Terrorism and the Dilemmas of Combating the Menace in Nigeria

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Abstract

The world is still at the euphoria over the killing of Osama bin Laden, founder and leader of the most dreaded terrorist group in the world known as "the Al-Qaeda" (The Base). He was alleged to have been killed in an America led operations in Pakistan on May 1, 2011. Consequently, the Taliban, members of the Al-Qaeda and Islamic fundamentalists all over the world including Nigeria threatened for a sweet revenge over his death. The questions are "what will be the future of terrorism in the world? Are we going to have peace now or is terrorism and terrorist activities going to be intensified creating yet more fear and insecurity in a world that is already ravaged by natural disasters? However, in Nigeria, cases of domestic terrorism are on the increase resulting to general insecurity and fear with Nigerian State seemingly helpless in tackling the menace headstrong. Obviously, there is the general view that the Nigerian State is a weak and failed state thereby joining states like Somalia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Sudan and Iraq in this category, and thus seen as states providing havens for terrorist operations. This paper therefore examines the concept of terrorism and the dilemmas facing Nigerian State in combating domestic terrorism. The paper also looks at some of the efforts of government at suppressing terrorism and the reasons those responses are ineffective. This discourse recommends among others: policy reforms, equipping and training of security personnel and harmonization of security operations.

Key Words: Terrorism, dilemma, combating the menace, Nigeria

Introduction

It is no longer gainsaying that recent events in Nigeria have indicated an emerging security trends in the form of terrorism and terrorist group attacks. It would be recalled that in September 12, 2007, the Australian government issued a travel advisory advising its citizens to re-consider their needs in travelling to Nigeria at this time due to the high threat of terrorist attack, high risk of kidnapping, unprecedented security situation and the heightened risk of violent civil unrest. This was sequel to an earlier warning issued on September 6, 2007 by the US Mission in Lagos to her citizens against travelling to Nigeria due to high risk of terrorist threat and attack against the West (Ojiabor, 2007). At the time of this message, the terrorist activities in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria especially hostage taking, kidnapping and other criminal activities was just assuming an unprecedented rise.

Nigeria lost an estimated and 58.3bn in oil revenue to crisis in the Niger Delta in the last nine years. The chairman, Senate committee on Niger Delta Peace and Conflict Resolution, Senator David Brigidi disclosed (Nwachukwu & Ekwere, 2007). Criminal violence in the Niger Delta degenerated overtime into an irrepressible wave of abductions for ransom, armed robberies, cult wars between gangs and fighting connected to the dangerous trade in stolen crude. Within the period over 200 foreigners were kidnapped in an ex-change for money, fuelling insecurity in the region. Thousands of expatriate workers and their relatives fled the region, abandoning oil production and infrastructural projects in the zone.

Terrorist activities in the form of kidnapping soon gain pre-eminence because it attracted ransoms. The South-East zone became the happening zone. Accordingly, it was reported that "virtually all the kidnappings this year (July 2010 reporting period), occurred in the South-East and Niger Delta regions, home to African's biggest oil and gas industry" (Akasike & Adelekan, 2010:3). It was noted that South-East Abia state had the most incidents with 110 people taken hostage. Total income generated (to the criminals) from the kidnapping enterprise stood at a whopping estimated N10bn so far (Akasike & Adelekan, 2010).

Due to the dangerous nature of kidnapping and terrorism that was being perpetrated in the country and the kind of psychological fear it instilled in the minds of most Nigerians. The Senate President and well meaning Nigerians called for a state of emergency to be declared in the south-east.

According to President Jonathan Goodluck, "the emerging dimension of threat to national security that is rearing its ugly head in our nation must be confronted headlong and defeated. The spate of violent crimes in parts of the country including kidnapping, armed robbery, assassinations etc. are contemporary security challenges facing our nation" (Soriwei & Fidelis, 2010:1). The President went on to say that the unfortunate act of terrorism that was unleashed on the nation on October 1, 2010 is another emerging threat by some unpatriotic and undemocratic elements in the country. He therefore called on the Nigerian Army to be ready to do all within its capability to partner with other security agencies to address the security challenges Since the October 1, 2010 Abuja bomb blasts, Nigeria has been enmeshed in severe internal security crisis occasioned by the emergence of an Islamic Fundamentalist Sect known as Boko Haram.

