



\$2.1BILLION ARMS PROCUREMENT FRAUD IN NIGERIA: ITS IMPACT ON NATIONAL SECURITY, PEACE AND SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN JONATHAN’S ADMINISTRATION 2011-2015

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The lack of transparency and accountability in governance in Nigeria pose a big problem to National Security, Peace and Sustainable economic development as a result of serial bombing, armed robbery, hostage taking, ethno-religious conflicts, cold-blooded, killings traceable to militant groups with conflicting ideological, political and religious agenda. Poor governance, political instability and a cyclical legitimacy crisis become the order of the day as Nigeria state is seen as a victim of high-level corruption. Consequently, the preponderance of terrorist activities especially those conducted daily over a decade by both the Niger Delta and Boko Haram has been an insidious act and has become a nationwide concern in Nigeria especially in Jonathan’s administration of 2011-2015. Specifically evaluating the \$2.1 Billion arms procurement fraud or scandal carried out by the nation's National Security adviser and his political cohort or gladiators during the period under review. This paper argues that the lack of transparency and accountability in governance during the period under review 2011-2015 is responsible for the incapacitation of the Nigeria military in combating the menace of Boko Haram Sect and the Niger Delta militant, National Insecurity challenges and the lack of Sustainable economic development. This paper adopted secondary data sources of information.

Keywords: Transparency and accountability, Terrorism, National security, Boko Haram, Sustainable economic development.

Introduction

Nigeria as a sovereign nation is regarded as the most, black populous nation with an estimated population of about 167 million people with thirty-six states and the federal capital territory¹. Some commentators argued that Nigeria belong to the NEKS countries, in other words, countries with untapped market with

¹ Akhuemonkhan, I. A ., Raimi, L and Ogunjirin, O.D. (2012) Corporate Social Responsibility and Entrepreneurship (CSRE): Antidotes to Poverty, Insecurity and Underdevelopment in Nigeria. Presented at the 6th International Conference held in Universiti de Lome, Togo from November 1-2.

huge potential for foreign direct investment. Other countries in this group include South Africa, Kenya and Egypt.² In West Africa sub-region, Nigeria as a nation state at independence and several decades later was regarded as a relatively safe place due to its persistent economic growth and development especially in the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS). As the focus of the Federal Government shifted from agriculture to crude oil exploration, the nation's steady drive towards sustainable economic development (SED) become truncated.³

Since independence, the Nigeria government accumulated the sum of \$700 billion oil revenues; however, this oil revenue had no impact in the standard of living of the citizens.⁴ The threat to national security become evidently clear as the ruling elites and their political cohort embarked on embezzling and looting the nation's oil wealth. Consequently, the age long peace and security that the country once enjoyed faded away. The country's expenditure on internal security has increased astronomically due to the threat posed by Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militant to national security. For example, in 2011, the sum of N563 billion was purportedly spent on internal security⁵.

Boko Haram which figuratively mean "Western or non-Islamic education is a sin"

"Is a Nigeria terrorist Islamic fundamentalist group that seeks the imposition of Sharia law in the northern states of Nigeria? The group presently has an undefined structure and chain of command. The official name of the group is Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, which in Arabic means "People committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teaching and Jihad". It is an Islamic movement which strongly opposes man-made laws and was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 in northern Nigeria"⁶.

Nigeria as a sovereign nation has remained under-developed in terms of sustainable economic development, lack of national security, peace, and political instability in spite of the enormous natural resources the country is endowed with due to lack of transparency and accountability in governance. The lack of transparency and accountability in governance is the main factors responsible for the failure of most countries in Africa Nigeria inclusive. As a victim of high level corruption, poor governance and cyclical legitimacy crisis, the Nigeria state has failed in a bid to protect the citizen, create a conducive environment that will aid peace, combat insecurity and sustainable economic development.

The \$2.1 billion dollar arms procurement fraud or scandal carried out by the National Security adviser to the president during the period under review 2011-2015 is responsible for the incapacitation of the Nigeria military in combating the menace of Boko Haram in the northern part of Nigeria and the Niger Delta militant in the South-South geo-political zone. Most soldiers assigned to the war zone abandoned their post due to lack of arms and ammunitions and were subsequently convicted by special martial courts. The budgetary allocation for the procurement of arms and ammunition was diverted for

² Alkali, (2008)

³ Dode, R.O. (2011) The political economy or resources curse and the Niger delta crisis in Nigeria: Matters Arising. Afro Asian Journal of Social Science, Vol.2 , No.2.1 Quarter 1, pp.1-5.

⁴ Watts, M.J. (2009) Crude Politics: Life and death on the Nigerian oil fields, Niger Delta Economies of violence working paper.

⁵ Central Bank of Nigeria Annual Report (2011): Functional Classification of Federal Government Expenditure in Nigeria, CBN Publication, Nigeria.

⁶ FRANCES24.1


political purposes which ended up in private pockets. Since the return of democratic rule in 1999, ethno-religious conflicts with devastating human and material losses has been an essential features of the Nigeria states. Pictures of dramatic acts of violence and killings carried out by Boko Haram Sect in the northern part of Nigeria features everyday on television broadcast, newspapers, internet and magazines. Boko Haram Sect and the Niger Delta militant operated freely in the North and South-South respectively because the government lack the political will to combat the menace of insecurity caused by these two groups as a result of the lack of transparency and accountability in governance.

Further, the Nigeria social-economic and political sectors during the period under review has suffered a great loss as a result of Boko Haram catastrophic acts of terrorism. It is evidently clear that natural resources and foreign direct investment are what makes the Nigeria economy in terms of growth and development. Exploration in agriculture as a renewable natural resources and foreign direct investment is responsible for the increase in the Gross Domestic Product of the country. Due to an enabling environment before the emergence of Boko Haram, there is an increasing level of sustainable economic development as a result of foreign direct investment. Through the provisions of a variety or array of product and services, foreign direct investment helps in the sustenance of rural livelihoods. There are concerns over the issue of Boko Haram and the Niger Delta militant in relation to sustainable economic development due to the benefit attributed to foreign direct investment.

In addition, sustainable economic development is one of the pillars of sustainable development and it involves economic growth or development that sustains natural resources and the environment for future generation in a bid to satisfy the needs of humans.⁷ The rate of crime and unprecedented reign of terror across the six geo-political zone of the country clearly shows that there are issues with national security, peace, and sustainable economic development. For the survival of humanity, it became evidently clear that there is a need to preserve and protect the foreign industries in the northern part of the country due to the challenges pose by Boko Haram Sect in the region.

