

## The CURSED Security in Section 14 subsection 2b of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria

Shouldn't we – the non-military people – consider the security inserted in section 14 subsection 2b of the 1999 Constitution as a CURSE wish by the military for the Nigeria of the in-coming civil rule democracy? The military that inserted this security presumed and assumed that Nigeria was a jungle and will continue be a jungle. To this extent, the civil rule democracy they reluctantly allowed to operate would perpetually require their intervention to stabilise.

The military modelled its interventions and governances around its primary vision and mission of restoration of law and order and to that extent its security. All the coups' statements contained this vision. Their missions, in all the coups statements, had always been predicated on the need to restore law and order into the polity. Their law-and-order vision and mission trumped whatever benefits that supposedly accrued to Nigeria through their governance.

The military should not have designed and insert its security as the primary purpose of government for the civil rule system if they have noble intentions for the civil rule system. The security should have been the type foundational to the founding principles of security including freeing people from worries, providing people with something which secure, creating conditions of being secure for people and reducing or eliminating feeling of apprehension from people. This is the security the civil rule system is eminently positioned to accomplish for the people of Nigeria based on its mandate of governing the entire country including the spheres of the military, intelligence and law enforcement.

The task of civil rule democracy is not the restoration of law and order first as if Nigeria is a jungle. Civil rule democracy law and order comes with governance of the type that deliver effective and efficient utilisation of human and material resources for the benefits of most Nigerians. This governance creates the first-tier security defined as wellbeing in all of its forms for most Nigerians. The military, intelligence and law enforcement law and order type security take care of the few Nigerians that would always be on the fringe of development regardless of the performance of the civil rule democracy operators.

President Donald Trump's threat against Nigeria was enough to get Nigerians thinking, talking and pretending to be acting. These were Nigerians with the means to think, talk and act. I have thought deeply, critically and critically deeply over the reasons for the threat. President Trump had his reasons for designating Nigeria a country of particular concern and threatening to come gun-a-blazing to completely wipe out the Islamic terrorists in what would be a fast, vicious and sweet strikes. Whatever is the reason(s) for Trump's focus on Nigeria, it succeeded in turning the searchlight on the endlessly endless corruption-inspired sufferings of most Nigerians on the account of what is called security.

The cause of the threat is security and/or insecurity. I have subjected the subject of this security to inside out and outside in examination. I needed to understand WHY and HOW Nigeria became an addition to the United States' backyard to warrant the threatened action and the consequent thinking, talking and acting amongst Nigerians.

The security in question is arguably the one found in section 14 subsection 2b which state inter alia that the "security...is the primary purpose of government". I made posts putting into words my post-Trump roles in international peace (TRIP) reflection on this security. The first post was:

"Nigeria CANNOT and WILL NOT defeat terrorism with the C U R S E D "security" of section 14 subsection 2b".

This post was prompted by Mr. President's promise to defeat terrorism. The promise was made because Mr. President must be seen and heard doing something in order to avert the Trump threat. The President cannot defeat terrorism, insurgency, banditry etc. because they – the civil political elite and the leadership elite of the military, intelligence and law enforcement – are its primary beneficiaries. The persistence of terrorism, banditry, insurgency and farmers-herders conflict is the oxygen of the political economy of "security" in this civil rule democracy.

The second post was:

"Since the activation of the intent of the CURSED "security" in 2009, most Nigerians lived by Hope, Faith, and Fate in this Order".

This security project began in 2007. This was the year civil rule democracy transitioned to new sets of leaders. These sets of civil political leaderships were the products of military rules political engineering. Military rule political engineering and reengineering began with the military junta of General Ibrahim Babangida in the mid-1980s. Aside from the few experiments with the products of the process which never saw the light of the day due to General Babangida's own inherent contradictions, the taste of their worth began with the governance class of 2007-2015.

They presided over the phase of governance in Nigeria that maintained the tempo of the governance class of 1999-2007 while simultaneously taking on the new characteristics defined by the increasing prominence of the military, intelligence and law enforcement in governance. In 2009, the strategic insecurity envisaged and built into security by the military junta, in their Decree Number 24 that transitioned in the 1999 Constitution, as captured by section 14 subsection 2b, took effect with the announcement of the arrival of Boko Haram. Boko Haram would become hydra-headed and would metamorphose into terrorism, banditry, kidnapping,

farmers-herders clash etc. creating the "Security Combine" that is the sole purpose of governance in Nigeria.

In the last sixteen years of governance by the All Progressives Congress, if governance is the effective and efficient utilisation of human and material resources for the benefit of a sector, the sector called security has received priority attention and resources even as its governance was deliberately ineffectively and inefficiently pursued by Nigeria's legislatures and executives. Perhaps, Governor Abdullahi Sule's explanation of the lack of adequate resource would suffice for the governments' inability to secure their people. Now that they have enough resources and therefore no excuse to secure their people, it would take President Donald Trump of the United States welding the big stick to push them into more motions and few movements.

Most Nigerians lived by the HOPE that the class of 2007-2015 would expand on the previous class effort in governance. The late Speaker Ghali Umar Na'abba would remind Nigerians that they give them hope. This hope, as the source of their eternal existence, began to elude them as security became the only item of governance for the benefits of the civil political and the MILE elites.

Under the governance class of 2015-2023, most Nigerians endured gallopingly dwindling HOPE. This was even as we had an Imam and a pastor on the saddle. The FAITH that most Nigerians held on to progressively eluded them in the eight years rule of the Imam and the Pastor. The place of rationality increasingly continues to defied the type of civil rule democracy underway in Nigeria making most Nigerians to increase their faith in GOD as their source of existence.

