Leadership And Challenges Of National Security: Buhari Administration In Perspective

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Abstract

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 include; terrorism, insurgency, militancy, armed robbery, kidnapping and recent carnage growing haywire regarded as Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflict are all at a worrisome level as they have only but adverse implications on the socioeconomic and political sphere of the Nigerian state. Deriving from the above, the paper examines the role of leadership towards addressing the challenges of national security using the Buhari administration as case study. Exploratory design with data drawn from secondary sources, and a qualitative method of analysis were adopted. Anchoring our discourse on the system theory, finding amongst others revealed that there are myriad of challenges facing the country and the leadership of Buhari has shown gross incompetence in its attitude and character disposition towards addressing these challenges. The paper however recommends that the Buhari's administration should be proactive and consistent, rather than been reactive in their attempt to address the numerous security challenges facing Nigeria.

Keywords: Leadership; National Security; Buhari's Administration; Security Threats;

1.   Introduction

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 andrecent 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.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. Just like Nwozo (2013) 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".

The national security concept defines Nigeria's security as the continued endurance of its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and the inviolability of its state frontiers. The inviolability of state borders can be ensured either through purposive guidance of the political, socioeconomic, structural, diplomatic, military, technical-engineering, inspection and legal means or by promoting multilateral cooperation (Dashdavaa, 2006). Leadership development has emerged as an important theoretical and practical stream of government and administration. It therefore requires integration of knowledge with experience, as a functional prerequisite. There is an implicit assumption that leadership is important, that leaders make a difference, and that positive group and organisational effects are produced by leaders and the leadership process (Pierce & Newstrom, 2000).

It is the sole responsibility of a government to guarantee the security of its citizens, and also as a matter of fact it is this responsibility that gives any government its legitimacy. In the case of Nigeria, the responsibility to protect and guarantee security is clearly spelt out in Sec 14(2) (b) of the 1999 Constitution which states that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government." This is the basis for the social contract in which we as citizens of Nigeria surrender some of our freedoms in addition to submitting ourselves to the authority relating to governance in order for us to enjoy the full protection of our remaining rights. These rights which include those of life; dignity of human persons; personal liberty; fair hearing; private and family life; freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of expression; peaceful assembly and association; freedom of movement; and freedom from discrimination, are enshrined in sections 33 to 43 of our Constitution. These rights are fundamental to the social contract between government and the citizens, and failure to guarantee them by the former not only means a violation of the "agreement," but also a threat to national security of Nigeria (Dambazau, 2014).

Nigeria's national security apparatus and agenda have been under attack and even ridicule by notorious gangs and persons that have been committing crimes against groups and group of individuals. The government appears weak, impotent, baffled and unable to protect the citizens across the country. Nigeria is credited with having strong military forces, but has been recently almost humiliated in the North-eastern parts of Nigeria by the Boko Haram insurgents that are generally regarded as rag-tag, poorly trained bandits that was able to capture a number of territories, made a claim of establishing a Muslim Caliphate, and ran its own 'government' in the occupied territories for some months (Adetula, 2015). Ever since the advent of President Muhammadu Buhari as the chief executive officer of the nation, Nigeria has been undergoing series of serious and cacophonic security threats which have affecting the national security of the country dreadfully. In addendum, Nigeria national unity and security since the event of the civil war of 1967-1970 have never been afflicted in like manner as being experienced in the present dispensation constituting huge threat to national unity, economic growth, political stability, social cohesion and national development at large.

Nigeria under the leadership of president Buhari is engulfed with enormous security challenges with it attendant adverse effect on the national security. Thus, the objective of this paper is to examine the role of leadership towards addressing the challenges of national security with particular emphasis on the Buhari administration. Hence, this paper examined leadership disposition of the current administration towards the plethora of national security

challenges militating against the wheel of progress of the Nigerian state. Such national security challenges in the form of terrorism, herders/farmers conflicts, kidnapping, banditry, militancy/youth restiveness in the Niger Delta, and secessionist movements would be emphatically discussed with major highlight on the causes, effects and leadership disposition towards these cacophonic menaces. The paper is divided into five sections namely; introduction, conceptual clarifications and review of related literature, theoretical framework, challenges of national security under Buhari's administration, and conclusion and recommendations.