Interestingly, the budgetary allocation for the procurement of arms and ammunition during the period under review was seen to have been diverted by the National Security Officer to the president and his political cohort. A copy of a letter of request by National Security Adviser to the president for the transfer of funds dated 20th of January 2015 signed by the then finance minister/ coordinating minister for the economic Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. The National Security Adviser specifically stated that the said amount is for the procurement of arms and ammunition, security and other intelligence equipment for the security agencies in order to combat the menace of Boko Haram threat in the country.

⁷ Umoh, B. O. (2005) Social Science Education and Sustainable Development in Developing Nations Paper presented at an International Research Forum hosted by the University of Uyo, in conjunction with the University of New England, Maine USA on the 5th-6th May; Kufoniya, O and Akinyede J. O. (2004) Mainstreaming Geospatial Information for Sustainable National Development in Nigeria. Available at www.rectas.uneca.org/rectas



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CME-HMF/FMF/2015/18

20 January 2015

His Excellency,
Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, GCFR
President,
Federal Republic of Nigeria,
Presidential Villa,
Abuja.

Your Excellency,

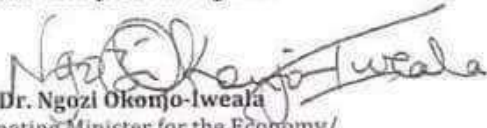
RE: REQUEST BY NSA FOR TRANSFER OF FUNDS

Attached, please find a request by the National Security Adviser (NSA) for the transfer of US\$300 million and British Pounds £5.5 million of the recovered Abacha funds to an ONSA operations account. The NSA has explained that this is to enable purchase of ammunitions, security and other intelligence equipment for the security agencies in order to enable them fully confront the ongoing Boko Haram threat. His request is sequel to the meeting you chaired with the committee on use of recovered funds where the decision was made that recovered Abacha funds would be split 50-50 between urgent security needs to confront Boko Haram and development needs (including a portion for the Future Generations window of Sovereign Wealth Fund).

This letter is to seek your approval to borrow these funds, for now, to disburse to the NSA. These funds form part of projected Federal Government Independent Revenue to be appropriated. In light of this and for accountability, given the peculiar nature of security and intelligence transactions, we would expect the NSA to account to Your Excellency for the utilisation of the funds.

CME-HMF
Approved
29/10/15

With best personal regards



Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala
Coordinating Minister for the Economy/
Honourable Minister of Finance

The following individuals are some of the beneficiaries of the arms procurement fraud: former governors Peter Odili (N100 Million); Rashidi Ladoja (N100 Million); Altahiru Bafarawa (N100 Million); Mahmud Aliyu Shinkafi (N100 Million); Jim Nwobodo (N500 Million); Chief Tony Anenih (N260 Million); Ex- PDP National Chairman Amadu Ali (N100 Million); Chief Bode George (N100 Million and \$30,000); Yerima Abdullahi (N100 Million); Chief Olu Falae (N100 Million); Tanko Yakassai (N63 Million); Gen Bello Sarkin Yaki (N200 Million); Raymond Dokpesi; Iyorchia Ayu's Company (N345 Million); BAM Properties (N300 Million); Dalhatu Investment Limited (N1.5 Billion); Ex-PDP National Chairman Mohammed Bello Haliru; Abba Mohammed; Sagir Altahiru; serving and former members of the House of Representative (over N600 Million); Bello Matawalle former chair of the House of Representative on security and intelligence (N300 Million); ACACIA Holdings (N600 Million); Bashir Yuguda (N1,950,000) and General Lawal Jafaru Isa a former military administrator of Kaduna state a close confidant of President Muhammad Buhari has refunded 60 percent of the arms procurement fund he allegedly collected from the office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) and 241 other firms are involved in the scandal.⁹

The lack of transparency and accountability in Jonathan's administration gave room for the diversion of funds meant for the procurement of arms which subsequently led to the incapacitation of the Nigeria military in combating the Islamic Sect from carrying out their atrocities. The level of insecurity became so alarming that Boko Haram operated freely, acquired sophisticated weapons, plan sophisticated attacks simply because the Nigeria military lack the required manpower and weaponry to combat Boko Haram and other security issues in the country. The incapacitation of the Nigeria military has led to the proliferation of security management in terms of programmes, policies and laws. In other words, the government have not been able to engage Boko Haram due to lack of weapons and trained manpower. The picture below shows some of the sophisticated weapon used by Boko Haram Sect.¹⁰ This paper seeks to argue from the above assertion that the \$2.1 Billion arms procurement fraud in Nigeria during the period under review led to the incapacitation of the Nigeria military in combating the menace of Boko Haram Sect and consequently led to National Insecurity and lack of sustainable economic development



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⁹ The Nation Newspaper (2016) Vol, 11, No 3454. Available on www.thenationonline.ng. Accessed on the 01/04/2016.

¹⁰ The Punch Newspaper (2013). Available at www.punchng.com/news. Accessed the 7th of April 2016.

¹¹ The Nation (2015), Nigeria National Newspaper

Conceptual Clarifications

Security

Over the last century, the term security is regarded as a multi-dimensional and crosscutting concept which has been the subject of great debate. All over the world today, security is regarded as a “first order value”. In other words, it is one of the main responsibilities of any government. Due to the issue of definitional pluralism, the concept of security could be a bit of a challenge. This is due to the fact that as a social phenomenon, the concept can be view from different context. Some security commentators argued that safety and survival of the citizen and that of the state from dangerous threats, harm or destruction are essential attributes of the concept of security. In other words, the state has the primary responsibility and power to protect the sovereignty and citizen of the state¹². According to BBC dictionary of English Language, the concept of security involves all the measures taken to protect a geographical entity or location from harm or danger. It is also regarded as a legal protection against possible harm.¹³

In addition, Braithwaite¹⁴ states that national security can be define as “ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threat”. Lipmann¹⁵ argued that national security can be regarded as a situation where a “nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interest to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war”.

Governance

Good governance like any other concept has the issue of definitional pluralism. It is subjective because it is value loaded. Due to the purpose and intents of the analyst, the meaning attached to it may be as a result of its function. Nevertheless, for obvious reasons it remain a useful concept. The process of good governance can be evaluated by using this concept to invite judgement about the quality of governance in a state. In other words, it brings about an evaluative question in terms of transparency and accountability, proper procedure, quality and decision making process¹⁶.

