## SECURITY

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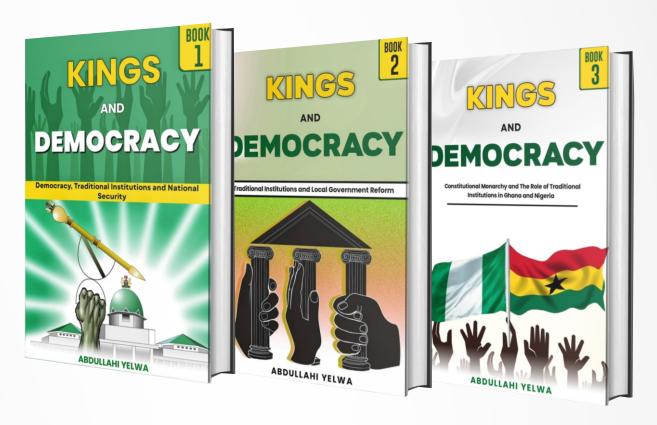


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# PUBLISHER'S DESK

nsecurity is today the greatest existential challenge confronting the nation.

Its deadly tapestry includes the Boko Haram insurgency, banditry, Farmers-herders crisis, militancy, insurrection, ritualism and separatism in the East and South West, Even the best efforts by the authority have failed to substantial curve the menace of insecurity.

#### The Mission of INSECURITY MAGAZINE are:

- -Understanding the depth, sociology, perspective and the ecosystem of insecurity.
- -Provide a platform for citizen participation in the search for solutions to the scourge of insecurity.
- -Be a rallying point for the evolution of functional and sustainable policies on security.
- -Be a leading source for accurate information on security both at home and around the world.

These constitute the core of the mission and vision of Insecurity Magazine.

## **EDITORIAL**

### Will Banditry Ever End in Nigeria?

Since rural banditry became a major national security challenge for Nigeria, thousands of people have killed and many kidnapped for ransom. Villages have been sacked or burned down by deadly and rampaging bandits.

Farmers were denied access to their farms and in some communities were forced to pay huge amount of money for permission to go to their farms. The epicentre of banditry is the North West, especially in rural communities in Katsina, Zamfara, Kaduna, Sokoto, Kebbi and Niger states.

Efforts of the Federal and state governments have so far failed to stem the tide of banditry, as bandits continue to sack and terrorise communities at will. Recently, political leaders at federal and state levels have called on the citizenry to defend themselves. The question to ask is with what are the citizens going to defend themselves?

It's true that security should be the concern of all citizens, but constitutionally, the most pivotal role of government is the protection of lives and property of the citizen. This is what Government must accomplish to end banditry and other forms of insecurity in Nigeria.

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## **Banditry**

## **End of the Road for Matawalle?**

he Federal High Court in Abuja has approved a lawsuit seeking to compel the Federal Government to investigate allegations linking the Minister of State for Defence, Alhaji Bello Matawalle, to banditry in Zamfara State.

The suit, brought by human rights activist Abubakar Dahiru, aims to probe Matawalle's alleged involvement in the operations

of bandits during his tenure as governor.

Like a bad dream, the allegation refused to go away. Every passing day it acquires a new momentum. Like the sword of Domacles it hangs on the neck of Matawalle.

Ironically, even now that that the Nigerian military is recording some successes in the fight against banditry in Zamfara, the call for the investigation of the alleged involvement of Matawalle in sponsoring banditry are getting louder. There have been persistent calls for his trial and removal as Minister of State for Defense.

Some of these offensives may of course be motivated by politics, especially the desire to remove him from office. His efforts to make peace with bandits during his reign provide the the weapon of choice for his political foes.







Governor Dare



Zamfara politics can be messy and dirty indeed.

Banditry provides the most important tool for political contestation and power struggle in the state Its devastation, wide spread and complexity provide arsenal for politicians to malign one another, often for political gains.

No political leader in Zamfara, however has been widely linked to involvement in the scourge of terrorism as the the former Governor of Zamfara State and currently Minister for state for defense, Bello Matawalle.

In large part because of the intensity and varocity of the allegations and failure of the minister and his Boss, President Bola Tinubu, to offer defence or explanation, the allegations has festered.

More recently, the Zamfara State Governor, Dr Dauda Lawal Dare has joined the fray by calling on the Defense Minister to resign from office in order to clear his name of these persistent allegations.

The governor, who spoke during an appearance on TVC, said if Matawalle had any integrity left in him, he should honourably resign.

Lawal detailed how the government house during Matawalle's reign, was allegedly used to pay ransom for abducted children of a permanent secretary in the state.

would resign and face all the allegations against me."

" It was also very clear from all that bandits were being kept at the government house," he

He said: "If I were him, I

alleged

"For me honestly, I will step aside and face these allegation until I clear my name before I come back and continue my job.
That should have been honourable."

He wondered how Matawalle with all these allegations against him is still the minister of defence.

The Governor has also written a letter of complaint against

Matawalle to the Office of the National Security Advisor, NSA.

Before Governor Dare's bombshell, however, a University don, Professor Abdussamad Umar Jibiya had called on President Tinubu to sack the minister for complicity and involvement in the sponsorship of banditry.

He expressed shock at the news of the appointment of Matawalle as minister in the President Tinubu administration.

He recalled how on June 10, 2020, armed bandits, led by the notorious bandits leader, Ado Aleru invaded Kadisau Village, in Faskari Local Government of Katsina State, killing 57 people. He further alleged that the same bandits also killed additional 30 people in another village.

He lamented that 2 years after the gory events, on Saturday 16 July 2022, Aleru was turbuned, in a ceremony attended by leading bandits and Matawalle's commissioner for internal security and other Zamfara State government officials.

The Professor also referred to persistent allegations by a Sokoto based Islamic scholar, Sheik Murtala Bello Assada, who had consistently claimed that he has incontrovertibly evidence on all the claims he had made on the social media on the link between the minister and bandit leaders in Zamfara State.

He narrated how one bandit leader Haruna Dole, arrested with over 500 weapons, was taken to the police headquarters in Abuja. He alleged that Governor Matawalle made calls and the bandit was released and handed over to one Bashar, an associate of Matawalle.

There was also the allegation that Turji once visited Matawalle in the Zamfara Government House where he had dinner with the governor. He called on the President Tinubu to sack Matawalle, or for the National Assembly intervene.

Sheik Assada has been one of the most feist cri critics of Matawalle. He has made more implicating allegations of complicity in the banditry in Zamfara against Matawalle. Curiously, however, Matawalle has never publicly challenged the Cleric or institute legal action against him. Matawalle has, however recently commented on some of the allegations of involvement in banditry against him.

While professing his innocence, he challenged Zamfara State Governor, Dauda Lawal, to swear by the Holy Quran, to prove his innocence in the ongoing banditry accusations ravaging the state.

In an interview with Channels Television, he called on anyone with evidence linking him to aiding bandits to come forward with proof.

"I am the only Governor of Zamfara who has sworn by the Holy Quran, declaring I have no ties to the bandits or their criminal activities in the state," he stated.

Matawalle added that during his tenure, he ensured that his aides, commissioners, and other government officials also took an oath of innocence before assuming their roles.

He further defended his Government's dialogue with bandits, pointing out that other governors, including those of Sokoto, Niger, and Katsina states, had also negotiated with bandits to prevent the collapse of their respective states., "Why only me? Zamfara is a small but complex state with individuals harboring devilish ideas. The people of Zamfara may dislike me because I confront everyone involved in these heinous acts, including politicians who destabilise the state, he said"

He stressed that, unlike others, he took a bold step by swearing an oath of innocence before God, challenging other politicians like Governor Dauda to do the same.
However, he claimed that none
of them had accepted the
challenge.

As grievous as the allegations of supporting banditry are however, the Defense Minister is not without his defenders.

The former Governor of
Zamfara State, Ahmed Sani
Yarima, while defending
Matawalle has advised
Governor Dauda Lawal to work
with President Bola Tinubu's
administration to win the war
against banditry in the state.

Yarima's successor and former governor of Zamfara State and now Senator representing Zamfara West Senatorial District at the National Assembly, Abdulaziz Abubakar Yari has cautioned Zamfara State Governor Dauda Lawal to stop the blame game and unguarded utterances against his predecessor Bello Matawalle Senator Yari said the Governor should do what he could in tackling insecurity bedeveling the state, as all governors before him had faced different degrees of security challenges and did their best in tackling

Yari, who ruled the state for eight years, said he was the first governor of the state to face an insurmountable challenging security issue but tried his best to ensure tackling the situation.

He said Matawalle had done his best in the state.
A former Zamfara State deputy governor, Muktari Ahmad Anka, has also commended President Tinubu's fight against banditry and cautioned Governor







Sen. Yarima



Dauda Lawal against distracting the efforts of the Minister of State for Defence, Matawalle.

While commending President Bola Tinubu's decision directing the Minister of State for Defence, Bello Mohammed Matawalle, to take the fight to the bandits camps throughout the area, Anka cautioned Dauda Lawal, the present state governor, against meddling in the ongoing operations.

The chairman, Zamfara State chapter of the Peoples Democratic Party, PDP, Alhaji Jibo Magayaki Jamilu has however tackled Senator

Abdulaziz Yari for exonerating Minister of State, Defence, Bello Matawalle, from allegations of sponsoring banditry.

In a statement he personally issued to newsmen in Gusau, the PDP chairman said, "Instead of deflecting responsibility, Yari should advocate for

an investigation into any potential complicity regarding the security issues in Zamfara State.

Governor Dauda Lawal is not engaging in a blame game, rather, he is striving to set the records straight for the sake of posterity, accountability and transparency.

"Senator Yari should redirect his caution and advice toward Matawalle, as it is essential for all leaders to be held accountable for their actions," he said.

The complex issues surrounding banditry in Zamfara are not likely to go away anytime soon. His prosecution or even removal from office may not completely exonerate from blames, especially those who believe his is involved or his political foes whom use banditry as a weapon to stop his political growth. But for now, a probe of some of these allegations by competent authorities may douse tension and slow down the spread of a dangerous cancer capable of damaging his person and the integrity of the President he serves.





