



Mass Media, Communication Policy and National Security: The Nigeria's Situation.

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Abstract

Mass media are tools of communication for national security when policy makers exploit them for national peace proactively. The recent upsurge of Nigerian insecurity escalated by fulanization of Nigeria, politicization of security system and the discriminatory handling of the bandits and killer herders called for the attention of Nigeria policy makers to amend communication policy to reflect the present national security. This paper is driven by social responsibility theory of mass communication, using descriptive analysis and the findings show that political stakeholders are the major policy makers and must be seen performing positive role by creating peaceful nation; addressing security issues without partiality. Issues such as infrastructural failures on highways, cyber crimes, bandits, political killing, Fulani herders' atrocities and others should be addressed firmly and promptly through communication policy and fearless media reporting. Hence; new policy on highway maintenance should be revisited, political actors should drop parochial agenda against Nigerian citizens, investigative journalism and fearless reporting should continue to flourish; and above all, the machineries of national security should be overhauled to give peace a chance in Nigeria.

Key Words: Mass Media, Communication Policy, National Security

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Introduction

DeFleur and Dennis(1981) cited by Edafejirhaye (2016), defined mass media as devices for moving messages across distance and time to accomplish mass communication. Blake and Haroldsen, also cited by Edafejirhaye, (2016) refer to the mass media as “technical vices through which mass communication take place. Mass media are classified into three classes according to Edafejirhaye, (2016). They are 1. The print media which are newspaper, magazine, posters, fliers and others. 2. Broadcast media – radio and television. 3. The online media popularly known as social media-these are the twitter, facebook, youtube, whatsapp and many others. The compendium of these mass media are veritable tools of communication for national security when harness by policy markers A commendable and sustainable security system within a nation must be communication-oriented, focused at giving the masses necessary information which will enable them to participate fully in the process of maintaining a peaceful nation. Security is a serious issue in terms of socio-economic development of any nation, therefore whatever is put in place today should not hamper future progress and continuous development. This is the reason why there is the need to have solid communication policy in place to sustain Nigeria national security. In order to facilitate effective communication for peaceful co-existence of all ethnic groups, free flow of economic activities, national growth and development, and to map out boundaries of operation, the federal government of Nigeria put in place communication policy. The national communication policy clearly spelt out the duties of the various media of communication in the country in terms of programming and news coverage so that it aligns with the national security and national development plans.

The broadcast, social and the print media, where we have the radio, television, internet, newspaper and magazines, the national communication policy stipulates guiding principles for smooth operations to ensure security of lives and properties. It is further articulated that the media must be used as a vehicle for national mobilization in support of policies and programmes aimed at improving sustainable peace, standard of living of Nigerians, minimizing crises issues and raising the level of their consciousness. The role of the media involves also championing and enhancing the positive aspects of our national values, image, corporate unity, national stability, internal and external security.

However; the upsurge of insecurity in Nigeria by a particular tribe in these recent years makes all stakeholders to Nigerian peace project question whether we can still visualize peace in Nigeria at this period..

Objectives of the Paper

The main objective of this paper is to draw attention of communication policy makers and the media houses to the present security situation in Nigeria. And the specific objective is to challenge the media to continue to display extra courage to promptly and fearlessly inform the citizens to manage the security situation with wisdom.

Methodology

The study used descriptive analysis methodology by relying on secondary data from Nigerian .media report, security men personal experiences and other security sources.

What is descriptive Analysis?

Descriptive Analysis is a research method that describes a phenomena on how it is. It is an attempt to examine a situation in order to describe the norm (Waliman, 2011, P.10). Descriptive Analysis describes what exists and tries to pave the ground for finding new facts. It includes gathering of data related to products, people, individuals, events and situations and then organizes, tabulates, depicts and describes the outcome. This type of research design is mostly guided with one or more research questions and often does not follow a structured research hypothesis (Travers R., 1978). Descriptive Analysis provides a knowledge base which can be a foundation and ground for further quantitative analysis, since it maps the landscape of a specific phenomenon (Travers R. 1978). It is argued if properly interpreted, the data analyzed can provide useful insights which may lead to hypothesis formation.