Further, devolution of powers, security of human rights, respect for local autonomy, civil liberties and transparency and accountability are essential features of good governance. Good governance can be closely or seen as “the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver public services, able to create an enabling policy environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct”¹⁷.

Peace

The absence of war in any state or country can be regarded as peace and by logical extension it can be regarded as the absence of peace. Ibeanu argued that peace can be define in a sociological terms as “a condition of social harmony in which there are no social antagonisms”. In other words, peace can be seen as a condition where there is an absence of social conflict which provides an opportunity for individuals

¹² Zabadi, S.I. (2005) *Understanding Security and Security Sector Dynamics* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

¹³ BBC Dictionary (1992) “The BBC Dictionary of English Language”.

¹⁴ Braithwaite, T. (1998) “Foundation and Dynamics of National Security”, *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 12 No 3 pp 107-127

¹⁵ Lipmann, W. (1943)

¹⁶ Simbine, A. T. (2000), “Citizen’s Disposition Towards Governance and Democratic Rule in Nigeria” NISER Monograph series, No 15.

¹⁷ Landell-Mill and Seragelden cited in Simbine, A.T. (2000) “Citizen’s Disposition Towards Governance and Democratic Rule in Nigeria”, NISER Monograph Series, No. 15.

and groups to meet their needs and aspirations. Looking at peace from a structural functionalism perspective, peace is obtainable where existing social structure function adequately and where requisite culture, value and norms are encouraged¹⁸.

Sustainable Economic Development

Sustainable economic development (SED) is an economic development which proffers solution to the needs of present generation and as a novel concept in the development literature would not endanger nor compromise the needs of future generation¹⁹. Sagay et al., states that “sustainable development is a process in which the natural resources base (of a nation) is not allowed to deteriorate, but utilised optimally for the benefit of the current and future citizens”.²⁰ Toures et. al., on their part argued that sustainable economic development is a “worthy attempt by environmentalists, scientists, economists to come up with new models of exploiting the environment and its resources in a manner that ‘guarantee long-term economic, social and environmental progress’”²¹.

Transparency and Accountability

Lack of transparency and accountability in governance is the most single social phenomenon that has eaten into the fabric of the Nigeria state. Most Nigerians are corrupt in one way or the other as a result of this social phenomenon. Consequently, social malaise such as poverty, armed robbery, kidnapping, insecurity of life, moral degeneration, succession crisis becomes the essential features of the Nigeria state. Dwivendi²² argued that lack of transparency and accountability otherwise known as corruption in Nigeria include graft, bribery, nepotism and other unfair means or methods adopted by politicians, government officials, employees and the public at large to benefit from socially and legally prohibited favours. However, Gibbons²³ argued that lack of transparency and accountability among public office holders is the use of a public office in a way that forsakes the public interest measured in terms of mass opinion, elite opinion or both, in order that some form of personal advantage may be achieved at the expense of public interest. The diversion of \$ 2.1 billion arms procurement fraud or scandal carry out by the National Security Officer to ex-president Jonathan is a typical example of lack of transparency and accountability in governance.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical grounding for lack of transparency and accountability, threat to national security and challenges of sustainable economic development are as follows: Governance, Leadership and Corruption Theory, Social conflict theory and Neomalthisians theory.

Governance, Leadership and Corruption Theory

¹⁸ Ibeanu, O. (2005) “Conceptualising Peace” in Gaya Best . S (ed) Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

¹⁹ Nagesha, N and Subramanian, M.H. Bala (2005):Energy efficiency for Sustainable development of small industry clusters: What factors Influence it?. The International Journal of Economic Policy Studies V. 1 Article 7

²⁰ Sagay, J., Edo, Z O. and Avweromre, L. (2011) Environmental Degradation and the Dilemma of Sustainable Development: Implication For Environmental Security In The Niger Delta Region. Journal of Environmental Science and Resources Management, Vol. 3, March, pp.16-29.

²¹ Toures, A ., Chakroun, W and Gribaa, F. (2011) A Spatio-Temporal Odyssey Around the concepts of sustainable development and Corporate Social Responsibility: Boundaires to be Determine?. Journal of Modern Accounting and Auditing, October, Vol. 7 (10) pp.1158-1168.

²² Dwivendi, O. P. (1967) Bureaucratic Corruption in Developing Countries. Asian Review, April.

²³ Gibbons, P. (1993) “Political Conditionality” The European Journal of Development Research, Vol.5 Issue 1.

In the development literature, the issues of governance, leadership and corruption have continued to resonate due to political scientists, economist and other social scientists that are interested in their implications in national development as well as the welfare of citizens.²⁴ The \$2.1 Billion arms procurement fraud carried out by the National Security Adviser to ex-president Goodluck Jonathan and his political cohort is the latest episode of lack of transparency and accountability in Nigeria. Other examples include the erstwhile chairman of the people's Democratic Party (PDP), Vincent Ogbulafor was forced to resign because of mountain of fraud charges against him. The former governor of Delta state, James Ibori was arrested in Dubai on money laundering charges²⁵. Kenny Martin has about \$ 97.5 Million fraud charge hanging over his neck.²⁶

Social Control Theory (SCT)

This is a Marxist-based social theory which states that individuals and group (social classes) within society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources (such as the wealthy Vs. the poor) and that the more powerful groups use their power in order to exploit groups with less power. It is a theory that provides explanation for rivalry among state actors, social classes and non-state actors in a bid to protect their selfish interests. The resultant effect of this class conflict leads to procurement of arms and ammunitions for self-preservation which leads to social conflicts and threat to national security and sustainable economic development.

Marx and Engel (1848) asserted:

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.”

Neo-Malthusianism Theory

A theory that focuses on the link or relationship between population growth and food needed for the basic survival was postulated by Thomas Malthus. He argued that in Europe the amount or quantity of food produced per capital was declining *vis-à-vis* the country's population. He argued further that there is a consequence for human existence going by the trends such as famine and pestilence.

