". Section 14 (1) stipulates that "the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice". Section 14 (2) declared that:

(a) Sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this Constitution derives all its powers and authority;

(b) The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government: and

(c) The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

Section 14 (3) provides for how the Government of the Federation shall be composed. It specifies that:

The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few State or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies.

Section 14 (4) made a similar provision for the composition of the Government of the other levels. It specifies that:

The composition of the Government of a State, a local government council, or any of the agencies of such Government or council, and the conduct of the affairs of the Government or council or such agencies shall be carried out in such manner as to recognize the diversity of the people within its area of authority and the need to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among all the people of the Federation.

Section 15 (1) 15. (2) provides that "national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited". To achieve this, section 15 (3) specifies that …it shall be the duty of the State to:

(a) Provide adequate facilities for and encourage free mobility of people, goods and services throughout the Federation.

(b) Secure full residence rights for every citizen in all parts of the Federation.

(c) Encourage inter-marriage among persons from different places of origin, or of different religious, ethnic or linguistic association or ties; and

(d) Promote or encourage the formation of associations that cut across ethnic, linguistic, religious and or other sectional barriers.

Sections 15 (4) prescribes that "the State shall foster a feeling of belonging and of involvement among the various people of the Federation, to the end that loyalty to the nation shall override sectional loyalties" while Section 15 (5) requires that "the State shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of power". Section 16 provides for the economic dimension of governance when it specifically requires the State to among other things:

(a) Harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient, a dynamic and self-reliant economy;

(b) Control the national economy in such manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity;

Section 17 of the Constitution is very emphatic when it states that the "State social order is founded on ideals of Freedom, Equality and Justice. In furtherance of the social order, the Constitution requires that:

(a) Every citizen shall have equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law;

(b) The sanctity of the human person shall be recognised and human dignity shall be maintained and enhanced;

(c) Governmental actions shall be humane;

(d) exploitation of human or natural resources in any form whatsoever for reasons, other than the good of the community, shall be prevented; and

(e) The independence, impartiality and integrity of courts of law, and easy accessibility thereto shall be secured and maintained.

Section 17 (3) requires that "The State shall direct its policy towards ensuring that-

(a) All citizens, without discrimination on any group whatsoever, have the opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood as well as adequate opportunity to secure suitable employment;

(b) Conditions of work are just and humane, and that there are adequate facilities for leisure and for social, religious and cultural life;

(c) The health, safety and welfare of all persons in employment are safeguarded and not endangered or abused;

(d) There are adequate medical and health facilities for all persons;

(e) There is equal pay for equal work without discrimination on account of sex, or on any other ground whatsoever;

(f) Children, young persons and the age are protected against any exploitation whatsoever, and against moral and material neglect;

(g) Provision is made for public assistance in deserving cases or other conditions of need; and

(h) The evolution and promotion of family life is encouraged.

There are a number of other provisions in the constitution that were designed to promote good governance. The point is that the end state of governance in Nigeria is very clear and consistent with the universal principles of good governance. The challenge is about the number of people in government that know what is to be accomplished—that is, those that know the end state to be achieve. The failure of governance has become a major challenge to National security.

2.2. Insurgency

Insurgency is the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify or challenge political control of a country. It is a strategy adopted by groups which cannot attain their political objectives through conventional means, but by protracted, asymmetric violence, ambiguity, the use of complex terrain (jungles, mountains, and urban areas), psychological warfare, and political mobilization. Its ultimate desire is to alter the balance of power in their favour. This is fast becoming a means of expressing perceived discontent among groups in the Nigeria. The spate of insurgency enveloping the country has been a major source of concern. Nigeria, the most populous and one of the most influential countries in Africa, is facing serious challenge of insurgency that is increasingly threatening its political stability and its survival as a sovereign entity.

Insurgent groups in Nigeria have emerged at different points in the country's political history and have assumed different forms. Some of the insurgent groups are: the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Ogoni People (from the South –South of Nigeria), The Odua People's Congress, OPC (from the South West), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, MASSOB (from South East), and now from the North-east and enveloping the whole of the Northern part of the country is the Jama'atul ahlul Sunna Lidda'awa Wal Jihad, which means "Brethren of Sunni United in the Pursuit of Holy War" popularly referred to as the Boko Haram, meaning 'Western Education is forbidden'.