The Media and Communication Policy

In attempt to improve the safety of lives, properties and promotion of national security, the Nigerian national communication policy mandates and assigned roles to the broadcast, social and print media. Some of these roles according to Nigeria coalition 2010 include;

1. To disseminate information to enhance the welfare of the people in all aspects of life - health, culture, security and the promotion of other values of national excellence
2. To provide professional and comprehensive coverage of Nigerian culture in support of cultural development and growth, through constructive result oriented research, the result of which will be publicized for the benefit of the people.
3. Provide efficient broadcasting service based on national objectives and aspirations to the people.
4. In terms of programming, it shall be a vehicle of mobilization towards the achievement of national development, national security and improving the quality of life especially those of the rural communities.
5. The broadcast media must ensure the promotion of national unity and integration through balanced presentations of views from all parts of the country.
6. It must ensure the regular presentation and delivery of accurate information to the people.
7. Provide opportunity for healthy discussions on important national issues to enlighten and mobilize the people.
8. It must provide a channel of communication between government and people.
9. It must be a tool for promoting the virtues of national consciousness and the emergence of a just, humane and self reliant society.
10. It must emphasize at all times excellence, moral and ethical standards of programme service that will meet people's expectations and needs.

11. Ensure that the development in the field shall be in line with our national interest and an ongoing concern.
12. It must ensure effective coverage and reach of the entire nation.
13. Ensure the broadcast of news and programme in indigenous languages to local communities.
14. Support programme for the youth to instill indigenous cultures and virtues in them.
15. In terms of programming, it should support the course of education.

In order to ensure better result, the policy also recognized the importance of our traditional structures and the need to indoctrinate them in the realization of the individual goals and the achievement of national security. For this the national policy encouraged the direct public and private investment in community based print media in the rural areas to meet the information needs of the people. In furtherance of the effort towards achieving the objectives of national security with special focus on the hot spots of the country, borders and rural community which generate the largest population in the nation, the policy stipulates that federal and state government shall allocate a reasonable proportion of their rural security funds to the establishment of community based media of mass communication.

A swift examination of all these mandates and regulations in principle, one is bound to judge it to be laudable in achieving the national aspirations and goals of peaceful co-existence and equitable development in Nigeria. In practice however the principles are not working as it should in some aspects and have failed woefully in most situations. For this reason it is imperative to look at some of the problems militating against the appropriate use of the communication policy in the achievement of a successful national security and development goals. It becomes imperative to look at the Nigerian state since 2015 when increase in insecurity took a fearful dimension and some of the problems militating against the effective usage and implementation of the principles inherent in the national communication policy for national peace and socio-economic advancement.

Some of the recent observed problems in Nigeria are: upsurge of insecurity in terms of herdsmen attack on farmers, kidnapping, rapping of women in farms, killing of farmers in their farms, malicious destruction of crops by Fulani herders which led to high cost of goods and services and food insecurity. Others are the Federal government lackadaisical or tribalistic attitude to address the insecurity, gross cases of corruption- using government machineries for personal gains, erratic power supply, neglect of federal highways which have become dens of thieves and kidnappers; and nepotism in political appointment from one tribe in Nigeria which political scholars refer to as Fulanization of Nigeria. This paper however focuses on how to use communication policy and the media to address the above issues in Nigeria national security.

What is National Security?

The concept of national security remains ambiguous, having evolved from simple definitions which emphasised freedom from military threat and from political coercion (Romm, 1993;

Prabhakaran, 2008) There are many definitions which show how the concept has evolved to encompass non-military concerns:

Walter, (1943) sees security in this way : "A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate resources to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain territory by war" (Walter Lippmann, 1943). Romm (1993) gives distinctive meaning of national security as freedom from foreign dictation." (Harold Lasswell, 1950) opines that "National security objectively means the absence of threats to acquired values and subjectively, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked." Arnold (1960) is of the view that "National security is the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders." Harold Brown, U.S. Secretary of Defense, 1977-1981 describes national security as a nation 's capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self-determination or autonomy, prosperity and wellbeing (Brown, 1983).

