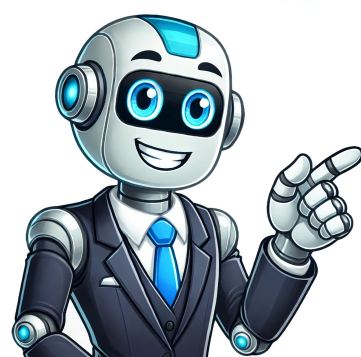


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Click Here To Listen To Trust Radio Live Protesters are currently out on the streets of Abuja, Nigerias capital City and Lagos, commercial capital of the largest black nation on earth.The protests organised by the Take It Back Movement, are ongoing despite repeated warnings by the police. In Abuja, Omoeye Sowore, a leader of the movement, and Deji Adeyanju, human rights lawyer, were seen leading the protest, resisting attempts of police officers to take them off the streets.SPONSOR AD In Lagos, group of protesters were seen with placards in Ikeja, capital of the state.In Rivers, the organisers converged on Isaac Boro Park in Port Harcourt, but were teargassed before the protest gained momentum.The police authorities had warned against the protest, saying scheduling it to hold on the same day designated by the government as National Police Day was unacceptable.In a statement, ACP Olumuyiwa Adejobi, Force Public Relations Officer, saidthe planned protest appears to be a deliberate attempt to tarnish the image of the Nigeria Police and, by extension, the nation.The statement said, The Nigeria Police Force has read in the news that a group called Take It Back Movement is planning a protest across various states of the Federation, most especially the Federal Capital Territory, scheduled to hold on Monday 7th April, 2025, a day earmarked by the Federal Government as the National Police Day, to celebrate the resilience and dedication of officers and men of the Nigeria Police Force.While not against the exercise of citizens right to peaceful assembly and association in Nigeria as enshrined in the Constitution, the Nigeria Police Force is deeply concerned about the motive behind such protest scheduled on the same day as the contributions of the Nigeria Police Force to national security is to be celebrated, putting into consideration that such glamorous event would bring together dignitaries from all spheres of life both internationally and within the country, including Foreign Inspectors-General of Police and Diplomats.In line with best global practices adopted by nations in celebrating the achievements of its Police institution, the Nigerian Government has taken the bull by the horns by declaring every April 7 as National Police Day.The rationale behind staging a nationwide protest on the same day is, however, questionable and perceived to be a deliberate attempt and unpatriotic act that is capable of rubbishing and maligning the image of the Nigeria Police and the nation as a whole.The Nigeria Police Force hereby advises the organisers to shelve this planned protest as it is ill-timed and mischievous.The statement called on individuals intending to join the protest to engage in discussions with appropriate government agencies instead of taking to the streets.The take-it-back movement said it called for a nationwide demonstration to address what it called the authoritarianism of President Bola Tinubu administration, abuse of human rights and the misuse of the Cybercrime Act.In his first two years in office, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu has shown a sustained commitment to addressing Nigerias complex security challengesestablishing new security structures and increasing budgetary allocations to the sector, among other measures. Yet, amid a rising tide of violent crimes nationwide, the country has yet to reach a level of security that supports its broader development goals. This article assesses the presidents mid-term performance on security and outlines strategies to translate his commitments into concrete improvements in national security and public safety.Inaugurated on May 29, 2023, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu inherited a nation grappling with a multifaceted and deeply entrenched security crisis. In the years preceding his tenure, Nigeria witnessed escalating insecurity that posed serious threats to national stability, governance, and socio-economic development. Terrorismprimarily orchestrated by Jamaat Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Dawah wal-Jihd (JAS) and the Islamic State West Africa Province (ISWAP)continued to ravage the Northeast. Banditry and kidnapping for ransom had become rampant, particularly in the northwestern and north-central states of Zamfara, Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto, and Niger. Several Northerncentral states also experienced an intensification of the protracted farmer-herder conflicts, compounded by rising banditry. Separatist agitations led by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and its armed wing, the Eastern Security Networksas well as opportunistic violence by so-called unknown gunmenfurther fuelled instability in the Southeast. Meanwhile, urban centres such as Abuja, Lagos, and Calabar reported high incidences of violent crime.SPONSOR AD This complex and deteriorating security landscape formed the critical backdrop against which the Tinubu administrations Renewed Hope Agenda would be tested. The agenda promised a decisive overhaul. At mid-term, however, the question remains: Has this strategy brought real and sustained improvements? Highs and lows of ECOWAS @50 Rivers returning to normalcySecurity sector governance and reformThe administration significantly increased the national defence allocation from N1.25 trillion in 2023 to N3.25 trillion in 2024a 160% riseand further to N4.91 trillion in 2025. This was aimed at addressing chronic underfunding and outdated equipment. These