

Nigeria: Analysing the Security Challenges of the Goodluck Jonathan Administration

NIGERIA: L'ANALYSE DES DEFIS DE LA SECURITE D'ADMINISTRATION DE GOODLUCK JONATHAN

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Abstract

The study is a critical analysis of the security challenges confronting the Goodluck Jonathan Administration in Nigeria. Since 2010, The Nigerian nation has on daily basis experience an upsurge of activities that threatens and endangers its national security. Kidnappings, arms proliferation, armed robberies, drug and human trafficking and violence associated with ethnic, religious and political conflicts are among these threats. Recently however, a new dimension of bomb blasts, occurring on a daily-basis, is a major focus of attention in Nigeria's security analysis. The Boko-Haram Islamic militant sect (literarily translated as Western education is bad), has been fingered as the perpetrators of the bomb explosions. In view of this scenario, the study examines the impact of these occurrences on Nigeria's security as well as, examines the responses of government taking into cognizance the public and media reactions to such actions. Finally, the study posited that the impact of the blasts on the people and the polity are ominous and that, there is a higher degree of fear and insecurity. Based on the palpable tension threatening to shatter the fragile thread that binds the people together, the study further made some recommendations on how peace and stability can endure in the country.

Key words: Militant groups; Insecurity; Destruction; Corruption; Instability; Terrorism and ethno-religious crisis

Résumé

L'étude est une analyse critique de la sécurité défis auxquels l'administration Goodluck Jonathan au Nigeria. Depuis 2010, la Nation Nigériane a quotidiennement l'expérience d'un regain d'activités qui menace et met en danger sa sécurité nationale. Les enlèvements, la prolifération des armes, vols à main armée, de drogue et d'êtres humains et la violence associée aux conflits ethniques, religieuses et politiques sont parmi ces menaces. Récemment, toutefois, une nouvelle dimension d'explosions de bombes, se produisant sur une base quotidienne-, est une préoccupation majeure dans l'analyse de la sécurité du Nigeria. Le Boko Haram secte islamiste (littéralement traduit comme l'éducation occidentale est mauvaise), a été pointé du doigt comme étant les auteurs des attentats à la bombe. Compte tenu de ce scénario, l'étude examine l'impact de ces événements sur la sécurité du Nigeria ainsi que, examine les réponses du gouvernement en prenant en connaître les réactions du public et des médias à de telles actions. Enfin, l'étude postulé que l'impact des explosions sur le peuple et la politique sont inquiétantes et que, il ya un degré élevé de crainte et d'insécurité. Basé sur la tension palpable menaçant de briser le fil fragile qui lie les gens ensemble, l'étude a fait quelques recommandations sur la façon dont la paix et la stabilité peuvent endure dans le pays.

Mots clés: Groupes militants; Insécurité; Destruction; Corruption; Instabilité; Terrorisme et la Crise Ethno-Religieuse

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INTRODUCTION

The foundation for this study is predicates on the series

of violent activities that Nigeria has had to contend with since the advent of democratic rule in the period 1999 to date (2011). During this period, there have been several incidence of violent politically motivated ethno-religious unrest notably in and around Jos (Plateau state), Nassarawa and Benue and series of bomb blasts targeting state institutions and innocent bystanders in the Northeastern region of the country. The entire Southeast and the Niger-Delta region also witnessed an unprecedented level of kidnappings, armed robberies, cultism, politically motivated killings and other vices that constituted threats to human lives and property. Violence was at its peak and without robust counter-strategy and enabling legislations to tackle the deteriorating security situation and punish perpetrators of violent crimes the nation was heading for a near disaster. The situation was like an unripe papaya, hanging to the branch by its fragile decaying stalk, ready to burst at its seams.

The most crucial impetus for the study however, is the various bomb blasts that occurred during the 50th Independence Day anniversary on October 1, 2010. The bomb blast which was planted near Eagle square (venue of the celebration in Abuja), the nation's capital, killed an estimated number of persons (fourteen). and injured about twenty (20). others. Since the October 1, 2010 incident, a whole lot of events had happened, creating a chain of events ricocheting through the entire nation. Events such as the lingering but now curtailed Niger-Delta crisis, the continuous ethno-religious conflagration in and around Jos (Plateau State). Creating the most palpable tension and sense of insecurity in the mind of Nigerians is the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalist's sect (popularly called the Boko-Haram). and its string of attacks across the States in the northern parts of the country. These challenges have created potent security threats that are capable of tearing into pieces the very fabric that holds Nigeria as one indivisible entity.

To avert a total descent into the abyss of insecurity, President Goodluck Jonathan in his response to the independence-day bombings and the subsequent breaches of Nigeria's national security posited, that the time has come for a serious review of the security policy in the country. To show his commitment, Jonathan directed the nation's security services to "rise to the occasion and arrest this new and dangerous challenge (bomb-blasts and other acts of domestic terrorism). to our peace and stability" (<http://www.peoplesdaily-online.com>). *better if you can cite a newspaper report on this*. In order to give meaning to his words, President Jonathan deployed a large number of security forces to flashpoints in the Northeastern part of the country. The President also mandated the security agencies to use justifiable minimum force where necessary. The Jonathan administration also took other measures including the adoption of the anti-terrorism bill and the establishment of various committees to look into the security situation in the country.

Despite these measures, the high scale of violence and destruction of lives and property coupled with the palpable fear and tension associated with the state of insecurity particularly since April 16th, 2011 when President Jonathan was declared the winner during the general elections, has not witnessed a significant reduction in occurrence nor intensity. Instead, violence has been on the increase at an alarming rate. The perpetrators have become more daring. The targets of the attacks are – army barracks, police headquarter, and the capital – Abuja, major cities in the North East (Bauchi, Maiduguri, and Kaduna). These targets constitute the heart and soul of Nigeria's security. Since independence, many issues have cropped up that put to test, the security of lives and property of Nigerians and the general ramification of the nation's political stability and national security. Of all these occurrences, the unfathomable atrocities and destruction of lives and properties that accompanied the 1967-70 Nigerian Civil War that pitched then Eastern region (Biafra). secession side against the federal government has become a point of reference in the issue of security and national development in Nigeria. Added to this, are the strings of political violence witnessed during the military era and the periods of the transition to civil rule between 1979 and 2009.