Sheik Assada

## **NNPCL vs. Dangote:**

## Why Tinubu can't play Pontius Pilate



By Taiwo Adisa (Published in the Sunday Tribune, September 29, 2024)



he Presidency addressed several issues last Wednesday as the Special Adviser to President Bola Ahmed Tinubu on Information and Strategy, Mr. Bayo Onanuga picked the microphone to give perspectives to certain developments. One of the issues he addressed was the

lingering feud between the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation Limited (NNPCL) and Dangote Refineries Limited. Onanuga said that President Tinubu would not intervene in the feud because the two entities "operate independently in a deregulated market." According to Onanuga, the

Premium Motor Spirit (PMS) field has been deregulated, just as Dangote is a private company. The NNPCL is a limited liability company, he said. In the loaded statement, the presidential adviser was hinting Nigerians why the President cannot dabble into the huge but confusing feud between Dangote Refineries and NNPCL, over the pricing of petroleum products in the country.

The presidential adviser and Nigerians are not oblivious to the implications of his statement. First, a lot of hope had been invested in the Dangote Refineries by Nigerians, who had concluded that its coming on stream would yield them cheaper fuel and help end the perennial fuel scarcity that kept the pumps at the filling stations dry for most of the months. But as the refinery was about to fag off its full operations, officials of the refinery, the NNPC and its subsidiaries





started singing some music with disparaging tunes. Accusations upon accusations were rampaging in the air, while some name calling and tagging were being spread openly and under the table. It became obvious that elements in the administration of President Tinubu were opposed to the operation of the local refinery. Such insinuations must have prompted the President of Dangote Group, Alhaji Aliko Dangote to speak out in some tones not easily attributable to him hitherto. He alleged that officials of the NNPC were running a blending plant in Malta, where fuel is imported into Nigeria. He equally offered to hand off the Lagos-based refinery if the government would buy him out.

As tension rose, between Dangote and NNPCL, the corporation was having the last laugh, as it chose the same time to unleash some violent strokes of koboko whips on the back of the Nigerian citizen. It galloped fuel prices at will and at the same time locked the products away from their reach. Queues got unwinding

at filling stations and the agony was unending. The hunger and thirst for Dangote fuel grew, but the NNPC chose to remain the stumbling block. I guess that the cries of Nigerian citizens at one point got across the Aso Rock Villa, in Abuja and the presidency had to order a temporary ceasefire. NNPCL was directed to create avenues for the supply of crude oil to Dangote in Naira while the refinery too was to agree to a pricing model to be fashioned by the Federal Executive Council. Even at that, the two combatants have continued to throw jabs at each other, especially over what should constitute the exact price of Dangote petrol. While Dangote had claimed that fuel from its refineries would be far cheaper than imported ones, the NNPC had given a conflicting indication. The NNPC/Dangote tango has been a ding-dong and a topsyturvy affair.

That was the situation as the October 1 date fixed for the start of crude supply to Dangote draws close. And Mr. Onanuga was speaking against that backdrop. If that stands,

it would amount to classifying Tinubu in the mould of the biblical Pontius Pilate, as seen in the book of John 18:37-49 and 19:1-19. In that biblical encounter, leading to the final crucifixion of Jesus Christ, the Jews had brought Jesus to Pilate's court for an indictment that would enable them to crucify him. Pilate asked questions of Jesus and even though Jesus answered in the spirit, the judge was still able to conclude that he found no fault in Jesus. And that was despite the mounting pressure from the multitude of Jews, seeking to crucify Jesus.

As we read in John 19:6;
"When the chief priests
therefore and officers saw
him, they cried out, saying,
Crucify him, Crucify him.
Pilate saith unto them, Take
ye him, and crucify him: for
I find no fault in him."

I believe that President Tinubu should not throw Nigerians at the NNPC, like sheep to wolves. If the declaration of his office is allowed to stand, he would be doing otherwise. To play the Pilate in this

needless NNPCL and Dangote feud, he would have endorsed all the punishment his compatriots are suffering at the hands of the NNPCL. He would have said, even though I found no merit in the push to whip the population, I leave you to crucify them' That would tell us that the President is not only shirking his responsibility as the Minister of Petroleum but also his overriding power as the President and Commander-inchief

Much as the officials of the NNPCL and other subsidiaries owned by the Nigerian people want to play the master by believing that they are independent limited liability companies, we will be hiding behind one finger if we believe any inch of that claim. And besides, which limited liability company would not be accountable to its shareholders or the chairman of its board?

If we don't want to use agidi to light a gas cylinder, we have to agree that the matter of fuel supply in Nigeria is a basic unmistakable assignment President Tinubu must handle for his employers-the Nigerian people. He must be in a position to find answers to the puzzles. Why is fuel supply such a pain in the neck under his administration so far? Why is the locally imported fuel threatening to get more expensive under the watch of the NNPC he supervises? And why is the same NNPC seeking to suffer headaches for another person? When will NNPC's refineries come alive after the several deadlines?

President Tinubu needs to intervene decisively too, by helping his employers find solutions to the endless hike in fuel prices, and why citizens of other oil-producing countries derive benefits from oil while the Nigerian situation is perpetually in the negative. The Daily Trust on September 23, published a report by Global Petrol Prices, a platform that tracks petrol prices across various countries, which claimed that four countries in Africa sell fuel cheaper than Nigeria. They include Libya which sells at \$0.032 (approximately N52/litre), Egypt (\$0.279), Algeria(\$0.342)

and Angola, another oilproducing country, at \$0.351 per litre.

Besides the above, Tribune columnist and renowned writer, Professor Farook Kperogi quoted data by some oil industry experts who claimed that the landing cost of imported petrol in Nigeria should stand at N1,107 per litre and that several cost components are not inclusive of locally imported fuel.

According to him, when such cost components are removed, Dangote's fuel should not sell higher than N518.35 per litre. Indeed, investigations have revealed that Dangote fuel costs far cheaper than the amount quoted by him and the NNPC. You could see the fire in the eyes of the spokesperson of Dangote when he refuted the claim that NNPC got fuel at N890 per litre from the refinery.

President Tinubu should not play the ostrich, he cannot afford to play the Pontius Pilate in this case, if he wants a reversal of the oil curse in his tenure.



## **Women Legislators**

## It's A Man's World

By Mariam Humbe

ollowing the general elections, Nigeria's 10th National Assembly was inaugurated for legislative duties in June 2023.

With the election of principal officers, both the Green Chamber, the House of Representatives and the Red Chamber, Senate immediately settled down for legislative duties.

from the past 9th Assembly. The 10th Assembly has women occupying 4 out of 109 seats (2.9%) in the Senate and 17 out of 360 seats in the House of Representatives (4.7%). The entire number represents 4.2% of the 469-member Assembly.

In the 9th National Assembly, there were 8 female Senators (7.3%) and 13 female Members of the House of

Representatives (3.6%). This figure represented 4.5% of the entire Assembly.

Since 1999, the number of women in the Senate has dropped to what it was at Nigeria's return to democracy; after seven general election cycles.

By some political tsunami, all female senators in the 9th Assembly lost their re-election bid, and

went away with rich legislative experience.

With the 2023 General Elections, 16 women were sworn in out of the 360 lawmakers in Nigeria's House of Representatives, in the 10th Assembly, a slight increase when compared to 13 in the previous House.

These female lawmakers are from Anambra, Bayelsa, Benue, Borno, Delta, Imo, Ogun, Plateau, Lagos, Oyo and Yobe States.

Below Are Profiles Of The 10th Assembly Female Lawmakers:

## SENATORS: Ireti Heebah Kingibe

(Senator, FCT, Labour Party)



Senator Kingibe was elected on the platform of the Labour Party (LP) representing the Federal Capital Territory (FCT).

Although not seen as a serious contender before the election, she stunned Nigerians by defeating the then incumbent senator, Philip Aduda who had spent several terms in the Upper Chamber.

Senator Kingibe studied at



However, there have been concerns over the dwindling number of women elected into the nation's parliament which has continued in the 10th Assembly.

Here are the figures: The representation of women in the 10th National Assembly is not a significant improvement

the University of Minnesota, United States, where she acquired her Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) degree in Civil Engineering in the 1970s.

She first contested the FCT Senatorial election in 2003 under the defunct All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP). She joined the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and, later, the All Progressives Congress (APC) in 2014.

Ireti Kingibe is a younger sister of Ajoke Mohammed, wife of now late Nigerian Head of State, Murtala Mohammed. Born on 2 June, 1954, she was married to a former Secretary to the Government of the Federation, (SGF) Babagana Kingibe.

Ipalibo Banigo (Senator, Rivers West, PDP)



Representing Rivers West on the platform of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) Banigo served as the first female Deputy Governor of Rivers State from 2015-2023, in the administration of Nyesom Wike.

A medical doctor; she studied at the University College Hospital, Ibadan, Oyo State, where she got her MBBS degree (Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery). She later obtained a Masters (M.Sc.) degree from Harvard University, School of Public Health.

She had earlier held various important positions at the Rivers State Ministry of Health, during her service. She assumed the position of Director of Public Health Service, Acting Commissioner, Director and Permanent Secretary respectively.

Idiat Oluranti Adebule (Senator, APC Lagos West)



Senator Adebule, representing Lagos West, under the platform of the All Progressives Congress (APC), had previously served as the Deputy Governor of Lagos State from 2015 to 2019.

An educationist, Adebunle holds a Doctorate degree from Lagos State University in Curriculum Studies.

Early in her career, she had worked as a Junior lecturer at the Michael Otedola College of Primary Education in Lagos and Lagos State University. She also served as a Commissioner in the Lagos State Post Primary Teaching Service Commission (PPTESCOM), now Teachers' Establishment and Pensions Office.

Born on 27 November 1970, she is 53 years old. She was appointed and sworn in as Secretary to the State Government by the Lagos State Government of Babatunde Raji Fashola in July, 2011.

