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Review and Analysis of Nigeria's National Security Strategy 2019 By Dr Freedom Onuoha And Dr Maurice Ogbonanya

Background and Context

In 2014, President Goodluck Jonathan signed and launched Nigeria's first-ever National Security Strategy (NSS) to serve as the overarching national strategy document in framing the country's pursuit of its national security. The NSS was presented as a framework for a holistic and more coordinated approach and response to security challenges in the country. The development of the 2014 National Security Strategy, which aimed "to guide, organise, and harmonise national security policies and efforts,"¹ It identified key security issues and assigned approach, roles and responsibilities to government, civil society, private agencies and individuals in addressing them. The 2014 NSS rightfully acknowledged that "it has limitations of time and space", while emphasising that "the issues that are so important to the security and existence of Nigeria as a nation may invariably change within the next few years. Therefore, there is the need to review any National Security Strategy document after a period of 5-10 years, so as to bring it up to date with the realities of the time".¹

Since the adoption of the NSS 2014, the domestic and international security environment has evolved in number and complexity with new challenges such as terrorism and insurgency, flooding and other natural disasters, and outbreak of deadly diseases such as Lassa Fever and the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD), among other real, existential and diverse security threats. This presented Nigeria with the opportunity to redefine the pursuit of its national security objectives. Thus, the need to review the NSS to reflect these emerging and complex security realities. In December 2019, the President Muhammadu Buhari Administration released a revised NSS for Nigeria. The 2019 NSS is designed to chart the way forward by outlining the threats confronting the country. It lays out the framework for the country to meet the basic needs and security concerns of citizens and address internal and external threats. Moreover, the revised NSS is part of the President Buhari regime's effort to reposition Nigeria along with three broad but fundamental sectoral policy thrusts, namely; security, economy and the fight against corruption.

As posited by President Buhari in his imprimatur on the NSS 2019, "the implementation of all the principles and ideas expressed in this document is crucial to our national security and general well-being. Concerted efforts will therefore be made to implement the National Security Strategy 2019".¹ Like the 2014 edition, the revised NSS has its overarching vision "to make Nigeria a secure, safe, just, peaceful, prosperous and strong nation" and as its inherent mission "to apply all elements of national power to ensure physical and human security, a just society, peaceful co-existence, national unity, prosperity and sustainable development while promoting Nigeria's influence in regional, continental and global affairs."¹ Therefore, ensuring effective implementation of the NSS is critically important if the vision of making Nigeria a secure, safe, just, peaceful, prosperous and strong nation is to be attained.

The review and analysis of the revised NSS seeks to highlight the high points, opportunities and gaps in the new strategy document. It will equally proffer actionable recommendations on how to ensure effective implementation of the strategy as well as monitor progress of its implementation.

¹ Federal Government of Nigeria (2014). National Security Strategy, November, p.1.

² Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Security Strategy November 2014. Abuja: Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA), p.v

³ Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Security Strategy, December 2019. Abuja: ONSA, p.v

⁴ Federal Government of Nigeria (2019). National Security Strategy, November, p. xvii.

OVERVIEW OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY 2019

The 2019 edition of the NSS outlines the major security concerns of the nation for which policies and strategies have been articulated and how the government plans to deal with them. It states that:



“The Strategy envisages the unique characteristics of the risks and threats we face in a world that is constantly undergoing changes. In other words, a strategy that orients state action towards current and perceived future challenges by using available resources flexibly and efficiently. The Strategy will also enhance our prevention, protection and response capabilities to security threats in an increasingly complex environment”¹



The NSS 2019 recognizes that the security environment has continued to evolve, giving rise to emergent challenges, including the intensification of pastoralists-farmers conflicts, escalation of banditry, and significant upsurge in

kidnapping, among other violent crimes. It also took cognizance of the dynamics of the international scene, especially the rise in populist right-wing political parties and resistance to migration in Europe and some other parts of the world. On global political economy the document captured the US-China trade war and even the BREXIT effect. Thus, the revised NSS is also designed to preserve Nigeria’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, promote and protect its national interests, and ensure the well-being of Nigerians.

