The Challenges and Strategic Imperatives of Nigeria's Defense and Internal Security Measures since the Fourth Republic

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Abstract: *The year 1999 marks a remarkable turnaround in Nigeria's history and bid for global reckoning as a democratic nation having grappled with a sustained military rule for many decades after her independence. However, with the country's return to democratic rule, many teething problems evolved which of course is not strange to young and emerging democracies such as Nigeria's particularly after many years of military dictatorship. These problems include high rate of crime, mass protest and agitations by numerous groups alleging marginalization, militancy, kidnapping, oil theft and pipeline vandalisation, cross border trafficking in drugs and persons, armed smuggling and the prevalence of small and light weapons, religious fundamentalism, terrorism and insurgency among others all capable of undermining the internal security and even the defense of the country. Qualitatively driven with reliance on secondary sources of data, this paper examines the basic issues, the challenges and the strategic imperatives of the country's defense and internal security measures needed to stem the spate of agitations and insurgency in the country. It submits that these issues and challenges remain imperative given the level of freedom associated with civil rule after long years of military dictatorship and more so because as the people partake in governance which democracy guarantees, they are also emboldened to voice out their grievances even to a level of criminalizing the process. The paper concludes that the task is for Nigeria's leadership to address these challenges and create a peaceful and secure country for its citizens.*

Keywords: *Challenges, Strategic Imperatives, Defense, Internal Security, Nigeria.*

Introduction

Generally, the first fundamental responsibility and obligation of any state is to provide security to its citizens. This involves relative absence of security challenges and harmful threats to their lives and properties. The importance and relevance of this to the survival, progress and material development of any state cannot be over emphasized. In a situation where a state possesses the capabilities to defend and promote her national interest, the question of independence, territorial sovereignty and national and national development are certainly assured. Conversely, a state that lacks the basic capabilities, political, economic and technological to establish and project strong national defense and security structure would become vulnerable and exposed to various threats and challenges that could undermine her independence and development. Therefore, it is incumbent upon states to design and evolve policy framework that seeks to harmonize their national interest with available national resources, strategic environment and real and perceived threats. The importance of this is that defense structure and policy provides the necessary guiding principles to national security priorities. Since prehistoric times, human societies have always appreciated the crucial nature of strong defense structure to survival and even development.

From the above, defense and security issues have increasingly become important element for any form of development to take place in any country despite the fact that it is the duty of the government of every country to protect its citizens. Most scholars have also opined that it is the sole responsibility of government to protect the lives and properties of citizens. In fact, Eme and Anyadike (2013) further added that it is the primary purpose of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens and that any government that cannot guarantee this, to say the least, loses its essence. This view is

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consonance with that of such philosophers as Thomas Hobbes who had earlier stressed the importance of defense and security as being central the governmental process. In another clime, Nweke (2014) asserts that self-preservation, survival of the state and its citizens is expected to be guaranteed by any nation before production, research and development, politics and related socio-economic transformation can be achieved.

Similarly, Akpuru-Aja (1998: 23) observed that life must be secured before man thinks about food, clothing and shelter before proceeding to talk about politics, culture and ideology. These drive explain why nation-states today attach great importance to issues of defense and security to a level that they have to fathom out a standard defense policy for such purposes. Furthermore, Akpuru-Aja (2009) submits that no nation in the world takes matters of security for granted while in the rating of national interest, security is on top of the list. It is in fact, the primary interest. As a matter of fact, it in line with this thinking that the Nigerian government also recognized the importance of defense and security as the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria maintains that "the protection of the country against all forms of internal and external danger/threat or attack is a primary responsibility of government (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1999).

However, a nation's security may come under threat and such threat could be either external or internal. Internal threats are those threats that disturb the socio-economic and political equilibrium of a state. Such threats include political intolerance, religious fanatism, student and trade union militancy, ethnic and religious militancy, corruption and mismanagement of resources, tribal or ethnic conflict and rivalry, to activities of dissidents and separatist movements as well as coup d'état. External threats are those threats from foreign countries, especially neighboring countries but Nigeria happens to be more disturbed by internal security threats. In economics, the country is the most crisis-ridden, in politics it is plagued by governmental instabilities while in the social milieu, the country is caught inescapably in heartbreaking ethnic rivalries and threats of cleansing.