Senator Natasha Akpoti



Kogi State born lawyer and politician, Natasha Hadiza Akpoti, was born on Sunday, December 9th, 1979 at the Maternity Hospital Ilorin, Kwara state (now University of Ilorin Teaching Hospital). The second of four children, she is the only daughter of a Nigerian father and a Ukrainian mother. Her mother, Ludmila Kravchenko was born in Rakitna in the region of Chernivtsi in Ukraine; and her father, Dr. Jimoh Abdul Akpoti was born in Obeiba-Ihima, Kogi State (formerly Kwara State).

Natasha's parents met in the then Soviet Union where her father was a foreign medical student on scholarship at the Bolomolets Medical University, Ukraine. Natasha's journey to the Senate wasn't without thorns until October 2023 when she was sworn in after being cleared by the Tribunal as the winner.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



### Regina Akume

(Benue Reps: Gboko/Tarka, APC) (Benue House of Representatives, Gboko/Tarka, APC)

Regina Akume served in different political capacities at the grassroots level in the past.

She is the wife of George Akume, who was Benue State governor between 1999 and 2007 and is now the Secretary General of the Federation (SGF) in the current administration headed by Bola Tinubu.

She is a woman leader in her constituency and across Benue State.

Her opponents from opposition parties are challenging her victory at the election petition tribunal. Regina Akume was born in 1955.



#### **Maureen Chinwe Gwacham**

(Anambra Reps: Oyi/Ayamelum, APGA)

Maureen Chinwe Gwacham is a businesswoman who had held the position of Managing Director at Best Western Meloch Hotel, Awka, Anambra, prior to her election into the House of Representatives. Her election into the House is being challenged at the Election Petition Tribunal by other candidates, including Uchenna Okafor of the Young Progressives Party (YPP) and Vincent Ofumelu, People's Democratic Party (PDP).



#### Marie Enenimiete Ebikake

(Bayelsa Reps: Brass-Nembe, PDP)

Marie Enenimiete Ebikake (Bayelsa Reps: Brass-Nembe, PDP)Marie Enenimiete Ebikake served in the government of then Governor Seirake Dickson as Commissioner for Transportation from 2012 to 2015.

She was relieved of her appointment following allegation of teaming up with Nigerian first lady Patience Jonathan to work against re-

election of Governor Dickson for a second term and have him replaced with Waripamowei Dudafa a domestic aide of former President Goodluck Jonathan.

Ebikake was a teacher before she ventured into politics.
She had contested for the Brass-Nembe seat in 2019, but lost to Isreal Sunny-Goli. She challenged the results at the Election Petition Tribunal but lost the case for lack of adequate evidence.

#### **Zainab Gimba**

(Borno Reps Member: Bama/Ngala/Kala-Balge, APC)



Zainab Gimba (Borno Reps Member: Bama/Ngala/Kala-Balge, APC)

Zainab Gimba is a member of Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP) and advocates for representation and maintenance of gender equality.

She has a Doctorate degree in Public Administration and Policy Analysis from the University of Abuja, Nigeria and was a senior lecturer at the University of Maiduguri, Borno State prior to venturing into politics.

From 2011-2014, Gimba was the Commissioner in the Ministry of Poverty Alleviation and Youth Empowerment in Borno. She also served as the Commissioner for the State Universal Basic Education Board between 2014 and 2015.

She was also a Commissioner under the Ministry of Water Resources in Borno State from 2015 to 2018.

Gimba was born on 25 December, 1972.



#### Erhiatake Ibori-Suenu

(Delta Reps: Ethiope East/Ethiope West, PDP)

Erhiatake Ibori-Suenu is a 42year-old politician who studied Business Studies and Information Systems in the United Kingdom. She defeated the incumbent Reps member, Ben Igbakpa, to clinch the PDP ticket for the National Assembly in 2022.

She is also the daughter of former governor of Delta State James Ibori.

Mariam Onuoha (Imo Reps: Isiala Mbano/Okigwe/ Onuimo, APC)



Mariam Onuoha hails from Umunachi Osu-Ama in the Isiala-Mbano Local Government Area of Imo State.

She got a B.Sc. in Estate
Management from the University of
Lagos and an M.Sc. in
Environmental Planning and
Protection from the University of
Abuja.

Onuoha served as a Senior Special Assistant to the Governor of Bayelsa State on International Development Cooperation before her election into the House of Representatives.

A returning legislator,
Onuoha won the 2019
elections for the House of
Representatives after the
election petition tribunal
sacked Obinna Onwubuariri,
who was earlier declared
winner.

She is also the only female lawmaker who indicated interest to become the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CONTINUE ON PAGE 33

## NATIONAL SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE GATHERING FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN NIGERIA: A CRIMINOLOGICAL APPROACH":



### Being paper presented by: Zubair Abdurra'uf Idris

MD Prestige Radio & Executive Director, Wadata Media and Advocacy Centre (WAMAC),

at the 7th National Conference of Criminologists and Security Experts of Nigeria (ACASEN) on Friday, 27th September 2024, at Dogon Koli Hotel, City Gate, Minna, Niger State.

#### Introduction

Nigeria, Africa's largest economy, faces myriad security challenges threatening its economic growth and stability. As a criminologist, this presentation examines the nexus between national security, intelligence gathering, and economic development, focusing on Nigeria's peculiar security landscape.

#### Security Challenges in Nigeria

Security challenges ranging from banditry, kidnapping, cattle rustling farmers and herders clash, cyber crime among others has diluted the eco system.

- Banditry: Rampant in the North-West and North-Central Nigeria, particularly in Zamfara, Sokoto, Kaduna, Katsina and indeed FCT, Niger, Benue, Kogi and Plateau states. Banditry and Terrorists activities disrupt economic activities, displaces communities, and claims lives (BBC News, 2022).
- 2. Cattle Rustling: Widespread in the North-Central and North-West, cattle rustling fuels conflict, destroys livelihoods, and hampers agricultural productivity (International Crisis Group, 2020).
- 3. Kidnapping for Ransom: Prevalent across the country, kidnapping undermines investor confidence, disrupts economic transactions, and inflicts trauma on victims' families (Nigeria Police Force, 2022).
- 4. Boko Haram, Separatists, and Terrorist Activities: The Boko Haram insurgency in the North-East, separatist movements in the South-East and South-South, and terrorist cells pose significant threats to national security and economic stability (Council on Foreign Relations, 2022).

### Impact on Economic Growth

- Reduced Foreign Investment: Security concerns deter foreign investors, hindering economic growth (World Bank, 2020).
- Disrupted Supply Chains: Insecurity affects transportation, logistics, and distribution, increasing costs and reducing economic efficiency (KPMG, 2020).
- 3. Decreased Agricultural Productivity: Security challenges limit access to farmlands, reducing agricultural output and food security (FAO, 2020).
- 4. Human Capital Flight: Brain drain and displacement of skilled workers undermine economic development (IOM, 2020).

### Intelligence Gathering for National Security

- 1. Enhance Inter-Agency Collaboration: Foster cooperation among security agencies to share intelligence and coordinate responses.
- Community-Based Intelligence: Engage local communities in intelligence gathering to address security concerns.
- 3. Technology-Driven Surveillance: Leverage technology, such as drones and satellite imaging, to monitor and respond to security threats.
- 4. Capacity Building: Invest in training and equipment for security personnel to enhance effectiveness.
- 5. Human intelligence is one of the best form of collecting information, due to failure of technological means of getting intelligence.

### Criminologist Approach to Addressing Security Challenges

- 1. Situational Crime Prevention: Identify and address underlying causes of crime, such as poverty and unemployment.
- Social Crime Prevention: Engage communities in crime prevention through education, job creation, and social programs.

- 3. Environmental Crime Prevention: Design and manage public spaces to reduce crime opportunities.
- 4. Restorative Justice: Promote reconciliation and reparation for victims and offenders.

#### **Solutions**

- Establish a National Security Coordination Framework to streamline intelligence gathering and response.
- 2. Develop a Comprehensive National Security Strategy addressing economic, social, and political factors.
- 3. Strengthen Security Institutions through capacity building, equipment, and welfare.
- 4. Promote Community-Based Initiatives for peacebuilding and conflict resolution.
- 5. Establishment of a standing committee with a view to follow security related activity to logical conclusion at the local government level, such farmer and herders clash etc.

#### Conclusion

National security and intelligence gathering are critical to Nigeria's economic growth. Addressing security challenges requires a multi-faceted approach, incorporating criminological principles, community engagement, and technology-driven solutions. By enhancing intelligence gathering, building capacity, and promoting community-based initiatives, Nigeria can overcome its security challenges and unlock its economic potential.

There is utmost need for the consumers of the intelligence to make use of it as at when due, especially political class sometimes intend to neglect the use of timely intelligence, and this will go a long way in enhancing the economic growth in Nigeria.

## Northwest Peace and Security Summit:

## **Matters Arising**



he Northwest
Governors' Forum
Nigeria, in
collaboration with the United
Nations Development
Programme (UNDP), had
hosted the inaugural
Northwest Peace and Security
Summit in Katsina State from
June 24th to 25th, 2023.

This landmark event, first of its kind in the region hosted by the Katsina State Government, brought together governors from across the northwest region and key partners to

address the pressing security challenges facing the area.

The Summit was held at a crucial moment for Northwest Nigeria, as the region faces mounting security challenges. In recent years, there has been a marked increase in incidents of banditry, terrorism, and communal conflicts. These issues have had devastating consequences for the local population, resulting in significant loss of life, severe disruption to livelihoods and widespread destruction of

property. The underscored the urgent need for coordinated action and solutions to restore peace and stability to Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Jigawa, Sokoto and Zamfara states.

Under the theme "Regional Cooperation for Securing Lives and Livelihoods," the summit explored solutions to ongoing insecurity, focusing on promoting peace and stability while strengthening cooperation among state governments to tackle these complex issues.





The host to the Summit Dikko Umar Radda, Governor of Katsina State, emphasizes the critical nature of the summit: "This gathering marks a turning point in our fight against insecurity. The challenges we face demand immediate and collective action. By uniting our efforts and resources, we can forge a path towards lasting peace and prosperity for our people. The time to act is now, and together, we will reclaim the safety and stability that our region deserves", he said.

