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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. This Book on “Special Issues” deals with the reports submitted by the Armed Forces, the Police Force and Traditional Rulers to the Vision 2010 Committee. These institutions were each requested to prepare a report embodying its vision for the year 2010. Their reports were received and considered by a Sub-committee on Special Issues headed by the Chairman of the Vision 2010 Committee.
2. The report of the Armed Forces, which forms Chapter two of this book addresses the following issues: the increasing politicization of the military and its adverse effects on professionalism; the role of the military in national development, and especially in the on-going democratization programme; the training, logistical and technological needs of the military; and the welfare and benefits of both serving and retired personnel.
3. The report of the Police Force, which constitutes Chapter three of this Book addresses the following pertinent issues: qualitative and quantitative inadequacies in manpower; logistical needs in terms of computerization, communication equipment, forensic laboratories, arms and ammunitions, vehicles and office and residential accommodation; funding and conditions of service; operational strategies; police performance and image; and police-public relations.
4. The report of Traditional Rulers constitutes Chapter four of this book. This report examines the issue of making traditional rulers more relevant to the aspirations of modern Nigeria in the areas of boundary adjustments, creation of new States and Local Government Areas, monitoring educational standards, religious affairs, law and order, chieftaincy affairs and mobilising people to support government programmes.

CHAPTER 2

THE NIGERIAN ARMED FORCES AND VISION 2010

SECTION I: BACKGROUND

1. The Nigerian Armed Forces of the pre-independence era could be described as the most professional the country has ever had in her checkered history as a nation. They lived and operated within a period and environment most suited to their constitutional and operational roles. They were insulated from politics, adequately equipped, kitted, quartered and trained to perform their roles. Their strength, pay and allowances were commensurate with the socio-economic realities of the time.

2. The Nigerian civil war of 1967, which led to the inevitable incursion of the military into the politics of the country, also increased the strength of the Armed Forces. This increase was easily contained due to the oil boom of the period. However, the economic recession which followed immediately after, made it increasingly difficult for the government of the day to adequately cater for the diverse interests of the Armed Forces. This led to reorganization, compulsory mobilisation and restructuring of the force level/structure. We are now left with highly politicised armed forces with an unsatisfactory level of professionalism. Perhaps, this unpleasant state of affairs informed the decision of the present administration to constitute a high powered Committee code-named VISION 2010. The Committee is expected, among other things, to come up with strategies that would enable Nigeria realise her full potentials and move forward.

3. It is important to state here that Nigerian Security means the very existence of every inch of the Nigerian soil, the well being of our people, the protection of our national resources with territorial spaces intact and freedom from every conceivable danger. A nation with an insecure environment is vulnerable to distractions and doomed to palpable disintegration. Security for Nigeria further implies our sovereign right to assert our perceived National identity and values. This presupposes that the nation's aspirations and expectations must be backed by credible Armed Forces to repel or combat any threat to the identified nation's interests. The Nigerian Armed Forces owe this nation the responsibility of protecting her resources and boundaries as well as helping to further her regional and global interests. In other words, the military will forever have critical roles to play in our national life and unless, it is adequately provisioned to perform these roles, our economic growth could be adversely affected.

National Interests and Objectives

4. National interests are, the foundation from which national objectives and strategy flow. These interests represent the most important wants and needs of a nation. Our core national interests are as follows:

- a. National survival and well being.
- b. Preservation of our territorial integrity.
- c. Upholding the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and democratic values.
- d. Ensuring security on the African continent by participating in a collective system through bilateral and sub-regional co-operation under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and ECOWAS.
- e. Contributing towards peace and stability in the world as a whole.

5. It is obvious from the foregoing that national interests are mere aspirations of a nation from which national objectives are derived. National objectives on the other hand enumerate what we are trying to do as a nation and are sometimes referred to as National Policies. Our national objectives are therefore, the goals that we seek to achieve in order to protect, support and defend our national interests. They are classified into economic, political and security objectives. In concrete terms, our national objectives could be discussed as follows:

- a. Economic Objective. Our economic objective is to promote free enterprise which would enable us benefit from areas with relative productive advantage. This could enhance our dream of becoming a prosperous and stable nation in which the quality of life of the citizens would be guaranteed.
- b. Political Objective. Our political objective is to cooperate with other well meaning nations to promote a conducive international environment for the maintenance of sub-regional/regional peace and stability. The Liberian situation is a case in point.
- c. Security Objective Our security objective is to preserve the territorial integrity and unity of Nigeria as an indivisible entity.

6. In order to achieve our national interests and objectives, the security of the economic assets within the country as a whole must be guaranteed by the possession of a highly motivated Armed Forces acting in concert with other paramilitary or governmental agencies.

SECTION II: ROLES OF THE ARMED FORCES

7. The perceived roles of the Armed Forces are contained in Section 217 (1) - (2) of the 1995 Draft Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. These are as follows:

- a. Defending Nigeria from external aggression.
 - b. Maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation by land, sea and air.
 - c. Suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the President, but subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly
 - d. Performing such other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.
8. In addition to these responsibilities, the Armed Forces Decree No 105 of 1993, spells out specific functions for the Navy and the Airforce. For the Navy, the Decree charges it with:
- a. Enforcing and assisting in co-ordinating the enforcement of all customs laws, including anti- bunkering, fishery and immigration laws of Nigeria at sea.
 - b. Enforcing and assisting in co-ordinating the enforcement of national and international maritime laws ascribed or acceded to by Nigeria.
 - c. Making of charts and co-ordinating of all national hydrographic surveys, and
 - d. Promoting, co-ordinating and enforcing safety regulations in the territorial waters and the Exclusive Economic Zone of Nigeria.
9. The Decree similarly charges the Airforce with the responsibility of:
- a. Enforcing and assisting in coordinating the enforcement of international law conventions, practices and customs ascribed or acceded to by Nigeria relating to aerial or space activities in Nigeria air space.
 - b. Co-ordinating and enforcing of national and international air laws acceded or ascribed to by Nigeria, and
 - c. De-lineating, demarcating and coordinating of all aerial surveys and security zones of the Nigerian air space.

10. The above roles are consistent with those of the Armed Forces in democratic governments the world over and is not subject to debate. However, members of the Armed Forces must be properly trained, motivated and kept in a state of preparedness to perform the tasks arising from these constitutional roles which may include preparedness towards countering both internal and external threats.

Threats

11. A threat could be defined in general terms as a feeling of insecurity or danger, real or imagined. This feeling could be by an individual, group or nation as a result of the action or inaction of the other personalities or entities. When applied to a state, a threat could be seen as anything that constitutes danger to its territory, the lives of its people, its political and economic system or its sovereignty.

Threats to National Interests and Objectives

12. Since the assigned roles of the Armed Forces are based on National interests and Objectives which symbolise the goals the nation aspires to attain, they are naturally, susceptible to threats which could be either external or internal. External threats could manifest as hostile propaganda, threat of force by unfriendly nations; sabotage of sensitive military, economic and strategic installations e.g. oil, water or electricity, thereby affecting safety, health and general well being of Nigerians. External threats to national security could be grouped under 3 headings namely: threats from neighbouring countries; threats from other African countries and lastly threats from imperial powers.

Internal Threat

13. Conflict of interests is not limited to nations alone but could be between ethnic, labour or religious groups within a country. In addition, deviant elements in the society could also present a formidable threat to the stability, socio-political and economic well-being of a nation. In Nigeria, the availability, and location of natural resources and ethno-linguistic differences could be exploited by detractors to threaten our national security.

14. Consequently, the increased subversive activities within the country need to be closely monitored.

External Threat

15. The assessment of external threats to Nigeria will be a product of the interplay of conflict of interests, capability and contiguity (3Cs). For defence planning, the number of Cs present will determine the degree of threat posed by a potential enemy. However, strategic capabilities could enable any enemy to meet the requirement of contiguity without having to share a geographical boundary. Also, the military capability of a contiguous neighbour can be enhanced by a defence agreement with a more powerful nation.

16. Of our five contiguous neighbours, four are former French colonies. The existence of strong economic ties between France and her colonies clearly conflicts with Nigeria's efforts at economic integration of Africa and the West Africa sub-region in particular. The question of contiguity with France is taken care of by her possession of aircraft carriers and her defence pacts with our neighbours.

17. The demise of apartheid changed the focus of the South African threat from direct military attacks to economic destabilisation and military assistance to some of our hostile neighbours. Moreover, the discovery of oil and other strategic mineral deposits in some of these countries will continue to attract foreign attention thereby rendering them more vulnerable to manipulation from outside.

18. Already, a section of the international community has placed some sanctions on Nigeria. The differences between Nigeria and some of her neighbours could be further exploited through deliberate economic and military actions by foreign powers.

19. It may not be a coincidence that the US has chosen to push the military dimension of bilateral relations with countries sharing common borders with Nigeria. Nigeria's relations with these neighbouring countries have always reflected their strategic importance to the nation and the increasing US military presence brings with it a threat to these strategic interest. The following examples buttress this assertion. The United States:

- a. Has assisted Cameroun with aircraft purchase on easy terms of payment; along with some \$30m support.
- b. Has been involved with the restructuring of the Chadian armed forces and paid off the demobilised soldiers.
- c. Is presently, in the process of winning the hearts and minds of the Equatorial Guinea populace through the conduct of civil affairs functions.
- d. Has been actively involved in Benin Republic through planned joint military exercises, support etc.
- e. Is attempting to make a Senegalese General to head its proposed African Crisis Response Force (ACRF).
- f. Has held regular joint military exercises with Ghana in an attempt to draw the country close.
- g. Has carried out a 5-week training programme for officers and men of the Sierra Leonean armed forces with effect from 8 April 1996.

- h. Is in the process of building the largest Air Force base in West Africa at Thies, Senegal.
- i. Has carried out a 5-week training programme for officers and men of the Sierra Leonean armed forces with effect from 8 April 1996.
- j. Is making military in-roads in Mali, including the visit of a 4-star General and the former Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher, to reassure the Malians that the US is their ally.

20. Consequently, the relationship between the international community and our neighbours needs to be monitored. In view of the seriousness of the foregoing, it is necessary to develop the essential capabilities for the Armed Forces to counter any threat based on the concept of ninety and appropriate power projection that would safeguard the anticipated gains of Vision 2010.

SECTION III: ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NIGERIAN ARMED FORCES

21. In spite of the prevailing political and security situation in the country, the Armed Forces have made remarkable achievements in the following areas:

- a. Security General.
 - (i) Civil War: During the 30 months long Nigerian civil war, they gave a good account of themselves in ensuring that the unity of the nation was preserved.
 - (ii) Restoration of Peace in Chad: The Armed Forces successfully restored peace in the Republic of Chad without assistance from the international community in 1983.
 - (iii) Checking Incursion from Chad: In 1984 the Armed Forces were urged to flush out the Chadian rebels from our territory.
 - (iv) Bakassi Operation: In the Bakassi, the armed forces have carried out several military operations which have firmly placed the Peninsula under Nigerian control, with the creation of Bakassi LGA in the Cross River State. The Bakassi Peninsula had hitherto been under siege by the Cameroun.
- b. Internal Security: The armed forces have also assisted the civil police in the maintenance of law and order. Some of the notable examples are as follows:

- (i) The Tiv riots of 1960 and 1964 respectively were quelled through joint operations conducted by the military and the police.
 - (ii) Also in 1965, peace was restored in the then Western region after the political crisis that followed the general elections, code named “WETIE” by the rioters, through a joint military/police operation.
 - (iii) In 1980, the Armed Forces acting in conjunction with the Nigeria Police Force conducted operations to stop the menace of religious fanatics in Kano.
 - (iv) Similarly, there was a joint military/police operation conducted in Borno, Yobe, Adamawa and Taraba States to reduce the menace of armed bandits to the barest minimum. The operation is being carried out on continuous basis.
 - (v) Operation Sweep is also a joint military/police operation in Lagos State aimed at reducing the menace of armed robbers in the State.
 - (vi) In the Warri area of Delta State and in Nembe area of River State, the Armed Forces are currently under-taking internal security operations aimed at bringing the inter-tribal conflicts to an end. As the military hands over to a democratically elected government by 1998, the ruling Government may witness more of such inter-tribal conflicts.
 - (vii) A joint military/police anti-robbery operation, code named ‘GBALE’ was recently launched in Ibadan, the Oyo State capital.
- c. International Peace: The Nigerian Armed Forces, as part of a sub regional peace-keeping force have assisted in maintaining international peace and security in consonance with the aims and objectives of ECOWAS, OAU and the United Nations. Some of these include:
- (i) Peace-keeping operations in Congo and Tanganyika (1960 - 1964)
 - (ii) Peace-keeping operations in the Middle East (1978).
 - (iii) Peace-keeping operations in Chad (1983).
 - (iv) Peace-keeping in Lebanon.