As a matter of fact, the last decade in Nigeria has experienced various degrees of defense and internal security challenges as there has been increase in violent conflicts, criminality and terrorism, which manifests in the form of armed robbery, kidnapping, drug trafficking, arms smuggling, human trafficking, militancy and terrorism which undermine national security. Internal security has been significantly undercut by violent activities of civilian in arms against the Nigerian state. These have included radicalized religious and regional youth groups, prominent among which are the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger delta (MEND), O'Odua People's Congress (OPC), the Arewa People's Congress ((APC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Bakassi Boys, Egbesu Boys, Boko Haram, Ansaru, and most recently the Niger Delta Avengers, Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) among others. In fact, the country has witnessed an unprecedented level of kidnappings, armed robbery, politically motivated killings, ethno religious conflicts, cultism, cybercrime, ritual killings and other related vices since the advent of the fourth republic that have constituted threats to human lives and property.

The high level of violence in the country since the return to civil rule has been attributed to the lack of enabling legislations and effective counter-strategy to tackle the deteriorating security situation so as to ensure the proper internal defense of Nigeria. The police command seems to be ill-equipped and so are the other security agencies that are saddled with the responsibility of maintaining internal security. Numerous scholars have argued that the country's security management is bedeviled with both poor diagnosis and institution building (Usman, 2010:35). Similarly, Omede (2012) has described the defense and security of Nigeria territorial integrity from internal and external threats as a "tortuous terrain" that has been both challenging and onerous for the military. It is therefore these issues and problems associated with the internal security in the country that has propelled and ignite our interest in examining the issues, challenges and the strategic imperatives of a better managed defense and internal security measures at this crucial phase of the country's development.

Statement of the Problem

Nigeria could be ranked among countries with the lowest national defense capability in the world. The reasons are simple to establish. The basic ingredients which make states independent are absent as states with well-built defense capability have a well-built economic, industrial and technological base. This supports the defense infrastructure like the armed forces and arms industries. Since independence, Nigeria operates a weak and royalty-oriented economy, characterized by the absence of strong and self-supporting industrial and technological capacity. National productive sector, in essence is virtually empty, making her heavily dependent on imports, foreign aid, and goodwill Uzodinma, 2015:4). This grossly impedes strong national defense infrastructure.

Essentially, national defense policy is an embodiment of a nation's security priorities including an assessment of her strategic environment, threat analysis and resources allocation for maximum realization of objectives. Its conception and formation therefore involves an evaluation of national resources, economic and industrial capacity, strength and weakness of its political and other vital national institutions, scientific and technological attainment and the general level of social justice and equality (Abolurin, 2011:34). Against this background, it has been observed that any serious national defense conception must be hinged on the fact that indigenous economic structure offers a foundation for the organizational and technological progress of the military as the major instrument of national defense in particular and other vital sectors of national development such as agriculture and social empowerment in general (Robert-Okah, 2014). This on its own is absence in Nigeria and that becomes a problem.

In another clime, Nigeria has long been facing severe defense and security challenges and her internal security challenges since 1999 has been on the increase. The crime wave has increased immeasurably. To underscore this point, the 2011 national crime and safety survey report by the CLEEN foundation shows that the percentage of people fearful of becoming victims of crime had increased from 72% in 2011 to 75% in 2012. Robbery had increased from 11% in 2010 to 17% in 2012. Demand for bribe according to the foundation had increased from 20% in 2011 to 24% in 2012, while kidnapping and wanton bloodshed tendencies have risen tremendously (Eme and Anyadike 2013). Most worrisome is that the survey revealed that only about 2 out of 10 crimes are reported to the police, a key factor of the peoples' lack of trust in the police force (Nwangwu, and Ononugbu, 2014). Nigeria's defense and security challenges have caused the country an irredeemable image crisis in the international community as well as engendered unprecedented humanitarian and economic catastrophe in the deeply affected states of the North East (Nwangwu, and Ononugbu, 2014). Again these defense and security challenges have made all effort at realizing sustainable peace to steer the economy to sustainability a dream.

