

# Strengthening Nigeria's Border Security through Policy Restructuring

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## **Abstract**

This paper examines the security situation in Nigerian borderlands. Border communities of Nigeria differ significantly in the sense that the composition of people in western borderlands of the Yoruba as they share cultural identity with their cross-border neighbours, communities in the northern boarders share a lot with the Chadians and the citizens of the Republic of Niger on the ground of religion and other cultural elements. Using the descriptive approach, the paper reveals that trans-border cultural affinity mainly fosters insecurity of lives and properties, being the problem this paper addresses, results from the activities of cross-boarder religious fundamentalists who assist their Kiths and Kin within northern Nigeria, on one hand and to the more realistic views that trans-border smuggling of contraband goods have more to do with people contiguous to Nigeria-Benin border on the other hand. While all these views hold on the subject, that is the nexus between insecurity in Nigeria and trans-border interactions, the paper aims at addressing the present problem of insecurity through re-structuring border-related policies and proffering measures for their adherence. It was discovered that while Nigeria spends huge amount of money to tackle problems posed by the porous borders, both border communities and national security operatives have frustrated this effort.

## **Introduction**

Nigerian society in general, is governed by fear among the citizens and the foreigners. Since two decades, there has been persistent cases of religious and political killings as well as those that arose from social agitations for either self-determination or for a place in national politics. The whole events culminated to the smuggling of light arms and illegal migration of other

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peoples of west and central Africa into Nigeria. The presence of other people in Nigeria, particularly, those with Islamic orientation are believed by some non-Muslim southerners to be responsible for fomenting the various crises that have claimed countless lives in the country. To some southerners, the “Faceless Boko Haram group” and the nascent Fulani herdsmen are migrants, from Chad and Niger across the international boundaries in the north to continue the unfinished Fulani Jihad of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These are speculations that lack evidential supports. On the contrary, it may be difficult to jettison this claim on the ground that the targets and larger casualties number among the Christian population of the country and had not received an equivalent measure of security attention that silenced the risen Biafran agitators in the southeast.<sup>1</sup>

Besides insecurity resulting from religious fundamentalism, there are economic challenges which are prompted by the porous borders. On a more realistic view on the economy, some comments should be made. The history of the influx of illegal immigrants into Nigeria dates back to the late 1975 following the ratification and coming into being of Economic Communities of West African States (ECOWAS)<sup>2</sup>. For Nigeria, it was the economic boom which doted popular sectors that was the major attraction. People from neighbouring countries of Benin, Togo and others from mainly ECOWAS states were absorbed and adapted at various economic levels, to the extent that their presence constituted no danger to Nigeria and her citizens: “these illegal immigrants were to be found engaged in works ranging from household keepers, teachers to construction site workers”. Part of a season of great opportunities and prosperity for the immigrants came in 1977, when Nigeria hosted the All Black World Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC). Immigrants took part in major construction works done in Lagos, in preparation for the Black World event. The construction works done include the works at Festival Town, the National Theatre Iganmu, overhead bridges, the Lagos-Ibadan express way, and other projects too numerous to list. Immigrants gained immensely from Nigeria’s booming economy since the introduction of ECOWAS.

The above social conditions are pointers to the porosity of Nigerian borders that require attention through serious border policy options which may imply borrowing from the past options that were neglected or a restructure from the past options that were neglected or a restructure of present border-related policies. The ideas of this paper are timely and would no doubt boost the security situation of this country. It should be said furthermore, that border security, means building up serious defence measures that could prevent encroachment of illegal immigrants into Nigeria,

stop incessant movement of contraband goods and close up all the bush paths created by border communities for the purpose of unrestricted movement by national security operatives. Policy means decision or law made by National assembly and implemented through the National Boundary Commission (NBC). These policies should be able to address the challenges posed by the international boundaries of Nigeria. Restructuring suggests that a portion or an entire body of border policies is undergoing amendment or needs to be amended. Borderlands are the landmass close to international boundaries that are inhabited by people called border community(ies). The roles of the above variables in determining the depth of Nigeria's border security and the need to restructure any of them for a robust border which guarantees stable society and economic prosperity is the concern of this paper.