Literature Review

Transparency and accountability are essential characteristic of a good governance in any sovereign state. A more comprehensive explanation of good governance is offered by the World Bank as “the means by

²⁴ Bensinger, G.(2007; 2011). “Oil giant that runs on grease of politics”. San Francisco Chronicle; Dike, V. E.(2001). “Corruption in Nigeria: A new paradigm for effective control” African Economic Analysis. Available at [www.afbis.com/analysis/corruption dike.htm](http://www.afbis.com/analysis/corruption%20dike.htm). Accessed April 14, 2016; Dike, V.E. (2003). “Corruption in Nigerian Economic Summit Group (NESG), Economic Indicators (Special Summit Edition), (9)3 Indicators, 32-45; Northouse, G. (2007). Leadership theory and practice (3rd edition). Thousand Oak, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, p.3; Rose-Ackerman, S. (2004). “Governance and corruption”. In Global crises, global solutions (B. Lomborg, editor). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Shabbir Cheema, G. (2004). “From Public Administration to Governance: The Paradigm shift in the link between Government and Citizens” Paper presented at the 6th Global Forum on Reinventing Government, with a theme, Towards Participatory and Transparent Governance, 24-27 May, 2005; Smith, D. J. (2008). A culture of corruption: Everyday deception and popular discount in Nigeria. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

²⁵ Business Day (2010). “EFCC seeks Ibori's extradition from Dubai” May 14

²⁶ Vanguard, (2010).

which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development" and good governance as synonymous with sound development management"²⁷. According to Igbuzor, good governance involves respect for the rule of law, participation of all men and women in decision making, ensuring effective delivery of public goods and services, institutional effectiveness and accountability²⁸. Corruption which is one aspect of lack of transparency and accountability has arisen to the highest height in the Nigeria political arena. This can be seen in the recent \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud carried out by the national security adviser to former president Goodluck Jonathan during the period under review. There are diverting views in what is regarded as lack of transparency and accountability. In other words, the concept may not be easily defined, but not generally difficult to identify.²⁹

In addition, one of the most popular and simplified definition is that of the world bank is "the abuse of public power for private benefit"³⁰. Irrespective of the perception through which corruption is viewed as a universal ground on what is regarded as lack of transparency and accountability is the perpetration of a vice against the public well-being. Lipset and Lenz argued that lack of transparency and accountability is regarded as an "effort to secure wealth or power through illegal means-private gain at public expenses"³¹. Other commentators argued that lack of transparency and accountability can be define as "Situation where two people can act to increase their own pay-off at the expense of a third person".³² The \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud can be likened to the "darkest period" in Nigeria's history of corrupt regimes. In other words, between 1979 and 1998, the Civilian government was hugely involved in "Wanton waste, political thuggery and coercion, disrespect for the rule of law, and white elephant projects"³³.

The lack of transparency and accountability especially the corruption aspect had led to a great extent national insecurity, and lack of sustainable economic development as a result of Boko Haram consistent bombing and killings carried out in the northern part of the Nigeria. The Nigeria military could not withstand the fire power coming from Boko Haram due to lack of arms and ammunition. The lack of transparency and accountability continues to flourish in Nigeria political space and in general due to moral standards. The lack of transparency and accountability in governance in Nigeria takes different forms for example, unconventional and fraudulent trade, misappropriation or diversion of funds, kickbacks, under and over invoicing, bribery, false declarations, abuse of office and other malfeasant practices are all kinds of corruption. Nigeria is regarded as one of the most corrupt countries in the world according to Transparency International, a remark that has denied the country its pride in the international economic system³⁴. Nigeria suffers the highest numbers of civilian deaths in African war zones as a result of Boko Haram catastrophic act of violence against the Nigeria state, and the lack of arms and ammunition on the part of the Nigeria military led to several casualties.

²⁷ Potter, D. (2006), "Democratisation, Good Governance and Development" in Allen, T. and Thomas, A (eds) poverty and Development into the 21st Century, UK: The Open University and Oxford University Press.

²⁸ Ilufoye, S.O. (2010), Democracy and Good Governance: Nigeria's Dilemma in African Journal of political Science and International Relations Vol.4 (6).

²⁹ Tanzi, V. (1998), "Corruption Around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope, and Curses" IMF Staff Papers, Vol. 45 (4). Available at www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/staffp/1998/1298/pdf/tanzi.pdf.

³⁰ Gray, C. W. Kaufmann D (1998), "Corruption and Development". Available at www.worldbank.com/f and d/english/0398/articles/020398/html.

³¹ Lipset, S. M., Lenz, G.S. (2000), "Corruption, Culture, and Market" in Lawrence Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, (eds), Culture matters (New York: Basic Books).

³² Alatas, V. (2006), " Gender and Corruption: Insight from an experimental Analysis". Available at www.economics.unimelb.edu.au/1 cameron/papers/gender/pdf. Accessed April 19, 2016.

³³ Ribadu, N. (2006), "Corruption: The Trouble with Nigeria". Available at www.ganji.com/article 5000/news 5530.htm.

³⁴ Transparency International (2006) Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 2006 Table. Available at www.transparency.org/news_room/in_focus/2006/cpi_2006_1/cpi_table.

In addition, due to lack of arms and ammunitions on the part of the Nigeria military, Boko Haram began to rob banks, cash-in-transit convoys not only in Maiduguri but also in Bauchi where the group have strong hold. Boko Haram was believed to have made or accumulated funds from their illicit crime to the tune of about 500 million naira (about \$3million or £2million) from robberies³⁵. The Niger Delta militant is not left out in South- South blowing up oil rigs and kidnapping expatriates for ransom. Further, uneven economic development, a higher level of unemployment and legacies of economic stagnation in a country like Nigeria is a fertile ground on which terrorist activities have continued to flourish³⁶. Some factors are used or responsible for individuals and group grievances such as unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, economic marginalisation and discrimination are regarded as mobilising instruments by aggrieved group to mobilise and recruit terrorist to wage war against the Nigeria state³⁷.

Eboh and Obodoechina³⁸ argued that “security votes are funds provided at the three tiers of government in Nigeria to provide security for the citizens. These funds are collected by the Federal, State and Local government chief executives in Nigeria as security votes”. The main aim of the security vote since its creation has not been achieved as a result of political office holders enriching themselves with the funds. Across the length and breadth of the country, there has been consistent annual increase in the rate of killings, cultism, kidnappings and other acts of insecurity according to the Institute of Directors (IOD)³⁹. Some executive governors in Nigeria are of the opinion that security vote is unsustainable for example, the governor of Kano state Dr Rabi'u Kwankwaso argued that security vote is an avenue or method created by governors to fraudulently divert public funds to their personal coffers⁴⁰.