UNDP's journey to address insecurity in the Northwest region began in January 2024 with a peace and security workshop organized in collaboration with the Katsina State Government. This effort led to the decision to convene this high-level Peace and Security summit for the Northwest State Governments.

"This summit represents a crucial step in our ongoing efforts to build peace in Northwest Nigeria. UNDP's partnership with regional governments has been instrumental in fostering dialogue and developing sustainable solutions. Our work in peacebuilding across the Northwest has shown that lasting change is possible when we work together. This summit will further strengthen our collective resolve to create a safer environment for the people of this region," said Ms. Elsie Attafuah, the UNDP Resident Representative in Nigeria.

By bringing together key stakeholders, this summit was a platform for meaningful dialogue and action, leading to concrete strategies for enhancing peace and security in Northwest Nigeria.

Discussions explored sustainable approaches to advancing food security and fostering sustainable livelihoods, It examined how different regional actors can support and enhance regional cooperation and integrated solutions for the region's future development.

A key outcome of the Summit was an agreement by all participating parties including the seven Northwest state governments, federal government, and the UN - to support the development of the Northwest Peace and Security Development Framework. This framework will serve as a guiding document for the region, outlining strategies, policies, and actions needed to enhance regional cooperation and interoperability.

So far, the institutional framework for the actualization of these ideals is yet to be set up.

The fight against banditry is still conducted almost entirely by the Federal Government, sometimes without strategic or tactical inputs from the

The ongoing offensive in Zamfare for instance, has allowed bandits to relocate to Sokoto, Kebbi and Niger states.

## Kebbi State @ 33

## A Rich History and a Challenging Present

From Laiatu Augustine Bamaiyi.

ebbi State, located in the northwestern Nigeria, boasts a rich historical tapestry woven from the threads of powerful kingdoms, the rise and fall of empires, and the echoes of a vibrant cultural heritage.

This article delves into the state's history, geography, socio-cultural landscape, and the economic challenges it faces today.

A Legacy of Kingdoms and Empires:

Kebbi's history is deeply intertwined with the Hausa and the Sokoto Caliphate.

The legendary warrior Muhammadu Kotal Kanta carved out the Kingdom of Kebbi from the Songhai Empire, establishing a powerful presence in the region.

Other significant entities included the Yauri Kingdom and the Zuru confederation.

The early 19th century witnessed the rise of the



Sokoto Caliphate, led by Sheikh Usmanu Danfodio. Kebbi became part of the caliphate's southwestern region under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullhi Danfodio, Usmanu's brother.

The colonial conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1893 brought the area under British rule as part of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate.

Following Nigeria's independence in 1960, Kebbi was initially part of the North-



Western State (1967-1976) and then Sokoto State (1976-1991).

Finally, on August 27, 1991, Kebbi State was created with Birnin Kebbi as its capital. With 21 Local Government Areas.

#### A Diverse Landscape:

Kebbi's geography is characterized by extensive floodplains, the lifeblood of its agricultural economy.

The Niger River flows southwest across the state, while the Rima River traverses its center, both rivers creating fertile floodplains.

The Kainji Lake, formed by the Niger River, is a significant source of surface water, with 80% of its expanse located within Kebbi.

The state's geology is dominated by sedimentary deposits of the Sokoto Rimabasin, covering about 50% of its area.

The remaining land is underlain by Precambrian Basement complex rocks.

The predominant soil type is ferruginous tropical soil, susceptible to erosion and drought. However, the alluvial soils found in the Rima and Niger River Valleys are fertile and suitable for agriculture.

Rainfall patterns vary significantly across the state, with the north receiving less rainfall than the south.

The wet season lasts from June to September in the north and from April to October in the south.

#### A Tapestry of Cultures:

Kebbi State is home to a diverse population of over 3 million people, according to the 2006 census.

The state is divided into four Emirates Councils, each led by a first-class Emir: Gwandu (with headquarters at Birnin Kebbi), Argungu, Yauri, and Zuru.

The Emir of Gwandu serves as the Chairman of the Kebbi State Council of Chiefs.

The state's major ethnic groups include the Hausa, Dakarkari (Lalna), Kambari, and Zabarmawa, each with their own distinct cultural traditions.

Kebbi is renowned for its vibrant cultural festivals, including the Argungu International Fishing Festival and the Zuru international Uhola Cultural Festival And Rigata in yauri local government Tourist attractions include the Kanta Museum in Argungu, the tomb of Sheikh Abdullahi Dan Fodio in Gwandu, and the Girmache Shrine in Zuru.

Economic Challenges and Opportunities
Kebbi's economy has historically been reliant on agriculture, with the production of cash crops like groundnut, cotton, gum Arabic, tobacco leaves, and cowpeas.

However, the shift towards oil production in Nigeria led to a decline in agricultural investment and a dependence on food imports.

This, coupled with globalization and the lack of processing industries, has resulted in a high poverty rate in the state.

Agriculture remains the backbone of the economy, but it faces numerous challenges, including low technology adoption, limited access to

credit, declining rainfall, fragmented land holdings, and low soil fertility. Commerce, primarily focused on distributive trade, is also hampered by low purchasing power.

Despite these challenges, Kebbi State has significant potential for economic growth.

The state's abundant agricultural resources, coupled with its strategic location, offer opportunities for investment in modern agriculture, agroprocessing, and trade.

Developing infrastructure, promoting tourism, and investing in human capital are crucial steps towards achieving sustainable economic development.

#### **Looking Ahead:**

Kebbi State stands at a crossroads. Its rich history and cultural heritage provide a strong foundation for the future.

So However, the state faces significant economic challenges that require bold and innovative solutions.

By harnessing its potential, embracing new technologies, and fostering collaboration, Kebbi can build a brighter future for its people and secure its place as a vibrant CV prosperous state in Nigeria, Congratulations kebbi @33 years.

### **Edo Election:**

## When Nigeria Happened to Obaseki

By Abdullahi Yelwa, Editor-in-Chief

"Homo sapiens have short memory and often do give in to the delusion of selective amnesia. There's no doubt that wallowing in the comfort of the trappings of power, he had forgotten how he came to power.



odwin Obasaki could be forgiven for believing that the Edo Governorship Election would be free, fair and transparent.

Humans have short memory and often do give in to the delusion of selective amnesia.

There's no doubt that wallowing in the comfort of the trappings of power, he had forgotten how he came to power.

When Oshiomole hand picked Obaseki to succeed him, he deployed the apparatchik of state power to foist him on the people of Edo State. He imported him from Lagos and christened him as the "brain and creativity"

behind his administration.
Obaseki eventually became
Governor while Oshiomole
replaced Odogun as the
chairman of the APC.

The political marriage between the two, however turned sour shortly after and gradually turned into a battle.

Obaseki masterminded the suspension of Oshiomole by his ward executive which eventually provided the justification for his removal from office.

Obaseki was on his part disqualified from the APC governorship primary on the basis of discrepancies in his academic papers. He eventually defected to the PDP.

He teamed up with the anti-Oshoimole forces, especially a once Oshiomole ally, Philip Shuaibu to defeat the APC. Obaseki has had a running battle with the Oba of Benin Oba Ewuere 11.

In the history of monarchy in Nigeria, the Oba of Benin stool is among the most revered, but Obaseki, whose name means "the Oba's favour", repeatedly disrespected the Oba, often bringing the Kingdom in direct conflict with the government.

Some of these crisis were





unnecessary and ended up bringing enemies to his administration.

For instance, he challenged the monarch over where the returned stolen Benin artefacts would be domiciled.

He also allegedly took the Oba to court over the suspension of some "enegie" (dukes) by the Oba. In the tradition of the Benin Kingdom, it's an abomination for anyone to seek to interfere with the established process of customary arbitration.

There was also the controversy over the law made by the Edo State Government that banned the okaigheles, in the seven local governments of Benin Kingdom.

The Oba, however maintained that that the law didn't apply to the okaigheles who are youth groups part of the the age long Benin traditional administrative structure.

The Oba traditionally doesn't openly endorse candidates or express his political preferences. But his body language often speaks volumes.

The Oba however didn't not hide his position when in 2020 he advised Obaseki to mend fences with Oshiomole and prepare himself for the day he would no longer be in power, warning that power is transient.

This premonitory fatherly advice came to pass on election day.

Before the election, it was obvious to all in the kingdom that there was no love lost between Obaseki and the revered Royal Father.

The election contest between the APC and PDP was a Titanic battle between the godfather, Adams Oshiomole and Governor Obaseki. On one side was Oshiomole supported by conceivably every known political work horse in the state, especially Obaseki's estranged deputy governor, Phillips Shuaibu and the nine PDP governorship aspirants who lost to Obaseki's anointed candidate.

As Shuaibu has revealed after their party's victory, over 618 key political leaders across the state including Dan Obi, decamped from the PDP to APC. According to him, from his support base alone, 1018 party chieftains left the government and worked with the opposition APC.

Obaseki on his part relied on fair whether friends and the

powers of his government. Elections as Obaseki had found out are not won by corporate gurus or boardroom strategy sessions. In African politics it's organized usually by compromised institutions and won by agberos and political deviants who organized the vote buying, compromise electoral institutions, create chaos and snatched ballot boxes.

As predicted, the election has also exposed the failings of our federalism. For nearly one month, the institutions of Edo State, constitutionally created by law were completely paralyzed by the federal might. Federal institutions like the police, the military and other paramilitary institutions took over the management of the affairs of the state, the Edo state government sidelined.

The state security apparatus created the the Edo State Assembly was suspended. The Nigerian Police Command in the state was put at the service of visiting VIPs, like Senate President, Senator Akpabio, the APC National Chairman, ministers and other visiting APC and federal government officials.

Obaseki on his part was left with the remnant of his crumbling administration. The climax of his ignominy was when he was marched out of the collection centre by the police.

Obaseki, to many observers was the architect of his political misfortune. He has shown total lack of understanding on how politics is played in Nigeria. He bit the fingers that fed him and fought unnecessary battles with both the political elites and the traditional institution.

He allowed his second tenure to be defined by his political enemies, not the needs of his people and the sanctity of his oath of office. He run his government with 10 lawmakers disenfranchising a majority of his subjects. He also refused to swearin 5 judges appointed by the Judicial Service Commission, JSC.

