



## **SECURITY INTELLIGENCE COOPERATION AND THE COORDINATED WAR ON TERROR AMONG NIGERIA'S SECURITY AGENCIES: PANACEA TO STABLE NATIONAL SECURITY**

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## Abstract

Security Intelligence cooperation and the coordinated war on terror among Nigeria's security operatives is lauded to be a major panacea to stable national security and timely approach to conflict management, considering the barrage of violent conflicts and level of insecurity in Nigeria. Taking into cognisance the unstable security situation in Nigeria, one would expect absence of rivalry or clashes and at the same time existence of maximum cooperation among all the security agencies saddled with the responsibility of maintaining stable security in the state. It is observed that unhealthy rivalry and clashes have taken several dimensions and crippled their effective security containment. This study seeks to find out the causes of these rivalries and clashes; efforts geared towards addressing it and remedies to the problem. The study made use of secondary data from books, bulletins, newspapers, internet sources, among others. At the end of the analysis, it was discovered that many factors such as duplicating of functions without clear delimitations among the security agencies, unhealthy comparisons, the feeling of superiority complex among the operatives, lack of effective anchor to coordinate them, among others, account for these rivalries. The study recommends measures of promoting healthy cooperation among the security agencies as a panacea to maintaining stable national security in Nigeria.

**Key Words:** Intelligence Cooperation, Conflict Management, National Security, War on Terror.

## Introduction

The political, economic and social systems of a country create the conditions for security and insecurity. Security remains a necessary pre-condition for the development of human beings and society. Therefore, security is the most basic need of human beings and societies (Abiodun, 2016). Recognizing the significance of security as the pre-condition for survival of the Nigerian people and nation, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provided in section 14 (1) (b) that *"the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government"*. The duty conferred on the government by this provision has not been substantially and substantively discharged as the prevailing high level of human insecurity in the country demonstrates. Security is, generally taken to mean the condition or situation of enjoying safety, protection and

preservation of core values and absence of threats to such values (Pogoso, 2013). It also means freedom from danger of from threats to nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interests (Imobighe, 1990). Security is very crucial to the survival of any nation-state and without adequate security of lives and property, our society will remain a Hobbesian state of nature manifesting chaos, lawlessness and total annihilation. This is the reason security is affirmed to be a changing or dynamic situation which involves the capability of a state to counter threats posed to its sustenance (Abiodun, 2016:45).

The increasing spate of insecurity in Nigeria is disheartening and it becomes more worsened with the growing rivalries and clashes among the security agencies; hence the need for intelligence cooperation and coordinated efforts to contain terror. Cooperation among the Nigerian security operatives is a vital means of ensuring stable national peace and security. This is due to the fact that each of the security agencies has a unique capability and operational skills that can complement the other (James, 2000). In his submission, Ahmed (2007) identified the military or armed forces, law enforcement agencies and secret intelligent agencies as the three major elements in maintain Nigeria's internal security. This focus of intelligence cooperation to solving internal security imbroglios was also envisaged by Oghi and Unumen (2014) as they argue, Nigeria requires absolute commitment and dedication from security operatives and agencies. In the same vein, there is need for financial empowerment and mobilization as a means to strengthening all the security agencies (Ahmed, 2007). That is why Abolurin (2012) reports that; Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) must have clear objectives on how to keep the state safe. The objectives as envisaged by ONSA however, have to be strategically transmitted to the various existing agencies in the state: National Intelligence Agency (NIA), State Security Service (SSS), Nigeria Police Force (NPF), and Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Nigeria Customs Service (NCS), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), and Ministry of Interior. The Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) should coordinate the efforts of the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI), Directorate of Naval Intelligence Agency (DNIA), and the Directorate of Airforce Intelligence (DAI). Any and all intelligence gathered that may be stand as threat to stability of the state, either from outside or within, must be shared with National Security Adviser (NSA) for passage to the proper agency authorized to expedite action on such (Ajayi, 2015).

From the above, it is quite sacrosanct that each of the component elements of security agencies in Nigeria has an array, but complementary roles to play. Ajayi (2015) explains that, the statutory duties, functions and responsibilities of every agency has been spelt out in the act establishing it. The use of intelligence cooperation in executing strategic responsibilities by all the security agencies has not been effectively convincing and has fallen below international standards. And considering the roles of these security agencies, it would be right to state that, if these constitutional roles are well played especially in mutual cooperation with one another as expected by the society, violent conflict, terror and all forms of insecurity in the state will be minimal (Abiodun, 2017).