### **Nigeria's Borderlands: Security Warnings**

The poor state of infrastructural and other aspects of development in the borderlands to a high degree may account for a poor security situation in these areas. In this case, Asiwaju noted among all things that:

As periphery of the Nigerian State, the nation's borderlands are among the most neglected of the Proverbially Neglected Rural Majority – to use the favourite phrase of a Nigerian scholar and expert. Modern communication and transportation network peter out as one approaches the nation's frontier zones in most localities. There is no provisions of such basic human need as food, water, clothing and shelter beyond the local peoples' own effort: no standard health and medical facilities, no standard educational institutions; for most localities, no electricity, no planned housing schemes, and of course no industries.<sup>3</sup>

The quest for survival would no doubt, suggest that available lands that had not been fully utilized and yet around the international boundaries offer smugglers and migrants the very opportunity to perpetuate their illicit dealings in the area. Little wonder then that in the borderlands are to be found some of the most primitive cultures in the world, including, e.g. the nudickoma in the Taraba-Benue State sector of the border with Cameroon and the only slightly better developed Ohiri-Ije in the Yewa North Local Government of Ogun State. What border people often get is the rough sides of state as made visible in the activities of its forceful apparatuses, especially the paramilitary border-enforcement agencies, whose conduct generally tends to generate negative attitude to Government. Those attitudes

have the effect of separating rather than integrating the peripheries of the nation to its centres.

The neglect of border regions is a threat to national security, the Sokoto State military Governor, Colonel Ahmed Daku, warned in 1989 in Lagos, "when people are neglected, they tend to lean to wherever they are cared for, said the governor in a comment at the nation conference in that year on the development of border regions. He cautioned that it was necessary to keep close contact with the border regions and provide them with social amenities or "they will be lured away".<sup>4</sup>

Kwara State Governor then, Group Captain Ibrahim Alkali, said to enhance a lasting solution to frequent border clashes between Nigerian border communities and neighbouring states, army, police, customs and immigration officers should be established in the border communities equipped and manned for best results. Governor Alkali called for the provision of a good road network along the nation's border.<sup>5</sup>

In like manner, Colonel Tunde Ogbeha, the Governor of the then Bendel State, said that besides the poor demarcation of Nigeria's international boundaries, economic and political factors had always militated against the success of the programme. Governor Ogbeha argued further that since border communities would always interact socially and economically, every plan for the development of the border areas should always be co-ordinated. He suggested that there was need for accessibility of the nation's coastal regions to ease transportation.<sup>6</sup> To ensure a satisfactory development of Nigeria's border trade with her neighbours, the then Lagos State Governor, Colonel Raji Rasaki suggested that markets should be established at designated border settlements to complement state and local government efforts within state. He added that the ECOWAS multilateral agreements, bilateral chamber of commerce and banking facilities should be established to encourage trade.<sup>7</sup>

It is worthy of being noted also, that the old Gongola State Governor, Wing Commander, Isa Mohammed mentioned the need for Nigeria's border communities to be declared special areas which would enjoy adequate planning and yearly federal financing.<sup>8</sup> Navy Captain Mohammed of Ogun State equally called for an enlightenment programme to public functionaries to the region concerned to cement the existing bonds between Nigeria and Benin Republic.<sup>9</sup>

Guardian newspaper of 12 August, 1989 indeed reported that Governors called for Federal Presence in border areas the previous day saying that the states and councils alone could not keep the watch. They

complained that the terrain was usually difficult to police and the areas too far from state capitals, not to mention lack of funds to develop them for an effective Nigerian presence.<sup>10</sup>

The Sokoto State Governor Lt, Col. Ahmed Daku, also called for joint effort of the three-tiers of government to redress the imbalance between the centre and the peripheries, adding that border communities were critical areas of security as they first felt the impact of outside influence. He added that when people are neglected, they tend to go to where they can be catered for, hence “the government has to provide social services in border communities so as to pull them to the centre and discourage them from looking across the boarder for the good things of life”.<sup>11</sup>

On the nexus between Infrastructure and Security, Wing Commander Isa Mohammed, the military administrator of then Gongola noted that:

...existing socio-cultural ties in border communities made it difficult, on occasions to know who is a Nigerian. It is pathetic that all boarder councils headquarters in Gongola State views and listen to the Cameroonian radio and watch their television programmes with ease, while they cannot receive signals from their home states... With the dearth of social infrastructures in the border regions of the state that spans about 960 kilometres, the state could be termed the peripheral state of Nigeria, while its border communities could be regarded as the peripheral communities of the peripheral state.<sup>12</sup>