The main objective of this study is the examination of the security challenges confronting the President Goodluck Jonathan administration. In 2010 when President Jonathan took over as the Commander –in-Chief of the Nigerian armed forces, following the demise of late President Shehu Musa Yar'adua, the country was plagued with the succession issue. The issue of whether, acting President Jonathan be given, the opportunity to govern Nigeria come April 2011 (during the general elections). became a serious topic of discourse. This issue and many more were agitating peoples' minds when on Nigeria's independence-day - October 1st 2010, for the first time in the political history of Nigeria, the country (the venue of the celebration and around the capital city of Abuja). was rocked by series on bomb blasts. There were breaches to the national security of Nigeria and questions concerning the security implications of the explosions came to fore.

This study intends to answer numbers of questions. What is identity of the culprits of the series of blast that have rocked the nation? Why have the culprits resorted to the use of bombs to cause damage in order to garner national and international recognition? Was this a new wave of domestic terrorism? How can the security agencies put a stop to this occurrence before it blossomed into catastrophic proportions? What are the consequences of these bomb blasts? How can the administration maintain security without escalating the existing volatile situation in the country? Would the violence destruction of lives and properties and the psychological fear associated with the blasts affect the forth-coming April 2011 elections? Will the blasts coupled with the high wave of

violence already been witnessed in Nigeria - (kidnapping, armed robbery, politically – motivated killings, pipeline vandalizations etc.). discouraged foreign investors, tourists? The analysis dwell on the impacts of the blasts on the political situation particularly the preparation for the 2011 April general elections as well as the motives behind the actions of the culprits.

To us, the most compelling issue is the critical examination of the national security challenges confronting President Goodluck Jonathan. A poser in this regard is - can President Jonathan maintain internal law and order in a firm manner that will not infringe on the culprits human rights? Would he be bold to deploy the security apparatus and withdraw them without further escalating ethnic and religious sentiments in the country? Analyzing these issues and finding answers to them entails a critical follow-up of government pronouncements and actions as well as the analysis of issues and peoples' opinion in the various dailies and other media outlets in the country. The point should however be made, that the issue of national security is still treated by the government as strictly confidential. However, with the growing rate of technology-especially with respect to social media networks and the internet, government restriction on security information has become a herculean task. Clearly, this current situation involves an examination of events as they occur daily. At the end of our examination, suggestions will be put forward on how to ensure that the task of keeping Nigeria one is still realizable. Our recommendations show that maintaining internal law and order should involve a combination of social, economic and political factors that will enhance the quality of life of the ordinary Nigerians and their trust in the system.

1. LITERATURE BRIEF: THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY

Security is a very important issue in the survival of any nation. Without adequate security of lives and property, the system will be rife with lawlessness, chaos and eventual disintegration. This is why security is considered as a dynamic condition, which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests. The security so concerned with by states, is multifarious. It might be military, economic, ideological or cultural. Accordingly, the security for any state embodies a notion of order, or of the conditions necessary to maintain the smooth functioning and reproduction of an existing society. According to McGrew (1988, p. 101), the security of a nation is predicated on two central pillars. On one hand, it entails the maintenance and protection of the socio-economic order in the face of internal and external threat. On the other, it entails the promotion of a preferred international order, which minimize the threat to core values and interests, as well as to the domestic order. In

a similar manner, Nwolise (2006, p. 352). explained that security is an all-encompassing holistic concept implies that the territory must be secured by a network of armed forces: that the sovereignty of the state must be guaranteed by a democratic and patriotic government, which in turn must be protected by the military, police and the people themselves, the people must not only be secured from external attacks but also from devastating consequences of internal upheavals, unemployment, hunger, starvation, diseases, ignorance, homelessness, environmental degradation and pollution com socio-economic injustices.

In his analysis of national security in Nigeria, a former Nigerian Chief of Defence Staff, Air Chief Marshal Paul Dike, (in a lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institute, London, March 26th, 2010), affirmed that Nigeria's security in based on a holistic view which sees the citizens as the primary beneficiaries of every security and developmental deliverable that the state can offer. The national security in Nigeria is an ensemble of two (2). broad elements, that is, state security and human security. The primary objective of Nigeria's national security shall be to strengthen the federal Republic of Nigeria, to advance her interest and objectives to contain instability, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development progress and growth, and improve the welfare and well being and quality of life of every citizen. The second aspect of the nation's national security entails the preservation of the safety of Nigerians at home and abroad and the protection of the sovereignty of the country's integrity and its interests.

The task of guaranteeing human security is enshrined in the constitution of nations around the world. In Nigeria, Sections 197 of the 1979, 215 of the 1989 and 218 of the 1999 Constitution, clearly spelt out the functions, of the military as:

'Defending Nigeria from external aggression, maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land sea and air, suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to so by the President, but subjected to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly, and performing such other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly'.

Over the years, successive governments in Nigeria have found expression in deploying the military for internal security duties – the promotion of internal order and stability. Such deployments predicated on the armed forces third function of "suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order" (Omede, 2005, p. 178-205). The concept of Internal Security duties are generally related to activities which takes place as protest against the actions of government and non-government bodies, religious intolerance, political thuggery and agitations which are likely to overstretch the resources of the police and other law enforcement agencies. Military writings have shown that internal security is any military

role, which involves primarily the use of force necessary to maintain and restore law and order and essential services in the face of civil disturbances and disobedience.

In his analysis of the military's internal security functions, former President Obasanjo once commented that, the "military is an instrument of national policy and is constitutionally tasked with the responsibility of aiding civil authorities in maintaining law and order" (The Guardian, 2001, p. 4). In carrying out its function, the military according to a former Chief of Army Staff (COAS). – General Alexander Ogomudia during the annual COAS conference which held in Kaduna State in 2001, reaffirmed, that the Army's internal security duties involves deterring threats such area as:

Youth agitation and reactions to perceived marginalisation of oil producing areas by government, ethno-religious crises, the increase in small arms proliferation and bio-terrorism, armed robbery, destruction of lives and properties which occur during crisis etc.

The enforcement of its internal security duties have seen the Army establishing various units like the joint task force in the Niger Delta and deploying troops to flashpoints to douse conflicts in the Niger delta areas and other hotspots like Odi, Ohorho and Choba (Bayelsa State); Zaki Biam (Benue State); Bauchi, (Bauchi State). Maiduguri (Borno State). and Jos (Plateau State). The crises in these troubled areas no doubt, are manifestations of agitations and discontent exhibited by various groups due to government policies of deprivation, marginalization and social injustice – a situation, which has created avenues for "crises of legitimacy; the struggle for ascendancy between sub-national and national loyalties, which, tend to open the floodgates of irredentists and separatist claims" (Omotosho, 2004, p.18).