- (v) Members of observer teams in Iraq, Uganda, Rwanda, Western Sahara, Angola and Kuwait among others.
- (vi) Peace-keeping/peace enforcement group in Liberia.
- (vii) Training teams in Gambia and Sierra Leone.

22. It is important to state here that the credible performance of the Nigerian Armed Forces and the high level of discipline exhibited during peace keeping and peace enforcing operations in the trouble spots throughout the world have earned them the respect and commendation of the United Nations. Despite all these notable achievements, there is need to critically examine the present state of the Armed Forces.

SECTION IV: PRESENT STATE OF THE ARMED FORCES

23. The state of the Armed Forces can be evaluated from two main angles: Operational and Morale. The two are inter-linked and combine to determine the overall efficiency of the Armed Forces.

24. **Operational State:** The operational state of the Armed forces is largely a function of the weapons system, maintenance, personnel proficiency, and personnel strength amongst others. At the moment:

- a. The services suffer from inadequate equipment and the serviceability of the existing equipment is low.
- b. The state of maintenance of the weapons is also very low.
- c. In the more technical fields constant training and exercise on the equipment/weapon system are required.
- d. The strength of the armed forces is believed to be adequate. What is needed is to ensure that the armed forces are well trained and well equipped.
- e. The overall operational efficiency of the armed forces is below the desired level. Only that of the Nigerian Army is reasonable because of their not being a high-tech service. But for the more highly technical services i.e. the Navy and Air Force their operational efficiency could be rated much lower.

25. **Morale:** Morale is a very important determinant of the efficiency rate of any armed forces. It is determined amongst others, by the condition of barracks accommodation; the relevance of wages to the standard of living; the quality of training and professionalism attained; the job security and quality of post service resettlement scheme; and the quality of kitting for the troops. More personal issues such as the availability and affordability of education for children and dependants, good medical facilities for the family, and good transportation are also very critical. Although, the supply and quality of all these requirements are improving, a lot more needs to be done to raise the morale of the Armed Forces to enable them accomplish their tasks and roles.

26. **Internal linkages:** Development theorists today are unanimous on the fact that development is a linkage affair. It is difficult within a given system, to single out a unit and develop it, over and above the rest. The under-development of the other units will combine to frustrate the performance of the favoured unit. Real and viable development therefore calls for intersectional linkages. For the military, this is particularly important. First, the extent to which the Armed forces can perform its primary role depends so much on the friendliness and tolerance of the social and political environment. Where the political environment is unfavourable, or the society is antagonistic to the military, the experience of the Uganda military under Idi Amin, in the event of foreign invasion can be a recurring scenario. The existence of a good civil-military relationship is of absolute importance to the efficient performance of the military. More social linkages, for example, in the form of extending military social services such as health and educational facilities to the civil sector will go a long way in strengthening this relationship. Other important linkages too that, must be built are in the economic and industrial sectors. The military is always a catalyst for industrial development. The present dependent policy in weapon procurement must be discouraged. The linkages required will encourage self reliance in the military and at the same time boost economic development. The issue is that internal capacities to provide the hardware and software needs of the military must be developed.

SECTION V: FUTURE ROLES OF THE ARMED FORCES

27. The military in future, as in the past and present, must first be able to perform its required constitutional roles of effectively defending and securing Nigeria on land, sea and air. There must be a constant and reliable monitoring of the domestic and international environment to ensure adequate assessment of threats.

28. Conflicts in the subregion and the African continent have multiplied, especially since the end of the cold war. Nigeria, for the first time, got involved in a peace-enforcement action in Liberia. The underlying factors that generate conflicts in Africa have not changed. But, conflicts in Africa are likely to change in number and intensity. The chances therefore are that Nigeria is going to be called upon to provide more peacekeeping/enforcement forces in the future.

29. As well as training in peacetime for war, it is expected that the military contribution towards national development should be intensified. Such contributions should include disaster relief operations, building and maintenance of public infrastructure and provision of social services such as education and health. It is pertinent to observe that disaster relief is presently under the Secretary to the Federal Government (SGF) and is seemingly ineffective. Perhaps, if this agency were placed under the Ministry of Defence where the DHQ could be made to coordinate the activities, the agency could be rendered functional. These contributions towards national development will serve as a strategy of marketing the armed forces to the public and thereby improving the civil-military relations.

30. The military in all societies plays a political role. Indeed, it is only within the context of the political structure called the nation-state that the military finds expression. The political role of the Nigeria Armed Forces of the future must however shift from that of direct political governance. It should be possible for them to exercise influence, on especially, defence and foreign policies, without being directly involved in governance, or supplanting the civilian political class. Structures could also be established through which the articulated position of the military on both domestic and foreign issues can be brought to the attention of the government.

SECTION VI: EXPECTATIONS OF THE ARMED FORCES

31. For the military to be able to perform its functions creditably, a number of steps must be taken.

32. **De-politicisation:** In order to completely de-politicise the Armed Forces, a democratic government must be seen to have the following antidotes:

- a. Good governance.
- b. A good intelligence outfit to vet the loyalty of military personnel on continuous basis. As soon as loyalty is in doubt, such elements should be flushed out.
- c. Promotions and advancements must be based on merit system while quota system should only apply at the point of entry.
- d. Re-organisation of the MOD by ensuring that only suitably qualified and experienced civilians who are knowledgeable in defence-related matters are recruited to exert firm political control of the military.

- e. Diplomatic appointments should be a form of reward for officers loyal to the democratic government. Also, retired military officers with proven loyalty should be given preference for board appointments. These are some of the ways that third world democracies such as India have used in demanding loyalty from serving and retired military personnel.

33. **Local Military Technology:** Consideration should be given to the following aspects of our industrial production:

- a. The local value added to Nigeria's arms inventory must be improved.
- b. The effort to attract the interest and involve local skills and entrepreneurs in the production of military requirements must be intensified and made more purposeful.
- c. A number of existing industries in the country should be encouraged to adapt to the provision of some basic, but vital, needs of the military. They should be tasked with specific responsibilities while a definite time table for military self-reliance is made and diligently adhered to.

34. **Training:** Training is essential for the attainment of goals and only properly trained Armed Forces can remain apolitical. The Armed Forces as a whole deals with the realities of life. There is therefore no room for equivocation or approximation. In war, you either see the enemy or the enemy sees you. It is very unlikely that you report to your Commander that you saw what appears to be a tank in a battle situation. In all probability, your Commander would ask you to go and confirm if it was really a tank you saw or something else. Reality in the military, is vital to success in war just as realism is necessary for effective training in peace time.

35. **Civil-Military Relations:** There presently exists a love-hate relationship between members of the Armed Forces and the teeming civilian population, as a result of the prolonged military involvement in politics. This position could be reversed through a realistic training and re-orientation of members of the Armed Forces and public enlightenment programmes.

36. **Defence Headquarters Reforms:** Additionally, the cumulative effect of service parochialism has retarded the formation of a high level, joint strategic paradigm. Such a paradigm is needed to ensure that interservice norms are cast in terms of a common, high plane strategy rather than in terms of their impact on service anatomy, as is the case today. Thus the DHQ is an organisation in search of such paradigm. The ways of strengthening the DHQ and making it functional are:

- a. To develop a joint doctrine master plan which compares service doctrines across a wide range of topics such as fire support, air space control, command and control counter measures.

- b. To develop a consensus among the services on a set of joint principles in each topic area. Such agreements would lead to the emergence of a unifying, strategic paradigm.
- c. Thirdly, whilst emphasis is placed on collective interests there is the need for a delicate balance between single service and collective interests. Thus, there would be the need to embrace operational expertise of each services paradigm and rejecting the self serving ideological over tones of the three services.
- d. Pursuing vigorously the harmonisation of professional and educational schools and medical services.
- e. Planning and, executing Joint Warfare Exercises and Training. There may be the need to establish a Joint Warfare school.
- f. Including 'Unity of Command' as one of our 'Nigerian Principles of War'.

37. **Force Levels and-Projection:** In terms of policy objectives, the following should be considered:

- a. .Providing sufficient para-military forces to back up an effective police force while military forces are used as a last resort.
- b. Providing a significant contribution to peacemaking and peace-keeping in the subregion.
- c. As part of an alliance, demonstrating sub-regional solidarity in the event of any future threat from beyond the sub-region. This requires collective diplomatic effort and military resources.
- d. Guaranteeing the security of on-shore and off-shore oil installations.
- e. A through review of the balance of risks (which are not necessarily threats).
- f. Updated contingency plans to deal with these risks. Any contingency plans which are no longer relevant to identified risks must be abandoned.

38. **Logistics and Equipment Inventory:** In order to meet the requirements for power projection, peace making, peace keeping and other contingency plans to support our land forces outside Nigeria, the defence plan must guarantee adequate logistic support (sea lift and

airlift) and if necessary, reduce overall force levels to provide funds for logistic support. The policy objective should review equipment inventory by retaining and maintaining only the most appropriate and most easily supported equipment. It should, therefore, get rid of those equipment which do not work and never will. The acquisition should be tailored towards buying equipment whose supply cost, projected over at least 10 - 15 years, are affordable within a realistic budget.

39. **Integration of Defence Forces in the Society:** This could be achieved by encouraging the common people to identify with their defence forces rather than destruct them; demonstrating contingency plans and a capability for military aid to civil power in the event of non-military disasters or emergencies: taking steps to help the population know and appreciate the role and style of the military at all levels through public relations and “marketing” of the Armed Forces; creating conditions whereby defence forces are respected as professionals and not feared as an elite.

40. **Strategic Objectives:** It should be emphasised that the formation of Nigeria’s strategic objectives should aim at maintaining law and order by creating an effective and properly paid Police Force; improving social infrastructures to reduce instability; removal of tension with Francophone neighbours; continued build up of subregional alliance arrangement.

41. **Funding:** The major problem militating against realistic training in the Armed Forces has been lack of funds. Adequate funding is necessary for the procurement and maintenance of modern military equipment. The expectation of the military on this issue is that after so many years of involvement in politics, the Nigerian Armed Forces should be re-orientated and trained to subjugate itself to civil rule. This implies that there will be the need to make funds available for training and reorientation of members of the Armed Forces by the year 2010. In the past, some politicians, the press and some pressure groups in the society have always criticised the government’s positive disposition towards budgetary allocation to the Defence Ministry. They do it, ignorant of the fact that defence is never cheap anywhere in the world. They also compare our professional standards with those of the developed countries forgetting that adequate funding of training and planning were the tools used in achieving those standards. Thus, it is expected that defence budget would improve by 2010 to enhance military professionalism.

42. **Welfare General:** A better personnel policy is required if morale is to improve. This policy must seek to improve the existing recruitment, retention, reward and retirement contents of the condition of service. There must be in place a definite career plan for officers and men. Of great importance also is a sound post-service resettlement scheme. This scheme must come into operation from the day an officer/soldier is enlisted. It must include, amongst others, a viable pension scheme that will guarantee some reasonable decent living standard upon disengagement from service. This could commence with a well-funded contributory pension scheme for the Nigerian Armed Forces.

