

# Economic Reforms and National Security in the Nigerian Fourth Republic

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## ABSTRACT

Nigeria's internal security landscape has deteriorated in fundamental rule. Old security threats have remained or assumed a worrisome dimension while new threats have emerged. Some of the old threats that assumed new dimension include small arm and light weapons proliferation, assassination, human trafficking, kidnapping and ethno-religious conflicts. The paper examine the nature of economic reforms in Nigeria, the persistent causes of hindrances to economic reforms in Nigeria, effects of economic reforms on national security and recommendations on how best the government can incorporate social security component in the practice of democracy. The study adopted the documentary approach using textbooks, journals, internet materials. The study reveals that various economic reforms presented, severe economic setbacks, grinding poverty and heightened of inequality which is poison to democracy, political development and national security and country's protracted inability to develop along democratic walls for years is in part related to factors that are themselves related to poverty directly or indirectly. In the meantime, the graving pauperization of the citizen has been impounded by the apparent retreat of the Nigerian state under the pressure. The study recommends that; there should be the adoption of a more pro-active and realistic measures in the might of the Nigerian economy and its prevalent crisis, and such measures should include budget discipline, and the pursuit of policies and programmes that have positive effect on the health of the occurrence and the people general. This will involve the revival of agriculture and rural development resuscitating the collapsed industries and re-focusing on the issue of equity and justice on the distribution of resources from the oil producing state of Nigeria. The economic conduction which is crucial in the determination of the existence of democracy and liberty should be met. Extreme differences in the distribution of wealth may impede the sustainability of democracy. Unless democracy is used as a means of responding to the acute needs of the people such as food, security, shelter, and clothing, the people will not be strong enough to appreciate and sustain it.

**Keywords :** Security, National Security, Economic reforms and effects of Nigeria economy

## I. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria's internal security landscape has deteriorated in fundamental rule. Old security threats have remained or assumed a worrisome dimension while new threats have emerged. Some of the old threats that assumed new dimension include small arm and light weapons (SALWS) proliferation, assassination, human trafficking, kidnapping and ethno-religious

conflicts. It was however reported that Nigeria witnessed at least 187 ethno-religious conflicts between May 1999 and 2009 (BBC News, 2012). To that extend however, the new threats that have assumed currency in the Nigeria political landscape of the fourth republic included the activities of the Islamic sect, Boko-Haram which has been the prevalence of the occupation of the north-eastern Nigeria, as well as the spate of bomb blast in selected

regions of the Nigerian federation. It is for instance, conceivable that political stability and national security institute an important, if not the most important, concern of the neocolonial state in Africa, Nigeria inclusive.

The security imperative over enormous costs to the public treasury, not only do the apparatuses of internal security and external defence seek and obtain a large portion of the state budget, they have also taken over the very management of the state in a number of countries. The problems of security that seem to retain the attention of African states are those having to do with armed conflicts, political disturbances likely to threaten public order, and banditry (Ntalaja, 2008). Ntalaja went further to say that contrary to the narrow definition of security by the neocolonial state the concept of human security is broadly defined here to go properly to include basic human needs such as minimum nutrition requirements for sustainable livelihoods, basic education and access to primary health care, clean water, decent housing and a healthy environment. Failure to meet those basic needs according to him, reinforces poverty and exposes people to social deprivation and insecurity. Political rhetoric notwithstanding, poverty eradication and the promotion of personal or human security as a condition of decent livelihood have never become real priorities in developing countries, particularly in Africa. State capacity for dealing with these issues remains extremely weak and in some cases, the lack of capacity is accompanied by total indifference by political authorities with regard to human security (Ntalaja, 2008:8).

## **II. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

The consequences of economic reforms occasioned inequality, poverty, unemployment and hunger, which are the tendency that breeds violence by the individuals against their government. A number of programmes were introduced in Nigeria by

successive government as part of economic reform agenda and these reforms include the structural adjustment programme (SAP), national economic empowerment and development strategy (NEEDS), Yar'Adua Seven Point Agenda, and of course, the current administration's very rich entry in terms of its economic reforms conception, but however, the more economic welfare of the populace are lightened and greatly disadvantaged. As a result of this economic insecurity, Nigerians have always asked themselves whether their problem is that of socio-economic reforms or, the operators, who will allow them is a casual linkage between the economic reform programme of a given political community or state and its national security hence retardation of socio-economic development, destruction of social capital and infrastructural decay which has its resultant situation in high cost of living, unemployment, poverty as well as the rate of the standard of living of the populace and national security of such state is no doubt, threatened when the majority drive to live, and business ecology are not strengthened. Given the large number of the productive age (Youth) are with no means to earn legitimate livelihood in Nigeria, quite often occasions insecurity because the rising expectation and hope of the people, especially youth is dashed and this in turn undermines their gravitation to crimes and criminality.