Structurally, the revised NSS, in a significant departure from the 2014 edition, is divided on thematic basis, into eight chapters. Chapter one presents the national values, interests and objectives, which extol the ideals of freedom, equality and justice. It also presents the country’s national interests as the quest for the preservation of Nigeria’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, security and the welfare of her people. As a stakeholder in the

global space, Nigeria contributes to the maintenance of international peace, security and cooperation as well as the prevention and resolution of intra-state, inter-state, regional and international conflicts.

Chapter two gives an overview of Nigeria's geo-strategic environment. This analysis begins with the assessment of domestic situation followed by an appreciation of the security issues and challenges in the regional, continental and global environment, which include, but not limited to religious intolerance, violent extremism, banditry and militia activities, among others. The NSS 2019 also captures other aspects as maritime economic prospect (and challenges) of Nigeria as well as the strategic position of Nigerian in the African and global economic configuration.

Chapter three offers a detailed exposure of the various dimensions of what the Nigerian government recognizes as security threat and risk, including their implications, summarised under the following

security threats categorization: terrorism and violent extremism, armed banditry, kidnapping, militancy and separatist agitations, pastoralists-farmers conflicts, transnational organised crime, piracy and sea robbery, porous borders, cybercrimes challenges. Others are socio-political threats, fake news and hate speeches, environmental threats, public health challenges, economic challenges, regional and global security challenges.

From chapters four to seven, appropriate strategies to ultimately ensure peace, prosperity and security in the country are marshalled out. Specifically, in chapter four, strategy to contain the state and arm related security threats were discussed under the sub-headings of Protecting Nigerian people and territory; national defence; internal security; combating terrorism and countering violent extremism; preventing and combating kidnapping, armed banditry and militia activities; promoting cybersecurity

development; promoting research and development in space technology; combating transnational organized crime; critical national assets and infrastructure security; maritime security; airspace and aviation security; land transportation security; securing ungoverned space; and chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear and explosive security.

On economic security and development, chapter five highlights the strategies for attaining the security goals of the NSS 2019, under relevant thematic subheadings: Nigeria's prosperity and sustainable development, economic security and opportunities, energy security, and prioritize research in science, technology and innovation. Others are food security, labour security, health security, education security and environmental security. In a complementary fashion, the sixth chapter focused on the strategies to attain national unity and peaceful co-existence, political security,

social security, gender sensitivity and security, and youth strategy. The seventh chapter dwelt more on strategies to promote regional and international interests focusing on ECOWAS, Gulf of Guinea Commission, Community of Sahel-Saharan States, African Union, and United Nations. Other subjects of concern were subsumed under Engagement of Nigerians in Diaspora, Contribution to International Security, Sustain Development Assistance, and Defence Engagements.

Chapter eight, which presents the conclusion, noted that the modifications introduced in the NSS 2019 stems from the experiences from the interplay between implementation of the NSS 2014 and the strategic environment. Like its predecessor, the NSS 2019 recognised the constant flux that characterises the strategic environment and prescribed that it undergoes a continuous process of revision at appropriate intervals of five (5) years or as may be necessary.

THE HIGHPOINTS OF THE UPDATED NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Besides its robust and comprehensive structure, in terms of contents and focus, the revised NSS has a number of high points, especially in terms of the issue areas of coverage.

Paradigm shift in national security philosophy: One of the highpoints of the NSS 2019 is the adoption of a paradigm shift in the nation's approach to national security, placing emphasis on human security over state security. This is in line with the new notion of national security which has the 'people' and not the 'state' as reference object. Human security involves basing the understanding of security on the needs of citizens, not just those of the government/State. In this regard, the paradigm shift focuses on how to address four fundamental security concerns in Nigeria. First, is the existential need to protect Nigerian people and

territory. Second, is to promote Nigeria's prosperity and sustainable development. Third, is the need to promote national unity and peaceful coexistence. And fourth, is the focus on realising Nigeria's regional and international interests. This shift in security paradigm attests to the assertion that "the new notion of National Security under President Muhammadu Buhari administration places emphasis on the people and not the state and is aimed at enhancing the social well-being of the citizens."¹

