

## Building Security in the Image of Civil Rule Democracy in Nigeria

1. The only universality in the idea called security is security's etymologies of securus, securitas and secure. They mean free from care, something which secure/condition of being secure and feeling no apprehension
2. Beyond the universality, there is a country-culture specific construct of security fitting the country's history, experience and reality (HER)
3. Examples of country-culture and HER construct of security is the United States National Security and the Peoples' Republic of China National Security Law
4. Of the ideas of security out there in the public domain, the US national security type is most copied and replicated around the world
5. Nigeria is one country that copied the US national security idea (they include national security, national security council, national security adviser and the outward projection of national security as contained in section 5 subsection 5 and the contradiction of section 14 subsection 2b) without Nigeria's history, experience and reality (HER), studying, thinking, observing and comparing (STOC) and without legislation to support the idea
6. The copying was the handiwork of the military under military rule during the preparation for the transition to civil rule in the late 1970s which became a fact with the inauguration of the presidential system of government in 1979
7. Although the civilian government began the practice of appointment advisers and creating the portfolio on security under the Shagari government, it was the second return of military rule in the mid-1980s that gave effect to the concept of national security adviser and the office of the national security adviser
8. Consequently, the concept, theory and practice of national security is the creation of the military and military rule

9. The concepts – security and national security – did not and has never benefited from the input of civilian, civil rule, democracy and governance frameworks
10. This is because under civil rule especially from 2007, the concepts – security and national security – has been the responsibility of the Office of the National Security Adviser and benefited from their inputs within their constitutional/legislative mandates of defence, intelligence and law enforcement
11. Security and/or national security were built and operated in the image of the military and military rule – a universal aberration knowing fully well that the military comprising the air force, navy and army are agencies of the executive and their idea of security derive from the professional work of defence as prescribed in the constitution and therefore not representative of the views of other agencies of the executives let alone the legislatures and the judiciaries
12. This fact of military and military rule construct of security and national security can be gleaned in the 1999 Constitution, the *National Security Strategy*(NSS) 2014 and 2019 and other so-called documents on security in Nigeria
13. The *NSS* and other documents on security were authored by the Office of the National Security Adviser. The former – *NSS* – was singularly the creation of the Office. It was the case of putting the cart before the horse. This is because there is no security policy and yet there is a strategy on security
14. As it stands, not even the Office consult its *Strategy* for operation in the realm it called security; other agencies of the government do not bother about its existence; the *Strategy* was hurriedly compile by few persons assembled by the Office in order to minimize the embarrassment repeatedly suffered by the country in its bilateral and multilateral engagement with the international community on the subject of security

15. The existence of the *Strategy* may have minimized the embarrassment. However, it did not mitigate the embarrassment that comes with the inability of the Office and officials to distinguish between security and defence and for treating security and defence as synonymous
16. It did not minimize the fact that Nigeria is always on the receiving end of other countries security initiative and serving to help these countries fulfill their security objectives in Nigeria
17. Nigeria has no initiative of its own on security and has never engaged any country on the need to advance, defend and protect its security and thus enlist the support of this or that country towards this end. This is because Nigeria has no security philosophy of this type. Nigeria is the security objective of other countries with security philosophy of their own and merely serves as the logistics of these countries in the pursuit of their security objectives in Nigeria
18. There is difference between security and defence worldwide and Nigeria cannot be an exception
19. In this difference, I used the metaphor of forest to designate security and defence, intelligence and law enforcement to designate few of the trees in the forest
20. The practice called security in Nigeria is impervious of this forest and trees metaphor
21. There is difference between security and national security in the Nigerian context as demonstrated by the prevailing theory and practice particularly under the Fourth Republic (see section 5 subsection 5 and section 14 subsection 2b)
22. Yet of security and national security, the former is the independent variable and the latter is the dependent variable. Thus there is need to fix the former in order to generate the latter in the Nigerian context
23. Consequently, what is security and national security is the military and military rule's idea incorporating their place in scheme of governance

post military rule enabling environment. This condition began to unfold in 2007 following the transition within transition in Nigeria's civil rule experience

24. In the course of this transition, what I described as the political economy of security now exist between the military, intelligence and law enforcement (MILE) elite and the elite of civil rule in the executives and legislatures across the country
25. The political economy of security prioritise the security i.e. free from care, something which secure/condition of being secure and feeling no apprehension of the MILE elite on the one hand and on the other hand the elite of civil rule in the scheme called security and national security and in the context of the existential construct of security and/or national security which seeks to devote most resources to advancing, protecting and/or defending this security and/or national security
26. Since this security and/or national security failed to ask and answer the question what is security in Nigeria under civil rule, whose security in Nigeria under civil rule, what is a security issue in Nigeria under civil rule and how can security be achieved in Nigeria under civil rule, this security and/or national security was programme to fail and continue to fail in order to perpetually oil the wheels of the political economy of security
27. This security cannot be found in the Constitution, legislations and lacks philosophy, policy and thus strategy. The latter or strategy should have emanated from the ministries, departments and agencies saddle with specific task in the overall scheme of pursuing and achieving security for Nigerians.
28. This is not the case hence what is security which is the vision of the military, intelligence and law enforcement within their professional roles of defence, intelligence and law enforcement failed successfully and will continue to fail because their mandates goes after the effect of the absence of security for most Nigerians