Maier, (1990) defines national security as an appropriate and aggressive blend of political resilience and maturity, human resources, economic structure and capacity, technological competence, industrial base and availability of natural resources and finally the military might. National Defence College of India,(1996) views national security as measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy through governance... and is extendable to global security by variables external to it. National and international security therefore; may be understood as a shared freedom from fear and want, and the freedom to live in dignity. It implies social and ecological health rather than the absence of risk (Ammerdown Group, 2016; Prabhakaran, 2008).

The New Dimension of Insecurity

What constitutes security in modern times is a question that has never been answered satisfactorily by scholars. Its perception even within one community varies in time (Ejogba, 2006, p. 305). For instance, until recently, most of the mainstream writings on security studies literally defined it in terms of a state's capabilities to defend its territorial integrity from threats, actual and imagined, as well as acts of aggression from other potential enemies (Okwori, 1995, p. 20). To this end, states build and equip armed forces towards achieving this goal. The main assumption of this conception is that threat of violence, and the actual ability to commit violence by a state, against an enemy successfully deters threats and aggression (Rohuke, 2005, p. 308; Alabi, 1997, p. 129). At the domestic level, the belief is that internal law-enforcement agencies and other instruments of domestic intelligence are all that is required for a state to be secured. There is however, an evident shift on what actually constitutes security in the post-Cold War era. Presently, there is an attempt to broaden it to accommodate other relevant, if not critical elements within this conception. Issues such as economic development, bandits attack on military formation, Boko Haram atrocity, Fulani herders harassment of farmers, rapping, killing with impunity, land grabbing by force, malicious destruction of crops in farms, inequality in political appointment, political accountability and

good-governance are now regarded as fundamental to any comprehensive indulgent and explanation on the question of security. Perhaps, this is because of the fact that the conventional militaristic conception of security that dominated the Cold War discourse proved ineffectual and grossly incapable of meeting security expectations among many countries. In this new conception, human development is considered as central (Hettne, 2010; Booth, 2007). Thus, we see in this shift, a new and broader conception in which security entails the capacity of a state to defend itself from external threats with all the necessary means at its disposal, and internal threats through overall socio-economic well-being of its citizenry (Absolute Astronomy, 2011; Tedheke, 1998, p. 6 Edafejrhye, 2021). Here, there is a greater recognition of the relevance of other elements such as political, environmental, economic, and social factors as irreducible components of security of any country (Buzan & Hansen, 2009). Hettne (2010) defines security “as a reasonable level of predictability at different levels of the social system, from local communities to the global level...” The understanding here is that at the global level, there is a presence of an order which is predicated upon the predictability of the behavior of other members within the system. At local level, security thus includes the ability of the state to predict the likely implication of any particular condition on its citizens. The recognition lies squarely not on the state’s ability to enforce law and order, though that may be important, but in creating the necessary socio-economic conditions that guarantees fair amount of predictability on the behavior of its citizens.

For this paper purpose, security is defined as a state of reduced or contained threats and tension in which the stability of a state is not in an imminent danger of disruption from within and without. Stability here is viewed as the orderliness, regularity and pattern, which characterized the state’s condition over an extended period.

In practice, national security is associated primarily with managing physical threats and with the military capabilities used for doing so. That is, national security is often understood as the capacity of a nation to mobilise military forces to guarantee its borders and to deter or successfully defend against physical threats including military aggression and attacks by non-state actors, such as terrorism. Most states, such as Nigeria, South Africa and Sweden, configure their military forces mainly for territorial defence; others, such as France, Russia, the UK and the US, invest in higher-cost expeditionary capabilities, which allow their armed forces to project power and sustain military operations abroad.