Promotion of self-reliance and credible national defence: The objective to promote self-reliance and credible national defence capability which will make the funding of the Nigerian Armed Forces to be treated as a national capital investment is a laudable and commendable. In addition, the proposed two-yearly defence review to ascertain accountability is worthy of mention. Huge dependence on foreign countries for security and

¹ Maj. Gen Babagana Monguno, the National Security Adviser (NSA), at the launching of the

2019 National Security Strategy on 4 December 2019, in Abuja.

defence equipment has heightened Nigeria’s strategic vulnerability in national defence management. Existential security threats, such as the Boko Haram insurgency, have increased demands for military hardware, equipment and platforms. Yet Nigeria lacks a robust indigenous defence industry to address some of its basic security needs, leading to huge reliance on importation of defence equipment. The aspiration for promoting self-reliance and credible national defence capability is therefore promising.

Articulation of national values: As rightly noted by an analyst, a nation’s values reflect its characteristics at a profound level, serving as a type of fundamental declaration expressing the nation’s identity, vision, and raison d’être. They serve as the broadest,

immutable common ground for all inhabitants.²

The NSS of a state takes into account, and reinforces, its values in order to appropriately prioritize threats and interests. To this end, the NSS 2019 equally reflects Nigeria’s broad national values, interests and objectives, bordering on the ideals of freedom, equality and justice, respect for the sanctity of human life, and commitment to enhancing human dignity and ensuring that national actions are humane.

The promotion of a culture of dialogue and peaceful co-

existence: Nigeria has been confronted with many threats to national unity and peaceful co-existence such as secessionist agitation, militancy, herdsmen-farmers clashes, terrorism and insurgency. Government has



The NSS of a state takes into account, and reinforces, its values in order to appropriately prioritize threats and interests.



² Eisenkot, G and Siboni, G (2019), Guidelines for Israel’s National Security Strategy, Washington DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy p.iii

relied hugely on kinetic approach in managing these security challenges. The NSS 2019 recognises and promotes the approach of dialogue, mediation and consultation as means of conflict management to foster national cohesion. In this wise, the NSS 2019 identified a number of measures to be taken in achieving national cohesion, such as fostering a culture of civility and inclusive public discourse and promotion of non-discrimination among all Nigerians irrespective of gender, religion or ethnic origin.

A whole-of-society approach to strategy implementation:

Another noticeable highpoint of the document is the emphasis on a whole of society approach to its implementation. As expressed in the document, “the implementation will be driven systematically, transparently and accountably to ensure that all Ministries, Departments and Agencies key into it and deliver expected measurable outcomes designed to enhance our resilience, stability and national strategy. This process will involve

relevant Ministries, Departments and Agencies, Civil Society Organisations, (CSOs) Development Partners, the Armed Forces, Police, Security and Para-military organisations as well as the general public.

Engagement with the Diaspora community:

The revised Strategy’s aim of promoting Nigeria’s regional and international interests through the engagement of Nigerians in diaspora is a fundamental highpoint. This Strategy will not only give credence to the functions and duties of the newly established Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NIDCOM), which has the responsibility of ensuring the engagement of the Nigerians in the Diaspora in the policies, projects, and participation in the development of Nigeria but will also bring an end to decades of crisis of identity that has

characterised the Nigerian diaspora.³

LOW POINTS OF THE REVIEWED STRATEGY

The notable highpoints of the revised NSS notwithstanding, there are some noticeable downsides of the document that are both substantive and peripheral. Some of these flaws include.

