THE STATE, NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The paper examined the State, National Security and Development in Nigeria. Whereas the state as a precipitate of social contract is expected, among other functions, to protect lives and property, the alarming spate of insecurity not only questions the sanctity and reification of the state but also undermines development in Nigeria. The main objective is to establish a nexus among the state, national security and development in Nigeria. The paper argued that underneath the issue of National Security and development are the twin issues of faulty distributive mechanism and the nature and character of the Nigerian state which adversely affect national security and development in Nigeria. Frustration-Aggression theory was adopted as an analytical construct. One of the assumptions of frustration-Aggression theory is that the denial of the expectations or goals of a person or people can lead to frustration and ultimately aggressive behaviour which can undermine national security and development. The paper relied on secondary sources of data and found out, inter alia, that the nature and character of the Nigerian state has negatively influenced National Security and development in Nigeria. The paper recommended among others, renaissance through value reorientation and the normalization of the faulty distributive mechanism in Nigeria.

Key words: State, National Security, Development, Faulty distributive mechanism, renaissance, Frustration-Aggression.

Introduction

The gregarious nature of man has ostensibly led to the socialization of man in a community which is reinforced by the inadequacies nature has placed on man. This underscores the centripetal forces that brought man together, first, as social and then political 'animal. However, this natural inclination of man to come together for self and collective actualization is truncated by the same natural tendencies of man to disintegrate by pursuing incompatible and conflicting goals or interests. These centrifugal forces if not checkmated can degenerate into conflict which in most cases can be violent, thereby undermining national security.

The undermining of National Security can plunge the society into the Hobbesian state of nature where life is short, nasty and brutish. In a bid to reconcile the ever conflicting interest of man and the seemingly diametrically opposed natural tendencies in man, the state emerged as a precipitate of the social contract. The state is orchestrated as an arbiter vested with the responsibility of ensuring peaceful, just and egalitarian society as predisposing conditions

necessary for development. It is against this backdrop that the paper takes a holistic and critical look at the web like relationship among the state, National Security and Development in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework- Frustration – Aggression Theory

The Frustration–Aggression theory simply states that frustration leads to aggression. The inability of a person or people to protect their interests or achieve goals necessary for their survival can lead to aggression. The inability to achieve their goals can be seen in the inequities in the eco-socio-political system (Wonah and Amadi 2019). The eco-socio- Political system epitomizes the nature and character of the state and when it cannot play the expected ancillary role in actualizing the survival instinct in man, it leads to frustration and ultimately aggressive behaviour. Man must survive but when this appears to be unrealistic, man resorts to self aggressive behaviour like kidnapping, armed robbery, banditry, terrorism, violent separatist agitation and other social vices which can undermine national security and development.

Gur (1970) and Berkowitz (1962) have argued that the primary source of human capacity for violent actions like armed robbery and other social vices is frustration. Aggression which manifest in social vices is the anger induced by frustration, poverty and inequities promoted by the faulty distributive mechanism of state resources, opportunities and power is a veritable source of conflict (Wonah, 2017). Conflict is a precipitate of frustration and aggression.

A society is in conflict when social vices are rife and at its apogee which ridicules the sanctity of the state and scuttles national security. Regrettably, Nigeria is passing through a turbulent stage in the annals of her history as her national security is being vitiated by the alarming and life-threatening rate of aggressive behaviour. The more frustrated Nigerians become due to their inability to achieve self and collective actualization prompted by the nature and character of Nigerian state, the more aggressive they become which can asphyxiate national security and development in Nigeria.

Understanding the Nigerian State

The natural instinct for survival and the incompatibility of interests or goals have ultimately led to the emergence of state. The state as a product of social contract, aside from protecting lives and property, promoting the welfare of citizens, ensuring that state's scarce resources are fairly and equitably distributed, also harmonizes the ever conflicting interests or goals of man in society. Thus the state is an epitome of peace, justice, fairness development and equity. Suffice it to say that in simple terms, the state is a political organization conferred with the authority to make laws, decisions, formulate public policies and implement same in order to facilitate a mutually beneficial, peaceful, egalitarian and conducive society. Consequently, the state is the highest form of development of society where individual potentials can be achieved (Guaba, 1981).