Thus, the greatest security challenge facing President Goodluck Jonathan's administration is the imposing impunity of terrorist activities of the Boko Haram an Islamic fundamentalist based in Northern Nigeria. It is on record that between January 1, 2010 and June 30, 2011 Nigeria has witnessed over fifty cases of bomb blasts across the country with a casualty figure of over 800 people dead and many people injured, talk-less of millions of Naira worth of property destroyed. It was also revealed that there are foreign militias from Somalia, Chad, Sudan and other Islamic countries in Borno state (Ojo, 2011). Boko Haram affront of government has an underlying latent functions which has made government seem weak in tackling the menace. **Table 1** below shows some instances of cases and casualty figures resulting from Domestic terrorism. The data does not include terrorist attacks of 2012. It is important to note that most of the attacks were carried out by Boko Haram. The Human Right Watch Report on Nigeria in January 2012 estimated the number of death lost in Nigeria as a result of Boko Haram terrorist activities between 2009 and 2011 at 935 (cited in Laden, 2012). There has been more death caused by Boko Haram bomb attacks across Northern States from January 1, 2012 to November 18, 2012.

DATE	PLACE	STATE	TERRORIST GROUP	CASUALTY
27/1/2002	Ikeja cantonment	Lagos	Nil	No record
27/1/2002	Lagos	Lagos	Nil	1000
31/7/2002	Port Harcourt	Rivers	Nil	1
25/11/2006	PDP Secretariat, Yenagoa	Bayelsa	Nil	No record
28/11/2006	Owan LGA	Edo	Nil	1
5/12/2006	Goodluck Jonathan campaign office	Bayelsa	Nil	No record
23/12/2006	Port Harcourt	Rivers	Nil	No record
12/7/2009	Atlas Cove, Lagos	Lagos	MEND	5
16/3/2010	Post amnesty dialogue at Warri	Delta	MEND	1
2/5/2010	Yenagoa	Bayelsa	MEND	No record
1/10/2010	Eagle square	Abuja	MEND	8
12/11/2010	Alaibe house Opokuma	Bayelsa	MEND	1
24/12/2010	Jos	Plateau	Boko haram	38
27/12/2010	Barkin Ladi	Plateau	Boko haram	No record
29/12/2010	Yenagoa	Bayelsa	MEND	1
31/12/2010	Mugadishu barracks	Abuja	Boko haram	32
2/2/2011	Aba	Abia	Nil	2
	Aba Suleja		Boko haram	_
3/3/2011	3	Niger		16 No record
16/3/2011	Yenagoa	Bayelsa	Nil	No record
1/4/2011	Butshen-tanshi	Bauchi	Boko haram	No record
6/4/2011	kaduna	kaduna	Boko haram	4
7/4/2011	Unguwar Doki, Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	10
8/4/2011	INEC office suleja	Niger	Boko haram	14
8/4/2011	Kaduna	Kaduna	Boko haram	1
9/4/2011	Unguwandoki polling station	Kaduna	Boko haram	5
9/4/2011	INEC collating centre	Borno	Boko haram	No record
22/4/2011	Kaduna	Kaduna	Boko haram	3
25/4/2011	Tudu Palace Hotel /Kano Motor park all in Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	3
14/5/2011	London chiki Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	2
19/5/2011	Lagos road Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	No record
28/5/2011	Lagos park Zuba/Mammy market	Abuja & Bauchi	Boko haram	18
29/5/2011	Zuba near Abuja	Abuja	Boko haram	8
3/6/2011	Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	No record
7/6/2011	Beside St. Patrick church Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	10
10/6/2011	Kaduna	Kaduna	Boko haram	No record
16/6/2011	Police force headquarters	Abuja	Boko haram	3
16/6/2011	Damboa Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	3
26/6/2011	Beer garden Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	25
3/7/2011	Beer garden Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	20
10/7/2011	All christian fellowship church Suleja	Niger	Boko haram	No record
26/8/2011	United Nations Office	Abuja	Boko haram	23
6/9/2011	Baga road & Ward Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	No record
5/11/2011	Cordinated attacks in Maiduguru/Damaturu	Borno/Yobe	Boko haram	67
17/12/2011	Shuwai Area of Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	3
22/12/2011	Pompomari near Emir of Damaturu Palaca	Yobe	Boko haram	2
22/12/2011	Timber shed along Bada road Maiduguri	Borno	Boko haram	No record
25/12/2011	St. Theresa Catholic Church, Madalla near Suleja	Niger	Boko haram	43
25/12/2011	Near Mountain of Fire Ministry, Jos	Plateau	Boko haram	12
25/12/2011	SSS Office Damaturu	Yobe	Boko haram	4
26/12/2011	Near Islamic School in Sapele	Delta	Nil	No record
	Near a Hotel in Gombe	Gombe	Boko haram	No record