Failure to present a clear definition of national security:

The document failed to clearly articulate what constitutes ‘national security’ from the perspective of Nigeria or the Nigerian government. At best, the document only recognised that it is aimed at “ensuring that Nigeria’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, national interests, the well-being of the people and the country’s institutions are preserved, protected and enhanced”. While its aim is clear, what constitutes national security was never stated. For instance, the NSS 2013 of Spain states “National

Security is the State action aimed at protecting the freedom and well-being of its citizens, guaranteeing the defence of Spain and its constitutional principles and values, and contributing together with our partners and allies to international security in compliance with the commitments undertaken”.⁴ A clear definition of what constitutes national security provides explicit roadmap for effective formulation of strategies to overcome identified, emerging or envisaged security threats.

Use of outdated designation of a critical national institution:

On 14 August, 2019, President Muhammadu Buhari signed the Nigerian Correctional Bill into Law. The Act repealed the Nigerian Prisons Service Act and changed the name from Nigeria Prisons Service to Nigeria Correctional Service, otherwise known as ‘the Correctional Service’. Even though the NSS document was signed four months after the Nigeria Prisons

³ See Ogbonnaya, U.M. (2018). African Diaspora: Conceptual Contestations and Crisis of Identity, *African Notes*, 41(1 & 2), 4-25, February-June.

⁴ Spain, The National Security Strategy: Sharing a Common Project (2013), p.6

Service was changed to Nigeria Correctional Service, the document made reference to the old designation such as in pages 22 and 23.

GAPS IN CURRENT SECURITY TRENDS AND SECURITY DISCOURSE

The NSS outlines how Nigeria's security posture should be adapted to suit the periods of peace, emergencies and war. As such, it is by nature contemporary and forward-looking, intended to enable governments to manage current challenges while anticipating and preparing for issues that may arise in the future. A thorough review of the updated NSS suggests that there are critical gaps revealed by current security developments and trends. Some of the gaps are discussed in subsequently.

1. Mismatch between aspiration and reality: As earlier noted, one of the important highlights of the NSS 2019 is the shift in

emphasis in the way security is viewed. Hitherto, national security, especially during the era of military rule was conceptualised and addressed from the perspective of regime security. National security was primarily couched in a manner that prioritised the safety, stability and continuity of the regime in power. However, the NSS 2014 reviewed in 2019 has placed human security at the front burner. The Strategy places emphasis on human security in order to enhance the social wellbeing of the citizenry. Such a shift in focus is fundamental and commendable. In reality, however, most of the nation's security institutions and agents are yet to internalise the essence of the paradigm shift or key into the human security perspective. As a result, their actions have been characterised by unprofessionalism, human rights violations, and abuse of

office. In addition, the nation's security agencies have not maintained optimum cordiality in discharging their duties. There is unnecessary rivalry and conflict among them, especially during internal security operations and counter terrorism operations. The revised strategy makes no effort to address this gap.

2. Limited strategic anticipation of future threats:

During the launch of the 2019 NSS, the NSA noted that the document has addressed the current threats faced by the nation as well as those threats that are anticipated to emerge in the near future. The recent reality with the outbreak of epidemic virus suggests weakness in strategic anticipation of future threat. To be sure, the document recognizes the robust and prompt response of the government in managing the outbreak of Ebola in 2014, but failed to

take cognizance of future threat of epidemic or pandemic diseases such as the current case of COVID-19 to public health in Nigeria. This pandemic health challenge offers opportunity for Nigeria to leverage lessons learned in the management of Ebola in implementing effective response and containment strategy for enhanced health security in Nigeria. The articulation of the nation's NSS should be forward-looking, leveraging deep thinking and strategic thought to provide a broad picture of the security environment in ways that allow our leaders to be better prepared for possible risks and future threats.