Unlike the other insurgent groups in the country, in the immediate past, the Boko Haram insurgent group is exploiting Nigeria's precarious sectarian fault line. It has been estimated that at least 20,000 persons were killed since 2009 and in 2014 alone, 6,644 persons were reported to have been killed and about 14.8million persons, (mostly women, youth and children), displaced (Mohammed, 2016). Since 2009, Northeast Nigeria has been overwhelmed by a huge challenge of humanitarian crises that in 2016 an assistance of about $248 million was required for the emergency response but less than 20% was available (National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, 2017).

The insurgency of Boko Haram, which started as a weak, disorganized, loosely coordinated and inchoate movement, suddenly mutated to pose serious threats to national security. It developed the capability for strategic power projection (terrorism), strategic intelligence, and the building of wide-ranging linkages with perhaps some personnel within the security and governmental agencies to subvert the state. Boko Haram's proficiency in explosives and operational tempo as well as its tactical sophistication and aggressiveness has become a major source of concern to many observers. The relative ease with which suicide bombings are executed by the group on strategic targets has been disturbing to many observers.

2.3. Kidnapping

What began as an act of agitation by militants in the Niger Delta region against the Nigerian state has now become a very serious security concern as it has widely spread to every part of the country. Nigeria is now considered as notorious for having the penchant for kidnapping. The country in 2015 was ranked as 10th among the world's top eleven countries with severe threat of kidnapping, alongside war zones and failed states such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia (NYA International, 2016). Reported cases of kidnappings shows that in 2007 there were 277 and by 2009 it has drastically gone up to 703. This sudden increase was not unconnected to the despicable activities of Boko Haram which include kidnappings. In 2010 and 2012 there were 738 and 600 reported cases (Refworld, 2014). However, several of the kidnappings that takes place daily in the country with ransom being paid were mostly not reported to the police. There is now a gradual shift from the kidnapping of foreign oil companies' Western workers by militants to the kidnapping of prominent members of society and wealthy individuals — from all-singing, all-dancing "Nollywood" film stars, to the parents and children of prominent Nigerians by criminal gangs. Now nobody is spared. Even the Clergy are now kidnapped inside their worship places. Kidnapping has become a serious National Security problem. Pervasive kidnapping is a symptom of a failing state.

2.4. Small Arms and Light Weapons

The proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in Nigeria, their diffusion to non-state actors and their atrocious use, the widespread availability and easy access to illicit small arms and light weapons, as well as the increasing sophistication and lethality of rapid-fire assault rifles, automatic pistols and submachine guns have become a major source of concern for National Security in Nigeria. With such weapons capable of firing up to 300 rounds a minute, a single individual can pose a tremendous threat to society as such firepower often matches or exceeds that of the police.

Nigeria occupies a strategic position in Africa, accounting for about half of the population of West Africa. Given its size, population, location and oil wealth, Nigeria is a confluence of flows of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) from the entire African continent. SALW are not only easily available; they can also be purchased cheaply and are easy to transport and difficult to monitor. Their portability and simplicity allow them to be used even by ill-trained people (including children). Among the weapons now in use in Nigeria are: AK47 assault rifles, automatic pump actions shotguns, bazookas, Beretta pistols, Browning pistols, carbine rifles, double-barreled shotguns, G3 rifles, general purpose machine guns, and sub-machine guns. At the same time, traditional weapons such as machetes, spears, cutlasses and knives are also in use. These SALW have been freely used in outbreaks of ethno-religious conflicts where many people were killed or maimed.   They have become the instruments of violence all over the country, causing over half a million deaths a year. It is believed that numerous SALWs are in circulation in Nigeria with the stock acquired through illicit means and is being owned illegally. The Director of United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament, Ms. Olatokunbo Ige estimated that of the over 500 million illicit arms circulating in West African sub-region, about 350 million or 70 percent are in Nigeria (Vanguard, 2016).

Widespread proliferation has often led to the acceptance of weapons as a normal part of life and violent conflict as an everyday occurrence. These developments have created widespread anxieties induced by perceived threats to personal and physical security and consequent domestic arms races. The formation of ethnic militia groups, civilian defence groups and armed vigilante groups can be seen as both symptoms and causal factors in processes of societal militarization and weapons proliferation.

