

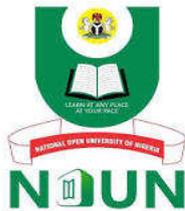
## **COURSE GUIDE**

**CSS 877**

### **STATE SECURITY OBJECTIVES AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PROTOCOLS**

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## INTRODUCTION

State involvement in the management of security is as old as the human race. It existed in ancient times, Greek City State, Egyptian civilizations and has also been found in Arab Civilizations, European societies, Ottoman Empires and pre-colonial African societies. Though, in ancient times up to the period of European colonization of Africa, most States around the world were empires ruled by monarchs and feudal lords, a common characteristic of the State, in ancient societies, was that, powers of the State and those of the political rulers were derived largely from tradition, conventions and hereditary.

Around the sixteenth century, new conception of the nature and character of the State began to emerge following the fall of the Roman Empire, the outbreak of the Black Death of 1346 and the tumultuous changes that accompanied the emergence of science in Europe. Although the legendary role of the State in the management of public life and security of life in the modern sense can be traced back to the 16th century when, States around the world had always played significant roles in the management of public security, prevention of wars, resolution of conflicts and the development of human society.

With the rising influence of globalization, the role of the political State has been significantly altered by forces of modernization. Such changes are noticeable in the management of political conflicts within nations and involvement in international politics. Nations are expected to engage in mutual international trade and commerce now than ever before, and the same time, prevent the occurrence of wars and conflicts within their domains. There has been radical shift in State sovereign powers, and boundaries of nuclear possession have been altered by international relations particularly since the end of the Second World War in 1945.

This course is designed to teach students the role of *State Security Objectives* and *International Security Protocols* in the study, understanding and prediction of the national and global political systems. It is intended to equip you with knowledge and understanding of the causes of war, the role of the State, the military, military use of force and strategic planning in the management of State security in modern times. The course shall interrogate the emergence of the modern State and its contractual primary legal responsibility to the citizens. It shall look at the impact of the changes in the global political system since the eighteenth century enlightenment and the political consequences of the reorganization of the State following the French Revolution of 1789. The course shall critically examine how historical factors, such as colonialism, decolonization, and postcolonial politics, have shaped and transformed State involvement in international politics and conflicts in postcolonial

Africa, and implicitly define the nature and character of political conflicts in modern times.

By creating this background, the course will set your mind on the importance of modernization in the definition and management of State Security Objectives. Since the primary obligation of the modern State is to provide security and welfare for its people, a course of this nature would provide students with the appropriate avenues to evaluate how States in Africa, and in other parts of the world have been striving to satisfactorily provide social welfare for their citizenry and by so doing fulfill their primary obligation. In the course of the lectures, students are expected to ask questions about the development of State Security Objectives around the world and how nations have used their military and political powers to achieve such objectives. Some of these questions may include: How Does Modernization shape the Security Objectives of Nations? How Does International Relations alter these Objectives and Boundaries of International Powers? What is the role of Wars and Conflicts in the transformation of powers in the global political system? What are the roles of Non-State Actors and International Organizations in the development of the objectives of nations? What is the role of Deterrence in the prevention of wars and alteration of military and political powers of nations?

Ultimately, the course anticipates that students who successfully complete it would develop the capacity to participate in the political process for building a sustainable political and economic future for the world *where nations do not resort to war, before they settle their differences, and citizens of different nations and societies can enjoy their fundamental human rights in line with the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948*. Additionally, such capacity that the individuals must have acquired in the course of the lectures should be able to guide them in policy making on national security, and private security involvement in the provision of security services to the public, private organizations and the multinational organizations. It will also serve as an intellectual guide for individuals who are going into the academia, and are desirous of teaching crime, peace and conflict in a University.

### **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

1. The course is designed to discuss the origin of the State and its relationship to the setting up of State security objectives.
2. The course shall also look into the concepts of State security objectives and international security protocols in relation to the processes of modernization that have changed the world since the eighteenth century.

3. It shall also examine the effects of war, conflicts, brinkmanship and deterrence in international politics and State security pursuits in modern times.
4. The course will look at public and private engagement of private security system and its implications for the management of State security system.
5. The course will further teach students the role of strategic conflict management in State security enforcement around the world.
6. The course will interrogate the role of the international community, regional organizations and sub-regional bodies in the prevention of wars, conflicts and building of peace with a view to regulating the international political system.

### WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

*To complete this Course, students are advised to check the study units, read the recommended books as well as other course materials provided by the NOUN. Each unit contains Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) and Tutor Marked Assignments (TMAS) for assessment purposes. There will be a written examination at the end of the course. The course should take students about 14 weeks to complete. You will find all the components of the course listed below. Students need to allocate time to each unit to finish the course successfully.*

### STUDY UNITS: 24

#### Presentation Schedule

Module	Title of Work	Weeks Activity	Assessment End of Unit
Module 1	The Origin of State		
Unit 1		Week 1	
Unit 2		Week 2	
Unit 3		Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 4		Week 4	
Module 2	The Evolution of Strategic Thinking and Security Studies		
Unit 1		Week 5	
Unit 2		Week 6	
Unit 3		Week 7	Assignment 2
Unit 4		Week 8	
Module 3	War, Conflicts, Brinkmanship &		

	Deterrence in International Security Politics		
Unit 1		Week 9	
Unit 2		Week 10	
Unit 3		Week 11	Assignment 3
Unit 4		Week 12	
Module 4	Strategic Conflict Management and State Security		
Unit 1		Week 13	
Unit 2		Week 14	
Unit 3		Week 15	Assignment 4
Unit 4		Week 16	
Module 5	Private Security Protocols and Management of State Security Objectives		
Unit 1		Week 17	
Unit 2		Week 18	
Unit 3		Week 19	Assignment 5
Unit 4		Week 20	
Module 6	The International Community and Regional Powers in the Management of Global Conflicts and Peace Building around the World		
Unit 1		Week 21	
Unit 2		Week 22	
Unit 3		Week 23	Assignment 6
Unit 4		Week 24	

## FACILITATION

The Course *CSS 877: State Security Objectives and International Security Protocols*, is designed to bring to all categories of people; academics, policy makers, security practitioners, business organizations, jurists and diplomats, the best of modern discussions of state security objectives and international protocols. The course is important because of the increasing gaps between national security planning and international laws. Many

nations of the world have recently been shaken by the upsurge of terrorism and transnational organized crimes; a development that many world leaders never envisaged at the birth of the United Nations.

This course will bring to us new discussions about the definition of the state, state security, and international security. It will challenge our conception of the idea of territorial integrity and the notion of self-determination within the context of UN Charter and other international treaties. For instance, increasing demands on the international community and sovereign nations have redefined the concept of state security. Unlike the past when realist notion of state security was confined to the acquisition of more powers by the state, modern security challenges and the expanding scope of global security has meant that nations border about human aspect of state security as opposed to the previous approach which concentrated on "military power" or balance of power between two states.

With the end of the Cold War, there is also awareness that the issue of state security is everybody business as states around the world particularly in the developing nations are encouraged to adopt procedural justice in the handling of matters relating to national security. The global events and the fight for cultural identity have caused increased tensions around the world raising concerns about the stability of weak, fragile and shell states that are spread across the developing world.

The United Nations is particularly concerned that increased clash of civilizations between the Western nations and non-Western societies, has the potentiality of destabilizing the world while in Africa, there is thinking that, African nations lack the political will to fight corruption, deepen justice and enshrine the law of rule in their attempts to consolidate on their democracy.

This course has the potentiality of transforming our ideas of security into sustainable policy and programme that will be useful in transforming our nation, stabilizing the economy and helping millions of people whose rights are being trampled upon by dictatorial and capricious state. As policy makers and security practitioners, ideas gained in the course of this programme can help us support communities that are wracked by violence, terror attacks or even armed banditry.

Given the diversity and complexity of Nigeria's security problems the Course CSS 877 is urgently needed to reshape our understanding of the theory and practice of modern security in the public and private security because it discusses the importance of the police, the army, and other security agencies in the management of our complex world. It is on the basis of this that I encourage us in studying the Course.

## **LEARNER SUPPORT (TECHNICAL AND OTHERS)**

The NOUN will provide technical support and students can liaise with their Departments for assistance as the case may be.

Main Text

Course Information

Course Code: CSS 877

Course Title: State Security Objectives and International Security Protocols

Credit Unit: 24

Course Status: Compulsory

Semester:

Required Study Hours: 3

Edition: First Edition

**MAIN  
COURSE**

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## **MODULE 1            STATE SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PROTOCOLS - CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This module examines the concepts of the State, State Security and International Security Protocols and also discusses the key components of *State Security and international Security Protocols* within the field of international relations.

### **UNIT 1            THE MEANINGS OF THE CONCEPTS OF STATE, STATE SECURITY**

The notion of the state remains very central to the study of international politics and security studies. This, accounts, for the reasons why majority of the research and theories on the role of the state in national and international security, since the end of the Second World War in 1945 has centered on the state. This feeling is not limited to the realm of either theory or research, agenda for peace building is hinged on an appropriate conceptual understanding of the role of state in security management.

Defining the State, right from the onset of the course naturally connects you to the rudimentary and constitutional roles of the state in the maintenance of law and order in modern state. The state, whether, in developed capitalist societies or less-developed poverty stricken African societies, is very central to the making of peace and prosperous nation.

Perhaps, one of the oldest definitions of the state is Hegelian and Weberian conceptual approach which sees it as a political entity that is designed to protect the lives and property of the citizenry (Mbaku, 2003). The state in this sense, is seen as a public force, empowered through the constitution to cater for the welfare of the citizenry and use its coercive authority to maintain law and order. Part of the responsibilities of the state, is establish formidable military and armed forces that will protect the state from external aggression. From this conceptual viewpoint, the State is a benevolent entity, and has the capacity to create the appropriate environment for the creation of the wealth of nations. Additionally, from the libertarian viewpoint, the State has capacity to guarantee individual property rights and unhindered environment for trade to grow (Mbaku, 2019).

The libertarian conception of the State tends to see the state as an objective and impartial entity that will use its monopoly of coercion to police and guide society. This feeling naturally places the State in the public domain, while a private public exists where individuals cater for

their personal life (Ekeh, 1975). In this realm, the State may be defined as a political organization created by law for public interest and with the mandate to maintain law and order, guarantee property rights, cater for the welfare of the citizenry and protect citizenry from external aggression. As good as this approach is, to the definition of the state, it tends to neglect the fact that the state, right from the onset, is riddled with class and political interests. Consequently, we tend to dissociate the state from class and politics regarding it as a set of public institutions "which only relates to politics only in so far as the political process selects those who manage these institutions" (Ake, 2013).

The State, anywhere in the world, is a specific form of domination by a particular class, and it maintains this through the process of autonomization. Every state must have political autonomy that it uses to balance powers within the society, and among the economic classes. State autonomy, is maintained through its use of force and control of the dominant classes in the society. Ake aptly noted that even though, the State is constituted as, though institutionally independent of social classes, it is by no means independent of the mode of production. He noted that the nature and character of the State is determined by the prevailing mode of production. While in developed and advanced capitalist economies, the State, is able to maintain some semblance of autonomy, in postcolonial African society, the State is bereaved of autonomy, and cannot effectively check the powers and activities of dominant interests.

Ake aptly made this remark while he was writing about the nature and character of the African State. According to him: "In order to understand the origins of the crisis rocking Africa's economy, let us begin by noting the distinguishing characteristics of the African state. The states of post-colonial Africa have very limited autonomy, particularly from the hegemonic social classes and are immersed in class struggle. This limited autonomization reflects the limited development of the productive forces especially in so far as they hampered the generalization of commodity, production, and exchange. We may interpret the limited autonomization as meaning that the state in Africa is still rudimentary since autonomization is the unique quality of the mode of domination in question" (Ake, 2013:22).

From the context of the radical Marxist political economy, it is easy to know why conflicts and wars are rampant in countries where the state enjoys limited autonomy. Because the state is unable to mediate crises between the dominant class and the dominated class, it is immersed in conflicts, and enduring political and ethnic animosity. The description made above epitomizes the nature and character of the state in post-colonial Africa, and the reason why almost after 60 years of

independence, majority of African countries are still confronted myriad of security threats (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013; Meredith, 2005).

## **STATE SECURITY**

The concept of State security denotes a set of security obligations of the State, as contained in the Constitution, regional security documents and international conventions signed to by the State. State security has also been defined to mean a set of security arrangements put in place by the government to address internal and external security threats confronted by the State or its citizens, and which if not seriously addressed will affect the territorial integrity of the State.

State security also borders on security arrangements put in place to address the process of overcoming the security threats facing the economy of a state, which if not addressed adequately will affect the development of the nation's economy, and expose citizens to staff security. As an operational word, the concept has been used to mean the formation and deployment of military powers to territories perceived by the government to be a threat to national security, which may include but not limited to; human security, environmental security, maritime security, military security, internal security, international security, regional security and aviation security. The concept has been used lately to refer to security of a nation's internet services and governmental information system (Paris, 2001).

## **KEY COMPONENTS OF STATE SECURITY**

State security in the field of international relations connotes many things that bother on the security of the State. In this section, you learn some of the key components of state security.

### **1. NATIONAL SECURITY**

National security is the overall security arrangements put in place by the government to maintain the territorial integrity of the State. It also borders on the establishment of the military and other security institutions which the State deems it fit as potent agents of State security. This may also include the policies guiding the maintenance of internal security by the police and paramilitary forces, and the creation of other security bodies which are designed to either collaborate with the police or strengthen existing military and intelligence units in the country. For example, in 2019, the President of Nigeria, President Muhammadu Buhari launched the *Nigeria Security Strategy Document* (Premium Times, 2019).

National Security strategy is the policy guidelines that are designed to help manage the security of the nation broadly, define the scope of military involvement in internal and external security, and at the same times efforts of government at reducing security threats and maximizing

gains. In this age of global terrorism, most countries in Africa, and even across the globe, have included in their plans, anti-terrorism and counter-terrorist efforts targeting at decimating terrorist organizations particularly the Islamist terrorist groups in the Islamic Magreb, and Lake Chad sub-region. For more than ten years now, Nigeria has confronted by the challenge of Boko Haram insurgency in the northeastern region with its attendant deaths, loss of property and the displacement of thousands of people from their ancestral homes (Adisa, 2019; Mazzitelli, 2007; Pantucci & Jespersen, 2015). While national security remains very important, its success is often measured by the extent it is able to guarantee human security.

## **2. HUMAN SECURITY**

Human security is relatively new concept in terms of its use and policy agenda in the field of international relations and international security studies. It connotes in the word of the United Nations "safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life, whether in homes, in jobs or communities" (UNDP, 1994 p. 23). In recent times, the term has been used to connote a set of social, economic, political needs of humankind. Paris (2001) stated that these needs include: 1. economic security (freedom from poverty) 2. food security (access to food) 3. Health security (access to health care and protection from diseases) 4. Environmental security (protection from such dangers as environmental pollution and depletion) 5. personal security (physical security from torture, wars, criminal attacks domestic violence, drug abuse and suicide), 6. 7. Community security (survival of cultural and ethnic persecution (such as the Rwanda genocide) 8. political security (enjoyment of civil and political rights such as the right to vote and be voted for in an electoral contest). Jorge Nef has developed five classification schemes to describe and measure what is meant by human security in modern times. By human security, Nef opined that, we mean 1. The guarantee of environmental and physical security 2. Economic security 3. Social security (freedom from oppression and discrimination) 4. Political security and 5. Cultural security (Paris, 2001 p. 91).

The concept of human security has also been extended to the creation of a peaceful society where individuals irrespective of age, gender, creed or religion, lives in peace and is respected of their personal dignity as human persons. Considering its scope in State Security, human security is believed to be the catalyst for change in contemporary conflict-ridden societies because it reduces tensions among conflicting groups and also guarantee justice will be done by government. This component of state security, is a new strategy to ending violence around the world.

### 3. ECONOMIC SECURITY

Economic security refers to a set of security strategies designed to ensure that a nation's economy is secured from internal and external vulnerabilities. Since we are now in global community, the continued participation and integration of the economies of the developing world into those of the developed countries, can have both positive and negative consequences. Positive consequences are those consequences that affect the lives and property of the citizenry positively and result in economic growth and development. On the contrary, in a situation where a country's participation in the global political system results in financial deficits or import dependency results in loss of financial resources, the state is regarded as experiencing negative consequences of globalization (O'Brien & Williams, 2004).

Lawrence (2010) opined that since the end of the Cold war, most African countries have been struggling to improve their economic system. Given the fact that they exist in a peripheral social formation, African countries are particularly vulnerable to exploitation as different foreign investors use tricks to defraud the nations and amass millions of dollars from the continent. Mbaku (2019) noted that the situation is worst because the state in postcolonial Africa is faced with massive corruption in government and is unable to curb the problem of impunity among government's officials. One of the major problems that Nigeria currently battle with is, the challenge of money laundering.

Money laundering is the illegal or illicit transfer of government's into foreign accounts in order to hide the origin of the money and convert to personal money. It has also been defined as the use of formal and informal financial systems to defraud government of millions of naira, and save the money in an obnoxious account, which is contrary to the laws and constitution of the country guiding the movement of cash.

The World Bank and the international community, has since the end of the Cold war, helped many nations of the world to combat money laundering. One of the steps taken by the international community is suggestion to countries wracked by money laundering to review their anticorruption laws. This step has been complemented with the establishment of anti-corruption agencies. Additionally, the World Bank has encouraged African nations to strengthen the independence of their judiciary in order to guarantee speedy conclusion of corrupt cases and ensure that corrupt public officials are brought to book. The Bank has also advised that African countries join the Financial Action Task Force to strengthen fight against money laundering and terrorist financing.

Though, the war against corruption in Africa, has been going on steadily, Nigeria has been exceptionally good in its efforts to stamp out corruption in Nigeria's political system. In 2004, President Olusegun Obasanjo

formally launched the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (the EFCC) after he had inaugurated the independent Corrupt Practices and other related Commission (ICPC) a few years earlier. These anticorruption agencies have also been working closely with the INTERPOL, and European countries to track and repatriate money stolen from Nigeria and kept in foreign accounts (FATF, 2016).

With the help of the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Nigeria's Financial Intelligence Unit and America's government, billions of naira of Abacha loots has recently been recovered from Europe. This is just in addition to the looted assets that previous governments from President Olusegun Obasanjo to Goodluck Jonathan, have been able to recover from foreign governments (Intergovernmental Action against Money Laundering in West Africa, 2014).

#### **4. ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY**

Environmental security is another component of national security. This is the aspect of State security that deals with prevention of the country from environmental disasters, assessment of environmental risks and threats and development of environmental strategies and policies to mitigate environmentally induced problems. Besides these, environmental security is the component of state security that addresses the challenges of refugees, migration and people displaced by natural disasters. Because we now live in an increasingly chemical and nuclear society, states either in the developed capitalist society or in the West African have in recent times, signed regional and sub-regional commitments to address the danger of hazardous chemicals.

At the micro-level of environmental security in modern times, is the issue of workers' health and safety. Occupational safety pertains to the safety of workers from hazardous chemicals and harsh working environment which, if left unprotected can endanger workers' health and at the same time, infringe on their fundamental right to a decent living. Nigeria boasts of very good policy framework to addressing environmental disasters, even though, its policy on the treatment and welfare of refugees are still evolving. For instance, 2009, the Federal Ministry of Environment, on behalf of the Federal Republic of Nigeria developed a National Implementation Plan for the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) for Nigeria. The policy framework is designed to help Nigeria fight the challenge of organic pollutants in the country, and protect the citizens from hazardous impacts that are associated with the chemical (Alo, 2018).