For the liberal-democratic theory, the state is treated as a product of the will of society, an instrument of "Conflict-resolution" and of securing the common interest. It authorizes society to constitute a government by free choice, and demands that the government should be responsible to the people, and should work with the continuous consent of the people (Guata 1981). To corroborate the above fact, Pierson (1996) observed that what is most characteristic of the modern state is not just the greater weight given to legal authority to the state's

embodiment of abstract legal principles enforced through an impartial bureaucratic and judicial apparatus, but above all, to the idea that the state embodies and expresses the (sovereign) will of the people. However, the Marxist perspective regards the state itself as an instrument of class exploitation, and advocates transformation, and ultimate withering away of the state in order to restore. 'Authority' to a classless society, (Guaba 1981).

Having known some views about the state, it appears the Nigerian state approximates more of the Marxist views than the liberal perspective. The unfavourable historical antecedents of the Nigerian state and its subsequent imposition on the people of Nigeria seem to relegate to the background the very essence of state. The imposition of state by the colonial masters and the plural nature of Nigerian society are at the root of political and socio-economic imbroglio. The plurality of the Nigerian state exacerbated by the divisive tendencies and subterfuge of the erstwhile colonial masters induced the 'labour' which unfortunately led to the delivery of the premature 'baby' called Nigeria Wonah (2017).

The exploitative, repressive and oppressive tendencies of the colonial state were replicated and institutionalized by the post-colonial state in Nigeria. The political elites who were and are still intoxicated with power engaged in primitive accumulation as they saw and are still seeing the state and its apparatuses as veritable means of enriching themselves. (Wonah, 2019). Corruption with impunity became the order of the day and ascendancy to power became a do-or-die affair. Consequently, the electoral system is marred with electoral irregularities with the concomitant devastating electoral violence (Oddih, 2007).

Corruption which is a manifestation of a faulty distributive mechanism places more of the state resources in the hands of the elites while the majority of the people are marginalized and wallow in seemingly abysmal poverty and utter ineflect. (Wonah, 2017). It should be reiterated that the imposition of state and federation on the various ethnic groups in Nigeria by the former colonial masters reinforced fissiparous tendencies which led to "marriage of inconvenience' as exemplified by the 1914 amalgamation. The effect is that issues that were supposed to be seen from the broad national perspective were and are still seen from the narrow ethnic point of view.

The resultant asymmetrical power structure perpetrates the exclusion and marginalization of some of the ethnic groups. It robs the people the sense of belonging and ultimately prepares the ground for separatist agitation (Wonah, 2019). The above facts characterize the nature and character of Nigerian state which makes it volatile and a breeding ground for lethal conflict. It is this unbridled lethal conflict that makes mockery of national security and development in Nigeria.

Rethinking National Security

We state here again that one of the basic functions of the state is the protection of lives and property. Thus, according to Max Weber, the state wields the monopoly of force. This it can do by mobilizing the coercive apparatuses of the state to enforce compliance or adherence to the laws of the land, as enshrined in the constitution. Ordinarily, security means protection from danger, but because danger is of different types, it follows that security would also be variegated. Thus, we consider the type of danger, its source and targets and the appropriate security measure to avert the danger and ensure sustained protection.

Security therefore is multi-dimensional and specific. It will be misleading and outright misconception to see security only within the purview of military architecture mostly in terms of many and sophisticated weapons and security gadgets, effective intelligence network and many trained military personnel. The above view comes down hard on the perspective of Stephen Walt (1991) as cited in Abubakar, Omeje and Galadima, 2010:19), a noted neo-realist, who noted that "security has to do with the threats, use and control of military force in the context of the specific policies that states adopt in order to prepare for, prevent or engage in war. Walt, like most neo-realists sees military power as the decisive or central instrument in achieving security, (Abubakar, Omeje and Galadima, 2010).

In affirming the multi-dimensional posture of security, Buzan (1991) as cited in Omeje, 2010: 17), a leading proponent of the Copenhagen school, remarkably acknowledges that, as opposed to being monolithic, the security of mankind is a multi-sectoral and inter-connected phenomenon. In his words, Buzan (1991 as cited in Omeje, 2010:25) averred that:

the security of human collectivities is affected by factors in five major sectors: Military, Political, Economic, social and environmental. Generally speaking, military security concerns the two levels of interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states' perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of governments and ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to resources finance and markets necessary to sustain accepted levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns the local and planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other enterprises depend. These five sectors do not operate in isolation from each other. Each defines a focal point within the security problematic and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkages.