SECTION VII: CONCLUSION

43. The possession of a highly motivated armed force is one of the instruments that the country could utilise in actualising her national interests and objectives. The roles of the Armed Forces are as stipulated in section 217 (1)-(2) of the 1995 Draft Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Nigerian Armed Forces Decree No. 105 of 1993. Although, the roles are seemingly adequate, the members of the armed forces would require regular individual and team training which are mission oriented to undertake envisaged specialised tasks to accomplish their assigned roles.

44. Nigerian Armed Forces must be kept combat ready at all times to combat both internal and external threats. These threats are on the increase and assuming new dimensions. The external threats are those from contiguous states, other African countries and those from imperial powers. The dimension of the threat from imperial powers should be of particular concern to Nigeria especially, the infiltration of Nigeria's neighbours by U.S.A.

45. Nigerian Armed Forces have distinguished themselves both in internal and external operations and have been battle tested. At the moment, the armed forces is fast loosing its professionalism as a result of their deep involvement in politics. This has also reduced their operational efficiency to about 20%. This deteriorating state could only be reversed by restoring high morale, increased funding and improved terms and conditions of service.

46. Contrary to the expectation that the new world order would bring international peace, nations are rather witnessing increased disorder and regional instability. In Africa, local conflicts are on the increase, and as Nigeria aspires for leadership role in the continent, she has to equally be prepared to contribute substantial peacekeeping forces and resources to guarantee stability in the sub-region and the African region. Thus, the Armed Forces of Nigeria must be prepared for homeland defence and more out of area operations and they must also contribute meaningfully towards national development through their increased involvement in Military Aid to Civil Authority (MACA) such as disaster reliefs, community services etc.

This outlook would restore the image of the Armed Forces.

47. Centralised control of the Armed Forces through the DHQ would augur well in a democratic government and would facilitate joint/combined operations. Inter-service rivalry has retarded the realisation of a high level, strategic joint paradigm. The DHQ is an Organisation in search of such a paradigm. The necessary steps of strengthening and making the DHQ functional would be to develop joint doctrine master-plan, a consensus among services on a set of joint principles. Additionally, there is need to embrace operational expertise of each service's paradigm whilst rejecting the self serving undertone of the three services. Furthermore, harmonisation of schools and medical services, planning and executing joint warfare exercises and training and the adoption of unity of command as one of Nigeria's principles of war would also serve as measures to strengthen the DHQ.

48. Future policy objectives should address the following:
- a. The frequency of Military Aid to Civil Power (MACP) should be minimised in a democratic setting.
 - b. Armed Forces must be kept busy in their traditional roles to avoid their encroachment into politics.
 - c. Equipment inventory must be reviewed by retaining and maintaining only appropriate and easily supported equipment.
 - d. Increasing the Defence budget to cater for adequate training and planning, upkeep of equipment and provision of welfare facilities to the personnel.

CHAPTER 3

THE NIGERIA POLICE FORCE AND VISION 2010

SECTION I: BACKGROUND

1. The Head of State and Commander-In-Chief (C-In-C) of the Armed Forces has described Vision 2010 as a Crusade and an effective development programme which is aimed at heralding, by the year 2010, an appreciable and respectable level of socio-economic prosperity for Nigerians, aside from the expectation of evolving a better national outlook of stability. His inaugural speech to the Vision 2010 Committee explored at length why there is the need to envision a better future for the nation and her children in the next millennium, citing as basis for the exercise the conviction that time past and time present are contained in time future. A lot was said about the effort of government to revamp the economy, showing how bold reforms have stabilized the Naira, recorded fiscal surpluses, caused a fall in inflationary trend and interest rates. In addition the C-In-C said that the banking system is being sanitized, infrastructures are undergoing rehabilitation while the menace of drugs trafficking and crime are also getting better controlled.

2. Much effort has been directed at guaranteeing material prosperity of the nation and more is still being channeled into jump-starting the economic recovery now, for growth from 1997 onto the year 2010. As far as salvaging the economy is concerned, a battle is already being waged against poverty, misery, disease, ignorance and unemployment, while the whole nation is now geared, more than ever before, to embrace and institutionalize a culture of long and visionary planning.

3. Whereas the fight against poverty, misery ignorance and unemployment is an oblique fight against crime, there is nothing as good as hearing out all views and shades of opinion as the Vision 2010 is mandated. It is shameful as the C-In-C rightly pointed out that our people have developed a counter culture of fraud, drug trafficking, violent crimes and greed which rears its head more as pervasive indiscipline. Taking this discourse from the angle of criminality as in fraud, greed and violent crimes is like opening up the pandora box of fraud and corruption which is the bane of the overall decadence of the society. Fraud and corruption, at large, are mixed-up with offences of stealing as in Section 386 (S.386) Criminal Code (CC) or theft S.286 through 290 of the Penal Code (PC), cheating (S.415 CC) and obtaining under false pretences (S.419 177 (PC) CC) fraudulent dealing with property S. 174 through which are now all generally categorized in public departments as fraud. Fraudulent practices in public and private establishments are however offences that bother on conspiracy as in S.517 CC or Ss 96 and 97, liability for Unwilled Acts of Another S.8 CC. They all could generally be in combination with corruption (S.98 CC) where fraud is mostly represented by fraudulent false accounting as in S.348 CC.

4. It thus appears that fraud in the Nigerian context is all encompassing, while corruption which is treated only as offences of bribery and extortion has become rampant. The duo are

the current foremost bane of Nigerian National life which injure the common well-being of the citizenry and the nation, and forestall the country's progressive moves to greatness. Nigerians mistrust one another, because the ill-wind of fraud and corruption has tainted all with the capacity for betrayal of trust, deception of the public, private individuals and institutions or the society at large, as well as the deliberate subordination of common goals to specific personal, individual and/or private interests.

5. Fraud is a dynamic crime which is fast becoming an industry just as corruption is a social ill and a global phenomenon that has ravaged the Nigerian Society. It is said that the scale of corruption in social life is connected with corruption in public and private sectors, which is in turn dependent on the systems of civic, political, social and economic prowess of the State. For this purpose however, it is seemly to quickly establish that both vices are reflective and symptomatic of the ailing social, political and moral life of the society, even though there are laws which forbid these acts and which are enacted to ensure that people are not made to pervert their duties.

6. There are as such volumes of Nigerian National Criminal Laws aimed at waging the war against crime and criminality for the Police to enforce as there have always been the need to redirect social control mechanisms or to fortify morality. Volumes of new decrees have been enacted in the recent past to update regulations of State that are redundant or obsolete in nature and application. Many of them were enacted to adopt and reflect currently acceptable social, local and international thinking or principles, apart from exuding active consciousness on the part of government.

7. The Police Force is central to governance. Apart from the tripartite questions of where the Police stand, the role it wants to play and the steps to prepare it for same, the following, which are the basic tenets of the C-In-C's inaugural speech for the Vision 2010 Committee, give additional impetus for conjuring a better and clear-cut vision for Police by the year 2010. They are the need:

- (a) to join the conscious effort to actualize the full potentials of the nation in the bid to prepare her for the challenges of the 21st Century (C.2 1);
- (b) to envision for ourselves and the future generations a country that is developed economically and is concerned with the social, political and other aspects of human development;
- (c) to direct our thoughts, plan our actions and channel our resources for the optimum benefit of our people to open new horizons, perspectives and vistas of opportunities;
- (d) to evolve a society which has confidence in itself and whose citizens are tolerant of one another's way of life, beliefs and viewpoints;

- (e) to evolve a society that is caring, conscious of its capabilities, subservient to no one and is able to compete favourably with other nations; and
- (f) to evolve a society where the citizens are imbued with strong ethical and moral qualities.

8. Bearing in mind that economic and socio-political progress is impossible without decisive action to preserve the coherent and moral structure of the country, this submission is geared towards the evolution by the year 2010 of a bold, constructive, dedicated and committed Police of the future, which by the C-in-C's desire will put honour, service and patriotism above all else.

SECTION II: NIGERIA TODAY

9. Nigeria today is battered by several negative socio-economic factors. The majority of the people appear poor even when they exude energy and means or are in the midst of plenty. There is a big gap between the rich and the poor, the economy is consumer oriented, while the society is bedecked by a declining standard of education and moral ethics. Because there has been a deterioration of infrastructure, fluctuating depreciation of Naira exchange rate, high rate of inflation and high cost of capital which all affected the business environment, the business class has not helped matters. There were retrenchments just as there have been worsening unemployment situation for the half-baked university graduates which the falling standard of education produced.

10. Unemployment itself is a catalytic factor of several other social malaises including armed violence. It provides idle and ready hands for the devil to adopt at paltry and cheap bargain prices even when the planned acts are mean, difficult and risky. Coupled with the falling standard of ethics and morality, fraud as has been indicated, is the greatest albatross to the local and international image of Nigeria and to the prosperity of this nation as regards the will to invest in the country, today. There has been a craze for showmanship of opulence or ever-rich status, of cellular wielding gnats of crooked youngsters, which is the greatest fodder of the malaise. There is the rush to attain stardom, acquire wealth, meet-up with some unduly arrogated family expectations or bloated social status. There is a mesh of a quagmire in which society is sunk, neck-deep in moral decadence of general dishonesty, without any sense of probity, integrity, equity, fairness and justice and all that is decorous for an upright society.

11. It is sordid that experienced or skilled bankers and finance experts proliferate the finance sector beyond their effective supervisory capacity, such that the business class and government are subjected to greater risks of frauds from the mediocres and the depraved lot in the banking and the finance institutions, which falling standards of education and moral ethics caused. With poor security for documents, lack of adequate supervision and adequate accounting measures, most employees in the finance or wonder banks business have perpetrated fraud that compares in billions of Naira with what the executives of most failed banks had done.

12. Put together, the spate of crimes, including armed violence, is symbolic of a defiant, intractable and rebellious insurgence, which pretends to be defying the restraint of the State wielding all the violence in its might to stop the crime, so as not to appear as uprooting a big oak to ward off a nauseating ant, in order to maintain the decorum of a civil society and not degenerate into a martial law situation.

13. They all paint the country red as a permissive society where there is lack of a conscious crime reporting culture and where the state is heavily laden with the get-rich-quick syndrome, tax evasion, proliferation of wonder-banks, port rats problems, bribery and corruption as well as massive involvement in smuggling.

14. Although security, set against smuggling will boost State revenue, unscrew stifled and emasculated local factories as well as attack influx of foreign exchange into black markets, it was not deemed to be a problem for which Police and Customs should be roused. The public was not even perturbed when the Police took the gauntlet and waged war on currency racketeers. In addition the unduly outrageous evacuation of Nigeria's grain and other vital commodities outside the normal run of export and import procedures every now and again is not deemed to be security risk, but it indeed is. Presently, however, there is this political debacle of incessant military interventions in the country which is a problem to policing just as it is to civil life. It is only hoped that this project will help to douse the tension, as well as heal the wounds caused by the internecine nature of sporadic interchange of military and democratic governance.

SECTION III: THE POLICE AND SECURITY DUTIES

15. Police is central to governance because the primary purpose of government is to create order and provide for security and welfare of the people. It is the duty of government to engender socio-political development, stability of the nation and preservation of the people's culture which compels the State to establish a Police Force as the watch dog for peace, orderliness and decorum.

16. Taking security as the state of being or making a person or thing safe from danger, internal security for this purpose must be the ability of government to make laws, in addition to its ability, through agencies of state, to guarantee inviolable safety in the conduct of its affairs, within the laws of the Federation.

17. Despite the fact that the State maintains several outfits as intelligence agencies, the Police is omnibus and onerous. It is the only physical civil force that gives teeth to security plans and ensures that crime prevention and detection are adequately taken care of. The other intelligence agencies only share aspects of Police work that are a very meagre proportion compared to the enormous responsibilities of the Police.