## **5. MILITARY SECURITY**

This aspect of national security deals with wide range of security issues, policies and agenda pertaining to the establishment of the armed forces; the army, air force, the navy etc. The component also defines the size of the military that a nation will keep at a time, and the nature of military training which every officer in the state's military formation is expected to attain. Military training is particularly important for the military because it keeps officers updated about the developments in security and defence at national, regional, sub-regional and international levels. In advanced countries, where the military have been involved in large scale wars, most military officers are expected to be acquainted with modern military tactics and strategies. For instance, the US ARMY is continually undergoing training in acts of wars in order to be familiar with the security strategies of their adversaries, and to know how threats coming from their adversaries can be dealt with.

Security and defence are two key areas that also define the complexity and the level of sophistication of a nation's military. Depending on the annual budget and governments to complex military trainings, military spending on criminal intelligence, strategic planning and counterinsurgency strategies are expected to consume millions of dollars. This is the case of a few African countries, but in the West African sub-region, spending on military training and equipment have been informed largely by a combination of internal and external security threats. While it cannot be denied that Nigeria has been investing in the military, the ongoing counterinsurgency in the northeastern Nigeria since 2009 could be said to have defined Nigeria's military security policy and agenda.

## **6. BORDER SECURITY**

Since the defence of a nation can solely be guaranteed by possession of hundreds of soldiers, governments around the world have been investing in border security to ensure that they protect both their citizens and the State from external aggression. Border security involves the deployment of security infrastructure and surveillance cameras to the border posts of a country with a view of interdicting illegal acts within the borders and also protecting the citizens from external aggressors.

Although, border control plays a significant role in the management of a country's national security, the way security forces utilize information on arms smuggling, wars and terrorist organizations often go a long way in determining the vulnerability of nations to insecurity. It is therefore important to note, effective border control, is as important as criminal intelligence management. In countries where the armed forces are unable to protect the borders, both the citizens and the state are exposed to wide range of security threats such as illicit arms sale and arms proliferation

that have continued to pose as a threat to regional security in the West African sub-region (Adisa, 2019; Mazzitelli, 2007).

## **7. MARITIME SECURITY**

This deals with the security of the maritime sector, the waterways and the security of ships conveying goods to other countries within the territorial integrity of the state. Like border security, the Nigerian maritime sector, has been vulnerable to abuse and illegal smuggling of goods for decades. One of the implications of this, is the use of the sector for the importation of illegal arms into the country thereby endangering the security of the Nigerian federation.

## **8. INDUSTRIAL SECURITY**

This aspect of State security deals with wide range of occupational safety and health of workers. It is the security strategy that defines a nation's plans for its workers in line with the International Labour Organization, the United Nations and other regional bodies. For instance, in 2006, the Nigerian government through Ministry of Labour and Productivity institutionalize the National Policy on Occupational Safety and Health.

## **9. POLITICAL SECURITY**

In recent times, nations are now formulating security strategy to safe their political environments from infiltration and to guarantee political freedoms to every citizen. This is necessary in view of decades of political violence, political instability and dictatorship in different African countries. Unlike other security strategies, most aspects of this strategy is concentrated on internal security because majority of the political actors are within the body polity but external influence cannot be ruled, with the rising influence of globalization.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. What is the difference between State Security and Military Security?
- ii. Of what significance is border security to the security of African nation in the 21st century?

## **UNIT 2 THE MEANINGS AND CONCEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PROTOCOLS AND PRIVATE SECURITY PROTOCOLS**

### **1. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PROTOCOLS**

These are a set of international laws, conventions and strategies developed by the international community, regional organizations or countries to strengthen international cooperation against collective security threats. The protocols may address varieties of security issues; military security, human security, human rights, political freedom, economic security, nuclear programmes, health and safety of young people. Given the vulnerability of most developing countries to wars and conflicts, the United Nations Security Council in collaboration with regional bodies has frowned at illicit movement of small arms and light weapons across African countries. This crime, is said to be responsible for the deaths of millions of people in the continent in the last fifty years, and has posed a great danger to the stability of the African region.

### **2. PRIVATE SECURITY PROTOCOLS**

Private security protocols are a group of security standards developed to provide private security for individuals, corporations, and the public. These may include internet IP addresses, codes and software designed to protect individual or organizations computers from virus.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. What is international security protocol?
- ii. Does the UN Charter represent a good example of an international security protocol?

### UNIT 3 THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

The origin of the modern State is as old as the human race. Researchers working on how man's first political formation emerged have argued that the history of the State can be traced back to thousands of years when human beings attempted to congregate and live together as one. Though circumstances for the emergence of the State did vary, the history of human civilizations from Greek, European, Russian, Japanese, Chinese, Arab, to African civilizations has shown that, man has lived together in villages, bands, hunters and gathers.

Nomadic people have walked thousands of kilometers and sedentary people have established agricultural communities in different parts of the world (Carneiro, 1970; Huntington, 1993). Different civilizations have struggled to survive and in the process, kingdoms and political States have emerged in human history.

State formation, in the sense of political organization, has always depended largely on *Darwinian theory of evolution* and Herbert Spencer's notion's of *survival of the fittest*. People would get migrate to a particular environment, acclimatize and adapt to the conditions of the environment. Depending on their mode of living and their ability to survive the climatic conditions presented to them by nature, people's desires to form larger political units would be congealed on power, possession and survival.

Carneiro (1970), in his work "*The Origin of the State*" stated that, for over 2 million years of his existence, man had lived together in bands of villages and were completely autonomous. It was not until around 5,000 B.C. that villages began to aggregate into larger political units and once this process was completed, the process of aggregation into State formation continued until around 4,000 B.C. when the first State in history was formed (Carneiro, 1970). State in this context would mean "*an autonomous political unit, encompassing many communities within its territory and having a centralized government with the power to collect taxes, draft men for work or war, and decree and enforce laws*" (Caneiro, 1970:733). While there have been several theories on why human beings established the State, Caneiro noted that there are two distinct theories of the origin of the State. The two theories are; *Voluntaristic Theories and Coercive Theories*.

#### 1. VOLUNTARISTIC THEORIES OF THE STATE

The voluntaristic theories hold that "at some point in their history, certain people spontaneously, rationally and voluntarily gave up their individual sovereignties and united with other communities to form larger political unit deserving to be called, a State. Of such theories are the Old Social Contract Theory, which was associated with [sic] especially with the

name of Rousseau" (Carnerio, 1970:733). The old social contract theory simply states that, before the advent of modern civilization, men lived in a state of nature, and in the state, there was no law, no society, no industry and no government except fear, and lawlessness. Unlike Hobbes who saw the state of nature as a state of absolute anarchy, J.J. Rousseau believed that, man is naturally good but was corrupted in society because of inequality.

Rousseau believed that people volunteered to surrender their rights and sovereignties to the government because individuals thought that they would be free to exercise their freedoms in modern society. By freedom, Rousseau meant that, the arbitrary will of an individual will be eliminated and the rule of law would prevail. Individual civil liberty will be preserved and they will be able to enjoy their right to private property. Rousseau saw *"the government as an agent of the General Will, the sovereign entity in the body politic. Like Montesquieu, he believed all forms of government were not suited to all countries. A government had to reflect the character of a country and its people"* (Mukherejee and Ramaswamy, 2011: 251). To sum up the theoretical debate of the social contract theory, men entered into mutual agreement with the State and the Government in anticipation of personal and collective security. Carneiro averred that most of the old social contract theories have been reworked because critical studies of some of these studies have shown that they are "nothing more than historical curiosity" (Carneiro, 1970:733).

Automatic theory is another form of *Voluntaristic Theory* of the origin of the State. The theory states that, the emergence of the State could be linked to the invention of agriculture which led to the surplus production of foods thereby enabling some people to divorce themselves from food production into other agricultural activities. As time went by, many types of agricultural activities were invented such as weaving creating an extensive division of labour. Gordon Childen, the British archaeologist, who is often reputed with the theory opined that occupational specialization developed into political integration of which later united smaller communities into a State. Although, the automatic theory has some exceptions in the history of civilizations, the theory is plausible in explaining ~~in~~ the movement of Britain from agricultural mode of production to factory system in the eighteenth century leading to the Industrial Revolution of 1760 (Carneiro, 1970).

There is also Karl Wittfogel's "hydraulic hypothesis" of theory of the State, which states that people in agriculturally dominated societies merge to form a State because there is advantage in large scale irrigation projects of a State than a village. Though, Wittfogel's theory is good in explaining the development of States in countries where irrigation caused the merger of villages into States, it has not been able to explain the rise of States in Mesopotamia, China, and Mexico. This is because these States had been

in existence far before human beings began the process of irrigation as a mode of farming (Carneiro, 1970). Given the inability of the voluntaristic theories to explain the rise of a State which was caused outside man's self-interests, they have become subjects of controversies and contestations in modern times where wars, conflicts and political competition dominate the international political system. It is on the basis of this, we turn to the analysis of coercive theories.

## 2. COERCIVE THEORIES OF THE STATE

Unlike the Voluntaristic theories, the *Coercive theories* of the State hinged the rise and the development of the State to *force* rather than the *enlightened self-interest* of man. According to the Coercive theories, man may be socially beneficial but in the final analysis, he is politically selfish, egoistic and self-centered. It is the self-interest of the human race that constantly pushes them into the acquisition of power, wealth and natural resources. Because power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, human beings will always want to seek for more power, and gather more resources. This will in the long run result in war (Carneiro, 1970).

Contrary to the projected views of the Voluntaristic theorists, the Coercive theorists believe that humans are naturally selfish and do not easily relinquish power because "power is sweet and is a source of wealth". This is reflected in David Easton's statement when he stated that "*power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely.*" Far before Easton, several European philosophers, thinkers and scholars had written about the role of power and the use of force in the political evolution of the human race. For instance, Heraclitus had once stated that "*war is the father of all things*". Heraclitus' position is not different from the nineteenth century remark of Karl Max about the origin \*of the State and the emergence of class in modern State. According Marx, "The history of hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles (except for primitive societies). Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes---The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones" (Lenin, 1959:23).

While Marx's historical analysis of the State remains one of the most robust analyses in the history of the social sciences, some scholars have argued that it is difficult to define the source of conflict using solely

Marx's historical materialism. Power, which is central to the organization of society and the State, is believed to be playing a key role in the emergence of the modern society and the retention of political power in the global political system. Notwithstanding the raging debates on true source of political evolution of society, what is clear is the inevitability of war and revolution in modern society.

It is from this point, that discourses and agenda of State Studies are hinged and attempts are made to create a peaceful society where every citizen will be able to exert their rights.

### **3. THE ORIGINS OF THE NIGERIAN STATE: COLONIALISM, FEDERALIST STRUCTURE AND THE AGITATION FOR POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING**

The Nigerian State is a byproduct of colonialism and colonial occupation of the vast territories called Nigeria by the British. Though, the origin of colonial rule in Nigeria is often traced back to 1861 when the then Oba Dosunmu, signed a treaty with the Queen of England declaring that Lagos as a colonial territory of the Queen of England (Cole, 1975), its antecedents dates back to the seventeenth century when Europeans began a systematic invasion of Nigerian territories in search of slaves. With slavery, the Europeans gained ENOURMOUS WEALTH FROM AFRICA AND were able to penetrate the hinterlands and disseminate the populations of the various ethnic nationalities in pre-colonial Nigeria (Nnoli, 1985).

Before the advent of colonialism, Nigerian lived in different territories with little or no historical linkages except those with the same ancestral origins. In the North, the Hausas and the Kanuris had some of the most centralized Kingdoms in West Africa. The Yoruba too was also under a centralized political system for centuries giving the Alafin of Oyo vast territories to control. Although, the Ibos did not have centralized system like the Northerners and the Yorubas, they maintained relatively peaceful village system where matters concerning the peace of the community were settled. Apart from the Yoruba, there were other ethnic nationalities such as the Efik, Ijo, Edo, Ibira, Tapa and Ibibio which constituted minority ethnic groups within the Nigerian territory.

With the coming of colonialism, the British created the Colony of Lagos established the Northern Protectorate and Southern Protectorates. In 1906, the British amalgamated both the Lagos colony with the Southern protectorates in 1906 and in 1914, the Northern protectorate was amalgamated with the Southern protectorate thereby created a nation known as Nigeria without giving consideration to differences of culture, language, religion and values. Of course, it is understandable why the colonial state was arbitrary.

Colonialism as a political system is never a benevolent exercise. It was designed both for political and economic purposes akin to the spread of European imperial capitalism. Mbaku (2010) noted that at the time the British, the Germans, French and Belgians sat at Berlin to share Africa's vast territories into colonial empires, it was never the goal of the Europeans to bring European civilizations to Africa for the purpose of developing Africa. Colonialism, in the real sense of its ideological drive, was meant to exploit African resources for the benefits of the metropolis. Since its primary reason is economic exploitation, there was no way the colonial administrators could design Nigeria in a way that would be beneficial to the citizenry.

It was this reason that led to the Scramble for Africa in 1884-1885 where Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and others took their own portion of colonial territories and proceeded to adopt different policies, which they thought, was suitable to the interest of the colonial state. In Nigeria, the British adopted the indirect rule system. The indirect rule system, is a colonial system that allows the foreign power control its colonized territories using the existing political structures and chains of commands. Whereas the British forcefully overhauled traditional political cultures and values in the South by introducing colonial institution, it was reluctant in bringing down the institutions in the North. This unequal treatment between the North and South created the first division between the two regions in Nigeria's history.

Nnoli (1985) argued that there are many ways by which the colonial state bastardized African traditional societies and infused ethnic divisions among the various ethnic nationalities in the continent. One of the processes of colonial domination of the people of Nigeria was the bringing of members of similar ethnic groups into the same fold and creating a name for it. Until the coming of the British, Nnoli noted there was no uniform name for the Yoruba race but powerful towns like Oyo Empire and Ife had been recorded by history. The Ibos too were not recognized under the same name but they existed under different names such as Nri and Aro Ibos. Except for the Uthman Dan Fodio Jihad of the nineteenth century which brought the Hausa-Fulani together, most of the people in the North existed under different political KINGDOMS.

The coming of colonialism in the nineteenth century however changed the status quo. It established colonial towns linking these towns to colonial administrative headquarters. Systematically, the emergence of colonial towns relegated the importance of traditional towns in pre-colonial North and South. By creating colonial towns, the British created "colonial situation" which defined those in the North and those in the villages. Consequently, the emergence of colonial towns and colonial situation gave rise to competition for power, recognition and leadership in the

colonial system. This competition later gave rise to the emergence of colonial ideologies, African ideologies and rivalry among different ethnic nationalities.

Ordinarily, it is expected that when social change occurs, it will affect both the people and the society. One could not have expected that the coming of colonialism to Africa would not benefit some and leave others. Some would of course benefit positively from the occupation as when we saw the rise of modern bureaucracies, market economy and public service, but the fact remains that, the colonial rule was never designed to unify the various ethnic nationalities. It was deliberately designed to create divisions among the ethnic nationalities such that, after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914, each ethnic group in the country began to fight for space in the Nigerian project. It is however important to note that the competition did not become glaring until after the Second World War, when the Richard Constitution was promulgated in 1946 and Nigerians sought for a review of the Constitution in 1951.

Beginning from 1947 to 1954 when the Federalist CONSTITUTION was construed for the whole country, Nigerian leaders' insistence on ethnic identity had become so glaring in their negotiation with the colonial masters for political independence. For instance, in 1953, when the Action Group demanded for self-independence for Nigeria in 1957, following the promised by the British that Ghana would be granted political independence in the year 1947, the North vehemently opposed the motion sighting the fact that the North was not prepared for independence at time, and it would inform the other regions when it was ready.

Colonial politics, which Africans began to enjoy significantly after the Second World War also used by the British colonial state to deepen competition for space in the colonial formation (Ekeh, 1975; Nnoli, 1985). Competition for space was first elicited in the Nigerian colonial society with the formation of Ibibio Progressive Union later, Ibo Federation Union in 1943, and Egbe Omo Oduduwa in 1945 in Lagos. While Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe led the Ibo Federation Union after his return to the country, both the formation and establishment of *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* had the ideological and philosophical insights of late Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

Awo stated that his intention and those of the inaugural members of *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* was to defend the interests of the Yoruba race in the face of unstable political arrangement allegedly foisted on the nation by the colonial masters.

As a follow up to the London inauguration of *Egbe Omo Oduduwa*, in 1948, a group of like-minds Yoruba indigenes such as Sir Adeyemo

Alakija, Dr. Akinola Maja, Sir Kofo Abayomi, Chief Bode Thomas, Chief H.O. Davies and Dr. Akanni Doherty formed Egbe Omo Oduduwa in Lagos distinct from that of London but with similar ideological leaning (to protect the interest of the Yoruba race). Awo (1960) made this remark about the formation of the Yoruba association in Lagos "When the Egbe was founded in London , copies its constitution were sent to Obas, Chiefs and outstanding Yorubas, with an accompanying letter in which an appeal was made to them to found a similar organisation at home. Apart from His Highness Sir Adesoji Aderemi, the Oni of Ife, and President of the Western House of Chiefs, and three other persons, there were no response from the scores of people to whom we had written, nothing at all was done at home to start the Egbe or something similar to it. On my return home, I began to preach the formation of the Egbe People listened to me either with concealed indifference or undisguised boredom. Then one day in 1948, I read in the papers that the Egbe Omo Oduduwa had been formed in Lagos" (Awo, 1960: 172).

Awo narratives would teach two lessons here. The first is the willingness among the Yorubas to respond quickly to the issue of federalism thrown up by the colonial masters especially after the Second World War when the struggle for independence had begun in earnest. The second lesson is the reluctance to accept the idea of fighting for political freedom as an ethnic group. Several scholars have written and argued that divisions existed in *colonial societies* in order to ensure that the people did not unite against colonial domination of Africa (Mamdani, 2004).

Informed by this interest, the colonial state used in Western education, Western imperialist ideologies and religion to sow the seeds of discords among people of different ethnic groups and even among those of the same ethnic groups. The British needed to do this division in order to be able to rule successfully, and cart away the resources of the Nigerian people. It was therefore not uncommon to find Africans who wanted to behave and speak like the "White Man" in order to demonstrate to his boss that, he was more qualified than the native black man or woman who have not acquired Western education.

Ekeh (1975) noted that one of the strategies used by the colonial government to emphasize "colonial education". Access to colonial education was therefore seen as a *sine quo non* of having working in colonial institutions. By acquiring colonial education, the Europeans thought that Africans would imbibe Western values and discard traditional values of favouritism and tribalism. Though, Western education discouraged tribalism with its idea of a secular state and a secular society, the colonial society was never "a secular society" because its residential arrangement which is rooted in racism (Mamdani, 2004) at the expense of the black man's interests. In South Africa, it was an official

policy which repressed black man's interests and subjected to different forms of political humiliation.

Beyond the issues of education and secularism of the state, *European economy* was also developed to marginalize Africans, create divisions and favour political elites who agreed with colonial policies. Whether in Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, South Africa or Kenya, the British systematically destroyed traditional economic system in African societies and encouraged the people to concentrate on the production of goods and services that were economically viable for the colonial society. Through, vicious land policies which retained control of landed property in the colonial government, the British was able to tightly control Nigerian economy and maximize the best out of them (Mamdani, 2004).