2.   Conceptual Clarifications and Review of Related Literature

2.1   *Leadership*

The concept of leadership has generated a lot of arguments since the idea of organised society came into existence. For instance, Ologbenla, (2007) noted that Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Marx, Engel, Heidegger, etc have written on the importance of leadership in nation building and development. Although they differ in approach, their basic concern however, centres on who governs, who should govern and what should constitute political authority in a community, ditto the role and influence of political actors. While Plato and Aristotle subscribe to idealist orientation in their analysis on leadership, Locke and Rousseau analysis are weaved within the matrix of prescriptive method for generalising on the nature of man, society and authority. Marx and Engels work is crafted in historical materialist theory.

The concept of leadership is essentially embraced from a personality perspective which proposes, for example, that leadership is a combination of special traits or characteristics, which individuals ought to possess, so that they can persuade others to accomplish tasks through effective governance practices (Northouse, 2000; De Vries, 2008). None the less, Shafritz (2000) defines leadership as the actions of a person who, whether elected, appointed, or emerging by group consensus, directs, coordinates, and supervises the work of others for the purpose of accomplishing a given task.

Leadership simply means "the quality of being good at leading a team, organization, a country, etc" (Ologbenla, 2007:100). Leadership is also a willingness to take the blame. Therefore, it is imperative to state that leadership is to be regarded as a relationship or a partnership between leaders and followers. Based on that, people who engage in leadership are referred to as 'leaders', whereas individuals, toward whom leadership is directed, are referred to as 'followers'. Consequently, leadership can be described as a transactional event that occurs between the leader and his or her followers within a particular context to promote or achieve an outcome through effective governance practices (Northouse, 2000). In other words, leadership is the process of providing direction, energising others, and obtaining their voluntary commitment to the leader's vision. Thus, a leader creates a vision and goals and influences others to share that vision and work towards the goal (Wendy, Cook & Hunsaker, 2003). Okadigbo (1987) sees leadership as the process through which an individual consistently exerts more influence than others in pursuing group behaviour. According to Seteolu (2004) leadership theories include trait, behavioural, attribution, characteristic, transformational and visionary. He went further to describe leadership as a combination of strategy and character. To Yakub, leadership can be categorized as "weak, competent, foolish, stupid, corrupt and hedonistic, such that many be frolicking while "Rome is burning" (Audu, 2010).

Within the context of politics, political leadership is seen as the decision on social policy and allocation of resources by partisan representatives. Thus, political leadership is a ruler that guides the people to achieve developmental visions or goals. In other words, it is critical to a country's development (Eneh, 2007). The interdependence of leadership and development is illustrated by societies that have risen above the natural limitations of their environment to achieve sustainable development under transformative and visionary

leadership of which Japan is a good example. Conversely, are societies greatly endowed with natural resources but have failed to achieve development that commensurate the level of endowment because of poor leadership characterized by self-centeredness, corruption and short-sightedness (Bammeke, 2005). Thus, leadership is a catalyst of development. Accordingly, Kouzes and Posner (2007) stressed that leadership is the art of mobilising others to want to struggle for shared aspirations. In this perspective, leadership is about inspiring and guiding the efforts of others by creating an environment in which they can become motivated. From this perspective, the foundation of good leadership lies in understanding what motivates people and appealing to these criteria and prerequisites.

However, the importance of leadership is self-evident no matter what the setting and thus, cannot be overemphasized. In organizations, states or societies, effective leadership facilitates higher-quality governance, production and development with more efficient service delivery; it provides a sense of cohesiveness and inclusiveness, personal development, and higher levels of satisfaction amongst the citizens and leaders too; it provides an overarching sense of direction and vision, an alignment with the environment, a healthy mechanism for innovation and creativity, and a resource for invigorating the organisational culture which is seen from the prism of national security (Tshiyoyo, 2012).