The fortunes of PDP in the state is also on a downward trend. All the senators of the state are members of the opposition APC. APC also has a majority of the state's members of the House of Representatives.

In the Edo election, as in all elections in Nigeria, it's the extraneous considerations, often unconnected with competence or failures candidates that determine political choices. Before the election, many had reasoned that given the state of the economic hardship





being experienced, no reasonable person will vote for the APC.

There's also the assumption that political leaders are not concerned with the welfare of the people who vote then into the office. This has led to the voter apathy witnessed during the polls.

The election in Edo, with the apprehension it had provoked, will a template for all future elections in Nigeria for the foreseeable future. The Senate President had defiantly assured that what happened in Edo will happen in Ondo.

This sentiment was echoed by the APC National Chairman, Abdullahi Umar Ganduje when he said that the Edo election will be a template for other coming elections. When that comes we expect former president Buhari to congratulate the the winner as did President Bola Tinubu and and urge all agreived parties to approve the temple of justice.







## PRESIDENT TINUBU APPOINTS THE GOVERNING BOARD OF THE NORTH WEST DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION



resident Bola Ahmed
Tinubu has forwarded
the names of members
of the inaugural Governing
Board of the North West
Development Commission
(NWDC) to the Senate for
confirmation.

The step follows President
Tinubu's signing of the North
West Development
Commission Bill into law on 24
July, marking a crucial
milestone in the Commission's
establishment.

## NWDC Governing Board Nominees:

Chairman: Ambassador Haruna Ginsau (Jigawa)

MD/CEO: Professor Abdullahi Shehu Ma'aji (Kano)

#### Members:

Dr. Yahaya Umar Namahe (Sokoto)

Hon. Aminu Suleiman (Kebbi)

Sen. Tijani Yahaya Kaura (Zamfara)

Hon. Abdulkadir S. Usman (Kaduna)

Hon. Engr. Muhammad Ali Wudil (Kano)

Shamsu Sule (Katsina)

Nasidi Ali (Jigawa)

The nominated board members are expected to contribute their wealth of

experience and expertise to the Commission's mandate of developing the North-West region.

The NWDC will focus on catalysing significant growth, economic empowerment, and social development of the region.

President Tinubu's unwavering commitment to supporting the NWDC in its mission to bring sustainable development to the North West is steadfast.

Bayo Onanuga Special Adviser to the President (Information & Strategy) September 28, 2024

## The Changing Fortunes of Organised Labour in Nigeria

By Benson Upah

hese are not the best of times for organised labour in Africa's largest economy and most populous country, Nigeria.

The Bola Tinubu government in the past twelve months removed fuel subsidy without adequate preparation sending the pump price of premium motor spirit (pms) from N187 to N660 per litre in cosmopolitan areas and from Ngoo to N1, 200 in other communities. This triggered a national price hike in all sectors and sub-sectors of the economy leading to public hysteria and inertia as neither people nor products/services could move.

Government followed this up with the massive devaluation of the Naira by over 400% making N1900 to exchange for one USD from N350. In the first few weeks of this policy announcement, inflation moved a few notches up while the national debt rose from N72 trillion to N81 trillion with attendant service burden. These two policies

considerably deepened poverty in the land as they failed to achieve their desired results of stimulating productive activities. Indeed, they achieved the opposite.

It should have been obvious to the government that no reasonable government acting reasonably leaves their national currency to the vagaries/storms of the Market, especially if they are importdependent. Equally counterproductive and highly injurious was the manner government removed the fuel subsidy. Government while acknowledging the existence of a cabal responsible for monumental corruption in fuel imports did not deal with that cabal. It instead dealt with the people and in time we are back to subsidy through the backdoor.

With new costs and access to forex even more difficult and a shrinking internal market due to alarming national capacity deficit or purchasing power, 40% of big businesses went under, 30% of medium

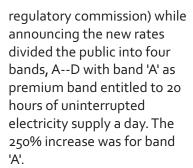


businesses gone and 60% of small businesses wiped out. Along with them went the jobs raising numbers in the unemployment market to choking levels. Prior to this, Nigeria held the world record of youth unemployment at 45 per cent.

As the nation reeled from the aftershocks of these policies, government announced a 250% energy tariff hike knowing full well high energy tariffs are not good for business but government has been under the spell of the World Bank and IMF which insisted that appropriate tariffs were not been paid by consumers of electricity even with government subsidy payments in billions of Naira. The DICOs (electricity distribution companies) with approval of government through NERC (electricity







Not unexpectedly, manufacturers cried foul. Labour issued a one-month ultimatum for government to revert to the old rates. It also demanded the abolition of segregated payments of rates which it described as apartheid and weaponising of poverty. Labour also accused government of observing in breach the energy covenants one of which says before any major increase in tariff is made, government should consult with the critical stake holders. It did not consult before announcing these rates. Also included in its basket of demands was the conclusion of negotiations and announcement of a new national minimum wage on or



before May 31st.

To underscore its seriousness, Labour embarked on a one-day national protest shutting down offices of DISCOs and Transmission Company of Nigeria (TCN).

Within two/three weeks of the hike, manufacturers complained about overflowing warehouses due to unsold goods even as it is expected that the real toll 'd be felt from the next couple of weeks. More companies are expected to fold up with consequential job losses and social effects.

Government (Central Bank) last week raised interest rate by 26.25% in the belief this would calm inflation but it has deepened the plight of financially exposed companies. Not a few believe there 'd additional consequences.

At the moment the national inflation trends at 33.7% while food stuff inflation is at 40% with no sign that either of them will slow down.

In a few words, the combined effects of fuel subsidy removal, flotation of the Naira, a

retrebutitive exchange rate, spiralling inflation and hiked energy tariffs have compounded the woes of workers on a scale never before witnessed. From job losses without social protection in any form to fallen standards of living, deepening poverty and growing insecurity, workers are grappling with a major social dislocation, demobilisation and disorientation.

At the time the national minimum wage was pegged at N30,000 in 2019, inflation1 was at 11.40% while the USD exchanged for less than N300.

At the moment, Labour is locked in an epic dispute with the government over the new minimum wage. Labour asked for N615,000 while government made a counter offer of N48,000 provoking a walk-out by Labour.

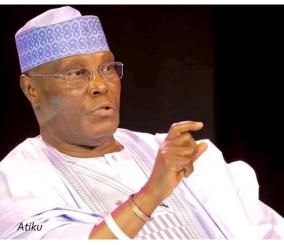
Government has since offered N6o,ooo but Labour is not impressed and has reiterated its commitment to press on with an action if

CONTINUE ON PAGE 43

## **PDP's Road to Oblivion:**

The impending supremacy battle of Wike, Abubakar and Mohammed.





hose unfamiliar with the genesis of the plot to dismantle the political fortunes of the PDP may be forgiven for holding FCT Minister Wike and his ally, Damagun responsible for its current visissitudes.

Political observers familiar with the party's travails however, trace the plot to the formative years of the birth of the All Progressives Congress party, APC. It was conceived by Mohammadu Buhari, Bola Tinubu and, ironically, some of the people who are today engaged in the efforts to

free it from the deadly grips Wike and the ruling APC.

It may have evolved from the strategic permutations for wrestling power from a formidable ruling party that had governed Nigeria for over two decades and was convinced to remain in control for over 60 year. But the unsolicited help from the "enemies within" in the PDP made it possible not only to defeat the party but to also wipe it completely from the political space of Nigerian politics.

As rightly observed by then governor of Imo State, Chief Rochas Okorocha, it was the defection of the five PDP governors from their party to the APC in November 2013,

that was the major contributory factor that determined APC's victory in the presidential election that brought Buhari to power. Governors Rabiu Kwankwaso of Kano, Aliyu Wamakko of Sokoto, Abdulfatah Ahmed of Kwara, Murtala Nyako of Adamawa, Rotimi Amaechi of Rivers States and former Vice President, Atiku Abubakar joined the APC after staging a walk out on the PDP special national convention in Eagle Square, Abuja.

Speaking at a valedictory dinner organised by the Progressive Governors Forum, and held to honour outgoing governors, Babatunde Fashola of Lagos State, Messrs Kwankwaso, Amaechi and Wamakko, Mr. Okorocha said "make no mistake about it,



without the five Governors that joined the APC in 2013, we would not be here today".

Mr. Okorocha observed that by coming to the APC, the governors transformed "a fledgling opposition into a national political movement". He said "the moment the PDP lost five Governors was the moment it lost the presidency and its planned 60 years in power."

Delivering his address at the dinner, former vice president Atiku Abubakar also paid tribute to the five Governors saying their movement to the APC greatly enhanced the fortune of the party and led to the defeat of the PDP, which he accused of "greed, arrogance impunity and corruption."

The first major step in the APC plot to destroy the pdp began with the emergence of Ali Modu Sheriff, a founding member of the APC as the chairman of PDP in 2014.

Sheriff, the former chairman of the Board of Trustees of the defunct All Nigeria Peoples Party, ANPP, and former governor of Borno State,

joined the PDP after an alleged falling out with his handpicked successor, Kashim Shettima.

He became PDP chairman after he was proposed by the national caucus and ratified by the NEC of the party on 16 February, 2016.

His emergence was, however, vehemently opposed by the BOT of the party and other party elders who saw him as an APC mole in their party.

Noting what seemed to be a hostile takeover of the party by foreign enemies, a chieftain of the party, Chief femi Fanikayode warned of an ominous future ahead of the party.

"If we insist on making the wrong choices about our leadership and if we keep taking people for granted not only will we be finished as a party but the entire country will suffer the consequences of our errors and inexplicable

"May God help us and may He forgive us and deliver us from evil, greedy, corrupt, ignorant and bloodthirsty men."

As predicted by Fawehemi, Sheriff's ascension to the party's highest office led to a protected legal battle that polarized the party.

