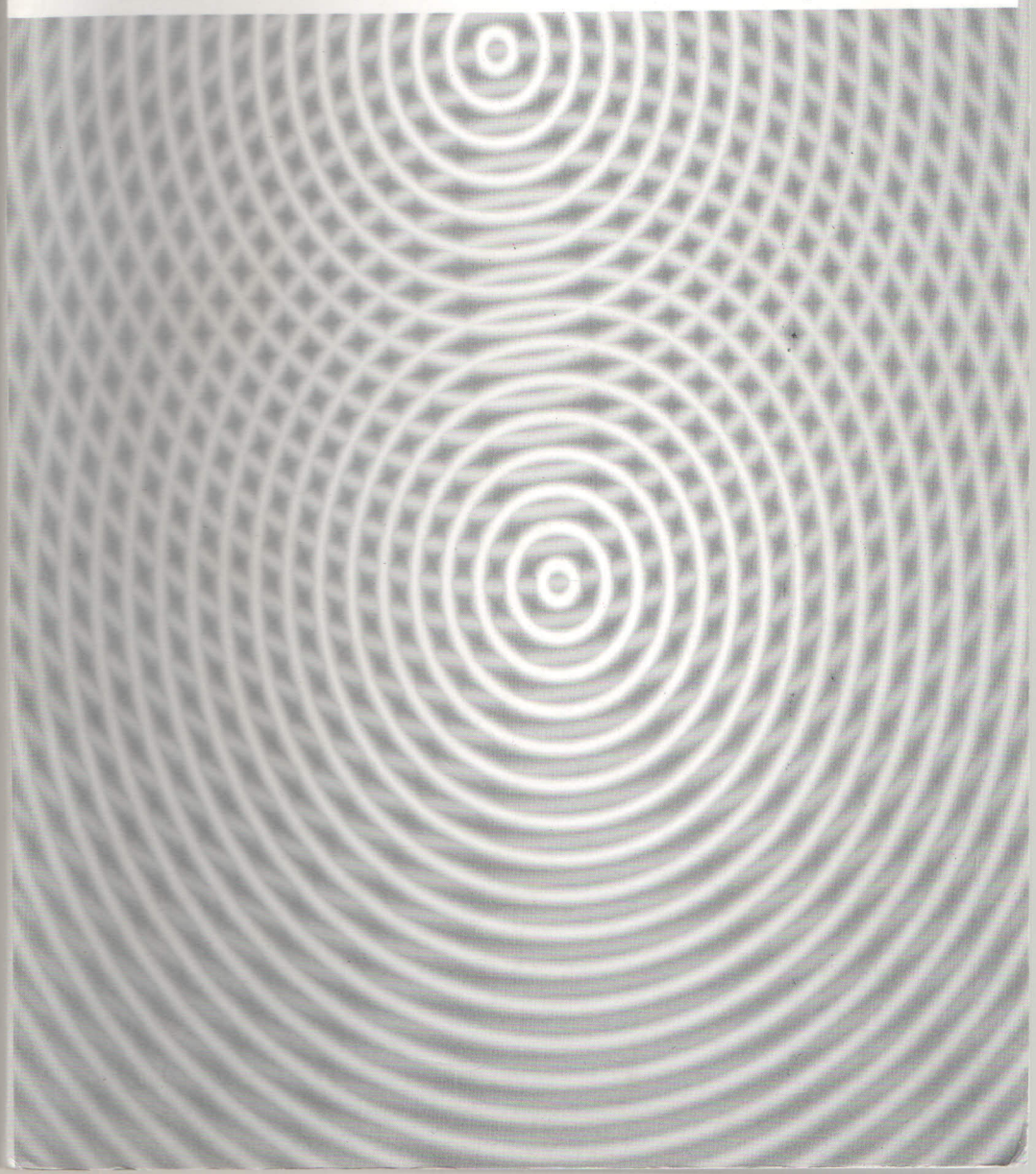
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EDITORIAL NOTE

NCJPS is an annual publication of the North central Chapter of the Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) which features in March, with articles which seek to promote a deep understanding of the complex nature of the Nigerian politics and society. It also seeks to provide a forum for analytical dialogue and robust exchange of ideas amongst scholars and practitioners. The journal welcomes contributions from a wide range of areas including but not limited to issues related to Political Science discourse, Nigerian Government and Politics, Social Stratification and Social Change, Political Economy, Political Development, Elections and Electioneering, Party Politics and Legislative Process, Gender Issues, Public Administration, Public Policy Analysis, Local Government and Development Studies, Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, Security and Strategic issues, International politics and diplomacy, and Foreign Policy Analysis.