2. THE REVIEW OF THE STATE OF INSECURITY IN NIGERIA, 1999–2010

In 1999, a new democratic dispensation was enthroned in Nigeria following a period of prolonged of military rule spanning a period of 20 years between the early 80's and 1999, several policies embarked upon by the military junta saw many Nigerians being marginalized and alienated from the state. In particular, the adoption of the structural adjustment programme in June 1986 by the Babangida administration in Nigeria brought in its wake a high incidence of poverty, unemployment, of rural-urban migration, corruption and economic management and other forms of hardship on the populace. Vast majority of the citizenry are denied basic human needs. Majority of Nigerians lacked basic access to quality education and effective health-care. There is no safe drinking water, shelter, employment and other necessities of daily life in to make people feel secure. This inadequacy, has created a "frustration of rising expectations" which in turn resulted

in violence, kidnappings, armed robberies, prostitution, terrorism and the recent trend of religious fundamentalists agitating against western values and ideals particularly, education.

The upsurge in violence has also been attributed to the engagement by the military forces in peace keeping/ support operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The proliferation of small and light weapons (SLW). in the country attributable to returning soldiers from peace support operations and arms contractors engaged in the indiscriminate importation/smuggle of arms into the country, has fuelled the rising patterns of armed robberies, kidnapping, use of arms by different political groups to settle conflicts and the like. The insecurity condition in the country has further been attenuated by the concentration of economic activities and the subsequent development of social infrastructure in major cities in Nigeria. This resulted in massive movement from the rural areas to the towns and cities. The unfortunate effects of the massive urban drift are reflected in widespread social disintegration, a sense of 'rootlessness', and all the evils which usually exist in over-crowded new urban centers (Palmer and Perkins, 2019, p. 521).

Nigeria, a complex federation with about two-hundred and fifty (250). ethnic groupings just like other African countries). is confronted with internal divisions and problems which are so serious as to jeopardize her capacity to survive. The political situation especially with the effort to consolidate democracy and sustain development in Nigeria has contributed in no small measure to the high level of insecurity in the country. The struggle for political power, the quest to control the centre and the ethno religion differences among the various political groupings in the country can be described as a "push-pull factor" towards a "do-or die politics. Religious differences between the predominantly Muslim North and the Christian South coupled with the agitation for an equitable/fair distribution of resources by minority groups (from the Niger-Delta). has created a pattern of feuding and an unending circle of violence in Nigeria. Conflict among different ethnic groups (both intra and inter-state). had always resulted in violence and destruction of lives and properties. An observable trend in most of these conflicts has been described by Goldstein (1994, p.458-159). in the following manner:

During conflicts, each side retaliates in a seemingly unending circle of violence. Usually, each side believes it is acting defensively and that the other side started it ... The issue is about "I don't like you" and the conflict tend, to drag on without resolution for generations...

Several other factors have been attributed to the high state of insecurity in Nigeria. Poverty for instance, has become domesticated in Nigeria and is pervasive in the Northern States particularly in the North East zone. Frustration emanating from lack of access to the basic needs of life has made many Nigerians to take solace in

nefarious activities like “human trafficking, prostitution and several other social vices that were alien in the not too distant past” (Osarenenren – This Day, 2011, p. 18). Unemployment is another major cause of violence in Nigeria. Majority of university graduates are not gainfully employed (Louis Theroux, BBC Broadcast, p. 2011). President Jonathan Goodluck acknowledged this fact himself when he warned that “unless Nigeria tackles the issues of unemployment, the unharnessed potentials of youths might be negatively employed and throw the nation into avoidable crisis. In a population where over 70 percent are below 30 years implies that the youths have to be critically engaged in productive ventures to tap from their positive side, which if not properly harnessed, could be channeled towards destructive purposes. To stem this negative tide, President Goodluck asserted that providing jobs for the youths would definitely push down crime wave in the country (Ahamefula, The Nation, and 2011, p. 8).

An addendum to this problem is the politicization of employment of personnel and the decline in the quality of functions performed by most of the security agencies. A report by the Associated Press (The Punch, September 2, 2011, p.2). revealed how incompetence, corruption and nepotism in the security agencies have helped to boost the activities of the fundamentalist Islamic sect. According to the report, most of the units created by the government under a United States assisted anti-terrorism program Focal Point in 2007 to monitor terror suspects, have been abandoned because most of the recruited personnel were friends of government officials who saw the anti-terror units as “opportunity for their boys’ to go on overseas trips and make money” (The Punch, September 2, 2011, p.2). The issue of corruption and nepotism was aptly captured by Agekameh (The Nation, 2011, p.19). when he enthused that:

Standards have fallen due to political partisanship. People now occupy sensitive positions in the security agencies not because of their ability to perform, but because of they are either from one geographical location, simply wield some influence or know some people at the top who will nurture their career. The twin evil of godfatherism and favouritism has eaten deep into the entire gamut of the security agencies. Sycophancy rather than professionalism has been elevated as the most important criterion for career advancement.

The influx and proliferation of small and light weapons has also impacted on the high level of insecurity currently being witnessed in Nigeria today. The vacuum created by government inability to secure lives and properties has led to cycle of insecurity/security dilemma in which every man looks after his/her own security. The pursuit of individual security had not only led to the search of weapons of protection against armed robbers and hoodlums, it had also resulted in the pursuit of the types of weapons with the most delivery capacity (fire-power). that will match the aggressors “fire-for-fire”. The private

pursuit of security is also fuelled by the adoption of ‘do-or die’ politics in Nigeria. Majority of the politicians, particularly during the recently concluded April 2011 general elections were alleged to have resorted to massive arms importation in order to have an upper-hand over their opponents (Ogbonaya, The Nation, 2011, p. 8). ; (Makinde, The Punch 2011, p. 18). Finally, one can surmise that the whole problem of instability and insurrection is due among other things, to the lack of social justice and economic inequality between the various economic classes existing in Nigeria. Aregbesola, a serving governor in Osun State in South West, Nigeria corroborated this point when he explained thus:

When there is disharmony between social justice and universal law, chaos and disorder ensues ... The environment of extreme poverty, ignorance and diseases where might is right, where the gap between the haves and have-nots is increasing at a geometric proportion, where law serve the interest of the few, where most people are hopeless, can only but encourage such sundry acts of terrorism capable of regressing man into the hobbesian state of nature where there is war of all against all and the life of man is nasty, brutish and short (The Punch, 2011, p. 11).