2.2   *National Security*
The assertion that the definition of concepts in the social science discipline is not new, hence, Buzman(1991) stipulates that security is a contested concept which defies pursuit of an agreed general definition. In spite of this ambiguity, some scholars have sought to conceptualize the term. Cohen and Tuttle(1972) define security as a protective condition which statesmen either try to acquire, or perceive, in order to guard the various components of their polities from either external or internal threats. Wolfers(1973) stated that security points to some degree of protection of values previously acquired.

Generally viewed in the context of "national security", the word security has different meanings for different people, and it is for this reason that the concept is believed to be ambiguous. Harold Lasswell, for example, saw national security lying in the "…best balance of all instruments of foreign policy, and hence in the coordinated handling of arms, diplomacy, information, and economics, and in the proper correlation of all measures of foreign and domestic policy" (Lasswell, 1950:75). In line with the traditional notion of national security, a nation is said to have security when: it does not have to "…sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain these interests by war"; or when a nation has the capacity to preserve itself as a free nation with fundamental institutions and values intact; or a nation has the capacity to protect its vital economic and political interests, the loss of which could threaten its fundamental values and vitality;6 or there is absence of threats to acquired values and the absence of fear that such values will be attacked; or if it possesses the necessary conditions required to enjoy self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and well-being of citizens; etc. (Berkowitz & Bock, 1968; Peterson & Sebenius, 1982; Jordan & Taylor, 1981; Walfers, 1962; Maier, 1990; Dambazau, 2014).

Security can be defined on the basis ofthreat perception – threats that may impact on our physical body as individuals orgroups; psychological thoughts or behaviour; our properties; means of livelihood;socio-economic needs (food, health, education, etc); the environment; freedoms or fundamental rights; and sovereignty or territorial integrity (Dambazau, 2014).Security therefore, entails a situation in which a person or thing is not exposed to any danger or risk of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft, or deterioration(Anyadike, 2013).As it refers to a nation, some security expert have deposited that is been associated with the safety and survival of the nation and its citizenry from harm or destruction or from dangerous threats. The experts of this school believe that state is the

only institution with responsibility to ensure safety of its territory and its people(Zabadi, 2005;cited in Anyadike, 2013).

3.   Theoretical Framework

The discourse of this paperis anchored on the structural-functional framework which is a derivative of the General System theory of political analysis as propounded by Almond and Coleman (1960) and Almond and Powell (1966). Coming in through sociology and originating mainly in the writings of anthropologists like Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, and adopted in political science, especially in comparative politics by Gabriel Almond, structural functional analysis is basically concerned with the phenomenon of system maintenance and regulation. The origin of modern functionalism can be traced to Comte. The prominent theorists of structural-functionalism are Herbert Spencer (1874-96); Gabriel Almond (1966); Parsons (1937, 1961); Merton (1957); Davis (1959); Evans-Pritchard (1940); Meyer Fortes (1945); etc.

Almond (1966), one of the principal proponents of structural-functionalism, argues that every political system performs certain functions. He adopted Easton's systems analysis and stressed the functions which could be included among the input and output functions of all political systems. The inputs are the functions of interest articulation, and interest aggregation; while the outputs are the functions of rulemaking, rule application and rule adjudication. According to Almond, the functioning of any political system may also be viewed in terms of its capabilities, which is the way it performs as a unit in its environment. The concepts of regulative, extractive, distributive, symbolic and responsive capabilities are employed as criteria to assess how a system is performing within its environment, how it is shaping its environment, and how it is being shaped by the environment as well.

The basic theoretical proposition of this approach is that all systems exist to perform functions through their structures. In other words, structural-functionalism as a theoretical framework is intended to explain the basis for the maintenance of order and stability in society and the relevant arrangement within the society, which maintain the social order and stability.