In the course of the legal tussle, the Court of Appeal sitting in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, on Friday 17 February 2017 declared Sheriff as the authentic National Chairman of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). In July 2017, following the verdict from a five-man Supreme Court, however, Sheriff was removed as the PDP Chairman and Ahmed Mohammed Makarfi reinstated as the National Chairman of PDP. He defected back to APC on

26 April, 2018.

A pressure group within the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Osun State, known as Professionals in PDP, has urged the party's governors and leaders to address what they described as the excesses of Nyesom Wike, the Minister of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), as reported by Vanguard

The battle of supremacy for the control of the PDP would get intensified as 2027 draws near Governor Wike has made it very clear that he would stand by Tinubu in 2027 while he remains in the PDP that means that Atiku or the Governor of Bauchi would only have the other half of PDP to control

Recently Governor Wike appears to be rebuilding his political coalition around the G5 group. This may be extended to include other PDP Governors and stake holders who may be oppose to Atiku and Governor Mohammed.

In all this, one can safety count on the power of incumbancy and the federal might to be used in support of Wike's agenda.

## **Nigeria and the New World Order**

There was once a time in global diplomacy that when Nigeria speaks, the world listens with raft attention.



t was at the time the true giant of Africa and a big brother of not only the continent of Africa, but the Third World as well.

We were a leading member of the Non-aligned Movement and the nation the world believed was destined for greatness and global relevance.

Since independence, with Jaja Wachuku as the first Minister for Foreign Affairs and Common-wealth Relations, later called External Affairs, Nigerian foreign policy has been characterised by a focus on Africa as a regional power and by attachment to several fundamental principles: African

unity and independence; capability to exercise hegemonic influence in the region: peaceful settlement of disputes; non-alignment and non-intentional interference in the internal affairs of other nations; and regional economic cooperation and development.

In carrying out these principles, Nigeria participates in the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth of Nations, and the United Nations.

The 79th session of the United Nations General Assembly held between 23 to 26 September, 2024 in New York, marks a crucial milestone in the global effort to accelerate progress towards the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The highly anticipated Summit of the Future, held during UNGA, underscores the urgent need for enhanced international cooperation to address pressing challenges such as climate change, poverty and inequality, while also tackling the impacts of ongoing conflicts and global health crises.

was represented by the Nigerian Vice President, Kashim Shettima, who delivered his (Tinubu) address. It's a well known maxim that the diplomatic policy of any nation is a reflection of the realities and aspirations of its domestic policy. It's therefore inconceivable that Nigeria can project a diplomacy of strength and vibrancy in a state domestic despair and melancholy.

President Bola Ahmed Tinubu

Nothing underscores this more vividly as the low-key celebration of its independence Day as rolled out by the Secretary to the Government of the Federation. Scholars have picked holes with several aspects of President Tinubu's UNGA speech. They point to profound contradictions and unrealistic positions what appears to be a lack of understanding of how the global system works.

A nation that is fantastically corrupt and who goes a borrowing to finance frivolities and corruption can't demand for debt forgiveness.

Similarly the poverty that made some nations susceptible to coups are caused essentially by countries like France and the failure of democracy to addressed their deplorable economic conditions.

Unilateralism is the new global order. In deed it has always been there. Nations are naturally unilateral. Multilateralism is attractive to nations only when it enhances their status and global standing.

The call for a permanent seat at the Security Council for Africa has been a preoccupation of Nigeria. Today, however the call sounds hollow. Nigeria is no longer in a position of right to first refusal. It neither have the domestic status no international standing to be deserving of such exalted position. Countries like South Africa, Egypt, Kenya, etc, project a

position of global relevance and influence to beat Nigeria to the seat.

BELOW ARE THE 10 KEY TAKEAWAYS FROM PRESIDENT BOLA TINUBU MAIDEN UNGA ADDRESS.

## Call for deepened multilateral relations

Tinubu urged world leaders to strengthen cooperation and inclusivity among member states to address global challenges like terrorism, poverty, hunger, and climate change.

The Nigerian leader reminded the world leaders that the United Nations stands for multilateralism which represents inclusiveness, anchored on the tripod of peace, sustainable development and human rights.

#### 2. Criticism of nationalism

He warned that the pursuit of individual national priorities is undermining global efforts to resolve common challenges and emphasised the importance of collective action.

"While commitment to multilateralism offers us the surest guarantee of global action to address the existential challenges we face, singularity and nationalism are undermining the aspirations towards the peaceful and collective resolution of such challenges," Tinubu said.

## 3. Permanent UN Security Council seats for African nations

Tinubu advocated for the reform of the UN Security Council to include permanent seats for Nigeria and other African countries, arguing that Africa deserves equal representation.

"The Security Council should be expanded, in the permanent and non-permanent member categories, to reflect the diversity and plurality of the world. We fully support the efforts of Secretary-General Guterres in this regard. "Africa must be accorded the respect that it deserves in the Security Council. Our Continent deserves a place in the permanent members category of the Security Council, with the same rights and responsibilities as other Permanent Members," he said. community must promote practical measures to strengthen international cooperation to recover and return stolen assets and to eradicate safe havens that facilitate illicit flows of funds from developing countries to the developed economies," he added.

## 4. Call for financial reform and debt forgiveness

The chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) pushed for a new global financial architecture, advocating for debt forgiveness for developing countries to enable sustainable development.

"Similarly, we must ensure that any reform of the international financial system includes comprehensive debt relief measures, to enable sustainable financing for development. Countries of the global South cannot make meaningful economic progress without special concessions and a review of their current debt burden," he stated.

## 5. Highlighting global challenges

Tinubu emphasised global issues like terrorism, climate change, food insecurity, and inequality, calling for collective global action to address them.

## 6. Focus on economic development and democracy

He linked the rise of unconstitutional changes of government in Africa to economic instability, stressing the need for economic development to sustain democracy.

The Nigerian leader also lamented what he described as the return of unconstitutional changes of government and forceful military coups in some African countries, saying these coups attest to how fragile democracy could become when it is not supported by economic development and sustained peace and security.

## 7. Corruption and illicit financial flows

Tinubu called for the recovery of stolen assets and urged international cooperation to fight corruption and prevent illicit financial flows from developing to developed nations.

"Therefore, the international community must promote

practical measures to strengthen international cooperation to recover and return stolen assets and to eradicate safe havens that facilitate illicit flows of funds from developing countries to the developed economies," he added.

#### 8. Climate change action

He warned about the dangers of climate change and called for the international community to adhere to commitments made at COP meetings, citing recent devastating floods in Nigeria.

#### 9. Global security threats

He emphasised that terrorism and violent extremism are existential threats to global peace and development, calling for concerted efforts to combat these issues.

"We cannot build durable societies with the threat of terrorism, banditry and insurgency growing in our countries and regions. Indeed, violent extremism remains an existential threat to both national and international peace, security and development. We are making concerted efforts to contain and roll back this threat," he said.

#### 10. Support for UN reform:

Tinubu reaffirmed Nigeria's commitment to multilateralism and called for comprehensive reforms to strengthen the UN's relevance in addressing modern global challenges.

#### WOMEN LEGISLATORS



Kalifat Ogbara hails from Aiyepe Ogun State. She studied at the University of Lagos, and obtained a B.Sc. in

### Kafilat Ogbara

(Lagos Reps: Kosofe Federal Constituency PDP)

English Language and Literature.

She also acquired her M.Sc. degree in International Law and Diplomacy and another in Public Administration, both from the University of Lagos.

She started her career in Property and Facility Management in the Family Business. She had a background in the prints and Electronic Media as a Television Presenter on NTA on the programme 'Faces and Events.'

She is the Publisher of Today's Prime newspaper, and

the former Managing
Director/CEO of National
Mirror Newspaper in the print
media.

She also worked at the Nigeria Television Authority Abuja, National Centre for Women Development Abuja, and National Horticultural Research Institute.

A thorough bred Politician and Woman Rights Activist, she was the House of Representatives candidate (PDP) for Elections in Kosofe Federal Constituency in 2003 and 2007 respectively.



**Oriyomi Onanuga** 

(Ogun Reps: Ikenne/Shaqamu/Remo North, APC)

Prior to her election to the lower chamber, Oriyomi Onanuga had served in different capacities at the grassroots politically. Onanuga was born on December 2, 1965.

She is a returning legislator who was the Chairman of the House Committee on Women Affairs and Social Development in the 9th Assembly.



**Beni Butmak Lar** 

Plateau (Reps Member: Langtang North/Langtang South, PDP)

Beni is the daughter of the late Solomon Lar, founding member of the People's Democratic Party (PDP).

She is a lawyer who was reelected into the House for a fifth term in 2023, as she first became a legislator in 2007. She was born on August 12, 1967, and had gained political tutelage under her father.
She served as Chairperson of the House of Representatives' Committee on Human Rights in the 9th Assembly, and is an advocate for women's rights.

She has also headed several committees during her time in the House, including the Science and Technology Committee.

TO BE CONTINUE IN THE NEXT EDITION

## For The Records:

## A score card of Dr Governor Lawal Dauda Dare of Zamfara State.



he moment of Independence opportunity to celebration calls for we as an admit doing to change of celebration, the entire region, which has long been overwhelmed by unprecedented challenges of insecurity, health and education sectors, food crises, and infrastructural decay.

Today preser opportunity to we as an admit doing to change of within one year administration experienced results transformation path to growth development.

We are making the moment of Today preser opportunity to the provide the provided and the provided and

Today presents us the opportunity to reflect on what we as an administration are doing to change the narrative. Within one year of our administration, the State has experienced remarkable transformation and is on the path to growth and development.

We are making significant strides in security, agriculture

and food security, health, education sectors, infrastructure, and public service reform, among others.

All these are being achieved despite the limited resources accruing to the state. The highlights of some of the achievements are in line with our rescue agenda so far recorded.



"In the area of security, we established, trained, and equipped the Community Protection Guards (CPGs), formed the Security Trust Fund (STF), provided monthly financial grants/ assistance to complement the efforts of conventional security agencies, and eradicated political thuggery and its attendant consequences.