## Conceptual Clarifications

### Security Intelligence Cooperation

Security Intelligence cooperation refers to the art and act of promoting active working relationship on intelligence gathering among multiple security agencies with a view to improving process outcomes at a reduced cost. Security intelligence, a relatively new discipline that focuses on the hidden side of government: those secret agencies that provide security-related information to policymakers and carry out other clandestine operations on their behalf. The main purpose of intelligence is to provide information to policymakers that may help illuminate their decision options in a state (Fingar, 2011). The assumption is that good—that is, accurate, comprehensive, and timely—information will lead to more effective choices made by government officials. Security intelligence can refer to more than an information product, though. It can mean a *process* as well. Although it is easy enough to state the core purpose of intelligence—providing information to policymakers—the challenge of actually gathering, assessing, and delivering useful insights to those who make decisions is an intricate matter (Murray and Gimsley 1994). Finally, intelligence refers to a *cluster of people and organizations* that carry out the missions of collection and analysis, counterintelligence, and covert action.

However, Frazier (2014) submits, diverging goals and operations can make policy implementation difficult and, therefore, a more formal cooperation process is required among the security agencies in a state. Intelligence cooperation becomes more inevitable when the statutory agencies such as armed forces, state security service, the police force, para-military

operatives fail to unite in intelligence gathering to wage war against or containing insecurity in Nigeria (Abiodun, 2016). Therefore, agencies such as National Intelligence Agency (NIA), State Security Service (SSS), Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), Nigeria Police Force, Nigeria Army (NA) as well National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) must endeavour to give room for intelligence cooperation in order to achieve strategic security policy implementation. This, therefore, requires a review of the existing national security policy and the very architecture of the Nigerian military-security establishment; a new security architecture that constructs all military and paramilitary agencies as equal partners in security (Nigerian Tribune, 2013). The feat of security intelligence cooperation was achieved when the personnel of Nigerian Customs Service (NCS) arrested the embattled and erstwhile Liberian President, Charles Taylor on exile in Nigeria in his bid to escape from the country, having committed all sorts of human rights abuses; he was thereafter, handed over to the Nigeria Immigrations Service (NIS) (Ngunan, 2013).

### **Coordinated War on Terror**

The United States security agencies have been able to see to the end of Osama Bin Laden, a globally-acclaimed terrorist in Afghanistan years ago; also winning war against the ISIS activities in Syria in recently as a result of coordinated war on terror embarked upon (US White House Report, 2018). War on terror is a military campaign that was launched by the United States government after the September 11 attacks against the United States to contain all forms of terror in the global system. Coordinated war on terror has, to a great extent, suppressed terrorist tendencies and activities in some parts of the world (Trump, 2019). Coordinated war on terror is used to connote containment of conflict, terror, banditry and all forms of insecurity in a state. Coordinated efforts of all security agencies in Nigeria; National Intelligence Agency (NIA), State Security Service (SSS), Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), Nigeria Police Force, Nigeria Army (NA) as well other para-military agencies would definitely go a long way in decimating and winning war on insecurity and terrorist activities in the state (Campbell, 2013). According to Ngunan (2013), this feat of coordinated war on terror was amply demonstrated amongst the security agencies on the arrest of Boko Haram kingpin, Yusuf Muhammed in year 2009, by the soldiers and other security agencies and was later handed over to the police in Borno State.

## Theoretical Framework

The Weiss (1987) Process Model of Cooperation is adopted in the study to determine what factors promote enhanced security intelligence cooperation and coordinated war on terror among security agencies. The model fundamentally explains that local agencies must undergo a three-step process driven by external influences, systematic or random, to be encouraged to engage in the level of cooperation necessary to achieve the maximum implementation of an initiative (Daft, 2007). Cooperation among agencies is garnished with various merits; inter-agency cooperation is better suited than sole or individual security agencies to identify and accurately define the target problems of priority in a given community; they are more likely to include diverse perspectives on conflict and insecurity causation. It is ideally more result-oriented to developing creative targeted interventions because they include a diverse group of individuals representing a diverse group of organizations with different philosophies of interventions; joint and multiple interventions are more effective than single interventions; they hold the potential of increasing the total quality and/or better quality of the treatment (Weiss, 1987).