The critical security studies and Human security Debate posits that state should not be the central focus of analysis in security studies because not only do they frequently mask parochial elitist interests, often disguised as the national interest, but they have in practice also remained a crucial part of the problem of insecurity in the international system by often being a threat to the security of the people they are expected to protect. Rather, the critical security studies (CSS) places much premium on the individual instead of the state as the main referent in security theory and politics. CSS proponents such as ken Booth, Wyn Tones, and Peter Vale argue that "security is best conceived and assured by human emancipation, specifically defined by Booth (1977) as 'freeing people as individuals and groups from social, physical, economic political and other constraints that stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do" (Omeje, 2010: 28).

Booth and Vale also emphasized the idea of security community in the sense used by Karl Deutsch, where peace is predictable among its member states based on their cultivation of similar values, strong economic ties, the expectation of more multi-faceted social, political and cultural transactions, a growing number of institutionalized relationships, mutual responsiveness. And mutual predictability of behaviour. (Omeje, 2010). The CSS theorists also recognized the role played by non-state actors, especially international non-state actors, in addressing some of the most serious security threats of our time such as environmental degradation, disease, poverty and overpopulation. Booth and Vale suggest that this can be

accomplished by promoting world-order values such as economic justice, non-violence, humane government, human rights and ecological sustainability (Omeje, 2010).

The idea of human emancipation by the CSS proponents is linked to human development. It follows that human security is all about man being free and meeting the needs of the down trodden. Such needs include but not limited to poverty alleviation, environmental protection, treatment and prevention of diseases, and human rights protection. It is obvious that the CSS theorists are pro underprivileged and the powerless groups — the hoi poloi, the wretched of the earth which is in tandem with the Marxist theory which sees security with regard to class interest. The dominant classes (The capitalist) in the post cold world war era use their control of state power to protect their selfish interests at the expense of security and the less privileged in the society.

For the subaltern Realist perspective, focus is on the role of the under priviledged in societies whose histories are ignored by traditional elitist historiography. This school of thought as propagated by Ayoob maintains the state-centric definition of security. Ayoob rejects the classical realist inclination to define and measure a state's security in terms of military capability and the monopolistic use of force to subdue external opponents or threats as Western ethno centrism (Omeje 2010). He distinguished between the external and domestic, dimensions of security. While the eternal security is more concerned with external threats to the state, domestic security is particularly concerned with intra-state conflicts. He avered that the domestic dimension of security is far more important than the external one. This is predicated on the fact that Third world states are engaged in state building.

The Neo-Liberal Debate is a revised form of liberalism. Whereas liberal political theory or classical liberalism is based on the primacy of liberty and private property, Neo-liberalism advocates a modicum of state intervention; some notable exponents of Neo-liberal like Desai (1998, as cited in Omeje, 2010) attribute ecological threats and violence in developing countries to the free market economy. This favours the unfastened economic adventurism by transnational corporations with the context of economic globalization. The huge economic or capital flight out of the countries of the third world not only pauperizes them but also degrades their environment thereby undermining environmental security. Consequently, in their (Third World Countreis) quest for economic prosperity, they tend to neglect the environment component of development.

From the above theories of security, it is evident that they are not specific and explicit in explaining the nature and character of the state which is the primary basis for security. Whereas it is our view that the multi referent nature of security should be upheld, it will not be adequate to downplay the state in the security discourse. In this regard, the efficacy of the state in performing its basic functions must be factored in. To think otherwise is to render otiose the sanctity of the state as "precipitate of social contract. The effective performance of the basic functions of the state is function of the nature and character of the state which finds expression in the politics.

Politics of inclusion coupled with pro-poor policies and programs couched in democratic values devoid of exploitation, marginalization and oppression can positively influence the nature and character of the state which in turn can guarantee national security and development. The most devastating conflict is the intra state conflict and national security can be compromised when the citizens are marginalized, oppressed and exploited. The CSS

proponents alluded to the fact that security is about human emancipation which enables man to carry out what he freely chooses to do. Whereas we agree with the emancipation of human from all constraints, we believe that the freedom to choose what to do must be within the confines of the laws of the land which the state should enforce.