allocations were bolstered by harmonised salary increases for security personnel and expanded annual recruitment drives, such as increasing the Nigeria Police recruitment quota from 10,000 to 30,000.Beyond funding and personnel, the administration has focused on structural reform and improved coordination. Efforts have been made to foster inter-agency cooperation among the military, State Security Service, police, and civil defence corps, with directives issued for intelligence-sharing and harmonised operations. Technology has been embraced to enhance intelligence gathering and operational effectivenessevidenced by the establishment of a National Digital Forensic Laboratory and the deployment of digital surveillance tools. Discussions around constitutional amendments for state police and the creation of a regulatory body for small arms and light weapons also point to a broader reform agenda.Nonetheless, the administrations performance in security sector governance is not without shortcomings. A major concern is the continued lack of clear delineation of strategic, tactical, and operational roles among security sector ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs). There has also been a failure to regularly convene National Security Council meetings, a vital forum for high-level policy coordination and strategic decision-making. Compounding these issues is the non-review of key national security instrumentsincluding the National Defence Policy, National Security Strategy, National Counter-Terrorism Strategy, and the Policy Framework for Countering Violent Extremismwhich remain outdated despite rapidly evolving threats.Another persistent weakness is the lack of robust accountability mechanisms. While some leadership changes have occurred, there remains no clearly defined or consistently applied process for holding security leaders accountable for operational failures or security lapses. This accountability gap raises questions about the long-term sustainability and effectiveness of the reforms under way.securityBorder managementPresident Tinubus administration has made significant strides in enhancing border security by leveraging technology and inter-agency collaboration. A notable achievement is the e-border surveillance system launched on December 10, 2024, at the Bola Ahmed Tinubu Technology Innovation Complex. This system, operated by 250 highly trained personnel from the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) on 24-hour shifts, integrates data from INTERPOL and various Nigerian security agencies to identify and intercept persons of interest, aiming to combat irregular migration. Furthermore, the administration has increased national defence allocations and invested in advanced equipment, including drones, to improve border mapping and operational efficiency.Despite these efforts, Nigerias borders remain highly porous, with intelligence indicating over 1,400 illegal routes into the country, vastly outnumbering the 84 approved border control posts along Nigerias 4,047 km land border. This permeability continues to facilitate criminal activities like banditry, terrorism, and smuggling. While the Nigeria Customs Service (NCS) has reported a significant surge in revenue, partly attributed to technological deployment and tightened enforcement, the scale of illicit activities highlights the need for sustained and comprehensive measures to secure the nations frontiers and address the deeply entrenched issues of corruption and logistical challenges. In early May 2025, the Minister of Defence and the Chief of Army Staff attributed the resurgence of terror attacks in mainly the northeast of Nigeria to porous borders.CybersecurityRecognising the growing digital threats to national security, the Tinubu administration has placed increasing emphasis on cybersecurity. At mid-term, its approach reflects a mix of legislative reform, institutional strengthening, and strategic actionthough challenges remain significant.A central achievement is the enactment of the Cybercrime (Prohibition, Prevention, etc.) Act (Amendment) 2024, which updated the 2015 law. The amendment introduces stiffer penalties, clarifies legal definitions, and facilitates international cooperation in cybercrime investigations. It also supports the operations of the newly established National Cyber Security Council.The Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) has led efforts to coordinate national cybersecurity strategy, including the implementation of the National Cybersecurity Policy and Strategy (NCPS). Regulatory agencies such as the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC) and the National Information Technology Development Agency (NITDA) are also playing critical roles. The National Digital Forensic Laboratory, operational under this framework, has enhanced the capacity of law enforcement and the military to investigate and prosecute cybercrimes.Capacity building has been a key focus, with training programmes rolled out for cybersecurity professionals and law enforcement personnel in areas such as digital forensics and incident response. Public awareness campaigns have also been launched to improve digital hygiene and reduce vulnerability among internet users. Notably, the administration has taken firm action against cyber-enabled financial crimes. A notable case involved a cryptocurrency platform Binance, whose operations reportedly facilitated economic sabotage worth billions of dollars linked to the freezing of assets. Despite these gains, Nigerias cyber environment remains