3. SECURITY CHALLENGES AND THE JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION, 2007-2011

In 2007, when the controversial presidential election ushered in the administration of President Shehu Musa Yar’adua and Dr. Goodluck Jonathan elected as his vice, the security condition had worsened to the extent that security agencies were deployed to contain such breaches of security across the country. The nature of threats during this period emanated mostly from the Niger-Delta where there was an upsurge in the formation of militants groups agitating for a share of the national wealth. There was high level of armed robberies and kidnappings, which were predominantly curtailed within the southern part of the country, especially the Niger-Delta region where 90% of Nigerians crude oil is derived. This period also witnessed the resurgence of Islamic fundamental groups in North Eastern Nigeria.

The militant Islamic sect Boko-Haram (western education is a sin). also came into public attention during this period. The major thrust of their activities included carrying out sporadic attacks on police stations. The climax of the insecurity posed to the nation’s fragile stability was reached in 2008 when the leader of the sect Yusuf Muhammad and other key members of the group were killed, by the police after been arrested by the Army. Northern leaders and non-governmental organizations called for an investigation into the extra-judicial killings of the Boko-Haram leaders but government’s attitude was lukewarm and indecisive. The failure to prosecute those responsible for the extra-judicial killings of the Boko-Haram leaders represents one of the major grievances of the members of the group (<http://baba-ahmed.blogspot>).

com/2011/08). and can be seen as providing the impetus to step up their campaign against the Nigeria state.

With the demise of President Yar'adua in 2010, Dr Goodluck Jonathan was proclaimed as the acting President of Nigeria by both chambers of the National Assembly on February 9th, 2010. This is singular action became an albatross the nation's neck and the reason for this is not far-fetched. Immediately on assumption of office, President Jonathan embarked on a series of dialogue and negotiations with the various militants groups in the Niger-Delta. He embarked on the "Amnesty Programme" which involved the disarmament and re-training of members of the various militant groups in the Niger-Delta. While the amnesty programme somehow abated the high incidence of bombings of oil platforms and vandalizations of oil pipelines in the Niger-Delta region, it did not witness a significant reduction in the spate of armed robberies and violence across the country. The preparations for the April 2011 general elections were in full swing and contenders were posed in a rat race of do or die politics.

The preparation for the election opened up avenue for the unemployed youths to be used as political thugs against contending opponents. Kidnappings became a veritable tool used by politicians to silence opponents. Thugs on the other hands took advantage of the kidnappings to exhort money from their victims. Political activities also created an avenue for the importation/smuggling of arms in the country. A police commissioner Dipo Ayeni in one of the states (Ebonyi State). commented on the state of insecurity in the country when he lamented that:

There are cases of heinous political violence pervading the polity. This is a consequence of the high incidence of arms importation and recruitment of thugs by politicians ahead of the April 2011 general election ... There are also inter and intra-party violence in which political opponents destroyed property as well as injured several persons. Weapons of all sorts inclusive of guns and machetes were freely used by opponents (The Nation, 2011, p. 8).

The question of who became the president opened up the controversial issue of zoning, a formula that pitched the North against the South. The zoning arrangement opened up the deep wound of ethnic and religious sentiments among the politicians. There began the frantic quest to control the centre (federal government). by the politicians. The polity witnessed an intense struggle for power and the adoption of do-or die politics as vociferously propagated by former President Olusegun Obasanjo who ruled Nigeria between 1999 and 2007. Violence became the order-of-the day and the already weakened security situation was stretched to its limit.

The state of insecurity reached its crescendo on October 1st, 2010. This was the day Nigeria marked her 50th independence anniversary. While, the independence-day celebration was going-on at the Eagle-Square in

Abuja (Federal Capital)., there was an explosion of twin-bomb blast within the capital city. There immediately followed a high-level of security activities and counter-reaction by the government of the day. The blast left about 140 people dead and several others injured. Responsibility for the bomb-blast was claimed by the militant Niger Delta group the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND). Since October 1st 2010, the spate of bombings embarked upon by militant groups, especially the Boko-Haram sect has become innumerable and the killings and destruction of lives and properties accompanying it, unfathomable. The activities and threats by the Boko-Haram have become a high priority national security issue. Giving new meaning to domestic terrorism, the sect's recourse to the indiscriminate and deliberate act of violence against civilians, and the orgy of destruction of national symbols as well as the selective killings of security personnel have gained national and international attention.

It is important to state that majority of the bombings occurred within the North Eastern part of the country (Maiduguri (Borno state)., Bauchi (Bauchi State)., Gombe (Adamawa State).). and Abuja the federal capital. Apart from the October 1st 2010 twin bomb-blasts (Abuja). whose responsibility was claimed by MEND, all other attacks listed below have been attributed to the Boko Haram sect (The Nation, May 17th, 2011). (The Nation, August 27th, 2011).; (The Punch, 2011, p. 15).:

December 22nd, 23rd and 24th Bombings (Jos, Plateau State).; December 31st 2010 (Mogadishu Army Barracks (Abuja).; January 3rd & 28th 2011 – Bombings and Assassination of a Politician (Maiduguri-Borno State).; February 15th, 20th & 23rd 2011 – killings of policemen and civilians (Maiduguri-Borno State).; March 2nd and 13th, 2011 – assassination of 2 policemen and 1 politician – Modu Gana Mekanike and an Islamic cleric – Imam Ibrahim Ahmed Abdullahi (Maiduguri-Borno State).; April 9th, 20th, 24th, & May 17th (bombings)., 31st & June 6th (Assassinations of Abbas Ibn Umar and Imam Ibrahim Birkuti). and an attack on a church and police stations in Maiduguri; May 29th, 2011 In Zaria, bomb blasts /explosion in military barracks in Maiduguri (Borno-state)., At Zuba, two (2). people were killed and 11 injured by the blasts. May 30th, 2011 - 13 people were killed and 40 injured in multiple blasts in a Mammy Market inside the 33 Artillery Brigade Barracks in Bauchi; The Suleja bomb- blasts of April, 12, 2011 in which at least 13 people were killed. Post- election violence of April 16th, 2011 presidential elections a scores of people dead, and property worth millions of naira destroyed. Among the dead are members of the NYSC. In same Bauchi State, ten (10). Youth –Corps members were killed in election violence. June 16th, 2011- bombing of Police headquarters – Abuja; June 26th, 2011 shooting and bombing of a bar – Maiduguri; August 25th, 2011 – Attacks on banks and Police station in Gombe (Adamawa State).; August 26th, 2011, bombing of a U. N. building – Abuja).