The inability of the state to make people-oriented-laws and enforce such laws, 'cultivate' its citizens, protect lives and property, ensure that the state's scarce resources are fairly and equitably distributed, promote the welfare of its citizens, and harmonize the everconflicting interest of its citizen, is a hot bed for conflict which can asphyxiate National security and plunge society into Hobbesian state of nature. The nature and character of the state can be influenced by its historical antecedents and the prevalent values and norms. This in turn would influence the efficacy of the state in performing its basic functions. It should be noted that security is not only about military architecture but also more importantly is the provision of the political-socio-economic objective conditions necessary for self and collective actualization of the citizens.

According to Oladiran (2014), security means safety or freedom from danger, and protection from external attack or infiltration. The point here is that beyond the protection of lives and property is the fact that security also means the protection against the ravages of the negative social conditions which rob man of the much needed peace necessary for development (Wonah, 2019). This view was corroborated by Ogunbanwo as cited in Oladiran (2014: 51) when he aptly noted that:

security is more then military security or security from external attacks. For many of the four billion inhabitants in the developing countries, security is conceived as the basic level of the struggle for survival. Therefore, in order to provide an integrated African security assessment, the non-military dimension of security should be added. Hence forth, African security as a concept should be applied in its broadest sense to include economic security, social security and technological security.

In affirming the encompassing view about security, McNamara, (1968, p. 149) as cited in Gambo and Kwaja, 2010, 47) noted that

in a modernizing society, security is not military force, thought it may involve it, security is not traditional military activity, though it encompasses it, security is not military hardware, though it may include it. Security is development and without development there can be no security.... Food shortages, population explosion, low level of illiteracy, a fragile infrastructure base for technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and a chronic problem of unemployment has a false sense of security.

It should be pointed that from McNamara's assertion, rather than having low level of illiteracy which is the only positive index, it should have been low level of literacy. In addition, to the above McNamara's security threatening condition is the faulty distributive mechanism orchestrated by the actors of the state. The faulty distributive mechanism which is antithetical to security and development places more of the state's resources in the lands and pockets of few political elites at the expense of the majority of the people who are wallowing in seemingly abysmal poverty and underdevelopment.

The Impact of the State on National Security and Development in Nigeria

Aside from the imposition of Nigerian state which aggravated the divisive tendencies in a heterogeneous society, the primitive accumulation mentality of the actors of Nigerian state has negatively influenced the nature and character of Nigerian state. The mutual suspicion of subjugation, marginalization and exploitation and the outright conflict and violence among the component units in Nigeria, coupled with massive corruption by the actors of Nigerian state have ridiculously reduced the Nigerian state to a pseudo state.

The mutual suspicion among the component units has regrettably infused ethnicity into the body politics of Nigeria which in most cases finds expression in religious intolerance, conflict and violence. Consequently, the Nigerian state is a product of conflict and would logically speaking and without any iota of doubt be unable to resolve conflict, and enhance national security and development. Furthermore, the alarming rate of electoral violence as a result of the primitive accumulation of the actors of the Nigerian state relegates National Security and development to the background.

The implication of the primitive accumulation mentality is that the political elites see the state and its apparatuses as means of enriching themselves. Thus, ascendency to public office becomes a do-or-die affair (Ake, 1996) which mars electoral process and the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. The effect is that it creates a faulty distributive mechanism through which state scarce resources are wantonly looted and misappropriated to the extent that the few political elites swim in ocean of affluence while the rest of Nigerians wallow in abyssal poverty and underdevelopment.

The deliberate refusal of the actors of Nigerian state to invest adequately on economic venture that would have multiplier effects on the economy explains not only the huge external debt burden but it has also plunged the country into devastating economic quagmire. This is exacabated by the brazen misappropriation and looting of public fund by the political elites. The payment of paltry sum as minimum wage and by extension as salaries to Nigerian workers in contrast with the huge allowances and salaries paid to political actors explain the faulty distributive mechanism. The faulty distributive mechanism is also reinforced by favoritism (man-know-man), ethnicity, nepotism and prebendalism. The implication is that it expands the chasm of inequality between the few rich and powerful and the rest of Nigerians.