The \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud carried out by the former national security officer during Goodluck Jonathan's administration 2011-2015 is a perfect example of lack of transparency and accountability in governance. In Edo state, incidences of heinous killings, cultism and kidnapping continued to be on the increase despite huge budgetary allocation security collected by Adam Oshiomhole the governor of the state. The sum of N911 million within November 12-December 31, 2008 was collected by the governor. In addition, despite the fact Ondo state is relatively peaceful and had no security issues, the sum of N4 billion was allocated to the state⁴¹.

Historical Perspectives

The issues of transparency and accountability in governance in historical context is very important to this study reason being that it has led us to where we are presently. Beginning from 1960 and the first few years of post-independence Nigeria, the political class to date detest transparency and accountability. The lack of transparency and accountability look on fragile and grotesque dimension since the 1960. It is evidently clear that in the 1950's the lack of transparency and accountability raised its ugly head in a grand euphemism for corruption when Dr Nnamdi Azikwe was arranged before a panel of inquiry headed

³⁵ Walker, A. (2002), What is Boko Haram? Washington: UNO Publication.

³⁶ Umar, A. M. (2013) Nigeria and the Boko Haram Sect: Adopting a better strategy for resolving the crisis, NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY CA.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Eboh, M and Obodoechina, R. (2002) IOD Flays public officers over security votes. The Vanguard, July 11. Available on www.vanguardngr.com/2012/07/iod-flays-public-officers-over-security-votes. Accessed on April 16, 2016.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Best, Naira. (2012) Plugging the security vote leakage. Anambra News, Tuesday, October 16. Available at www.news.bestnaira.com/posts/view/plugging-the-security-vote-leakage. Accessed April 16, 2016.

⁴¹ Ibid.

by Justice Strafford Forster-Sutton and he was consequently asked to “transfer all his rights and interest in the bank (ACB) to Eastern Government which later own ACB⁴². On the floor of the Federal Parliament, Chief Obafemi Awolowo the leader of the Action Group (AG) in 1962 was held hostage by some aggrieved members of his party for allegation of corruption⁴³. The aggrieved men agreed that in a bid to achieve transparency and accountability they were ready to expose some of the shady government establishment set up in various ways to divert public money into unauthorised projects.

In 1962, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa appointed the Justice G. B. Coker Commission to investigate the matter and Chief Obafemi Awolowo was later indicted to the effect that: “We come across evidence of reckless and indeed atrocious and criminal mismanagement and diversion of public funds. We are satisfied that chief Awolowo knows everything about the diversion of large sums of money into the coffers of the Action Group”⁴⁴. All the properties owned by the National Investment and Property Company was later confiscated by the Western Regional Government as a result of Chief Obafemi Awolowo indictment in the corruption case.

In addition, Chief Dennis Osadebe the Mid-Western Region former premier and 15 officers was swept in the gale of corruption and were all indicted by the probe panel set up to investigate the allegation and the government of the Mid-Western Nigeria confiscated their enrichment⁴⁵. The lack of transparency and accountability in governance in Nigeria was also traceable to the country foreign assets which showed a reduction in value from £234,700.000 in 1954 to £154,000.000 in 1961⁴⁶. It is interesting to know that the first military coup or intervention in Nigeria political space was traceable or linked to lack of transparency and accountability in governance in Nigeria. The coupist states that “political profiteers, swindlers, the men in the high and low places that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers and VIPs of waste, the tribalist, the nepotists, those that make the country big for nothing before international circles, those that have corrupted our society and put Nigeria political calendar back by works and deeds⁴⁷. With the advent of oil, the propensity or tendency to loot was further amplified and the political class embark on outrageous spending, provocative wastage and unprecedented jamboree in the history of the black race⁴⁸. With reference to the burning ant theory “Nigeria rulers were happy to accept that it is the elephant of the continent and her diplomats and politicians are paragons of moderation whose penchant for unstamped statesmanship is unparalleled⁴⁹.

Further the level of corruption escalated during the advent of the second republic. The dream of a rich and prosperous nation was destroy in 1979 by the inauguration of Shehu Shagari as president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria through unbridled corruption. The third republic ushered in a new democratic government led by Olusegun Obasanjo who told the National Assembly (NA) that “All Nigerians are expecting democracy to yield dividends”⁵⁰. The administration adopted a different approach to the usual naïve illusions that had undermined democracy in the 1960s and 1990s. At the top of his administration agenda was the issue of lack of transparency and accountability, launching an inquiry into government contracts hurriedly awarded during the transition, revising loopholes in the privatisation process, and seeking the support of the international community for help to track down hundreds of millions of dollars

⁴² Nwankwo, A. (2000), “Nigeria: The stolen Billion Fourth Dimension Publisher. Ltd: Enugu.

⁴³ Ibid 1.

⁴⁴ Ibid 2.

⁴⁵ Ibid 3.

⁴⁶ Mbadiwe, K. O. (2012), A Nigeria political Biography, 1915-1990.

⁴⁷ Madiebo, A. (1980), The Nigeria Revolution and Biafra War, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publisher.

⁴⁸ Mbadiwe, K. O. (2012) A Nigeria Political Biography, 1915-1990.

⁴⁹ Ugwu, J. (1986), Nigerian Foreign Policy: Alternative Futures. Lagos Macmillan Publisher.

⁵⁰ Smith, P. (1999), “Nigeria Leaders sets out his priorities”. The Guardian: London.

starved overseas during the 1990s. Obasanjo administration also inherited high inflation, crumbling infrastructure, stagnant economic growth, and \$29 billion in foreign debt⁵¹.

The Jonathan administration (2011-2015) has been characterised by an unprecedented corruption, stealing and looting. Money laundering are now an acceptable way of life which is regarded as the hallmark of Nigerian state. The \$2.1 billion dollar arms procurement fraud is the current wave of lack of transparency and accountability in governance which has led to national insecurity and lack of sustainable economic development most especially in the northern part of Nigeria.