18. Apart from the fear of armed robbery, crime prevention is expected to cover the aggravation of economic and financial crime as well as white collar offences in private concerns and public life. It is also expected to cover sabotage to public oriented programmes and vulnerable points, attacks with explosives and general subversive activities, which all make it appear as if the Force has not yet relinquished her colonial usages of ensuring order and conformity, to avoid disquiets or any tilts in the social equilibrium of State. Most times, simply put, the changing fortunes of government dictate Police pre-occupations.

19. As it were, every military government creates the socio-political environment of its own, under which the Police operate, depending on the challenges confronting the government of the day. Any time there is a new military government, the tendency is that there is a new culture or re-arrangement of values in the social and political firmament, such that Police energy has often been diverted to such threats as labour, students and religious unrests or political disturbances which are appurtenances of political and economic instability or military takeovers. Sometimes, the quest for socio-political and economic stability or the enforcement of law and order by all means even grasp the attention of the State.

20. It is all these, and the goals of crime prevention which is responsible for the situation where Nigeria is said to have presumably enacted about 408 acts aimed at regularizing the unstable economic and socio-political climate or that 91 of them ousted court Jurisdiction for important state purposes, while 82 others are considered adhominen in status. For example in 1993 alone the Police was called out to attend (49) public disorders and major incidents. She was invited (57) times in 1994, and (127) times in 1995 alone. All being outside the normal run of events at the station and Divisional levels of crime control.

21. While security is the process of sustaining the peace and harmony which policing has assured, policing should be regarded as the aggregate of measures put together to stabilize the country in order to launch it on the path to greatness. Whereas security should dwell on intelligence, policing is overt law enforcement, such that it is the duty of security intelligence to sustain the peace and harmony which overt acts of policing stabilize. The ideal thing is for security intelligence to sniff-out any threats to the peace and harmony of the state, for further physical action by the Police.

22. Over and above all, the Police Force handles the investigation and prosecution of vehicular accidents, family disputes and affray, grievous bodily harms, house-breaking or burglaries, malicious damage, assaults, fraud, theft and all, to regulate life by enforcing rules of conduct, all of which tend to be in a class of their own, as against other sets of crimes of system cheats in white-collar crimes, including profiteering, frauds, corruption and general illegitimate conducts. The major link in criminal and political security of State is, however, the fact that criminals resort to crime to perpetuate sponsored subversions. Their weapons of protest are forms of criminal banditry, with political undertones, which are often arranged by people with questionable convictions. The intent usually being to portray government as weak or ineffective to protect lives and property. As stated, the Police is central to governance because it is in the public interest to have peace that is regular and certain or be watchful of crime which disrupts social and economic life of the people.

SECTION IV: THE NIGERIA POLICE TODAY

23. The Nigeria Police like any other Police Force is the most visible symbol of governmental authority and power whether in a military regime or democratic government. The Force is the primary enforcer of State laws and the most conspicuous emblem of statehood, after the constitution and legal laws, because policing typifies and cuts boundaries between one Country and another like terrains and reliefs which demarcate geographical regions.

24. Created in 1930, the Nigeria Police Force's antecedents date back to 1861 when a Consular Guard was established in Lagos, several years before the Police Forces in the Northern and Southern Protectorates were merged. The Police in Nigeria is a law enforcement agency controlled by and responsible to the federal government as an executive organ. It plays the role of a crime prevention and crisis management organ apart from investigating offences and prosecuting offenders for the overall purpose of maintaining domestic peace. The Force has grown as a tool with which modern day Nigeria forestalls unwarranted trepidation of the citizenry, quell anxieties over fear of injustice or indignities, miscarriage of justice, illegalities and unlawful behaviours, illegitimate conducts, mob-rule and general anarchy.

25. The Nigeria Police, is averagely 140,000 men strong and it is designed to serve as a Civil Force. It has literally turned out to be the hub of the Nigeria national civil life, as the legal means of societal control, because several factors including the civil war and military interregnums have engendered unimaginable social changes, which demand some form of coercion and governmental force, in the sustenance of domestic peace. The Force has been serving under a harsh and difficult environment, and has been torn between the civil populace and the military, so much so that its civil cleavages are almost lost to military authoritarianism.

26. Simple as the phrase crime prevention and detection sounds, the Police Force cannot enjoy the pleasure of defining its job and role in a very narrow manner. No activity in the modern society is perhaps more complex or calls for as many skills as that of the Police. The policeman is expected to be a man of many talents. He is expected to draw from untold depths unimaginable knowledge, wisdom and expertise, to be superhuman, to have an edge over others in order that he may go an extra mile more than the lesser beings whom he is expected to serve as law enforcer, first aider, social worker, marriage counselor, public human relations practitioner or social pulse for order and decorum and the like of them.

27. The Police Force in Nigeria has largely been faced with two conflicting publics of one group that considers itself influential and another that deems itself as that of the masses, where each of them expects to be favoured by the policing apparatus. The Police is increasingly torn apart for private privileged service and assistanceships in that behalf, or through the more deplorable use of bribery because of the underlying malaise of moral decadence, or of extortion by men in uniform because of the poor salaries and social condition.

28. Although the Police typifies the Nigerian national outlook and social terrain, it is always maligned and battered as a whipping horse by government and the public alike. It is sometimes a scapegoat for those seeking concessions from government or considered pro-establishment by others with ulterior motives. When considered in this light one can easily discern that the Police will continue to have unending misunderstandings with its several publics, since they may never be able to appreciate one another's position.

29. It is as much because of these misunderstandings and animosities that the Nigeria Police has been the subject of several destabilising excisions and creations in the form of parallel or quasi-law-enforcement agencies, for which she most times get impoverished. She has also seen several re-organisations which have failed to achieve any meaningful results in addition to the difficulties of subjugation which military take-overs engender. The force has increasingly been relegated to the background just as her leadership usually gets ridiculed instead of getting encouraged.

30. Whereas the Nigeria Police Force has done very much for the corporate existence of the country since independence to date as she has kept faith by the nation, standing by all governments of the day in thick and thin, the problem in crime control is the fact that new and more potent forms of anti-social behaviours and crimes have been rather volatile and unwieldy or that the volume of corruption and depravity in the body politic of the nation has gone massive. As it were, the Police Force represents in principle, the collective interests of the community as the agency which holds the balance between anarchy and tyranny.

Tasks Powers And Duties:

31. The establishment of the Nigeria Police Force was reaffirmed as part of the constitutional process under which Nigeria gained independence on October 1, 1960 and the 1979 constitution did maintain same under section 194 (1) which provides, that:

“There shall be a police force for Nigeria which shall be styled the Nigeria Police Force and subject to the provisions of this section, no other Police Force shall be established for the Federation or any other part thereof”

32. The breakdown of police powers has been outlined by the 1967 Police Act, Cap. 41 which declares the specific functions and duties of the Nigeria Police as:

“.....the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, the maintenance of law and order, preservation of the protection of life and property and (the) due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged, and shall perform such military duties within and without Nigeria as may be required of them by or under the authority of this or any other Act”

33. Statutorily, the instruments or powers and authority to discharge the above functions are located in various Police Acts, Criminal Procedural Acts, Decrees and Codes, which include:

- (a) Powers to prosecute in any court of law (Police Act, Section 19);

- (b) Powers to arrest. (Criminal Procedure Act, Cap. 43; Police Act, Section 2:20-21);
- (c) Powers to arrest a person who refuses to aid Police (Police Act Section 41);
- (d) Powers to take finger prints and photographs of persons under arrest (Crime Prevention Act, Section 26. 12);
- (e) Powers to detain, stop and search persons being suspected of criminal behaviours (Police Act, Section 25);
- (f) Powers to dispose of property unclaimed, found or otherwise (Police Act, Section 31);
- (g) Powers to search premises, suspected of being used for receiving stolen goods (Police Act, Section 24);
- (h) Powers to grant bail to persons under arrest without warrant (Police Act, Section 23);
- (i) Powers to request a convict to be sentenced to Police Supervision (Crime Prevention Act, Section 3);
- (j) Powers to prevent a person suspected of planning or plotting to commit offence by taking such a person to court to be bound over to be of good behaviour for a period of time, Criminal Procedure Act, Section 87-100);
- (k) Powers to request that a person suspected of being security risk or economic saboteur be detained at the pleasure of the Chief of General Staff (Decree No. 2, 1984);
- (l) Powers to grant permit and regulate assemblies (Public Order Act. No. 5. 1979);
- (m) Powers to issue search warrant (Official Secrets Act);

34. In addition, successive governments have however enacted innumerable other laws as the need arises to meet the requirement of state whether to check prevalent crimes or systemic destruction of morals. The Force itself hardly has enough to meet its budgetary requirement, organize vital logistics and keep to traditions that could drain its meagre resources, talkless of attempting very expensive changes or innovations even where such will lessen the rot of Force members.

Structural and Function Organisation of the Police - Past and Present:

35. Due to changing needs and demands of our society, the Nigeria Police Force has undergone several reorganisations in its command structure over the years. At Independence in 1960, the command and operational use of the Police was vested in the Inspector-General of Police at Federal level. The Inspector-General of Police was answerable to the Minister responsible for law and order who could issue lawful directives to him with respect to the maintenance of public safety and order. Similarly, in the regions, in what is now States, the Force was under the command of the Commissioner of Police who was required to take lawful directives from the Regional Minister responsible for law and order. Whereas Section 107 of the country's 1960 Constitution provided for the, establishment of the Nigeria Police Council which was responsible for all matters relating to the Organisation and administration of Nigeria Police and all matters relating thereto, Section 109 of the same Constitution provided for the establishment of a Police Service Commission to deal with issues relating to

appointments, promotions, transfers, confirmation of appointments, and discipline of Force members. Both the Police Council and the Police Service Commission were abolished in 1975 with the overthrow of the Gowon regime and replaced with a Police Service Council which performed the functions of the two bodies. These bodies were however resuscitated in February 1977 even though the Police Council was further abolished on 1st October, 1979 with the coming into operation of the 1979 Constitution, which vested the power to make laws for the organisation and administration, of the Police Force, in the National Assembly. However, the Constitution retained the Police Service Commission and vested it with Powers to advise the President on the appointment of the Inspector-General, the appointment of persons to offices in the Force other than the Inspector-General, and to exercise disciplinary control over members of the Nigeria Police Force.

36. Until lately, the Nigeria Police Force was organised along Directorate formations which were created in 1986. By that arrangement the Inspector-General, who is the Head of the Force, was responsible for general direction, supervision and control at the headquarters level, with five Deputy IGs in charge the five Directorates so created, unlike the usual Police Force standard where the IGP is assisted by a Deputy Inspector-General of Police (DIG) who is second in Command as we now have. The Police Headquarters is presently divided into six departments, namely “A”, “B”, “C”, “D”, “E”, and “F” with each being headed by an Assistant Inspector-General of Police (AIG) who is responsible to the Inspector-General for the general policy direction, supervision and co-ordination of work in the various departments as:

- A Dept. - General Administration;
- B Dept. - Operations;
- C Dept. - Works;
- D Dept. - Criminal Investigation;
- E Dept. - Training and Inspection; as well as
- F Dept. - Management and Research.

37. Each State of the Federation has a Police Command and so is the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. In accordance with Section 95 of the 1979 Constitution, each State is headed by a Commissioner of Police who is assisted by a Deputy Commissioner. With the current reorganisation exercise, the six headquarters departments mentioned above will be replicated at the State level with each headed by an Assistant Commissioner of Police. We will continue to have Police Divisions where some are further sub-divided into Police stations and Police Posts.