This situation in the borderlands of the Gongola alienated the communities in the frontier zone of the state or it offered the dual nationalities with approval from the second state. The solution to this problem is infrastructural facilities corroborating infrastructural panacea to border security lapses, Wing Commander, Mohammed, noted the need among other things to:

demarcate and survey the nation's boundaries in order to easily determine the nationality of trans-border communities; regularize trans-border trade as it enhances the economy of the border communities and reduce border hostility; provide social infrastructural facilities to enhance development in border regions; create more border posts to check illegal routes; set up more joint border patrols to check robbery and banditry; and set up joint trans-border commission to ensure peaceful coexistence in the border regions<sup>13</sup>

### **Boko Haram Offensive and the Trans-border Question**

The group's name has always been *Jama'atu Abli is-Sunnah Lid-Da'wativak-jihad*, which implies "Group of the people of Sunnah for Dawa and Jihad". It was briefly known as *Wilayat GarbIfrgiya*, meaning "West African Province", between March 2015 and August 2016 while it was part of the Islamic State.<sup>14</sup> It should be said that the mission of this group is to expand Islamic evangelism and making converts through every effective means in West Africa. The continuation of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Islamic Jihad was in view. It should be noted that the restricting State's military would serve as serious inhibition to movement across West African international boundaries and efforts at bringing local people under subjection. So, have at times been penetrated by force through persistent attacks and Southerners living in the northern part of Nigeria have to see reasons to quit the land. Based on the foregoing, since 2008, both ethnic and international boundaries of Nigeria have often been crossed for secret and open attacks of other Nigerian Citizens that bear Western orientation that is highly forbidden by the Boko Haram group.

The United Nations (UN) has said that the demarcation of the Cameroon-Nigeria border continues to face challenges due to insecurity in area affected by the presence of Boko Haram. There is a video contained in the 'Report of the Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres, on the activities of the UN Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS). Guterres also cited the unrest in the English-Speaking region of Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission. He noted further:

Insecurity in areas affected by Boko Haram continued to hinder the activities of the Cameroon-Nigeria Mixed Commission in northernmost regions of the land boundary, between the two countries. Social and political unrest in the English-Speaking northern-Western and Southern regions of Cameroon raised additional security concerns. As a result, the demarcation of the border and the subsequent emplacement of pillars continued to be a challenge.<sup>15</sup>

Against the background of trans-border insecurity noted above, parties to the Mixed Commission met in Lagos, Nigeria, on March 19-20, 2018 to finalise the implementation of reinforced security measures for field operations. In this regard, Mr Guterres noted the activities of his special Representative for West Africa and Sahel, Mohammed Ibn Chambas, who also served as chair of the Mixed Commission.

On the performance of his Representative, Guterres mentioned that Chambas, on March 18, 2018 in Abuja and on May 15 in Yaounde, engaged in bilateral consultations with the heads of the Nigerian and Cameroonian delegations to work on outstanding areas of disagreement. He avers:

Overall, the parties reaffirmed their commitment to implementing the judgement of the International Court of Justice, ICJ, of October 2002 and to fully demarcating the land and maritime boundaries shared by the two countries. My special Representative also successfully concluded fund raising efforts to replenish a trust fund for pillar construction along the land boundary. Consequently, pillar emplacement is expected to resume in October 2018 at the end of the rainy season.<sup>16</sup>

On the conflicts between herdsman and farmers, he noted that UNOWAS supported the ECOWAS commission in the development of a regional action plan on trans-human. Guterres also said that the office established an informal working group on pastoralism and conflict prevention with the participation of the UN and regional entities working on the issue.