On education, we declared a state of emergency in the sector; negotiated the settlement of outstanding WAEC and NECO exam fees, amounting to a cumulative sum of N<sub>3.4</sub> billion; massively reconstructed, rehabilitated, and furnished primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions across the Fourteen (14) Local Government Areas of the State; and settled counterpart funds to facilitate full access to required support from development partners. My administration also declared a state of emergency in the health sector, introduced free medical outreach programs and

provided essential drugs to vulnerable groups, and rehabilitated and furnished health institutions in the state; revitalized basic healthcare provision and settlement of counterpart funds for donor interventions as well as ongoing expansion of Yariman Bakura Specialist Hospital which we hope to upgrade to a Teaching Hospital for Zamfara State University.

"To boost agriculture in Zamfara, my government provided fertilizers and other agricultural inputs for rain-fed agriculture and dry-season farming; we renovated, furnished, and upgraded the College of Agriculture and Technology, Bakura. We established the Directorate for Infrastructure & Urban Renewal to confront decay and poor infrastructure aggressively; we commenced the construction and ongoing works at Zamfara International Airport; ongoing dualisation of Tsohuwar Kasuwa Junction –

Tankin Ruwa; We

Intersection.

commissioned the UBA

Intersection - Bello Bara'u

Furthermore, we commissioned Bello Bara'u Intersection – Nasiha Pharmacy Road; commissioned UBA Intersection – Government House Road; commissioned Bello Bara'u Intersection -Government House Road; commissioned Government House Junction - Lalan Roundabout Road. We also completed Dalha Bungudu Junction – Birnin Ruwa Junction Road; ongoing construction of Lalan Roundabout – Investment House Intersection; reconstruction of Investment House; relocation and construction of a brand-new Modern Park in Gusau; construction of Rawayya, Furfuri, and Kurya Madaro Roads; construction of Gusau -Dansadau 86 KM Road; construction and upgrading of Palaces of Traditional Rulers in Anka, Tsafe, Zurmi, Kaura-Namoda in the first instance.

For worker's welfare, we settled salary, pension, and gratuity arrears to civil servants and retirees; we successfully rationalized Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) for improved service delivery; implementation of N30,000.00 minimum wage for civil servants in both the State and the Fourteen (14) Local Government Councils; prompt payment of monthly salaries and pensions to civil servants and retirees; provision of welfare packages such as palliatives, as well as Thirteen (13) Month and Sallah bonuses, which is unprecedented; ongoing renovation of J.B. Yakubu Secretariat Complex and other government offices and provision of office equipment and machinery."

## **Nigeria's Diverse Security Threats**

### By Mark Duerksen

African Center for Strategic Studies

igeria in recent times has recorded unprecedented security challenges such as Boko Haram Terrorists (BHTs) attacks, militancy, armed robbery, banditry, kidnapping for ransom, Fulani-Herders farmers clashes, cultism among other social vices.

Nigeria is facing "a state of emergency" as a result of ongoing insecurity.

This emergency is commonly understood as the threat posed by Boko Haram in the country's northeast and banditry in the North West. However, this understates the complexity and multidimensional nature of Nigeria's security challenges, which impact all of the country's regions.

At the same time, armed violence is not omnipresent across Nigeria and is primarily concentrated in specific geographic corridors.
Following is a review of Nigeria's diverse security threats, the risks they pose, and the landscapes in which they have germinated.

**Militant Islamist Groups** 

Boko Haram and its offshoot the Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA) continue to be one of Nigeria's most serious security threats. Violent events linked to these groups have roughly doubled since 2015, when the government launched a major offensive dislodging these groups from the territory they held. Since retreating from urban centers during that 2015 offensive, the groups have focused their operations on the more desolate areas of Borno State—primarily in the rugged Sambisa Forest bordering Cameroon's northwest mountains (Boko Haram) and the firki ("black

cotton") wetlands south and southwest of Lake Chad (ISWA).

#### **Organized Criminal Gangs**

Exploiting a security vacuum, criminal gangs in North West Nigeria have been behind a surge of kidnappings for ransom targeting boarding schools. In the last five years, the North West has experienced the greatest concentration of kidnappings in Nigeria. The ransoms collected through these mass abductions have become a means of business for these criminal gangs. Mass kidnappings in Zamfara, Niger, and Katsina states have





emulated 2014's infamous kidnapping of the Chibok schoolgirls by Boko Haram and have forced the government to respond. Government spokespeople deny paying ransom to secure the release of the children, but on-theground accounts contradict this. Moreover, government officials may benefit from the large amounts of cash used to secure hostages' release. As in the North East, kidnapping for ransom has made highways in the region too dangerous for travel, and airlines now operate short flights from Abuja to Kaduna.

Associated with the activities of this group is the economically damaging scourge of cattle rastling.

#### **Farmer-Herder Conflict**

Primarily affecting the Middle Belt and North West states, clashes between farmers and herders over land have spurred the formation of ethnic militias, vigilante raids, and extrajudicial killings.

Historically, the North West

and Middle Belt states have been the fertile plains and grazing lands of Nigeria where nomadic pastoralist and sedentary agriculturalist groups coexisted, traded, and turned to local peacekeeping mechanisms when land disputes arose. However, desiccation and large land allocations to estate owners in the North West have pushed herders off their historical grazing routes. Likewise, according to aerial analysis by the U.S. Geological Survey, land available for open grazing in Nigeria's Middle Belt declined by 38 percent between 1975 and 2013, while the area dedicated to farming nearly trebled. These dynamics have been driven by climate shifts, exclusionary land policies, and population growth. Meanwhile, demand for meat supplied by the country's herders is rising.

#### Militant Biafran

Separatists Revived Biafran secessionist activities have escalated in recent years,

leading to violent clashes between Nigeria's security forces and militia groups resulting in dozens of deaths. Well known for its underground radio presence in the South East, the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) established what it calls the Eastern Security Network (ESN) in December 2020 to act as a paramilitary force in the region. Based on their rhetoric and goals broadcast on social media, this group seems more focused on mobilizing grievances against Fulani herders than advocating for autonomy in the region. ESN



has declared that it will enforce a ban on grazing in the South East, stoking anti-Fulani sentiment. Nigerian courts have upheld IPOB's designation as a terrorist group.

#### **Piracy**

Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea is now the worst in the world, accounting for over 95 percent of crew members kidnapped. There were 35 recorded piracy events off the coast of Nigeria in 2020. These figures likely only represent a fraction of the incidents, given that ship owners have incentives to downplay the risk to avoid increasing insurance premiums. The groups behind





IGP Egbetokun

CDS Musa

these attacks are shadowy, but a number of pirate enterprises are known to be connected to the armed groups that have for decades sabotaged pipelines and kidnapped oil workers in Nigeria's Delta (South South and South East regions). Groups like the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) have been difficult to address through security operations alone due their decentralized and leaderless structures, local support, and their tactics of striking quickly and disappearing into the region's riverine labyrinth. Equipped with arms and speedboats and countered by oil companies spending millions of dollars on private security to protect oil infrastructure, some of these groups have begun venturing out of their swampland hideouts to board international ships in the Gulf of Guinea before retreating to their coastal bases with kidnapped crew members to negotiate ransoms paid from abroad.

#### **Security Sector Violence** against Civilians

Police and military violence against civilians are a persistent impediment to sustainable peace in Nigeria. In 2020, nationwide #EndSARS protests, led by young people, transcended the country's religious, ethnic, and political divides and demanded an end to police abuses, particularly the dissolution of the unaccountable Federal Special Anti-Robbery Squad (FSARS). This division of the national police force was originally set up to address the problem of organized criminal gangs across the country. Over time, however, FSARS became known for extorting Nigerian citizens and committing human rights abuses. In a vivid illustration of this, security forces opened fire on #EndSARS protesters in October 2020 to shut down marches and sit-downs across the country.

#### **Need for Multi-Dimensional Responses**

The diversity of Nigeria's security threats will require an innovative set of solutions adapted to each context. This will entail understanding the local dynamics of each threat and integrating them into a multidimensional national security strategy.

As Nigeria's challenges are largely domestic in nature, this national security strategy will require active citizen engagement. Citizen cooperation may be the most essential element of a successful response in each context. Yet, in nearly every instance, Nigeria's security forces are starting from a deficit of trust. Indeed, security force violence against citizens is often viewed as part of the security problem. Remedying this and building trust with citizens will be a top and ongoing priority of any national security strategy.

## **Illegal Mining Site Belonging** to Killed Bandit Leader Discovered

he police in Zamfara State have paraded 16 suspected illegal miners consisting of six foreigners and ten Nigerians.

Addressing newsmen at the police headquarters in Gusau on Wednesday the state's police commissioner, Mohammed Shehu

lamented that the suspects were arrested at an illegal mining site belonging to the notorious banditry kingpin Halilu Buzu, who was recently killed by security operatives. This is a further proof of the link between banditry and illegal mining in the state.

He revealed that the foreigners are from Bukina Faso and Niger Republic. He said they have been Mining in Zamfara for several years, despite the fact that they have no mining permit from relevant authorities.

He said dangerous weapons, excavators, mining chemicals and other items were recovered from the suspects.

In a related development, the Federal government has vowed to stop all forms of mining in Zamfara state, considering the persistent security challenges emanating from mining activities.

Addressing journalists in Gusau, the mining officer of the

Federal ministry of solid mineral resources, Mr. Abunumah Samuel said, his ministry in collaboration with the security agencies has mapped out strategies on how to clamp down on illegal miners in the state, Mr Samuel maintained that, considering the persistent

banditry in the state, the Federal government has since 2019 suspended all forms of mining in Zamfara state.

He said that, his ministry was currently making frantic efforts to rid Zamfara state of illegal mining.

He said, "The Anti-illegal mining of Zamfara state police command has been intimated of several illegal mining activities taking place in the state which has led to the arrest of some illegal miners".

"We all know that in 2019, there was ban on mining and I want to bring to the notice of all that, the ban is still there". According to him, the ban

affected everybody whether one has a license or not.

"The ban affected everybody including those that have the licenses to mine".

"Based on the directive, everybody is supposed to be out of mining site until further directive".

"I want to assure you that, those who refused to comply with this directive will soon be arrested and brought to book for necessary action".

Mr. Samuel stressed that, the Federal government has a tentative list of all those who were given the licenses to mine, concluding that, "They have too have to wait for further directives from the authorities".