29. The way forward is to consciously and deliberately begin the construction of security in the image of the civil rule democracy fitting the yearnings of most Nigerians for that which confers free from care, something which secure/condition of being secure and feeling no apprehension when they collectively decided to retire the military into their barracks in 1999.
30. Beyond the presidency of Obasanjo, the rest of the presidencies have not attempted the construct of this security in theory and in practice and for reasons of the political economy of security chosen to follow the path of MILE-centric security

### The tasks before the Adviser on Security

As adviser on the undefined, uncharted and ungoverned security portfolio (section 153) as opposed to and within the framework of the National Security Adviser (advise and coordinate national security i.e. agencies of the MILE), ADVISE the head of the executive accordingly and to do this:

- a) First reorganise or organise the Office around a framework of security taking into cognisance security's etymologies which captures its philosophy and history, Nigeria's history, experience and reality (HER), studying, thinking, observing and comparing (STOC) security, Nigerians yearning for security that ushered in civil rule in 1999 and with these inaugurate the thinking-outside-the-box of the security that failed and is failing in Nigeria;
- b) begin by advising the president that the view that sees security as the name and work of the military, intelligence and law enforcement (MILE) must change because not only is the view ahistorical, it is not in tandem with the prevailing democracy framework and cannot and will not bring security to Nigerians and Nigeria;

- c) the view is the construct of the military and military rule arising from their interpretation of their professional mandate under the constitution and in their self-imposed role of the government;
- d) educate your principal to begin to see security in the framework of civil rule saddled with governance using the entire constitution. This is different from the military that operate on the basis of few provisions in the constitution;
- e) educate the legislatures, judiciaries and the fourth estate of realm on this security and the need to build ideas in the image of civil rule democracy and thus begin the construction of persons and institutions within these ideas;
- f) sensitise and mobilise Nigerians through workshops, seminars, symposiums and conferences in the MILE-centric security and civil rule democracy-centric security;
- g) inform your principal that the 1999 constitution is defective in that its provisions on security are not only in the image of the military and military rule, descriptive and associational in conceptualisation of security and thus leaves much room for interpretations. The constitution's provisions on security copied from the provisions of the US National Security Act of 1947 (the US national security ideology owe its origins from the ideas and ideals founding the United States and was built around sets of philosophies including the Kennan telegram, Truman Doctrine, Clifford-Elsey Report, NSC-68 and numerous others);
- h) the etymologies of security are securus, securitas and secure and they mean free from care, something which secure/condition of being secure and feeling no apprehension;
- i) based on the etymologies and under civil rule framework, security is wellbeing in all of its forms;
- j) security is forest with different trees where the health of forest is determined by the health of most if not all the trees inside the forest

- k) security cannot be the few trees – defence, intelligence and law enforcement – as is the practice now;
- l) in view of the undefined, uncharted and ungoverned state of security in the Constitution, there will be need for legislation that will address the lacuna of philosophy, legislation and policy on security under civil rule;
- m) the making of the legislation will not be the affairs of the centre alone. It will include the states and councils areas and the legislatures task with making policy legislations – the way it happened in the United States and in the Peoples’ Republic of China and above all else most if not all Nigerians;
- n) Once defined, security policy legislation will become the policy for other policies or the centre of gravity of all policies as it will drive the vision and mission of public and private policies in Nigeria;
- o) this is the approach that will achieve security for most Nigerians; the current approach achieve free from care, something which secure/condition of being secure and feeling no apprehension for the elite of the MILE and the elite of the executives and legislatures in what I described as the political economy of security;
- p) the present role assigned to the NSA whether as adviser or coordinate of the so-called security agencies will not bring security to Nigerians. The reality is that the NSA is about defence and not security. And so, to have NSA under civil rule framework is to have security as forest. For now, the NSA does the work of NDA or national defence adviser;
- q) the office should concentrate on advocacy to the executives and legislatures on the state of security under civil rule and the roadmap to changing this condition in order to fulfill the promises the Adviser made on the occasion of the changing of guards.

In conclusion, while adhering to the present mandate of advising on the way to go on security i.e. the work of the MILE and in coordinating these agencies, the

weight of the NSA's advice, under civil rule, is to stress the futility of expecting miracle to happen in the continuation of the prevailing mindset of security.

The MILE play supportive role and their supportive role is the least and last supportive role in the hierarchy of the trees in the forest called security. It is futile to continue doing the same thing over and over and expect different result. The Einsteinian Insanity on security must be discontinued.

The time is now for a new paradigm on security. This paradigm is the philosophy of security is wellbeing in all of its forms under civil rule type equipped with its policy legislation.

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