Across Nigeria, the British used the Royal Niger Company to amass wealth from the interior and moved it to the metropolis. When the Marketing Boards came on board, it was a mere conduit pipe to drain the colonies of *"its hard earned resources"* for the benefits of Great Britain. No wonder, Britain led the Industrial Revolution and ruled the World until America displaced it in the wake of the Second World War.

The colonial society, after the Second World war was therefore ripe for all sorts of competition, conflict and ethnic rivalry building a future for greater crises in postcolonial Nigeria. For instance, in terms of the penetration of Western political system, Nnoli (1985) observed that it was a deliberate policy of the British to maintain the existing political structures in the North. Burdened by the enormous resources it would cause Great Britain to rule Nigeria through "direct system, the colonial government decided to adopt indirect rule system. While it forcefully and radically imposed it on the people of the South, the British adopted *gradualist approach of the indirect rule system*, making the Emirs to oversee a lot of aspects of colonial administration and indirectly giving them undue influence that the monarchs in the South did not enjoy (See also Osuntokun, 1987).

Except for the fact that the Obas and Obis in the South were nominated by regional governments to represent their people in the House of Chiefs in the Eastern and Western regions, the power they had hitherto controlled in pre-colonial society was whittled down, and where an Oba showed any resistance to colonial administration, he would be deposed to a foreign land or deposed completely. Such was the Eleko Esubayi's case whose resistance to colonial domination and dictatorship was hotly rebuffed by the colonial government of Lagos (Cole, 1975). Eleko Esubayi had challenged colonial authority over the actions of colonial government in Lagos. Because of this, he was deposed to Oyo but his deposition was later reversed by the Privy Council. Eshubayi's case was similar to that of

King Jaja of Opobo in the Niger Delta area, who was also deposed from his oil-rich region, because of his resistance to colonial rule.

By all standards, colonialism was therefore arbitrary, capricious and dictatorial in nature. This must have informed revered African political economist, Claude Ake, when he said that: "The conditions in question go back to the colonial legacy. The colonial state in Africa was all powerful and arbitrary. It had to be because it was an occupying force. It gave itself rights over everything in the territory and the privilege of doing whatever it could to advance its purposes. For instance, it imposed taxes, redistributed land, instituted forced labour, decided where everyone could live, who should produce what and how. As if to underscore its absolutism and arbitrariness of the power of the colonial state, its officials showed little interest in transforming domination into hegemony beyond the notion that their domination was also a civilizing mission. There may have been circumstances in which the use of state power was not arbitrary in practice but it was always arbitrary in principle" (Ake, 2000: 37).

### **NIGERIA'S NATIONALIST STRUGGLES AND THE ATTAINMENT OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE**

Nigeria Nationalist struggles began in Lagos with the Nigerian Youth Movement. NYM, as it was popularly called was the first nationalist organization founded in 1934 by enlightened Nigerians who had studied in Europe but wanted the colonial government to respect the rights of Nigerians to politics, education. The organization was founded by Professor Eyo Ita, Samuel Akinsanya and Earnest Ikoli. Dr. Kofo Abayomi was the first President of the organization while H.O. Davies was the secretary.

Political analysts have argued that the Nigerian Youth Movement was a transmutation of the Lagos Youth Movement that had been started by Herbert Macaulay. Macaulay was the first Nigerian to stage a confrontation against colonial imperialism in Lagos, Nigeria, cooperating with the White Cap Chiefs to fight the secession of Lagos to the British and the water rate in the fast growing colonial economy (Cole, 1975). It was on this platform that he launched the first political party in Nigeria, *Nigerian National Democratic Party* (NNDP); the platform upon which Nigerians were elected into the Lagos Town Council.

The NNDP and the Lagos Youth Movement were indeed successful in their attempts to decolonize the Lagos colonial politics, it was however criticized for being restricted to Lagos and also dominated by the Yorubas. In 1934, Chief Earnest Ikoli, Samuel Akinsanya and a few others started the Nigerian Youth Movement to fight for the interests of Nigerians. Political historians have argued that three reasons were responsible for the establishment of the NYM. The first reason was a

reaction to the establishment of Yaba Higher College in 1934 by the British, and the inability of the colonial government to affiliate the College to a foreign University in the UK. Nigerians particularly members of the Nigerian Youth Movement had expected the British to create a platform for those who graduate from Yaba College to have opportunity to travel abroad for higher degrees. However, when they discovered that the colonial government did not affiliate Yaba College to a foreign University, they perceived this as an attempt to keep Nigerians as second class citizens in their country. The second reason that contributed to the immediate founding of the NYM was the perceived discrimination by the colonial government in the appointment of Nigerians into senior civil service position. This, the leaders of the NYM, felt would not prevent Nigerians from participating effectively in the governance of the affairs of their thereby giving the Europeans undue advantage. The Nigerian Youth Movement was also said to have protested the ill-treatment of African truck drivers in the country by the colonial government and consequently called for an urgent reversal of the action.

With the entry of more vibrant educated Nigerians into the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) particularly the likes of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief and Obafemi Awolowo, the NYM was said to have changed dramatically from when it was founded by E. Ikoli, H.O. Davis, Samuel Akintola and Raji Abadalla but it was not long when the embers of ethnic politics festered on the revered organization and destroyed its onerous objective of "uniting Nigerians" (Awo, 1960; Ogunsanwo, 2009). This is evident, in the way the organization formulated its Charter in 1938 and mobilized Nigerians from all works of life to fight British imperialism in all fronts.

As Nigeria was moving closer to political independence, the tendency to establish regional political party was more common among the Nigeria's Nationalist leaders than the tendency to create a nationalist party with which they could collectively colonialism and demand for self-rule in 1960. This is understandable in view of the fact that, the colonial society itself had emphasized racial and ethnic differences Nigerians. Indeed, most of the political structures foisted on the Nigerian society emphasized ethnic divisions among the various ethnic nationalities in the country thereby creating unnecessary political agitations among Africans.

Although, Nigerian Nationalist leaders supported the agitation for self-rule as the decolonization struggles going on across the African continent, at home, they were not unconscious of the implications of regional autonomy for the development of their individual group. It was this ideological bent that informed most of the parties that came at the verge of Nigeria's independence. Except for the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe which still had a national outlook in theory after the demise of the Nigerian Youth Movement, the

Action Group (AG) and the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) were purely regional political parties. They did not hide this in their various party manifestos and was demonstrated on the field of politics (Lawal, 2010; Nolte, 2010).

The coming of regional political party was understandable in view of the fact that, each dominated ethnic nationality (Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa) wanted to control its region. With the inauguration of the Macpherson Constitution in 1951, the cloud was clear for people to form a strong political party that would protect their interest. For instance, Ogunsanwo (2009) noted that the Action Group was founded in 1951 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo main political interest was to establish a political party that would protect the interest of the Yoruba race and to counter the dominance of the NCNC in the South-Western region.

Before the coming of the Action Group the only major political party was the NCNC, a legacy that Herbert Macaulay had bequeathed to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was then the Secretary of the NCNC. It was therefore not difficult, for Azikiwe to take over the leadership of the party in the South-Western region. Though, some Yorubas supported the NCNC in the region, there were grievances that the NCNC was an Ibo-controlled political party meant to protect the interest of the Ibos. This ethnic sentiment was to shape politics of the Nigeria after independence.

Ogunsanwo (2009) summed up the mood of Westerners when the Action Group was launched in Owo in 1951. According to him: "The Action Group arrived with a bang on 28th April, 1951 in Owo to challenge the supremacy of the NCNC and energize the clamor for self-rule for the regions. It was well received by the indigenous people of the Western region and the intelligentsia as a counterweight to the Lagos-based NCNC. Dr. Azikiwe and his party did not take the new party too seriously at first. Similar competitive attempts had been made by others in the past and had been squashed at birth with the powerful propaganda machine at the disposal of the NCNC. Besides, Lagos was the centre of gravity of the country's politics and so it reckoned that the new regional political outfit based in Ibadan was destined to live a short life. The party also had an informal pact with the Ibadan People's Party led by Adegoke Adelabu which it relied on to counter any indigenous challenger" (Ogunsanwo, 2009:18-19).

The tensed atmosphere between the Action Group and the NCNC in Lagos was understandable. Lagos was a metropolitan colonial city accommodating different ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. In fact, by the end of the Second World War when colonial reforms were taking new shapes, more people from different parts of the country were moving into Lagos leading to the argument of whether the Yorubas can rightfully claim the owner of Lagos. The argument became intense, such that the

Western delegates led by its leader, Chief Obafemi Awolowo threatened to secede from Nigeria if Lagos was not made part of the South-West.

In the North, awareness about the formation of political party was also intense but the North was divided between more united Jamiyya Mutanen Arewa (Northern Peoples Congress) (NPC) and Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) by Raji Abdallah. Osuntokun (1987) noted that while political awareness in the South dated back to the First World War, in the North, it started after the Second World War due to three major reasons. The first was the absence of a relatively large number of Western educated elites in the North who could drive the politics of the time. The second reason was that the Emirs in connivance with British administration had stronghold on the people than in the South where the powers of the Obas had gradually been reduced by colonial administration. The third and most important issue was the slow and sluggish nature Western penetration of the North due to religious conservatism.

This is understandable in that most of the Northern states had been brought under one united and centralized system as a result of the Uthman Dan Fodio Jihad. The Jihad, which had established Emirate system across the North did not only support Islam as a State religion, it greatly discouraged the entry of other foreign religions into the North. It was on the basis of this that Islamic education dominated early colonial education in the North at the detriment of Western education. Additionally, it was also the basis upon which the Missionaries (e.g. Christian Missionary Society) penetration of the Northern region was slow and sluggish. Whereas the CMS had established first Grammar School in Lagos 1859, it was after the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates that colonial schools began to rapidly grow in the region. By the end of the Second World War, the North had braced up to the challenge of defending the national interest of the region. This political struggle was largely championed by educated Northern elites such as Sir Kashim Ibrahim particularly members of Kastina College Old Boys Association (Osuntokun, 1987).

Osuntokun added that "Later on in 1949, a meeting between the Jamiyyar Mutanen Arewa and the Northern Nigeria's Teachers Association formed by Aminu Kano in 1947 led to a resolution to the effect that the teachers' association would function as an organising arm of the JMA. In December, 1949 a meeting of the JMA was held in Kano and most of the other town and district organisations as well as the youth movements were brought into the JMA" (Osuntokun, 1987: 33-34).

Despite the pressure to declare NPC a political party, some internal power dynamics insisted it was a cultural organization but event soon changed with the Macpherson Constitution which contained elements of a

responsible government by giving Nigerians the opportunity to be represented at the Centre and at the regional level. Moved by this development, and the subsequent Constitutional Conference in Ibadan in held 1950 where top Northern leaders represented the region, it was glaring that NPC could no longer remain a cultural organization in the face of the growing politics of decolonization. Osuntokun noted that it even became an official British policy to support NPC against what it called a group of agitators in the South. Again, this colonial politics of the British reinforced the bifurcation of the Nigerian state and the fragmentation of the colonial society. All of these developments were to shape the nature and character of the postcolonial state.

As it turned out, political awareness grew in bounds such that North was intolerant of other political parties outside its region. Osuntokun made this succinct description of the growing influence of NPC, this way; "From 1951 onwards when the NPC formed its representative government in the North, the party monopolised all power and was very intolerant of opposition. The NPC and the N.A's were hardly distinguishable. In fact, most of those who became NPC members of the House of Assembly in 1951 were N.A. Councilors who had been elected not as party men but as representatives of their N.A's. Thus, Ahmadu Bello, who was then Deputy President of the NPC had been elected to the House as a district head. In short the NPC's position as the dominant party was assured through a coalition of forces comprising the British local administration, the Native authorities, the Adult Education Department and the various Malamai who saw in the NPC cause, a Jihad against all unbelievers and particularly against Southerners and what they considered their northern radical fifth columnists NEPU" (Osuntokun, 2009: 36).

It was therefore not surprising the Action Group was bitterly rebuffed by the NPC, in 1953 when Chief Anthony Enahoro moved a motion for Nigeria's independence in 1957. This is similar to the hatred that the NCNC had nursed for the Action Group because it was demanding for the creation of Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers State out of the Eastern region whereas the Ibos saw this as an affront against the unity that the NCNC had maintained. It was not surprising that Nigeria came to independence with brinkmanship, hatred, corruption and ethnic politics but was united to see the end of colonial rule (Ake, 2000; Meredith, 2005; Nnoli, 1985; Okorokwo, 2002; Olasupo, Oladeji & ijeoma, 2017; Osuntokun, 1987).

Nigeria's independence came in 1960 amidst pageantry and expectations that the attainment of political independence would bring about rapid economic growth and economic development, and would eventually lead to the reorganization of the postcolonial Nigerian society. A coalition between Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) and the NCNC had produced for Nigeria, a Parliamentary Government which led to the election of Dr.

Nnamdi Azikwe as the first Nigerian President and Sir Tafawa Balewa, as the Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The initial years of Nigeria's independence were generally peaceful across the country until 1964/1965 election crises again exposed the fragility of the Nigerian state.

Nolte (2004) opined that, the immediate causes of the 1964/1965 Western crisis were the intolerance of opposition party and the determination of the Action Group to win all the seats in the South-West. For instance, in Remoland Nolte held that while Remo local politics had been dominated by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, there had been a few indigenes of the area who had been opposed to anti-federal policy of the AG. The 1964/1965 crisis, threw open, what had been hidden for years and pitched two groups within the Yoruba race against each other. The crisis, which began as a mere protest degenerated into large scale violence which saw the burning of houses of opposition and the use of *Oro Cult* by supporters of the AG to attack members of the opposition.

Though, the declaration of state of emergency in the South-West by the Federal Government, has been appraised as the right step in the right direction, it has been argued that some political analysts that it was designed to deal a good blow on the Action Group by the NPC and NCNC-led Federal Government, a development, that reminded us of the ethnic politics that predated the period of Nigeria's independence, and the one that defined the coalition between the NPC and the NCNC at independence (Nolte, 2004). The development would also soon shape religious and ethnic conflicts in postcolonial Nigeria.

## **NIGERIA'S FEDERALISM AND THE AGITATIONS FOR POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING IN POSTCOLONIAL NIGERIA**

The Nigeria's federalism is the oldest in the African continent founded in 1954 by the colonial government few years before the short-lived Malian federation comprising "Mali and Senegal (1958-1960) (Adamolekun, 2005). The system was given its first constitutional backing by the Macpherson Constitution but was again strengthened by the 1954 Constitution. The Macpherson Constitution was put in place in 1951 after the review of the Richard Constitution of 1946 which collapsed as a result of the increased agitations of Nigerians for self-rule.

Self-rule had been the desire of every African following the decolonization struggles that started in the United States, the Caribbean and then spread to other parts of the world (Olasupo; Oladeji & Ijeoma, 2007). Due to consultation with Nigeria's Nationalist leaders, the then Governor General of Nigeria, Sir John Macpherson supported a constitutional change which led to the division of the country into three regions with a weak central government.

Adamolekun (2005) noted that a critical assessment of the history of Nigeria's federalism indicates that *we have gone through three stages of federalist development*. The first stage was the apprenticeship phase to "true federalism (1954-1965). The second phase was the stage of the federal dominance phase of military rule (1966-1979) and (1984-1999). The third phase was the "muddling through phase" (1979-1984) and 1999-till date. Each phase of Nigeria's federalist system, is characterized by different political and economic struggles engaged in by first by the political class and then the ethnic nationalities. They are said to have defined Nigeria's democratic experiment after independence and post-Cold war era. We shall examine each stage of the evolution of Nigeria's federalism and try to contrast with the idea of true federalism.

### **1. APPREHENTICESHIP TO GOLDEN AGE OF NIGERIA'S FEDERALISM**

The apprenticeship to true federalism phase is the phase that saw the establishment of self-government for the three regions in the country. Unlike unitary government where the state dictates the choice of government for other constituent units, in true federalism, power is decentralized to the regions, and the regions are allowed to make their choices of self-government. As reported by Adamolekun, the golden-age of Nigeria's federalism (1954-1954-1966) saw the emergence strong regional governments in the Eastern, Western and Northern regions. The Western region was the first to establish its self-government in 1957 with powers to decide how to manage its education, health, road construction etc. The Eastern region followed suit in the same year while self-government was not established in the North until 1959.

The Golden Age of Nigeria's federalism also allowed the three regions to negotiate and agree on a date for political independence for Nigeria. Because regional governments were allocated much power to control the affairs of their region, it created healthy competition as each region struggled to generate its own revenues for the development of its people. While the Eastern region explored the opportunities brought by palm oil production in the fast growing agricultural economy in the developing world, the Western region, through the leadership of Chief Obafemi Awolowo effectively utilized the gains of cocoa production to provide free education. The Western region was the first region to introduce free education for its people (Ogunsanwo, 2009). Generally, development was rapid in the South than in the North.

Adamolekun (2005) noted that because significant powers were devolved to the regional government, the leaders of each region struggled to dominate their region. They also raised political consciousness among their people by touching every nook and cranny of the region canvassing for votes. Competition, choice and incentive to brought about massive

economic and political changes to Nigeria. At the local government level, the 1954 constitution allows regional government to manage the local governance. This, constitutional provision boosted the morale of regional government and allowed to form political party that could guarantee them regional autonomy. This is understandable in view of the fact that a regional government needed to have control over its political system before it could control its economy for the benefits of the citizenry (Adamolekun, 2005; Jackson, 1972).

Unlike the colonial era when the Obis, and Obas played significant role in Native Authority Administration, the new system whittled down their powers and influences in the new government and restricted them to House of Chiefs. The Northern region, however adopted a gradualist approach in the reduction of the powers that the Emirs exercised (Adamolekun, 2005). Whether in the Northern region or Western region, the federal government had no say in local government administration. It was purely a prerogative of the regional government. Adamolekun noted that although there was similarity in the movement toward local administration, the pace differed across the regions. For instance, Eastern and Western regions moved faster than the Northern region in the process of electing local government officials.

One of the major benefits of the Golden Age of Nigeria's federalism was that it created a *weak centre* and *strong regional governments*. This feature is clearly noticeable in the revenue allocation formulae and sharing. Revenue allocation between the federal government of Nigeria and the regional governments was based on the principle of derivation as contained in the 1954 Constitution of Nigeria. The principle of derivation simply implies that "*revenues generated by Nigeria would be shared according to your contributions to the economy of Nigeria*". Because the regional government knew that revenues accruing to them would be based on their level of productivity, they were encouraged to build industries, invest in agriculture and formulate policies that enhanced development (Ogunsanwo, 2009). This legacy has since dwindled among states of the federation resorting to the inability of some state governments to effectively carry out their constitutional obligations including defending their citizens from terrorists and armed bandits.

## **2. MILITARY FEDERALISM AND BASTARDIZATION OF NIGERIA'S FEDERALISM**

The Second phase of Nigeria's federalism is the age of *federal dominance and centralized government*. The era was introduced in 1966 following the January 15th, 1966 and existed throughout the military era. It is a form of federalism *where the federal government would have lion share of the federation account, control enormous political powers, and usurp the rights that had hitherto been allocated to the regional government*. This

is understandable given the structure and command of the military (Adamolekun, 2005; Bienen, 1978; Suberu, 2005).