Three-point process, according to Dyer and Singh (1998), include: (a) perceived problem must be shared across agencies; (b) resources must be available to handle problem cooperatively; and (c) institutional capacity has to be established ensure cooperation. So, goal congruence is an essential factor in encouraging inter-agency cooperation. It is important to investigate the similarity of agency goals, as exchange interactions between agencies are less likely to occur if agency goals are in high conflict. Meyers (2001:168) provide operational definition of goal congruence and explain the importance of operative goals. As they explain, goal congruence is the extent of agreement between (or among) the official or formal policy goals of political officials and the operative goals of the organizations or networks charged with delivering that policy.

## Methodology

The method adopted in this study is content analysis making use of secondary data from books, journals, conference proceedings, bulletins, Nigerian and US newspapers, internet sources, US security reports, among other periodicals. In the course of the research, the researcher consulted the main library of the University College and that of Pembroke College, University of Oxford, United Kingdom respectively.

## Series of Security Challenges Currently Bedevilling Nigeria

**Boko Haram Insurgency:** Nigeria is currently bedevilled with profound threat of terrorism, especially in the North-Eastern part of the country. In the last ten (10) years, the country has witnessed the vulnerability of terror, criminality and instability. The disheartening phenomena include, but not limited to devastation and annihilations of several towns, villages, churches, mosques, Police stations, schools and other public institutions with Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) bombs planted and small arms and light weapons (SALWs) by the Boko Haram insurgents in Niger, Bornu, Adamawa, Yobe, and Nassarawa states respectively (Abiodun, 2016:145).

**Arms Proliferation:** The proliferation of these small arms and light weapons and the new emergent trend in armed violence in Nigeria put to question the efficacy and total commitment of the Nigerian government in combating the menace. The alarming rate of SALW spread poses a serious threat and challenge to Nigeria's internal security. However, the outbreak of Islamic extremism and domestic terrorism in the North-East, Nigeria, remains evident in the growing audacity of the "Boko Haram" sect, following the attacks in the Eagle Square, Abuja during the 50th Independence Day, 1 October, 2010 in which no fewer than 12 people were killed; the Nyanya Motor Park bombing on April 14, 2014 also claimed more than 75 lives and injured several dozen others, bombing of the UN Building in the FCT and abduction of about 216 girls of in Chibok, Borno State the next day leaving the country in a state of insecurity (Abiodun, 2016:146). Niger Delta Avengers and other militant groups proliferate all sorts of weapons freely and unchecked in the country. .

**Armed Robbery:** Another security threat that is plaguing the country is armed robbery using all sorts of arms and weapons. Only recently, a new trend of robbery which was quite different in outlook occurred at Ogolonto area of Ikorodu, Lagos State, when a lady reportedly led the gang to the banks and stayed outside while the two-hour operation lasted. The leader of the gang was said to have sat down in front of the bank bragging, and no police officer or any security agency was able to confront them. It was disclosed that the gang that carried out the robbery consisted about 15 youngsters, all in their early 20s. Incidences of armed robbery have become a daily routine in many parts of the country. Apart from public institutions such as banks that are their major targets, major highways across the country are not spared as commuters are routinely attacked and dispossessed of their valuables. (The Punch, 2016).

**Militancy in the Niger Delta:** Ethnic militia has been a recurring decimal in Nigeria and its fledgling democracy (Ekhomu, 2013). The restoration of democratic rule in Nigeria on May 29, 1999 signalled the emergence and continued proliferation of vigilante groups, ethnic and sectional militias as well as secessionist or separatist groups wielding all sorts of arms and weapons. Prominent among these are: the Bakassi Boys, a vigilante outfit set up by Abia and Anambra State governments to curb criminal activities in 1999; the Egbesu Boys (1998); the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) 2000; Ijaw Militia and Itsekiri Militias (1999), and the Militia arm of Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) 1992 (Analyst, 2010). A most recent development is the emergence of Niger Delta militants with the name 'Niger Delta Avengers'. The 'Niger Delta Avengers' (NDA) has continued to launch attacks on some major oil installations in the oil rich region, using the various arms, IEDs and ammunitions in their possession (The Vanguard, 2016).

**Cult Killings in Higher Institutions and the Society:** There is now proliferation of cult groups in over three hundred institutions of higher learning in Nigeria, brandishing various arms and weapons; whenever they "strike" on campuses. In recent times, Rivers and Akwa-Ibom States have appeared to be the epi-centre of cultist activities in the country, with no fewer than 19 people reportedly killed following cult clashes in some communities in the state. Also, the



'Badoo' cult group claimed several lives in Ikorodu area of Lagos State. (Channels TV News, 2017).