## MAJOR HIGHLIGHTS OF PRESIDENT BOLA AHMED TINUBU'S 64TH INDEPENDENCE SPEECH



## Acknowledgement of Economic Hardships:

President Tinubu acknowledged the economic challenges many Nigerians are facing, especially the high cost of living and unemployment. He urged citizens to be patient, stating,

"I recognize the difficulties you face, and I assure you that this government is implementing reforms to ease your burdens."

#### Combating Insecurity:

Tinubu announced significant gains in the fight against terrorism and banditry, stating that over 300 Boko Haram and bandit commanders have been eliminated

"We have achieved notable successes in the fight against insecurity, and I assure you that we are committed to completely eradicating terrorism, banditry, and violent extremism," he said.

## Attracting Foreign Investments:

The President highlighted that over \$30 billion in foreign direct investments had been secured in the past year, a sign of growing confidence in Nigeria's economy. He emphasized,

"The growing confidence in our economy is evident, and we will continue to maintain fiscal stability to attract even more investments."

#### **Focus on Agriculture:**

Tinubu urged states to embrace agricultural programs to boost food production, revealing, "We have approved the establishment of a local assembly plant for 2,000 John Deere tractors and other farm equipment to support farmers nationwide."

## CNG Adoption for Mass Transit:

The President announced steps to expand the Presidential Initiative on Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) adoption for public transportation.

"This initiative aims to provide affordable and environmentally friendly transit options for all Nigerians," Tinubu noted, adding that it would be done in collaboration with private sector partners.

## Launch of National Youth Conference:

A 30-day National Youth Conference will be launched to tackle issues such as education, employment, and innovation.

"We believe in the power of our youth, and this conference will empower them to actively contribute to national development," he declared.

## Youth Empowerment Programs:

Tinubu introduced the Renewed Hope Labour Employment and Empowerment Programme (LEEP), which aims to create 2.5 million jobs annually. "Our goal is to create more opportunities for our young people,

"he said, mentioning the rollout of the 3 million Technical Talents program and the Nigerian Education Loan Fund.

#### **Forex Market Stability:**

Tinubu reassured Nigerians about stability in the foreign exchange market, stating, "Despite the challenges we have faced, we have managed to stabilize the forex market, and our foreign reserves remain strong at \$37 billion." He

emphasized that the Central Bank has settled a \$7 billion forex backlog and debts totaling over N30 trillion.

# Recognition of Distinguished Nigerians:

As part of the Independence
Day celebrations, Tinubu
announced the recipients of
national honors for 2024.
"It is my honor to
recognize those who have
made significant
contributions to our
nation," he said, as he listed
the honorees, including the
Senate President and Chief
Justice of the Federation.

## Call for Unity and Resilience:

In his closing remarks,
President Tinubu called on
Nigerians to remain hopeful,
resilient, and united in facing
the country's challenges.

"Let us stand together as one nation, confident in our ability to overcome any obstacle. Better days are ahead for Nigeria," he concluded.

## **Media Essential In Counter-Insurgency Fight**

Army

hief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen. Taofeed Lagbaja, has highlighted the usefulness of journalists in counter-insurgency efforts, saying the military cannot defeat insurgency, banditry and other threats without their full support.

He said the military and the media should be key allies in the ongoing efforts to secure the country.

The army chief spoke through a representative at the Nigerian Army civilmilitary cooperation media chat for third quarter 2024 in Makurdi, Benue State yesterday. Represented by the Commander, 4 Special Forces Command Headquarters, Doma, Maj. Gen. Hilary Nzan, Lt. Gen. Lagbaja said; "The Nigerian Army reaffirms its commitment to a

with the media, essential for securing our nation's territorial integrity and advancing socio-economic development.

beneficial relationship

strong, mutually

"The media plays a vital role in ensuring that the public is well-informed and educated about the government's and

its agencies' activities, including the Nigerian Army and the responsibilities of good citizenship.

"Together, let us strengthen our civil-military cooperation and uphold democratic principles, human rights and freedom of the press.

"The Nigerian Army is dedicated to enhancing media access to our operations while maintaining operational security. This commitment underscores the importance of a transparent communication strategy and the need for the Nigerian Army and the media to embrace their respective roles and-responsibilities.

"This media chat embodies our unwavering dedication to foster clear and effective communication between the Nigerian Army and the media. Accurate and balanced reporting is crucial for building trust between the Army and the public."

He added that the military had made significant milestones in the fight against insurgency and banditry.

The Nigerian Army has intensified operations across various regions with tailored strategies to address the unique security threats in each region. I'm pleased to report significant successes in these efforts across multiple



theatres. These include the neutralisation of several terrorists and their leaders, the rescue of some abducted communities, leading to the return of internally displaced persons to their ancestral homes. Our efforts have also significantly boosted crude oil production while enhancing food security through special patrols and escort duties that enable farmers to cultivate their crops," he said.

Chief of civil-military affairs, Maj. Gen. Nosakhare Ugbo, said the conduct of the Nigerian Army's non-kinetic line of operation was geared towards securing the support and cooperation of the civil populace.

"As we carry out our constitutional responsibilities, the people's support and cooperation are crucial to our operational effectiveness and successes," he said.

government fails to deliver on a new national minimum wage a process it is required by law six months before the expiration of the existing one but failed to do in spite of an express statement to this effect.

Organised labour derives its powers from the corpus of labour law, International Labour instruments (Conventions, Recommedations etc), African Charter on People and Human Rights, National Human Rights, related legislation and the Courts. This would seem to guarantee a future safe and serene and for workers to exercise their right to social dialogue, collective bargaining, decent work, gender equality, child rights, youth empowerment/ development, safety and health, decent wages and other rights and be happy thereafter forever but the opposite appears to be the case at the moment.

The Tinubu-Government and Labour relations started on a shaky note with the removal of fuel subsidy on the President's inauguration day, May 29, 2023. Labour felt Mr President acted in violation of the the then Appropriation Act in which subsidy was supposed to run to the end of June 2023. Varying the content of the Appropriation Act without parliamentary approval is an impeachable offence. But Labour was incensed by the fact that it was not consulted and readily issued a notice of strike but government managed to get Labour to the negotiating table. While

Labour was negotiating in the Presidential Villa, government obtained a restraining order against a strike through motion exparte and effected service through substituted service without leave of court.

At that meeting on June 5, 2023, Labour and government signed a 7-point MoU which include setting up the framework for wage increase or award and timeline for implementation; review of the World Bank-financed cash transfer scheme with the inclusions of low-income earners; revival of the CNG programme of 2021; "review issues hindering effective delivery in the education sector and propose solutions for implementation; establish a framework for completion of the rehabilitation of the nation's refineries; similarly provide a framework for maintenance of roads and expansion of rail networks across the country and to implement demands earlier submitted by the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria, a sister Labour Centre.

Government serially observed these in breach and when Labour sought to protest, it waved the restraining order and threatened to convict uniin leaders on contempt charges.

From June to October 2nd, 2023 when government and Labour signed signed another MoU, it was a cat and mouse relationship. Not even the more expansive and more inclusive MoU of October 2nd 2023 helped to calm frayed nerves as government once again reneged on all of them and still went on to award

itself 90 per cent on performance.

Notice of strikes or protests were met with threats from sensitive government agencies and the office of the Attorney General of the Federation.

The implications were obvious, government enlisting the services of complicit Judges sought to intimidate Labour by unlawfully converting a restraining order via exparte to a perpetual injunction. The Court refused to sit to hear the defence counsel on the appropriateness of the order and need to vacate it. Government sponsored opposition protesters to disrupt Labour's protests when they occurred. Of greater concern, government perceives labour's demands with suspicion and from the prism of partisanship. Nothing was essentially Labour any more. The height of this mischief or intolerance was the abduction and brutalisation of the President of NLC Comrade Joe Ajaero on October 32st 2023 when he led workers to protest against non-payment of salaries and pensions in his home.state of Imo. Government would not brooke dissent no matter how peaceful or civil.

Labour however refused to back down and has shut the country down at least once even as citizens argue it has not done enough.

As stated previously, Labour and government are engaged in an epic battle over the new national minimum wage.
Labour made a demand of N615,000 with justification but



government made a paltry counter offer of N48,000 provoking a walk-out. Government has since upped its offer to N60,000 while Labour has shifted ground to below N500,000. With a few days to Labour's ultimatum, it is still too far to destination. Government's offer of N60,000 represents not more than \$20 per month for a family of six at the present exchange rate.

This marks a remarkable shift from the glorious days of Labour when the national minimum wage was N110, an equivalent of \$140. This was during the Second Republic, the Shehu Shagari presidency.

However, the Tinubu-Government has a defence for its miserable and contemptible offer of N6o,000 and it's policies so far. It says it inherited a terrible economy from its predecessor (Buharigovernment). It therefore needed bold and courageous policies to fix the economy. It says emphatically that it cannot afford to meet labour's

demand on the new minimum wage even as revenue has since grown from N700 billion to N1.2 trillion a month.

In light of this, workers do believe adequate resources is not the hindering factor but corruption, cost of governance, lack of political will and prioritisation. Workers also blame the World Bank and IMF for their double standards in prescribing solutions to "troubled" economies.

And in spite of the attempt of the Tinubu-Government to demonise the Buahri-Government, most workers hold a positive opinion of Buhari on the question of Labour. They recall he made every effort possible to ensure workers were not laid-off even in the private sector during covid. He made available resources to state governors to pay off arrears of salaries and pensions even as some of the governors diverted the moneys. He insisted the national minimum wage wage of N30,000 must be paid. Only 5 out of thirty six did not. He

refused to implement the Orosanye Report on rationalisation of MDAs and by extension, workers. And although he took loans from the World Bank, he refused to do their bidding on the mindless hike in energy tariffs and others.

It believes the lot of workers has degenerated considerably in the past twelve months because the government is inherently. Market without the virtues of the Market...It has no qualms surbodinating our national interest to nebulous interests.

Finally, as the clock ticks towards May 31st, it is left to be seen what will happen. The fortunes of Labour ultimately will not be determined by what government does or what it fails to do but what Labour is able to do.



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