By its nature, military operates strictly based Weber's bureaucracy and follow its ideal typical characteristics to the letter. When they came into power, it was not surprising that the military hierarchy was not too comfortable with the devolution of power in the Golden-Age of Nigeria's federalism. The first thing Aguiyi Ironsi, the Head of State did was to introduce unitary government altering the existing federal structure. Although, the subsequent regime of Gen. Yakubu Gowon reintroduced the federalist structure, it was a bastardized, centralized and capricious type, which empowered the federal government of Nigeria to control the police, the army, the local government and create more states which were designed to be subservient to the centralized government. Military federalism can therefore be regarded as the beginning of Nigeria's federal problems and the genesis of agitation of secession that characterizes contemporary Nigeria (Adamolekun, 2005; Jinadu, 2002; Olowu, 1991). Three examples of military constitutional and political actions will be cited to illustrate military federalism is a bastardized system. The first is creation of states. At the inception of Gen. Yakubu Gowon's administration in 1967, the government abolished the existing regions and established twelve new states; 6 states from the North and 6 states from the South. The argument of the government as at that time was that the states were created to heal the wounds of the civil war, expand political powers to the people and improve national reconciliation. Ostensibly, the intention of the military was different from what it stated in its national broadcast.

Obviously, by creating new states, the federal government had systematically weakened regional influence of ethnic nationalities particularly those who from the South. This would become glaring as move on. Though, the creation of the twelve states in 1967 was conscious of equity, subsequent creation of states by the military regime in 1976 (nineteenth states), 1987 (twenty-one states) and 1996 (thirty-one states) were arbitrary. The Northern region, had by the end of the military era in May 1999 acquired more states from the military than the South thereby restricting the ability of the Southern ethnic groups to compete with their counterparts in their Northern counterpart in terms of population (Adamolekun, 2005).

Apart from the issue of state, the military, is also said to have dealt a big blow on Nigeria's federalism by usurping the hitherto powers of the regional governments by establishing the local government areas as autonomous arm of government. This is done to whittle down the powers of the state, and further weakened their ability to fight the federal government. Notwithstanding the fact the 1976 Local Government

Administration decentralized powers to the local governments, the rights of these local government areas were still arbitrarily abused by both federal and state governments. For instance, in the creation of the number of local government areas in Nigeria the military carried out this responsibility arbitrarily. Whereas Lagos has 20 local governments, Kano, a state, with which Lagos shares similar population size or even higher, has 44 local government areas. Though, the higher number of local government areas in the Northern states has been attributed to the geographical coverage of these states, supporters of the argument of true federalism have argued that it was done to favour the North at the expense of the South (Adamolekun, 2005).

The greatest effect of military federalism is the abuse of the principle of derivation and allocation of more revenues to the federal government. Egwaikhide, Isumonah & Ayodele (2009) and Adamolekun (2005) noted that the cause of federal dominance of revenue allocation which gives the federal government about 50% of revenue generated from the federation, is the cause of agitation for resource control. Although, in 2004 a political solution was found to the case between the federal government and the oil producing states on onshore and offshore, the persistent conflict in the Niger Delta is a reminder that Nigerians are not yet satisfied with revenue sharing.

### **3. MUDDLING-THROUGH STAGE OF NIGERIA'S FEDERALISM**

The muddling through stage of Nigeria's federalism covers the periods of civilian administration in Nigeria (1979-1984) and (1999-till date). It is called muddling-through because the successive civilian governments have not made significant efforts to remedy the damages that the military federalism has done to the nation's political system. For instance, the center is very strong with a federal government that is controlling the police, the military, education and health and infrastructural developments such as ICT. Because the federal government has usurped most of the powers that were hitherto performed by the regional governments, most of the states were unable to carry out significant obligations to their citizenry without national allocation from the federation account. This is evidenced in the way the states rely on the federal allocations for bail out during crises. It is indeed, a reflection of the extent to which the military has bastardized Nigeria's federalism. It is also telling us why the country's system is threatened by multiple security issues from armed banditry to herdsmen-farmers conflicts.

### **BASTARDIZED FEDERALISM AND AGITATIONS FOR RESTRUCTURING**

Since the end of the military, and the return to civilian administration, Nigerians from different quarters have intensified their agitations for

political restructuring. The argument put forward by most of these people is that, the current structure that Nigeria practices, is defective and cannot guarantee the needed security. There is also the agitation that the interests of the minority groups have not been captured in the Nigeria's political project. Such is the agitation by the Niger Delta people for the control of their oil wealth.

Although, the constitution recognizes federal character principle in the allocation of federal appointments, Jinadu (2002) noted that, there is the perception that the one section of the country is holding the majority of political appointments. In order to survive as a nation, scholars have suggested there is need for a reassessment of Nigeria's federalist structure and constitutional review that will accommodate the political and economic interests of the marginalized ethnic nationalities (Adesopo & Asaju, 2017; Dibua, 2005).

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. Discuss what is meant by Voluntarist theory of the state?
- ii. How does Karl Wittfogett's Hydraulic theory of the state explain the nature of the African state in the 21st century?

## **UNIT 4      CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATE IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS**

The State is said to possess certain identities that are distinct from other social groups in the society. These identities are indeed important in our study and analysis of the dynamics of power and agenda of security in the 21st century global society. The State is first and foremost, a political organization. It is organized around power— power accumulation, distribution and redistribution. As a political system, it takes politics as a significant process of power accumulation and distribution. No wonder, David Easton defined politics "as the authoritative allocation of values". Although politics preceded the emergence of the political State, the political life of both the ruled and the ruler is always filled with attempts at using the tactics and strategies to dominate the management of State power. This is the crux of revolution, war and conflicts.

The political State is also expected to be autonomous over other interests within its polity. The autonomy of the State is defined in its ability to assert influence in how political life is organized and order is maintained. As earlier maintained in the social contract theory, the primary reason why people submitted part of their civil liberties to the State, was because they anticipated that the political state would be able to guarantee the maintenance of social order, and secure both the society and the people from internal and external aggression.

Because the State must maintain peace, it needs laws to regulate the affairs of man and society and government, to determine how powers are shared, distributed and redistributed among people. Law therefore serves as the appropriate instrumentality for protection of the citizenry from oppression and maintenance of law. It is however important to note that law is just a set of codified statements or rules designed for the maintenance of social order and the regulation of the affairs of State. The State cannot function effectively without the full force of functional government comprising the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. In modern language of democracy, the civility of a government is measured in how the various arms of government are able to abide by the rule of law and obey lawful order of the courts (Ijalaye, 2018).

It is on the basis of this, that the rule of law is taken as a central component of the modern State. The rule of law is simply the belief that no one is above the law. It is the belief that the law rules at all times. Where the rule of law prevails, the rule of might is jettisoned. It is important to note that the extent to which a State complies with the prism of the rule of law is a function of its constitutionalism.

Besides the possession of a functioning legal system and an enforceable law, the modern State has been distinguished from previous societies

(Empires) with the possession of *sovereign power*. Sovereignty of State, is the ability of a State to control its territorial integrity and exert such powers if an external force is challenging its authority. In political terms, the word looks simple but in global political system, it is a contentious and controversial word. Some who held that it is difficult for States to enjoy their sovereignty in the face of globalization opined that the increasing rise of globalization has continued to erode State's power, and sanctity of its authority within its borders.

Apart from sovereignty of State, the political State in modern times, is also distinguishable by marked geographical territory. Again, globalization and the increasing influence of the liberal political economy, have continued to reduce the geographical territories of nations as more nations under oppressive powers have continued to canvass for political freedoms. This is what happened in the case of the Soviet Union in the 1980s. Miller (2001) held that America's rise to global power, is its ability to reduce the military and geographical powers of the Soviet Union by canvassing for the collapse of the communist state. As recently as 2011, Sudan lost South Sudan to protracted civil war that killed millions of people and altered traditional ties of social relationships among the Sudanese people.

Natural resources are also a major characteristic of the State in modern society. Although, there is no nation that does not have natural resources, some nations possess more profitable natural resources than others. This unequal possession of natural resources and ability to control them, in large measure, are key determinants of contours of political power and global political hegemony in the world system. For instance, Africa's unequal power in the global political system is defined by first, its import-dependency, which places Europe, on a higher pedestal and African countries, at the periphery of the global political system. This is because majority of African countries are unable to significantly transform their natural resources into finished products, and even where they process crude oil, it is poorly refined and characterized by lackluster attitudes (Meredith, 2005).

Nigeria is a good example of an African country with abundant oil resources; gold, diamond, cocoa, oil and gas. While the country has been to tap the benefits of the oil and gas sector, since its discovery in 1958, it has significantly left the other resources untapped or best still underutilized thereby giving room for illegal mining by local and foreign criminal elements, to illegally mine these resources. This challenge has become more common in Zamfara and Kaduna states of Nigeria where bandits have taken advantage of the situation to escalate inter-communal violence, and create tensions (Chiedozie, 2020).

The Modern State is also distinguishable by their currency and population size. Currency use, though has a long history, the creation of modern financial system, has altered traditional modes of payment, unprecedented, that most peripheral nations, are now encapsulated in a global political system dictated by dollar. This again, is one of the factors that distinguish modern State from States in nineteenth century, where governments were able to determine what they wanted and how they wanted them.

The petro-dollar economy is continually reducing the powers of States in most parts of the world especially in Nigeria and majority of African countries, where the economy is import-dependent. For instance, Nigeria, though, possesses abundant oil and mineral resources, it cannot still transform most of these resources into finished goods. The consequence of this is that it depends on the importation of goods, and loses billions of naira to oil theft and money laundering (Meredith, 2005).

The possession of military and police forces, is also another major distinguished characteristic of the political state. Military possession is as important as having a viable police authority that can fight crime and guarantee the security of lives and property within the nation. Because nations face more external challenges than the ones they face at home, the modern political State places premium on the military, its use of force and nuclear capability than police system. This is one of the reasons why the strategic use of military powers, has become very central to the study of national and international security in modern times (Krause & Williams, 1996).

The last of the characteristics of the State, is a State foreign policy defined by its regional integration. A state foreign policy is the policy guideline or framework that defines the state relation with other nations. It defines State's relationship with other nations within the same continent, and the international community. Foreign policy also helps nations smoothen their foreign investments with other nations of the world, can go a long way in making or miring the nation's foreign investments. Besides, trade relations and issues of political integration, the foreign policy defines a nation's military cooperation with other nations, and protection of allies from adversaries (Sun, 2014).

Unlike empires of the sixteenth century that operated largely on *protectionism* as their foreign policy, the state in modern society cannot live and survive on its own alone without cooperation with other nations. Regional integration is therefore, not only necessary to enhance a nation's military and defence capability, it helps to guarantee its mutual benefits in the global political system (Amin, 2010; Haas, 1970; Mitrany, 1975).

## **THE NATURE OF THE STATE IN MODERN SOCIETY, POST-COLD WAR AND POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA**

The nature of the State in modern society has been well articulated and discussed by scholars particularly in the social sciences and in the field of security studies. In this section, we shall concentrate on the emergence of the modern State since the end of the Second World War. Although, other epochs in human history contributed to the development of the State, the end of the Second World war, has defined both the nature of the State, in the developing world and the character of the global political economy that is dominated by the United States of America. It is important to note that reference is often made to the Second World it marked the period of solid unification of the World and the end of modernization process had started in eighteen century with the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution of 1789. The modernization process, which swept through the entire Europe to Latin-America, Asia, the Caribbean and Africa, was instrumental to the fall of feudalism, the rise of industrialization and the emergence of cities. During the first wave of industrialization, nations strived to transform their mode of production from agricultural mode of production to the factory. This legacy was first laid by Britain followed by America, France, Germany and European countries (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013).

By spreading imperial capitalism and neo-liberalist agenda, the idea of State unification spread to Europe and the rest of the world like wild fire. Although, state unification had started since the end of the First World War (1914-1919) with the founding of the League of Nations, it was the Second World War that provided the platform for a solid unification of the world because it relinquished global political hegemony from Britain, Germany and Japan and moved it to Washington. Washington emergence as a global power has since then defined both State Security and the foreign that nations pursue even in postcolonial societies.

Before the Second World War, and indeed the Cold war between the United States of America, the world was polarized along two economic circles; 1. The Western bloc dominated by the capitalism, free-market economy and democracy 2. The Eastern bloc dominated by the Soviet Union. In fact, the causes of global conflicts have been defined by these ideological leanings in the West and non-Western societies.

During and after the Second world, the US was unrelenting in projecting the benefits of liberal capitalism for the world arguing that a free market economy would create enormous opportunities for individuals and would guarantee global stability. The Soviet Union, as it was then called, supported a State-dominated economy, and centralized political system where the State was allowed to play a major role in the regulation of the forces of demand and supply, and the redistribution of powers in the

society (Mbaku, 2000). With the defeat of Japan in the Second World war, US global hegemony became more pronounced as hundreds of people died from the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the US proved to the world that it has the capacity to rule the world with its military superiority (Sherwin, 1995; Yavenditti, 1974). The defeat of Japan in the Second World War sent grave messages to America's adversaries, and like wild fire, created new waves of decolonization in the African continent (Mbaku, 2000; Meredith, 2005). Not only this, it led to loss of some colonial territories by Germany and reinforced British capitalism in the colonies.

Britain and France including many other European super powers in Africa, within few years had realized that they could no longer stay in Africa using colonial rule. In quick succession starting with Egypt (1953), Ghana, Nigeria (1957) and Nigeria (1960), colonized African countries were granted their political independence thereby setting the agenda for a new world order (Mbaku, 2000; Meredith, 2005).

With the attainment of political independence, many African leaders canvassed for the reconstruction of the colonial State, and repositioning of the postcolonial state in a way that indigenous people would be part of the economic and political process of development. In Nigeria, the country's leaders, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Sir Tafawa Balewa agreed to adopt Federalist structure. Federalist structure was the only political system that would guarantee the peace and unity of the country since it had provided a platform for regional development in late colonial era 1954-1960 (Awo, 1960; Osedolor, 1998).

The federalist structure led to the creation of the Western region dominated by the Action Group (a Yoruba party that Awo had launched in March 21st, 1951), the Eastern Region dominated by NCNC and Northern region dominated by the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC). With federalism, the three regions were able to develop on their own. This system created a healthy competition among the various regions leading to the development of their regional economy, education, health, transportation, infrastructure. The Western region was the first to introduce free education policy followed by the Eastern region and then the Northern region, and within few years of political independence, there was evidence that Nigeria could move to greater height after independence (Meredith, 2005), but this was not without ethnic and religious conflicts.

Unable to control their internal crises especially the 1964/1965 Operation Wetie crisis in the Western region, the military on the 15th of January 1966 successfully toppled the civilian government committing in the process ethnic cleansing. Because the North suffered most of the impact military ethnic cleansing, a counter-coup was planned and executed,

which saw Gen. Yakubu Gowon emerging as the Head of the State. Soon than later, this younger officer was left to battle the Nigeria's civil war of 1967-1970. The civil war, left hundreds of people dead in the Eastern region and Federal government also lost the lives of some of his troops until 1970 that the war was brought to an end (Ogunbadejo, 1976).

The civil war (like the Second World war) redefined Nigeria's foreign policy. Although, Nigeria had in theory maintained non-alignment, the politics of the Civil war had shown that Nigeria Federal Military Government leaned towards Russia while Biafra was supported by China and France. Britain and the United States, on the other hand, tried to play down their supports for either the Federal Government or Biafra during the war but this approach soon changed after the Civil war, when changes in Oil prices, introduced petro-dollar economy to Nigeria, placed Nigeria at the mercy of the global political economy, and institutionalized Breeton Woods reforms in Africa.

With the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme and series of reforms of the public service, US imperialism gradually penetrated many African countries and became pronounced in the West African sub-region as there was pressure from Washington, to introduce liberal capitalism in Africa, and reduce state-centred approach to economic management and reduce the spread of communism/ socialism in Africa. This phase marked a new phase in the development of the State in post-colonial Africa (Ake, 2000). Nigeria was one of the first West-African countries to feel the adverse effects of SAP on Nigerian society. For instance, within few years of its establishment, Ake (2000) noted that, many Nigerian workers had lost their jobs, unemployment rate increased astronomically so also was crime rate. The reduction in the cost of public expenditure on social services also catapulted into labour crises. Apparently moved by the collective resistance against the military and its foreign policy in Africa (Western imperialist agenda), the military government did not hesitate before it used its *coercive security powers* to suppress, kill and imprison political activists.

Additionally, indiscriminate arrest of labour union leaders and proscription of perceived labour organizations were supervised by the military administration under Gen. Ibrahim Babangida (Ake, 2000; Meredith, 2005; Nnoli, 1993).The SAP crisis was not restricted to Nigeria; quite a large number of African countries including Ghana faced a thunderous crowd of protesters who wanted a change of government. Gradually, the surge of democratization led to the collapse of military rule in many African countries.

At the global level, the United States and Russia were engaged in global war which had started in 1979 with the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan and US opposition to this decision. For the two global

powers, they thought that to win this Cold war and maintain their future domination of the world, they would need supports of governments of developing countries. Africa, was one of the places in the developing world where this international alignment and cooperation with the Capitalist and Socialist Worlds could first be received. The reasons for these are not far-fetched. First, Africa was one of the poorest continents in the world and the most chaotic in terms of political stability. Secondly, the Western powers knew that the continent's leaders would only support developed nations that would allow them remain in position of authority. This theory informed the illicit arms trade and arms shipment to Africa (Adisa, 2019) and the attendant proliferation of wars and conflicts on the continent.

As US neared victory, Washington began its expansionist programmes in Africa emphasizing the demilitarization and democratization of one-party regimes and military dominated African countries. By 1988, it had become clear that Russia was not going to the war thereby creating the United States as the new world order. Notwithstanding, the emergence of the United States as the new world order, the chaotic civil wars in Liberia, Congo, Burkina Faso have created enormous challenge for peace-building in post-Cold war Africa.

Part of Washington's expansionism in Africa in the 1990s was the protection of US allies in Africa from external aggression and protect US interests in Nigeria. This was what informed the establishment of US-Africa Military relations and bases in North Africa. By early 2000s, a large number of African countries had either been returned to democratic rule or were in the process of constitutional engineering to usher in liberal democratic system. The return of democracy and majority of Africa, is not without its consequences for security and development.

Harshe (2008) opined that there is a convergence between US imperialism and the emergence of terrorist organizations in Africa. This, he said can be traced to the politics of the Cold War, US treatment of Jihadists and African dictators during the Cold War, and illicit arms supply to one-party regimes in developing countries. Harshe (2008) argued that during the Cold War, Osama Bin Ladin and some of the members of the Al Qaeda enjoyed US arms supply and training thereby giving these sub-state actors some influence in the world. While the illicit arms supply were particularly coming from the sides of Russia and the US, the post-Cold War policy of Washington perceived as anti-Islam was one of the factors that pitched the Osama Bin Laden led Al Qaeda against the US and caused rapid spread of Islamist movement in Africa (Harshe, 2008). This feeling is noticeable in the Jihadist supports for war against America's expansionism in Africa, and the rise of Boko Haram, Al Shabaab, An Saru, and the Islamic State in Levant and the West African Province.

The State in post-Cold war and post-colonial Africa is faced with multiple factors ranging from Cold War global politics and unresolved prolonged ethnic and religious conflicts riddled with corruption in government. The history and the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, and militancy in the Niger Delta are not unconnected with local crises escalated by multiple security problems (Adejoh & Adisa, 2018; Meredith, 2005).

## **2. BOKO HARAM: THE RISE OF NIGERIA'S GLOBAL TERRORIST CHALLENGE**

Nigeria, a country of over 180 million people with the most populous Black people in the world, has since its independence in 1960 been confronted with myriad of problems of development. Like majority of African countries, Nigeria's postcolonial history is dotted with different kinds of political and ethnic conflicts ranging from Boko Haram in the Northeast to armed banditry in the South-West and South East and herdsmen-farmers' conflicts in the Middle-Belt of Nigeria.