By application, Nigeria political system is made up of structures that perform various functions of which the office of the President is one of such structures that performs specific functions in order to maintain systemic stability. Some of such functions is the protection of lives and properties and the creation of enabling environment for the people living the country to be gainfully engaged legal economic activities to improve the living standard, which are all subsumed within the confine of national security. The survival of the system is dependent on the functionality of every parts of the system. Some of the parts include the internal environment, external environment, governmental institutions and the various states that makeup the federation among others. Importantly, the political leadership that is symbolised by the president is a major structure as it encompasses the various parts and oversees them. Anything that affects the part automatically affects the whole. The harmonizing function performs by the president determines the survival and stability of the system holistically. Thus, the inability of the president to perform its holistic function can lead to the failure of the general system, while, the ability of a leader to respond to the occasion in times of crises can bring fort the stability and survival of the system. Thus, the ineptitude of President Buhari to effectively manage the security challenges in the nation has increased the threat to national security and may spell doom for the sustainability and consolidation of the current democratic dispensation.

4.   Challenges of National Security under Buhari's Administration

   The spectrum of insecurity in Nigeria is of a myriad level. Here we will be highlighting some security challenges, their causes, effects and political leadership of president Buhari's disposition towards them.

4.1   Fulani Herdsmen and Farmers Conflict
        Although not all Fulanis are herders, but they dominate the pastoralist business and not all Fulani are Muslim, but majority of them are Muslims. In the same manner, not all farmers are Christian but majority are. Inability to view the conflict from the ethnic and religious lens is yet to redress the historical land dispute and identity and a people's sense of belonging in the society. Tensed relationship between the herders and the settler/farming communities are not new, Pastoralist in search of grazing land for their cattle have often found themselves in dispute with farmers landowners which have turned violent. This dreadful clash presumed to be predicated by unresolved land dispute, climate change, religious and ethnic sectarianism and lack understanding have resulted in killing, internal displacement, food insecurity and extensive damage to people's properties and livestock within the affected communities, and have metamorphosed into industrial scale occurrence of civil unrest, riots, mass killing, destruction of homes believed to be driven by religious and ethnic differences.

        Essentially, one hardly sees any group or people in Nigeria that is not felt marginalized by the ruling class. Hence, the victims of the Fulani herdsmen and farmers conflict consider it that the ruling Fulani elites who occupy the centre of power is marginalizing them. Marginalization leads to fear and suspicion towards an assumed oppressor. In the herdsmen/Fulani clash, the assumed oppressor is the Fulani ruling class who are represented well in the Nigeria political and security echelon. This is why the victims of the violent clashes claim that powerful politicians of the Fulani ethnicity protect the violent elements within pastoralist entities.

        Importantly, in Kaduna state where the southern half is the hotbed of violent clashes, the governor is of the Fulani descent. A decisive figure, his bold statements regarding the actions of some herders have resulted to discomfort and anger against many across the length and breadth of the country, with some Nigerians accusing him of hate speech. His systematic way of try to end the conflict by openly and monetarily compensating for the loss of livestock to a group of violent herdsmen he said "came from outside Nigeria to attack farmers" has already generated controversies and tensions within the nation.

        Imperatively, President Buhari who is from the Fulani clan apparently disengage himself from the incessant attack on farmers and settler communities by the violent Fulani herdsmen together with the levity mannerism in responding to the grievous issue further provides ground for suspicion and political cover up. Anytime there is a massacre of people in a state by Fulani herdsmen like it occurred in January 1st 2018 in Benue State with 73 reportedly killed for the umpteenth time, there is an outcry by Nigerians for the Federal Government to take action. Most times, there is not even a verbal response from the Buhari government. Even when there is a verbal response, it is a plea for people to live together in peace or a promise to arrest the perpetrators. But nobody ever gets arrested. Just like in other cases, the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigerian (MACBAN), which has President Muhammadu Buhari as its grand patron, would usually give reasons why they carried out the attack. The leaders of MACBAN, claimed that the attacks carried out by the Fulani herdsmen is more of a necessity arising from the effects of attacks which they have suffered many groups within Nigeria. They noted that the Boko Haram insurgents attacked the Fulani in the North-East and other parts of the country and stole millions of cows from the breeders. They added that the Fulani were also victims of the activities of cattle rustlers in Katsina, Zamfara, Kebbi, Kaduna, Nasarawa, Plateau, Benue and parts of Kogi states with

millions of cows taken away from them. According to them, the herdsmen were simply acting in self-defense (Akinyetun, 2016).