volatile. In 2024 alone, reported cases of cyber-related financial fraud surged by 45%, resulting in estimated losses exceeding N150 billion (about \$180 million). High-profile incidents included the defacement of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) website and a breach at fintech giant Flutterwave, which led to unauthorised transfers totalling roughly N11 billion (around \$7 million). Digital illiteracy among large segments of the population continues to make individuals easy targets for cybercriminals. Furthermore, law enforcement agencies face resource and skill gaps that undermine the effective enforcement of existing cybersecurity laws. Civil society organisations have also voiced concern over the potential misuse of the Cybercrime Act, especially its application against journalists and activistsraising broader questions about the balance between national security and civil liberties.The dynamic nature of cyber threats demands continuous policy adaptation and sustained investment. Meeting this challenge will require not just infrastructure and legislation, but also institutional resilience and public trust.Has there been a reduction in terrorism, banditry, and kidnappings?Recent remarks by the Ministers of Defence, the National Security Adviser, and the Chief of Defence Staff in April and May 2025 suggest that over 3,496 insurgents were reportedly killed, and more than 121,000 terrorists and their family members surrendered in the Northeast. Nationwide, security agencies claim to have arrested over 30,000 suspects. From January 1 to December 31, 2024, Nigerian military forces reported killing 10,539 terrorists, capturing 12,538 suspects, and rescuing 7,063 hostages.Beacon Security and Intelligence Limited, in a comparative analysis of the last two years of former President Muhammadu Buharis administration and the current Tinubu administration, reported 18,572 deaths, 9,795 abductions, and 9,483 violent incidents between July 2021 and May 2023. In comparison, from June 2023 to April 2025, the firm recorded 17,617 fatalities, 16,462 abductions, and 15,437 violent incidents. This indicates that while the Tinubu administration has reduced fatalities, incidents of abduction and violence remain high. The National Bureau of Statistics Crime Experience and Security Perception Survey (CESPS) for 2024 painted a similarly alarming picture. Published on 17 December 2024, the report offered a granular albeit contestedview of crime experiences and public perceptions of safety between May 2023 and April 2024. It underscored Nigerias pervasive insecurity, the economic cost of criminality, and the deepening erosion of public trust in law enforcement.One of the most disturbing findings in CESPS 2024 was the reported rise in kidnappings and ransom payments. The survey estimated 2.2 million kidnapping incidents during the period, with total ransoms paid amounting to approximately N2.2 trillion. This translates to an average ransom of N2.67 million per incident, with 65% of affected households reportedly paying to secure the release of loved ones. If accurate, these figures reveal a country where kidnapping has become a systemic, economically devastating industry.The discrepancies between operational claims and on-the-ground realities underscore a troubling truth: despite tactical gains, a substantial and sustained reduction in overall insecurity remains elusive.Effort to decentralise securityTwo policy proposals central to the Tinubu administrations security reform agenda—the creation of state police and the implementation of local government autonomyremain unrealised. Both would significantly decentralise Nigerias highly centralised security framework.In the absence of such reforms, insecurity continues to deteriorate in many states. In April 2025, governors from both the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) and the opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) publicly expressed grave concerns over the worsening security situation. Governor Babagana Zulum of Borno State (APC) lamented the resurgence of insurgent attacks, stating that the state was losing ground to daily kidnappings and violence. Similarly, Governor Caleb Mutwang of Plateau State (PDP) described the violence in his state as a systematic and premeditated campaign to displace communities. He issued a public apology to affected families, admitting government failure to protect lives.Governor Hyacinth Alia of Benue State (APC) echoed their concerns, declaring that his state was under relentless siege from terrorists and armed militias, many of whom he claimed were non-Nigerians. He pleaded for emergency federal support to repel these invaders. The bipartisan consensus among governors—regardless of political affiliation—illustrates the national scope and severity of the security crisis. In a recent interview with Channels Television, Daniel Bwala, Special Adviser to the President on Policy Communication, criticised state governors for what he described as a lack of commitment to addressing security challenges. Bwala alleged that despite receiving monthly security votes ranging from N1 billion to N3 billion, some governors allocated as little as N20 million to key federal security agencies such as the police, SSS, and the army for operational costs. He argued that directing even N1 billion of these funds towards purchasing drones and surveillance equipment could transform security operations at the state level.Bwalas critique aligns with President Tinubus repeated calls for greater state-level collaboration. The