The violence associated with insecurity in Nigeria has taken its toll on both the people and government of Nigeria. Amnesty international – a Human Rights group (The Nation, May 17, 2011, p. 1). in its report estimated that about eight hundred (800). people died and sixty five

thousand (65,000). others were displaced in twelve (12). states in the North when violence, erupted during the conclusion of the presidential election on April 16th 2011. The same Amnesty group reported (The Nation May 17, 2011, p. 3). that more than 300 people were killed in religious and ethnic violence that erupted in Jos capital of Plateau State between 17th and 20th January 2011, while over 10,000 people were displaced and thousands of shops and homes destroyed. On March 7 2011, armed men killed more than 200 men, women and children when the Boko-Haram sect attacked the villages of Dogo Nachawa, Zot and Tatsat. On July 16 2011, two (2). people were killed while, seventy (70)., vehicles were either burnt/damaged in the bombing of the police headquarter in Abuja.

The impact of these attacks and bombings are ominous. It constitutes a major threat to the nation's internal cohesion. It has the potential of warding off foreign investors and create negative image about Nigeria. Above all, it retards economic development and spiraled the level of violence to a dizzying height of unprecedented levels of armed robberies especially bank robberies; car hijacking and attack on individuals with sophisticated weapons such as assault rifles, (AK47). submachine guns etc. The series of bomb-blasts and its accompanying effects of deaths, destruction of properties and the disruption of the day-to-day activities constituted a high-level threat to the national security and corporate existence of Nigeria. Besides, the occurrences have elevated Nigeria to the status of other terrorist/ insecure hot spot around the world.

There is no gainsaying the fact, that, the security situation in Nigeria has deteriorated since 2010. The spate of deaths and destruction associated with religious killings, political violence, ethnic clashes, kidnappings, armed banditry are insurmountable. In coping with this crises, the Jonathan administration having established series of panels and committees to investigate the root causes of these disruptions have not come up with any viable solution to tackle the various spate of violence threatening to push the country into a state of anarchy and lawlessness. The military option, which involves the deployment of joint military task force, made up of the Army, police and state security agencies have contributed instead of solving the lingering crises in the country.

One major security challenge before President Jonathan is how to tackle and resolve the hydra-headed issue of religion and ethnicity in politics. Nigeria is a conglomerate of over two-hundred and fifty (250). ethnic groups majority of which have been embroiled in one crisis or the other since gaining independence from Britain in 1960. Similarly, the issue of religion – (Islamic/ Muslim in the North and Christianity in the South). have brought to force the role of religion in politics and as a countervailing variable in social relations in Nigeria. The state of insecurity engendered by the lingering Jos crises with its religious undertone and the unresolved problem since 2009 (The El-Zarzaky sect- in Zaria, Kaduna State).,

of upsurge of Islamic militant group which has culminated in the formation of the Boko-Haram sect in the Maiduguri (Borno State). and Bauchi (Bauchi – State)., are cases of note. The fundamentalist groups threatened the capacity of the state to govern; to protect its national security; undermine the norm of state security and above all, challenge the status quo (Goldstein, 1994, p.102).

The non-persecution of culprits responsible for the carnage and mayhem associated with post April 2011-election violence has been a source of controversy within the polity. The killings, which occurred during and after the 2011 general elections, also posed a serious challenge to the continued existence of Nigeria as a corporate entity. The integration and unity efforts, embarked upon, by successive administrations in the country is not, only in serious jeopardy, but, is also being put to a litmus test by the incessant bomb-blasts and explosions. One, major threat in this regard, for instance, stemmed from the killings of seven(7). members of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC). who were deployed for the one (1). years mandatory service in the North. The seven corps members (who were mostly from the South)., were attacked and macheted to death while on national assignment in the North, during the April 2011 general elections. Although some suspects have been arraigned before a magistrate court in Bauchi- state (The Nation, May 17th, 2011, p. 1)., still, no single person has been found guilty to-date of the death, of the NYSC 7 nor for the other innocent lives lost while the violence lasted.

The enforcement of law and order by the military particularly with the employment of “repressive - maximum” force is another challenge that is generating various reactions from the public, the media and civil society organizations within the country. Our observation on the deployment of security forces revealed that the use of force in crises prone areas in Nigeria does not follow existing international standards in which the involvement of the military in civilian law enforcement is clearly defined, restricted and regulated by law. An analysis of the actions of the security forces showed, among other things that the deployed security personnel are ignorant of the circumstances in which they have to use of force against civilians and the nature and limits of their involvement in internal security operations. In addition, the government was unambiguous about the duration of the involvement of the military forces and above all, did not specify the competent jurisdiction in case of breaches of the law or of human rights violation. Consequently, one could argue, that the military has become an instrument of oppression, employed by the state to silence opposition and aggravate existing disputes (Jedrzej G. Frynas, 2001, p. 34).

The problem associated with inter-agency rivalry and inability to share intelligence information among the police, army, and the state security services have been identified as one the factors negating the quick apprehension of culprits (The Punch, August 31st 2011,

p.2). The failure of intelligence gathering by the security agencies as well as the near passivity of security operatives in proactively policing the country, coupled with the non-apprehension of culprits is also a contributory factor to the rising tide of insecurity in Nigeria. The security agencies seem to be handicapped, as they have become more of law enforcers than investigators. This flaw is due among other things to the duplication of functions among the multitude of security agencies existing in the country. Other pertinent issues, which poses, serious challenge to the actions (and inactions). of President Jonathan's security, policies included the following:

- Several panels set up in the past to investigate violence in different parts of the country have not come up with any tangible causes of the violence nor made recommendations on how to curtail violence across the country.

- There are existing security agencies tasked with the responsibility of carrying out the task of the committees. Why then, is the duplication and multiplicity of committees? Why saddle an ad-hoc committee with the same task at public cost?

- Why did the government not establish a judicial panel of inquiry with the power to summon witnesses and take evidence under oath? This argument is coming from the perspective, which claims "most of the terms of reference of the panel are criminal issues that cannot be handled by a tribunal" (The Nation, May 17, 2011, p.29).