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2. Articles should conform to ADP (APA) citation style. The in-text citation should be restricted to author's name, date and page, for example Adaaku (2014:3). This should be complemented in the out-text by the authors' surnames and initials followed by the year of publication, title, place of publication and name of publishers. For example, Tyodzenda,

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A CRITIQUE OF THE OPERATION OF OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER OF NIGERIA

Jolade Omede, Christie Okoroafor and **Arinze Ngwube**

Abstract

Nigeria is faced with threats to her internal security as a result of the pervasive state of insecurity in some parts of the country. This has thrown up challenges for the intelligence community in the country. The efficiency and effectiveness of intelligence has been under scrutiny due to recurring intelligence failure on the state of insecurity. This has affected the support and conduct of security operation in Nigeria. This situation is a source of concern among policy makers, scholars, international relations analyst. Owing to the poor state of security in the country, Nigeria is currently losing huge foreign investments. It remains the duty of government to provide an enabling environment for the populace to fulfil her potentials and the absence of this pose a threat in the polity of the country. The paper examines the operation of the office of the National Security Adviser of Nigeria and recommended solutions.

Keywords: Security, National Security Adviser, Nigeria

Introduction

Insecurity remains the most challenging problem of mankind despite humanity's outstanding and unsurpassed advancement in the field of science and technology. Ever since Cain killed his brother Abel, the world has been moving from one form of

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horrendous crime to another (Genesis 4:8). It is a common knowledge that needs no reemphasizing that no society no matter how modern, how civilized, how industrialized, and how democratic can be exempted from this truism that "man has dominated man (earth) to his injury" (Ecclesiastes 4:1). There has always been healthy tension between the producers of intelligence and the users of intelligence. This is against the backdrop that intelligence operations are not conducted for their own sake, but rather to inform the decisions of those who must act in defence of national security safety. The value of intelligence is in the eyes of its users, not its producers; intelligence is at its best when it is fully integrated with its users. These simple truths led to the development of intelligence methodologies and techniques as a function of support to specific instruments of national power such as diplomacy, law enforcement, and war fighting. The nature of today's threats has blurred the lines between traditional diplomatic, military, and law enforcement concerns, requiring all instruments of national power to work as a seamless network to defeat our adversaries. The rise of joint task forces, intelligence operations centres, and fusion centres has brought together professionals from across the law enforcement, military, and intelligence communities, offering them a unique opportunity to share tools and techniques in defence of the nation (Baginski, 2007).

However, in the face of these realities, and the need to collaborate effectively, intelligence and security agencies the world over have fallen into the trap of non-collaboration and indeed competition thereby attenuating security management and national security. In Nigeria, this challenge lives with us. Independent intelligence reports have shown lack of cooperation between military intelligence authorities and the state security service on one hand and between the intelligence agencies and law enforcement agencies on the other. This apparent anomaly is responsible for the massive intelligence failures in Nigeria and the triumph of domestic terrorists attacks by Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria. Added to this are proven cases of lack of patriotism, ethnic, religious and political sentiments by security

agents. No human ingenuity can eradicate crime and insecurity as well as restore human world to its original design of the Almighty God at the time of creation " And God saw everything He had made, and behold it was very good" (Gen 1:31). There are so many criminal activities going on around us which are a source of concern. Each day in Nigeria brings us new challenges of a magnitude capable of causing mental crises for those in the inner sanctum of national security planning and management.

Above all, a major missing link in security management is the alienation of the community in intelligence gathering in ways that hurts the nation greatly. Be it the counter insurgency operations in the Niger Delta or Boko Haram in the North, community integration provide the most dependable approach in security management in Nigeria. It is therefore logical by public safety and national security standards for Nigerian intelligence community to witness the current level of massive intelligence failures against Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria where series of successful attacks have cast serious doubts on Nigeria's public safety capabilities. The conducting of intelligence activities, the Federal Government has a variety of agencies such as the Department of Security Service (DSS) also known as SSS. Others are; Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA). These agencies have over time developed capacities to produce timely and accurate intelligence to confront issues that threaten national security. However, the proper employment and accurate designation of tasks for these intelligence agencies to support national security objectives has been a major challenge.