Many political and media scholars have argued that national security depends on political security and the stability of the social order (Lynne, 1998). Others have added that the equitability of the international order is equally vital (Rogers, 2010). Hence, political security depends on the rule of international law (including the laws of war), the effectiveness of international political institutions, as well as diplomacy and negotiation between nations and other security actors. It also depends on, among other factors, effective political inclusion of disaffected groups and the human security of the citizenry. In Nigeria where political leaders who suppose to be policy makers sponsor violence and aiding one tribe against others has necessitated community policy and self-defense mechanism.

Economic security, in the context of international relations, is the ability of a nation state to maintain and develop the national economy, without which other dimensions of national security cannot be managed. In larger countries, strategies for economic security expect to access resources and markets in other countries, and to protect their own markets at home. Developing countries may be less secure than economically advanced states due to high rates of unemployment and underpaid work. The case of Nigeria food insecurity is a threat to lives and industrial materials as a result of Fulani herders invasion into farms yet Buhari government is handling the issues with flippancy.

Ecological security, also known as environmental security, refers to the integrity of ecosystems and the biosphere, particularly in relation to their capacity to sustain a diversity of life-forms (including human life). The security of ecosystems has attracted greater attention as the impact of ecological damage by humans has grown as Maier, (1990) observes. The degradation of ecosystems, including topsoil erosion, deforestation, biodiversity loss, and climate change, affect economic security and can precipitate mass migration, leading to increased pressure on resources elsewhere. The scope and nature of environmental threats to national security and strategies to engage them are subject of debate as Romm (1993) classifies the major impacts of ecological changes on national security as follow:

1. **Large-scale environmental problems.** These include global environmental problems such as climate change due to global warming, deforestation, and loss of biodiversity and Nigeria infrastructural failure
2. **Resource pressures.** These include resource scarcities leading to local conflict, such as disputes over water scarcity in the Middle East; migration into the United States caused by lack of jobs in Nigeria and the failure of agriculture in Nigeria as a result of herdsmen attack on farmers (Edafejrhay, 2021) and the effects of the conflict in Syria and of erosion on productive land (Olike, 2016) argues. Environmental insecurity in Rwanda following a rise in population and dwindling availability of farmland may also have contributed to the genocide there.
3. **Environmental threat outcomes of warfare.** These include acts of war that degrade or destroy ecosystems. Examples are the Roman destruction of agriculture in Carthage; Boko Haram destructive activities in northern Nigeria, herdsmen destroying farms in southern part of Nigeria; Saddam Hussein's burning of oil wells in the Gulf War ; the use of Agent Orange by the UK in the Malayan Emergency and the USA in the Vietnam War for defoliating forests; and the high greenhouse gas emissions of military forces.

Security of energy and natural resources

The interrelations between security, energy, natural resources, and their sustainability is increasingly acknowledged in national security strategies and resource security is now included among the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Spanish Govt 2013; Rogers2010). Nigerians are not envisaging when the country will come out of epileptic power outage yet. Many industries are folding up moving to neighbouring countries like Ghana and Republic o Benin.

Computer security, also known as cyber security or IT security refers to the security of computing devices such as computers and smart phones, as well as computer networks such as private and public networks, and the Internet. It concerns the protection of hardware, software, data, people, and also the procedures by which systems are accessed, and the field has growing importance due to the increasing reliance on computer systems in most societies (Hettne, 2010). Since unauthorized access to critical civil and military infrastructure is now considered a major threat, cyberspace is now recognised as a domain of warfare (Rohuke, 2005). Many Nigeria youths are now cyber criminal popularly known as yahoo boys who lacerate into people accounts thereby withdrawing millions of Naira to enrich themselves.

