



Insecurity and National Development in Nigeria: A Case Study of The Administration of President Muhammadu Buhari 2015-2022.

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Abstract

Nigeria today is confronted with the challenges of combating serious internal security challenges including the Boko Haram Insurgency in the North Eastern states of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa and banditry ravaging the North Western states. There are also threats posed by farmers and Fulani herdsmen clashes across the country as well as kidnappings, ethno-religious crises, political assassinations and so on. Amidst these threats of insecurity is the staggering number of people living in poverty especially, among the youth population. The study is to state why insecurity is a spanner at the wheel of national development. The study adopted frustration-aggression theory as theory of analysis. Using majorly documentary sources of data, this study argues that the heightened rate of insecurity had consequential effects to national development and identifies such effects in areas of business enterprise, loss of human capital, educational development and destruction of existing infrastructure. The paper recommends the approaches to poverty reduction in Nigeria should be re-jigged to focus more on the provision of basic infrastructure and services rather than giving cash to less privilege; greater investments in human development especially in the areas of education; shelter and social services; strict enforcement of arms and ammunitions control law; and transparency and accountability in governance.

Keyword: Security, Insecurity, development, National Development

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Introduction

The Nigeria existence from 2015 to 2022, within the space of eight years under the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari has experienced a heightened insecurity. National security is a premise for national economic growth and development of nations. This is because peaceful nations attract foreign investors while the domestic investors freely operate the economy with little or no tensions and apprehensions. According to Nwanegbo and Odigbo (2013), security is the pillar upon which every meaningful development could be achieved and sustained. Nigeria as a nation state has witnessed unprecedented series of agitations in the forms of kidnapping and abduction, armed robberies, bombing, and carnages of all forms and magnitude in the past decade and a half. The most dastard so far is the activities of a group of some Islamic militants that called themselves the 'Boko Haram', interpreted to mean 'western education is evil'. With the coming to the scene by Boko Haram in 2002, the insecurity situation in Nigeria seemed to have assumed higher and more complex dimensions. Several police stations have been attacked including the Nigerian Police force quarters located at Abuja, the United Nations, school, government establishments and places of worship have been attacked and places of worship have been attacked and destroyed in different parts of the federation. Omadjohwoefe (2013:3:84-85), on December 25, 2011, St, Theresa's Catholic Church, Mandalla was bombed by the lawless Islamic sect, killing over 46 people. On January 21, 2012, multiple bomb blast rocked Kano city, claiming 185 lives. On March 8, 2012, an Italian expatriate named Franco Lamolinara and a British expatriate named Christopher McManus who were employees of StabilimVisioni Construction Firm were abdicated in 2011 by a splinter group of Boko Haram and were later killed. In February 18, 2013, a suicide bomber attacked a bus station in Kano occupied majorly by Christians, killing 41 lives and injuring others. The latest action by the lawless Islamic group that drew the attention of the whole world was the abduction of over 250 Government Secondary School girls, Chibok, in April 14, 2014 at Borno State. The girls are not all yet rescued till this day. The study will make an attempt to study the reason why insecurity has stunted the growth and development of the Nigerian economy. The carnage going on in the southeastern part of Nigeria is really very worrisome. Non state actors were able to command sit at home whenever they wishes with killings and maiming of the violators of the said order



Hence, apart from the frequency and intensity of deadly attacks and carnages, insecurity situation in Nigeria cuts across cities, towns and villages that there is hardly anywhere to run to for cover. Lives and properties are not safe for urban dwellers as well as for the rural dwellers. People live in apprehension almost every day. In fairness, insecurity is not a problem that is unique to Nigeria. It has geographical spread across the globe. The United States, United Kingdom and many countries face the challenges of insecurity within their borders on a daily basis (Adejumo, 2011). The difference between these nations and Nigeria is how they manage the threats. Nigeria as Africa's most populous country is socially and culturally diverse with over 250 ethnic groups and a nearly even share of adherents to the Muslim and Christian faiths.