Consequently, no society with such alarming inequality can be peaceful. Also worrisome is the refusal of governments at different levels to pay workers' entitlement except they go on strike, and payment of workers' salaries as and when due. More pathetic and criminal is the refusal to pay pensioners. The overall effect of the above negative social conditions is that it reproduces exploited, impoverished, oppressed, marginalize, disillusioned and dejected Nigerians. The majority of these impoverished and dejected Nigerians whose sources of livelihood have been threatened resort to social vices such as armed robbery, kidnapping, ritual killing, prostitution, human trafficking etc. These social anomalies serve as albatross to peace which is turn undermines national development in Nigeria.

In another perspective, the imposition of state and federation on the various ethnic groups in Nigeria by the erstwhile colonial masters reinforced fissiparous tendencies which led to 'marriage of inconvenience' as exemplified by the 1914 amalgamation. The effect is that issues that were supposed to be seen from the broad national perspective were and are still seen from the ethnic point of view. The resultant asymmetrical power structure perpetrates the

exclusion, and marginalization of some of the ethnic groups. It robs the people the sense of belonging and ultimately prepares the ground for separatist agitation.

It follows that the promulgation of the obnoxious land Use Act, the attendant refusal to allow the states to control their resource (especially when oil was found in the minority region and became the major source of revenue), the scuttling of the autonomy of the other tiers of government, particularly local government, and the concentration of power at the centre, not only explains the pseudo federalism practised in Nigeria but also encumbers good governance and waters the ground for conflict to thrive in Nigeria.

In the discourse of peace, conflict and security are indispensible. Whereas, there can be no peace in the midst of conflict or violence, there is therefore the need to secure peace. Thus, the securitisation of peace is about providing the enabling conditions that can guarantee peace. Security generally is about the condition or feeling safe from harm or danger, the defence, protection and preservation of core values, and the absence of threats to acquire values (Francis, 2008).

Aside from the fact that security can be seen as the well thought-out and orchestrated military arrangements and intelligence, security can also be seen, and most importantly, as the protection, preservation and recreation of those conditions or resources necessary for human survival and existence. If for instance, the state does not protect the environment from anthropogenic activities; the environment in what may look like reprisal attack fights back in the form of global warming, leading to climate change, flood, desertification and other environmental perturbations. This can lead to food insecurity as farmlands are submerged by flood, and 'land squeeze' which are breeding grounds for conflict.

In their view, Gambo and Kwaja, (2010:47) noted that National Security also means the ability of the state to function effectively so that it is able to serve its interest and those of its citizens. Summarily, National Security is the totality of the security architecture of a country designed to protect not only lives and property, the territorial integrity but also the objective social conditions which are encapsulated in the National interests of the country. With the protection of lives and property, territorial integrity and the objective social conditions, National Security engenders peace which is necessary for national development in any society.

However, due to the exploitative, oppressive and fissiparous tendencies that characterize the Nigerian State, such negative social conditions like exploitation, poverty, hunger, marginalization, environmental degradation and unemployment render national security impotent in facilitating peace which is necessary for national development For instance the national bureau of statistics noted that the unemployment rate in Nigeria increased to 18.90 percent in the third quarter of 2017. Unemployment rate in Nigeria averaged 10.63 percent from 2006 until 2017. reaching an all-time high of 19.70 percent in the forth quarter of 2010 (https://tradingeconomics.com/Nigeria/unemployment-rate). This means that a good number of Nigerians are unemployed and their sources of livelihood are seriously threatened.

Consequently, criminal activities such as armed robbery, kidnapping, prostitution, human trafficking, corruption and ritual killing are on the increase in Nigeria. These negative social conditions are harbingers of conflict which undermine peace and national development. Unfortunately, Nigerian State seems to have ignored the root cause of conflict and general insecurity by its outright refusal to secure the sources of livelihood for Nigerians. Instead, it

prefers addressing the symptoms by allocating huge budgetary estimates to defence and internal security with little or nothing to show for it. Security vote and ecological fund allocations have been privatized as most political leaders misappropriate them and divert them for their selfish interests. In fact, most political leaders in Nigeria seem to be fishing in a troubled sea by taking advantage of the conflict and general insecurity in Nigeria to enrich them. The Dasuki gate scandal is a pointer in this regard.