Table 1: Some Cases of Domestic Terrorism Arising From Bomb Explosions in Nigeria - 2002-2011

Source: Author's compilation

Conceptualizing terrorism

There is general disagreement among scholars as to the concept of terrorism. It has been viewed that terrorism is value laden and subjectively defined in line with the ideological school of the individual defining it. Thus, terrorism both as practiced and justified by terrorist themselves, is a tool used to achieve a specific outcome by using force or violence on one segment of society with the primary goal of causing fear in the larger society to make change in that society (Garrison, 2004).

Terrorism is a term used to describe violence or other harmful acts. Walter Laqueur in 1999 counted over 100 definitions of terrorism and concludes that the only characteristics generally agreed upon are that terrorism involves, violence and the threat of violence (Laqueur, 2003). As a form of unconventional warfare, terrorism is sometimes used when attempting to force socio-political change by convincing a government or population to agree to demands to avoid future harm or fear of harm, destabilization of existing government, motivating a discontented population to join a mutiny, escalating a conflict in the hope of upsetting the status quo, expressing an injustice, or drawing attention to a cause. For an instance, the crisis in the Niger Delta Zone of Nigeria, where the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) took up arms against the Federal Government in pursuit of their rights- resource control, marginalization, and lack of infrastructural development in the Zone.

The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defined terrorism as the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political, or social objective (FBI, 1999). However, in this paper terrorism is conceived as an act of psychological warfare driven by fear or panic, intimidation, force or threats of violence on the individual(s) or the general public with the view of compelling a government, an institution or organization or individual to act in ways, ordinarily may not have been acted upon, in order to ensure safety of lives and property or justice, equity and fairness. It also involves the deliberate attacks on civilian population, police, military and other security agencies coupled with massive destruction of government facilities and civil properties like the oil installations, police stations, prisons, churches, mosques, and shops and so on. This definition is based on the fact that, almost all known terrorist acts are caused by human injustice or man's inhumanity to man, marginalization, exploitation, greed, deprivation, poverty, corruption, oppression, and repression.

Government Responses to terrorism

Nigeria is one of the first countries in Africa to comply with the United Nation's conventions and protocols on combating terrorism and a compliant of almost all existing conventions, protocols and resolutions on combating the financing of terrorism and anti-money laundry (CFT/AML) (US Department. of State, 2007). It has also gone further into passing the bills proscribing these offences.

It established a Presidential Advisory Committee on terrorism and further empowered the National Security Adviser to deal decisively with outlaws of these acts. It went on to grant amnesty to Niger Delta militants and empowering the youths through rehabilitation programme. Aside from the passage of those bills, Nigerian government have also established a special agency on terrorism and bombing. A special adviser on terrorism was also appointed by President Goodluck Jonathan. The government promised also to carry out the training of security agents on intelligence and intelligence networking.

Nigeria has also entered into pacts with foreign nations like -the United States of America, France, United Kingdom, Israel and other countries in the fight against terrorism. And these countries have offered to assist Nigerian government in the battle against terrorism especially Boko Haram criminalities. This has further strengthened government resolve in fighting terrorism. In the past US, Britain and Israel had assisted Nigeria in technical areas especially in the area of investigation and forensic science.