Most troubling of all, the Fulani have free rein to travel all over Nigeria, actually West Africa. They are found in several African countries including some of those to which the Boko Haram insurgency has spread, and are able to move freely across national borders with their cattle and arms. The bloody attacks on farming communities by the herdsmen continue to occur in several parts of the country. The Nigeria government's response to the violence tends to oscillate between the use of military force and mediation by eminent persons at a crisis point.

The global index (2015) had ranked the Fulani herdsmen as one of the five deadliest terrorist groups in the recent times. The Global Terrorism Index of 2015 states that over 90 percent of the attacks carried out by the group are on private citizens, accounting for 81 percent of deaths in the area. And these attacks have mainly been through armed assaults, killing an average of 11 people per attack. The Fulani militants are ranked just after the al-Shabaab in terrorist attacks (Aluko, 2017). Thus, there is a display of notable ineptitude of the leadership administration of the president Muhammadu Buhari in arresting the horrific violent occurring daily in the country which is drawing much attention than every other national security challenges in the country. Suffice is to say that the Buhari Administration has shown a lackadaisical attitude towards the Fulani herders and farmers menace which could be said to be a display of ethnic and religious sentiment from the side of the presidency.

4.2   Terrorism/Religious Extremism

Almost every region in Nigeria is in some way affected by an ongoing security threats, whether in the form of anti-state violence or in criminals waging war against citizens. Of these national security challenges, probably the most perturbing is the insurgency in the North East driven by the Islamist terrorist group, Boko Haram. The Boko Haram conflict has been raging since the public execution of the group's popular leader, Mohammed Yusuf, by police forces in Maiduguri.

Led by Abubakar Shekau, in 2012, the Boko Haram began a campaign of violence since which, according to Kashim Shettima, the then Governor of Borno state, as many as 100,000 people have lost their lives and two million people have been displaced. The conflict has had a devastating impact on the regional economy, too. Agriculture has been hit particularly hard with many farmers unable to return to their farms for fear of being confronted by unexploded landmines and the return of militants.

There was global outrage when more than 200 schoolgirls were kidnapped from their school in Chibok by Boko Haram in 2013. It was, arguably, this audacious act that exposed the gaps in Nigeria's security and brought the conflict in the North East to the world's attention. The government at the time was accused of neglecting the security situation in the North East, while also leaving the military underfunded and vulnerable to militant ambush. This apparent lack of security was a determining factor in the outcome of the 2015 elections.Before the elections in 2015, President Buhari, then a presidential candidate, made a bold promise to eradicate Boko Haram by the end of the year 2016,this is 2019, and the Boko Haram insurgency is gradually becoming intractable. Responding to Boko Haram's attacks on aid workers in Rann in Borno on 1 March and the abduction of 110 school girls in Dapchi, Yobe state a week earlier, Osai Ojigho Director Amnesty International Nigeria said:

> Amnesty International strongly condemns Boko Haram's attack on humanitarian workers in Rann, Borno state, and the abduction of 110 school girls in Dapchi, Yobe state. The armed group must immediately stop targeting schools and aid workers working in one of the most difficult humanitarian situations in the world. These attacks clearly show that Boko Haram is unrelenting in its unlawful killings and abductions.These attacks on humanitarian workers and abduction of school

girls are war crimes, and those responsible must be brought to justice. Attacks on schools also violate the right to education and must be halted.These incidents are chilling reminders of Boko Haram's depravity. The group must immediately and unconditionally release the girls and all others they have abducted and stop all attacks on civilians.Suspension of humanitarian assistance as a result of this attack will only worsen the condition of the 55,000 displaced people living in Rann. The government is responsible for the security of those living in displacement camps and must urgently ensure that civilians are protected from all attacks.