3. Non-prioritisation of reliable national identity system.

Another notable gap in the conception and framing of the NSS 2019 is the weak recognition of the imperative for a reliable identity system in Nigeria. The absence of a

reliable identity system is one of the factors behind the nation's failure to effectively and proactively respond to diverse security threats despite an avalanche of defence, security, law enforcement and intelligence agencies.⁵ Yet, it was completely glossed over in the NSS 2019. Most developed states have leveraged identity management to enhance service delivery in different areas, including security provisioning. Successive administrations since 1979 have awarded various national identification projects that proved unsuccessful due to corruption, politicisation and poor execution. What rather obtains in Nigeria is the duplication of efforts at biometric-based identity

systems by government agencies like the Nigeria Police Force, Nigeria Immigration Service, Federal Road Safety Corp, Federal Inland Revenue Service, National Health Insurance Service, National Pension Commission, and Nigerian Communications Commission that are neither cost effective nor security-smart. Although the Federal government has professed to harmonising the biometric database of Nigerians as part of measures to improve security, just about 33 million (about 20%) out of the estimated 180 million population have been captured in NIMC database as at October 2018.⁶ An observer had rightly noted that the NIMC is starved of funds and relegated in order of

⁵ Onuoha, F.C (2020), Nigeria's National Security Architecture: Rebuilding the Foundation in a Changing Strategic Environment', presented at the International conference on "Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in Nigeria: Critical Perspectives on Boko Haram", organized by the National Defence Academy and the Victims Support

Fund, at NAF Conference Centre & Suites, Abuja, March 16-20.

⁶ Silas, D. (2018). NIMC announces official figure of Nigerians registered for national identification card. Daily Post, 26 October, <http://dailypost.ng/2018/10/26/nimc-announces-official-figure-nigerians-registered-national-identification-card/>

importance to other ‘juicier’ identification bodies like those of passports and drivers licensing.⁷ The absence of a reliable national identity system in Nigeria severely constrains the evolution of robust national database critical for effective crime management, criminal justice administration, development planning, security services delivery and retention of confidence of strategic allies.⁸ The consequence for the preservation of internal security and maintenance of stable external relations has been dire.

4. Unstable relations with key partners. Another area of interest is the mismatch between aspiration for sustaining relations with partners and implementation of activities that boost partners’ confidence in Nigeria. The NSS 2019 acknowledged that Nigeria

“will sustain a Whole-of-Government approach through strong inter-agency platforms and mechanisms at strategic and operational levels to ensure the realization of counter terrorism mandates in furtherance of our national security objectives. Under these special platforms, we will conduct timely threat analyses and share information at home and with our partners. We will also promote international cooperation and collaboration in the fight against terrorism. This is in view of the international affiliations of terrorist groups in Nigeria to global terrorist networks.” Emerging reality, however, has shown that actions terribly lag behind such pronouncements. On 31 January, a US presidential proclamation announced that Nigeria has been added to a

⁷ Abah, J. (2018). When neutrality helps the victim, 29 April, <https://www.joeabah.com/when-neutrality-helps-the-victim/>

⁸ Onuoha, F.C (2020).

list of countries whose citizens will in some way be restricted from entering the United States. According to a White House statement, Nigeria was not complying with “the established identity-management and information sharing criteria assessed by performance metrics. Nigeria does not adequately share public-safety and terrorism-related information, which is necessary for the protection of the national security and public safety of the United States”.⁹ It is pertinent to note that temporary visitors from Nigeria to the United States had already declined following the introduction of tighter visa issuing procedures in the summer of 2019. Such a treatment by the US demonstrates one of the gaps in the pursuit of Nigeria’s national security. It is commendable that the NSS 2019 proclaimed that “we will

conduct timely threat analyses and share information at home and with our partners”, but regrettable that concrete actions were not taken to fix security lapses that led to a US curb on immigration from Nigeria.

STRATEGIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

The utility of any policy or strategy lies in its implementation. That explains why the NSA stated during the official launch of the NSS 2019 that “a national security strategy document is meaningless if its contents are not holistically implemented”. In order to enhance the implementation of the NSS, the following measures are proffered.

Wider dissemination and sensitization: Deliberate steps aimed at extensive dissemination of the guidance document at all levels

⁹ Campbell, J (2020), Trump Administration Bans Immigrants From Nigeria, *Council on Foreign Relations*, February 4,

<https://www.cfr.org/blog/trump-administration-bans-immigrants-nigeria>

and institutions of government coupled with sensitization is the first stage towards ensuring effective implementation of the strategy. The dissemination can be achieved through channelled distribution of hard copies to various government agencies (MDAs) as well as CSOs so as to enable them to internalize the contents of the document. Print, broadcast and social media platforms should be maximally used to achieve wider dissemination of the document.