Government is putting too much emphasis on the maintance of physical security typified by the presence of military, police and intelligence agents, and paying little attention to human development issues which are essential for sustainable national security. In some cases, to demonstrate that government is capable of ensuring peace and security, military and police units are deployed to violent flashpoints. They use excessive force to arrest, detain and possibly even kill anyone who happens to be in the wrong place at the wrong time, hereby exacerbating a

situation which they are meant to alleviate. The emphasis on physical security notwithstanding intelligence failure could be blamed for much of the threat to public security in Nigeria. This is based on the understanding that the occurance,escalation and duration of violence against citizens and the state depends to a large extend on the capability of intelligence and security agencies in terms of ability to identify ,regulate ,curb or stop such violence through accurate information gathering, analysis and utilization (Sarafa 2010). In the run-up to the April 2011 general elections, large caches of arms capable of mass destruction believed to have been imported from Iran were seized at the ports. The intelligence agencies failed to establish any link between these incidents and the current violent attacks. In addition ,the September 2010 large -scale prison break which was orchestrated by members of the Boko Haram sect that freed about 700 prisoners, including over 100 of its members(Lauren, 2011) as well as the June 2011 lethal attack on the Police National Headquarters shows that the country's security forces are constrained to deal with the nations' security challenges. There are unconfirmed claims that members of the Boko Haram are enlisted among security agencies, and at different times high profile members have either escaped from detention or have been wrongfully released by security operatives(Alechenu etal 2011). Above all ,the decision of the federal government in 2011 to relocate the 51st national day celebrations and independence parade from the usual venue, Eagle Square in Abuja, to Aso Rock Presidential villa is indicative of bad governance and intelligence failure. It was done after the threatened disruption of the events by Boko Haram and MEND. This is a sign that government and intelligence agencies are indirectly succumbing to the growing security challenges bedeviling the country. The paper is divided into six parts: Introduction, Conceptualisation Analysis, the third section is Management Evaluation and Constraints of office of the National Security Adviser. The forth section is on the Recommendation, and lastly conclusion.

Conceptual Analysis

Given the tendency for concepts to elicit varying interpretations in discourses like this, matters of conceptual clarification are apposite not peripheral. Accordingly, we will clarify our usage of the terms, Intelligence and National Security in this paper. Intelligence is a relative rather than absolute term used to describe the process of gathering, analyzing and making use of information (Jackson et al, 2004). Intelligence has many meanings and it is in the context in which the term is used that it can be understood. However, intelligence in this paper is focused on issues related to national security such as defence and internal security. It is the information most often provided to decision makers to help guide future decision or actions (Gilbride et al, 2005). Examples of such actions are outright war and Military Operation Other Than War (MOOTW) of which security operation is one? In order to provide the necessary intelligence, nations establish and maintain their intelligence organizations. The structure of the intelligence organizations differ from one country to another, but generally consist of the domestic and foreign intelligence. In the case of Nigeria, the Department of Security Service (DSS) and National Intelligence Agency (NIA) are the domestic and foreign intelligence organizations respectively. There is also the military component which has the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the three Service intelligence organizations. These are the Directorate of Army Intelligence (DAI), the Directorate of Air Intelligence (DAI) and the Directorate of Navy Intelligence (DNI).

The role of intelligence in national security has increased significantly as a tool of state policy. In 2004 Micheal Herman thinks that intelligence is a form of state power in its own right (Jackson, 2004). This concept of intelligence as a form of power is based on the definition of power by Lawrence Freedman. Freedman defined power as "the capacity to produce effects that are more advantageous than would have otherwise been (Herman, 1996)." This concept has not captured the basic processes involved in intelligence production. Conversely, John Ferris has a different view and posited that intelligence is "not a