Equally, through the instrumentality of these security challenges, unprecedented resources have been diverted from the national budget for the procurement of sophisticated military hardware. This has correspondingly denied capital projects in the education, health, agriculture and the construction sectors the needed attention in a country where the rate of youth unemployment is already very high. According to the 2012 Central Bank of Nigeria report, in the 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011 fiscal years, the total expenditure earmarked for both internal security and defense in the approved budgets were ₦292.7 billion, ₦276.5 billion, ₦422.9 billion and ₦563.2 billion respectively (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2012). Lastly, Nigeria's defense and security challenges have posed serious threats to the unity and corporate existence of the country as a sovereign nation. In fact, the inability of the managers of Nigeria's defense and security challenges has raised the critical question on the preparedness of the country to attain the desired political, social and economic heights in the year 2020. This remains a basic problem that demands some level of attention.

Objectives

With the gamut of challenges outlined above, the broad objective of this paper is to examine the issues, challenges and the strategic imperatives of Nigeria's defense and internal security since the advent of the fourth republic. In doing this, it is pertinent to assess the state of the country's defense and internal security, highlight the various defense and internal security challenges as well as the effect of such

challenges on the country. The paper will also examine such hindrances that have hampered the effectiveness of the security agencies in Nigeria in tackling these defense and security challenges before proffering some solutions on how to effectively enhance both the capacity and capability of the Nigerian security agencies to effectively manage and stem the tide of insecurity in the country.

Theoretical Framework
Theories in the social sciences have to do with a set of propositions that aid the explanation, understanding, prediction and control of a social phenomenon. This study is concerned with the need to step up Nigeria's defense and internal security apparatus in a way that could assist the country in tackling various security challenges that has plagued the country since the return to democracy in 1999. There are numerous theories that can help in the explanation of these challenges both from the angle of the inability of security agencies to combat the spate of insecurity and from the sources of the security challenges itself. This research adopts a complementary theory of Relative Deprivation and the Frustration-Aggression theory as a framework of analysis.

Relative deprivation is the lack of resources to sustain the diet, lifestyle, activities and amenities that an individual or group are accustomed to or that are widely encouraged or approved in the society to which they belong. Measuring relative deprivation allows an objective comparison between the situation of the individual or group compared to the rest of society. Relative deprivation may also emphasize the individual experience of discontent when being deprived of something to which one believes oneself to be entitled; however emphasizing the perspective of the individual makes objective measurement problematic (Townsend, 1979).
It is a term used in social sciences to describe feelings or measures of economic, political, or social deprivation that are relative rather than absolute. The term is inextricably linked to the similar terms poverty and social exclusion. The concept of relative deprivation has important consequences for both behavior and attitudes, including feelings of stress, political attitudes, and participation in collective action. It is relevant to researchers studying multiple fields in social sciences. It has sometimes been related to the biological concept of relative fitness, where an organism that successfully out produces its competitors leaves more copies in the gene pool (Walker & Smith, 2001). Social scientists, particularly political scientists and sociologists, have cited 'relative deprivation' (especially temporal relative deprivation) as a potential cause of social movements and deviance, leading in extreme situations to political violence such as rioting, terrorism, civil wars and other instances of social deviance such as crime. For example, some scholars of social movements explain their rise by citing grievances of people who feel deprived of what they perceive as values to which they are entitled. Similarly, individuals engage in deviant behaviors when their means do not match their goals. American sociologist Robert K. Merton was among the first (if not the first) to use the concept of relative deprivation in order to understand social deviance, using French sociologist Emile Durkheim's concept of anomie as a starting point. Deprivation Theory means that people who are deprived of things deemed valuable in society, whether money, justice, status or privilege join social movements with the hope of redressing their grievances (Rose, 1982).

On the other hand, the frustration–aggression hypothesis attempts to explain why people scapegoat. It attempts to give an explanation as to the cause of violence. The theory, developed by John Dollard and colleagues, says that frustration causes aggression, but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target (Dollard et al, 1939). There are many examples of this. If a man is disrespected and humiliated at his work, but cannot respond to this for fear of losing his job, he may go home and take his anger and frustration out on his family. This theory is also used to explain riots and revolutions. Both are caused by poorer and more deprived sections of society who may express their bottled up frustration and anger through violence (Miller, 1941). The frustration-aggression theory has been studied since 1939, and there have been modifications.