- The terms of reference of all the panels/committees established by the government on insecurity and violence does not include certain fundamental issues, these issues are (i). Why was there a security failure? (ii). Why have previous intelligent reports on the activities of these militant sects not used to apprehend the culprits before they carry out their dastardly acts? (iii). Why have those who lost their lives and assets not properly compensated?

In addition to these issues, the Human rights group in its 2011 report noted other shortcomings of the Jonathan administration. The report noted that the police continued to commit human rights violations including unlawful killings, torture and other ill-treatment and enforced disappearances. The report further stated that "the justice system was under-resourced and riddled with delays while, prisons were overcrowded and human rights defenders and journalists continued to face intimidation and harassment from government security officials across the country" (The Nation, May 17, 2011, p. 3). Because of the lack of apprehension of criminals/armed robbers by the security agencies, civilians have taken laws into their own hands. It is common to see armed robbers being given jungle justice" – a situation whereby people take the law into their own hands by publicly "lynching" robbery suspects. This process involves throwing disused tires around the suspected robber's neck and setting them ablaze (The Nation. July 4th 2011, p. 8). The issue of jungle justice has created concerns over the risk of

innocent people falling victims to this kind mob-action. It can also been described as a form of extra-judicial killings which is against the principles of fundamental human rights.

In sum, one would posit, that the failure of the government to make public the findings of the various committees, have created, an avenue for perpetrators to continue to fan the embers of insecurity in Nigeria. Had government implemented the findings of the Sheik Ahmed Lemu advisory committee, established in February 2011, as well as that of an earlier committee established in 2008, the issues of threats to Nigeria' would have been reduced to its barest minimum.

4. THE JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION'S RESPONSE TO THREATS OF INSECURITY IN NIGERIA

President Jonathan administration has taken certain measures to make Nigeria a more secure place for peace and development to thrive. The government responded by taking several measures which can aptly be described as a "carrots and stick" approach but, which have also generated a lot of debate within the country. Initial government response was predominantly the use of physical force that was later expanded to include a combination of verbal admonitions and warnings; moral persuasion; deployment of troops to flashpoints where the protesters are domiciled; the inauguration of committees and panels to investigate the causes of the threats and proffer necessary solutions and; the passage of a bill in to tackle terrorist activities – an action believed to be in line with international best practices.

Following the spate of bomb explosions that rocked the federal capital and several other cities around the country, President Jonathan wasted no time in dispatching security agencies – The Army, Police, the State Security Services (S.S.S). and other para-military agencies to apprehend and bring to book the culprits of the bomb explosions. In showing concern over the threats, President Jonathan in his broadcast to the nation remarked that the time has come for the country to review its national security policy as well as the functions and operations of the various security agencies therein. To further show his seriousness President Jonathan emphasized that the culprits and other perpetrators, "no matter how remotely connected to these incidents, must be brought to justice" (President Jonathan's May 29th 2011 inauguration speech broadcast to the nation). (<http://www.peoplesdailyonline.com>). President Jonathan in his address the nation (National Broadcast April 21, 2011). justified his action to use force against the perpetrators viz:

I have authorized the security agencies to use all lawful means, including justifiable force to end all acts to end all acts of violence... I have directed that all perpetrators of these dastardly

acts... and all those who continue to breach the peace and stability of this nation be apprehended and made to face the full wrath of the law.

To back up his admonition, the government embarked on the deployment of about 30,000 security personnel (Army, Police and state security personnel). under the umbrella of a Joint Task Force codenamed “Operation Restore Order” under the headship of Major General Jack Nwachukwu Nwaogbu. This action can be described as major step taken by the administration to ensure peace, order and stability in Nigeria. However, for this strategy to be more effective, the government also adopted a quick fix- approach as known as “fire-for-fire” – a strategy fraught with its own challenges. Security personnel of the state security services (SSS). and the special Airborne squad of the Nigerian Air-Force (NAF)., the police and the Army have also been drafted to strategic places within the federal capital – Abuja particularly, recreational areas and institution of strategic national importance such as the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN)., NNPC the National Assembly and the like. The security agencies were mandated to strengthen security for alleged power abuse; conduct stop and search operation and screen people with hand-held metals; ensure the arrest and prosecution of perpetrators and sponsors of violence; reinforce security in all parts of the country so as to bring all violent acts to an immediate end and, to detect potential bombers.

The government also embarked on an intensive training of her security personnel especially police officers under the special-anti-terrorism squad. To ensure the effectiveness of the police, the government embarked on the acquisition and distribution of bulletproof and armoured vehicles to various police commands. The Inspector General of Police - Hafiz Ringim while distributing five (5). of the armoured vehicles to the police reiterated (The Nation, July 4th, 2011, p. 6). that “the vehicles were intended to help the formation in combating rising violence in the North”. The Inspector General further stated that the vehicles were equipped with bomb detectors with machines mounted on them to enhance operations, help them in discharging their duties and to protect officers and men from bombs and attacks by hoodlums during uprisings and to protect them from bombs.

In as much as the force option appears to be a short term solution to curtailing threats to the nation’s security, the point could also be made, that “fire-fire approach” is fraught with the challenges of violations of human-rights of civilians particularly the rights of women and children and men who are not combatants/people involved in the violent acts. Soldiers and police officers flagrantly abuse of their mandate. Soldiers and police officers of the Joint-Task Force indiscriminately violate civilians’ rights - particularly motorists, whom they whip with belts, while they torture others for little or no

offence (The Nation, July 4, 2011, p. 7). Other cases of flagrant violation involved (http://baba_ahmedbiolgrpof.com/2011/08).; The Guardian July 4: 2011 the shooting of a woman in Biu (Bauchi-State). following the arrest of some people suspected to be Boko-Haram adherents; raping and unlawful killings and arrests, burning down of buildings and vehicles, as well as harassing and humiliating innocent citizens. In particular, the extra-judicial killing of the leader of the Boko Haram sect Yusuf Muhammad and some key members of the group in 2008 by the police is also a case of note. One cannot overstate the fact that rather than allay the fears of the citizens, the sight of “gun-wielding – eye – popping and order barking soldiers and red-eyed anti-riot policemen” portends a grim reminder of how unsafe the environment is. Truthfully speaking, the presence of the security personnel have become a yardstick of assessing, the level of insecurity in the country (The Guardian Punch, July 3, 2011, p. 7; The Nation July 3rd, 2011, p. 2).