The humanitarian consequences of armed violence and the worrisome level of criminality and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), have increased the burden of governance with broader implications for communities and long-term development in the country. Small arms have a disproportionate impact – they maim and kill far more than any other conventional weapons. Some of the reasons for the high demands for SALW include: income and/or part of a livelihood option; criminal activities; to enhance personal security in places where the capacity of the state to do so is limited; for status, power and prestige; communal violence, land conflicts; political violence during elections; traditional uses in celebrations, burials, and other ceremonies; National defense and security.

The sources SALW in Nigeria include: legal and illicit trade in SALW by sea and across borders; illegal local production by manufacturers without a license; diversion from state stockpiles; migration of weapons from one conflict situation to another; cross-border smuggling and mercenary activities: (from Chad and Niger for example) and the country's long, porous borders that are poorly policed due to inadequate resources and the lack of capacity of the security agencies. The three most notorious border posts for illicit smuggling of SALW are the Idi-Iroko and Seme (in the south-western States of Lagos and Ogun); Warri (in Delta State); and border posts in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe states in the north-eastern area. Another key arms-smuggling route into Nigeria is the Lagos-Benin coastal axis extending across West Africa as far as Liberia and Sierra Leone. An equally worrisome source of weapons is Nigeria's northern borders with Chad and Niger.

Although the presence or proliferation of small arms and light weapons does not cause the conflicts that are evident around the country, they do contribute to their level of violence, and probably also make their resolution more difficult. Throughout Nigeria, small arms are in the hands of non-state actors, most especially, ethnic militia groups, religious groups, arms smugglers, criminal gangs, bandits, mercenaries, and vigilantes. These groups often act with impunity, using small arms to wage violent conflicts, terrorize civilian populations, and commit horrific human rights abuses. Similarly, the easy availability of arms reduces the incentives to find non-violent solutions to conflicts, and breeds a spiral of insecurity that mimics, on a lower level, inter-state arms races.

2.5. Climate Change

There is a general consensus amongst climate scientists that the Earth is undergoing significant warming, mainly as a result of human-induced emissions of greenhouse gases and land use changes. Climate change certainly presents a major challenge to economies, social relations, and livelihoods, and action must be taken quickly to attenuate its negative impacts and to adapt to this reality.

In Nigeria, climate change is associated with environmental degradation, desertification and the depletion of natural resources and the occurrence of natural disasters. It is implicated in the desertification that is threatening food security in the country. It is obvious that desertification remains one of the major environmental challenges confronting Nigeria with very serious consequence on the nation's the socio-economic development. This threat is specifically on the 11 frontline Northern states: Kebbi, Sokoto, Zamfara, Borno, Adamwa, Bauchi, Kano, Katsina, Jigawa, Gomba, and Yobe. The livelihoods of over 40 million people in these states are threatened as the Sahara Desert advances south wards at the rate of 6.0 percent every year, engulfing about 2,168sq km of land each year, obliterating human settlements, inducing forced migration, exacerbating rural poverty and social conflicts (Oji, 2016). This has led to demographic displacements in villages across the 11 states. It is estimated that Nigeria loses about $5.1billion every year owing to rapid encroachment of drought and desert in most parts of the north. Desertification has been blamed for making farming activities in the North tough, it has also been blamed for fuelling farmers-Fulani herdsmen clashes. Desert encroachment has done away with routes established by pastoralists forcing them to move through cultivatable land with their livestock.

The loss of arable land and pasture areas are threatening the economy and the nation's food security. Desertification has succeeded in increasing the intensity of farmers-herdsmen clash. Desert advance has done away with routes established for nomads forcing the pastoralists to move through cultivated land with their livestock. The farmers are at a loss as to how to protect their crops. Scores of farmers and their families, as should be expected, have already been forced to move off land that has become barren principally by desertification.

In addition to the impact of Climate Change is the excessive flooding across the country that has also become a source of threat to National Security. Flooding has forced millions of people from their homes, destroyed businesses, polluted water resources and increased the risk of diseases. The devastating effect of floods was not limited to houses and people. Many farmlands both arable and agro-forestry were swept away, schools and market places submerged, several animals killed.