Frustration on its own is a feeling of tension that occurs when our efforts to reach some goal are blocked. When this occurs, it can produce feelings of anger, which in turn can generate feelings of aggression and aggressive behavior. This theory has been utilized to explain a lot of violent behavior over time.

When people perceive that they are being prevented from achieving a goal, their frustration is likely to turn to aggression. The closer you get to a goal, the greater the excitement and expectation of the pleasure. Thus the closer you are, the more frustrated you get by being held back. Unexpected occurrence of the frustration also increases the likelihood of aggression. Frustration does not always lead to aggression, particularly when we deliberately suppress it because either we know that it is wrong or we fear the social consequences of being aggressive (eg. losing friendship of target, criticism from others). As a result, we often displace aggression into other activity, such as sports, driving fast and so on. Some people are more predisposed to aggression and find it harder to contain it. For such people, frustration is more likely to lead directly to aggression than for other people with a calmer disposition or greater self-control (Dill & Anderson, 1995).

The above theories seems to be self-explanatory and have close linkages with our present research because of the manifest violence that have been witnessed in the country since the re-birth of civil rule in 1999. There is every likelihood to assume that the various groups agitating for one thing or the other are products of seeming marginalization and deprivation either from the view point of the Niger Delta militants, the MASSOB, Boko Haram or other fundamentalist groups. It is also stating the obvious that some level of deprivation may actually lead to frustration for the deprived or marginalized and has the potential of generating an aggressive behavior witnessed in this country in this civil dispensation. As a matter of fact, the greatest happiness for terrorists and insurgents is the infliction of much pain to the greatest number of casualties which is also a manifestation of an exhibition of the character of violence associated with deprivation and lack of fulfillment in the pursuit of desired goals. This makes both theories quite apt for our present study.

Nigeria and Her Security Challenges
Nigeria's importance to global security hinges on the fact she is not only the most populous country in Africa, but also strategically located in a region (Gulf of Guinea) that is a major source of the world's oil. From the 1960 Congo crisis when Nigeria began contributing troops for international peacekeeping, the country has maintained consistency as a key player in both the United Nations and regional peacekeeping missions, thus contributing to world peace. However, Nigeria is currently facing serious internal security challenges, the most serious ones being the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeastern states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa; and the Niger Delta militancy and piracy in the south-south geopolitical zone, comprising Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers among others. Additionally, there are security challenges posed by violent crimes, ethno-religious conflicts, resource-based conflicts, trans-border criminal activities, and election-induced violence. All these security challenges undoubtedly pose some threats to the social, economic and political stability of not only Nigeria, but also of the African continent, especially the West African sub-region, where more than half the population comes from Nigeria (Dambazau, 2014). While several factors could have contributed to Nigeria's security situation today, there is no doubt that poor governance and lack of effective leadership at all levels of governance are central in attempting to explain the problem. About fifteen years after the return of democracy in 1999, Nigeria's democratic transition does not appear to be consolidating due to lack of transparency, accountability, rule of law, and the genuine demonstration of leadership capacity to protect fundamental human rights. It is also evident that most of the key government institutions are weak, enabling corruption to thrive with impunity.

Since the return of democracy in 1999, the security situation in Nigeria has been quite disturbing, and in the past fifteen years things have been worsening on a daily basis. Of course like any other human society, conventional crimes have always been part of the experience, especially after the civil war, but the more recent experience in violent extremism, insurgency and other forms of militancy have made the situation much more complex. Currently, the most serious security threats in Nigeria are those in the category of discontent or separatist agenda, specifically the violent extremism of Boko Haram and the violent militancy in the Niger Delta. While the former uses religion as its platform, employing such tactics as suicide bombing, organized attacks on police and military installations, terrorizing rural communities, etc.; the latter is resource-based, and uses the control of oil found in its domain as its

platform, knowing that about 90 percent of Nigeria's revenue comes from that natural resource (Dambazau, 2014)