The use of force and its attendant flagrant abuse of human rights generated strong reactions from the public. Majority advocated for dialogue with the perpetrators instead of using military might. Having realized that the military option does not really bring about the required peace and stability he had hoped for, due to series of criticisms that trialed his “riot act” on the use of justifiable force” President Jonathan decided to change his method and instead, expanded his modus operandi to include the carrot and stick approach. The carrot and stick” approach is the use of the combination of force and dialogue. The stick, which is the force component is physical, immediate and an indication that President Jonathan is fully in-change and quite capable of handling the enormous challenges posed by the unprecedented state of insecurity in the country. The carrot aspect is a more civilized albeit a democratic method of appeasement. It is a diplomatic way of appealing to all the stakeholders particularly the Northern elders and the Muslims in the country and thus creates a peace process of resolving the crisis on ground.

The carrot and stick approach is also a way of dispelling insinuations that the President is weak and not capable of taking decisive and swift actions aimed at solving once and for all the crises emanating from the North –East. To drive home this point a Presidential spokesperson asserted that the president has been doing a lot contrary to insinuations that Mr. President’s approach to the security challenges facing the country has been weak. The spokesperson (The Nation July 4, 2011, p. 4). instead affirmed that the President has inaugurated a panel to, review, the security situation, investigate what has gone wrong and proffer solution on how the system can be overhauled for maximum efficiency. A cursory glance within the polity revealed that the President did not just set up a panel but about three panels and committees to curtail the nation’s state of insecurity. In addition, the Senate and Federal House of Representatives to give

credibility, authority and legitimacy to the president's security initiatives had also passed a bill (anti-terrorism bill). A brief exploration of some of these initiatives will suffice. President Goodluck Jonathan established a committee on security awareness in March 2011 (also known as the committee on public awareness on security and civil responsibilities). to address insecurity in the country. The committee's chairperson was the Secretary General of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA). – Dr Lateef Adegbite. The terms of reference of the committee are to (Ikuomola, In, *The Nation*, 2011, p.5):

- Advise the president and take action to strengthen crime prevention effort of security agencies;
- Re-appraise existing strategies of raising awareness on potential security threats;
- Draw up strategies and structures at the community level and other tiers of government on how the public can cooperate with security agencies to ensure safety of lives and property;
- Develop school curriculum programmes incorporating information, security awareness sessions in all educational institutions across the country.

The anti-terrorism bill was passed on February 17 by the Nigerian senate and on February 22, 2011, Nigeria's House of Representatives. The bill provides for measures to combat terrorism and related matters. It gives government broad powers to investigate terrorist activities and gives the authority to persecute terrorist suspects in any Federal High Court of Nigeria. The bill has five (5). essential parts covering acts of terrorism and related offenses like terrorism funding and terrorist properties, punctual assistance and extradition, investigation and prosecution. The bill indeed, provides the legal impetus and further capacity to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). and other security agencies to enhance the fight against terrorism, financial crimes and other unwholesome acts, which the nation's laws did not fully capture hitherto (<http://www.tribune.com>). The successful passage of the anti-terrorism bill is another major step taken by the President Jonathan to tackle the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria. Although, the bill has been long in coming, it has however been hailed as an effective counter-measure to the heinous crimes of kidnapping, bomb-blasts, suicide bombing and other forms of domestic terrorism. It is also in line with the standards set by the international community in the efforts to end terrorism world.

Although, the bill has not really come into effect and one is yet to realize its full effectiveness. Members of the public have hailed its passage as a landmark in tackling cases of incessant violence in Nigeria. Notable among those who commented on the utility of the anti-terrorism bill is the Nigerian Chief of Army Staff (COAS). – Lieutenant General Azubuike Ihejirika. The COAS (just like majority of other Nigerians). in his assessment of the

bill opined that the era of cases of people being arrested and released under one excuse or another because the extant law has not provided adequately on issues such as kidnapping is now a thing of the past. Hence, the passage of the anti-terrorism bill is a major achievement which will encourage security agencies to be more committed to their jobs (*The Nation*, July 4th 2011, p. 2).

President Goodluck Jonathan also constituted a special committee charged with the responsibility of controlling explosives and related matters. The committees' other mandate, is to create awareness and enlighten Nigerians on explosives and general security. Not much has been heard about this committee since it was established. On 29 July 2011, the government also established of a Presidential committee on security challenges in the Northeast. The committee was inaugurated on Tuesday 2 August 2011 and had as its chairperson Ambassador Othman Gamji Galtimari. The committee's term of reference was to:

- Initiate negotiations with the militant Islamic group Boko Haram.
- Look into the security challenges in the North-East Zone and proffer solutions/recommendations, which could bring speedy resolution to the crisis.
- Serve as liaison between the federal government (state government where necessary). and Boko-Haram and to initiate negotiations with the sect.
- Liaise with the National Security Adviser (NSA). to ensure that security Services discharge their respective assignments with optimal professionalism.
- Consult with stakeholders from time to time for suggestions and to ascertain the true state of affairs and,
- Consider any other initiative that will serve to engender enduring peace and security in the area.

The establishment of the Gamji Committee is a response to the meeting the federal government held with the Northern elders or Borno State and the leadership of the Arewa consultative forum, which called for restraint in the handling of the security situation in Borno State. However, the Gamji panel is regarded as a fact-finding panel to identify the actual identity of the people behind the violent acts of the Boko-Haram sect. While some people are of the opinion that the committee is to negotiate with the Boko-Haram (just as the government did with the militants in the Niger-Delta)., the Jonathan administration was however, quick to point out that it did not mandate the committee to negotiate with the sect. Instead, the government argued it cannot go into negotiation with a group whose identity is unknown (*The Nation*, March 9, 2011, p. 5). Up until the present however, the committee has not come up with any information regarding its term of reference. In August 2011, the committee sought an extension of time from government. While the committee is still on its assignment, a U.N building was bombed in Abuja on August 26, 2011 and the Boko-Haram claimed responsibility for the destruction. The explosion from the

bomb-blast killed about twenty (20). people and injuring about sixty-eight (68). men and women (The Nation, August 27th, 2011, p. 1).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper has examined the various threats confronting Nigeria's national security under the Goodluck Jonathan administration. These threats included kidnappings, armed robberies and bombing of selected institutions by fundamental militant groups who direct their attacks at strategic institutions in the nations' capital – Abuja and some selected northeastern states. Our analysis revealed that the impacts of these attacks are gloomy. Thousands of human lives are lost and valuable properties destroyed on daily basis. The study further showed that the problems of unemployment, poverty and social injustices are among others, account for the continuous upsurge in violence in Nigeria. In dealing with the upsurge of violence emanating from militant groups, the government employed the carrots and stick approach – an admixture of dialogue and use of force. Our analysis brought to fore the shortcomings and challenges of the Jonathan administration in curtailing these threats. The study noted that the use of force to ensure peace and security has become overwhelming and does not bring about the intended peace and stability it set out to achieve. For there to be sustainable peace and development in Nigeria this study is of the view that certain issues needed to be squarely addressed by the Nigerian State.