Thus, the failure of government to provide for a secure and safe environment for lives and properties and the running of business and other economic activities has created anger and hostility among the tribal groups (Ewetan& Ese, 2014). This has led to ethnic violence, religious violence, and communal clashes in several parts of the nation and has resulted into the destruction of lives and properties, hampered business and economic activities, and has also stunted economic growth and development of Nigeria. According to Kelechi (2010:2:8), there was a case when 15 school children were abducted in Aba at Abia State. It raised serious concern both within and outside Nigeria. The abductors demanded for a huge ransom ranging from 20-40 million naira. Women protested half naked, the Aba market; bank was closed down for days, the leaders in the Anglican Church at Enugu also protested over the appalling effect of kidnapping on human capital development in Nigeria.

Literature Review

It is pertinent to fully examine the concepts of

- Insecurity
- Development
- National development



Insecurity

Insecurity is simply a situation in which individuals in a given society cannot go about their daily activities as a result of threat to and harmful disruption of their lives and property (Omadjohwoefe, 2013:83). According to Beland (2005) insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. The concept of insecurity has usually been ascribed different interpretations in association with the various ways which it affects individuals. Some of the common descriptors of insecurity include: want of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; want of confidence; doubtful; inadequately guarded or protected; lacking stability; troubled; lack of protection; and unsafe, to mention a few. All of these have been used by different people to define the concept of insecurity. These different descriptors, however, run into a common reference to a state of vulnerability to harm and loss of life, property or livelihood (Acumba, 2013:80). According to Belard (2005) insecurity entails lack of protection from crime (being unsafe) and lack of freedom from psychological harm, unprotected from emotional stress resulting from paucity of assurance that an individual is accepted, has opportunity and choices to fulfill his or her own potentials including freedom from fear. Achumba (2013:80) defines insecurity from two perspectives. Firstly, insecurity is the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. These definitions of insecurity underscore a major point that those affected by insecurity are not only uncertain or unaware of what would happen but they are also vulnerable to the threats and dangers when they occur. In the context of this study insecurity is defined as a breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethno-regional, civil, social, economic, and political that contributes to recurring conflicts, and leads to wanton destruction of lives and property.

The opposite of insecurity is security. Security need was the basis of the social contract between the people and the state, in which people willingly surrendered their rights to an organ (government) who oversees the survival of all (Ewetan & Urhie, 2014:42)). In this light security embodies the mechanism put in place to avoid, prevent, reduce, or resolve violent conflicts, and threats that originate from other states, non-state actors, or structural socio-political and economic



conditions (Stan, 2004). Security in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquire values, in subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked (Wolfrs, 1962). In this light security embodies the mechanism put in place to avoid, prevent, reduce, or resolve violent conflicts, and threats that originate from other states, non-state actors, or structural socio-political and economic conditions (Stan, 2004). For decades, issues relating to security were on the front burner in the development discourse. Several attempts have been made since the cold war ended to redefine the concept of security from a state-centric perspective to a broader view that places premium on individuals, in which human security that embodies elements of national security, human rights and national development remain major barometer for explaining the concept.

Development

Development also means security. A onetime World Bank President, Robert McNamara in his ‘The essence of security’, insisted that national security “means development. Security is not military hardware, though it may include it, security is not a military force, though it may involve it, security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. Security is development, and without development there can be no security.” According to him, as development progresses so does security progresses. However, Sen (1999) observed the centrality of freedom in the process of development. For him, development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom, poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over-activity of repressive states (Sen, 1999:3). Understandably, security and development are two different concepts but tend to affect each other, making both concepts inseparable. This relationship has recently triggered debates on security – development nexus (Chandler, 2007; Stan, 2004).

Development as a concept has been regarded as a victim of definitional pluralism. Tolu and Oluwatoyin(2011: 23) stated that even though development is difficult to be defined, attempts have been made by erudite scholars to define development and mostly, their definitions have always been influenced by their academic, social, cultural, political, environmental and economic backgrounds. Gboyega (2003), captures development as an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications. He went further to explain that this definition implies the improvement in both social, economic, educational, political and



technological aspects and ability of the people to improve their skills and solve their problems.