While a good number of African countries have overcome the protracted civil wars and ethnic cleaning that dotted the early periods of their political independence in the 1970s, they have marched steadily into another era of radical Islamist movements and recurring terrorist crises.

Terrorism, though not alien to Africa, has, since the end of the Cold War and the return of many African countries to democratically elected governments, become more pronounced and lethal in Africa's political history. Terrorist groups have killed thousands of people, displaced many from their ancestral homes. In the midst of this chaos, the State is enmeshed in different types of crises of development such as the rising incidence of corruption in government, armed banditry, kidnapping for ransom, herdsmen-farmers' conflicts and cyber-criminality that has attained a global scale.

The Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria is a reflection of the deep-seated socio-political and economic problems that have been confronting most African countries particularly the West-African sub-region where governance structures have collapsed as a result of massive corruption in government and impunity of the political leadership (Mbaku, 2019; Thurston, 2016). Except for a few West-African countries (such as Ghana) that have shown promising features of good governance, the West African sub-region has remained the epicenter of transnational organized crimes. Terrorist groups, wanting to operate within the African region have seen the region as a typical representation of a Shell State that can be exploited for their purpose and advance their local cause. Such is the history of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria (Thurston, 2016).

Boko Haram, otherwise called *Ahl al Sunna li-l-Da'wa wa-l-Jihad* (People of the Prophet is a model), is a Salafi Islamic movement that originally was founded in the city of Maiduguri in 2002. The group was initially founded by Ja'afar Adam, Muhammed Yusuf's estranged mentor, who along with others had wanted the reform of Islam in the North. The group wanted an Islamic society is patterned after the visions and practices of *Izalat al-Bid'a wa-Iqamat al-Sunna (The Society for the Hierarchical Innovation and the Establishment of the Prophet's Model)*, a religious movement founded by an Islamist reformist, Abubakar Gumi (1924-1992) in 1978 (Thurston, 2016).

Gumi, himself was a Salafi, who had been having running battles with the Sufis in the North over the issue of whether Islam has not been corrupted with the acceptance of Western civilization and the modernization of Northern political institutions following colonization. Like other Salafis, Boko Haram believed that it embodies an authentic Islam and has the right to declare "Muslim leaders apostates, rebel against infidel states, and use force to impose the Salafi creed and a strict interpretation of Islamic society. It views the United States, European countries, and Israel as evil powers that seek to destroy Islam. Its leaders have borrowed ideas and postures from other Salafi-jihadis in order to give intellectual weight to their stances and paint their movement as part of a wider tradition, rather than a deviation from mainstream Salafism" (Thurston, 2016). It was on this *ideological bent* that the militant Islamic organization was founded in 2002. Boko Haram was initially not a radical Islamist in its approach to the preaching of Islam until it started having problems with local communities and the police in Yobe and Maiduguri around 2003.

In 2003, a breakaway group of the sect led by Muhammed Yusuf, an oratory preacher decided to isolate themselves in an area near Kanama, Yobe State. Yusuf and his group's decision was informed by the inability to exert influence in Governor Alimodu Sherif's government and the refusal of the government to implement Sharia law in the State despite the fact that 12 of Nigerian northern states had adopted Sharia law as a state law since the return to civil rule.

The following year, 2004, Sheriff invited Yusuf back to Maiduguri, indicating the level of Yusuf's influence in the government of Borno State at the time but the Kanama group, which the media tagged as "The Nigerian Taliban had become more radicalized by 2004. Yusuf's invitation back to Maiduguri boosted his status, and emboldened him as an Islamic preacher. Within a short time, he started having large followers across the Northern Nigeria, thereby deepening their religious sectionalism.

Worried about the increasing acts of violence the sect was committing during its clash with the communities and the police, the Borno State

Government ordered a clamp down on the sect's members. The clampdown ordered by the government increased the tensions between Yusuf and Borno State government, and by 2009, it had led to large scale violent clashes between the militant Islamic organization and the police in five of the Northern states of Nigeria. Thurston noted that "Over 1,100 people died, including Yusuf, who was killed while in police custody" (Thurston, 2016: 11).

For sometimes, the sect went underground making some people to believe that the sect has been defeated by the Nigerian State but intelligence reports indicated that some of the members of Boko Haram had retired to the Islamic Magreb and Somalia where they were receiving training in the hands of leaders of Al Qaeda on the acts of war and terrorism. In 2010, Boko Haram resumed its onslaught on Nigeria attacking politicians and individuals perceived to be opposed to its creed. Between 2010 and 2011, Boko Haram under *Muhammed Yusuf's deputy, Abubakar Shekaru* intensified its attacks in the Northern part of Nigeria; the most notorious of these attacks was its attack on Loius Edet's House, Police Headquarters, Abuja in June of 2011 (The Guardian, 2011).

Report has it that a man wearing a suicide vest was in a vehicle that was trailing the convoy of Inspector General of Police, and when his vehicle was diverted to another area within the premises of the headquarter, he denoted a bomb killing several people and injuring others. As if this was not enough, the al-Qaeda-linked Islamist organization coordinated another attack on the United Nations office in Abuja in August of the same year thereby sending signals both the Nigerian government, and the international community, that, it was still alive despite the 2009 police onslaught (The Guardian, 2011) on its members.

In 2012, a splinter group announced the formation of "*Jama'at Ansaru al Muslimina fi Bilad al Sudan*" (The Society of the Defenders of Muslims in the lands of the Blacks) led by Abu Musab Yusuf Al Banawi. Unlike Shekaru's version of Boko Haram, Al Banawi's Ansaru was more interested in Western interests and their allies in the African continent. The sect was therefore more interested in the kidnapping of foreign nationals and defending of the interests of the Muslims in Nigeria and West Africa against Western imperialism. In terms of scope, one could observe that Ansaru has a wider agenda of Islamist terrorism different from that of Shekaru's group but it was a smaller group. Notwithstanding this, Shekaru's version of Boko Haram conducted more lethal attacks on the Nigerian State than Ansaru.

In 2014, Boko Haram introduced another dimension to the rhetoric of terrorism in Nigeria by kidnapping 276 Chibok schoolgirls from their school ostensibly to show to the Nigerian government that it has the capacity to attack the State and attack communities even in the face of

military onslaught. In 2013, President Goodluck had imposed a State of emergency on some 15 local government areas affected by the insurgency attacks but the state emergency did not deter the group from furthering its attacks on neighbouring communities that spread across Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Abuja, Kano (The Telegraph, 2013).

The 2014 kidnapping of the Chibok girls, apart from placing the sect in the eyes of the global community, it indirectly affected the reelection bid of President Goodluck Jonathan because many people in the northeast, perceived that the Federal Government under President Goodluck Jonathan had not done enough to bring an end to the problem of terrorism to the northeast and improve national security in Nigeria.

With time, Boko Haram spread its religious campaigns to the countries in the Lake Chad region exploiting the socio-economic and political problems of the region and penetrating the locals who had been marginalized by the State. Undeterred, Boko Haram attacked communities in Niger Republic, North of Cameroon and Chad. It was the regional spread of the Islamist sect that prompted the formation of the Joint Multinational Task Force comprising of Nigerian soldiers and Chadian and Niger military. Despite the joint military onslaught on the Islamist sect, the group was still able to carry out suicide bombing in market and religious places in Nigeria, Cameroon and the Lake Chad region throughout the year, 2014 (International Crisis Group, 2016).

In 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari, a military man who had once been at the helms of affairs of Nigeria won the general election and was sworn in the midst of hope of a return of peace to Nigeria particularly the Northeast. As anticipated, within few years of the President Muhammadu Buhari's election into office, Boko Haram was pushed back and the government was able to capture back some of the territories that were previously under the control of Boko Haram. With this gain, the Federal Government of Nigeria and the people breathe a sigh of relief in the hands of the dreaded sect. While Federal Government's efforts were ongoing, a splinter group, sworn an oath of allegiance to the leader of the Islamic State Abubakar Al Baghdadi in March, 2015 thereby leading to the establishment of the Islamic State for the West African Province (Thurston, 2016) and continued audacious attacks of the Islamist sect (International Crisis Group, 2016).

The rise of the Islamic State in the West African province has introduced a new twist to the war against terrorism in Nigeria. While it is clear that Abubakar Shekaru version of the Boko Haram has been degraded by the Nigerian military, the sect's capability to attack from Sambisa Forest and the Lake Chad region remains a big challenge that the Nigerian government has to cope with. A good example of this, was the killing of 92 Chadian soldiers by Boko Haram in the Lake Chad region in March of

2020. While this attack was just one out of the several attacks that the radical Islamist group has committed lately, it has drawn a new voice from the international community about Nigeria's capability to effectively degrade the sect, and end the over 10 years insurgency in the Northeast. While this global condemnation continued, Nigeria and the Republic of Chad rejigged their military onslaught on Boko Haram with a view to finally degrading the militant Islamist sect (The Guardian, 2020).

Idris Derby, the President of Chad, in response to the dastardly act of this Islamic militant led Chadian soldiers in an Operation Bohoma Anger and killed 1,000 Boko Haram members to avenge the killing of his men. This was the first time, a seating head of State would directly be involved in combatants against terrorism in the Lake Chad region. Of course, as expected, this development elicited criticisms of the Nigerian military. The Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari immediately ordered a meeting of service Chiefs, and tasked them to ensure that no ensure that no single Boko Haram element is left in the Lake Chad region or in the Nigeria (Al Jazeera, 2020).

Boko Haram has remained an intractable monster in Nigeria's political history despite past efforts to degrade and decimate it. Its history of staging a come-back after defeating it raises a lot of questions about the nature and character of the Nigerian State, as well as the underlying local and international causes of terrorism in Africa. We shall take a few moments to reflect on a few of these questions about the nature and character of the Nigerian State and terrorism in Nigeria.

## **1. THE COLONIAL LEGACY AND THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE NIGERIAN STATE: GIVING INSIGHTS INTO THE CAUSES OF TERRORISM AND BOKO HARAM IN NIGERIA**

Nigeria is a creation of the British in 1914 following the amalgamation of the Southern and the Northern Protectorates in 1906 and Lagos colony in 1914. With the birth of Nigeria, the colonialists set the stage for a merger of over 250 ethnic distinct groups that are ethnically and religiously different. Not unmindful of these differences, the colonialists created Nigeria, and then proceeded to impose its Western colonial structures using the Missionaries and colonial institutions (Adisa, 2018; Ekeh, 1975; Osuntokun, 1987; Mbaku, 2010).

Like it did in other African countries, the British introduced schools, imposed new laws in replacement of the existing customary laws and built new institutions to replace the traditional institutions of governance. One of the major reforms of the Colonial State was to introduce new land reforms that would give the Queen the authority over lands in colonial territories. This was done first in the case of Lagos colony in 1861 with

the cession of Lagos to the British Empire, and after the 1914 amalgamation, the forceful seizure of lands from the natives continued across the African continents (Mamdani, 2004).

Of course, British rule or European colonization of Africa had its positive role. It led to the modernization of African traditional societies; roads, water systems, schools, railway transportation systems were constructed and made to facilitate easy transportation of local produce to the hinterlands (Mbaku, 2010). The State also saw gradual reform of the justice system; modern police, courts and prisons were established to replace the traditional system and the notion of the rule of law in Western jurisprudence was imported into African traditional societies. The colonial State also introduced Banking system and new currency was introduced to replace old currency leading to the integration of the economies of the traditional societies into those of the European societies but all of these were not without consequences on the development and future of African countries (Mbaku, 2010; Mamdani, 2004).

Using the indirect rule system, the British penetrated the hinterland and replaced the local hegemony of the traditional institution with that of the colonial government. Though, the degree of subjugation varied, in majority of colonial territories in Nigeria, Ghana and the Gambia, the British placed the Kings and Emires under the control of the colonial government. This was not without some resistance from local Chiefs but the colonial government succeeded in bringing all the colonial territories in Nigeria under its control. One of the legacies of the colonial State in Nigeria, is that it left a fractured, fractionalized and bifurcated state (Mamdani, 2004). The State was administrated without due regard to the socio-cultural and historical differences of the people of Nigeria because of the imperialist interest of the British colonial state (Mbaku, 2010). This behaviour was expected because the primary interest of colonialism in Africa was to amass wealth for the development of the metropolis.

Informed by this narrow economic interest, the colonial British government made some concessions where it believed it was necessary to recognize the powers of the traditional elites (Osuntokun, 1987). In the North, the British followed the existing structures of governance that had been laid by late Uthman Dan Fodio in the nineteenth century but did a little modification.

It would be recalled that through "Holy Jihad" (war), Uthman Dan Fodio, a Fulani- Jihadist leader, displaced many traditional Hausa Kings from the north and replaced them with Emirate system, thereby creating an Emirate political System in the north. Part of the groups displaced in the process or subdued was the Kanuri Empire that had ruled in the region for almost a thousand year but Islam remained a unifying factor between the Fulani-dominated Emirates and Shehu of Borno, whose territories and

powers have been reduced by the British colonial government (Adisa, 2018; Thurston, 2016). This age-long rivalry between the two dominant groups in the North, is not unconnected with the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

Besides this, there has been argument that the colonial state has not been fair in the administration of Nigeria. It created a well-educated South and was reluctant in introducing Western education to the North. This gap in the history of education in Nigeria and the feeling about Western education and Islamic education are not unconnected with the attitudes of radical elements in the North to Western education in Nigeria. Western education is said to be a portrayal of Western civilization and for some radical elements- it is an anti-Islam both in its religious values and practices (Elkaim, 2012). This feeling is not unconnected with the Boko Haram insurgency in the North, which is seen as an attempt to reform the corrupt and capricious State left behind by the colonial masters.

There is also the angle of politics to the colonial legacy and terrorism in Nigeria. It is argued that the lopsidedness of the federalist structure and the fear by the South, that the North wants to remain in power, is not unconnected to the rise and success of Boko Haram and other radical religious groups in the North. Though, some of these arguments have been debunked as speculative, the rise of Niger Delta militants in the South-South and their attendant military assaults on oil installations in the region, are not unconnected to the power tussles between the North and South (Aghedo & Osumah, 2012; Elkaim, 2012). The North-South dichotomy and emphasis on ethnicity and religion as the basis of attaining political power and national resources in Nigeria are also some of the colonial legacies that continue to underline the fault lines of Nigeria's security problems (Elkaim, 2012).

## **2. POVERTY, COLLAPSE OF GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES AND INSECURITY IN POSTCOLONIAL NIGERIA**

Though, the colonial legacy theorization of Africa's political problems has been well articulated by the dependency scholars, in some African circles, it has been argued that the problems of Nigeria and other poor African societies lie in an irresponsive and corrupt postcolonial state. For decades, Mbaku noted, the ruling elites have not been able to reconstruct the postcolonial State and reposition it for greater development. Instead of being an instrument of political change and inclusive governance, the postcolonial state, in many African countries has, in large measure, been turned into an instrument of primitive capital accumulation and racial and ethnic politics. Like its Nigerian counter-part, the South-African State, had before 1994, lingered and wracked by Apartheid regime. The regime, which left millions of South-Africans marginalized also deepened

poverty, hunger and unemployment among the Black majority. Although, Nigeria, is not wracked by racial discrimination, the emphasis on power, ethnicity and religion over access to national resources have left millions of people out of the power calculation-the response is the emergence of different kinds of transnational organized crimes, at the periphery of the society (Aghedo & Osumah, 2012; Meredith, 2005). This is evidenced in a recent report of the World Bank that 87% of the poor people in Nigeria are the Northern part of Nigeria (Dakei, Akhaine, Akpeji & Musa, 2020; The Cable, 2020).

### **3. GLOBAL DIMENSION TO BOKO HARAM'S LETHAL ATTACKS AND THE WAR ON TERRORISM IN NIGERIA**

The persistent Boko Haram phenomenon in Nigeria cannot be delinked from global politics; *the politics of the post-Cold War between Russia, US expansionism in Africa and the rivalry between the Western world and the Arab World*. While local problems have helped to create mass of aggrieved young people, the persistent confrontation between the United States of America and some Arab countries have increased the involvement of Islamist groups from Africa particularly in the West African sub-region where Boko Haram has killed over 20, 000 people and displaced thousands from their ancestral homes.

In the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, invasion of Afghanistan the outbreak of war in Libya and increased activities of Al Qaeda in the West African province, Boko Haram, is reported to have received training and monetary supports from the outside world (Financial Action Task Force, 2016; Thurston, 2016). These are just in addition to illicit arms shipment to the West- African sub-region and the free flow of arms stolen from late Maman Ghadafi's armoury in Libya.

It is therefore important to note that Nigeria's security problems are a complex problem which has its roots in the local politics of the postcolonial society and the struggles for political hegemony between the West, Eastern bloc (Russia) and the Arab World. Samuel Huntington (1993) has this in mind when he stated that the fault lines of today's global politics are no longer determined by narrow struggles over economic domination but are indeed, in cultural civilizations. Nations, whether in the West or non-Western societies are now resorting to their cultural and religious civilizations to clinch or ascend political power. This, Huntington, noted will determine the future of global conflicts and the politics of security architecture in the years ahead (Huntington, 1993).

### **4. STATE SECURITY OBJECTIVES**

State security objectives are a set of Security goals a nation has set for itself, first as a constitutional obligation to its citizenry, and second as an

attempt to protect itself from internal and external aggression. Whether in the developed or developing societies, security of the State and its territorial integrity has always been central to the organization of government. This is what is contained in Chapter II of the 1979 Constitution and Chapter II of the 1999 Constitution.

It is known as the *Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy*. Sections 13 and 14 of the 1999 Constitution explicitly state that:

*13. It shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this Constitution.*

*14. (1) The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice.*

*(2) It is hereby, accordingly, declared that:*

*(a) sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this constitution derives all its powers and authority*

*(b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government and*

*(c) the participation by the people in their government shall be ensure in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution*

It is obvious from the above provisions that the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy of Nigeria are built on five key values;

- a. Sovereignty of the Nigerian nation
- b. Security and Welfare of the people
- c. Participation of the people in Government
- d. Principles of democracy
- e. Social justice

Admittedly, all of them cover the essence of the political state in modern society but what is missing in the security objectives of the Nigeria's federation as contained in the Constitution is Nigeria's bilateral or global interest in the security of other nations. One may not be surprised given

the nature and character of the Nigerian State, whose primary interest is to secure its citizens from internal and external aggression.

It is however important to note that, the scope and components of a State Security objective is a function of the State's socio-economic and political history and its role in the international political system (Okere, 1983). Unlike most African countries that are still struggling to survive from the shackles of ethnicism and religious bigotry, the interests of the advanced capitalist nations are usually wider in scope determined usually by the power it is able to weigh in the global political system and narrowed economic interest it has in the countries at the periphery of the global political system. For instance, the United States Security objectives are designed to protect both the territorial integrity of US constitution and the integrity of its allies. What this means, is that the United States, will not wait and allow its allies to be attacked by adversaries, it must respond both militarily and economically. Militarily in this regard means deploying soldiers to the affected territories, setting up peace-keeping operations in adjoining countries to protect its interests or going into full scale war with the adversaries (Ikenberry, 2018; Sakellaroponlos & Sotiris, 2008).

## **5. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY**

The National Security Policy is the policy framework or implementation plans of a country's Security objectives. It can be described as the ladder or conveyor upon which policy makers will implement the various objectives of government. Depending on the size, history, politics and nature of the state, a State Security Policy is expected to cover a wide range of issues; establishment and duties of the armed forces, sovereignty of the nation, protection of citizens from internal and external aggression, war against terrorism and transnational organized crimes, bilateral relations and cyber-security strategies.