SECTION V: THE NIGERIA POLICE AND CRIME CONTROL

38. One should not shy to say that the Nigeria Police reflects the present state of development of the national polity. It reflects the geography of the State, the development infrastructure of the country, the level of civilization and others. Other than simple thefts and related offences which prevailed in the 60s the nation has known so much violence since the post-war years which make it necessary to have a larger and more sophisticated Force with specialized departments, equipment and training for investigation and detection of unfolding crimes. But this remained more of a desire than achievement as the Force has remained stagnant while the society continued to grow in sophistication.

39. Robbers are trooping-out like swarm of bees and the public are not helping matters. They do not come up with information and will carry volte face when the Police seek assistance even during arrest. It is a known fact that the people clap, hail and bow for mean men who drive about in flashy cars and adorn themselves with gold and diamond, even when the people cannot boast of any honest living.

40. Presently, we have a problem with street boys, kid-robbers, out-laws among serving and ex-service personnel of the armed forces and the Police as well as weapons and incendiaries coming through the West Africa sub-region or through Military men returning from peace keeping or United Nations (UN) mission. We have enabling laws and powers to deal with crimes in a civilized way but the bandits are barbaric and pristine plunderers and the dispensation of justice is costly in all aspects. Justice continued to be elusive as all apparatus crumbled.

41. The Police finds it difficult to continue to do beat patrols the best method of crime prevention. The other traditional methods of the use of anti-vice and surveillance squads, anti-robbery patrols, stop, detain and search methods, specie escort patrols as well as criminal and security intelligence schemes to reduce the opportunity for misconduct by hoodlums or at least increase the likelihood of their being apprehended in the process of committing any crime or immediately thereafter, continues to fade. Some policemen do not even understand what these mean. However, the Force has been able to curtail criminal activities through frequent visits and patrols of criminal hide-outs and flash points, some public places, brothels and parks as well as the road blocks.

42. Police duties however have been monetarised. The men always want to secure luscious postings for pecuniary gains or set up illegal check-points, while unscrupulous officers on the field also post men to illegal private applications, on guard or debt collection purposes. Although members of the public, most times invite the Police into these illegal dealings, out of dare need and frustration, but the men too always perpetrate shameful extortion through detention of persons, excessive incarceration without regard to legal laws (even inailable cases), undue delay of court proceedings, as well as underhand bargaining, settlements and negotiations between aggrieved and suspected parties, in police premises.

43. The public does not help matters either. Many of them find ways to hire illegally, though, the services of policemen, preferably PMF personnel on payment, but the monies realised never got to government coffers. The money always goes to the officers and men. In this way Advance Fee Fraudsters find it easier to hire such policemen and later Military men and even install sirens and mast lights on their luxurious cars without challenge. Officers of both Military and Police units, from where these personal guards are drawn benefit handsomely.

44. As such Police authorities today are firmer than ever before. We have:

- (a) put the officers/men on their toes such that they do not meddle in civil cases like land matters and others. They are sources of corruption. We have advised members of the public to always get clear-cut directives from the courts and not use Police to settle personal scores;
- (b) stopped the officers and men from holding relatives in detention to compel appearance of suspects;
- (c) reduced road-blocks and have started diversifying on the makes of vehicles we purchase for patrols for efficiency instead of creating extortion points;
- (d) developed positive programmes to improve the psychology of the personnel and to deter them from the overriding band-wagon effect of indiscipline and corruption through seminars and workshops, circulars and public lectures at Command levels every time and again;
- (e) had joint workshops with other agencies including the National Orientation Agency (NOA) with a view to enhance the quality and social outlook of the officers and men as well as to enforce acceptable mannerisms and human standards of behavior
- (f) raised an all-embracing Special Anti-vice Squad to sniff-out, pre-empt and catch-in on all vices including complex bank frauds, AFF, manufacture of fake and adulterated goods as well as the production of fake currencies;
- g) set monitoring units at the heels of recalcitrant officers who refuse to align or imbibe the new culture.

45. We are paying attention to Police Training needs, generally, even though with many constraints. We also had to increase the number of prosecutors courses to improve the standard and number of officers available to the courts. Also, we now put team of prosecutors in court, to improve the outcome of cases and to lessen the burden on individual personnel. Before, police prosecutors usually handled 22 or more cases daily as against the 2 or 3 which teams of learned men handle in Ministries of Justice. Police recent efforts in this aspect however, are meeting very stiff resistance from the Attorney General of the Federation, who feels threatened by the sheer number of lawyers in the Police likely to take over the duties vested in him by Section 160 of the Constitution.

46. In addition, The Nigeria Police has embarked on a rigorous pursuit of its planned acquisition and implementation of a private, strategic, integrated, voice and data nation-wide telecommunications network. The network consists of satellite and two-way radio

communications system, with voice, fax and data capabilities, which is independent of Nitel and which provides better span of control over strategic, tactical, operational and administrative affairs nationwide.

SECTION VI: ROLE OF POLICE BY THE YEAR 2010

47. The role of the Nigeria Police Force by the year 2010 will not be far from its set objectives which are:

- (a) to improve the efficiency of the Force, her expertise, her equipment, mode of operation and the general welfare of the personnel;
- (b) to identify and monitor criminal gangs;
- (c) to dismantle criminal organisations rather than simply apprehending and prosecuting individual members of such groups;
- (d) to inflict potential damage on the capacity of any criminal organisation or gangs to stem the tide and prevalence of armed violence;
- (e) to achieve optimal cooperation with all peace-loving citizens and organisations to achieve a decorous climate for economic growth and development; as well as
- (f) to foster cooperation with sister nations for crime prevention and control.

48. It is desirable that the Nigeria Police Force should be independent. She needs to transform, become People's Police and be answerable to the public first, apart from the need to discharge her duty to law and order, where nobody is above the law.

49. The Police should be able to answer her proper calling as watchdog in the society, playing the clear-cut role of a stabilising factor, with authority to check excesses of the high and the lowly, work for peace and tranquility, to enhance economic growth, provide security for lives and property, as well as maintain and sustain social order with enhanced capability through equipment, funding and manpower, to prevent and detect crime.

50. No effort will be spared to boost the anti-corruption crusade in the Force even though the exercise always appears like racing against the tide of time. The fight against corruption must be inclusive of all-time fight against crime and all the ills of social indiscipline and poverty, so that the policeman that is sent to hunt for stolen vehicles will not shamelessly and brazenly stop vehicles, to demand token sums from drivers, who are harried or who should really be interdicted, but are willing to part with anything to avoid the gnat. Obviously, the pest catcher has turned pestilent!

SECTION VII: HOW TO GET THERE

51. Modern day policing requires constant, systemic research and planning to meet the needs of the ever changing society and to be able to watch the technologically advanced orientation of the crime scene. The Force should be able to carry out systematic study through own research methodology that should enable her to clarify issues, identify alternatives, obtain relevant facts and evaluate them for development of Force policies. Among other things there will be need to improve the Police Force orientation along this line and to improve every aspect of Force life beginning with Personnel Strength, the Barracks, Transport, Equipment and all.

Civilianization Policy For Professionals

52. One of the main planks for this orientation is to civilianize all specialist formations, in order to enable experts in various fields to join the Force. The idea is to appoint professionals without fuss of regimental life or ranks and to enable the Force the freedom to be able to pay them salaries that compare with what their colleagues earn outside the Force, in order to be able to retain them and to be able to get the best from them. By so doing the Force will be able to appoint the best brains from all walks of like, including the universities, to man research units in the Police Academy, the Police Colleges and other Training units, the Police specialist sections in the Medical, Communications, Veterinary, Works, Supply/Stores, Engineering, Technical Equipment Instrumentation and the like.

Research and Planning

53 In the future, the Police 'F' Department, In-charge of Research, Planning and Inspections should be able to stretch out and secure affiliation programmes for professional Institutes and Institutions of higher learning to enable the Police secure attachment programmes for own middle level technicians to improve themselves or to encourage research into Police operations duties, including mobile patrols for control of violent crimes, public disorder and even welfare of the personnel. The 'F' Department should be capable in the near future to analyse and resolve knotty research issues by such cleavages or own statistics or data collation, especially as regards recruitment, syndicated crimes of robbery, advanced fee fraud (AFF), motor accident patterns and effort to minimise same, manpower development and deployment. The department should be able to revisit and review the role and relationship of Police with other agencies in election duties, crisis management or the likes of them.

Personnel Strength

54. With the Police strength oscillating around 130,000 if the Police is to work on the 1991 population of 88,514,501 the Force must need additional 91,280 men or thereabout. If consideration is given to the fact that the population should be about 102,720,311 in the year 1997 going by the stipulated 2.38% growth rate, some 256,801 men should be policing the country now, so that a short fall of about 126,800 men results.

55. The Nigeria Police must ensure a stable growth rate in conformity with the UN ratio of one (1) Policeman to 400 people (1:400). Government must be more flexible on establishment quotas as regards Police, because the strength of men on the ground counts, in as much measure as the equipment. The Police would be better off if she enjoys regular increments in establishment, to up-grade her strength in correspondent fashion with the national population. The present situation whereby only Abuja and Cross River States are sufficient in manpower with Edo, Kwara, Ogun, Borno and Niger States barely within the range of the UN prescription is not good enough.

Barracks Accommodation/Office Accommodation

56. The nation must work to accommodate the Force's strength by 2010. Our argument for the need to erect more structures incline on the convenience of being able to mobilise officers and men at short notice, during emergencies. Supervision and discipline are readily effected when barracks accommodation is provided for the overall good of the nation. So far, we are far from adequately providing for officers and men in the way and manner that would enhance the raison d'être of the Nigeria Police Organisation and network. At the moment, only 22.5% of the personnel are quartered by Government.

57. By year 2010 national population at the growth rate of 2.38% should be about 136,559,591 and the Police strength at the UN rate of 1:400 should be about 341,399. The optimum strength of the Force at that time should be arrived at if 15,777 men are recruited annually from the year 1998.

58. With the Superior Police Officers being 4.0% of the Police strength, Inspectors 10.3%, Rank and file 85.7%, if we assume that the strength remains as such on rank group basis over time, the Police must need to provide 1009 SPOs' quarters, 2,704 Inspector quarters and 21,513 Rank and File (R/F) quarters from 1998, to meet the 2010 target.

59. In addition, the provision of office accommodation will follow the trend in the rate of recruitment of Police personnel. Assuming there is no radical change in the administrative set up of the nation and the Police, by the year 2010, the Force will require a total of 7,831 office accommodation counting front Force Headquarters building up to the minutest formation. The total figure of office accommodation on the ground now is 1969. It should be noted that what the Police now has is insufficient for effective and conducive working condition.

Transport

60. Transport is one of the hobs on which Police Force rotates for fast and effective action. Civil disturbances and the ever increasing crime wave have often belaboured the force beyond proportion that it has been very difficult to cope with motor vehicle maintenance from the meagre allocation we get. Whereas we need to remain frugal by maintaining vehicles at our own workshop, most officers do incur large expenses to put their vehicles on the road on their own, otherwise their duties are hampered when the men cannot be posted to

their beats. The idea of each man finding his way to his beat contributes to the inability of the Police to give her best, when the men are overstretched and worn out by the dust and scorching sun. It is deflating that transport vehicles and aircrafts are always one of the worst hit sub-heads in Police capital expenditure budget.

Highway Patrol

61. Although vehicular requirement of each State command differ according to the wave of crime, expanse of land area and other factors, the 150 designated highway routes nationwide need to be patrolled effectively. At least 10 patrol vehicles of whatever durable make should be provided for each route within a five year period time and the allocation must be backed by adequate funding of the appurtenances in gadget, like three tone sires, 100 watt rugged mobile high frequency (HF) radios with whip antenna, and other accessories.