Chrisman (1984) views development as a process of societal advancement, where improvement in the well-being of the people are generated through strong partnership between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. The above definition suggests and shows that development is not only an economic exercise, but embodies the general socio- economic and political issues and pervades all aspects of human life. Besides, development by implication can only be given the rightful coloration in terms of change, new innovation and meanings it brings to the lives of the people (Rogers, 1969). Going by the foregoing analysis, development can be used as a synonym of westernization. This means for a nation-state to subsist, it must therefore imbibe the cultures and traditions of the western capitalist worlds of Europe and America. In the light of the above, Ake (2001) pointed that development is modernization and the latter is equal and proportional to the former. To Ake (2001), development is an off-shoot of capitalism and the two concepts are mutually reinforcing. Thus we can clearly see from his school of thought that In its most common form, modernization theory posits an original state of backwardness or underdevelopment characterized by, among other things, a low rate of economic growth that is at least potentially amenable to alteration through the normal process of capital. This original state of backwardness is initially universal. According to the theory, the industrialized countries have managed to overcome it. All the other countries could conceivably overcome backwardness too if they adopted appropriate strategies... (Ake, 2001, p18). From the foregoing, it can be deduced that development can be made possible through the replication of western paradigm of socio-economy development. But the gap in this literature as it relates to Nigerian privatization process is that virtually all economic measures used in developing countries are merely packaged and delivered to us from the West. And these packages are alien to African cultures and practices. Therefore, the options can scarcely find a fertile ground to subsist in the African soil. Therefore, privatization, in spite of its seemingly relevant postures, may not yield the required results in terms of national growth, development and sustainability.



Having seen the meaning of development, National development can therefore be more appreciated.

National development

National development can therefore be seen as “a development that takes into account, the overall development or collective socio-political as well as cultural and economic advancements of the society. Development is associated with modernization, material advancement, industrialization scientific and technological progress, the emergence of nuclear energy, electronic and biological revolution, new knowledge about man and the universe. It means urbanization, socio-cultural transformation, mass literacy, vertical and horizontal mobility, employment opportunities and the emergence of specialized and independent occupational roles (Umuru, 2002). The ultimate aim of national development must be to bring about sustained improvement in the well being of the individual and bestow benefits to all self-reliance and mobilization of domestic resources, the transformation of the structure of rural production, the development of small-scale industries and the acquisition of technological and scientific skills. These objectives are stale, but well conceived, planned and directed policies and programmes are required for their realization (Umaru, 1988). This means that developments is about self reliance in every aspect of national life. As soon as the individual are made to acquire specialized skills that will enable them to help develop the society, then the society becomes developed. This accounts for the difference between the developed countries and the underdeveloped nations. According to Alabi (1988) the major factor responsible for the wide gap in the level of development between the so called developed and the developing nations is the level of development of pure and applied science in these nations.

Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, the frustration aggression theory will be relevant in explaining insecurity to national development in Nigeria. The frustration–aggression hypothesis, also known as the frustration–aggression–displacement theory, is a theory of aggression proposed by John Dollard, Neal Miller, Leonard Doob, Orval Mowrer, and Robert Sears in 1939, and further



developed by Neal Miller in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. The theory says that aggression is the result of blocking, or frustrating, a person's efforts to attain a goal.

When first formulated, the hypothesis stated that frustration always precedes aggression, and aggression is the sure consequence of frustration. Two years later, however, Miller and Sears reformulated the hypothesis to suggest that while frustration creates a need to respond, some form of aggression is one possible outcome. Therefore, the re-formulated hypothesis stated that while frustration prompts a behavior that may or may not be aggressive, any aggressive behavior is the result of frustration, making frustration not sufficient, but a necessary condition for aggression.

The relevance of the frustration-aggression theoretical framework to the insurgency of insecurity in Nigeria is better appreciated when viewed against the backdrop of widespread security challenges in Nigeria. According to Omadjohwoefe (2013:86), it is a negative condition caused not by the unwillingness of the people to work but by bad governance that creates capability gap. Thus, frustrated persons are readily available to be recruited under the auspice of Boko Haram, bandits and other terrorist groups, as a destructive political agent for indiscriminate and sporadic suicide bombings in Nigeria. The several cases of violence and security breach have dire consequences for sustainable development in the regions of attack in particular and Nigeria in general. In the regions where the bombings, kidnappings are pervasive and the property destroyed potentially and in real terms drag their economic fortune back by several steps. Besides the property destroyed, economic life in those regions is automatically grounded to a halt.