While realism is at the center of the formulation of most National Security Strategy, recent developments around the world have increasingly shown that nations are beginning to shift towards neo-realist, constructivist and critical approaches to State Security. It is our contention here that comparatively only a few of the countries in the developed world have shifted towards human-centered National Security Strategy. This is in spite of the global campaigns for peace and security of the human race around. We shall use the examples of powerful sovereign nations like America, Russia, China and Canada to illustrate our position.

## **6. AMERICA'S NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY**

America remains the most powerful nation in the world. It also has the largest economy and military power. This is possibly followed by the former Soviet Union (Russia) and China which continuously trail the

United States of America in the competition for energy and resources outside their territories.

The United States is of interests here because of its role in the promotion of the rule of law, liberal democracy and capitalist markets around the world, since the end of the Second World War. Following the defeat of Japan with the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, United States image as the world super has blossomed, and its respect in the management of global economy is incontrovertible. Because this increased popularity of the United States and its dominance of the world markets, it has garnered more enemies and adversaries than any other nations in the world.

The United States of America, has also waxed stronger militarily with the defeat of the Soviet Union in the Cold War of 1979-1991. The Cold war put an end permanently to the rivalry between communism and capitalist economy, and in the end brought out America's image to the developed and developing worlds. Since the end of the Cold war, America has been pursuing its expansionist programmes of "selling liberal capitalist economy" to the world, and ensuring the nations in the global political economy to adopt Western cultures and values. This campaign has been vigorous, and is taking different dimensions; war in Iraq, invasion of Afghanistan, involvement in Syria-Al Asad war, and aggressive campaigns against terrorism in Africa. America too has been very liberal and generous with huge amount of money being donated to Africa for the fight against terrorism, and COVID-19. In war-torn Central Africa and crisis ridden West and East African regions, the presence of America, in military and training and foreign aids are unquantifiable but something remains fundamental in America's foreign policy- *the sovereignty of America's State and America's constitution.*

America's foreign policy begins with America's State. Ostensibly, any threat to America's Constitution is a threat to America's State. This is contained in country's National Security Strategy declaration of 2017.

*"An America First National Security Strategy is based on American principles, a clear-eyed assessment of U.S. interests, and a determination to tackle the challenges that we face. It is a strategy of principled realism that is guided by outcomes, not ideology. It is based upon the view that peace, security, and prosperity depend on strong, sovereign nations that respect their citizens at home and cooperate to advance peace abroad. And it is grounded in the realization that American principles are a lasting force for good in the world" (US National Security Strategy, 2017: 1).*

While it worthy of note to appreciate America's interests in the promotion of global peace, it is important for you to acknowledge America will never

tolerate any attempts to compete with America's State acquisitive powers in the global system. Again, we shall replicate some sections of the US National Security Strategy to show that the United States still operate largely on the principles of realism;

*"China and Russia challenge American power, influence, and interests, attempting to erode American security and prosperity. They are determined to make economies less free and less fair, to grow their militaries, and to control information and data to repress their societies and expand their influence. At the same time, the dictatorships of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Islamic Republic of Iran are determined to destabilize regions, threaten Americans and our allies, and brutalize their own people. Transnational threat groups, from jihadist terrorists to transnational criminal organizations, are actively trying to harm Americans. While these challenges differ in nature and magnitude, they are fundamentally contests between those who value human dignity and freedom and those who oppress individuals and enforce uniformity. These competitions require the United States to rethink the policies of the past two decades—policies based on the assumption that engagement with rivals and their inclusion in international institutions and global commerce would turn them into benign actors and trustworthy partners. For the most part, this premise turned out to be false" (US National Security Strategy, 2017).*

Additionally, you should note that America's foreign policy in post-Cold War African society, is driven by the ability of the American nation to maintain its political hegemony and dominate the energy resources of the continent. It includes the supply of military equipment and deployment of American soldiers to countries troubled by terrorism or those faced with adversaries, which may eventually threaten America's interests, if not quickly addressed.

Ohaegbulam (1992) opined that America's foreign policy after the Cold war, has been to see an end to communism in the continent and a revitalization of Africa's economies through liberal capitalist agendas. While he supports the presence of America in the region, he advises that African leaders must take deliberate steps to reform their economies and make them highly competitive in the global economy. It is however not uncommon to find scholars who would contend that, America's foreign policy is driven narrowly by America's imperialist missions in the developing world including the Sub-Saharan Africa region where the world's poorest populations live (Harshe, 2008).

## 6. Russia National Security Strategy

Russia's foreign policy is not also different from that of America, even if Russia also pursue humanitarian missions around the world, and involve its military in wars, and peace-keeping operations in countries of political

interests. Russia foreign policy is however slightly different from that of America in that, it is built around the "reincarnation of lost Russia identity". This ideological thinking is borne out of Russia lost in the Cold war, and the need to bring lost Russian territories into the political hegemony of the Russian Federation.

Besides its fierce rivalry with the United States, Russia also believes that its different socio-political history with Europe, rediscover its collective identity and use this as a platform to form coalition and control the global economy. Not unmindful of cultural differences, the Russia federation will prefer to align with other countries of the world to fight the US and Europe, and in the process regain its political hegemony but this will remain a long battle as the United States has through the process of globalization penetrated many Russian territories and also established military presence.

Piotrowski (2002) in his work "Russia Security Policy" noted that Russia Security is built around three schools of thought in Moscow's foreign policy. We shall look at the ideology of these schools and link them to Russia's foreign policy.

**i. Zapadniki (Westernizers)**

This school believes in the nineteenth century Russia's federation friendly relationship with Europe, and believes strongly in Russia's modernization and its cordial relationship with European nations. As posited by Piotrowski (2002), proponents of the school however, maintained that if Russia is unable to make friendly relationship with Europe, it should team up with other countries of the world that respect Russia's political powers. This advice must have informed Moscow's backing for Asian countries that are ready to recognize its hegemony.

**ii. Vielikrossy (Great Russia)**

This school of thought based their philosophy on the nineteenth century's arguments of Russophiles and the Pan-Slavic which believed that the primary goal of the Russian State is to pursue the path of Russian greatness. They believed in the rediscovery of Russia's past imperialist powers, Orthodox Church and its friendly relations with the Baltic nations. Some of the proponents of this school, Piotrowski held that Moscow should work in renewing its alliance, areas of influence and balance of powers with Belarus, Germany, Greece and Ukraine. The recent attempt by Russia forces to take over some territories in Ukraine is a recourse to the ideas of *Vielikrossy school*. Although, Russia is in pursuit of the greatness of the Russian Identity, Moscow believed

strongly, one of the major ways of achieving is by rediscovering the collective identity by the Russian people (Piotrowski, 2002).

### iii. *Yevraziytsy* (Euroasianists)

The *Yevraziytsy* ideologues believed that, there is no real conflict of interests between Russia and countries in the Euroasia that are dissatisfied with America's dominance and globalization. Russia should therefore keyed into this by extending diplomatic relations and strengthening its military ties in strengthening with countries in the region. Since Russia cannot currently follow the path of direct military confrontation with the US because of the United States of America nuclear weapons and military strength, a coalition of nations can sink military ship and bring out Russia as the world super powers. All these calculations are the center of Vladimir Putin's foreign policy in the Arab World, China and the Euroasia (Piotrowski, 2002).

Accepted that Russia followed this path, Moscow will still find it difficult to have a control of the political economy of the Euroasia because the economies of most of the countries in this region are still being determined by a petrol-dollar and ICT-driven economy as dictated by the United States of America. Individually or collectively, a few of the Euroasian countries also have their military, diplomatic and economic agenda in the world system (Polyakov, 2002). This is why we shall look at Chinese foreign policy and the world system.

## 7. CHINESE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY AND THE WORLD SYSTEM

China is one of the world fastest growing economies in the world, and the second most powerful nation in the world in the 21st century. China's greatness has come through series of reforms that started in 1978 "Chinese Reforms of 1978), and within a space of 40 years, Chinese economy has moved from agricultural based economy to oil, technology and telecommunication. Like Russia, Chinese foreign policy is also premised on the greatness of the Chinese civilization and the collective identity of the people of China.

China's economy policy right from the onset is based on the modernization of Chinese economy using Chinese cultures, values and traditions. Unlike most African countries that hinged their foreign policy on Western ideologies, Chinese foreign policy is premised on the fact that China can be great if the country's leaders are able to rediscover Chinese civilization, sold it to the world and spread its imperial powers.

One of the reasons why China is America's greatest enemy in the modern world is because Chinese foreign policy is also based on acquisitive powers of the State. The State, is interested in acquiring powers both at home and outside its territories using money, influence and diplomatic relations but China's setbacks also come from the fact that the global political economy is still largely controlled by the United States of America. In order to break this monopoly, China too has been deliberately entering the regions of the world where America's is boosting its military and economic strength. The West-African sub-region is one of these regions, where America's oil interests, remain very strong (Campbell, 2008; Mohan & Power, 2008).

## **8. SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY**

South Africa is another power-hub in Africa with regional influence within the South-African sub-region and outside the South-African states. The reason why we shall be examining South African National Security Policy is to provide us the opportunity to compare Nigerian National Security Strategy with those of other nations.

Battered by over fifty years of Apartheid regime, South Africa has come out as one of the strongest nations in Africa with one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Except for its recent Xenophobic attacks and sex-related crimes and drug trade, South Africa has not been faced with any serious security threats since the return of democracy to the continent in 1994. Notwithstanding this security atmosphere, South Africa has deliberately been investing in its defence and military capability since then. Unlike Nigeria, South Africa has also maintained regional control of the Southern African sub-region while Nigeria struggles to exert its influence on other nations because it is battling with multitude of socio-economic and political crises at home.

Like Nigeria, the South African National Security Policy is centered on the protection of the lives and property of the citizens of the South African nation but in the 1996 White paper and, it is clearly stated that South Africa will pursue regional security cooperation where it is necessary (Daniels, 2019). Although, Nigeria had, in the past, premised its foreign policy on security of other African nations, it has in recent times, redirected its energy its energy to the war against terrorism in the West-African sub-region rather than maintaining political hegemony within the African region.

## **9. NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY**

Nigeria National Security Strategy has a long history that dates back to the era of political independence. At independence, the primary motivation for Nigeria's security policy was to maintain a strong state that

is capable of *securing its people, sovereignty and maintaining strong regional powers*. In fact, between 1960 and 1990, Nigeria was visible in the African continent as a regional power, is perhaps, recognized today as one of the country that has kept Africa's unity in the midst of protracted ethnic and religious conflicts. With huge budgetary allocations, Nigeria participated actively in putting an end to civil war in Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast and Benin Republic, and it was indeed recognized for its unflinching role in peace-keeping operations in the West African sub-region.

By so doing, Nigeria has earned itself, regional and global respects among comity of nations. For many years, Nigeria pursued this realist approach to foreign policy by building a strong state with regional powers but the country has been very weak in tackling its internal security issues. It is from this direction that the 2019 National Security Strategy of Nigeria was launched by President Muhammadu Buhari.

The NNSS has as its mandate the need to focus on the country's security threats; terrorism, cyber-criminality, insurgency, armed banditry, herdsmen farmers conflicts, climate change. The policy framework shifted from "State Centric Approach" to "Security Management" to "Multi-sectoral approach" where the interests of the people of Nigeria are of paramount interests to the Nigerian federation. The policy is built around core values;

- a. Protect Nigerian People and Territory
- b. Promote Nigeria's Prosperity and Sustainable Development
- c. Promote National Unity and Peaceful Coexistence
- d. Promote our Regional and International Interests

A critical look at the NNSS will reveal that it is a departure from the Fundamental Objectives and Directive of State Policy stated in the chapter II of the 1999 constitution. The difference may be minor but it has a lot of implications for Nigeria's regional and global interests. Apparently informed by an increasingly complex global society, Nigeria has also included the need to protect the interests of regional allies while at the same time, maintaining its territorial integrity and the security of its people.

This is important in view of the fact that it will need the cooperation of other nations of the world to fight an effective war against its national and regional security threats such as terrorism and violent extremism, armed banditry, kidnapping, militancy and separatist agitations, pastoralist and farmers' conflicts, transnational organized crimes such as illicit arms trade, drug trafficking and smuggling of contraband goods because of porous borders. As explicitly stated in the document, Nigeria will not

hesitate in cooperating with the African Union and other global powers such as the United States of America in pursuing the path of global peace and finding an end to terrorism (NSS, 2019).

## **CORE DEFENCE MECHANISMS AND POLICY FOCUS**

### **1. NATIONAL DEFENCE**

The National Security Strategy explicitly states that it is the duty of the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to protect both the people and territorial integrity of the Nigerian federation. The Federal Government of Nigeria also states that the military will not hesitate in deploying military officers to areas and regions where it perceived that the internal security of Nigeria is still be threatened but this will be done in accordance with the provisions of the constitution (NSS, 2019).

### **2. INTERNAL SECURITY**

The NSS also note that the Federal Government shall ensure that the country maintain a peaceful and prosperous internal environment that is hinged on the principles of the rule of law, justice and human rights. Because the issue of internal security is a complex issue, the FG shall take an open, just and lawful approach to the resolution of internal conflicts by strengthening the capacity of the criminal justice system in maintaining law and order, and where necessary, take multisectoral and multidimensional approach to resolving the issues in the interests of national unity and progress (NSS, 2019).

### **3. COMBATING TERRORISM AND COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM**

The NSS states that Nigeria shall continue to make concerted efforts to combat terrorism and countering violent extremism using existing legal and policy frameworks. One of Nigeria's legal efforts at countering violent extremism was the enactment in 2013 of the Terrorism Act. This was followed by the National Counter Terrorism Strategy 2016 (NACTEST) and the establishment of Counter Terrorism Center to coordinate all activities geared at ending violent extremism and countering terrorism in Nigeria.

### **4. PREVENTING AND COMBATING KIDNAPPING, ARMED BANDITRY AND MILITANT ACTIVITIES**

Wracked by over 10 years of transnational organized crimes, Nigeria also states in the NSS, 2019, it is poised at fighting all kinds of organized crimes. Specifically, it states that the government will not relent in ensuring that an end is found to the activities of the kidnappers, armed

bandits and militants that have made lives unbearable for many Nigerians in the last few years.

## **5. PROMOTE CYBERSECURITY DEVELOPMENT**

Nigeria is not unmindful of the inglorious image that the problem of cyber-criminality has earned the country in the last 10 years. To combat it, the NSS states that government is committed to the implementation of the National Cyber-security Policy and Strategy, 2015 and the Cybercrimes Prohibition and Prevention Act. In addition to this, the FG noted that henceforth, the war against cyber-terrorism shall be collectively fought with the various stakeholders in the industry (NSS, 2019: 25).

## **6. PROMOTE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN SPACE TECHNOLOGY**

Space technology development, according to the FG, is also going to be pursued by the Federal Government in order to promote Nigeria's military and defence capability. This core mandate is to be pursued by National Space and Development Agency with the support of Defence Space Administration of the Nigerian Armed Forces (NSS, 2019). With this initiative, one can see that Nigeria, is gradually being driven by neorealist ideologies of redefining State's powers beyond the establishment of a strong state but the Nigeria's case has a lot of limitations. Presently, Nigeria's space technology is still one of the weakest in the world compared with those of the Asian tigers and the European nations.

## **7. CRITICAL NATIONAL ASSETS AND INFRASTRUCTURE SECURITY**

The protection of critical national assets and infrastructure has also been brought into the National Security Strategy. Though, this has been part of Nigeria's interests, Nigeria's loss of huge revenues to pipeline vandalization and militancy in the Niger Delta, has meant that a more constructive approach be undertaken. As contained in the NSS, 2019, the Federal government will now strengthen the capacity of the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) to be able to respond to effectively to threats in this sector. Besides all of these security strategies, Nigeria has drawn up a lot of programmes for the maritime and aviation industry. This, as anticipated will ensure that the country's territorial integrity is maintained at all times.

Analysts have however held that 2019 Nigeria National Security Strategy is a major departure from its previous NSS because it changes the focus of the State from "State" to the people and emphasize constructive engagement of the people to find an end to Nigeria's numerous security problems. This shows that Nigeria is gradually moving from a

combination of realist and neorealist approaches to international relations to "constructivist" and "critical approach" but whether this would practically change security situation will be determined by time (Premium Times, 2019).

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAE)**

- i. What is the role of imperialism and expansionism in America's foreign policy?
- ii. Critically define what is usually referred to as critical security infrastructure in a nation's State Strategy.

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

State remains a significant factor in the regulation of international security because it defines all aspects of engagement of with its citizens with other international actors

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This module has examined the meanings of the State and State Security. It has also examined measurement of State Security within the expanding scope thrown up by the end of the Cold War. Though, the traditional idea of State security is often restricted to the territorial integrity of the State, it has now encompassed human and environment security given the changing nature of our world. The module also traces the origin of the State to ancient times. It argues that the Modern State emerged out of the collapse of feudalism and human consensus to form more centralized form of government in order to protect themselves.

The module also examines the origin of the Nigerian State tracing it the 1914 amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates by the British. It argued that one of the reasons why Nigeria is confronted by many security problems is because of the defective and centralized federalism inherited from the military which squeezes the minority group and build ethnic and religious disunity within the Nigerian federation. The module therefore held that the success and effectiveness of the Nigeria Security Objectives will depend on the Federal Government is able to address the grievances of the separatist movements within the boundaries of national and international laws, one of which is to reexamine the structure of the Nigerian federation again.

### **6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

Differentiate between State Security and International Security. What significance does the idea of human security have in international politics.

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## **MODULE 2            STRATEGIC THINKING AND SECURITY STUDIES: EVOLUTION, CONTEXTS AND CHANGING BOUNDARIES OF SECURITY STUDIES**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Strategic thinking as a field of study, is not more than seventy years old. It began after the Second World War, when the study of international relations took a dramatic turn following the US defeat of Japan and bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Like never before, the politics of atomic bombing came to dominate international politics and changed the pattern of war strategy of both developed and developing nations. Since then, the word “strategy” has become part and parcel of security studies and strategic security management, even if in the literature of war, it dates back to centuries.

In this module, you will learn about the origin, history and changing boundaries of strategic thinking and security studies. You will be familiar with the raging theoretical, philosophical and scientific debates that have changed how nations view the world and react to threats coming from their adversaries.

### **UNIT 1            WHAT IS STRATEGIC THINKING?**

Strategic thinking is a field of security studies that deals with strategic management of a nation's military powers and the process by which it maximizes its human and material capital to prevent, defend and deter enemies or adversaries. It connotes the use of scientifically predetermined strategies and procedures in the development of military and war weapons and in monitoring, managing and deploying a nation's army and military forces with a view to winning a war or deterring one's adversaries.

The use of the concept of strategy is however as old as the Old Testament. It was first mentioned in the Bible, and later adapted and used in the various works of European political philosophers and writers such as Charles Montesquieu, Immanuel Kant, Frederick Hegel, C.W. Mills and William Shakespeare. In military parlance, the word comes from Greek word *stratego* meaning to "plan the destruction of one's enemies through effective use of resources". However, since the end of the Second World War, the concept of strategy has been adapted and applied to business management and the rapidly changing and competitive business environment (Bracker, 1980).

In the field of security studies, advancement of the security environment has meant that nations must continually calculate their security risks, assess the risks, and prevent the risks using military, diplomatic and other modern scientific strategies. This is why militarist strategists have

developed the game theory of strategic management to the intricate relationship between strategic studies and modern international politics and security of nations.

**SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAE)**

- i. What is strategic thinking?
- ii. What changes has the end of the Cold War brought to the discussion of strategic thinking in the field of security studies?

## **UNIT 2 THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF STRATEGIC THINKING AND SECURITY STUDIES**

Security studies, as a field of study, is increasingly gaining more attention among researchers and the academia. Though, the origin of the field dates back to the First World War (Miller, 2001), the increased changes in the boundaries of international politics and the attendant security challenges confronted by nations, after the Second World War, have again reiterated the need for scholars to reevaluate the subject matter of security studies and strategic thinking.

Since the end of the Second World War in 1945, the international community has witnessed considerable changes in policy discourses on the role of the state and military forces in the prevention of wars and management of State and individual security. Unlike before, the establishment of the United Nations has opened doors for more elaborate discussions of state security beyond military competition and accumulation of powers by the state and spending on defence among nations that had characterized the period of the First World War and the larger part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Traditional view of State security opines that every State has the responsibility to prevent its citizens from external aggression using military force or deterrence, where it deemed necessary. The traditional boundary of security studies focuses almost exclusively on the State as the main instrumental of defence.

After the Cold war between the United States of America and the Soviet Union (now Russia), experts and researchers began to evaluate the extent to which the State can take the exclusive responsibility of the defence of its citizens. Considering the expansive nature of the global system, it has become increasingly clear that the international community has a role to play in order to prevent the world from decent into anarchy. Although, the United Nations, has been playing a critical role in the regulation of global conflicts, it has become increasingly clear, that more regional collaborations among peoples and nations are needed to safeguard the world from nuclear war, political conflicts and terrorism. It is within this context, that the traditional boundaries of Security Studies are being altered. What then is Security Studies?

Security Studies is a field of the social sciences, that blends the study of international politics with political economy to understand how nations deploy their military resources to defend their sovereignty, and how the actions of State and Non-State Actors shape the occurrence of conflicts, wars and terrorism in the international system (Checkel, 1998; Krause and Williams, 1996). The field has also been defined as the study of state security capability-be it military, economic, political and cultural

endowment, to exert influence in the international political system and also protect its citizenry from international and external aggression.

Krause and Williams (1996) averred that the field of Security Studies is the study of security of a State or the International Community with the intention of guaranteeing human security from the consequences of war and political conflicts and with the purpose of creating an enduring global peace. For Krause and Williams (1996), the field of Security Studies has entered the "Renaissance Age" using Stephen Walt's concept. In his critique of Realism, Stephen Walt opined that Security Studies have entered a critical stage where "laws governing the realm of security are discovered or, the correct method for their discovery has been identified" (Krause & Williams, 1996: 231). Walt (1991) noted that the increasing sophistication of security studies field is due, in large part to its ability to endorse scientific principles guiding the occurrence of conflicts, wars, and predict the role of military forces in war prevention and combat or the resolutions of those conflicts. Walt is of course writing in the tone of the neo-realists. Critiques of the neorealist school have however taken him and other members of the school up in post-Cold war era.

### **BROADENING THE AGENDA OF SECURITY STUDIES: THE POLITICS, THE METHODS AND PARADIGM SHIFTS IN POST-COLD WAR ERA**

Since the end of the Cold war, the world has seen tremendous changes in the field of security studies and international politics. Like never before, the alteration of bipolar system of the global political system that was previously dominated by the US and the Soviet Union (Eastern blocks) has now seen the emergence of the United States of America and the infusion of new thinking about war, politics, security, power, economic system and international politics. In fact, the emergence of the United States of America as the world power, has changed both the perception of the State and its military capability (Buzan & Hansen, 2009; O'Brien & Williams, 2007). Although to Huntington (1993), the end of the Cold War, has changed the fault lines of global conflicts, Krause and Williams (1996) believed that it has changed both the conception of security and assessment of neorealist assumptions about security of nations and military use of force.

Unlike before when traditional theory of international politics and neorealist dominated the field of security studies, the emergence of global terrorism, the increasing identification of people around the world with their cultures and civilizations, and use of cultural and religious identity as the basis of fighting global conflicts in post-Cold war era, have brought considerable changes to the field of security studies. Part of the changes, is the thinking that the neorealist approach is no longer adequate to account for the causes of global conflicts and insecurity of nations and

individuals. What then is neo-realism and how do they define security studies?

## **NEOREALISM AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES**

Neo-realism is the field of security studies which believes that State Security lies in both the capacity of the State as a Sovereign entity to acquire power and influence through its military strengths. The theory holds that the causes of conflicts, the use of force and the ability of a State to deter others in global conflicts, are a function of the nature and character of the State. By historicizing the origin of the State and examining the structure of the state, the neorealists account for some basic scientific principles that help the political state to prevent itself from war and those that expose it to war in the international system. The theory also holds that most decisions about military involvement in wars are premised on scientifically verifiable principles-one of which is the rational choice approach in neoliberal theory.

It is within this context, that Stephen Walt, one of the major voices, in the field defined security studies as "the study of the threat, use, and control of military force --that is the conditions that make the use of force more likely, the ways that the use of force affects individuals, States and societies, and the specific policies that States adopt in order to prepare for, or engage in war" (Walt, 1991: 212).

Unlike the realist school of international relations, the neo-realists emphasized objective and scientific study of "facts" about state security. They also emphasized that a first port of call for the study of State or international conflicts and wars, is to understand the way the State acquires power, dominates other nations and mobilizes resources to protect itself. A further analysis of the school, states that, defensive neo-realism holds that the anarchical nature of the State in the international system necessitates that it maintains moderate and reserved policies. It is from reserved policies that it diplomatically ensures its territorial integrity and safeguards its citizens from external aggression. While the defensive neo-realism emphasizes protective policies that are capable of helping the nation-State maintain its hegemony in the political system, the offensive neorealism wants the Nation-State to seek to dominate others and extend its political hegemony, it is from this behavior, that, it can maintain its structural domination of the world.

With more than five centuries of evolution, the neorealists believed the political State has evolved stable patterns of behaviours that can be scientifically studied and predicted (Krause & Williams, 1996; Taylor, 2004).

## CRITIQUES OF NEO-REALISM AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Critics of the neo-realists opined that the field of security studies must move from the narrow conception of State Security as being the sole determinant of State power, to the more expansive approach that gives experts the opportunity to include human security, in national and international security matters.

Krause & Williams noted that the diverse contributions of these scholars can be classified along different axes. One of them is associated with the works of Richard Ulman (1983), Jessica Tuchman Mathews (1989), Theodore Moran (1990) and Beverly Crawford (1994) which believe that the conception of security should be broadened to include wider range of potential threats to human security. These threats which are multifarious in nature include environmental and social threats such as migration that were rarely discussed in the past.

With regards to policymaking, the critiques of neo-realism opined that the agenda of security studies should be moved down to the level of the individual, extended to human security, made to incorporate events in the global political system with interests in the analysis of the influence of social actors, in the determination of global politics. They argued that the narrow view of war, security and military force as products of the capability of the State can no longer help in predicting why nations go to war, and why they will not go war.

Krause and Williams noted that others have remained within the State Centric analysis of global conflicts but have developed more concepts and ideas to describe the new roles of the political State in a post-Cold War society. Some of the concepts and modifiers developed to give the state broader responsibilities within the international political system are; *common, cooperative, collective and comprehensive*. It is anticipated that these concepts, when fully implemented will assist nations "advocate different forms of interstate security cooperation, that could ameliorate, if not transcend the security dilemma". While the critiques of neorealism, have approached the study of security and international politics in different ways, there is a uniformed conviction that the neorealists "focus on safeguarding the core values of a state from military threats emanating from outside its borders is no longer adequate to in understanding what or who is to be secured----" (Krause & Williams, 1996: 230).

## UNIT 2 THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

The state remains very central to the study of international politics and security of nations in modern times. This is because both its formation and its development in the international political system helps conjecture the nature and character of the state of our time. More importantly, the study of the state provides us with the appropriate contexts with which we view international politics and the reason why nations go to wars (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013; Goodrich, 1947).

The modern State emerged as a political entity created first for the maintenance of social order and provide appropriate governance the attainment of peace in the face of confrontations and wars. The state is not only meant to achieve political purposes, in the final analysis, it is a political organization for man and society to attain rapid economic progress and political development. Given its centrality to the security of nations, it would be almost extremely impossible to study the role of *State Security Objectives* in the management of *International Security Protocols* without first examining the origin of the state.

By understanding the contexts and contours of political contests and the dynamics of powers among political actors, students and members of the academia will be able to place the dynamics of social and political conflicts in their right perspectives. Additionally, students will be placed in the right of frame of minds on policy makers in government and in multinational organizations.

### SELF- ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)

- i. What is international security in security studies ?
- ii. Distinguish between realist and neorealist conception of international security.

### **UNIT 3 THE CONSTRUCTIVIST TURN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-DEBATING NUCLEAR POWERS AND MILITARY STRENGTHS**

Constructivism and a good number of the critical theories have come to dominate the field of international politics in recent times. Like Checkel (1998) stated, they are not, in actual fact, there to condemn the ideas of neorealism or those of the neoliberals but to give the world, a better picture of war, politics and society in the 21st century.

#### **WHAT IS CONSTRUCTIVISM?**

Constructivism is a theoretical paradigm in the social sciences, which believes that, actions, meanings, symbols, interests, conditions and interpretations that actors give to situations matter a lot in the objective understanding of our world. Unlike structural materialism which emphasizes the role of material facts in the understanding of international security and international politics, constructivists believe that there are more facts behind material objects, which scholars of the neorealists have not explained. These facts include; how human beings view the world away from how the State views, how the perception of conditions of society shape the decisions of the state, how interaction of multitude of interests within the political system shapes the use of military or the politics of Nation-State nuclear proliferation around the world.

In a more elaborate analysis of constructivist theory of international relations, Checkel stated that there are two basic assumptions. The first assumption "reflects that material structures, beyond certain biological necessities are given meaning only by the social context through which they are interpreted". For instance, US policy towards Iran and North-Korea, is defined more by the social context of US perception of denuclearization in non-European countries, and not about the nuclear weapons themselves, after all there are countries within NATO have more deadly nuclear weapons than some of the new nuclear states.

The second assumption mentioned by Checkel (1998) is "addresses the basic nature of human agents and States, in particular, their relation to broader, structural environment. As a mark of departure from the realist and neorealist schools, constructivist believed that a more mutual and constructive relations exist between human agents and the State, such that it does not appear that the State is independent of the people. Constructivists now began to criticize the individualist methodology adopted by the neoliberals and neorealists which assume that State, and individuals can take decisions within the international system, using utility maximization. In other words, when policy makers or individuals are confronted with multiple options, the neorealists believed that they will be guided by rational choice.

Unlike the neoliberals, constructivists stated that both the State and the agents therein are "social facts", that seek to interpret international politics, and it is the outcome of the two that culminate in a State decision, most of the time. For instance, in the US President Trump to withdraw from going into full-blown war with Iran in the wake of the assassination, was a decision, informed not only by US government decision, but a calculation of the mood at home and around the world, and the political interests at stake, if a war should break out between the US and Arab World. It is plausible to state that, the US energy interests and the body-language of US allies in the Arab World were not in support of another World War, which has tendency to leave "mutually assured destructive impacts" on the two regions (Katzmann, Thomas & McInnis, 2020).

### **HOW DO THE CONSTRUCTIVIST IDEAS FIT INTO THE DEBATES OF NUCLEAR REVOLUTION ?**

The constructivists view about nuclear weapons is that the narrow perception of biological materials to be manipulated for international interests should be discarded or modified. The reasons for these are not far-fetched. First, events after the Second World War and the Cold War, have shown that biological weapons are socially constructed incorporating both the interests of the State and non-State actors. In fact, the reason why the global clamour for denuclearization has failed in many instances is that the international community has really explored the role of social conditions that produce nuclear weapons. Why should Nations produce nuclear weapons when they portend dangers for their security?

Unless scholars in the field of international relations are able to provide answers to this, they may be held down by the narrow view of neoliberalism and neorealism that the "given the anarchical nature of the international system, the State still needs to acquire more power, and extend its economic domination of the world. While all of these factors are inevitable in our interpretation of our world, we must be very strategic in identifying the underlying socio-cultural factors pushing nations to the brink of war or armed conflicts.

The Constructivists have also held that, by paying greater attention to the role of institutions, norms, ideology, culture and values, scholars in the field of international politics, will know better the danger that global terrorism portends for our collective existence, and how a careful study of processes of transferring extremist cultures to younger generation can give a better picture of the dangers ahead in states with no nuclear weapons (Checkel, 1998; Krause & William, 1996).

Checkel noted that work done by experts on "epistemic communities and more transnational policy networks has brought research on international regimes closer to the insights offered by the constructivists" (Checkel, 1998: 329). For instance, more recent studies about terrorism in Africa

have shown that the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, and Al Shabaab attacks in Somalia have underlying interpretations which conventional theories of international relations, have not explored. Such is the Al Majiri schooling system in Northern Nigeria, which imposed heavy burden of socialization on an Arab School in the midst of crushing poverty.

While the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has been linked to the Sharia crisis, Al Majiri phenomenon, Uthman Dan Fodio Jihad, religious revivalism by some radical elements, it has been argued that the fractured nature of Somali society, after independence, is largely responsible for the rise and lethality of Al Shabaab in the East African sub-region (Hasan, 2012; Meredith, 2005; Wise, 2011).

### **SELF- ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. What is Constructivism ?
- ii. How does Constructivist ideas fit into the debates of nuclear brinkmanship?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

This module has critically examined the evolution of strategic studies as an aspect of international politics and security studies. The module held that the history of strategic thinking dates back to ancient times, when Great nations fought wars but modern strategic studies began to surface following the end of the Second World War as many nations began the race for nuclear weapon possession.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

Strategic history is discussed in this module, and is traced to the evolution of human societies and the end of the Second World war. Essentially, it discussed the raging debate between the realists, neorealists and the critical school of strategic studies about the notions of state security, balance of power and human security. Given the complex nature of security as a result of the end of the Cold War, the outbreak of terrorist organizations in the Third World and the associated humanitarian challenge, security experts have argued that the field of international security studies can no longer be confined to the realist conception of the State, Power, Military and Balance of Power dominated international relations in the last fifty years.

The module suggested that there has been a dramatic change towards human security because it addresses the numerous challenges that humanity is confronted with in the 21st century.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What are the thoughts of the Neo-Realists and the Constructivists about State, Power and Human Security?

## 7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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### **MODULE 3            WAR, CONFLICTS, BRINKMANSHIP &                                  DETERRENCE IN INTERNATIONAL                                  POLITICS**

War, conflicts, brinkmanship and deterrence define the contours of powers and security in today's international politics. Notwithstanding their overbearing role in the development of our age, they are as old as the human race. It is however important to note that since the end of the Cold war, nuclear threats and nuclear debates have dominated the discourse on international politics and the security of nations.

Nation-States in the international system have since moved from "no nuclear weapons" to "possession of nuclear threats". The world now stands between survival and war, between violence and peace, between freedom and coercion. While the race for nuclear possession among big and small States continues, there is this argument that students of international politics and international security need to understand the theory, methodology and dynamics of war and political conflicts with a view to helping their nations build strong security architectures against adversaries and also with a view to contributing to the peace of peace-building in war-torn and conflict ridden parts of the developed and developing countries.

In this module, you will learn the role of war, conflicts, brinkmanship and deterrence in international politics. You will also learn the benefits of brinkmanship in the politics of a nuclear world between the developed capitalist nations like the United States of America, Russia, Germany, France and the developing countries like China, Iran, North Korea, India and Pakistan. In this intention of this module to explain the relevance of deterrence and brinkmanship to the management of internal conflicts in Nigeria.

#### **UNIT 1            THE CONCEPTS OF WAR, CONFLICTS,                                  DETERRENCE, AND BRINKMANSHIP**

The concept of war has been used variously to refer to any organized violence with prolonged conflicts and large scale military combat which results in the deaths of hundreds of people and is fought to achieve a political, economic or ideological purposes by two or more State or non-State actors. In this case, war is differentiated from political conflict, in that, the aim of the two States in a warfare, is to cause large scale military consequences on their adversaries and use the war to compel them to make concessions in the power game (Wassrstorm,1985).

War also has the characteristic of persistent and prolonged confrontation-a show of military powers and weapon superiority. It is an expression of

hegemony over those that one perceives as inferior in the power game. One of the reasons why nations have gone to war is because they perceive their enemies as weak, and unable to exert much military confrontation but when it turned out that the adversary could make meaningful impact in the power game, the dominating State might resort to concessions or use economic sanctions to stifle the military strengths of its opponents. Unlike other forms of violence, war is also not fought without preparedness, even where it requires emergency, military strategists and policy makers would usually weigh several options before a nation goes to war and series of meetings would have been held before the State resorts to large scale military confrontation against its adversary.

War can also be destructive or even lead to total annihilation of a particular group especially when the opposing group is weak military and does not receive needed external support to counter continuous military combat of its adversary. The Rwanda genocide of 1994 and the Biafra Civil war in Nigeria in 1967-1970 can be cited as instances of mass killing in a war when the opposing power in the war game is politically weak and lacks the military wherewithal to cause maximum damage to its adversary. While political conflicts can also witness instances of mass killings, organized warfare can be so destructive, dehumanizing and targeted at annihilation of a particular race, even if the objective, was not initially genocide.

Besides the issue of mutual destruction of human and material resources, war must necessarily involve two or more States or a State and non-State actors, who are hell bent on seceding from the current political arrangement and is determined to use war as a bargaining power. This is the fault lines of ethno-political and religious conflicts in postcolonial Africa, which boil down to the nature and character of the State inherited from the colonial masters. As will be discussed further later on, the State in postcolonial Africa, is a fractured and fractitionalized political entity that lacks cohesion, consensus, and autonomy to fight the colonial legacy of "forced political integration" foisted on the people by the Europeans (Ake, 2000; Awo, 1960, Meredith, 2005).

War is increasingly being viewed as a legitimate use of force by two States or quasi-State actors to make a demand for a political or economic change using excessive force dominated by military men and recognized by some authorities as a path to peace. While war remains inevitable in the development of human society, scholars have argued that the causes of war keep changing from one generation to another.

**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAES)**

- i. Define the concepts of war, conflict and brinkmanship
- ii. How does war differ from brinkmanship in the study and understanding of the dynamics of international politics?

## **UNIT 2      CHANGING FACES OF WAR IN HUMAN HISTORY**

The intent to go to war has always been part of human society from time immemorial. From wars in Greek city states to Wars in ancient Roman Empires, Europeans have fought different wars that have changed the course of their history. Of course Europeans, were not the only society and people that have fought wars in pre-enlightenment period, wars had been fought in Asia, the Caribbean and the Arab World over lands, powers, territory and religion. This simply indicates that war is one of the cultural values of human civilization, and is likely to be forgotten in as much as the nation-states still contest for powers and human taste for power is insatiable. The history of war in human history can be divided into three;

1.      War in Pre-Enlightenment Era
2.      War in Enlightenment
3.      War in Post-Enlightenment Society

In all of these wars, we shall draw differences in the experiences of humanity and we shall draw similarities in order for us to know that wars carry with them some legacies that will never leave the world.

### **1.      WAR IN PRE-ENLIGHTENMENT SOCIETY**

The evolution of human society is said to have followed certain patterns of development. From hunters and gatherers' societies, human beings have transited to sedentary and agricultural societies. While these forms of cohabitation lasted for years, the emergence of agriculture societies was said to have set the stage for the new contests and contours of power-the struggle for land and the establishment of feudal societies (Paret, 1971).