The dawn of FATE overshadowed FAITH as the tail end of the Imam-Pastor administration and FATE increasingly came to the fore in the governance class beginning in May of 2023. The reality on the ground is that most Nigerians have resigned themselves to fate – fate that whatever will be will be.

Thus, most Nigerians transition from hope, faith to fate is the consequence of the security curse enshrined in the section 14 subsection 2b. Security is a curse laid on Nigeria. The military laid this curse on the incoming civil rule political class in the twilight period of their term. In their reluctance to relinquish power and their desperation to reinvent themselves, the security curse is the military's way of exercising veto on the progress of Nigeria albeit a Nigeria without them on the saddle.

The military inserted section 14 subsection 2b's "security...is the primary purpose of government" with their benefit of foreground and background. The foreground includes their knowledge of the civil rule political class, their tutelage of this political class in the different military rule-inspired political engineering and reengineering and, their certainty to create the

constitutional operating framework that will ensure the military's aim, driver and motivator, for the conduct of civil rule political class, will not and did not disappoint.

The background entailed their knowledge of the complexities of Nigeria with its myriads of fault lines. These fault lines, they hoped, would widen and deepen under civil rule democracy framework. The military, under military rules, played critical role from up-close and up-early and understand how Nigerians worked in Nigeria.

The middle ground which comprised the space between the foreground and background is opened to manipulation by the civil political class and their military, intelligence and law enforcement elite counterparts as they jostle for power and its accompaniments.

The interactions of the foreground, background and middle ground would leave issues whose resolution would require the persistent and constant intervention of the resources of the military, intelligence and law enforcement. Therefore, the 1999 Constitution's section 14 subsection 2b, created by the departing military, cleverly prefaced security as instrumental to this resolution. It is a declaration that Nigeria was, is and will remain a jungle. The management of this jungle will begin at the level of creating order first. The military, intelligence and law enforcement will be on the forefront of this order.

In a civil rule democracy where most Nigerians had hoped for governance of the type that will unleash employment, equality and wealth as against unemployment, inequality and poverty, the decision to put security first as the primary purpose of government is a curse strategically emplaced for the benefits of the civil political class and their military, intelligence and law enforcement counterparts. The contest for power is between the civil political elite and the military. On the surface, the world had decreed democracy as the preferred governance model and to be politically correct, Nigeria needs to follow this order.

Behind the curtain, the civil political class admitted the constancy of the military factor owing to their experiences in the hands of the military. Security mediates this contest as it seeks to assuage the feeling of loss felt by the military upon been forced to relinquish power. To accomplish this, the civil political class would govern sparingly, if they govern at all, thus creating the conditions that would translate into insecurity. The military, intelligence and law enforcement would complement this as they direct intelligence which they solely generate and supply to the political authorities into supporting and ameliorating the security conditions of the country.

This security curse is the creation of the military to serve their strategic post military rule purpose. Or how else would any right-thinking persons insert into the constitution the idea called security birthed in the tradition of the military, intelligence and law enforcement for a

civil rule democracy system? Why should not civil rule democracy create its idea of security arising from its dominant role in the governance of Nigeria?

I really cannot comprehend why most Nigerians cannot see through the CURSE that is the most engaged section of the 1999 Constitution as we confront the fulfilment of this curse every day in the lives of most Nigerians.

I had argued elsewhere that if conflict is the permanent feature of the United States of America foreign policy, section 14 subsection 2b's security designate endlessly endless crisis generating conflicts as the permanent feature of Nigeria's civil rule democracy. The framing of this security as the primary purpose of government carries evil intent whose fulfillment fetched Nigeria the designation of the country of particular concern.

This security set out to deny most Nigerians their rights to what their American counterparts called the pursuit of happiness, by the presumption it holds that Nigeria is jungle that requires to be secure first in order to enable the provisions and pursuits of happiness or the welfare part. A combination of the MILE, the governing political class and economic-social environments enable this jungle settings in seeming perpetuity.

Cursed as they – the governing political class and the leadership elite of the MILE – are, they have proceeded to creating the conditions for this self-fulfilling security in the endlessly endless crises in the polity. In almost all of the 36 states and the 774 local government councils, little or no effective and efficient utilisation of human and material resources for the benefit of most Nigerians occurs. This is complemented by the strategic insecurity orchestrated by their counterparts in the MILE.

Section 14 subsection 2b's "security" is a curse. The military cursed Nigeria for the military's sake. To presume that we need to "secure" first in the military, intelligence and law enforcement way before the "security" of the primary task of civil rule democracy, even when there are not issues of the MILE types to secure, is to create or manufacture the conditions in order to fulfil it. President Tinubu's promise that "we will defeat terrorism" is either set against this knowledge and/or ignorance of the CURSED "security" of section 14 subsection 2b. Nigeria CANNOT and WILL NOT defeat terrorism with the C U R S E D "security" of section 14 subsection 2b.

The civil rule operators' collusion is the result of the CURSE of the security in section 14 subsection 2b. It is existentially important for the military's survival that they activate the security of this section before the security of the welfare type that should be the primacy of civil rule democracy governance. In this, the military found a worthy partner in the political class alongside the enabling environment their governance continues to foster. It is NOT collusion. It is a CURSE inserted into the 1999 Constitution created by the departing military to serve their interests out of power, in the course of civil rule.

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