The tactics of the Niger Delta militants include destruction of oil platforms using improvised explosive devices (IEDs), kidnapping of foreign oil workers, sabotage of oil facilities, and vandalisation of oil pipelines (with the serious consequence of environmental pollution). However, since 2009 when the late President Umaru Yar'Adua declared amnesty for the militants in exchange for laying down their arms, the violent militancy in the Niger Delta had subsided, of course not without heavy financial costs involving the provision of monthly allowances to all registered ex-militants, skills acquisition for the ex-militants, patronage of the militants' leaders with juicy contracts, the creation of the Ministry of Niger Delta, and the increase in the budgetary allocations to the Niger Delta Development Company (NDDC). This was in addition to the 13 percent of the total oil revenue that is shared among the communities in the region.

We have not seen the end of the security problem in the Niger Delta though, because the major group, the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), whose leader, Henry Okah, was convicted by a South African court for terrorism when the group planted twin car bombs which left 12 people dead and 17 injured during the 50th anniversary independence celebration in 2010 in the Federal Capital, Abuja, has vowed to continue with its violent activities until their leader is released from prison. Second, there are quite a number of incidents involving cultist violence, especially in Rivers State. These include a series of kidnappings of foreign oil workers and people with high positions or members of their families for ransom and large scale oil theft, estimated at approximately 100,000 barrels daily, costing Nigeria about US$1 billion in monthly revenue. The most existential threat to Nigeria's national security is the violent extremism being unleashed by the Boko Haram group which has its main base in the northeast. Although the Niger Delta militant groups were the first to use improvised explosive devices (IEDs) for their operations, the idea of suicide bombing was introduced into Nigeria by the Boko Haram violent extremists. The emergence of this group came at a time when the international community was still grappling with the strategy to contain the spread of the activities of Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM), spanning across the Sahel (especially Algeria, Morocco and Mali), and also the expanding threats from the militant wing of the Somali Council of Islamic Courts, commonly referred to as Al Shabaab, especially in the Horn of Africa. While taking advantage of the political instability in northern Mali, in 2012 AQIM consolidated its control within the region by aligning with the Tuareg rebel group, the National Liberation Movement of Azawad (MNLA), at the same time that another Islamic militant group, Ansar al-Din, moved to carve out an Islamic state out of northern Mali. Meanwhile a faction of AQIM formed the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO). Of course that meant that all 15 ECOWAS countries became the target of MUJAO, and this would have given a boost to the homegrown Nigerian terror group, Boko Haram (Dambazau, 2014:7).

This situation has really not changed today as the militants have continued to blow up oil pipelines almost on a daily basis thus increasing the tempo of the loss in oil revenue in a country that is already experiencing economic recession. Kidnapping has also become a much more lucrative business in the country as virtually no day passes that news of the kidnap of one or two peoples does not break out. The kidnappers have within days caused mayhem in Benin, Kaduna and Lagos have witnessed high profile cases of kidnapping involving the wife of a serving Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, a former minister and her husband and a school principal, a teacher and some students in a secondary school in Epe. All these is happening when government is savoring the seeming victory over the Boko Haram religious sect particularly in the North Eastern part of the country where the insurgents had earlier before the advent of the Muhammadu Buhari led government hoisted their flags in many local governments annexed by them. It is heartwarming to realize that the Federal Government is winning the war against Boko Haram although the displaced citizens are yet to return to normal life from their different camps hosting the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). In fact, this success can partly be attributed to the change in combat strategy by the present leadership in the country as well as the vibrancy of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) operating from Mali.

The Security Challenges and Government Strategic Response: The Journey So Far

The threats confronting Nigeria within the democratic space can be summarized as internal and external. Some internal threats include internal fragilities, illegal trafficking, piracy, unreported and unregulated fishing, Islamic fundamentalism, oil theft and pipeline vandalism as well as terrorism. Worthy of note is the reality that many of the crimes and illegalities are often transnational in nature, while most of the vessels involved in crude oil theft and illegal oil bunkering are often owned by foreigners. Let us consider some of these internal threats to Nigeria's security under Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. Al-Qaeda had directly identified Nigeria as ripe for a jihad and was already taking measures through their franchise in Nigeria, the Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lida'awati wal Jihad, popularly known as Boko Haram, to carry out an insurgency in the northeast and north central parts of the country. We have it on record that Al-Qaeda had turned Mali to a safe haven and a training ground for Islamic insurgents, including the Boko Haram sect. As the Maghreb and Sahel countries continue to crack down on Islamic insurgents, the theatre of operation continues to move southward into sparsely populated areas and into Nigeria. This explains why Nigeria has taken a special interest in the ongoing operations in Mali (Obada, 2013:4).