There are reports on joint efforts of Nigeria, Chad and Niger in combating trans-border attacks of Boko Haram militants. On this note, consider:

DIFFA, Niger-Two Chadian army helicopters bombed Nigerian Boko Haram Positions on Sunday, killing several dozen militants near a village on the border with Niger, a senior Niger military official told Reuters. . . Niger and Chadian soldiers have been fighting the Islamist militants in a joint mission with Nigeria and Cameroon since March 2, in a bid to end Boko Haram. . . six-year insurgency in northern Nigeria that is threatening regional stability. The helicopters destroyed several vehicles and motorcycles carrying fighters in the Nigerian village of Djaboullam, which lies east across the border from the Niger town of Diffa. . . Niger and Chad had received intelligence that a group of Boko Haram fighters had gathered in the border village. . . The Niger military officer, who requested anonymity, said Boko Haram fighters had moved to Djaboullam after they were chased from other towns by the Nigerian army. Militants were also gathering in other border towns from where they routinely launched mortar rounds into Niger. . . The regional offensive launched this year comes as Nigeria. . . most populous country and biggest economy, prepares to hold elections on March 28. . . The offensive has succeeded in driving the militants from several towns and

districts they previously held. Chad and Niger forces captured the town of Damasak from the militants last week<sup>17</sup>

The media indeed, is a good channel for spreading information; those pieces of information that are generally known to be true and those that are subject to further verification. With this lengthy information on security measures in the borderlands of Nigeria by Boko Haram activities has been forgotten. Realistically, the situation is far beyond what the media paints of it. People are killed persistently in the country with little restraint from the Federal military might of Nigeria. Those who saw how the rising Biafra agitators were suppressed are not skeptic of Nigerian military might being capable of dragging Boko Haram and trans-human activities to extinction.

Ahmed Salkida, a journalist, reported the security situation in Nigeria-Chad borders. He states:

... With the rise of the waters in the Lake Chad basin, military campaigns are heavily limited, but for the insurgents, this has turned out to be the best season for carrying out isolated attacks as the last few weeks have proven. There has been a precipitous increase in Boko Haram attacks recently, yet most of the attacks go unreported. It is important, especially at a time when the government is planning on relocating IDPs for the military to be more transparent and allow independent reporting on the crisis. Those that are going to be relocated must never be misled to do so, they, and the rest of the Nigerian public have a right to independent reporting on the current conflict dynamics in the region, in order to decide whether or not, it is safe for them to return to their villages in north-east Nigeria and Lake Chad region at large.<sup>18</sup>

The report of Ahmed shows that not all gruesome atrocities committed by the Boko Haram group is reported. The attack of multinational military base in the Lake Chad area and the killing of ten (10) Nigerian soldiers has been derived.

### **Borderlands Economy and Unresolved Security Challenges**

The history of the influx of illegal immigrants into Nigeria dates back to the late 1975 following the ratification and coming into being of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).<sup>19</sup> For Nigeria, it was the economic boom which doted popular sectors that was the major attraction. People from neighbouring countries of Benin, Togo and others from mainly ECOWAS States were absorbed and adapted at various economic levels, to the extent that their presence constituted no danger to



Nigeria and her citizens: “these illegal immigrants were to be found engaged in works ranging from household keepers, teachers to construction site workers”. Part of a season of great opportunities and prosperity for the immigrants came in 1977, when /Nigeria hosted the All Black World Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC). Immigrants took part in major construction works done in Lagos, in preparation for the Black World Event. The construction works done include the work at Festival Towns, the National Theatre Iganmu, overhead bridges, the Lagos-Ibadan express way and other projects too numerous to list. Immigrants benefited from Nigeria’s booming economy since the introduction of ECOWAS.

However, the sudden, almost overwhelming effects of the world-wide economy recession of the early 1980s brought untold suffering to the Nigerian populace. Nigeria seemed worst hit by the worldwide recession due simply to her apparent dependence only on crude.

Following the commencement of production of the British North Sea Oil ion the late 1970s, there was little hope for Nigeria, seeming that her oil had progressively declined from 2.5 million barrels a day at its peaks in 1979 to 1.3 million barrels today.<sup>20</sup>

Since the economic recession became a matter of national concern, issues as regards illegal aliens and border security became part of governments priorities, while the question of survival in a foreign land boldly hit by recession drove a majority of jobless immigrants into desperate acts which brought about government interventions at various levels. Among others, two facts promoted the expedition of intervention by governments, namely, the presence of illegal immigrants across Nigerian lands and among Nigerian natives, their alleged involvement in crimes of varying proportions, and the hopelessness engendered by the existence of porous borders. It became certain that all government security initiatives could amount to nothing unless it commences with drastic measures towards border security.