Importantly, BBC reporter, Stephanie Hegarty slammed the Nigerian Minister of Information and Culture for attending Golf Game in Abuja while Dapchi school girls are missing.The concerned BBC journalist wrote via his Twitter handle; "Ten days after the Dapchi attack and 110 school children are still missing, meanwhile Nigeria's Minister of Information is sending out press releases about golf" (Punch News, March 2nd 2018). To a great extent this depicts the Nigeria present administration as insensitive to the plight of the citizens in the face of the security challenges ravaging them. Yet the same minister for information and culture stated out loud that Book Haram have been defeated, thereby taking all well meaning Nigerians for a ride. The Buhari leadership administration has displayed a high level of incompetency towards the war against terrorism in Nigeria through his continued failed to address the security challenges posed by the terrorist group. While the military authority in connivance with their political counterparts keep giving out false information of defeating the terrorist group, the soldiers at the frontline claimed that they are not given the proper weapon, their welfare are neglected and they are not properly motivated enough to defeat the terrorist.

4.3   Niger Delta's Militancy

Decades back, kidnappings were a common trade in the Niger Delta insurgency in the South-South region. Foreigners and Nigerian security staff employed in the oil industry were the regular targets of insurgents who would demand heavy ransoms.Early in 2009, Port Harcourt, the oil industry capital, gained the unfortunate tag of being the most dangerous city in the world. Oil companies would pay their staff high premiums to work in the region and it was considered such a dangerous place to work that multinational firms would regularly buy all the seats on domestic flights so their staff could travel without fear of hijacking or kidnap.

An amnesty programme introduced by the late President Umaru Yar'Adua, in 2007, brought a lot of the violence to an end, but it came at significant financial cost to the government. Militant groups that had carried out a thirteen-year insurgency against oil companies were enlisted on to a rehabilitation programme. They worked alongside the Nigerian state, which such groups had accused of complicity in polluting their environment and of depriving communities of employment opportunities. The militants also received a monthly stipend, jobs and lucrative pipeline security contracts from the government.

However, the administration of the amnesty programme was riddled with corruption and communities complained that only a handful of people benefitted from it. The programme was supposed to provide for infrastructure development and job creation but many of these promises never materialized. Though much of the violence reduced, once again the underlying causes of insurgency were not addressed.When he came into office, President Buhari did not commit to extending the amnesty programme and, instead, started to put plans in place for its wind down and eventual closure. This coincided with threats from former militants to resume their armed struggle.While existing groups like the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) chose to engage in dialogue with the government other groups with a more militant agenda started to emerge very quickly.

The cost of militant activity to Nigeria's economy is towering, 2016 saw a thirty-year low in crude exports due to renewed activity in the region. The Minister of State for Petroleum said attacks on oil installations cost Nigeria $100 billion in 2016. In September 2016, a military drill, Operation Crocodile Smile, was launched in Bayelsa and Rivers State as a show of the armed forces readiness to deal with militants in a combat situation if necessary. This, however, further antagonized the already volatile relations between the militant groups and the government.The most notorious and proactive of the new crop of militant groups, the Niger Delta Avengers, laughed at the operation and vowed to continue their campaign of economic sabotage. In January 2017, the group's spokesman issued a statement, condemning President Buhari's "deaf" approach to ongoing peace talks between the government and militants. The group also accused the government of an unwillingness to engage in dialogue or negotiation.

Developments like this put national security in jeopardy. The government and the main militant groups had engaged in peace talks in November 2016 and although attacks on pipelines and oil infrastructure have reduced, a long lasting solution is yet to be implemented by the Buhari Administration stemming from perceived indisposition of the present government evident in the way and mannerism the amnesty program was halted.