President Goodluck Jonathan during his time deployed a long-term strategy meant to reduce opportunities for religious radicalization. An important component of this strategy was the establishment of 400 schools for almajiris, which provide Quranic studies with English, mathematics and science, etc. State governments and the national leadership of the Muslim Ummah in Nigeria also worked hard to reduce radicalization. On the economic front the government improved support to the agriculture and mining sectors to diversify the economy, as well as the rehabilitation of the railways among other transformation programmes to provide employment opportunities to the teeming youth population in Nigeria. Oil theft and pipeline vandalism is one of the major security challenges in the Niger Delta region, which has impacted negatively on Nigeria's revenue projections. This problem which is as old as the oil industry has recently increased. Through the establishment of a joint task force and the Nigerian Navy Nigeria has intensified activities against oil theft. In most recent times hundreds of oil theft facilities and infrastructure have been destroyed and many oil thieves arrested. Additionally, an inter-ministerial team has been tasked to work with the armed forces and the state governments of the Niger Delta region to come up with a strategy that will enhance success. It is hoped that the new strategies rooted in technology, community action and enhanced operational oversight will bring an end to this attack on our nation's strategic assets.

Nigeria's position is that the countries where such stolen crude ends up encourage the crime, as there would be no market for the oil thieves if some countries' refineries would patronize only genuine crude. Unfortunately, the situation Nigeria finds herself today is no different from Liberia and Sierra Leone some years ago in the illegal trade of blood diamonds with the proceeds fuelling the civil wars in those countries. The illicit trade did not only finance armed conflict that overthrew legitimate governments but was also responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians including women and children. Many other horrendous crimes, including rape, amputation of limbs including children and other such despicable acts were common in these wars. The Kimberly Process, which was a resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly, contributed to the reduction of the trade and the eventual conviction of former Liberian President Charles Taylor, who is currently serving jail term. Likewise the use of child labour in cocoa production attracted the condemnation of the international community and chocolate lovers around the world as the practice was viewed as child slavery (Obada, 2013:5).

Nigeria has thrown a challenge to the international community to help curtail the incidence of oil theft and reject stolen Nigerian crude destined for their refineries. The UK, being one of our reliable partners, is encouraged to throw her weight behind Nigeria in fighting this scourge just as the international community fought the trade in blood diamonds and child labour on cocoa farms. Such support could be in sharing information obtained with sophisticated monitoring means in order to curtail the activities of these criminals. In fact, prior to all of the above policies and in response to the threats posed by terrorists, the government declared a state of emergency in three northeastern states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa States. The armed forces and other security agencies are currently engaged in multi-agency

counterterrorism operations in the three states mentioned with a view to bringing the security situation under control. In realization that the security situation cannot be resolved by security agencies alone, the federal government as a political strategy established the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in affected areas in the north to complement the efforts of these agencies and to coordinate the process of restoring peace to impacted areas through dialogue. The declaration of the Boko Haram sect as a terrorist group especially by the UK and US had also helped to draw international condemnation on the atrocities of the group. As a matter of fact these successes can partly be attributed to Nigeria's friends like the UK, US and other international partners (Obada, 2013:6). A counterterrorism strategy was equally developed by the armed forces to address long-term prevention and containment mechanisms. Robust capabilities for early warning, border surveillance and information sharing have been critical in this respect. The country has continued to sustain and intensify her operations against Boko Haram terrorists and these efforts are yielding outcomes as the terrorist capability is being degraded on a daily basis. It is stating the obvious that the Buhari government has technically defeated the sect as there is no single local government in the North East that is still flying the flag of the insurgent group in recent times.