president has emphasised that national security is a shared responsibility, urging governors to work closely with security chiefs and local communities. He has directed federal security agencies to deepen engagement with state and grassroots leaders, noting that some of these problems are community-related and that sub-national actors must play a more proactive role in promoting peace and stability.On 12 May 2025, in a coordinated initiative with state governors, President Tinubu ordered the recruitment of over 129,000 armed operatives to protect Nigerias 1,129 forest reserves. Each state is expected to recruit between 2,000 and 5,000 forest guards, who will be supervised by the Office of the National Security Adviser and the Ministry of Environment. If effectively implemented, this initiative could begin to reclaim Nigerias vast, largely ungoverned forested areasnow strongholds for various non-state armed groups.Way forwardThe path to sustainable national security lies in addressing the underlying drivers of insecurity. Efforts in poverty alleviation, youth employment, and rural development are crucial to reducing the population of those vulnerable to recruitment by violent and criminal groups. Tackling perennial farmer-herder conflicts through structured dialogue and modern land management, combined with support for victims and rehabilitation of surrendered fighters, will help foster peace and social cohesion.While President Tinubus administration has demonstrated a measure of commitment, achieving Nigerias national security goals within the remaining tenure requires a recalibrated strategy. This includes transparent governance, decentralised but coordinated security frameworks, fortified borders, adaptive cybersecurity protocols, and urgent action on socio-economic inequalities.Only through such a holistic and resolute approach can Nigeria shift from aspirational rhetoric to enduring security and national stability.Dr Kabir Adamu is a security risk management and intelligence expert. He is the founder and CEO of Beacon Security and Intelligence Ltd. He contributed this piece exclusively for this special edition.The political landscape is gradually roaring to life. For the regular Nigerian, this is usually both good and bad news. The good news is that the season comes with a potential for incremental progress and the bad news is that it is also a time for a zero-sum showdown between the titans. And when such clashes occur, it is usually the population that bears the consequences.It has been a wild two years, and it is possible that the two years until elections in 2027 will be even wilder. The severe economic shocks caused by the policies of the Tinubu government did not make a lot of friends for the administration among the regular folk, and there is talk of estrangement and betrayal among the elite. If recent developments in the political arena are anything to go by, it is safe to say that opposition politicians are planning the Goodluck treatment for Tinubu, but the problem is that Tinubu is no Goodluck.SPONSOR AD Disgruntled elements within the political fold that brought Tinubu to power in 2023, working with opposition parties, had earmarked 2025 as the time to create a strong and unified opposition that would give the ruling APC a run for its money. About six months in, however, things seem to have fallen apart.Veteran Nigerian politician Atiku Abubakar the main opposition PDP presidential candidate in the previous election was leading the strategy of the planned coalition. He followed up his push by holding meetings across the country with several notable politicians including former LP presidential candidate, Peter Obi.With poverty on the rise due to Tinubus painful economic reforms, such as the removal of petrol subsidy and floating the naira, the opposition planned to transform public disillusionment into real votes. With 12 out of the 36 governors in Nigeria already in its fold, all that the PDP needed was to form a coalition with Obi and his Obidient movement to trounce Tinubu, who won the 2023 election with just 36.6 per cent of the votes.However, the opposition plan may well have fallen apart months before the election season. Not only have the PDP governors ruled out the possibility of a coalition, but some have finalised plans to either join the ruling APC or enter into a strategic partnership with Tinubu, likely through facilitation by his PDP lieutenant, FCT minister Nyesom Wike.Governor Sheriff Oborewori of Delta State, a major stronghold of the PDP, was the first to announce his defection to the APC, ending the PDPs 26-year rule of the oil-rich state. To add insult to injury, former governor Ifeanyi Okowa, Atikus running mate in 2023, followed suit.Things are no doubt getting perilous, and the future looks bleak for the fortunes of former vice president Abubakars coalition. Indeed, the counting of PDP governors crossing over to APC has begun. Is the opposition coalition therefore dead on arrival?In Akwa Ibom, another state that has been ruled by the PDP for the past 26 years, Governor Umo Eno announced that he would be supporting Tinubu in the 2027 election. Rivers State, a hitherto stronghold of the PDP, is firmly in Tinubus grip since the president declared a state of emergency and all elected officials were suspended.In Adamawa State where Atiku is from, Governor Ahmadu Fintiri has moved to the camp of Atikus nemesis, Wike. Plateau State Governor Caleb Mutwang has also followed suit while Governor Ademola Adeleke of Osun State is in talks with Tinubus camp as he seeks