Partnership between ONSA and knowledge production community: Another way to deepen the implementation of the NSS 2019 is for the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) to partner with academic, research and training institutions to encourage them to study, dissect and propagate the contents and aspirations of the NSS 2019 so that their students or participants would begin to internalize its essence and usefully apply its provisions in furtherance of national security.

Development of performance measurement matrix: The ONSA should collaborate with other critical stakeholders, including security experts and academia, to develop robust performance measurement matrix (PMM) for the core national aspirations expressed in the NSS. The PMM will identify key performance measurement indicators (PMIs) for assessing progress, successes, setbacks and/or failure in relation to the identified national aspirations vis-à-vis the actions and inactions of individuals or organizations tasked with implementing the relevant aspects of the document. Such PMM and PMIs will identify the concrete actions needed to provide security to the citizens. It will equally enable the harnessing of lessons learned for future actions, including in future review of the NSS.

Adoption of blueprint for the implementation process: The importance of an implementation blueprint is to avoid a situation where provisions of the NSS amount to mere aspirational

pronouncements. The first step in the implementation process is to generate empirical approximation of the core national aspirations presented in clear and measurable terms. The second step is to create a PMM of these core national aspirations (Appendix 1 presents a sample of such matrix). The third step is to identify and direct relevant government agencies to develop realistic implementation plan for benchmarking interventions, actions and timelines. The fourth is to design ways and means of measuring success and progress of the implementation process as well as performance outcomes. In this way, the blueprint will guide the achievement of the deliverables anticipated from the NSS 2019.

Creation of a national security strategy monitoring unit. The ONSA should create a dedicated NSS Monitoring Unit (NSSMU) to serve as a hub for monitoring and reporting on the implementation of the aspirations and provisions of the strategy. The relevant government

agencies, institutions, and parastatals should be made to submit routine progress reports to the NSSMU.

Setting up of a standing monitoring group. One of the emerging best practices in ensuring effective implementation of a nation's NSS is to establish a standing monitoring group. The setting up of such group is needed to enhance the prospect of realizing the aspirations and expectations of the NSS 2019. The groups should be composed of experts drawn from diverse fields and sectors of the economy. They will constantly scrutinize the evolving strategic environment with a view to advising the government and other critical actors on how to maximize opportunities and minimize risks presented by the dynamism of the strategic environment that have bearing on the realisation of the principles and aspirations of the NSS 2019.

STRATEGIES TO MONITOR THE PROGRESS OF IMPLEMENTATION

If the updated NSS is to have any measurable impact on the national security landscape in Nigeria, its implementation needs to be closely and intensely monitored. The following measures could aid monitoring of the progress of implementation.

Generation and dissemination of situation report: Actors, agencies and institutions of the state tasked with the implementation of the strategy should be mandated to produce relevant reports (monthly, quarterly or annually) to be disseminated to relevant bodies such as the National Security Council, relevant committees of the National Assembly and other important stakeholders to help inform policies and programming for the realization of national security objectives. For example, during the implementation of its 2009 national security White Paper,

the government of Australia required its Department of Defence to provide quarterly reports, which enabled the government to consistently monitor implementation progress.¹⁰

Performance of oversight responsibility:

Successful implementation of the NSS requires the exercise of oversight responsibility as an effective mechanism for monitoring and evaluation. There is the need for effective legislative oversight of the implementation of the NSS 2019 through proper scrutinization of the appropriations of government agencies, regular and unscheduled visitation of these agencies, and regular conduct of public hearing on issues of national security importance to better harness public opinion free of government manipulations. Beyond the legislature, independent oversight institutions such as the National Human Rights Commission can set up a unit to monitor the

¹⁰ DuMont, M. (2019), Elements of national security strategy, *Atlantic Council*, February 28, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/content->

[series/strategy-consortium/elements-of-national-security-strategy/](https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/content-series/strategy-consortium/elements-of-national-security-strategy/)

implementation process with a view to providing neutral and objective assessment of the process.