## **III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

In addition to the problem raised under the statement of problem, the study also poses the following questions.

- i. What is the nature of economic reform in Nigeria?
- ii. Are the reforms their own hindrances or the operators?
- iii. To what extent has Nigeria's successive reforms impacted positively on the Nigerian's lives?

- iv. How is the psychological warfare of the people affected as a result of deprivation resulting from poverty?
- v. How does economic reforms occasions national security, or otherwise the linkages?

#### **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The general objectives of this study are to examine the inter-link between socio-economic reforms and national security in Nigeria's fourth republic. Specifically the study seeks to.

- i. To examine the nature of economic reforms in Nigeria.
- ii. To investigate the persistent causes of hindrances to economic reforms in Nigeria to find out what effects of economic reform.
- iii. To assess the effect of economic reforms on national security.
- iv. Explore recommendations on how best the government can incorporate social security component in the practice of democracy.

#### **IV. METHODOLOGY**

The researcher underpinned by the qualitative approach to research in addition to content analysis. In other words, the study is both descriptive and analytical. The secondary method of data collection was used in the study. Example of the secondary source used in the study are textbooks, published, unpublished works, seminar papers, periodicals, newspapers, magazines, journal articles and online publications on economic reforms, national development and national security.

#### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Government-led-development was the ruling economic development paradigm the private sectors of the economy-agriculture, commerce, services, (especially transportation) industry etc. government designed what are known as national development plans, meant to guide the nation as its development

path. In the 1960s and 1970s government had sufficient financial resources to finance a reasonable proportion of each development plan. By the middle of the 1990s however, the nation had become saddled with an excruciating external debt burden, falling terms of trade in the international market place, slow growth of output, high rate of unemployment etc. that the government had to do a rethink of the underlying philosophy of development in Nigeria. The result was a shift in the economic development paradigm from government-led to private sector led development. In line with this paradigm shift was the need to relief every sector of all strangulating regulations that had hitherto characterized every sector in government's bid to have firm control over every sector and ensure that they all more in line with government's perceived goals for the nation. Therefore, by the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 1986 a programme was fashioned out for the nation called the structural adjustment programme (SAP). The SAP attempted to move the country away from government direct-control of economic activities to indirect control, (i.e. control of economic activities through the market forces). So, all sectors of the economy were deregulated-trade, exchange, finance, industry etc. (Adegbile, 2005).

Since economic reform has become a global issue in the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the strategic institution of capitalism, the World Bank and the international monetary fund (IMF) and their affiliates, started facilitating the reform of economic kind in the developed socialist states and most particularly, in the developing or underdeveloped economies of the world. It is quite indispensable to even if brief, cross-examine a few selected countries and brings to the fore how experiences have shown economic reforms reinforcing economic growth and development.

#### **National Security**

There is no universally accepted definition of national security. The variety of definitions provides an overview of the many usages of this concept. The concept still remains ambiguous, having originated

from simpler definitions which initially emphasized the freedom from military threat and political coercion to later increase in sophistication and include other forms of non-military security as suited the circumstances of the time. A typical dictionary definition, however in this case from the Macmillan Dictionary (online version), defines the term as “the protection or the safety of a country’s secrets and its citizens” emphasizing the overall security of a nation and a nation-state. Similarly, Walter Lippmann, in 1943, defined national security in terms of war saying that “a nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war. A later definition by Harold Laswell, a political scientists in 1950, looks at national security from almost the same aspect, that of external coercion. From whichever perspective it is seeing viewed, national security connotes liberty or freedom from foreign dictation.

**National Security:** The Nigerian perspective safeguarding the sovereign, independence and territorial integrity of the state were the central pillar of Nigerian national security, policy. Other guiding principles were African unity and independence non-intervention in the universal affairs of other states, and regional economic development and security cooperation. Subordinate goals included military self-sufficiency and regional leadership. In pursuing these goals, Nigeria was diplomatic and flexible but it employed coercive methods or measured force when necessary. Nigeria was an active participant in the United Nations (UN), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and ECOWAS. In 1990 the leadership seemed intent on retrenchment, according priority to domestic political and economic problems, and displayed a nature and conciliatory approach to foreign policy (online retrieved 28 April, 2014).