Breeders of Insecurity in Nigeria

Several scholars have identified various causes of conflict and insecurity in Nigeria that are detrimental or served as a backdrop to national development (Ali, 2013; Okorie, 2011; Jega, 2002; Salawu, 2010; Onyishi, 2011; Ezeoba, 2011; Lewis, 2002). As Andrew and Kennedy (2003) pointed out, it is necessary to distinguish between different causes as each may require different remedy. These causes include:

- Weak Security system
- Lack of good governance
- Lack of institutional capacity resulting in government failure:



- Rise in Unemployment/Poverty level
- Ethno-religious conflicts
- Porous Borders.
- Corruption

These causes as encapsulated by litany of scholars lead to different dimensions of insecurity whose end effect is decimation a Nigerian nation would have made in areas of economic growth that leads to national development.

Dimensions of insecurity in Nigeria

Nigeria as a nation has been battling with a number of civil unrests especially during the administration of President Muhammad Buhari. The prominent among them are:

- Boko-haram attacks, especially in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria
- Farmers –herders clash especially in the North-Central region of Nigeria
- Banditry especially in North-Western Nigeria
- Kidnapping and ritual killings
- Election and post election violence
- Agitations for self determinations especially in the South-Eastern and South-Western Nigeria
- High profile arms attacks
- Inter tribal/community clashes
- Various forms of land grabbing
- Assassinations of various kinds
- Various agitations for resource control especially in the South-South part of Nigeria
- Etc

Hence, each of these forms of insecurity has a consequential effect on the Nigerian development as a nation. The economy is dwarfed, the schools are closed down, the production of agricultural products are being destroyed, the population of the citizens are being decimated, the internal



revenue of the nations is drastically on a steady decline, capital flights are on the increase and foreign direct investment is on abysmal level.

Insecurity to National Development in Nigeria: a consequential overview

Nigeria in recent time is faced with avalanche of security challenges which are hitherto evolving day by day on an industrial scale. Such security threats inform of terrorism, insurgency, militancy, armed robbery, kidnapping, herdsmen and farmers conflicts and recent carnage growing haywire regarded as banditry are all at a worrisome level as they have only but adverse implications on the socioeconomic and political sphere of the Nigerian state. According to the Council of Foreign Relation (CFR) and National Security Tracker (NST) analysed by the Cable Index (2023) noted that the number of citizens of Nigeria killed under President Muhammad Buhari's administration were 63,111. Thus, 27,311 persons were in Buhari's first term and 38,800 persons were between 2019 and May 2023. In 2022 alone was 4,545. 3,972 civilians, 202 military personnel, 186 police officers, 154 vigilantes, 14 security guards and 17 others were killed under review. Essentially, Nigeria just like every other existing countries is under a renowned political leadership whose function include but are not limited to ensuring and affirming the predominance of the protection of lives and properties and the fundamental rights of the citizenry which can only be ascertained by the maintenance of law and order, thereby creating an enabling environment for the people living within the state to be gainfully engaged in various forms of economic activities within the bounds of the laid down rules and regulations, which falls within the hallmark of national security. Section 14 (2b) of the 1999 constitution as amended state that "the welfare and security of the citizens shall be the primary purpose of government". Though, many political and security analysts believed that became worse under Buhari's administration with its attendant consequences. Just like Nwozo (2013:33) asserts, political leadership connotes that "within nation-state, whether it is military authoritarian regimes or civil democratic governments, considerations surrounding national security sit at the apex of the hierarchy of the states' national interest". Hence, an overview of these effects are quite germane.