2.6. The Practice of Democracy

The stability of the ship of democracy in Nigeria is one of the major security challenges facing Nigeria today. The main source of threat to the stability of the ship has always been the challenge of a free and fair election. Free, fair and transparent elections are the basic requirement and a sine qua non for the establishment and endurance of a democratic system. However, the level of desperation exhibited by the political class is a major source of concern. In Nigeria, elections, even within the same political party, are usually seen as a battle between or among adversaries who must win the electoral war at all cost; a do or die affair. It is more disturbing that the elite consensus that has held this country together is gradually weakening as the country's political machine is seriously overheating from the failure of the political leadership to adhere strictly to the rules of the game of politics. What is really happening to the time tested moral rule and a basic principle of international treaty law "Pacta Sunt Servanda" (meaning promises must be kept or pacts must be respected) in Nigeria. Politics in Nigeria is characterized by excessive monetization of politics and high influence of "money bags", the use of state resources for partisan purposes by elected office holders, hate speeches and whipping up ethnic, regional, religious and other primordial sentiments and weak link between democracy and internal party democracy.

2.7. Economic Security

While in 2014 Nigeria was considered to be the 20th fasted growing economy in the world, by 2016 it failed to make the list of Africa's most promising economies (World Economic Outlook, 2016). At 2.3 per cent growth rate, Nigeria's current GDP places it in 15th position in the continent. The National Bureau for Statistics (NBS) 2016 First Quarter figures shows that unemployment rate has risen to 12.1 per cent from 9.9 per cent in November 2015. The economic situation has been worsened by Nigeria's crude oil production decline from an average of 2.2 million barrels per day in 2015 to about 1.4 million barrels per day in 2016 due to increased vandalism of crude oil pipelines. The economy was further aggravated by the global collapse in crude oil prices that led to the decline in foreign reserve and the depreciation of the Naira. The impact led to decline in government revenues and foreign investment since the economy was largely dependent on oil export. Having experienced an economic growth for more than a decade, the Nigerian economy went into a recession in the second quarter of 2016. The recession manifested in the decline in oil revenue accruing to the Federation Account, failure of many State Governments to regularly pay workers' salaries, high cost of living amidst ever-growing inflation rate and general economic uncertainties, increasing rate of unemployment among others. The deplorable condition of infrastructure, and the wide-spread corruption and mismanagement of public finances further undermined the economic performance. The Buhari Administration was therefore confronted with the challenge of preventing the economy from contracting and redeeming it from the path of steady and steep decline. Since coming to power in May 2015, the Administration has made several efforts aimed at tackling the economic challenges. Its initial action was the prioritization of three policy goals: tackling corruption, improving security and re-building the economy which led to formulating the Strategic Implementation Plan (SIP) for the 2016 Budget of Change, a short-term intervention. Recognising the need to do more in driving the economy towards sustainable accelerated development, the government came up with the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP), a Medium-Term Plan for 2017 – 2020. ERGP was to build on the SIP and with specific purpose of restoring economic and sustained inclusive growth. It hopes to drive a structural economic transformation with an emphasis on improving both public and private sector efficiency, increasing national productivity

and achieving sustainable diversification of production, grow the economy and achieve maximum welfare for the citizens, beginning with food and energy security (Ministry of Budget and National Planning, 2017).

2.8. Poverty

The greatest challenge is that poverty is increasing – both in proportion and in absolute numbers – when paradoxically Nigeria has all the potentials for greatness given the enormous human and natural resources. Despite these, Nigeria's basic social indicators place it among the 20 poorest countries in the world. According to the Human Development Report published on 12th May, 2016, of a population of about 170 million, the poverty rate is 62.6 percent with a per capita income of US$ 1,280 and Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.47 (UNDP, 2016). Nigeria today, in spite of its oil and gas resources, is a poor country and poverty more prevalent among households headed by female and in the rural areas.   Indeed, Nigeria has the third largest concentration of poor people in the world, after India and China. The scale of poverty in Nigeria is daunting. It is 'serious and extensive to differing degrees in all parts of the country and within all the states'. Nigeria has a very high incidence of both income poverty (by the $1-a-day poverty line) and human poverty. Seven out of ten Nigerians live on less than US$1 per day. It evident that poverty is major national security the threat that is confronting Nigeria today. If insecurity for the citizens comes from the concerns about their survival, self-preservation and wellbeing, then poverty in Nigeria is a major national security challenge. Lack of access to income generating activities have therefore served as nursery bed for many ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria because the country now has a reservoir of poor people who warmongers as mercenary fighters. What this means theoretically is that poverty and unemployment increase the number of people who are prepared to kill or be killed for a given course at token benefit.