Perhaps, the crowning point of Nigeria's effort in containing the Boko Haram onslaught can be said to be the negotiations leading to the release of 21 of the more than two hundred abducted Chibok school girls and government assurances and determination to secure the release of the remaining ones. Although opinion differs on the mode of negotiation and the rising controversy over the payment of ransom by the Federal government it is heartwarming to realize that the government is trying its best to contain the menace of the terrorist group. The government is also not relenting in addressing the issue of the militancy in the Niger Delta region as it has met with various interest groups from the Niger Delta in her resolve to arrest the militancy through dialogue and by so doing address the declining trend in oil production in the region and by extension boost the country's revenue. It is pleasing to note that since a state of emergency was declared, and indeed prior to the declaration, the Nigerian Armed Forces have always carried out their duties in strict compliance with very stringent rules of engagement designed to protect civilians and maintain respect for human rights and dignity. This has helped the government to win the battle in the hearts and minds of Nigerians and even the international community alike. As a result, the armed forces have operated with the full cooperation of the people in these North Eastern states who have even established civil neighborhood watches that assist the armed forces in their duties. All these strategies have made victory for the country against insurgency, militancy and other forms of agitation imminent.

The Strategic Imperatives of Nigeria's Defense and Internal Security Architecture
There is a strategic need for the re-definition of Nigeria's defense and internal security apparatus in the midst of the current security situation in the country. This is most expedient because of the intensity and multifaceted nature of the country's security challenges which is gradually shifting to other militant and insurgent groups different from the Boko Haram terrorist sect. As a matter of fact, the Boko Haram massive and intimidating presence has gradually gone down with the successes so far recorded by the Buhari led administration in tackling the insurgency. The insurgent camp seems to be in disarray as outside intermittent suicide bombings in the North East there is no single local government in the region where the terrorist group still have their flag flying as was the case during the President Goodluck Johnathan's era. There is however a spread in the level of agitation and militancy in the country a development which has tended to distract the attention of the federal government from the Boko Haram to such other ones as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) among many other groups laying claims to the very soul of the country. The worst of course is the activities of the Niger Delta militants who are actively involved in the bombings and destruction of oil pipelines in the oil rich region to the detriment of Nigeria's oil output even in an economy under recession. These and many other security issues makes a review of both the country's defense policy and other internal security measures imperative if Nigeria must surmount the weighty security challenges.

The above scenario would have influenced the thinking of President Johnathan who in February 2015 launched a new national security document with a view to re-invigorate, re-energize and re-position the defense and internal security apparatus in line with these security realities. The document though prepared in 2014 alongside the inauguration of a committee to review the nation's defense policy was presented in three different documents namely National Security Strategy, Counter Terrorism Strategy and Cyber Security Plan and Strategy. In his speech, Dr. Jonathan noted that the National Security Strategy was a wakeup call on every Nigerian to develop that "individual and collective consciousness and readiness to forestall, pre-empt, protect and defend the country against natural and man-made disasters." "It also demands multi-sectorial, domestic and international approaches, efforts and cooperation," while noting that the strategy was carefully thought-out and designed to approach security from a comprehensive perspective, leaving nothing to chance (Usman, 2015:3).

Elaborating further, Johnathan's National Security Adviser, Colonel Sambo Dasuki (Rtd) gave an overview of the strategy, Mr. Dasuki said the document recognized that while the country would continue to focus on the persistent and evolving terrorists' threat, it must at the same time address the full range of potential catastrophic event including man-made and natural disasters, due to their implications for national security. The purpose of the strategy, according to him, was to guide, organize and harmonize the nation's security policies and efforts as it provides a common framework on which the entire nation should focus its efforts. He said the strategy was required to maintain the survival of the nation through the use of economic power, diplomacy, military and political power (Usman, 2015:3). The strategy also made effort to capture the key ingredients necessary for an effective counter terrorism strategy of forestall, which prevents people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorists; secure, which strengthens protection capacity against terror attacks as well as identify which involves pre-emption through detection, early warning and proper investigation of terrorist acts, prepare which is to mitigate the impact of terrorists attacks by building resilience and redundancies to ensure continuity of business; and implement which serves as a framework for the mobilization of coordinated cross-governmental efforts.