Nigeria’s location on the gulf of guinea, straddling western and equatorial Africa, its long and coastal

boundaries, and its offshore oil deposits defined the country’s regional geostrategic situation. A British colonial background set it apart from its francophone neighbours, an historical anomaly that affected the local security milieu. Nigeria’s relations with the major power were shaped, in the case of Britain and France, largely by this post-colonial heritage. A short-lived fact with Britain after independence was terminated in 1962. In the case of the superpowers, whose interests in the region until the late 1980s were functions of their global rivalry and resource needs, Lagos deliberately balanced its relations with Washington and Moscow (foreign relations 1991).

Nigeria’s security concerns and threat perception emanated from any quarters. The country’s dependence on the production and export of oil was aggravated by naval deployments of the major powers along the maritime transit routes of the south Atlantic and the gulf of guinea. Its experience of incursions by neighbours coupled with fears of foreign influence or of subversion of neighbours by such potential adversaries as France, Libya, and South Africa, heightened Lagos’s sensitivities about security. Regional conditions also produced a sense of isolation and uncertainty particularly shifts in the balance of power across northern Africa, political instability in West Africa and encirclement by relatively weak francophone states with residual or formal defense ties to their former colonial power. More generally, conflicts throughout Africa and the related propensity for great power intervention (for example, in Chad, Zaire, Angola, and Ethiopia) and occasioned eruptions of radicalization or militant pan-Africanism were inimical to Nigeria’s interest. Finally, South Africa’s apartheid policy, regional dominance in the continent and nuclear capability constituted threats to Nigeria’s national security goals throughout the 1980s. Broadly speaking, therefore, Nigeria’s security conditions and concerns could be grouped into three separate but related categories:

local and bilateral, African and Regional, and global (data as of June, 1991).

## AN OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC REFORMS IN NIGERIA

The economic crisis of the early 1980s reflecting a debilitating recession, structural imbalances, fiscal, foreign exchange and balance of payment crises as well as external debt problems that defiled all forms of reform measures put in place before 1986, the structural adjustment programme (SAP) was introduced in July 1, 1986 by the Babangida administration. It was initially planned for two years (July 1986 – June 1988) given the understanding that a longer period would generate intense resistance (Femi, 2008).

According to Femi et al, the policy thrust of SAP is in economic reconstruction, social justice and self-reliance aimed at altering and realigning aggregate domestic expenditure and production pattern so as to substantially reduce dependence on imports, enhance non-oil export base and bring the economy on the path of starchy and balanced growth. It was geared at poisoning the country's policy instruments in the context of an increasingly unpleasant and unsympathetic world economic and financial power structure.

Specifically, the reforms were aimed at: restructuring and diversify the production base of the economy in order to reduce dependence on the crude oil sector and in imports; achieving fiscal and balance of payment viability over the period: laying the basis for a sustainable non-inflationary or minimal inflationary growth: and lessening the dominance of productive investments in the public sector, improve the sectors efficiency level and intensify the growth potentials of the private sector. This programme was implemental between 1989 and 1993. In spite of the implementation, of these programmes the fundamental economic problems remained unabated. Poverty was on a rising trend, unemployment was

becoming a national embarrassment, and inflation was excessively high, fiscal indiscipline became quite prominent, among other precipitating economic problems.

In Falae's words, Nigeria experienced very serious economic crisis during the 1980s. Thus, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) recorded a negative growth rate of -2.63 percent in 1981 and -10.7 percent in 1983, a balance of payment deficit of ₦ 3 billion in 1981 and ₦ 3.5 billion in 1985; debt service ratio moved from just 8% in 1980 to 33.2% in 1985 (Falae, 1992:220) similarly, Nigeria's debts as at 1982 stood at \$ 13.24 billion, while here external debt service had risen to \$ 134.1 million (Umoren, 2001:17).

Still as Umoren has presented towards the end of 1985, Nigeria's debt was put at \$ 17.30 billion, over indicators of the crisis included a fiscal deficit of 18.3% of the GDP in 1981 which rose to 23.93% in 1982, a high level of unemployment a capacity utilization of less than 25 percent and high inflationary pressure (Umoren, 2001, Falae, 1992).