2.9. Religious Fault Lines

A religious fault line is characteristic of a polarized worldview. The sharp polarization among Nigerian's, especially among religious lines is a serious threat to the future survival of Nigeria. Virtually everything is now viewed from the prism of religion. What is even more frightening is that even the choice of leaders is determined from viewpoints of religious affiliations. Religion has become the instrument of offence and defence. It is quite sad that religion has been emptied of its content and has now become a convenient tool in the hands of very desperate Nigerians who now use it to manipulate the consciousness of many Nigerians. The basic tenets of all religions – honesty, love and peace has been drowned in the deep ocean of greed and corruption. Thus, there is the proliferation of religious sects with the attendant proliferation of mosques and churches all over the country without a correspondent deepening of the faith of Nigerians in God. If the manipulation of religion by some powerful political elites in the country is not checked, religious fault lines will continue to be manipulated to douse the consciousness of Nigerians.

Religion has become more visible in Nigeria than any other centrifugal force in the country. It has increasingly become the greatest source of threat to the federation of Nigeria because of its very emotive and value laden nature. Religion has become an extremely sensitive issue such that any discussion on it must be done with extreme caution, especially as religious harmony between adherents of Christianity and Islam becomes increasingly elusive. The intense religious distrust and a near absolute loss of confidence between Christians and Muslims and sometimes among the adherents of the same religious belief has brought about a major setback to the process of national integration. Religious violence, in very horrifying dimensions, at times, seems to eclipse the federal polity.

The dialectical processes of suspicion and distrust between Muslims and Christians in many northern states have been exploding in barbaric conflicts that would astonish even people of dark ages. In the name of religion thousands were brutalized or killed. The degree and extent of carnage and colossal loss of lives, including property, presented a picture of a people under a high dose of influences. Today, religion has indeed achieved greater prominence in public discourse and political debate. The challenge becomes even more pronounced when one takes into account, the Report of the 9/11 Commission in saying that the religious fault lines of the sort exploited by al-Qaida in the United States of America, is not in any important sense a matter of numbers, logistics, or scale. The 9/11 attack was carried out by a tiny group of people, not enough to man a full platoon. What make religious fault lines so menacing to National Security in Nigeria is the appeal in the wider Muslim and Christian world that could be exploited by many agents of hate.

2.10. Health Security

The health status indicators in Nigeria, one of the lowest in the world, are attributed to many factors including budgetary, institutional, structural, attitudinal inconsistencies. The Health status indicators for Nigeria are far less than the average for sub-Sahara Africa. Total public expenditure on Health in the last few years has remained below 4% of GDP which is much less than the World Health Organization (WHO) recommendation of 25% of GDP or US$35 per capita and even this is largely misappropriated. Nigeria's Health Sector is in a deplorable state. The availability and accessibility to quality health care services in Nigeria is poor. Public health facilities are generally inadequate, and in many instances not very functional and understaffed. The maternal and infant mortality rates are one of the highest in the world. At 8.3%, infant mortality in Nigeria is high, while life expectancy, when adjusted for healthy years lived, is very low, at 42 years. Nigeria places 104th, 94th, and 99th on the Index, respectively, for each variable. Undernourishment is above the global average, and in 69th place, with 10% of the population consuming less than the daily minimum standard of calories on a daily basis (WHO, 2015; National Bureau for Statistics, 2016). The incidence of tuberculosis is high. Immunization rates for both infectious diseases, at 54%, and measles, at 62%, are extremely low, placing the country among the bottom five of the Index. Health expenditure is a mere $50 (PPP) a year per capita, and there are only three hospital beds for every 10,000 people. Nigeria falls among the bottom five countries on these variables, as well as for its poor sanitation facilities with only 7% of people having adequate access, very low levels of satisfaction with water quality, and an extremely high number of deaths due to respiratory disease, with 26 fatalities per 10,000 persons (WHO, Bureau for Statistics).

2.11. Education

Nigeria's education performance indicators are of worrisome particularly for a nation like Nigeria that aspires to produce the required skilled middle-level and high-level manpower needed to drive economic growth and prosperity. As indicated by the Federal Ministry of Education (2016), over 10 million children are out of school, more that 50% of in-school children are not learning because they cannot read or write; about 63% of children who live in rural areas cannot read at all. The situation is further exacerbated by inadequate teacher training and support, poor and inadequate infrastructure and learning materials, multiplicity of curriculum, inadequate support for girl-child education. If education is imperative for advancement of a nation, then the state of education in Nigeria is not only a threat to the country's development aspiration, but also a major national security threat.