It has severally made overtures to Boko Haram with the view of reaching a dialogue and a truce by sending the former President General Olusegun Obasanjo to the group. But it failed. Continual efforts are still being pursued with the view of dialoguing with the sect for peace. It is being filtered into the air that with the destruction of the main operational base of the group in Borno State, they will have no option than to surrender to government forces. Government has also established Almajiri Schools in Northern States with the view of using it to educate the teeming illiterate youths in the zone and thereby reduce Boko Haram foot soldiers. However, in combating terrorism in Nigeria government is faced with critical dilemmas which seem to frustrate their efforts.

Government Dilemmas in Combating Terrorism in Nigeria

The problems confronting the government in combating terrorism are enormous. In spite of the actions put in place to suppressing terrorism, the menace seems to be over stressing the government. The fact is that most of the government efforts have been mere peripheral window dressing as they have not actually addressed the issues that brought about terrorism in those areas. For example, while government actions in the Niger Delta were merely settling the militants and their leaders, the general lack of infrastructural development in the Zones has remained unsolved. We will attempt to discuss the following as they hinder effective strategy towards combating terrorism.

Lack of Skilled Manpower and Training

At the peak of the kidnapping crisis in the South-East following the kidnapping of the four journalists at Abia state, it was reported that security experts were imported from Israel to help in tracking the whereabouts of the kidnappers and their hideouts. Similarly, experts were also flown from Britain and America to take samples of the pieces of bomb blasts recovered at the scene of incident of the bomb blast of October 1, 2010 at Abuja. Moreover, the imported cache of guns and ammunition discovered at Apapa Wharf sometime in 2010 was also sent to America to determine where the items were made. All these references where highlighted to bring to fore the fact that Nigerians lack the expertise in terms of manpower skill and training to deal with terrorism. No wonder (Lee & Perl, 2002) asserted that Nigeria's security agencies take only the pictures and finger prints of criminals arrested in connection with terrorism or other criminal acts. They lack the skill to carry out forensic or DNA examinations. This is a very derogatory statement of a country that price itself as a 'giant of Africa'. We would rather refer to Nigeria as 'giant of African leaders of corruption'. It is quite absurd and a great shame that after about eighty two years of the emergence of the Nigeria Police Force (1930-2012), all it could achieve is mere picture taking and finger printing in investigation. It cannot delve into the rigorous aspect of investigation by utilizing competently forensic technology.

A Terrorism Unit has been created in the police and also in the state security services. Government has also inaugurated a Presidential Adviser on terrorism. The National Intelligence Agency (NIA) has units or bodies dealing with related offences. But how much of skills do these units have in handling terrorism? How much of equipment and technological devices do they have in their units to tackle the war against terrorism? The emerging terrorist of the 21st century are operating at the speed of lightening. Any time, their modus operandi or tactics is discovered, they immediately change their operational methods. Do we have the expertise in terms of skill and training to cope with this dangerous emerging trend?

Government Insincerity in Tackling the Root Causes of Terrorism

Scholars from various disciplines have all identified root causes as key to understanding why most terrorism occurs. For example, Bloom (2007) enumerated the following as root causes of terrorism among others:

- Lack of rule of law.
- Failed or weak states that provide havens for terrorists.
- Corrupt government.
- Depression
- Discrimination.
- Social injustice
- We may add to the above list among others: unemployment, absolute poverty, underemployment, rise of indigenous neo elites, executive lawlessness, marginalization, relative deprivation, oppression, neo-imperialist class, do or die politics and government insincerity and insensitivity.

Aside from the huge amount of budget Government appropriates every fiscal year, the country is yet to reap the dividends of democracy. Basic social amenities like water, electricity, education, hospital, roads etc are none existent instead 25% of government budget is allocated to the National Assembly overhead current expenditure. The public is only privileged to know how much budget is approved for each fiscal year, but how much of the budget is implemented to transform the socioeconomic status of the citizenry is another ball game entirely.

Government is insincere in fulfilling her election campaign promises to the people instead they flamboyantly with great impetus exhibit executive lawlessness in corruption and abuse of office at the glaring face of hungry, poverty ridden, unemployed and absolutely deprived Nigerian youths.