Going by the presentation above, it is quite surprising and agitates the mind of an inquisitive thinker hence the period 1973-1980 marked the "oil boom" in Nigeria, where so much money accrued to it from crude exports the question that usually lines to mind is that Nigeria's economy was to be considered quite brilliant at the time rather than declining and this no drist, is a pointer to our "consumerist" rather than "productive" disposition. However, the unisonous wealth crude oil exports expands and intensified the growth of state capitalism and state capitalist property in Nigeria, and the official explanation for the rapid and huge investment in state capitalist property is clearly given in the second National Development Plan (1970 - 1974) document which states that he purpose of state property was "...to stimulate and accelerate national development under undition of scarcity and structural defeats in private are thus crucial in

Nigeria's quest for true national economic independence and self-reliance". (Umoren, 2001).

It was on this basis, and in insurance with this that Obasanjo presented it at the state (Nigeria State) acquire a huge amount of capitalist property in industry, energy, mining, communication, banking, insurance commerce, sea air and land transports, hostel, tourism etc. the growth of state capitalist property was such that by 1985 the investment in the state sector of the economy was estimated at ₦ 23 billion and by 1999, it tremendously came up to ₦ 800 billion (Obasanjo, 2000:31).

The Nigerian successive administrations/governments have engaged in the establishment of state owned enterprises, impled with introduction of polices which ostensibly aimed of improving agricultural sector, and some of the examples relevant here include at various times, Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) under Obasanjo military regime, the Green Revolution (GR) under Shamus Shagan and the Directorate of Food and Rural Road Infrastructure (DFRRI) of the Ibrahim Babangida's regime. Also there has been intervention in the economy through the regime of subsidies on essential goods and services which were aimed at alienating economic hardship in the country. thus, the interventionist activities of the Nigerian state in her economic process, places her in the forefront of national economic management in the country the point has to be made at his juncture that while Nigeria was expending the state capitalist sector and preoccupied with development policies and programmes, she was sinking deep in debt and economic crisis. For instance, by 1986, the Nigerian economy was virtually insolvent and structurally weak as manifested on different aspects and the dest surden unpled with general economic rises, brought Nigeria virtually to her knees. This occasioned the introduction/conception of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in June 1986, under the military regime of General Ibrahim Babagida.

Similarly and with the return to civil democratic rule in May 29 1999, in administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, in its efforts to climulate and improve the economy introduced the National Economic Improvement and Development Strategy (NEEDS), and this program was functionally aimed at: wealth create an employment generation, poverty reduction and value re-orientation. The administration of president Umar Yar'Adua which succeeded Chief Obasanjon in its effort to contribute to economic viability, also introduced the Seven-Point-Agenda, as well as the Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's transformation Agenda. All of these, rarely has positively impacted on the lives of the Nigerian populace rather than their continual impoverishment while wealth create in and political power, are the lost of the rulers and their associates, which more often tan of are seriously of the deferment of the Nigerian mass populace who institute over 90% of the total population.

## **DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS**

### **ECONOMIC THREAT: AN IMPEDIMENT TO NATIONAL SECURITY**

Nigeria sot her independence from the British Colonizer in 1960 and since then has undergone various structural changes, which same analysts and political critics opine that such structural changes, at various times, have not transform significantly into sustainable for us show that the Nigerian economy experienced relative growth in the oil boom in the 1970s, and the outrageous profits from the boom significantly encouraged and spurred Nigerian leaders into wasteful expenditure in the public sector dislocation of the employment factor and distorted the revenue bases with respect to policy planning. 16 was on the basis of this that the Central Bank of Nigeria (2003), in Akintoye, (2003) put that, the national unemployment rate rose from 4.3 percent in 1970 to 6.4 percent in 1980 was attributed largely to depression in the Nigerian economy in the late 1970s. Scenically the economic downturn led to the implementation of stabilization measure which

included restriction on exports, which resulted in import dependency of most Nigeria manufacturing enterprises, which in turn occasioned the operation of many companies below their installed capacity. This development led to the closure of many industries while those few that survived were forced to retrench a large proportion of their workforce. This among many other crises resulted in the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1986 and economic reforms that followed. The core objective of the economic reform is a total restructuring of the Nigerian economy in the face of a massive population explosion. However, these economic reforms put in place did not yield significant results. Specifically, total disengagement from the federal civil service rose from 2,724 in 1980 to 6,294 in 1984 (Odusola, 2001).