4.4   *Secessionist Movement*

Avalanche of Separatists movements surfaced and picked up steam immediately Buhari came to power. However, worthy of note is the pro- Biafran movement under the umbrella of Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) led by self acclaimed Director Nnamdi Kanu. The secessionist actions of the IPOB could be said to afflict National unity with hefty threats this time, the battle is against the supporters of Biafran sovereignty. For many of the young pro-Biafrans, Nigeria has been nothing but a disappointment. The same bleak economic indicators and the bitter legacy of 1967 have produced vehemently anti-Abuja sentiment. As with many anti-government movements, the various pro-Biafra groupings have united under a common cause. In this case, it was the arrest and detention of the Director of Radio Biafra, Nnamdi Kanu. Kanu, also part of the leadership of the Indigenous People of Biafra organisation (IPOB) was arrested in Lagos in October 2015. He was charged with criminal conspiracy and membership of an illegal organisation and was granted bail under very tight conditions; he remained in detention for some months before he was finally released. Kanu's appearances at events and on the radio were a great source of controversy with many accusing him of hate speech, his continued detention as a source of anger and frustration towards the Nigerian state. The treatment of pro-Biafra protestors at demonstrations by the administration of Buhari has generated anger and hatred.

The government responded to the pro-Biafra activities by launching another military drill in the region (Operation Python Dance), a one-month operation launched in December 2016 which was to restore order to the region. Instead, the heavy military presence and checkpoints antagonized people and, again, added to the feeling of distrust towards the President as the whereabouts of the Pro-Biafran group leader is yet to be known. Many believe Mr. President created the avenue for division through his many discriminatory body languages.

4.5   *Kidnapping/Abduction*

No gainsaying the fact that the most duress parts of the country are areas with high youth unemployment. Nigeria's official unemployment rate is 13.9%. Underemployment and youth unemployment are 19.7% and 46.0% respectively. As Nigeria's population grows, the median age decreases—a potential time bomb. Poverty is frequently being cited as a reason for engaging in criminal acts and one area of crime that has seen a spike in reported incidence is kidnap. Once the misfortune of wealthy expatriate workers and prominent Nigerians, acts of abduction for ransom are now being committed against ordinary citizens.

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A lot of kidnappings in Nigeria go unreported. Reasons for this include mistrust of law enforcers and a penal system believed by many ordinary citizens to be deeply flawed. The US Department of State notes that, "Targeting of average Nigerians for smaller monetary gains has increased in recent years."The low official figures are also partially explained by criminals knowing that "police are rarely contacted during a kidnapping and that families are quick to pay ransoms for the release of relatives." Indeed, some official figures released by individual state police are at odds with the constant slew of cases reported daily in the media.

Lagos, which has seen a sharp spike in non-politically motivated kidnappings, only had 51 recorded cases reported by the police in 2016. This is in contrast to observations of the risk analysts at Control Risks who report that they record almost weekly incidents in Ikorodu alone. In Kano, traditionally another kidnapping hotspot, police say 43 cases were reported in 2016 while 119 suspected kidnappers were arrested. Nigerians once abided by self-imposed curfews and avoided travelling on highways at night for fear of encountering armed robbers and kidnappers. Now, daylight abductions are no longer an uncommon occurrence.

While kidnappings in Nigeria have hitherto been linked to terrorism and insurgencies the frequency and ease with which a group can abduct citizens for ransom reveals another vacuum in national security. Questions should be asked about why so few cases are reported and what limits the actions of the police when allegations are brought to them.Harsh penalties such as the example of Lagos State are unlikely to be an effective deterrent if the issues of trust surrounding reporting incidents to the police are not addressed. Hence, one can adduce from the forging that the Buhari Administration has not been up and doing in the provision of jobs which was placed very high in their manifesto during the period of electoral campaign in 2015. Although, there were promises of jobs but they tend to be real only on papers. Kidnapping is a growing industry in the country constituting a challenge to national security yet untamed by the present administration, having promised to secure the country from both internal and external threats.