It was such realization and government efforts that led to the institutionalization of the National Boundary commission (NBC), as the actual custodian of the international boundaries. The NBC served also in delimiting and maintaining the integrity of the recognised land and maritime borders of the country, as well as managing the status quo in the border areas to foster peaceful coexistence. “It is also the responsibility of the national boundary commission to keep record of vital geographic and other relevant date defending the respective inter-state boundaries. This entails defining and delimiting the particular contours of the entire stretch of

the boundaries and frequently resolving and managing disputes over boundaries which erupt between communities adjacent to the boundaries.

One of the major causes of border porosity and the alleged failure of government in ensuring maximum security at all borders was invariably the increasing number of illegal routes to Nigeria. A press library clip from the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) reported that government has identified 1,497 irregular routes used by illegal immigrants to gain entry into the country.<sup>21</sup> This development has made it difficult to, first, determine the actual number of routes used by illegal immigrants who enter Nigeria from time to time as the opening of new routes seemed to be progressive. Secondly, the effort of government would seem useless provided that such efforts had not succeeded in determining the number of routes. The first thing must be a conscious effort by government to prevent further attempts by illegal immigrants to open new routes by which unscrupulous elements and weapons of destruction were smuggled into the country through the borderlands of Nigeria.

The effort by the government at halting the effects of border porosity was deemed short sighted and hopeless unless such efforts are expanded to include a vigorous strive by the government to introduce a policy that would stop illegal border and cross-border criminal activities.

There is hardly any criminal act and violence in Nigeria that could be remotely traced to the relative ease with which armed gangs enter and exit through many of our 149 borders. Smuggling of contraband goods, arms and human trafficking, mercenary activities directly linked to religious violence, are some of the vices attributable to the porous borders.<sup>22</sup>

Borders are loosely patrolled by corrupt agencies. It is common knowledge that a subtle slip of cash anywhere around the borders so easily circumvented, it is hard to see how Nigeria will ever be able to control the 4,000-km border it shares with four countries. People and goods are in constant transit at all Nigerian border.

In the southern border areas, especially the Seme-Badagry – Idiroko axis, smuggling activities have continued unabated thereby posing serious threats to the nation's economy. The textile industry for instance is a major casualty as virtually all the leading local textile mills have been shut down since their products could not compete with importes but cheaply priced wax and print materials brought through the borders. Several aspects of Nigeria's once buoyant economy are suffering serious setbacks as a result of the challenges of porous borders.<sup>23</sup>

### **Policy Options on Border Security**

Since the 1960s, scholars of African border studies have advanced several ideas regarding what they considered a healthy border and how African borders could look like those in Europe and other regions with highly secured international boundaries. On this note, they were divided by recommendations which were categorized into two – the revisionists and the anti-revisionists perspectives. The revisionists believe that for the fact that Africans were not consulted in the 1884-1885 Berlin delimitation of African lands for the interest of the colonizers and given the enormous conflicts and other challenges that arose from this land demarcations, African borders should be revisited and should be demarcated by Africans themselves considering the cultural and historical background of the people. In this view, the perspective of Mutua gives information on the revisionists dictum. He asserts thus:

... The new map of Africa should hold no more than 15 states as opposed to 50 today. Based on the criteria, the map of Africa creates new countries by abolishing some and combining others. The new Republic of Kusini (which means “South” in the Kiswahili language) would take in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi-nations with shared historical, economic and ethnic interests. The new Egypt would combine Egypt and Arabic Sudan. Nubia the ancient name for Southern Sudan, would bring together Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Southern Sudan. Mali-named for an ancient empire would swallow up Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Gambia, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. Djibouti, the Ogadeen Province of Ethiopia and Kenyan northern province would be merged with Somalia... Congo would continue ethnically. Similar people of Zaire, Congo, Burundi, the Central Africa Republic and Rwanda, while Ghana, another ancient kingdom would consist of Ghana, Ivory Coast, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and Sao Tome and Principe. Benin-named for a sprawling ancient kingdom-would take in Chad, Burkina Faso and Niger. Algeria and Angola remain the same while Libya takes over Tunisia. Morocco, Western Sahara and Mauritania becomes Sahara. The new State of *Kiswani* – which means “island” in Kiswahili – brings together Madagascar, Mauritius and the Comoros...<sup>24</sup>