Police Mobile Force

62. Whereas it is virile, responsive and judicious, the Police Mobile Force was sometime ago retarded by lack of funds. The situation was further compounded at the advent of the aborted National Guard (NG) when it was allegedly scrapped and replaced with the somewhat inadequate Quick Intervention Force which the Police quickly hatched, to fill the emergent vacuum. While the gloom lasted, the PMF logistics acquisition, overtime, depleted. Its residential barracks were allocated to the general Duty (GD) personnel, just as its training College at Maiduguri/Gwoza was in most part demolished, to pave way for developments which the NG did not realise, before its demise.

63. The trend should be reversed. A Police Mobile Squadron should be established in the new States soonest, to meet any unforeseen exigencies. As it is however, majority of the squadrons cannot boast of a troop Carrier or Unimog. The short fall in vehicular requirement of PMF units are enormous, compared to the recommended minimum vehicular holding for PMF squadrons which is as follows:

- (a) Eight (8) Unimog operational vehicles (2 per Unit)
- (b) Eight (8) Troop Carriers (2 per Unit)
- (c) Eight (8) Land-Rovers (2 per -Unit)
- (d) Four (4) Water Tankers (1 per Unit)
- (e) Four (4) Water Cannons for riot control (1 per Unit)
- (f) Four (4) Armoured Personnel Carriers (1 per Unit)
- (g) Four (4) Motorcycles for dispatch (1 per Unit).

64. Time and population explosion notwithstanding, the creation of new States has reduced the difficulties which the provision could engender to nothing. All there has to be is to provide the minimal requirement for each of the squadron in all the 37 States and FCT Abuja.

Force Armament:

65. Items of logistics including arms and ammunition as well as riot control equipment which are highly needed for Police operation are not manufactured here. Our low technological level makes it imperative for the Force to import them, even though with considerable difficulty due to scarce foreign exchange and the apathy shown to Nigeria by producer countries on the excuse that we have not democratized or on the charge of human right abuses. The fact that they have to be imported means the Force has to spend more of its inadequate budget for few items. Apart from lack of funds that sometimes holds the Force back, fiscal regulations sometimes cause untold hardships so that we have heaps of wasted equipment or weather-beaten articles for funds to repair or replace. It took nearly a year between end of 1993 and 1994 to import riot control equipment because of the difficulties in opening a letter of credit for some of the orders and conspiracy against Nigeria by the USA and Europe. It should not take too long to process matters of this nature.

66. Going by global state of 2 rifles to 3 men the present weapons holding of barely 45,000 including rifles and pistols, some of which had been lost to daring armed robbers, is grossly inadequate. Although the projected weapons holding for the Force stands at 103,334 firearms now, by year 2010 it is expected that the Police should have about 230,000 firearms in rifles and pistols.

67. It will be more considerate to attempt to beef-up the weapons holding through an aggressive acquisition programme, from the present 45,000, because 45,000 is a far cry from the 103,334 that should be in Police arsenal by now. And it will of course be wiser to work assiduously to meet the expectation of 230,000 firearms by the year 2010.

68. Going by yearly increases of 15,000 pieces of rifles and pistols (assorted) ammunitions as well as the acquisition of Beamhit shooting training systems, thousands of Bullet proof vests, blast grenades, rubber projectiles, thunder flash, respirator cannisters, gun oil, etc. the Force would need about ₦1.6b yearly from 1998 to meet its armament needs barring all future variations.

The Attorneys-General and DPP

69. The power to bring suspects to justice in the name of the State which is the province of the Attorney-General (AG) is shared by the office of the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) and the Police. The Police play a primary role in the pre-trial as well as prosecution stages of most cases beginning with arrests of suspects, execution of warrants, questioning of witnesses, searches and seizures, all of which are meant to make criminal procedure thorough and straight forward. The Police Force is however faced with a few problems:

- (a) Subject to the constitutional powers of the Attorney-General to institute, continue or discontinue criminal proceedings, the constitution by S.23 Police Act Cap 359 Laws of the Federation 1990 provides that any Police officer may conduct in person all prosecutions before any court of law. Same is amplified by S. 1 of the Police (Miscellaneous Provisions Decree No. 5 1989) which enjoins the Force to prosecute cases in the magistrate and any other courts. One impediment or the

other is however always used by bureaucrats in the Justice Ministries to wedge the possibility of granting a standing fiat to barristers in the Force, to prosecute lawful public causes in the High Courts and beyond, to the detriment of the Criminal Justice Administration. The Police Force is yet the only government establishment in Nigeria today which could boast of at least 150 body of lawyers. Even the right of prosecution granted us by the new Advance Fee Fraud and other Fraud Related Offences Decree No. 13, 1995 is being toyed with as the fiat granted by the AG to the effect was lately withdrawn. We should like to note that even the new Advance Fee Fraud Decree took about eight years to enact and that the lateness took its toll by worsening the already coloured image of the Police and doing extensive damage to the country and innocent citizens.

- (b) It is equally unwholesome that Police prosecutors have no right of address like the defence counsels, and is also unhealthy for the public that he cannot cite cases. Much of the cases are lost by so doing and crime cannot be curbed with all these loopholes. Since new entrants into the crime scene cannot be stopped, the rate at which hardened criminals perambulate about town without punishment, reform or any remorse only serve to multiply the number of criminals. The figure becomes engrossing.
- (c) The High Courts also often release suspects on bail without reference to the Police. Instead of getting preoccupied with new things we are forced to start running after the same old criminals to get them arraigned at the Tribunals.
- (d) A lot of hoodlums promenade about and commit more offences when they are enjoying unending bails from court due to unending adjournments. It is on record that 38,106 cases were adjourned at the instance of the courts in 1993 while only 10,908 were adjourned at the instance of the Police. Similarly in 1994, 41,566 cases were adjourned at the instance of the Courts while 9,807 were at the instance of the Police, while 36,198 were against 9,873 respectively in 1995. There is a backlog of cases always which is a deterrence to efficiency, either from the DPP's offices or the courts, day-in day-out.

Police and Security Agencies:

70. The Police has had to create a Criminal and Security Intelligence unit because it is not practicable to solely depend on agencies outside its command for vital intelligence, which bureaucracy and security can easily interrupt or disrupt. She enjoys a network as the number of Police Commands and outposts currently on the ground, just because there is so much rivalry and less cooperation among the agencies. Coordination does not have to be at the topmost echelon of government. All the agencies are supposed to enjoy rapid and facile interchange of information such that the Police is devoted to physical presence on the ground instead of stampeding for security intelligence. But the services all try to match and trepitate on the dignity of the Force and the integrity of the officers with impunity. The army wants to exude superiority and the intelligence community tends to be competing so much so that work, which should be complementary, is haphazardly done. Where it is sabotage or bombings or explosions, infidelity among the security agencies may preclude Police from adequate fore-knowledge or simple intelligence for pro-active involvement. A stop should be put to these rivalries.

Training

71. Our training needs are gross. We recognise that the primary field duties rest mostly on the slightly educated recruit constables who must take some time to refine through exposure. But we always hasten to sharpen their intelligence and to retrain the old ones before we inject fresh men, in order to meet our target of one (1) policeman to 400 people. We have never been able to do much due to the meagre funds available for training. We could do much better in time with better funding. So far we have always been carrying out Central Planning Unit (CPU) courses as a nursery for Police Corps of Trainers with cooperation and assistanceship from the British

Government for SPOs and Inspectors and have always, in the last two years being carrying out Advance Detective Courses, Junior, Intermediate and Senior Command Courses for various cadres, refresher and development course for the rank and file, detective and prosecution courses, finger-print and crime recording as well as fraud, photographic and modus operandi courses for crime detection purposes. On the average, only 10,000 of the personnel could undergo the training and retraining courses we organise each year, due to lack of funds. Training will incline more on yearly budgets.

72. We need to up-date Police training institutions to the standard required of us at this age and time with necessary equipment and facilities that match crime prevention and detection needs of today's metropolis. That is apart from the need for fund to train the trainers and the new influx of men.

Discipline:

73. It is disheartening that the courts always contradict the stipulations of the law by annulling dismissals and ordering reinstatements of bad-eggs sometimes after eight years. It is ironical that hearings in such straightforward cases take that long in Nigeria. And, that too is attempted with the Decree 17 of 1984 which is supposed to shield the State from any inquiry thereto, in order to sanitize the Force. We will continue to monitor corruption and indiscipline and to weed the bad eggs.

Police Forms & Books:

74. Criminal records will be properly maintained when we have enough Police books and forms alongside other equipment for criminal record keeping. Going by what we manage to give the formations, hardly have we been meeting the requirement in forms and stationary in the last ten years. The result is that the men improvise and photocopy mostly on their own to get the job done. Crime prevention and detection is facile and result-oriented when the rules are obeyed and laid down format followed. But the officers and men are currently squeezing themselves out to meet the demands of the job.

The Judiciary:

75. Whereas matters were usually either civil or criminal in the olden days, all matters are today criminal and civil in one. The situation is rowdy. Because the public lacks confidence in the judiciary, they want to use the Police to stop an abuse or to misuse one another instead of waiting for 3 years before judgement is passed in a course which may eventually turn against them, get thrown out or turn into 6 or 10 cases in 7 or 8 courts that makes nonsense of the original case. By that time there is loss of investment or capital, which the complainant

would have gained at the onset. The backlash from this and from the innumerable or incessant, indecorous and unending adjournment of cases is overwhelming for the Police.

Vast Border:

76. The Nigerian landscape is vast and the border line cannot be effectively patrolled now since available resources cannot even satisfy the needs of the metropolis. It is good that policing of aliens and economic activities are largely supervised by the customs and immigration services but the violence and other crimes on foot paths and illegal routes are of interest to the Police.

77. The Police is gearing up in cooperation matters in the West African Region. The Inspector-General of Police of the Nigeria Police Force is currently the Chairman of the West African Police Chiefs Committee (WAPCCO) which is geared towards greater cooperation in such matters. Only that some other actions need to be taken. It may be a good idea to put as many joint operations rooms as necessary round the Nigeria national border posts.

Special Branches

78. We should be allowed to create the special branches and task forces upon which funds are expended within the Police Force so that the police institutional capacity is enhanced and not depleted. Once that is done, any division around the country can enforce arrests and the preliminary notes will be forwarded to the special branch for its purpose, as rules will specify. We have done that successfully with narcotic offences before the global drug phenomenon which gave birth to the NDLEA. Such special branches will take care of task force works in fraud, postal crimes, telecoms offences and robbery where large funds are expended to the exclusion of the Police and the depletion of budgetary allocations to Police. It pulls down the Force to starve her while she persists as the hub of criminal policing and the overt law enforcement agency. The nation instead of consolidating on the Force encourage officers in the military and the Police to be scampering about, to join task forces that are supervised mostly by officers who are not trained in investigation procedures.

Overtime Allowances:

79. The officers and men should be allowed to draw overtime allowances. It will encourage them to want to do more instead of grumbling. Nigerians are fond of comparing Police here with that of Europe. But an European policeman will not spend an extra minute without cost to his country. And overtime payments are usually multiples of normal rate, so that their government is deterred by the Police labour union from making undue demands of the work force. We should give overtime inducements here, since the men mostly work round the clock and may not see their families for upwards of two (2) or three (3) weeks during emergencies.

Forensics:

80. Forensic science makes detection work faster, smoother and remarkably precise. Although our forensic department is impressive in output, its scope is limited mostly to Lagos and probably Kaduna. Abuja has none, Kano has none as yet and the East should have something befitting. Finger printing alone is now a computerised phenomenon that makes filing of criminal records adequate and handy. It is a tool that is good to have nationwide. Toxicologists are not many in the country and their rates are high. To have one on police

service scale of salary has been increasingly difficult, talk less of getting at least three (3). So is it that we must get ballisticians trained and all the staff by rule, must attend workshops and seminars at local and international levels, each year. Whereas the police have been prolific in training some of these specialists in the past, we are fast losing them to better paid employment in the banks and oil companies. We need good funds to acquire computer facilities and hire our own toxicologists. We need funds to acquire and replenish the stock of chemicals and equipment too.