Thus, insecurity has an enormous impact on Existing Business Enterprise. The Nigeria insecurity situation has closed down many business operations during the periods of violence and also led to



the outright closure of many enterprises especially in the areas or zones where cases of insecurity is rife and are on daily occurrence, in a bid to protect lives of operators and business property. Generally, if security is not guaranteed in any nation, it is extremely difficult for businesses to thrive and survive. Ordinary citizens having small and medium scale businesses cannot open shops for business transactions. Insecurity everywhere is a risk factor which business owners and managers fear and wish to avoid by relocating their business to a peaceful environment. In the case of Nigeria, there is also evidence of some businessmen and manufacturing companies having to relocate particularly from the North in recent time, to other peaceful parts of the country (Nwagboso (2012:36). Non indigenes especially Igbos and Yorubas have to return to their home states before they are killed by Boko Haram (Suleiman, 2012:74). Hence, as a result of this Foreign Direct Investment is affected (FDI). Foreign Direct Investment are investment targeted at building new factories or investing in actual production activities which creates jobs. Achumba and Ighomereho (2013) a cited in Onime (2018) noted that insecurity discourages investment as it makes investment unattractive to business people. This he said increase the cost of doing business either through direct loss of goods and properties or the cost of taking precautions against business risks and uncertainty. These costs could have a negative impact on business development and progress.

Again, loss of Human Capital and Resource is another impact of insecurity. When insecurity, lawlessness and violence are rife in a particular area or region, there will be migration of people which could lead to the absence in skilled labour. Insecurity affects the general human security of the people as the situation promotes fear, while at the same time limiting the peoples' ability to work effectively. There are also circumstances when employees of a business enterprise become victims of attack and the firm losses its experienced staff through death or injury. As such, workers resign to run away from such areas and new people do not want to go there for employment. The implication is manpower shortage for the business which ultimately affects the success and survival of the business. This exerts pressure on the business for manpower at any cost. Due to the impact of insecurity on businesses, Ujah and Eboh (2006:24) posited that the government must



ensure the availability of public security at all times. This is important because if businesses shut down or wind up and investors are no longer forthcoming, then it will spell doom for the future.

Furthermore, Insecurity destroys existing infrastructure and also prevent an environment for the development of further infrastructure; and a safe environment for economic activities by individuals to give them economic empowerment that will enable households not only to cater for their present generations but also to provide for future generations.

More so, Insecurity does not yield or encourage investment as it makes investment unattractive to business people. This is because it increases the cost of doing business either through direct loss of goods and properties or the cost of taking precautions against business risks and uncertainty. These costs could have a negative impact on business development and progress. The thick arrow connecting the insecurity environment and business investment means that insecurity can be a huge obstacle to business investment. Ujah and Eboh (2006:26) reported a study by World Bank on investment climate in nine African countries in which it was found that 29% of business operators in Africa and 36% in Nigeria perceived insecurity as a major constraint on investment. This Situation has the damaging consequence of sending evil and damaging image about Nigeria to the international community that Nigeria does not have a friendly and suitable environment for investment and business activities. In that case, foreign firms and entrepreneurs would not be interested in investing Nigeria and this is particularly important in view of the efforts being made to create the desired atmosphere to attract foreign direct investment. So, it is a strong disincentive to business investment as it scares away potential investors. This is because such environments or economies are considered high risk areas due to the high level of uncertainty about the safety of investment and lives of the managers and their staff. Evidently, there has been a reduction of foreign direct investment in Nigeria. Foreign investors in the Nigerian economy are moving away from establishing new companies or production plants and are buying up shares of quoted companies instead (Achumba&Ighomereho, 2013:84). Figures from the 2010 Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) annual report show a steep 78.1 percent decline in foreign direct investment while also showing a significant 87.2 percent increase in portfolio investment into the Nigerian economy to take advantage of the depression in the Nigeria stock market due to low economic activities



(Achumba&Ighomereho, 2013:87). The lack of regular electricity supply, which itself is a source of economic insecurity in the country.

In addition, Insecurity has a negative impact on educational development. Insecurity has a devastating effect and far-reaching consequence on education. Parents are scared of sending their children to school, teachers are afraid to teach, and schools are virtually shut down completely.