There is the strong need for the government to address the problem of unemployment and poverty in the country. The unemployment issue could be tackled by opening more avenues for jobs, setting up more skill acquisition centres and providing modern infrastructure needed in these centres. The government should direct the organized private sector (OPS). and other employers of labour to employ certain percentage of graduates annually. In addition, government should review the entire university curriculum system. The emphasis on the new curriculum should be on practical (technical and agricultural). oriented courses instead of the social sciences and the arts. Again, the already established federal universities of technologies and agricultures should stop all general courses in the social sciences and arts and instead, operate within the framework of their specialized programmes.

Government should intensify its efforts in persecuting corrupt public officials. The syndrome of “get-rich-quick” that gave rise to the culture of bribery and corruption need to be nipped in the bud. The non-persecution of government officials who flaunt their ill-gotten wealth unchecked has contributed in widening the gap between the rich and the poor. It has also created an insatiable thirst among the youths to get rich at whatever costs, hence, the resort to drug trafficking, credit card internet fraud (also known as “419” in Nigeria). human child trafficking and

prostitution, do or die” politics, armed robbery, cultism etc. It is indeed noteworthy to state that the government must as a long term solution address the issues of “social inequality, the obscene consumption pattern of the elite that infuriates the poor, the weak and the powerless and lift the masses from the morass of poverty, ignorance and diseases” (The Punch July 5, 2011).

The government must also ensure that it practices good governance at all levels to nip in the bud, the growing menace of insecurity in the country. The recourse to the rule of law, independence of the judiciary, fair hearing and quick prosecution of criminals, provision of necessities of life such as good roads, quality health care, quality schools and other social infrastructure is a task that must be done with an utmost sense of urgency. This is the more reason the study is in agreement with President Jonathan's presidential inauguration speech, May 29, 2011 when he retreated that the urgent task of his administration is to provide a suitable environment for productive activities to flourish, to rebuild decaying infrastructure, create access to quality education, improve health care and guarantee food security. The study is of the view that President Jonathan will have the political will and commitment to fulfill his agenda not only to make life comfortable for the populace, but also to implement the findings of the various panels he had established on violence and insecurity in the country. The study is also recommending that the government should effectively implement the anti-terrorism bill and above all respect the fundamental human rights of victims and suspects of that might be arranged under the anti-terrorism bill.

The issue of effective policing is very poignant in security analysis in Nigeria. A high state of peace and order can be achieved in Nigeria if the existing arrangement of a federal police is decentralized. The government should embark on the establishment of a three -tier policing system (The Nation, July 5, 2011, p. 21). It should carry out constitutional amendment for the establishment of state and local government police, to complement the existing Federal police to enhance public order. Collaborations with the constituent states and federal police in solving inter-state crimes that will serve public interest better, and thereby, relieve the federal government of a huge financial burden is quite necessary in this regard.

There is need for government to take the issue or intelligence/information gathering seriously. Experiences have shown that intelligence reports on activities of certain groups are left unattended to. For instance, in 2009, the Kaduna State Police Commissioner sent a report to the police headquarters urging the federal government to urgently take a drastic action to dislodge (El-Zakzaky sect (an Islamic militant group). from the alleged training centres in Dambo village and the Faddiya Islamic centre both in Zaria (Kaduna State). (The Punch, March 19, 2009, p. 12). The inaction by government one can posit

led to the indiscriminate surge and unchecked activities of militant sect in the North and other parts of Nigeria. In conjunction to this, government should also encourage telecommunications providers in Nigeria to create dedicated toll free lines like the 911 in many western nations. This will enable members of the public who have information on individuals and groups likely to breach national security could easily do so under the cloak of confidentiality and anonymity's without fear of reprisal or retributions (The Nation, July 5, 2011, p. 21).

The task of internal security entails garnering of peoples trust and confidence in the security forces. Without this, information about perpetrators will be hard to come by. Based on this, government should work in tandem with community leaders to collect information on activities around their jurisdiction. Collaboration between the police, the people and community leaders in sharing information will in no small measure minimize, if not eradicate the various threats to Nigeria's national security. Government should endeavour to investigate the various extra judicial killings of ordinary Nigerians by the security personnel it deployed to flash points across the country. Those found guilty of human rights violation should be put on trial and persecuted accordingly.

The government should put a stop to civilian harassment by the security forces to reduce the level of discontent and distrust engendered by the heavy-handed approach of the joint military task force deployed to the flashpoints. The continued harassment and intimidation of innocent citizens by security agencies will further erode the already frosty, highly tensed civil military relation in the country. There is no need to alienate the populace or create a situation of "we versus them" which will further aggravate the situation. The creation of cordial atmosphere where the security forces are perceived as friendly forces and not as "occupier forces" or "Army of occupation" could be possible through a through a civil military sensitization programme. The programme should focus on assisting and protecting the vulnerable (women and children), exhibiting a high level of reasoning and compassion during internal security operations, and working with and showing respect for the community leaders and other community based groups.

Security personnel particularly officers and men of the Nigerian Army and Police should at all times show restraint and respect individual and fundamental human rights of children, women and men who are not combatants in the crisis. To achieve this task, government should legislate that an authorized institution before the carrying out of house searches, arrests or before opening fire issue approvals or warrants. Government should de-emphasize the use of force to tackle the growing menace of militant groups, particularly, the Boko-Haram sect. Instead, it should show caution and focus on a broader/middle of the road approach that involves dialogue, discussion, moral persuasion with the deployment of force

to maintain peace and order. In addition, the government needs to ensure that mechanisms exist parliamentary or otherwise to ensure that the involvement of the military in civilian law enforcement is consistent with international humanitarian and human rights law and principles (GCDAF, 2003). The Geneva Law on the convention of human rights need to be adhere to in all military internal security operation.

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