form of power but a means to guide its use, whether as combat multiple or by helping one to understand one's environment and options. Thus, it relates to how to apply force or leverage and against whom. Furthermore, he believes that intelligence involved the collection and analysis of information which allows the use of resource in the most effective way possible against rivals who are doing the same. He therefore concluded that the knowledge (commonly referred to as intelligence) derived from the information collected is for the purpose of supporting an action, the concept dwelled more on the application and usage of intelligence. Though it captures some aspects of intelligence process, it cannot satisfy the requirement for this paper (Ferris and Handel, 1995). Lowenthal (1999) on his own part defines intelligence as, "The process by which specific types of information important to national security are requested, collected, analyzed and provided to policymakers; the products of that process; the safe guarding of these processes and this information by counter intelligence activities; and the carrying out operations as requested by lawful authorities. The essential elements involved in the intelligence process are captured in the concept, which are collection and analysis involved in the processing of information. It is the analysis of raw information that leads to the finished product, which is intelligence. Therefore without analysis there cannot be intelligence. The term intelligence here also refers to the organization that is primarily involved in the chain of activities in the processing of Information. Beyond the organization level, intelligence is described in the concept as a profession that carries out certain activities such as intelligence activities. The tri-dimensional feature of this concept of intelligence provided a broad perspective in dealing with every aspect of intelligence as it relates to military operations. The concise Oxford Dictionary defines support as "to give assistance" (Oxford University 1999). Assistance in this context implies input which would enhance expertise or capabilities. A synergy of these definitions would meet the requirement of this study. In this paper, the research defines intelligence support as input resulting from information

concerning domestic environment or areas of operations that has been collected, processed, analyzed and the safeguarding of the product and process which is provided to security policy makers to guide decision or actions in support of operations.

National security literature and definitions of national security is copious and is still growing (Oche 2005; Okodolor, 2004; Imobighe 1998; Buzan; 1983 Mattew, 1989; Brown, 1977; and McNamara 1968). The proliferation of definitions of national security is essentially because the process of discursively 'securitising vulnerable referent objects (i.e. individual, nation-state or the global system) and defining particular risks, is therefore a political one (Weaver 1995), which usually depends on who is grappling with the subject. It is therefore common to see reference being made to human security, national security, international security, state security, regime security, corporate security, among others. The conception of national security in this paper indentifies with the revisionist thinking on the subject matter (Gambo, 2008; Onuoha, 2007), which sees national security from the point of view of human security. According to Onuoha (2007, p.4), human security entails:

> Freedom from actual and potential threats to human life, safety and survival which may arise as a result of human actions or inactions, or from natural disaster such as flood, earthquake, famine, drought, disease and other non-man-made calamitous events resulting in death, human suffering and material damage.

National security is therefore understood in the context of this writing to mean the ability of the state to protect its citizenry from hunger, poverty, ignorance, disease, and all forms of defencelessness (Okoli, 2012). This entails protecting the citizens from all forms of social, political, ecological, territorial, as well as cosmic vulnerabilities. This conception of national security marks a radical departure from the orthodox perspective which conceives of national security merely from defence/military-centric point of view (Alkali, 2003). As relevant and fundamental

as the concept of security is to human societies, it has not only defied any consensus but has created a "battleground of ideological contention". No matter the conception of security, an important point is that it underpins human existence. Thus, states define security within the context of their core values, interests, culture, prestige and socio-economic order. Transformations in the global arena have produced certain mutations in the conceptualisation of national security: the focus has moved from an emphasis on protecting and maintaining the state to a focus on the well-being of the people. Within this context, therefore, national security is equated with, and denotes, physical safety of individuals and groups and freedom from threats, anxiety or danger. This people-centric focus of contemporary national security presupposes that the state must facilitate unfettered access to, and enjoyment of, fundamental human rights by citizens. In other words, actions that tend to abbreviate or abridge fundamental human rights constitute insecurity. The Concept of "human security' recognizes those human needs that must be satisfied to ensure sustainable security. It goes beyond arguing that problems such as socio-economic discriminations are likely to create security threats by encouraging conflict, to claiming that such injustices constitute a threat to the life of those affected. In other words, a threat to security weakness in itself could be provocative! For even the bible commands us: "To be sober, be vigilant because your adversary the Devil, as a roaring Lion, walks about seeking who he may devour" (I Peter 5:8). Shakespeare described security in Macbeth as "as mortals chiefs' enemy " The matter of security is therefore too serious an issue to be preserved of all and sundry because the aggregate of individual, institutional and national environmental security adds up to the sum total of collective and corporate security of the nation.