Lack of Transparency and Accountability: Its Impact on Peace and National Security

The concept of national security as discussed earlier in this paper is a multi-dimensional and crosscutting concept which over the last century has been the subject of great debate. According to Wolfer⁵² the concept of national security is often misunderstood and other commentators argued that it is elusive⁵³. In light of the various definitions stated above, national security is regarded as sacrosanct and non-negotiable phenomenon in human society. Section 14(2)(b) of the 1999 constitution states that: 'it is hereby accordingly declared that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government'. In a bid to discharge this function creditably well security votes have been provided for the president, governors and local government chairman. In the light of the foregoing, every president or governor in Nigeria assuming the position of authority is required to take an "oath" to provide security for lives and properties of the citizens⁵⁴.

The lack of transparency and accountability in Jonathan's administration 2011-2015 gave room for the \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud carried out by the national security adviser to the president and his political cohort. It is interesting to know that in 2011, a campaign of suicide bombing was initiated by Boko Haram, a phenomenon Nigerians regarded as first in history. Between 2012 and 2013, the Federal Government declare a state of emergency due to the escalation of Boko Haram insurgency in the northern part of Nigeria. Boko Haram continued their act of violence in the north in spite of the government declaring a state of emergency. The resultant effects of these activities are national insecurity, public insecurity and human insecurity in the northern part of Nigeria. The \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud in Jonathan's administration enables Boko Haram Sect to continue to wage a vicious campaign of terror against the Nigerian state unabated due to lack of arms and ammunition on the part of the Nigeria military. The sect commenced with sporadic attack on security formations and later went on to attack Christian churches, schools and other public places. Suicide bombing and the use of improvised explosives has since been added to the ever degenerating complexion of insecurity in the northern part of Nigeria. Below are some of the diver- stating scene of act of violence against the Nigeria military and civilian populations.

⁵¹ Wallis, W.(1999), "Forty Years after independence, an Enfeebled African Giant Stirs" Financial Times: London

⁵² Wolfers, A. (1962), "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol" in Arnold Wolfers Discord and Collaboration, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

⁵³ Carey, R. (2000), " The Contemporary Nature of Security" in Trevor, C. S (eds) Issues in International Relations, London and New York: Routledge.

⁵⁴ Otto, G and Ukpere, W.I. (2012) National Security and Development in Nigeria. African Journal of Business Management Vol.6(23).pp 6765-6770.





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⁵⁶ Ibid. 1.



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⁵⁷ Ibid. 2.



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It is interesting to know that Nigeria is not the only country in the world where terrorists attack took place especially 2011-2015. In 2014, terrorist attack took place in 95 countries of the world. These attacks were mostly concentrated geographically. More than 60% of all attacks took place in five countries namely Iraq, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan and Nigeria and 78% of all fatalities due to terrorist attack took place in five countries namely Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq and Nigeria⁵⁹. The table below illustrate countries with the most terrorist attack or fatalities in 2013-2014⁶⁰.

The total number of attacks in Nigeria as a result of terrorism was estimated to be about 114%, injuries 376%, hostages 1,358% and fatalities 308% compared to 2013. The rate of lethal individual and coordinated attacks was particularly high in Nigeria. Like Iraq Nigeria experienced in 2014, nine of the 20 deadliest individual terrorist attack. Boko Haram also carried out two other attacks across the border in Cameroon. In addition, the average number of deaths in Nigeria as a result of Boko Haram attacks in 2014 was 12.8. This figure doubles that of 2013, and approximately five times as the global average (2.57 deaths per attack) in 2014. The number of people kidnapped or taken hostage in 2014 as a result of terrorist attacks in Nigeria was estimated around 1,300 compared less than 100 in 2013.⁶¹

⁵⁸ See www.n4gg.com. Accessed on the April 2 2016.

⁵⁹ START, (2014), "Annex of Statistical Information" Country Report on Terrorism. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid. 1.

Table 2. Countries with the most terrorist attacks or fatalities, 2014

	Total Attacks		Total Fatalities		Fatalities per Attack		Total Injuries		Injured per Attack		Hostages Taken	
	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013
Iraq	3370	2501	9929	6387	3.07	2.59	15137	14976	4.79	6.10	2658	267
Pakistan	1821	1941	1757	2351	0.99	1.24	2837	5075	1.61	2.71	869	417
Afghanistan	1591	1149	4505	3111	2.92	2.76	4699	3724	3.16	3.37	719	273
India	763	632	426	409	0.59	0.66	643	717	0.90	1.18	302	190
Nigeria	662	309	7512	1842	12.8	6.46	2246	472	6.31	1.98	1298	89
Syria	232	222	1698	1084	8.24	5.19	1473	1776	9.32	9.45	872	214
Worldwide	13463	9964	32727	18066	2.57	1.86	34791	32880	2.86	3.45	9428	3137

NOTE: India, which was among the five countries with the most attacks in 2014, ranked 13th in terms of fatalities. Syria, which was among the five countries with the most fatalities in 2014, ranked 14th in terms of attacks.

Further, in April, 276 students were kidnapped or abducted from government run secondary school for girls in Chibok and in Gumsuri village 185 people were also kidnapped by Boko Haram. In addition, terrorists attacks in Nigeria in 2014 in relation to perpetrator group was estimated at 86% of which 71% were attributed to Boko Haram or assailants known as “Fulani militants” 26% engaged in land resources conflict in Nigeria. Private Citizens and properties were the main target of terrorist attacks with an estimation of about 66% in Nigeria in 2014. This number doubles that of the global rate 33% of attacks against private citizens and properties. Rather than attacking isolated individuals, almost three-quarters 73% of the attacks were targeted at private citizens and properties of entire villages, towns, or cities by Boko Haram. The number of states affected as a result of Boko Haram act of catastrophic violence in 2014 was 28 out of 36 states including the Federal Capital Territory, and these attacks were heavily concentrated in Borno state where 40% of the attacks took place⁶².

Humanitarian Consequences

It is interesting to know that no other single event of complex emergency in the country apart from the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) has been as debilitating as Boko Haram insurgency in terms of humanitarian impacts. The Niger Delta conflict (1999-2009) also has an impact that threatens the national security of Nigeria⁶³. The impact of the \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud in Jonathan’s administration also had serious implications for Nigerian national security with regards to the following:

Public Insecurity

The catastrophic effect of Boko Haram act of violence in the North-East Nigeria especially in 2011-2015 has been characteristically ‘nasty’ ‘brutish’ and ‘short’ using Hobbes analogy. The north-east, Borno and Yobe State in particular has not known peace since the outbreak of sectarian violence in 2009. Car bombing and intermittent suicide an act of violence exhibited by Boko Haram has become part of their daily lives. Other criminals who assume Boko Haram identity and the hate-filled adherents of the extremist sect using semi-automatic weapons at interval speed through to shoot down randomly at their

⁶² Ibid. 2.