Infrastructure security is the security provided to protect infrastructure, especially critical infrastructure, such as airports, highways (Suntai, 2011); rail transport, hospitals, bridges, transport hubs, network communications, media, the electricity grid, dams, power plants, seaports, oil refineries, and water systems. Highways and byways in Nigeria are more or less death trap for citizens because of poor maintenance policy. For instance, the road linking Ore to Benin city, the bridge just before Okada community caved in at the middle for over six months now there is no visible action from policy makers in spite of heavy traffic flow through that highway. In the same vein dangerous potholes in Lagos / Ibadan expressway have been claiming lives for years. The authors lost two close associates in these bad roads between the months of August and December 2021. Wreckage of vehicles every week is under reported by the media. Infrastructure security seeks to limit vulnerability of these structures and systems to sabotage, terrorism, kidnappers, thieves and contamination (Abisoye, 2012).

Terrorism: Person or groups deliberately targeting critical infrastructure for political gain. In the November 2008 Mumbai attacks, the Mumbai central station and hospital were deliberately targeted, for example. Sabotage: person or groups such as ex-employees, anti-government groups, environmental groups. Refer to Bangkok's International Airport Seized by Protestors. In Nigeria pipelines and oil installations were bomb by unknown persons who claimed to be Niger Delta militants. Boko haram series of attack on government offices, churches, motor parks and villages in Nigeria are some of the security issues yet to be tackled effectively (Ejogba, 2006; France defence, 2017; The economist, 2017; Obasanjo, 2011).

Information warfare: Private person hacking for private gain or countries initiating attacks to glean information and damage a country's cyber infrastructure.

Natural disaster: Hurricane or other natural events which damage critical infrastructure such as oil pipelines, water and power grids.

Theoretical Framework

A paper on Communication policy and national security demands that a suitable theory should be applied. Broadly defined, theories are “set of interrelated generalizations, combined in such a way that they form a logical system of explanation in which one generalization does not contradict another” (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach 1982: p.196). It is simply a “set of related

propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomenon by specifying relationship among concepts” (Wimmer & Dominick; 2006 P.11). A good theory should clearly explain why a particular concept should behave in a particular way. This is why Griffin (1991 P.4) argues that “a good theory explains an event or behaviour. It brings clarity to an otherwise chaotic situation. It draws order out of chaos”. A good theory must therefore clarify confusing situations. It should of necessity, “ventilate a situation or event that appears nebulous to the extent that it would guarantee concrete, precise and detailed understanding of the situation or event” (Nwosu; 2006 P.32). The purpose of this section therefore is to explore the reasons for recent escalation of insecurity in Nigeria and why government should use national communication policy to address them. Therefore; this paper is anchored on the social responsibility theory of the press.

Social responsibility theory of the Press.

The Social Responsibility Media Theory was propounded in 1956 by F. S. Siebert, T. B. Paterson and W. Schramm. The major premise of the theory is that freedom carries related obligations, and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under the government, is indebted to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication to the citizens. The basic assumptions and components of the social responsibility media theory includes the fact that: media have obligation to society, media ownership is a public trust, news media should be truthful, accurate, fair, objective and relevant, media should be free but selfregulated, media should follow agreed codes of ethics and professional conduct.

McQuail (2005) one of the foremost communication scholars summarized the basic principles of Social Responsibility Theory as thus:

Media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society ii. These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informing society promptly, truthfully, accurately, objectiely and equilibriumity. iii. In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self- regulating within the framework of law and established institutions. iv. The media should avoid offensive content triggering crime, violence or civil disorder or harm to minority groups. v. The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their s o c i e t y , giving access to various points of views and rights of reply. vi. Society and the public have a right to expect high standards of performance, and intervention can be justified to secure the public good. vii. Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to employers and the market. Society expects journalism to serve the interests of the people. Towards this it is expected that journalism not only informs, educate, but also warn against all forms of insecurity in the land. In the recent past the expectations of the society on the media

has grown to include security consciousness and watch dog functions. In fact, these are some of the added roles of media functions in society after the famous report by the commission on freedom of the press headed by Robert Hutchins in 1947. The immediate conflicting point however is that who is the journalist responsible to? Is it the media house owners, editors or people? Man is subject to manipulations at the hands of media owners. Due to the emergence of big businesses in the field of media, there is a threat of monopoly which may lead to control on information. Journalists are obligated to the same society that gives them freedom of expression which provides the laws that brings about a free press. They function as the trustees of the municipal promoting public interests and safety by alerting the people of dangers. The Nigerian media have displayed courage and fortitude by promptly and objectively published investigative reports on issues that escalate Nigeria recent insecurity in the country without fear or favour.