Forensic Pathology/Clinical Forensic Medicine:

81. There is the need for the nation to construct in at least each of the six geo-political zones of the country a Forensic Medico-legal centre.

82. Each of these will serve as a focal point for the conduct of forensic autopsies into homicide cases for the Nigerian Police by forensic pathologists appointed by the Federal Government as it is the practice worldwide.

83. Each of these, in co-ordination with the local government branches, will in addition to conducting of autopsies in coroners cases, mass disasters carry out routine autopsies to ensure a thorough audit of organs in human bodies before burial warrants are issued. This way the Otokoto pattern of crime which indulged in sale of human parts for supposed ritual and foreign exchange gains will be solved once and for all.

DNA Identification Facilities:

84. It is important that facilities for this specialty of forensic sciences be acquired and provided in all such forensic medico-legal centres and in all Forensic laboratories nationwide. Personnel must also be trained in this specialty. It is a technology without which human identification cannot be meaningfully carried out, be it ante-mortem as in paternity/maternity disputes or post mortem as in mass disasters as the nation has witnessed in recent times. The current national indulgence in mass burial of mass disaster victims flouts not only the injunctions of the United Nations as enunciated in Resolutions of the Interpol Disaster Victim Identification Committee but the practice also runs foul of the basic rights of all nationalities to be returned to their ancestral homes and next of kins to be granted appropriate and decent burial.

Forensic Toxicology:

85. The acquisition of state of the art equipment essential for the analysis of hard drugs such as cocaine, heroin, MSD and daily evolving synthetic drugs cannot be overemphasized.

86. Field equipment for identification at points of arrests and laboratory equipment for expert identification for the judiciary in multiple centres to enable conviction are mandatory if the nation is to rid herself of the international stigmatisation regarding drug trafficking.

Fingerprint Examination:

87. Nigeria still lacks the technology for nationwide “Automated Fingerprint Identification Systems”. This position is untenable at the close of the twentieth 20th century. It is high time this technology is acquired. With it, an escapee criminal can be apprehended in any part of

the country and in fact in any part of the world once his fingerprints are made available electronically via the E. Mail and Internet.

Ballistic Examination:

88. The level of armed robbery in the country at the moment, which has warranted the establishment of various brands of Operation Sweep nationwide makes, it mandatory that a National Registry of various types of weapons in circulation be established to enable the law enforcement agencies keep an accurate record of their traffic and movement. The acquisition of the latest technology in Ballistic examination to enable identification of offending weapons in crime can also not be overemphasized.

Police Council:

89. The functions of the Nigeria Police Council should be reviewed. The body should have responsibilities in matters of force policy, organization and standards. The Council should play a far greater part in shaping the objectives, and aims of the service. In other words, the police council should define police roles precisely to ensure adequate, effective and efficient police service, throughout the federation. It should be involved in long-range planning for the force, while the Inspector-General of Police should submit to it, the short and long term plans, setting out the development policies and expenditure plans of the Force. For the council to be effective, membership should comprise individuals with outstanding qualities. The council should include representatives of the Federal Ministry of Justice and the Police Service Commission.

Police Service Commission:

90. The body should be resuscitated. Its functions which have been transferred to the Police Council in the 1989 Constitution should be restored to it. This is because there is the need for an independent body to guard against nepotism in recruitment, discipline and promotions, or the dominance of the service by a single ethnic group. The present Police Council which handles these matters hardly finds the time to look into any cases referred to it. This is largely due to other primary functions elsewhere, which occupy the members' time. An organization such as the NPF is so large that it requires its own service commission. The membership should comprise mature persons of unquestionable integrity and impartiality among other criteria.

Police Affairs Department:

91. This is an imposition. The department has been an impediment to efficient and effective management of the Force, particularly in the area of financial control and accountability. Its existence should, therefore, be reviewed as a matter of urgency. If there are some political reasons for its existence, its terms of reference and duties or functions should be such as would not hamper police operation and effectiveness.

92. **Police Budget and Funding:**

(a) **Funding:**

The Inspector-General of police is accountable to the President through the Police Council for the effectiveness and efficiency of the Force. He should, therefore, be made the accounting officer for the expenditure of Police budget. The present

arrangement whereby either the Minister for Police Affairs or a Director-General is the accounting officer for the police vote tantamount to separation of responsibility and authority within the Force. The Inspector-General should submit to the Police Council his annual financial proposals including requirements for manpower, equipment and buildings, and defend such submissions before the Council. By the same token, he should be allowed to expend the funds so allocated. At the end of each year, the Inspector-General should submit a report of expenditure to the Council.

(b) **Budgeting:**

Since the downturn in the nation's economy in the late 70s, government's expenditures on the Nigeria Police Force as the principal actor in the nation's internal security arrangement - has not been adequate, nor commensurate with the expected anti-crime activities. Whereas it was the opinion in some quarters that a nation in depression should provide job opportunities for her citizens so a nation is expected to have enough resources to generate job opportunities for all its citizens. The truth, however is that even in times of plenty, no nation can embark on meaningful development without adequate internal security. Thus for a country like Nigeria which presently is witnessing a depressed economy, with a high level of unemployment it is to be expected that the crime rate will rise necessitating the need to operate a dynamic Police Force adequately trained, equipped and motivated to deal with the corresponding rise in criminal and anti-social activities.

93. The ordinary man in the streets including the criminal, knows about the limitations of the Nigeria Police, in terms of logistic support and welfare, in the performance of its functions. Indeed successive administrations have expressed their awareness of and sympathy for the ugly situation of the Police - promising to reverse the position. Hard as all governments seem to have tried, the position never changes. If anything, it gets worse. Perhaps, the lack of financial will on the part of governments, prompted by usually dwindling economic resources has not made it possible for the case of the Nigeria Police to be adequately addressed.

94. For the past two decades, the total budgetary allocations to the Nigeria Police has averaged at about 3.8 percent of the nation's budget, but the vagaries of economic problems besetting the nation often make nonsense of any budget increases the Force gets.

95. It is only this year 1997 that appreciable mark is being made in the integration and modernisation of wireless communication systems project. Three priority projects including the communication programme, Barracks and staff quarters as well as the Force Headquarters building complex have not been adequately addressed for a long time.

96. If any Government organisations are to be ably represented in Abuja, Police should be one of them. The Force Headquarters Abuja HQ building project is a one and a half billion Naira (₦1.5b) project to which less than half a billion is yet to be allocated, while the communication project also requires as much fund to be completed, excluding extending same to the six newly created States.

97. The Police is really in need of attention. Everything should be done to ensure that the ratio of personnel to overhead costs is kept at an all time 53:47 level so as to keep the Force going at a stable level. If this is achieved, a detective should always have the wherewithal to travel anywhere to investigate a case. Movement of units to emergencies would be easy. Maintenance of structures and vehicles will be financed and such other routine tasks the Police undertakes on a daily basis and around the clock.

SECTION VIII: CONCLUSION

98. In summary the problem which the Police Force poses as a corrupt Force emanates from some factors which include the grave innocence of the majority as regards codes of civilization, illiteracy of many people and poverty which is widespread in the land, and which nourishes the rot among the populace like wild fire.

99. For Vision 2010 to be realised, effort should be made to:

- (a) Get the masses out of the doldrums of perennial poverty;
- (b) Nurture and promote public enlightenment in civic culture and civilization, so that they are able to abide by the law and abstain from paying for bail or any Police statutory services; and
- (c) Provide adequately for the Police so that the officers and men will not have any excuse for extortion.

100. The Nigeria Police has been acclaimed worldwide as capable, especially as seen at peace-keeping missions where her personnel have been well catered for and where equipment have always been available.

101. The feat is possible even at home, if we have in place most of the measures discussed under item 7 which shows how to get the Police to its desired role by the year 2010. Other areas worth looking into include:-

- (a) The need to restore the rule of law. The adage that the law is no respecter of anyone should be a reality. Civil law must take precedence over any other law especially military law and indeed where civil population is involved, military personnel must stop taking the law into their hands. They should desist from raiding Police stations and releasing their personnel whenever they are arrested for crimes;
- (b) Government must as a deliberate policy nurture a peoples Police and not Government Police. The Police and its officers and men must be neutral;
- (c) All statutory functions of a Police Force as acknowledged internationally should be restored. Proliferation of agencies performing Police duties has resulted in chaos and the situation Nigeria finds itself in the enforcement of law and order, securing of public safety, peace and order;

- (d) Members of the Nigeria Police must be adequately remunerated. There is no gainsaying that a country gets the police it deserves. Certainly however for a country such as Nigeria to have an effective and efficient Police Force, it must be an elitist Force that has men and women who have the right background, right education, excellent professional training, excellent working environment with basic comfort, tools to work with, mobility and effective communication and above all **SECURITY OF TENURE**. A police man will not be afraid of death if he knows that if he dies, the State will take care of his dependents or if he retires honourably, he can fall back to a comfortable life. He must be courageous to enforce the law without fear or favour. A constable must have the courage to confront a Minister, Captains of industries, Military and Police officers who infringe the laws of the land;
- (e) The Judiciary must be improved in all aspects of his specialized duty toward delivering justice. The courts must be in a position to play their roles in the dispensation of justice;
- (f) The Prisons service must be brought up to standard. New prisons; modern enough to meet the changing society must be constructed;
- (g) Ministries of Justice must be well staffed and Government lawyers properly catered for to encourage them;
- (h) Most importantly socio-economic factors must be improved to reduce poverty and delinquency. Employment opportunities should improve through industrialization. University education must be rationalized. Professional or vocational training should be emphasized. Civics should be taught in our schools as well as religious and moral lessons. Leadership by example would be a prelude to the re-orientation of the society.

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CHAPTER 4

THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL RULERS

UNDER THE VISION 2010 PROJECT

SECTION I: BACKGROUND

1. On 9th April, 1997, the Chairman of VISION 2010 Committee, Chief Ernest Shonekan inaugurated a Special Sub-Committee of Traditional Rulers (who are members of the Vision 2010 Committee) under the chairmanship of HRH Alhaji Ado Bayero, the Emir of Kano, to articulate a role for the Traditional Rulers in the realisation of the objectives of the VISION 2010 project. Chief Shonekan observed, with delight, the positive role Traditional Rulers play in ensuring peace, security and good governance in their respective communities. As stakeholders in the visioning process Traditional Rulers roles need to be better defined in order to enhance their overall contributions to National development.

2. In order to make an effective contribution, the sub-committee decided to solicit the views and suggestions of other Traditional Rulers in the country, and therefore zoned the country into four geographical areas; namely Northern, South-West, South-East and Mid-West. Consultations were held at the State level through the respective State Councils of Chiefs. The views of the States' Council of Chiefs were further deliberated upon at the zonal levels where a position paper representing the consolidated views of Traditional Rulers in the zone was developed. The submissions of the zonal meetings were deliberated upon at the National Consultative meeting held at Abuja, where a common position was taken by the representatives of all the Traditional Rulers in the country. In addition to those meetings, a select committee of six Traditional Rulers was appointed to travel to Indonesia and Malaysia with a view to study and learn their system of rulership. The committee successfully undertook the journey and submitted a report. The sum total of the reports from the States Zonal and National meetings together with the Malaysia/Indonesia experience formed the basis for the report of the Traditional Rulers on the Vision 2010 Committee.

3. Traditional Rulers have remained the unquestionable leaders of their people; a unifying force whose non-partisan role has paid great dividends in minimizing hostilities and maintaining peace among people with divergent political beliefs. Because of their closeness to the people, they are highly regarded as fathers of the people and apostles of peace at times of actual and potential crisis.