reelection next year.BauchI State Governor Bala Mohammed, who doubles as the chairman of the PDP governors forum, has refused to see eye to eye with Atiku due to their longstanding feud. This implies that only four governors in the PDP are currently fully committed to the partys victory at the next poll. To add insult to injury, the PDP party organ continues to face internal friction as attempts to remove the acting national chairman, Umar Damagum, have been frustrated by various courts.The Labour Party remains in disarray. The national chairman of the party, Julius Aburu, has blocked all attempts by Obi to take charge of the party. This has caused Obis lieutenants like Valentine Ozigbo and Kenneth Okonkwo to walk away. A nebulous Supreme Court judgment has given both sides the impetus to claim ownership of the party which has led to more confusion.The party has lost most of its federal lawmakers and its sole governor, Alex Otti of Abia State, is being courted by the APC to enter into a strategic alliance with Tinubu. In Kano, Rabiu Musa Kwankwaso of the NNPP, who came fourth in the previous presidential election and maintains a firm grip on the state, has also been in talks with Tinubu as evidenced by the defection of some of his lieutenants.Akure, which has produced the largest number of voters in the past three elections, remains the most strategic state in the country. Opposition in the federal parliament has also joined hands with the ruling party. Organised labour unions, renowned for holding the governments feet to the fire, are seemingly muted in recent months, which has not gone unnoticed.Tinubus reelection is however not fait accompli. As the embattled AG, Chairman of the PDP said, 2027 may not be a battle between the APC and opposition PDP. It may be between Tinubu/APC vs Nigerians.This election in 2027 is not about how many governors you have or how many leaders. Its about Tinubu and Nigerians, Damagum told reporters back in April, drawing a line between political leadership and the harsh realities faced by citizens under the current administration. He described Nigeria as a country where daily survival has become a challenge for ordinary people and urged voters to see the polls as an opportunity to hold the government accountable.The ordinary man is feeling the pain, and the decision is his. So I want to use this opportunity to tell Nigerians that it is their election. It is APC versus Nigerians.Its not APC versus any governor or senator or anything, but APC versus Nigerians. So I want to urge all of us to close ranks and rescue ourselves from this hardship that is inflicted on us by design, not by any coincidence, he said.So may be there wont be a titanic clash between two elephants in 2027. But then the implication is that the fight will be between an elephant and a whole bunch of helpless guinea pigs. The outcome would be less than ideal, while several houses were reportedly killed, while several houses were set ablaze in two separate attacks in Bokkos and Bassa LGAs of Plateau State on Tuesday.Five other people, including women, sustained injuries during the attacks and are currently receiving treatment at a hospital in Bokkos. The incidents occurred just hours after an earlier attack in which seven members of a family were killed in the Kopmur community, Mushere District of Bokkos.SPONSOR AD Earlier this week, Daily Trust reported the killing of a clergyman, Reverend Mikang Lekyil, who was shot dead by suspected kidnappers in Kwakas.Two women, including the reverends wife, were also injured in the attack.The clergymans murder was allegedly followed by the burning of a Fulani settlement in the Dingak community. These developments have heightened tensions in the Bokkos area.On Tuesday alone, seven people were reportedly killed in Kopmur, adding to the growing unrest.Speaking on the renewed violence, the Plateau State chairman of the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), Ibrahim Yusuf Babayo, confirmed that one of the attacks took place in Tangoron, Bassa LGA, while the second occurred in Mushere, Bokkos LGA.He said gunmen killed a herder and opened fire on grazing cattle, resulting in the killing of nine animals.He said he had visited the scene and informed the General Officer Commanding (GOC) 3 Division of the Nigerian Army and the state police command, who advised calm.Also reacting, the state chairman of the Gan Allah Fulani Development Association (GAFDAN), Garba Abdullahi, condemned the killings and urged security agencies to launch a thorough investigation and bring the perpetrators to justice.However, when contacted, spokespersons for Operation Safe Haven, Major Samson Zakari, and the Plateau State Police Command, DSP Alabo Alfred, had not responded to calls or messages from Daily Trust as of the time of filing this report.In a contrasting statement, the Chairman of the Bokkos Cultural Development Council (BCDC), Farmasum Fuddang, claimed that reported killings of herdiers in Mushere Central may be an attempt to divert attention from previous attacks allegedly carried out by herdiers on farming communities.If such an incident occurred, they should report it to the appropriate security agencies. Making such claims only points to their culpability in previous attacks on our people, he said.Daily Trust notes that Bokkos and other parts of Plateau State have for years been plagued by recurring clashes between farmers and herding communities, with both sides accusing each other of deadly attacks and reprisals. 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