Factors that escalate Nigeria insecurity

Some of the factors that heighten the insecurity situation in Nigeria since 2015 could be traced to the following. They are: the fulanization of Nigeria by the Buhari's administration, politicization of Nigeria security system and Fulani herdsmen atrocity.

Fulanization Agendum of Buhari Administration

Fulanization of Nigeria is the act of Buhari administration to position Fulani people all over the 774 local government areas in Nigeria and in sensitive high federal position (especially in the military, police and other para-military) with the aim of creating Fulani dominion in Nigeria. This evil agendum was manifested by the way the Nigerian president appointed his Fulani tribal men and women in key federal political positions as Nigerian media reported – Guardian Newspaper; Nov. 26; 2018, Cable News Feb; 2020 and Sahara Reporters June 11; 2020. The word fulanization means a voracious, exploitative and oppressive employment of the engines of government (all tools in government's disposal) and diplomacy (policies of cattle ranches) to acquire territories occupied usually by other ethnic groups just to promote domination and cow rearing opportunities. Thus, it is the government forceful act to cowed the original inhabitants of the territories to submission and subjugation. Buhari began a brazen project of Fulanization, starting with his strategic appointments, and restructuring of the entire Nigerian security leadership. And then, the Fulani guerillas, already restless began their plan B operations: kidnapping, raping, and sacking communities. But from a strategic position, this is just the guise for keeping the campaign active, and mastering the forest terrains from Central to Southern Nigeria, and establishing critical logistical networks, and staying at the ready for a long guerrilla war when the time calls. They are ready, hiding in the forests of the middle belt and Southern

Nigeria, waiting for their signal. Too many Nigerians already believe this, and think that a great war is in the offing. And the president's actions have not helped to defuse this scenario.

Vanguard 7; 2019 observes that majority of Nigerians actively believe that President Buhari has agenda other than a Nigerian nationalist agenda. It is an agendum to open the Northern borders of Nigeria, and surreptitiously let in the wandering and unsettled Fulani of West Africa, and resettle them permanently in a new Nigerian homeland through a strategic displacement of indigenous communities long settled in what is now Nigeria. The end game of Buhari is islamization of Nigeria. This triggers the self-defence and movement for national actualization of Indegenous people of Biafra (IPOB) and Oduduwa Republic spearheaded by Nnamdi Kanu and Sunday Igboho respectively. Other nationals in Nigeria are secretly warming up for self-defense, war or succession having known that the government of the day cannot be entrusted with security of life and properties any longer. Hence ; this paper does not envisage peace in Nigeria yet.

Politicization of Nigerian security system

The word 'politicization' is derived from 'politics'. According to Nnoli (2003:12), politics refers to "all activities that are directly or indirectly associated with the emergence, consolidation and use of state power". However, politicization in this context is used critically to indicate that a given phenomenon which is meant to serve an unselfish and populist objective is perverted for the advancement of private and self-seeking goals of certain individuals, groups, classes and parties. Thus, the politicization of national security here means the use of Boko Haram , bandits and killer herdsmen operations as a basis for the pursuit and advancement of the selfish political agenda of some politicians and political parties (Nwangwu , Olihe, and Okoye, 2016).