**Herdsmen/Farmers' Clashes:** One of the security threats in the front burner today, remains the recurring crises between cattle herders and farmers. The most recent of such crises were those that occurred in Agatu community in Benue State and that of Nimbo community, Uzo-Uwani Local Government area of Enugu State. In both attacks, several lives were lost while properties worth millions of Naira were also destroyed. Many proposals have been advanced to proffer solution to the recurring problem. While some have proposed grazing reserves, others insist that ranches would be the best solution out of the conundrum (Channels TV News, 2017).

**Piracy:** Almost half of the 30 deaths recorded in pirate attacks around the world between 1st January and 30th June of that year occurred in Nigerian territorial waters. In terms of the number of attacks, Nigeria was ranked third with 13 attacks, behind Indonesia (50) and the Malacca Straits (20) (Mukundan, 2004). Nigeria's growing piracy problem can be traced back to oil, the country's economic lifeblood and its large-scale theft and sale to vessels offshore. Gangs, armed with automatic rifles and rocket-propelled grenades, cruise along in speedboats and barges, finding cover in the creeks and rivers intertwined with mangrove swamps that make up the delta where the River Niger empties into the Atlantic Ocean (Ibid).

**Kidnappings:** Another security concern spreading across Nigeria like wildfire is kidnapping. When it began in the creeks of the Niger Delta region some years ago, nobody thought it would become a nightmare (Ekhomu, 2013). Gradually, it has even become a 'lucrative business' for many of Nigeria's jobless youths in the South East, South West and other parts of the country. Initially, it was the kidnapping of expatriates that was predominant in the South but today, the situation has gotten so bad that "nobody is safe". Serving government officials are not spared in the kidnapping menace, as their family members, relatives and friends have become worthy 'targets'. Interestingly, armed robbers and other sorts of criminals are fast abandoning their trades for the more lucrative business of kidnapping (Ojeme,2015:15).

**Cattle Rustling and armed banditry:** Jan Birni, a community in Birnin Gwari Local Government area of Kaduna State, which lies on the border between Kaduna, Katsina and Zamfara States, is one of the areas that have been in the grip of cattle rustlers and armed bandits. Little wonder the traditional ruler of the area and Emir of Birnin Gwari, Alhaji Zubair Maigwari, was reported to have lamented that his community had completely been taken over by rustlers and bandits who kill, maim, rape and kidnap their victims before dispossessing them of their hard-earned investments (The Punch, 2019). These rustlers also carry all sorts of small arms and light weapons in executing their evil machinations. The threats posed by the existence of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) to Nigeria's internal security are fast becoming uncontrollable ([www.crisisgroup.org](http://www.crisisgroup.org)).

#### **Factors Militating against Security Intelligence Cooperation and Coordinated War on Terror in Nigeria**

Despite the call for push towards security intelligence cooperation and synergy in Nigeria, there has been persistent rivalry among the security agencies. For instance, the Nigeria Police has severally clashed with the NSCDC, Department of State Security Service (DSS) and the Nigeria Army. The operations of some of these security agencies seem to veer into the activities of the other without formal agreement. Ahmed (2007) has submitted that inter-agency rivalries or clashes occur because of the following:

- i. The feeling of superiority by a security agency over and above the other usually creates a sense of envy and jealousy which explodes into violent rage at any time;
- ii. Acts of indiscipline, arising from a false sense of superiority, ignorance, poor education and training, undermines 'esprit de corps' among the security agencies;
- iii. Pecuniary interest arising from poor remuneration; when security operatives are not well paid, any opportunity to make extra income may pitch one group against the other;
- iv. Unhealthy rank comparisons amongst security agencies often result in commotion, quarrels and fights;

- v. Poor or lack of inter-service communication, which is required to ensure prompt command, control and retreat hampers the quick relay of information among the services, leading to clashes;
- vi. Ineffective command and control borne out of weak leadership engenders indiscipline at all levels. Thus, the personnel do as they please, unchecked, because of the luxury of unbridled freedom;
- vii. Usurpation, undue interference and duplicating of functions without clear delimitation of statutory roles or operational areas of competency of other agencies result to clashes,
- viii Uncontrolled and inordinate use of force by security operatives at the slightest provocation, is another potent cause of inter-agency rivalry and clashes;
- ix. Inability of the system to create appropriate sanctions for erring personnel after the clashes; instead prepares the grounds for further rivalry and clashes;
- x. There is problem of inadequate barracks accommodation which compels military and other security personnel to live among the civilian populace and commute in public transportation means.