⁶³ Okoli, A. C. (2013), “The Political Ecology of the Niger Delta Crisis and the Prospect of Lasting Peace in the Post Amnesty Period” *Global Journal of Human Social Sciences: F (Political Sciences)* Vol. 13, (3:1.0) pp. 36-47.

ever widening targets⁶⁴. In the lights of the above, the inability of the Nigerian military to combat Boko Haram sect due to lack of arms and ammunitions has created an atmosphere of civil siege and volatility.



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Lack of Sustainable Economic Development

The result of Boko Haram acts of violence against the Nigerian state vis-à-vis government's counter terrorism measures has a negative effect on the livelihood of the affect states. Normal productive agricultural and commercial activities have been constrained owing to public security volatility in these states. Restriction of movement and communications as a result of the enforcement of curfews and emergency rule has a negative effect on the economic activities in the northern part of Nigeria during Jonathan's administration 2011-2015.

Internally Displace Person

The north-eastern states of Nigeria have experienced an increased in the number of attacks from Boko Haram which has led to the displacement of huge human population in the affected states for examples, Borno, Yobe, Taraba, Gombe, Bauchi and Adamawa. According to Premium Time, a total number of 1,934,765 displaced persons (IDPs) are currently living in formal camps, host communities and satellite camps in liberated communities as a result of insurgency in north-eastern state of Nigeria⁶⁶. The IDP population is composed of 53% women and 47% men and more than 56% of the population are children of which more than half are up to 5 years old, while 42% are adults⁶⁷. In addition, more than 92% of IDPs were displaced by the insurgency and currently the majority of IDPs population of about 79% were displaced in 2014⁶⁸. According to Kaliu⁶⁹ 23.7 million men, women and children have been internally displaced by conflict, communal violence and internal strife.

⁶⁴ Salkida, A. (2012), "Counting the cost of Boko Haram Crisis". Available at www.desertherald.com/country-the-cost-of-Boko-Haram-Crisis. Accessed April 22nd, 2016.

⁶⁵ See www.google.co.uk/search?q=pictures+of+boko+haram+members. Accessed April 20, 2016.

⁶⁶ Premium Times (2016) available at www.premiumtimes.ng.com. Accessed the 26 April 2016; Displacement Tracking Matrix (2015) (DTM) Round 11 Report February. Available at [www.nigeria.10m.int/sites/default/files/dtm/10m DTM Nigeria 11 Round Report_Feb_2015.pdf](http://www.nigeria.10m.int/sites/default/files/dtm/10m%20DTM%20Nigeria%2011%20Round%20Report_Feb_2015.pdf).

⁶⁷ Ibid. 1

⁶⁸ Ibid. 2

⁶⁹ Kaliu, W. (2006) Opening speech, 1st Regional Conference on IDPs in West African, ECOWAS Secretariat Abuja, Nigeria, ECOWAS, UNHCR and Brookings Institution, Washington. D.C. USA.P.1.



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Refugee Crisis

A large wave of displacement occurs in the north of Nigeria as a result of violent clashes between government forces and armed groups. A total of 1,934,765 have been displaced, whilst others have sought safety in neighbouring Cameroon, Chad, and Niger⁷¹. There are no indications that the humanitarian crisis resulting from Boko Haram catastrophic attack is abating in 2015. In the neighbouring countries in 2014, UNHCR and partner agencies have stepped up responses to the Nigeria refugee crisis⁷². Beyond political and security challenges, food insecurity continued in the Sahel⁷³.

Human Right Crisis

Boko Haram catastrophic act of violence in the northern part of Nigeria and government counter forces has led to gross violation of human rights according to Human Rights Watch⁷⁴. On the part of Boko Haram, series of heinous human rights abuses and war crimes have been documented or recorded. For example, killing of women, children and civilian populations, murder, torture and persecution of members of other religions and forced conversion of people of other faith to Islam⁷⁵. In light of the foregoing, it is evidently clear that both the insurgents and the Nigeria military have had records of human rights abuses and crime against humanity.

⁷⁰ See www.google.co.uk/qfe_rd=cr&er=c2m9v7bpoc=pictures+of+internally+displaced+persons+in+Nigeria. Accessed April 20, 2016.

⁷¹ Premium Times (2016). Refugee crisis in Nigeria. Available at www.premiumtimes.ng.com. Accessed 2 May 2016.

⁷² Adebawale, S. (2013), "Boko Haram: Security, humanitarian conditions deteriorating UNHCR". Available at www.theeagleonline.com.ng/news/boko-haramsecurity-humanitarian-conditions-deteriorating. Accessed 2 May 2016.

⁷³ UNHCR, (2015), "UNHCR Subregional Operations Profile-West Africa. Available at www.unhcr.org. Accessed 2 May, 2016.

⁷⁴ Human Right Watch (2013). A Report of the Human Rights Watch October 2013. Humanitarian Coalition (2013). "What is humanitarian crisis?". Available at www.humanitariancoalition.org/sites/default/files/factsheet/what-is-a-humanitarian-crisis-english.pdf. Accessed 3 May 2016.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Human Casualties/Fatalities

The \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud in Jonathan's administration incapacitate the Nigeria military in a bid to combat Boko Haram catastrophic violence against the Nigeria state and by far led to the worst humanitarian consequences. The table below illustrate the number of lives loss and various degree and dimension of human injury as a result of Boko Haram catastrophic violence