In league with the above, the Buhari government has recently received the reviewed copy of the National Defense Policy which it claimed has not been done for the past ten years all pointers to the need for a holistic approach to the country's internal security challenges. The Defense Minister, Mansur Mohammed Dan-Ali who spoke while receiving the 2015 National Defense Policy Committee's report in Abuja, observed that the existing National Defense Policy had not been reviewed in the last 10 years. According to him, the lack of review over the years had made it difficult for the armed forces to effectively tackle emerging threats to national security. Mr Dan-Ali also explained that his ministry was already restructuring the armed forces to enable civilian staff undertake military training aimed at building their capacity. The call for a review of the defense policy is coming amidst security challenges in the oil-rich Niger Delta Region that have affected the nation's crude oil output.

Nigeria needs a defense and internal security policy that will engender effective collaboration and cooperation between the various security agencies in the country particularly in the area of information sharing as no one agency can go it alone in tackling the emerging security challenges. Similarly, there is greater need for effective intelligence gathering both locally and internationally if the country must effectively address these challenges given the fact that the threats emanates from both within and outside the shores of Nigeria. The security agencies must be proactive and not only waiting for counter measures only when there is a terrorist or other insurgent attacks while education and training must be a key focus as well as citizen participation in national defense. In fact, this much was captured by the Minister of Defense on Monday 14th November 2016 when he addressed the country's defense attachés who assembled in Abuja for their annual intelligence conference. Mr Dan-Ali reiterated the fact that the era of intelligence officers idling away in foreign countries without positive results on the state of affairs in their various countries as it affects Nigeria was over. He admonished them to go after information in their host countries that will assist Nigeria in her bid to surmount the current economic and security problems besieging the country or face appropriate sanctions.

There is no doubt that the evolving security environment would have far reaching implications on how Nigeria reacts to these challenges. Institutional mechanism plays a vital role in the attainment of security objectives. In order to continue to sustain and motivate the armed forces, the government has to encourage the continuous transformation of the military in terms of training, doctrine, intelligence gathering and equipment provisioning. There should be nothing left in sustaining ongoing efforts to encourage civil−military relations and enhance capacity of our defense industries towards self-reliance, among so many other initiatives.

Conclusion

The object of this discourse has been the necessity to sensitize all to the need to redesign and refocus Nigeria's defense and internal security measures in the face of daunting security challenges. Thus, this study examined the issues, challenges and the strategic imperatives of Nigeria's defense and internal security measures since the advent of democracy in 1999. It argues that as the country's internal security crisis deepens, it is imperative for Nigeria to review her defense and internal security architecture in a way that can enhance her capability in confronting these challenges particularly that of terrorism. It is gain saying that the country has risen to the challenges by mobilizing her immediate neighbors in the fight against insurgency and allied security confrontations. But the truth remains that there is a lot more to be done if the country must surmount the unfolding security challenges that has threatened even her corporate existence. In fact, addressing the security challenges in Nigeria ultimately requires not only the causes of threats but also a critical evaluation of the performance of security agencies in handling the deteriorating security situation in Nigeria.

Finally, the key to tackling Nigeria's security challenges rests on finding the right leadership that would demonstrate good governance, tackle corruption as a matter of priority; be transparent and accountable; recognize the need to ensure inclusive and participatory governance as a reflection of the multi-religious and multi-ethnic composition of the Nigerian society; and as well strengthen the key institutions of governance, especially those within the criminal justice system. Such leadership must also improve the socio-economic well-being of her citizens, especially in education, health, employment, food, and shelter; reinvigorate Nigeria's foreign policy focus; emphasize unity even in cultural diversity to ensure stability; find solutions to the current insurgency, militancy, cross-border trafficking in arms, drugs and humans, maritime insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea, and violent crimes; develop Nigeria's critical infrastructures in transportation, water systems, and energy; develop the non-oil sector, especially agriculture and solid minerals; tackle environmental issues, especially desertification and erosion; and give assurance and confidence to every citizen that his or her fundamental rights as enshrined in the constitution are guaranteed and protected. Nigerians are hoping that President Buhari and his team will rise to these challenges.

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