The idea of Mutua as stated above, may not be considered the right model for boundary revision in Africa. Instead of solving the unresolved problems associated with ethnicity, it would certainly widen the horizon, thereby making it a complex situation. The region has ways of resolving

internal ethnicity prone challenges within African States, merging the states by the Mutua's formula would, no doubt, increase the ethnic groups in the new states and increase inherent challenges therein.<sup>25</sup>

The anti-revisionists perspective disproves the need to restructure the African international boundaries inherited from colonization. In this view, the cost of redrawing the borders might be far reaching, but the integration of cross-border people would solve the problem of disharmony and integrate them. Instead of border being seen as a potential source of disharmony and dispute, it could be regarded as a potential source of harmony and cooperation. Speaking on the integration roles of border, Aguibou mentions among other things that,

Establishing cross-border areas could help strengthen sub-regional integration. The process should certainly benefit from a partnership framework to coordinate efforts between states, local authorities, private actors and aid agencies, collectively manage border areas and implement development plans. Cross-border areas could also be focal points to harmonize sectoral policies between countries and endow the idea of a West African community space with greater coherence. As part of cross-border cooperation, the cross-border areas would certainly allow greater flexibility in addressing such problems as: Regulating migration, environmental management, security...<sup>26</sup>

The reality on ground is a sharp contrast to the idea of Aguibou. If international boundaries in Africa could truly be the potential source of regional integration, it should be expected that since the past three decades that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established, problems such as transborder religious offensives, cross-border criminal activities and smuggling of contraband goods should have received joint solution by the states affected. This situation, however, suggests that any invention which fails to take recourse from a people's historical background would ever remain foreign and would continually pose problems. Among the colonizers, the belief that the boundaries they made without visiting those lands could result to irredeemable challenges was there. On this note, Lord Salisbury observes,

We have been engaged in drawing lines upon maps where no white man's foot ever trod; we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were.<sup>27</sup>

The question succeeding generation has failed to ask regarding the international boundaries of Africa is whether the works of an arm-chair commentator has ever yielded any historical dividend. In like manner, how do we expect the decisions of arm-chair boundary – makers in Europe who never visited the land to offer any historical importance to present generation of African soil. Corroborating the view that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was betrayer, professor Wole Soyinka's interview with *The Guardian* becomes timely in this paper.

One hundred years ago at the Berlin Conference, the colonial powers that ruled Africa met to divvy up their interests into States, lumping various peoples and tribes together in some places, or slicing them apart in others like some demented tailor who paid no attention to the fabric colour or pattern of the quilt he was patching together. One of the biggest disappointments of the Organization of African Unity when it came into being more than 20 years ago was that it failed to address the issue... (We) should sit down with square rule and compass and redesign the boundaries of African nations.<sup>28</sup>

Based on the forgoing debates whether to retain or to redraw African map, it could be observed that opinions favour revision or redrawing African map.

### **Conclusion**

This paper is indeed a paradigm of an idea that has been neglected in the country. It is a paradox that even those who have advocated for national integration, a number of them have frustrated their efforts by their actions when they were given administrative positions. If this assertion is wrong, then, the following questions require critical answers. How could a Professor of History in Nigeria suggest the removal of History from secondary school curriculum when he has taught the utility of history in nation building? What are the implications of the difference in tuition fees of States Universities between their indigenes and non-indigenes? What does it imply for a political leader to watch people from other ethnic groups massacred without obvious reactions that can permanently stop the instigators of these atrocities?

All these are pointers to the fact that national integration has failed and that a more realistic approach should be advanced. Unrestricted killings of fellow nationals by militants whose claims are vague and the obvious inability of the government to stopping this situation, marks the burial of national

integration in Nigeria. Based on these realities on ground, the paper firmly suggests that Nigeria's international boundaries should be re-drawn to divvy up the north and south into independent states. The south could further be divided into three; south-east, south-south and south-west. This suggestion, indeed, does not imply tribal mindfulness of the writer, but, precipitated by the gruesome and persistent killings of nationals which may be linked to cross-border terrorist networks. By this approach, the emerging states created through ethnic line, could run their affairs and would be responsible for the consequences of their actions. Blood of nationals who had died for no clear cause supersedes the sovereignty of the state that could not protect them.

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