4.6 *Banditry in the Northern part of Nigeria*

The prevalence of big forests that extend across the states of the zone has facilitated the perpetration of violent acts and rural banditry by criminal gangs who use the expansive and dense forests to terrorise human settlements in the rural areas and the commuters on the highways. The bandits, mostly operating in gangs engaged in serial killings, kidnappings, robberies, rape, cattle-rustling and other forms of terrorism in states likeZamfara, Kano, Kaduna, Katsina and recently Sokoto, with devastating consequences for the rural population. In Zamfara, for instance, several communities have been completely displaced and the economies of many more communities destabilised and they have suffered huge losses because of the activities of criminal gangs perpetuating cattle-rustling, kidnappings, robberies and other forms of violent crimes that sometime attract stiff hesitance from the communities.. The situation isfurther compounded by the proliferation and easy access to sophisticated light arms andammunitions, which are easily smuggled across the porous borders of the country (IPCR,2017).

The Federal Government in a joint effort with the States Governments have taken steps to ensure that there is no safe haven for cattle rustlers and armed bandits. Surveillance has being significantly scaled up to address the multi-faceted human security challenges. Also, recently the state Governments as mentioned above have been actively responding to the conflicts in the form of sensitization workshops, setting-up of reconciliation committees, and mobilisation of security personnel to curb escalation of violence. Even with all these efforts by the states involved, the attacks by these bandits remain unabated, as more people are being killed every now and then.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

It has been more than 30 years since Buhari's first attempt at governing Nigeria. His previous tenure during the 1980s is largely remembered for authoritarianism and mismanagement of the economy. His victory at the elections in 2015 was partly the result of a nationwide feeling of nostalgia towards his militarist approach, especially when it appeared that the insurgency in the North East might consume other parts of the country. The thinking of the body politic was that if anybody could restore law and order, defeat the extremists and make the army a force to be reckoned with again, it was Buhari. However, the first four years of his administration has been a disappointment to many. From the limited successes and lopsidedness in his much-lauded Anti-graft war or war against corruption, his management of the economy, and to perhaps most damning his handling of the various threats to national security. It should also be noted that his declining health condition also posed some serious questions about his ability to complete his second term in office.

Political Commentators and Nigeria analysts were once known for describing Nigeria as being on the verge of disaster waiting to; that a total breakdown in security, law and order would result in another civil war. Instead, what we are seeing are multiple evolving security challenges, which arguably, are more intractable. The one thing these conflicts have in common is their deep rootedness in unresolved political and social issues that successive governmental administrations have shied away from addressing. Most urgent of these issues is a fast-growing majority that is becoming increasingly politicized by the elites at the centre of power. Not until Nigeria is gifted with leader who are selfless, honest, full of integrity, and brave enough to stick their necks out and tackle the underlying causes of the insecurity issues facing the nation, Nigeria may well continue to wallow deeper in the pool of violent and bloody national catastrophe.

Deriving from the above, the paper suggests the following recommendations;

1. There is need to improve on the literacy level of Nigerians as this would enable the citizens become more responsive and be able to hold the leaders accountable. Thus every citizen must be accorded the opportunity to undergo the formal education.
2. The rate of unemployment especially among the youths is quite alarming, going by the various reports of the NBS. There is the urgent need to address the malady as most of the perpetrators of the various forms of insecurity challenges are youths who are not employed or under-employed.
3. Also there is need to improve on leadership training in order to enhance the leadership acumen of our leaders so as to enable them have a national view of the Nigerian situation instead of the current ethnic and religious dispositions exhibited by them.
4. There is need to restructure the country by giving more power to the states or regions, as this will reduce the intensity of the power tussle/ struggle for the centre which in most cases are anchored on petty, ethnic and religious sentiments. Thus restructuring our mindset to unity, equality, justice, peace and national development is a child of necessity if the Nigeria project must survive.
5. There is the urgent need for good democratic, people-centered governance with leadership that is transparent and accountable, in which the rule oflaw is respected and fundamental human rights are guaranteed.

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