S/N	Dates	Location	Nature Of Attacks	Remark(S)
1	July 26, 2009	Bauchi	5 days uprising and attack on the police station that spread to Maiduguri, Borno, Yobe, and Kano	Over 800 people killed
2	July 27, 2009	Yobe	Attack on Potiskum, Yobe State Divisional Police Headquarters	3 Police men and 1 fire service officer died
3	March 13, 2010	Plateau State	Churches and markets	300 people killed
4	Sept. 7, 2010	Bauchi	Attacked Prisons	Killed 5 guards and freed 700 inmates, including former sect members
5	Oct. 1, 2010	Abuja	Explosions near the Eagles Square	12 people killed and many injured
6	Oct. 11, 2010	Maiduguri	Bombing/gun attack on a police station	Destroys the station and injured three
7	Dec. 24, 2010	Barkin Ladi, Jos	Bomb attack	8 people killed
8	Dec. 28, 2010	Jos	Christmas eve bomb attack on church	38 people killed
9	Dec. 31, 2010	Abuja	The group attack a Mammy market at Army Mogadishu Barracks	11 people killed
10	Jan. 21, 2011	Maiduguri	Attack on politicians	8 persons killed including ANPP governorship candidate
11	March 2, 2011	Kaduna	Three residence of the Divisional Police Officer, Mustapha Sandamu	2 policemen killed
12	March 30, 2011	Damaturu, Yobe State	Bomb attack	Injured a police officer
13	April 8, 2011	Niger State	Bombing of INEC office in Suleja	Killed 8 Corps members
14	April 9, 2011	Unguwar Doki Maiduguri	Bom explosion occurred at a polling unit	Killed 17 people and many injured
15	April 29, 2011	Bauchi State	Army Barracks in Bauchi bombed	No death
16	May 29, 2011	Bauchi State	Explosion at Mammy market of Shandawanka barracks	Claimed 18 lives and left many injured
17	May 30, 2011	Maiduguri	Bombs exploded early morning on Baga road in Borno State	13 persons died and 40 injured
18	June 7, 2011	Maiduguri	Series of bomb blasts	Claimed five lives and injured many others
19	June 16, 2011	Abuja	Bombing of Nigerian Police Headquarters	3 killed and many vehicles damaged
20	June 16, 2011	Maiduguri	Bomb blast at Damboa town	4 children killed
21	June 20, 2011	Katsina State	Boko Haram stormed Kankara Police Station	9 policemen killed
22	July 9, 2011	Maiduguri	A clash between Boko Haram and the military	31 persons killed
23	July 11, 2011	Kaduna State	Tragic explosion at a relaxation joint in Fokados street	Many people killed
24	July 12, 2011	Borno State	Boko Haram threw an explosive device on a moving military patrol vehicle	5 persons killed
25	July 15, 2011	Borno State	Explosion in Maiduguri	Injured five people
26	July 23, 2011	Borno State	An explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai Elkanem	Injured three soldiers
27	July 25, 2011	Maiduguri	Bomb explosion near the palace of traditional ruler	8 persons died
28	Aug. 25, 2011	Maiduguri	Bank robbery	Killed 4 policemen, 1 soldier and 7 civilians and removed undisclosed sum of money
29	Aug. 26, 2011	Abuja	A Suicide Bomber Drove into The United Nations building	25 persons killed and 60 injured
30	Sept. 12, 2011	Bauchi State	Bomb attack on a police station in Misau	7 people, including 4 policemen
31	Sept. 13, 2012	Maiduguri	Armed attack on military vehicle	Injured 4 soldiers

32	Oct. 3, 2011	Maiduguri	Attack on Baga Market	3 people killed
33	Nov. 4, 2011	Yobe State	Attacks on Damaturu villages	150 people killed
34	Dec. 24, 2011	Jos	Bomb attacks in churches and markets	80 people killed
35	Dec. 25, 2011	Niger State	Christmas Day Bombing in Mandalla	50 people killed
36	Dec. 30, 2011	Maiduguri	Bomb attacks	7 people killed
37	Jan. 5, 2012	Gombe State	Bomb attack in a church	6 people died
38	Jan. 6, 2012	Yola	Bomb attack in a Christ Apostolic Church	17 people died while 20 Igbo people were also killed in Mubi
39	Jan. 20, 2012	Kano State	Bomb attacks	250 people killed in multiple attacks
40	Jan. 22, 2012	Bauchi State	Attacks in churches and the headquarters of Balewa Local Government Area in the state	Two churches destroyed, two military personnel, a DPO and 8 civilians killed
41	Feb. 10, 2012	Kano	Attacked a Police Station in Shagari Quarters	Many injured
42	Feb. 15, 2012	Kogi State	Caused Jail Break in Koton Karji Prisons	A warder killed and 199 prisoners released
43	April 26, 2012	Abuja	Bombing of three media houses	Killed 8 people and injured many people
44	April 29, 2012	Kano	Attack on Bayero University, Kano	Killed 13 Christian Worshipers and senior non-academic staff and two Professors
45	April 30, 2012	Jalingo	Bomb explosion	11 persons killed and several others wounded

Source: Eze (2013: 92-94).

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The number of casualties or death of Nigerians during the period under review 2011-2015 is over 100,000, and the figure is conservative.⁷⁷ Most media reports share an estimated number of 15,000 and government still keep the figure at 5,000.⁷⁸

Recommendation

The lack of transparency and accountability in governance in Nigeria is indeed a social malaise that affects every facet of our national life. The diversion of the \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud carried out by the National Security adviser and his political cohort in Jonathan's administration (2011-2015) no doubt created instances of national insecurity, lack of enduring peace and lack of sustainable economic development. The legislative arms of government should perform effective function by going beyond mere rule making and representation to include administrative and financial matters. A legislature that is mandated and capable of oversight function will perform better in a bid to manage the available funds to achieve the objectives of the state with little or no avenue for stealing or looting funds provided for the procurement of arms and ammunition.

Conclusion

The \$2.1 billion arms procurement fraud carried out during Jonathan's administration (2011-2015) incapacitated the Nigeria military in a bid to combat Boko Haram catastrophic violence against the Nigeria state which consequently led to national insecurity, lack of peace, and lack of sustainable economic development. In light of the above statement, there is the need for a legal framework that must be strictly adhering to irrespective of an individual status in the society. In other words, a framework that does not favour the high and mighty nor the low in status, but prescribe appropriate and prompt

⁷⁶ Eze, C. M. (2013). "Boko Haram Insurgency: A northern Agenda for Regime Change and Islamisation of Nigeria, 2007-2013". Global Journal of Human Social Sciences: F (Political Science), Vol 13(5:1.0), pp.87-98.

⁷⁷ See www.m.news24.com.ng Accessed 15 of May 2016.

⁷⁸ See Vanguard newspaper, 2015.

punishment that commensurate with the offenders crime. In a democratic dispensation like Nigeria, it is essential to have in place a framework that will deter scavengers in form of political office holders or government appointees from looting or stealing our collective national wealth and resources to the detriment of our national security, peace and sustainable economic development.

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