Sustained constructive assessment by civil society:

Globally, CSOs in particular play crucial role in promoting good governance and people-centred development. Their invaluable watchdog role is extremely crucial in monitoring the implementation of the NSS. Hence, CSOs should dissect the updated NSS, with a view to identifying aspects of their focus, interventions or engagements that align with certain provisions of the NSS. Identification of such convergence points will enable them to engage in monitoring of the implementation process so as to expose lapses, gaps, and lessons that would benefit the nation. Based on such constructive assessment, CSOs can develop evidence-based scorecard for judging progress in identified areas of the NSS.

Conduct of perception survey:

Another veritable mechanism for monitoring implementation

progress of the NSS 2019 is to gauge people's opinion about the quality of security services provision. To this end, CSOs could partner with credible polling organisations to conduct National Security Perception Survey (NSPS) to independently evaluate the people's perception of overall improvement or otherwise on some measurable aspects of the national security objectives. The scope of the survey may be state-wide, zone-specific or nationwide, and could be conducted monthly, quarterly, bi-annually or annually. It will serve the public interest if its conduct is independent of government influence. Beyond uncovering the level of progress or otherwise in security provisioning, the NSPS will serve as a tool for constructive engagement with relevant government establishments in terms of needs assessment, gap identification, lessons learned, and capacity building of officials.

Imposition of a regime of sanction:

One of the reasons why successive governments in Nigeria have failed to effectively implement

crucial national policies let alone realize their lofty objectives is the weakness or absence of a regime of sanction. To ensure effective implementation of the NSS, robust mechanism for imposing sanctions on defaulting actors and institutions should be evolved and emplaced across all levels and spheres of governmental authority.

CONCLUSION

The NSS 2019 signals Nigeria's continued commitment to adopting a pragmatic approach to the pursuit of national security. To be sure, the review and updating of the NSS in 2019 is essential, but effective implementation is much more crucial. This article has analysed the NSS 2019, highlighting its provisions, highpoints, and oversights as well as proffering some actionable recommendations for ensuring its implementation and monitoring. The extent to which the NSS 2019 will contribute to the preservation of national security in Nigeria depends less on gaps in its provisions but more on the level of commitment by stakeholders in

taking concrete actions to realise principles and aspirations expressed in the document. Thus, its vigorous implementation is as important as the establishment of a robust mechanism for monitoring implementation progress. These crucial steps will ensure that the strategy and its implementation process remain relevant to the dynamism of the environment.

Appendix 1

Sample of Assessment and Monitoring Matrix for the Realisation of Major National Aspirations Expressed in the National Security Strategy, December 2019

S/No.	Major Aspiration	Relevant Implementing bodies	Possible Performance Measurement Indicator	Suggested Monitoring Mechanism
1	Promote the development of military industrial complex (MIC)	Ministry of Defence; DICON	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Development of a national policy on indigenous defence industry ▪ Establishment of a coordinating framework for institutionalising partnership between military establishments and private industries, Universities and research institutions ▪ Special funding for Research and Development ▪ Signing of bilateral agreement on technology transfer ▪ Reactivation of critical industries vital to defence production ▪ Signing of MoU for linkage programmes between military establishments and other service providers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Inter-ministerial committee for MIC ➤ Field visit by Defence Committee of the Senate and HoR ➤ Demand for progress report
2	Intelligence driven approach to internal security management	ONSA; (Intelligence organs of national security and defence institutions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Creation of inter-agency framework for intelligence sharing ▪ Establishment of a centralized intelligence centre (CFC) ▪ Recruitment and training of intelligence team ▪ Reactivation and sustenance of national crime registry ▪ Technology enabled security mapping of Nigeria ▪ Expanded embedding of intelligence officers in local communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Field visit by Intelligence Committee of the Senate and HoR ➤ Routine assessment of progress of work on IFC by the ONSA ➤ Conduct of public perception of response to security challenges