The federal government of Nigeria has politicize the security system by paying less attention to Boko-Haram insurgent, Bandits and killer herdsmen who escalate the insecurity in the country. Attention is rather focused on the citizens who are out to defend themselves against the evil network of insecurity in the land. This is the reason why Wike, the governor of Rivers State called all Nigerians to work together to defeat insecurity. He said Nigerians must stop politicization of insecurity because it would hurt national development.

` We need to work together to fight insecurity. It doesn't matter the party that you belong to; let's work together to save this country. If you are a human being, you cannot say that you enjoy the slaughtering of people. Where are we heading to? (Guardian March 7; 2020). "Why should anyone play politics with the lives of people? I don't need to be in your party for you to protect me.

One of the factors that have sustained the Boko Haram insurgence is the rash and unpatriotic utterances of some ethno-religious bigots and psychopathic politicians. One of these utterances that have continued to stimulate Islamic militancy and insurgency in Nigeria includes the

statement credited to the late Premier of Northern Nigeria and Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello on 12th October 1960. As reported in the Parrot Newspaper, the Premier cited in Oritsejafor (2014:21) avers that:

the new nation called Nigeria should be an estate of our great grandfather Othman Dan Fodio. We must ruthlessly prevent a change of power. We use the minorities in the North as willing tools and the south as a conquered territory and never allow them to have control over their future (Parrot Newspaper Oct; 12 1960).

Similarly, the promise by members of the Northern Political Leadership Forum (a group of PDP candidate consensus campaigners) led by Mallam Adamu Ciroma vowed to make Nigeria ungovernable for President Goodluck Jonathan if the presidency fails to return to northern region after the 2011 General Election has intensified the insurgency. In the same vein, the former Vice President, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, (apparently quoting from Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*) stated that "those who make peaceful change impossible make violent change inevitable". However, the most recent anti-nationalistic speech that has continued to fuel the Boko Haram insurgency can be gleaned from the assertion of General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd.) that the military offensives against the Boko Haram insurgents are anti-north. (The Nation June 2; 2013, Guardian Nov. 26; 2018.). In the same vein, 356 Nigeria soldiers tendered resignation letter on the alleged insincerity of the federal government in fighting the insurgency (The Punch July, 12; 2020). All these incidents point to the direction of endless crises in Nigeria.

The soldiers wrote to the army chief on July 3, 2020, under Reference NA/COAS/001, quoting the Harmonised Terms and Conditions of Service soldiers/rating/airmen (Revised) 2017. The approval of the voluntary disengagement of the 356 soldiers was contained in a 17-page circular from Buratai, AHQ DOAA/G1/300/92, signed by Brig Gen T.E. Gagariga for the army chief and obtained by our correspondent on Saturday. Also, the document was copied to Headquarters, Theatre Command, Operation Lafiya Dole, Borno State, the Headquarters of 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 81, and 82 Divisions of the Nigerian Army and other formations (The Punch July 12; 2020. P.14)

Just imagine the gross misconduct of policy makers playing politics with human blood in Nigeria security system. Are we envisaging peace in Nigeria now?

Fulani herdsmen Atrocity

Another factor that is heighten the insecurity situation in Nigeria as observed by EDAFEJIRHAYE, (2021) is the herdsmen wicked activities in crop destruction, kidnapping, rapping of women in farms and killing of innocent Nigerians. Investigating reports in Nigeria media show that their activities are politically motivated to create fear with the ultimate aim to grasp landed properties to actualize Islamization of Nigeria.

In the North Central, in a video clip that has gone viral on social media, Benue State Governor, Samuel Ortom, accused the Federal Government of protecting the interest of armed herders despite the atrocities they commit in different parts of the country worsening the security situation in Nigeria. The governor stated that there is insecurity propelled by armed herdsmen from North West, North East, North Central, South East, South West, and South-South. He argued that the Miyetti Allah leaders must be arrested and prosecuted for the crisis and the government must openly criticise, arrest, and prosecute Fulani herdsmen carrying AK47. He accused the federal government of playing partiality with the herdsmen crisis.