The task of maintaining national security is as much the responsibility of the government as it is of the citizens. For the state to play its role as an impartial restraining force and thus maintain the delicate balance that could trigger insecurity, it ought to be aloof and non-aligned in the resolution of recurrent

conflicts of interest within the polity. The highest organ for Nigeria's National Security is a central organ for coordination, control and supervision. This organ is managed by the National Security Adviser on behalf of the President, through the National Security Council, the Joint Intelligence Board (JIB) and the Intelligence Community Committee. The National Security Adviser has the status and enjoys the privileges of a Federal Minister. He advises the President on National Security. He directs the State Security Service on policies approved by the President (Are,1999). The National Security Adviser is the principal officer of the National Security Council. The National Security Council comprises the President of Nigeria, Vice President, Chief of Defence Staff, Minister of Internal Affairs, Minister of Defence, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Inspector General of Police, and other persons as the president may in his discretion appoint (Are,1999).The National Security Council has the power to advise the President on matters relating to public security including matters relating to any organisation or agency established by law for ensuring the security of the Federation (Are,1999). The State Security Service is in charge of Internal Security. The National Intelligence Agency provides external intelligence to Nigeria. The Armed Forces, the Police and Para-military organisations have responsibilities for specific aspects of national security. They are tasked through the relevant ministries, service councils, and established chain of authority.

Management Evaluation and Constraints of Office of the National Security Adviser

The Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) is responsible for the coordination of actions and also performs management responsibilities on issues of intelligence and security affecting the country. A major constraint in the management of intelligence is in structure. The various agencies in the Intelligence Community (IC) and the intelligence components of the law enforcement agencies are part of structures of other separate executive departments. This arrangement though allows the NSA to manage the (IC); it however does not make the office have

authority over all the law enforcement agencies and even the entities of the IC for which he has responsibility for coordinating and integrating. The inability of the ONSA to have day to day direct control of both IC allows each to operate according to their individual doctrine or policy. Another major challenge is that of capacity building for the nation's defence and security forces in order to be able to cope with their enormous responsibilities. The current state of readiness is far from optimal.

It is no doubt that Nigeria's own security problems appear to be more or less self-inflicted due to policy contradictions, nepotism, greed, injustice and inability to selflessly meet the yearnings and aspirations of the people. Two of our great leaders made reference to the cause of our national problem recently. Former President Olusegun Obasanjo laid the blame on our lack of love for one another in the country. Former President Goodluck Jonathan alluded to our attitudes generally. But we humbly disagree with both. Our problems are located within the prism of injustice embedded in our system which our leaders are very reluctant to confront. It appears that the Nigeria government lacks the capacity and the political will to mount an effective response, as violent attacks by the sect have increased in frequency and destructiveness, occurring almost on daily basis in the northern part of the country. In spite of the increasing deterioration of security, no effective counter -strategy and enabling legislations have been put in place by government to address the situation. The most visible responses to date have been a massive deployment of the security forces, which has further created a feeling of fear among the local population. The belief that the presence of security forces is sufficient to guarantee national security seems to be deeply rooted in the psychology of those saddled with national security decisions.

Conclusion

The nitty-gritty of national security is concerned with the totality of issues that build into the survival and growth of a nation. The land, its resources and people of a country constitute its primary resources. For this reason the protection usually engages

prominent attention in the country's national security efforts. Beyond this, everything that a nation requires for survival and growth is gained within the competitive framework of the international system. Macro factors which mould national security consideration could be global or regional. It has to be considered in detail the process of decision making on any security issue. Also worthy of consideration as factors are: the quality of inputs into the decision making process; and the impediments to implementation. Security decision making is a continuous process that requires constant proactive fine tuning and improvement in order to be effective. There is the need to further develop within our defence capabilities, proactive thinking and planning capabilities. We need to be comprehensive in our approach, working with our intelligence, information and foreign policy communities to fashion a unified capability to shape our strategic environment. It is vital we frame our national security for the forthcoming decade and perhaps even further into the future.

Recommendation

There is the need to reposition the office of the National Security Adviser for it to performance its functional roles. The following would need to be adopted:

- The office of the national Security adviser should formulate and propose policy to the Federal Government that would put in place a common intelligence doctrine for the intelligence community.
- The training of manpower should be organised by the office of the National Security Adviser through a phased training programme in all intelligence community.
- There should be upward rate of funds allocated by the federal government for intelligence activities undertaken by the Intelligence Community.
- Our security and intelligence agencies should be empowered in the areas of counter -insurgency and improved capabilities for proactive response, as well as the promotion of inter-

agency collaboration in the form of information sharing in order to effectively curtail both existing and emerging national and human security threats.

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