No wander Akanji (2007:63) argues that it is "corrupt and ineffectual political leadership that often engenders poverty and, consequently, violent activities". The implication is that government inactions precipitate violent acts. As long as government continues to distance the masses from their land and appropriate their rights without due process, government cannot be seen to be egalitarian as it does not take into consideration the principles of corporate governance, which involves freedom of choice, rule of law, transparency, justice and accountability. The war against terrorism cannot be fought when the generality of the citizens are living below poverty level. In this era, where there is 'free-lance terrorist' (soldiers of unemployed youths, who do not belong to any fundamentalist or radical group but who are easy tools in the hands of the rich or terrorist organizations) by just a mere financial inducement, they can carry out any terrorist act. These youths are easily available for criminal acts because they have nothing doing and nobody cares about their well being. Government only make political and economic promises in order to secure a win, but after they have won; promises are abandoned only to recycle the promise in the next election because they must win their votes. This is the Nigerian dilemma. This is the critical meeting point that has enhanced the emergence and growth of militancy and terror groups in Nigeria.

Lack of data base

The fight against terrorism and other related emerging trends in the country demands a data base. The data base must be constantly updated in line with operational exigencies that may be required. We may be able to have data base assembled by the United States agencies on terrorism, but data base on domestic terrorism is lacking. It is very important for us to reiterate the fact that while countries like America, Britain etc are battling with combating international terrorism Nigeria is grappling with domestic (right wing) terrorism that comprises among others hate group, Islamic fundamentalist and militants. Each of these groups mentioned have specific justificatory approaches to their terrorist acts.

It is important and of great value if the root causes of Boko Haram outrage are known and their leaders identified, targets identified, groups (micro or macro) identified, modus of operandi identified, motives and motivations known, ideologies noted, organizational structures (if any) located and identified, sponsors and beneficiaries (internationally and domestically) identified etc. Armed with these basic tools, policies, strategies, tactics and other related modules can be formulated. You cannot win a war fighting a ghost or an unknown enemy. Boko Haram as at today is unknown at least in our public domain.

Proliferation of weapons

To pretend this does not exist is building a castle in the air. The rate at which arms and ammunition, especially the prohibited ones - weapons of mass destruction (WMD) makes nonsense of the fire arms law in Nigeria would cause one to infer that there exist in the society a state of normlessness. It would be recalled that AK. 47 Rifle was introduced into the Nigeria Police force between 1998 and 2000. At that time, it was the most sophisticated weapon in the hands of the police. It replaced the Mark IV Riffle-"Cock and shoot" because of its automatic and rapid shooting capability, coupled with the capacity and caliber of the ammunition and the magazine. It has the capacity of doing what we call "kill and show" with shooting range above 300 meters.

Unfortunately, this particular rifle seems to be the commonest riffle now that can be found in the hands of criminals. The question is- How did these criminals get these rifles? What is happening with our borders – sea port, land port and airport? What is happening to the Custom Operatives, Navy, Police, SSS, Air force and Army? What of those patrolling the sea and border post? What happens to the laws guiding the issue of fire arms? These questions are pertinent, the answer will obviously help in combating terrorism and until then it is a great threat to its fight. The cache of arms and ammunition that was returned by the militants in the Niger Delta is very frightening. The Rambo style operations going on in the Northern Zone of Nigeria is equally disturbing. Thus, proliferation of arms and ammunition is a serious dilemma confronting the Nigerian State in their resolve to combating terrorism and other related offences. It is not only our domestic dilemma it is also an international dilemma. The inability of Nigerian government to control the proliferation of arms and ammunition into the country is great danger to her internal security.

Enforcement and implementation of Anti-terrorism Laws

Nigeria is one of the first countries in Africa to comply with all established and existing Conventions, Resolutions.

Protocols and other laws regarding to the regulation and combating of international terrorism, combating of the financing of terrorism and anti-money laundering (CFT/AMT) and other related criminal acts specified under those laws. Notwithstanding, the measures taken to be a compliant state among the comity of nations, Nigeria lacks the will to enforce and implement the laws so far approved or passed relating to acts of terrorism or financing of terrorism. There have been constant accusations that the federal government is not actually prosecuting members of the Islamic fundamentalist Sect arrested across the country for their ruthless and persistent mayhem they have been inflicting on the nation. This lacks of will and show of weakness which government has blatantly demonstrated severally has giving greater impetus to Boko Haram that they ludicrously in a 'Rambo style' inflict grave harm to the people. This was exhibited when they sacked the security agencies attached to Bauchi prisons on September 7, 2010 and released all the 721 inmates in the process including their own 123 members who had been in detention since July 2009. This flagrant display of having government at their mercy is aptly illustrated by the various conditions which they have been dishing to government as conditions for truce in the country.