#### **THE CONSEQUENCE OF ECONOMIC REFORMS ON NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT**

The negative impacts of economic reforms, particularly of privatization are commercialization on the citizen is not to be over-emphasized hence the essence of democratization is opening up avenues to broader political participation to large parts of the population in the political climate to greater freedom of expression and information and open political contestation with certain legally guaranteed procedural form. (Apam, 2010).

To that extent however, active participation requires certain specific interest of at least the willingness to engage in discussion about local or national problems. Without such interests, citizens do not develop any relationship to their civil and political rights and the democratic system as a whole the acceptance of democratic norms e.g. equality and freedom is one of the central and crucial conditions for a democratic order if for example, state institutions like the economic planning agencies, the security forces, the electoral agencies and the various government organs do not satisfy demands, political activities take on extra-institutional, non-conventional forms of political participation like violence and electoral

fraud which are perpetuated when the operators of the political system lose favour as a result of their non-performance and have to embark on illegitimate means to retain political power.

Apam, 2010 has equally noticed that political participation by the mass of the people is also not possible when they cannot participate in the economy. The level of a nation's probability that it will develop politically. A sound economic regime is of a crucial importance for the maintenance all sustenance of political development as well as national security. Also a health robust and buoyant task of democratic deepening.

Conversely, severe economic setbacks, grinding poverty and heightened inequality are a poison to democracy political development and national security. It is in line with this that Edoh, (2003) in Apam, 2010 has noted that there is no denying the fact that the country's protracted inability to develop along democratic walls for years is in part related to factors that are themselves related to poverty directly or indirectly. In the meantime, the graying pauperization of the citizen has been impounded by the apparent retreat of the Nigerian state under the pressure of the non-liberal driven processes from what should be its income distributive role and its responsibility as the allocator of social surplus leaving that responsibility to so called market forces (Junaidu, 2005, in Apam, 2010). In the process, politics as the pursuit of the common good or welfare has taken the back seat. Social conflicts have instead ensued in the polity. By intensifying social conflicts and dashing all hopes for life improvements, democratic stability is severely threatened. Van de Walle (quoted in Umar, 2002) has also noted that:

Economic performance is significant factor in citizen's evaluation of their government and consequently strongly affects any democratic regimes long term prospects.

## STRATEGIES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF WELL-BEING OF NIGERIAN: FOURTH REPUBLIC IN PENSPECTING

Over the years, the Nigerian State has fashioned out different strategies with respect to development of human kind, and these no dust, are aimed at reducing the poverty level in the country. However, in the Fourth Republic, the administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo launched the National Economic Improvement and Development Strategy (NEEDS) under the supervision of the Economic Policy Coordinating Committee (EPCC) in the office of the vice president to evolve a comprehensive poverty reduction plan and strategy. The National Core Team, inaugurated in 2001, was respectable for the technical operation which was embarked upon in two stages: a preparing a new Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (I-PRSPS), and B. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) which was deployed in August of 2001. And as a result of the deployment, the NEEDS document was finally conceptualized in 2003 and officially launched in 2004. That represented Nigeria's reform-based medim-term plan for economic recovery, growth and development. It was perceived as a response to the Myriad of challenges facing the country, including:

- i. Near total collapse of social and economic infrastructure.
- ii. Low per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$ 45 billion (2001).
- iii. Per capita income of \$ 300 per annum
- iv. Real sector dominated by primary production
- v. Huge debt misallocation and/or mismanagement, and external domestic debt profile representing 70% of GDP.
- vi. Urbanization rate of 5.3% representing one of the fastest in the world
- vii. High level of poverty
- viii. High urban and rural unemployment (12.4% and 23.2% respectively).
- ix. General insecurity of life and property.

Taking the state of the economy into consideration, an integrated and coordinated development approach was adopted, with the sub-national governments developing complementary medium-term plans based on the attainment of four goals; namely:

- i. Poverty reduction
- ii. Wealth creation
- iii. Employment generation
- iv. Value re-orientation (IMF, 2007:5). These goals, it must be added, were intended to empower people, improve social service delivery; foster private sector led growth in the creation of appropriate enabling environment, and enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of government, in a nutshell, it dared to change the way government does its work.

The NEEDs focused upon the four critical areas of improving the macroeconomic environment; pursuing structural reformed; strengthening public expenditure and implementing a series of trade policy related reforms. The Nigeria's economic performance prior to economic reforms was generally poor. Over the period (1992 - 2002) annual GDP Growth had averaged about 2.29%, a major challenge for the economy was its macro-economic volatility driven largely by external trade shocks and her over reliance in oil. Her economy ranked amongst the most volatile in the world from 1960 – 2000 (World Bank, 2003). Volatile fiscal spending also tended to cause real exchange rate volatility.