### **Efforts Geared Towards Promoting Security Intelligence Cooperation and Coordinated War on Terror among the Security Agencies in Nigeria**

On the issue of incessant kidnappings, pipeline vandalism and illegal refining, the six states in the South-South region of Nigeria, Bayelsa, Rivers, Akwa-Ibom, Cross River, Edo and Delta states have set up a Joint Anti-Kidnapping Force to tackle the upsurge of kidnappings in the region. The proposed new security outfit when jointly put together by the security advisers in the region, will function well in strengthening intelligence cooperation among all the security agencies in the region (Chiluwa, 2011). In terms of weapons, the new security outfit will also be backed up by a huge budget for the procurement of helicopters, gunboats, patrol vans and coordinating digital coverage of the entire region. Also in a bid to curtail pipeline vandalism arising from the oil thieves operating in the creeks of the Niger Delta, the Federal Government has put in place a new operational strategy in the region, code-named JTF Operation Pulo Shield. The synergy is expended expanded to include: National Intelligence Agency (NIA), Nigeria Army, Nigeria Police Force, the Nigeria Prisons Service, Nigerian Customs Service, Nigerian Immigration Service, and others (The Vanguard, 2012).

Concerning the menace of transnational crimes such as terrorism, illicit drug and human trafficking, proliferation of arms, kidnapping, assassination, human trafficking, and the effects of globalization, the role of national security transcends individual agency to include the collaboration and cooperation of all other agencies. The Nigerian government also entered into synergy or cooperation with other neighbouring states of Chad, Cameroon and Benin Republic, forming a Multinational Military Joint Taskforce (The Sun, 2017). Concerning the menace of herdsmen/farmers' clashes, some state governments have enacted Anti-Grazing Laws in their respective states; starting with the Ekiti State Government, during the tenure of Governor Peter Ayodele Fayose in 2016; followed by Benue State Government under the administration of Governor Samuel Ortom. Having enacted the Anti-Grazing Laws, a Joint Taskforce on Anti-Grazing was put in place to checkmate the menace, with contributions from the various security agencies in the states (Africa Independent Television News, 2018).

However, there has been viable synergy among the security agencies and other stakeholders anti-human trafficking matter has been a bit impressive. It is observed there is close cooperation and collaboration amongst the Police, Nigeria Army, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) and National Agency for the Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP), which is the national focal point agency on all issues of human trafficking. The national borders are being closely monitored and patrolled to arrest the perpetrators and thereby save the victims (Dambazau, 2014). In the area of combating terrorism in the North East, Nigeria, intelligence cooperation and coordinated war on terror efforts of the Nigeria Army, Nigeria Air Force, the State Security Service (SSS), and National Intelligence Agency (NIA) has been encouraging. The Nigerian government through Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA), has stepped up intelligence cooperation amongst the security agencies; which is very strategic in combating terrorism and other criminal tendencies in the North East region of Nigeria (Dambazau, 2014).

But to summarize it all, the extent of success achieved by the security agencies on their statutory roles in fortifying the nation would have been highly meritorious but has, however, been usually hindered with unhealthy rivalries and lack of intelligence cooperation with a disconnect as regards war on terror (Abolurin, 2010).

## Recommended Strategies towards Promoting Intelligence Cooperation and Coordinated War on Terror among the Nigerian Security Agencies: Panacea to Stable National Security

The various strategies proffered to achieve intelligence cooperation and coordinated war on terror among the Nigerian security agencies are as follows:

1. Improved welfare package will uplift the morale of security personnel and reduce unnecessary frictions among the security agencies. Enhanced remuneration will lessen friction among them; each will concentrate on their constitutional duties instead of looking for extra income.
2. The media too can help by toning down the reportage of such clashes so as to stem the tide of such tension and prevent escalation of such crises.
3. Retreat and sports: efforts at creating meeting points for all security agencies as in retreat and sporting activities should be intensified. This will encourage social interaction and understanding among various agencies;
4. There should be joint training at all level where officers and men can interact intellectually to better appreciate and understand each other for improved cooperation at all times;
5. There should be clear and well defined communication links between the different hierarchies of the services, including the establishment of liaison officers in all the barracks and units at all levels of command to entertain complaints from aggrieved personnel of other services.
6. Mutual respect for one another with the belief that all services are performing different functions towards achieving a common goal.

### Conclusion

Considering the roles of these security agencies, it would be right to state that, if these constitutional roles are well played especially in mutual cooperation with one another as envisaged by the society, violent conflict, terror and all forms of insecurity in Nigeria will be nipped in the bud. Also, there is for sustainable budget provisions for security and defence in the country to ensure stable peace and national security in all ramifications.

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