Religion and culture

Another dilemma confronting the country is the emerging trend towards terrorism that is religiously or ideologically motivated. Radical Islamic fundamentalist groups such as Boko Haram or other groups using religion as a pretext to cause violent acts, pose a great danger to the internal security and peace of the country. The challenge associated with this kind of terrorism is how to condemn and combat such terrorist activity, or extremism and violent ideology of specific radical groups, without appearing to be anti-Islamic or anti-religious in general. In the international level, a desire to punish a state for supporting international terrorism may also conflict with other foreign policy involving the nation. That notwithstanding, government must priorities its national internal security interest with that of any group and understand that the unity and strength of the state is far greater than the interest of any religion or culture. When the state is guided by this principle, that the whole is greater than any of its component parts, then sentiment will be cast aside for the interest of the whole.

Recommendations

As a matter for the general good of the people, the following are proffered as ways of suppressing terrorism in Nigeria and the world as a whole. Violence as we all know begets violence. It is not a show of weakness if leaders learn to tolerate and dwell in harmony with other nations. The greatest problem in the world is the problem of greed- greed for political power, greed for economic power, greed for spiritual power and self ego. If people and nations of the world understand the vanity of material life, greed will seize and peace and love will be our companions and bed fellows.

Good governance

The foundation of good governance is built on the rule of law; equality and fairness. When individuals and nations understand that all created beings irrespective of their race, religion, culture, sex etc. are equal before God, then exploitation, oppression, intimidation, suppression and others alike will be eliminated. It must be noted that terrorism triumph in areas where people are mostly oppressed, suppressed and exploited. These are the fuel needed to fan the embers of terrorism. In the world today democracy affords nations the opportunity to rule by democratic principles and standard that ensures a peaceful co-existence. This must be imbibed in Nigeria, so that the citizens will feel and see democracy in practice.

Harmonization of security operations

In the war against terrorism, effective information management is the key to success. The intelligence operations of gathering, dissemination, direction and control need to be integrated and harmonized in a central operating unit. In doing this, there will be a central command. There will be no lapses or operational bottlenecks or unnecessary bureaucratic controls relating to information sharing and dissemination. Government must create a synergy where all security agencies can rally round for a common goal.

Policy reforms

In policy reforms, it would be critical for government to adapt to a new environment in consideration to terrorists modes and strategic changes in the approach and attacks. The National Grand strategy module on the vision 2020 should be well put on the right course.

Government agenda in tackling the developmental issues should be prioritized, based on the short and long term needs of the country. Our developmental indices should indicate an upward movement across all aspects of our socio-economic imperatives. There are no industries, no power to sustain cottage industries, no road to areas of need, no water (safe) is rocketing astronomically and poverty is written on the faces of the people. Terrorism cannot be fought when those things that caused them are left visibly begging to be solved.

Equipping and Training of Security Personnel

The Presidential task force on terrorism should be equipped in such a way that it should have the capability of analyzing intelligence and take pro-active or preventive measures to contain any threat. There is much hatred, sentiment and fear in the country, government strategic plans should be able to create an atmosphere of confidence in the governance. The security personnel must be trained in order to acquire the necessary skill to operate whatever equipment the government may provide for the unity.

Conclusion

We dwell in a globally terrorist ridden society where attacks are carried out without signals. Nature has shown that people who are subjected to unjust treatment react violently, although sometimes the targets of the aggression are misplaced. Government should try as much to de-escalate the already tensed situations in the country by given their grand strategic plans a human face. The era of "talk talk" without action should seize, let us now face the realities and match our words with action, bearing in mind that terrorism is real in Nigeria and knows no friend. Only genuine respect for the right of the people and enthronement of true justice, fairness and equity can we fight terrorism in Nigeria. The government needs to take severe and far reaching decisive action in this matter, if the unity, peace, development and progress of the country are considered above all other primordial and parochial interest. Government must accept the challenges despite all the odds threatening their faces.

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