2.12. The Practice of Federalism in Nigeria

The practice of federalism in Nigeria has generated a lot of tension in the country. Federalism in Nigeria is embedded with a number of challenges, some of which include the legitimacy of the 1999 Constitution, distribution of powers and autonomy, tax powers, revenue distribution, indigene/settler tension, the position of local governments in the Nigerian federation, the state police, among many others. Nigeria has inaugurated eight constitutions, five under colonial rule (in 1922, 1946, 1951, 1954, and 1960) and five in the post-colonial era (1963, 1979, 1989, 1995, and 1999). Of the five prepared in the post-colonial era, four were engineered under military rule. Only the 1963 Constitution was initiated under an elected civilian federal administration. The 1999 Constitution has remained the most contentious document in the country so far. This is because the Constitution is supreme and its provisions have binding force on all authorities and persons throughout the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Yet many Nigerians did not feed input into the document. This has accentuated the call for a sovereign national conference to revisit even the amalgamation of Nigeria. Some sections of the country are even demanding for a sovereign national conference to determine whether Nigerians still want to leave together as a nation as well as agree on the terms and conditions under which they should live together. There are strong demands from cross section of Nigeria for a constitutional review of the powers of the central government if federalism is to survive in the country. Revenue distribution has become a 'hot potato' issue in the Nigerian federal system, especially since the discovery of oil in large commercial quantity in 1972. It is apparent that while the federal system was adopted as a mechanism for managing Nigeria's diversities and promoting unity and to accommodate and preserve the distinct identities. However, the country has been experiencing disequilibrium between centralizing and decentralizing forces, largely as a result of leadership contest, which has seriously affected the union and on many instances, threaten the survival of Nigeria as a nation.

2.13. Leadership

Leadership is central to the realization of National security in Nigeria. The failure of Nigerian leaders to establish good governance, forge national integration, through deliberate and articulated policies, has led to mass deprivation, unemployment, communal and ethno-religious conflicts that have now characterized the Nigerian nation. What has become a very disturbing trend is that conflict entrepreneurs, who mask their identity as leaders by occupying leadership positions, construct divisions by planting the seeds of hate in the minds of their followership. These conflict entrepreneurs show no moderation in their words and actions and do not seek bilateral or multilateral negotiations to resolve disputes. They disguise their selfish interests to coincide with the perceived feeling of injustice by the people and then mobilize them continuously into violence until they achieve their objectives in the form of political appointments or political accommodation for themselves, their wives, their children and sometimes their girlfriends. Soon afterwards, the hopes of the people are dashed in the deep ocean of greed. This explains why all ethno-religious crises that ever occurred in Nigeria have a large turnout of people (including the under-aged) as fighters. The challenge for the country is to recognize and confront the existence of injustice and oppression in established power structures and perpetuated by the ruling elites.

3. National Security Challenges: The Options

There is no doubt that for Nigeria's National Security to be sustained, a lot needs to be done. First, Nigeria must address the Governance Challenge. The general issues arising from the contemporary governance situation in Nigeria can be addressed by establishing a social contract for the functioning of the polity; institutionalizing a culture of democratic accountability at all levels of government and in all aspects of public affairs; building and/or consolidating a culture of peace in the political system; promoting a greater fairness in the electoral process to achieve a better system of representativeness; broadening the participation of the citizenry in the political process; ensuring that marginalized groups – especially women and the youth - are better represented; and defending the human and civil rights of the citizenry. These governance concerns lie at the core of Nigerian politics.

Counterinsurgency (COIN) is the blend of comprehensive civilian and military efforts designed to simultaneously contain insurgency and address its root causes. COIN is an extremely complex undertaking. COIN approaches must be adaptable and agile. Strategies will usually be focused primarily on the population rather than the enemy while reducing insurgent influence. COIN primarily needs intelligence about the population. COIN intelligence must therefore incorporate the spectrum of characteristics of a nation's system of systems, including political, military, economic, sociocultural, infrastructural, informational and environmental knowledge. At the strategic level, understanding is required of the population factors behind the insurgency, its stage of progression, the reforms required to address its causes, and the willingness and ability of the government to make those reforms. At the operational level, understanding is required of the strengths and vulnerabilities of the insurgent strategy, the strengths and weaknesses of the government and the requirements of the population. Continuous feedback on the degree of success of ongoing COIN efforts is also critical. At the tactical level, understanding is required of the identity of active insurgents, their networks, logistics, capabilities and intent.