4. Notwithstanding the erosion of their powers by the constitutional democracy, Traditional Rulers will continue to be very vital to the political process. It is a well known fact that "Political office holders will continue to seek their support to strengthen their hold on power." Traditional Rulers will continue to remain the bedrock of continuity and stability, particularly at the grassroots level. Apart from constituting the vital links to the grassroots, they will remain the custodians of the values of the communities, their history, tradition and culture. Against this background therefore, there is a need to make the Traditional Institutions more relevant to the aspirations of the present day Nigeria without losing touch with various norms and values of the various communities. The establishment of the Federal Council of Traditional Rulers with all the assigned duties for Traditional Rulers in the council should be allowed to work as planned, while at the State level, State Council of Chiefs should be

composed of only titled Traditional Rulers. The inclusion of the non-titled chiefs and civil servants in the council should be discouraged.

SECTION II: PRESENT ROLE OF TRADITIONAL RULERS:

5. The Committee noted the following as the present status of traditional institutions in the country:

- a. Traditional rulers because of their closeness to the people, are regarded as fathers of the people and apostles of peace at times of actual and potential crisis, and are the bedrock of continuity and stability, within the community.
- b. Traditional rulers are the custodians of the values of the communities, their history, tradition and culture.
- c. Traditional rulers assist in the maintenance of law and order within the community, including the arbitration and settlement of disputes.
- d. Traditional rulers assist the local government councils in the collection of taxes, rates and other communal levies within the community.
- e. Traditional rulers receive important visitors to the town or community, and preside over community festivals and other important public gathering.
- f. Traditional rulers are advisors to State and Local governments and assist in the stimulation of development projects within the community.
- g. Traditional rulers are members of the State security council and Local government security committees.

SECTION III: PROPOSED ROLE OF TRADITIONAL RULERS

6. The Committee noted that Traditional Rulers could be in the following areas:

(a) Boundary Adjustments

Traditional Rulers should be made part of the boundary adjustment committees, and should be consulted by the appropriate Federal, State or Local authorities on the creation of new States, Local Governments and autonomous communities.

(b) Education

Traditional Councils should be empowered to monitor educational and moral standards in all primary and secondary schools in their areas of jurisdiction and shall have powers to make recommendations to the State and Local governments, on appropriate measures to be taken on such issues where necessary. In view of the inherent influence of Traditional Rulers, they should continue to be used as chancellors of universities and other institutions of higher learning.

(c) Health

Traditional Councils should have a voice in hospital and health services management and committees within their territories.

(d) Agriculture

Traditional Councils should be involved in the mobilization of peasant farmers to form cooperative unions and should participate actively in the distribution of farm inputs.

(e) Religious Affairs

Traditional Rulers should participate in all affairs relating to religion and should be members of JNII (Jamatul Nasril Islam)/SCIA (Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs) in the case of Muslims and CAN (Christian Association of Nigeria) in the case of Christians.

(f) Rural Development

Traditional Councils should be consulted on budgets and physical development programs of the local government authorities before submission to the State Governments.

(g) Security

The State and Local Governments should be encouraged to give proper recognition and financial assistance to Vigilante Groups who should be placed under the surveillance of the Traditional Councils in order to avoid manipulation.

(h) National Protocol

It is also resolved that the position of Traditional Rulers should be enhanced in the order of precedence at both Federal and State levels. In this respect, Federal, State and Local Government's order of protocol should be reviewed in a manner that gives due recognition to Traditional Rulers as heads of their communities

SECTION IV: INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS REQUIRED FOR TRADITIONAL RULERS TO PLAY THE ENVISAGED ROLE

Recommendations

7. In view of the above observations, the Committee agreed to put forward the following recommendations:

- (a) It is resolved to accept the provisions contained in the Third Schedule Part 1 Section 154 “B Council of State” Sub-section 5 and 6 at Page 168 of the Draft Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1995 which read:

“5 (1) The Council of State shall comprise the following persons, namely:

- (i) The. President, who shall be the Chairman;
 - ii) The three Vice Presidents, the one from the President’s zone to be the Deputy Chairman;
 - (iii) All former Presidents of the Federation and all former Heads of the Government of the Federation;
 - (iv) All former Chief Justices of Nigeria who are citizens of Nigeria;
 - (v) The President of the Senate;
 - (vi) The Speaker of the House of Representatives;
 - (vii) All the Governors of the States of the Federation;
 - (viii) All Attorney-General of the Federation; and
 - (ix) One person from each State who shall, as respects that State, be appointed by the council of chiefs of the State among themselves.
- (b) A person shall not be a member under sub-paragraph (1) (c) or (d) if:
- (i) he vacated office by reason of impeachment; or
 - (ii) he was convicted by the Code of Conduct Tribunal for violating any of the provisions of the Code of Conduct; or
 - (iii) he was convicted by any court or tribunal for any crime amounting to a felony.

“6 The Council shall be consulted and shall have powers:-

- (a) to advise the President in the exercise of his powers with respect to:
 - (i) the National Population Census and compilation/publication and keeping of records and other information concerning the same;
 - (ii) prerogative of mercy;
 - (iii) award of National Honours;
 - (iv) the National Electoral Commission (including the appointment of members of that Commission)
 - (v) the Federal Judicial Service Commission (including the appointment of members, other than ex-officio members of that Commission); and
 - (vi) the National Population Commission (including the appointment of members of that Commission); and
- (b) to advise the President as and when necessary on the maintenance of public order within the Federation or any part thereof and on such other matters as the President may direct.

8. .And also Sub-sections 21 and 22 of the said Section 1.54 Part .1 of the 3rd Schedule which read: -

“FEDERAL COUNCIL OF TRADITIONAL RULERS”

- “21 (1) There shall be established a federal council of Traditional Rulers.
- (2) The council shall comprise 3 Traditional Rulers from each State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
 - (3) The Council shall meet quarterly.
- 22 (1) The functions of the Council shall be:-
- (a) giving general advice to the Government of the Federation;
 - (b) advising the Government of the Federation on proposed development plans for Nigeria;
 - (c) advising on religious matters where appropriate;
 - (d) promoting and advising on arts and culture;
 - (e) deliberating and expressing opinions to any Federal Organization on any matter which it deems or which may be referred to it by the Government of the Federation or other Federal Organization;

- (f) Assisting in mobilisation of human and material resources towards self-reliance and welfare of the people of Nigeria; and
- (g) such other functions as the Government of the Federation may from time to time refer to the Council.

(2) Nothing in the foregoing provision of this paragraph shall be construed as conferring any legislative, executive or judicial functions on the Council.

9. The 5% Statutory Allocations authorised by the Presidential (Executive) order due to Local governments/Area Councils in any particular Emirate/Traditional Council to be deducted and paid direct from source to the Emirate/Traditional Council. This should be reflected in the Revenue Allocation Formula and should be entrenched in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria when promulgated.

10. From our findings in the Malaysian and Indonesian models, it is our conclusion that key groups within the national structure should have contributory roles to play in the coming political dispensation. In this regard we propose that the 1995 draft constitution be amended to allow for some proportionate number of seats to be reserved in the senate for active members of the armed forces of Nigeria and the Nigerian Police.

11. The State Government should consult and shall act in accordance with the advice of the Council of Chiefs of the State in the exercise of all powers conferred on it with respect to:

- a) The appointment, approval of the appointment or recognition of a person as a Traditional Ruler
- b) The grading of a Traditional Ruler.
- c) The deposition of a Traditional Ruler
- d) The removal of a Traditional Ruler or a person who was formerly a Traditional Ruler from any part of the State; or
- e) The expulsion of a Traditional Ruler or any person who was formerly a Traditional Ruler from any part of the State.

12. Notwithstanding anything in any other provisions of this Constitution (including in particular the provision of the Fundamental Human Rights), no question as to the validity of selection, appointment, approval of appointment, recognition, installation, grading, or abdication of a traditional ruler shall be entertained by any court of law in Nigeria.

13. A traditional ruler having been installed in accordance with section 4 above is hereby guaranteed security of tenure, and cannot be removed by State Governor for whatever cause unless as a result of judicial review by an independent judicial commission of inquiry established by the Federal Government, whose members are appointed by the Chief Justice of the Federation before which the State and Traditional Ruler shall have a right of defence.

Definition of a Traditional Ruler

14. Traditional Ruler is defined as a person who by virtue of his ancestry occupies the throne or stool of an area and who has been appointed to it in accordance with the customs and traditions of the area and has traditional authority over the people. Traditional Rulers Council should be composed of only Traditional rulers and should not include title holders and government functionaries.

Functions of Traditional Rulers

15. Traditional Rulers should be encouraged to perform their traditional functions in accordance with their traditional norms and culture. In addition they should be allowed to perform in such high-level Government appointments such as Chancellors of Universities, etc.

16. Notwithstanding the provisions of Sub-section 22 (2) of Section 154 of Part I of the Third Schedule of the 1995 Constitution, Traditional Rulers should be given specific functions to perform at State and Local government levels in the areas as spelt out in (a) - (h) as follows:

- a) Boundary Adjustment
- b) Education
- c) Health
- d) Agriculture
- e) Religious Affairs Security
- h) Rural Development.

All the above specified functions should be reflected in the new constitution by way of amendment.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

1. Each of the reports contained in this Book examines the current situation and articulates its vision for the year 2010. Each report identifies core objectives and the strategies for achieving these objectives. The core objectives identified by each report are summarized below:

Armed Forces

2. The core objectives recommended by the report of the Armed Forces are to:
 - (a) Depoliticise the military and enhance its professionalism.
 - (b) Guarantee the on-going democratization process so that by the year 2010, Nigeria would be a stable democratic society.
 - (c) Expand and intensify the military's overall contribution to national development.
 - (d) Ensure full acceptance and integration of defence forces in society.
 - (e) Create an indigenous military technological base.
 - (f) Ensure proper training of the personnel of the Armed Forces in order for them to remain professional and apolitical.
 - (g) Ensure adequate logistics support for sea lift and air lift to support our land forces outside Nigeria.
 - (h) Minimise service parochialism and ensure greater inter-service co-operation.
 - (i) Ensure adequate force levels to meet domestic and international commitments.
 - (j) Ensure adequate welfare of serving and retired personnel.
 - (k) Provide adequate funding to procure needed equipment, train and re-orientate the military, improve operational state of existing equipment and pay enhanced wages.

Police Force

3. The core objectives recommended by the report of the Police Force are to:
 - (a) Achieve sufficiency in both quantity and quality of policemen

- (b) Review police training to take cognizance of modern methods of policing as well as current socio-economic, political and technological developments in Nigeria and the world.
- (c) Achieve complete computerization of the Force by the year 2010.
- (d) Connect the entire Nigeria Police Force to satellite communication by the year 2010.
- (e) Achieve scientific investigation of crimes and assessment of evidence.
- (f) Review the entire arms and ammunition holding of the Police Force.
- (g) Attain sufficiency in Police vehicles, aircrafts and boats for effective patrols, surveillance and investigations.
- (h) Attain adequacy in residential and office accommodation for the Nigeria Police Force by the year 2010.
- (i) Put in place attractive conditions of service.
- (j) Improve police efficiency, professionalism and image.
- (k) Improve police - public relations.
- (l) Improve overall funding for the Nigeria Police Force.

Traditional Rulers

4. The report of Traditional Rulers recommends that in order to make traditional rulers more relevant to the aspirations of modern Nigeria, the following functions should be assigned to them:

- (a) Include traditional rulers in the membership of all boundary adjustment committees.
- (b) Consult traditional rulers on the creation of new States and Local Government Areas.
- (c) Empower traditional rulers to monitor educational and moral standards in all primary and secondary schools in their domains.
- (d) Continue to use traditional rulers as Chancellors of universities and other institutions of higher learning.
- (e) Give traditional rulers a voice in the management of health services within their domains.
- (f) Involve traditional rulers in mobilising farmers to form co-operative unions, and also in the distribution of farm inputs.

- (g) Involve traditional rulers in all matters relating to religion within their domains.
- (h) Consult traditional rulers on budgets and the physical development programmes of Local Government Areas within their domains.
- (i) Place vigilante groups under the surveillance of traditional rulers.