In particular, fiscal expansions due to revenues often resulted in the appreciation of the domestic currency, creating "Dutch disease" concerns and reducing the competitiveness of non-oil economy (Osa, 2010).

It is not far from being factual that the Nigerian State is sacred a well merited distinction on issues of setting agenda and formulating policies. Where she might fall short is in protectively setting out to accomplish such. Each government that had



occupied the office of state since independence had set out their agenda and shared their visions. However, the reality of the contemporary Nigerian polity exposes their shortcoming.

According to Nwabueze, while discussing the relationship between Ito state's development drive and the people; "the state and its development policies are very distant from the people. They are ruling class contract, exclusionary, non-participation, non-production oriented but expenditure centred" (Nwabueze, 2006:10).

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

There is no denying the fact that the government has abandoned its responsibility due to the citizens and the result of this is the vulnerability (of the citizens) to the vagaries of market forces. An ideal and responsible government shouldn't have allowed market forces to determine the movement of all sectors of the economy. The economy reforms of deregulation, privatization and commercialization all being used in Nigeria, have not come with any desired goal with respect to improvement in the welfare of citizens, or even, partially address the aspirations (expectations of the citizen. The consequence of this economic reform) presumably occasions inequality, poverty and index of hunger which are likely the tendency that breeds violent response by individuals against their government. It is in line with this that Manmohan Singh wrote, as the Indian Prime Minister, about economic threat to national security as thus "national security is at risk if urgent steps are not taken to boost economic growth, attract new investment in infrastructures and legislate against corruption... that if economic growth remains stagnant, new investments discouraged, government financial did not improve and energy security was not ensured then it most certainly affects our National Security".

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Nigeria like other African/developing countries should recognize the fact that it needs structural in

all its ramificalional entirety transformation programs which will be logistical in terms of social, economic, political, cultural as well as attitudinal, hence this would go a long way to help in terminating the prevailing neo-colonial dependency in Nigeria.

- i. There should be the adoption of a more proactive and realistic measures in the might of the Nigerian economy and its prevalent crisis, and such measures should include budget discipline, and the pursuit of policies and programmes that have positive effect on the health of the occurrence and the people general. This will involve the reival of agriculture and rural development resuscitating the collapsed industries and re-focusing on the issue of equity and justice on the distribution of resources from the oil producing state of Nigeria.
- ii. The economic conduction which is crucial in the determination of the existence of democracy and liberty should be met. Extreme differences in the distribution of wealth may impede the sustainability of democracy. Unless democracy is used as a means of responding to the acute needs of the people such as food, security, shelter, and clothing, the people will not be strong enough to appreciate and sustain it (Odofin, 2005). For the citizen to be given a sense of belonging and be involved in the political process, emphasis in economic management must necessarily shift from liberal to social democracy that not only emphasizes the role of the state in development, but seeks to cultivate the ideals of popular participation (Egwu, 2005).
- iii. The Nigerian investment should as a matter of urgency re-visit and Strenglben implementation of the NEEDs II which no dust, a document that contain a comprehensive roadmap to the diversification of the economy, boosting non-oil exports, ensuring food security, development of regale infrastructure

among others. The requirements of this is for the government to develop a strong political will towards realizing this. The government rather than pay up service to fighting corruption over time, should as a part of duty fight corruption with all vigour. The United States government and Transparency International recently labeled Nigeria for being a safe haven for corruption. A special court for trial of corrupt officials is therefore strongly recommended.

- iv. The government should adequately provide employment for her terming youths, hence if gainfully employed, hardly can they be recruited for all sort of socio-political vices, since it is said that an idle man is the 'devils' workshop.
- v. Government should pursue reform programmes that are people centred, not programmes that are directed at fulfilling foreign interests also the refinement of the Nigerian mass population.
- vi. There are need for increased and sustained investment on human capital development in Nigeria. The economic threat that the country face can only be removed through an integrated structural re-organization of the national economy. The structural organization must be designed to create jobs through the industrialization of the National economy, utilizing as much as is economically waste the local raw material potential so that there will see an integration of such industries to the large economy.
- vii. In this era of globalization characterized by rapid economic growth without job creation financed crisis and market policy failures, there is the need for the Nigeria state to introduce a vibrant and roust social security scheme so as to take care of unemployed youths, enhance livelihood security and ensure re-distribution of income.

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