All levels of government must be seen to be actively involved in the anti–corruption struggles. The anti-corruption struggles need to be replicated at the state and local government levels. It should not be seen as a federal concern alone but must be seen as a national concern requiring the active involvement of states and local governments. There should be a common benchmark for fighting corruption by all levels of government. Through intergovernmental cooperation, a passionate national joint effort should be embarked upon to tackle the hydra-headed challenge of corruption.

Raising the quality of governance in Nigeria is dependent on the extent to which corruption is combatted because it is undoubtedly at the core of the crisis of governance. Despite the proclaimed reforms, corruption continues to be a serious challenge to governance in Nigeria. The mechanisms for prosecuting the war against corruption should be streamlined and strengthened. Anti-corruption agencies are part of a number of strategies that together can reduce venality in a government. Some of these strategies are absolutely crucial, including first the independence of a commission. Second, commissions need a clear reporting hierarchy that comprises executive officials, parliamentary authorities, and oversight committees. Third, governments must have a commitment to enact reforms that may be politically difficult. There should be more stringent laws against corruption. Fighting corruption require effective legislation, regulations and codes of conduct. Without the legal tools to go after venal officials, a commission cannot succeed. Many governments either fail to enforce existing laws or the commissions have no mandate to enforce laws. A commission must be independent from interference by the political leadership.

On the proliferation of SALW, a legislative framework of a national SALW Control should be established. The framework should include regulation of SALW production, brokering, transfers and stockpiling, as well as the acquisition, possession and use of SALW. The legislation should envisage adequate sanctions. Confidence-building measures targeting local arms producers should be developed in order to increase their participation in SALW control measures and to re-orientate their skills. Such a programme could potentially be implemented in several stages. The first stage would be to facilitate and conduct a baseline survey of local production capacity in Nigeria, which could be executed on a regional/state basis. The second stage would involve developing confidence-building mechanisms to encourage local producers to emerge from their production hideouts. The third stage would involve local arms producers in a scheme to refocus their production towards peaceful tools for agriculture and power generation. The proposed programme would assume the existence of a political will to liberalize the enforcement of production regulation in Nigeria. Addressing the Issue of Blacksmiths and Illicit Production is very crucial.

Stockpile management is a key tool to help limit the entry of licit weapons into the illicit market and should be supported more robustly. Responsible stockpile management of national stocks by government are essential to prevent loss of arms to undesirable armed groups. There have been widespread leakages from government armouries. Arms theft from the National Armoury constitutes a major source of threat to National Security. There is need for proper selection, vetting and training of all personnel involved in the management of national armouries. Conducive environment should be created for stockpiling to avoid the dangers of accidental discharge and explosions. There should be frequent and periodic physical monitoring and stock taking of all the inventories of the stockpiles. Under resourced security forces may be unable to secure stockpiles properly, and poorly paid individuals may resort to using their official weapons for criminal activities or may rent them out to others to supplement their income. SALW also circulate through the desertion of military personnel. Many of these legal weapons find their way into the illicit market.

Due to the trans-border nature of the circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons and taking into account the common objective of promoting collective security in the region, there is a need for the ECOWAS Convention on SALW to be ratified and implemented by all the fifteen (15) Member States. In this regard, the ECOWAS Commission commits itself to working closely with Member States who have not yet done so, to ratify the Convention in order to ensure a tight control of the circulation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the entire region. Parliaments should designate or create a parliamentary committee to engage with the government in a regular debate on national SALW Control. Further, parliaments should request regular reporting by governments on SALW transfers to allow for informed debate on governments' conformity with the stated policy and legislation. Parliaments should make it a national priority to; 1) ratify the multilateral SALW control treaties that their governments have signed; or 2) to accede to such treaties where appropriate. The provisions of such treaties and agreements should then be incorporated into appropriate and timely domestic legislation and then duly implemented. Parliaments should exchange information with each other on national SALW Control legislation in order to build a better understanding of regional controls, and to identify existing best practices. They should also contribute to the established international parliamentary forums that consider SALW issues.