To end the hostility of the Fulani herders, in the South West, Sunday Adeniyi Adeyemo, popularly known as Sunday Igboho has recently led an attack against a Fulani community leader in Oyo whom he accused of harbouring Fulani herders engaging in criminal activities. Following persistent attacks in Ibarapa area of Oyo State by suspected Fulani herdsmen, Mr Adeyemo issued an ultimatum to the herdsmen to vacate the area (The Cable Feb.8; 2021). In the same vein; in the South East on December 12, 2020, leader of Indigenous Peoples of Biafra, Nnamdi Kanu, announced the formation of Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) Eastern Security Network (ESN). He claimed the purpose of the ESN is to protect Igbos against Fulani raiders. Indisposed to tolerate the formation of a non-state-sanctioned paramilitary organisation on its territory, the Nigerian government was said to have deployed the army to locate ESN camps and eventually arrest Nnamdi Kanu. The partiality displayed by government in the pursuit of security issues in the case of Kanu and Igboho and overlooking the leaders and sponsors of killer herders, is a signal to persistency of insecurity in Nigeria.

Is Peace on Sight in Nigeria yet?

Presently, there is insecurity in schools, farms, highways, byways, water ways, market places and even military barracks in Nigeria. Peace is far away in Nigeria as long as the Buhari government is bent on pursuing his parochial agenda of Fulanization and Islamization with machineries of Nigeria government. As long as the Bandits and Fulani herders killers are not declared as terrorists and be dealt with according to the law, the security system will remain in comatose. The unaddressed infrastructural condition of Nigeria highways will continue to be dens of armed robbers, kidnappers and death traps for all road users. The destruction of farm crops by Fulani herders is not only an invitation to general anarchy but also an open invitation to food insecurity and economic devastation. Therefore; there is no positive sign of peace yet in Nigeria.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, the paper argue that communication policy makers and the media should work together to address the issues that exacerbate the national security promptly before they

will snowball to unmanageable proportion. Policy makers in political position should stop sponsoring insecurity as tool to remain in power. The media houses should remain bold to expose political gladiators who feed fat on the insecurity situation of the nation. The media must not relent in their effort to inform the Nigeria masses on how to counter the insurgence, killer herders, kidnappers by fine-tuning their local defensive mechanism. The deadly potholes on high ways and criminal hotspots should be reported daily in radio, television, newspapers and social media to minimize lost of lives and victims of accident and robbing. This applies to other developing countries, especially in Africa, that are grappling with the challenges of insecurity, economic growth and development, political reforms and democratization. This paper, though designed with Nigeria in view, recognizes the similarity of the challenges which most other African countries face today. Institutionalized nepotism, social inequality and injustice, hyper-inflation, stagnant economic growth and under development in Niger Delta the region that feeds the nation, parochial politicization of security system and tyrannical leadership have remain some of the glaring issues of national insecurities in Nigeria.

Recommendations

The need to resolve or possibly counteract the growing trend of death and devastation caused by the Bandits, herders, poor road maintenance, Boko Haram and other insecurity challenges in Nigeria cannot be over emphasized in view of the enormity of waste being reported by Nigerian media, Amnesty International and other international agencies on human rights.

The ceasefire terms of the radical sect makes the hope of having peace restored to look like a subterfuge in the country Edafejirohay, (2021) observes. The use of force is only way out. And this must be done without nepotism or buharism (the act of using state power to sponsor insecurity). The use of force must be applied to all without partiality. The partial treatment for Fulani herders and bandits is the reason why insecurity will continue to linger on.

The national communication policy should be reviewed and more intelligent information gathering be improved upon. There is need for provision of modern equipment for the force to enhance effective crime fighting and prevention which is also of immense value. The Inter-agencies collaboration of security and intelligence agencies should be headed by non-partisan Nigerians. Agencies such as National Intelligence Agency (NIA), State Security Services (SSS), Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI), Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) and such others should be equipped in all ramifications to be able to cope with contemporary security challenges.

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