It should be noted that the exploitative, oppressive and divisive tendencies of Nigerian State arc also replicated in the State, local government areas, communities and even in the families. Some people, due to their position in Government or their wealth (sometimes illgotten wealth) exploit, oppress their people and perpetrate injustice in their communities or families. They plunder other people's land and truncate and divert the course of traditional chieftaincy institutions. The indiscriminate appointment and recognition of chiefs and Ezes without due process and respect for the tradition and conventions of the people is not only sacrilegious but also a veritable source of conflict in the communities.

Perhaps, the most pathetic and more devastating is the fact that most politicians in their unbridled quest and inordinate ambition to acquire political power and remain perpetually in office, even against the wish of the electorates, hire thugs and arm them. These thugs have metamorphosed into deadly rival cult groups and most communities are flooded with the blood of human beings. These communities are deserted and the "Landlords" are now in charge in these communities, farmlands, rivers and creeks are abandoned which adversely affects the sources of livelihood of the people and reinforce hunger and poverty in the land. These youths who are cult members would have been gainfully engaged in productive ventures but they are patronized by some politicians and it appears might is now right. Also alarming is the fact that due to pecuniary gains and other selfish interests, most traditional rulers are now obviously partisan, thereby desecrating the sacred traditional institution and fanning the embers of discord and conflict in the communities.

It is obvious from the above facts that the nature and character of the Nigerian state has watered the ground for conflict to thrive which in turn undermines national security needed for development. No development can take place in an atmosphere of conflict and insecurity. Man is the fulcrum around which development resolves. Man must participate in the development process and for man to participate in the development process man must be free from exploitation, alienation, marginalization and oppression.

The Way Forward

There should be renaissance of the Nigerian state by restructuring the federal system to reflect actual devolution of power and functions to the three tiers of government. This would enable the federating units to develop at their pace and deemphasize the internecine struggle at the centre. There should also be restructuring of the mindset of Nigerians through intensive and extensive value reorientation campaign and proselytisation. Thus, the present administration change mantra of 'the change begins with me' should be made to be part of the national ethos. This would enable us to jettison the old negative and destructive values like corruption, man-know-man, (favouritism), ethnicity nepotism etc. and inculcate new positive values that can inject new blood into the political system.

Economic activities should be reinvigorated by investing hugely on economic activities that have multiplier effects which can expand the productive base of the economy. The faulty distributive mechanism should be dismantled by ensuring that only statemen and women who are selfless and have the interest of the people at heart are elected as leaders. It follows that the electoral system should be restructured to enable the people exercise their political sovereignty.

Apart from entrenching democratic institutions, more importantly is the fact that democratic culture should be imbibed and demonstrated by all Nigerians at any strata of the society. This would ensure that democratic values such as transparency, accountability, social justice, rule of law, tolerance are upheld which would give the federating units and indeed all Nigerians a sense of belonging. Anti graft war should be fought with the vigour and valour it demands, and the outrageous benefits accurable from the office of public office holders should be slashed. There should be constitutional review to reflect these recommendations, particularly with regard to restructuring which can eliminate the structural inequities and constitutional hiccups like the obnoxious land use act.

Concluding Remark

Security is multi faceted and should be seen from the multi referent point of view. This multi referent perspective makes it possible for the necessary intervening variables to be taken into consideration in analyzing and appreciating security issues. The focal point of security is the state. The state within the purview of social contract and the Weberian ideas protects lives and property.

The way the state carries this contractual function is dependent on the nature and character of the state. In Nigeria, the nature and character of the state has been negatively influenced which has become the harbinger for conflict and insecurity. It is axiomatic that security can facilitate development but in Nigeria, National security is vitiated by the fissiparous, exploitative and oppressive tendencies of the state which negates development. Insecurity which erodes peace has been reinforced by poverty, overpopulation, unemployment and environmental perturbations. These negative social objective conditions perpetrated by the Nigerian state through its faulty distributive mechanism are albatross to National security and development in Nigeria. There is therefore the need for democracy to be consolidated in Nigeria which can give all Nigerians a sense of belonging and promote national security needed for development in Nigeria.

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