The entrenchment of the rule of law principles is cardinal to the raising of the quality of governance in Nigeria. The rule of law is one of the principles, which underpin good governance and on which the political system of democracy is designed. In this context, rule of law means all those principles and processes that safeguard the freedom of the individual and guarantee participation in political life. In a democratic State under the rule of law, law and justice bind everyone. All citizens are equal before the law, and every citizen may fight for his/her rights, even against the government. To safeguard and protect this right is the foremost purpose of the judiciary and it is for this reason that under the rule of law all governmental authority is restricted so as to maintain the freedom of the individual. The rule of law is intended both to facilitate democratic activity and to protect the rights of individuals. The idea underlying the concept of the rule of law is to control and moderate the power of the State so as to protect the freedom of the individual. One of the fundamental conditions for freedom under the rule of law is that a line be drawn between State and society. Fundamental rights assure individual and societal freedom, while the responsibilities of the State are defined in a catalogue of governmental duties.

The rule of law in Nigeria is based first and foremost on the independence of the judiciary as an institution. Both the executive and the legislative branches must be denied any chance of interfering with the work of the judges, or even of bringing pressure to bear on them. To a judge, personal independence means that safe from being deposed or transferred against his/her will. Indeed, a judge may be removed from office only after trial and found guilty of either perversion of justice or personal corruption. Similarly, the judge's

material independence assures him/her that in the course of discharging responsibility, he/she is not subjected to instructions of whatever kind. The judge is answerable only to law and justice and tasked with the responsibility of interpreting the rules, in which he/she is not subject to instructions from public prosecutors, the Government, or higher courts of law. Under the rule of law, any arrest and any encroachment by the police on the private sphere of an individual must be based on judicial writ. This being so, a State ruled by properly functioning legal system admits only court orders in justification of arrests and searches, and for the same reason unambiguous legal regulations afford every prisoner the right to a lawful judge and a proper hearing in court.

It is our contention that Nigeria is extremely serious deficit in honest leaders. Many of those that are called leaders in Nigeria do not deserve to be called leaders because they are largely dishonest and deceitful even when they hide under the veneer of religion. It is our contention that given the serious deficiency of honest leaders and given that the very few honest leaders that the country has are now endangered 'species', Nigeria can make do with leaders that are knowledgeable – that have vision and have the ability to think of the future, in terms of what needs to be done now and to cope successfully with what the future might bring; Leaders that are fearless and are prepared to persevere and that are responsive and sensitive to the feelings and perceptions of its followers. Nigeria needs a leadership that is nationally accepted regardless of ethnicity, region, or religious inclination. Leaders that can promote good governance, forge national integration through deliberate and articulated policies. The country need leaders that can unite the country, deepen democracy, tackle the myriad problems of the economy, poverty, health care, education, poor social infrastructure, insecurity, terrorism, indigene/settler divide, and corruption among many others. Nigeria needs an effective policy maker, astute decision maker, a negotiator, power broker, financier, an enabler, an institution builder, a facilitator, a mediator, a team builder, an effective communicator, a leader with self-confidence, articulate, charismatic and a democrat who believes in democratic principles. With these, Nigeria may be on the path to addressing the major challenges to National Security.

4. Conclusion

In this discourse, we have examined the National Security challenges by interrogating the issues and options. It is our contention that the concept of National Security has broadened since the cold war beyond the narrow conception of the superiority of the military capability of the state to defeat any outside offensive capability. The aftermath of the end of the cold war has influenced the development of the concept of human security to include protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. Nigeria in the last one decade has been going through tough National Security challenges that doubts are being raised about its survival as a nation. We argued that the major issues posing challenges to National Security include: the quality of governance, insurgency, kidnapping, small arms and light weapons, climate change, the practice of democracy, poverty, religious fault lines, health security, economic security, education, the practice of federalism and leadership. We contended further that these are symptoms of a failing state. Despite all of these however, it is our position that there are options available for Nigeria. The options include constitutional review, improving the quality of governance, a comprehensive counter-insurgency strategy, promotion of the rule of law, halting the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, stamping out kidnapping in the country, inclusive development, fighting corruption at all levels, and provision of honest leadership among many others.

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