Bandits have become spanners in the wheel of progress to Nigerian educational system. The different tactics employed by the insurgent have become a nightmare to both the staff and students across levels. But since Boko Haram redefined abductions in the country, schools and students have become targets for all forms of bandits. However, it is imperative to have an overview on how terrorists and armed bandits have gone in making schools dangerous and insecure for both teachers and students in Nigeria. A cursory look at few cases buttresses the obvious. However, barely four years after the attack on Chibok, had the insurgents taken their onslaught to Yobe, another state in the troubled North-West region. The Minister of Information and Culture, Lai Mohammed confirmed that 110 students were kidnapped after Boko Haram invaded the Government Girls Science Technical College (GGSTC) in Dapchi, on Monday, February 19, 2018. When the gunmen attacked the all-girls boarding school, many residents of the town had thought they were security forces as they came in camouflaged vehicles (Ojelu, 2021). Moreover, on Friday, December 11, 2020 bandits took 303 students of Government Science Secondary School, Kankara, Katsina into captivity. A week after the students were taken into captivity, their abductors released them. Furthermore, gunmen invaded a school in Niger State on Wednesday, February 17, 2021 kidnapping 41 persons. The gunmen raided the Government Science College Kagara, Shiroro Local Government Area of Niger State, capturing students, teachers, and their family members from the school. 27 students were among the abductees. Less than 10 days after the bandits raided Kagara, gunmen kidnapped 317 schoolgirls from the Government Girls Science Secondary School Jangebe in Jangebe, Zamfara State. The incident happened on Friday, February 26, 2021. The Afaka kidnapping took place on March 11, 2021, when gunmen attacked Federal College of Forestry Mechanisation, Afaka, Igabi LGA, Kaduna State, and kidnapped 39 students just weeks after a similar attack in Jangebe, Zamfara State. The abducted comprised 23 females along with 16 males. Security forces were able to rescue 180 staff and students the next day (Ojelu, 2021).



On April 5, 2021, the government of Kaduna State announced that five of the 39 people abducted from the Afaka School have been released. On April 8, 2021, the state further announced that another five more students have been released, leaving 29 in captivity. On May 5, 2021, the state government announced that the remaining 29 students have been released after spending 55 days in captivity (Ojelu, 2021).

More, the Greenfield University kidnapping took place on April 20, 2021, when at least 20 students and two staff were kidnapped in Kasarami village, Chikun LGA, Kaduna State, during an attack by suspected armed bandits at Greenfield University. The kidnappers demanded N800 million ransoms. On April 23, 2021, the kidnappers killed three of the students to demonstrate how serious they were (Ojelu, 2021). On May 29, 2021, after 40 days in captivity the remaining 14 students were freed. Their parents also said they paid a ransom of N150 million and eight brand new motorcycles to the bandits (Uwakaonye, 2022).

Again, Uwakaonye, (2022) further noted that, on May 30, 2021, an armed gang abducted dozens of students from an Islamic school in Niger State. One of the school's officials disclosed that the attackers initially took more than 100 children "but later sent back those they considered too small for them, those between four and 12 years old".

Therefore, the ravaging activities of bandits have caused many schools to be shut down and these have led to the increase in out of school children especially in northern part of Nigeria. It is worthy of note that it will take Nigeria many years to recover the lost caused by the marauding activities of these bandits. According to "Focus Nigeria (2012), an interactive programme on African Independent Television (AIT), the insurgency has brought about the demise of business in the country most especially in the northern parts.

Conclusion

The presence of insecurity in any environment constitutes threat to lives and properties, hinders business activities, and discourages local and foreign investors, all of which stifles and retards socio-economic development of a country. In Nigeria there has been rising wave of insecurity since the country attained independence in 1960. This rising wave has not abated but has assumed



a dangerous dimension which is even threatening the corporate existence of the country as one geographical entity.

The study discovers that insecurity is a major setback to national development. For developing countries like Nigeria therefore, national security is synonymous with national development, and treating them as separate subjects is not only counter-productive, but is fraught with danger. Government must be proactive in dealing with security issues and threats, through modern methods of intelligence gathering, and intelligence sharing, training, logistics, motivation, and deploying advanced technology in managing security challenges.

While welcoming the contribution of the west to alleviate insecurity, Nigeria should consider itself an integral part of the solution. To this end, it should reserve policies that tend to create conditions for conflict such as bad governance and marginalization. Civil society should be encouraged and strengthened as a partner both in government and development while these progressive policies will not instantly transform the tattered character of Nigeria, the nation will doubtlessly be setting the nation firmly on the path of national security and ultimately

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