Power over lands became a source of military and political contestations. This development lasted for thousands of years and was the major cause of war in ancient Greek, Egyptian, European, Arabian and African societies. Nations and empires fought over possession of lands. For several years, the Spanish Armada ruled the world so also were the Chinese and the Ottoman Empire but gradually the forces of liberalization that sprang up in Europe first in Britain subdued the ancient powers to the whims and caprices of the Imperial Britain (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013; Jessen, 1988). Spanish rule, is particularly interesting because its imperial governance system was not only interested in landed property but also in the spoils of wars.

Writing about the history of Europe and the rise of Nations, Acemoglu & Robinson made this description of Spanish rule and war strategy:

"The Spanish strategy of colonization was highly effective. First perfected by Cortes in Mexico, it was based on the observation that the best way for the Spanish to subdue opposition was to capture the indigenous leader. This strategy enabled the Spanish to claim the accumulated wealth of the leader and coerce the indigenous peoples to give tribute and food. The next step was setting themselves up as the new elite of the indigenous society and taking control of existing methods of taxation, tribute, and particularly, forced labor" (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013: 11). Using this crude method, the Spanish was able to control quite a large number of territories in Europe, Latin-America (Peru, Colombia and Mexico) and was also able to threaten British political hegemony. It was all these crises that resulted in a thirty Years war in Europe which terminated Spanish rule in the early 17th century (1620s) and saw Germany emerging as a leader of the new international system. While a new treaty of peace was being signed, Britain, France and other world powers were not comfortable with the rise of Germany. Fortunately for Britain, its economy was blossoming at home, first with international trade, transatlantic slave trade, the rise of agricultural mode of production and the expansion of British empires in other parts of the world particularly in America (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013).

Gutmann (1988) made this remark about the thirty years war:

"We might describe the Thirty Years' War as not one but three wars, with six or more principal parties. First there was the imperial civil war, a conflict about religion and imperial authority, which was ended by the Peace of Prague in 1635. Then there was the western war, involving Spain against the Netherlands and France, which was the continuation of sixteenth-century conflicts. Finally, there was the Baltic war, fought mostly in Germany, between Denmark first, and then Sweden, on one side, and the emperor and his allies on the other. This war concerned the growing power of the Baltic states, especially Sweden. Because most of the fighting during these three wars took place in Germany, the main elements became thoroughly intertwined, and the armies constantly rushed across the continent to help out allies in one of the other theaters. Although these three wars are not easily distinguishable, they give us a starting point by telling us where to look for the conflicts which led to the Thirty Years' War (Gutmann, 1988: 753).

With the emergence of Britain as a world imperial economy in the 17th century, and political transformation it witnessed at home as a result of the Victorious Revolution, all was set for the modernization of British civilization and the colonization of Africa. The British empire began its adventurism to colonize other parts of the world in the 17th century and by the middle of the nineteenth century, it had set its political hegemony in Africa.

There is however, a war that changed Britain's fortune and made it a global power in the eighteenth century-Seven Years War.

## **2. WAR IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT- THE SEVEN YEARS WAR**

The Enlightenment is often regarded as the age of reason or age of civilization. It was an age when European civilization moved away largely from religious-dominated State to a secular society. It was characterized by the enlightenment philosophy, which holds that man is a rational animal and as a rational animal, he can think, and if he can think, he can change his world. In fact, the enlightenment was a great time of change in Europe, first a transformation of agricultural mode of production in Britain to factory production and the development of cottage industry.

While the economic values of the period to political change in modern remain notable, the Seven Years War fought by European powers such as Kingdoms of Great Britain, France, Prussia and Russian Empire, established the contours of vast British empire and brought to end the French presence in North America and India. The war of 1756 -1763 changed the cultural status of minority French Canadians into refugees. The spoils of the war were instructive to the emergence of Great Britain as world super power until the First World War.

## **3. WAR IN POST-ENLIGHTENMENT SOCIETY – FIRST WORLD WAR, SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE COLD WAR**

The post-Enlightenment society may be described as the period when Europe began to consolidate on their gains of colonialism, and modernization of the world. The period can also be described as a period majority of European countries and a few Asian nations have been brought to the centre of modern civilization-*industrialization, urbanization, modern transportation system, advanced sea or shipping movement and the development of modern technology and bureaucracy*. It has also been argued that development was also rapid in North America and Latin-America around this period, and it also coincided with the rise of British empires in Africa.

## **1. AMERICA CIVIL WAR (1861-1865) AND THE REMAKING OF THE WORLD**

America Civil war was the war fought between 1861 and 1865 after the election of President Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican President of America. The war was ignited over the continuity of slavery as an international trade. It would be recalled that America and other European nations had been actively involved in the Transatlantic Slave Trade across

the world particularly in Africa where the worst form of illegal human transportation took place (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013). For over three centuries, Africa suffered tremendously from this forced transportation of the Blacks to Great Britain, France, North America and Europe. The trade, which benefitted Europeans, caused havoc in the African continent by reducing the population that would be available for development (Meredith, 2005).

In 1861, debates ensued between the loyalists of the American state and seven southern states that seceded from America to form "Confederate States of America. While the loyalists of the American state were in support of the abolition of the slave trade, the seven confederate states wanted the enslavement of the blacks to continue. Basically, the war was ignited by long-standing frictions between the North and the South.

In North America, development was rapid especially between 1815 and 1861. Roads, rail system and industries were rapidly developing while the economy of the South was still largely depended on plantations. With America's victory in its War with Mexico in 1848 and rapid economic development, the North was well prepared to lead the agitations for the abolition of slave trade in America (Gunderson, 1974; Nichols, 1947). Weber noted that disparities heightened tensions because more than 100,000 manufacturing plants in America are located in the North whereas the south could only boast of 18,000 Potomac river (Weber, 2020).

At the initial stages of the American Civil War, the South had upper hands, as they seized Northern military soldiers. This, analysts have attributed it to the secessionist leader's military experience, Jefferson Davis, was not only a trained military person who has had military background, and also fought during the America-Mexico war of 1848. He had enjoyed much military training which the south had used in the past to help America won wars (Weber, 2020). As events turned out, the UNION had to call for military reinforcement and campaign for maximum military pressure on the secessionist states to make them surrender to the American people

With time, the US President, Abraham Lincoln developed military prowess, and was able to command loyal military men. This was a contrast to Jefferson Davis who was accused of being too arrogant and lacked support at the grassroot to win the war (Weber, 2020). The benefits of this for Lincoln was that, he was able to command large followers in the Union (in the American State), and enjoyed military support to contain secessionism and bring back America's democracy. Determined the war, Lincoln embarked on series of military reforms with a view to appointing an appropriate and a dogged military general until he appointed George McClean to see the end of the War (Weber, 2020).

On weapons used and military styles during the American Civil War, Philips (2011) remarked that: *"The nineteenth-century battlefield posed unique ethical challenges and demanded choices of those individuals wreathed in the acrid, thick, black smoke of gunpowder volleys. The moral and physical autonomy of the soldier, however, was frequently constrained by the tactical formation in which he was deployed (involving both the close proximity of his comrades and, crucially, his unit leaders) and by the technological characteristics of his weapons close ranks, armed with smoothbore muskets that were inaccurate beyond 150 meters. Hence, most fire on the battlefield was delivered in mass unaimed volleys from clumsy muzzle loaders leveled in the direction of enemy formations. Good troops were those who fired fast, three or four rounds a minute. Later in the century, veteran officers and military theorists would look back upon the soldiers of Frederick the Great and the Napoleonic Wars almost as machines, when "men were drilled not trained," under a system of frequently brutal physical discipline that taught them to repeat the actions of loading and firing as if by reflex, even when gripped by the acute anxiety of battle. Under the eyes of their comrades, fear of shame fixed them to their ground; if terror overcame honor, the close proximity of officers, sergeants, and corporals ensured that they could physically be forced back into their place, by half-pike or the flat of a sword"* (Philips, 2011: 565-566).

Phillips (2011) stated that the typical weapons with which both the North and South fought each during the America's civil war were knives, rifled muskets, beach loaders, and various artilleries found in most European nations of the nineteenth century. It was not also uncommon to find Lorenz rifle and Colt revolving rifle as weapon wars. The New York Times (2012) noted the time the American Civil War ended in 1865, about 618,222 men had from the civil war; 360, 000 from the North and 258,000 from the South

Although, the American Civil war was devastating as it claimed several lives, it has a way it reconstructed the world and proselytized liberal democracy. With the end of the American Civil war, one of the significant changes that the world saw was an increased campaign for the abolition of slave trade. The world also saw the spread of the idea of liberal capitalism leading to the collapse of despotic rule. However, the Europeans changed their tactics from slave trade to colonialism in order to sustain their hegemony over Africa. Notwithstanding, the American Civil War, thought world leaders every human being has a life to live. It also reiterated the idea of human rights enshrined in America's Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. As turned out the nemesis of this Civil War, would later impact on decolonization in African and the end of Apartheid Rule in South Africa (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013; Philips, 1947; Mbaku, 1994; Meredith, 2005).

## 2. COLONIAL RULE & FIRST WORLD WAR

As the gains of colonial rule were being massively amassed by Britain and other European super powers, increased tensions over who ruled the world had also dominated international politics in the early stage of the 20th century. It was this contest over the global political hegemony between Britain and Germany that led to the First World War. Britain representing the new political order and Germany representing the adversary fought a war that lasted for 4 years- 1914-1918, and eventually reproduced Britain's global political order.

One of the differences between the First World War, and the previous wars was the extent of military technology deployed to fighting the adversary. Unlike previous wars, advanced military technologies were deployed including German U boats which sunk several commercial and passengers' ships on the side of Britain and the United States of America. The second lesson was a coalition between Britain, France, Russia, Japan, which would soon change in the future. For several years, the contests for power between France and Britain were unprecedented but they saw the invasion of Europe by Germany., Austria-Hungary and Hungary and Ottoman Empire as a war that must be won collectively.

It is important to note that at the early stage of the First World War, America adopted a neutral policy trading with both sides in the war but with sporadic attacks on its commercial and passenger ships, President Woodrow Wilson led America to the First World. Given the military powers of Britain, America, Russia and Japan combined, Germany had no choice but to submit to the military superiority of the British-led coalition. It was an end to the First World that culminated in the establishment of the League of Nations. Notwithstanding London's gains from the war, it led to loss of assets abroad, debts and economic dislocations to Britain (Marwick, 1968).

### TYPOLOGIES OF WAR

War in human history has also been typified in different ways. Some of the criteria that are often used include the period of the war, military operations, modus operandi, weapons used, ideology, etc. We present below a table showing typologies of war.

**TYPOLOGIES OF WAR**

Type of war	Period	Ideology	Military, Weapons used & Equipments
Imperial War	Ancient Times Middle Ages The Enlightenment	Feudalism	Military Troops
Religious War	The Crusader (12th century) Ottoman Empire	Religious Revivalism	Military Troops & Traditional Fighting Methods (Horses)
First World War	1914-1918	Colonial Domination & Global Political Hegemony	Military Troops Gun Boats Advanced warfare technologies Deterrence
Second World War	1939-1945	Struggles between US liberal capitalist Ideology & Japan	Atomic Bomb Advanced Military Technologies Aircraft warfare technologies Brinkmanship Deterrence
The Cold War	1979 -1989	Struggles between US Liberal	Military troops

		capitalist ideology & Communism of the Soviet Union (RUSSIA)	Aircraft bombers  Advanced  Brinkmanship  Deterrence
Civil war	American Civil War (1861-1865)  Nigeria  Democratic Republic of Congo  Uganda  Liberia  Syria  Yemen	Ethnic nationalism  Identity Crisis  Fragile Postcolonial State  Religious Revivalism	Military Troops  Locally produced weapons  Aircraft bombers  Explosives
Terrorism War	Afghanistan  Iraq  Nigeria  Somalia  Libya	Religious revivalism  Political Change	Military troops  Locally produced weapons  Aircraft bombers  Explosives  Brinkmanship  Deterrence

Source: N. Nwabueze & W. Adisa 2020

**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. What was the role of the Enlightenment in the collapse of feudalism in Europe?
- ii. How did America Civil War contribute to the remaking of our World?

### UNIT 3      **DETERRENCE AND BRINKMANSHIP IN NUCLEAR WARS**

Deterrence and brinkmanship have now become major components of discourses on war and defence in today's international politics. The reasons for this are not fetched. First, most countries of the world are no longer interested in going into frequent warfare with their adversaries. Secondly the human and material costs of war are increasingly more contestable in national politics than before. Thirdly, weak nations that were hitherto not in possession of nuclear weapons during the Second World War are now in possession of those weapons thereby increasing the risks of going to war with those countries and the attendant casualties that may result from the war. Fourth, deterrence is now going through social construction and deeper interpretations among citizens and scholars because of the growing influence of the globalization and global political order. All of these have contributed to the reason why both deterrence and brinkmanship have come to the center stage of world politics in the 21st century (Lupovici, 2010).

Given the cost and the risks of war in post-Cold war society, the nation-states are now more interested in the use of deterrence and brinkmanship to dissuade their enemies from taking actions that may result to war, or discourage them completely from starting a conflict. In this section of the module, we shall be looking at the meanings of deterrence and brinkmanship in international politics. We shall also be discussing their relevance in modern politics of nuclear war especially between the United States, defence policy and the rest of the world.

#### **What is Deterrence?**

Deterrence is simply the act of discouraging an adversary or an enemy from taking an action which may result to war. It is the process of preventing or discouraging a potential aggressor from taking an action (usually military) that may result to war and cost both sides human and material resources. While deterrence helps to lower the chances that a potential aggressor will go to war, it is an assurance that war will not occur. This is the occurrence of war between a Nation State and an aggressor, is a function of several factors. (Mazzar, 2018). For instance, if a deterrent State feels that going to war inevitable to achieve its goals, deterrence as a military and defence strategy may not work. A crucial role, deterrence plays in international diplomacy, is that it gives the governments of both sides to make concrete decisions on whether to go to war or not (George & Smoke, 1979).

As a war strategy, the idea is premised on rational choice approach and realism. For the rational choice approach, both war and deterrent acts are rational decisions that States must take. Because wars are usually costly, the theory believe that most Nation-States and aggressors will take the

path of peace and most profitable with minimum cost and maximum benefits. The theory assumes that government and policy makers are usually informed by the need to satisfy the needs of the State, and where the costs of satisfying the needs of a State outweigh the benefits, people in government may be constrained to take the path of peace.

However, several factors may influence the rational decision of a State. For instance, if a State feels that spending more into winning a war, may be costly but is necessary at that point in time to keep the nation united or exercise the political hegemony of the State, it may go into a full scale war. It was this idea that informed the decision of the Federal Military Government in 1967 when it declared a full-blown war against Ojukwu Biafra Republic. The war, which saw the Federal Government emerge victorious, was not without human and material costs on the part of Nigeria.

Similarly, the US invasion of Iraq in the wake of the September 11, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the war against terrorism in the Arab World, since then, is seen as a matter of necessity to keep the terrorists at arm's length even if it cost the US millions of dollars to keep US army in foreign countries and support allies in their bid to end the siege in their countries.

These multitude of experiences that have been shaped by calculation of history, psychology of war, information biases are some of the shortcomings of the rational choice approach that scholars have since highlighted (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraft, 1990; George, 1980; Jervis, 1985; Mintz, 1993, Neustadt & May, 1980). In order to have a better picture of the role of deterrence in the balance of military power, scholars have categorized deterrence as follows:

**a. Deterrence by Denial**

Deterrence by denial is the strategy of making it impossible and impracticable for an aggressor to attack. This may include fortification of one's military defence, increasing the visibility of troops, deployment of sub-marines and war ships, and issuing threats designed to ultimately make it impossible for the aggressor to attack (Mazarr, 2018). The US used this strategy against Iran in the wake of the assassination of Iranian top commander early in 2020-General Suleimani.

**b. Deterrence by Punishment**

Deterrence by punishment is the type of deterrence whereby the Nation-State under attack, punish the potential aggressor, militarily, diplomatically or economically. By imposing economic sanctions on Iran, the US under Barack Obama, was able to reach some concessions on Iran Nuclear Programme. Though, Iran still looks adamant to US pressure to

back down on its Nuclear programme, many policy analysts have insisted that the US-imposed sanctions are biting hard on Iran economy and Iranian people (Tisdall, 2020).

**c. Direct Deterrence**

Deterrence is believed to direct when a Nation-State's efforts are targeted at ensuring that a potential aggressor does not attack its territory directly. In this case, the government and policy makers work assiduously on the country's defence system particularly bomb-trackers so that, bombs shot directly from the aggressor does not have an impact on the nation's territory and its people.

**d. Extended Deterrence**

Extended deterrence occurs when the attention of a Nation-State under attack, is not only to secure its territory but to also ensure that it allies territories, assets and people are protected. For instance, in the wake of the assassination of the Iranian General Qassem Suleiman, the US increased its military presence in the Middle East, and also mobilize the members of North Atlantic Treaty Organization to brace for war. Since the attack on Iran, US foreign policy has been criticized for being unmindful of increasing opposition to US imperialism around the world especially in the Middle East, where US economic sanctions have strangulated Iranian economy and caused prolonged civil war in Syria (Rubenstein & Hill, 2020).

**WHAT IS BRINKMAHSIP IN THE BALANCE OF POWER?**

Brinkmanship exists throughout human history but has begun to gain prominence following the 1956 interview of then US Secretary of State under President Eisenhower. At that time, the US Secretary of State, was examining a series of steps that would make USSR permanently forgo its Nuclear missile attacks on US and its allies. Though, the history of brinkmanship predated this period, it was this policy shift towards what one could call "forceful persuasion" in international politics, that has permanently saved the world from nuclear attacks since the end of the Second World war.

Conceptually, brinkmanship, therefore means, the act of pushing a dangerous engagement to the brink of war with a view to deterring a potential aggressor or creating an upper hand for a State under attack. The strategy, which has since the end of the Second World war gained prominence, is increasing being used by the United States of America to force opposition States to dance to the tone of US foreign policy.

The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis between the US and USSR was the first global demonstration of brinkmanship by the US. At the edge of a possible missile attack on the US, US President John F. Kennedy was said

to have threatened the USSR leader, Nikita Krushchev, reminding him of the implication of attacking the USA, and the consequence for the mutually assured destruction.

There are two major game theories that often inform the application of brinkmanship in international politics. The first is "Chicken Theory" while the second is Prisoners' Dilemma and Deterrence Theory.

**a. The Chicken Game Theory**

The Chicken game theory assumes that in any game, everybody is desirous of winning and in the process of competing for gold, each party calculates its costs and benefits. While the two parties will take the risks of winning the game, the first party to "Chicken out" of the game, (lose), is the weakest party and is possibly going to be subdued by the dominant party.

**b. The Prisoners Dilemma and Deterrence Theory (Mutually assured Destruction)**

The theory assumes that every party in a game has the potentiality of losing but when care is not taken, both parties may suffer from mutually assured destruction. The second theory is often used in international politics where the aggressor state is hell bent in towing the path of nuclear bombing. When the Nation-State under attack, feels that the aggressor is not deterred, the government and its war strategists may sell the "Prisoner's Dilemma and Deterrence" to the aggressor State. This was what happened in 1956 Cuban Missile Crisis, which saw USSR back down of its Missile attacks on the United States (Kahan & Long, 1972; Snyder, 1971).

**MILITARY POWER, THE NUCLEAR REVOLUTION AND BRINKMANSHIP**

Debates on whether a full-blown nuclear war is possible in the 21st century, is one of the major issues on the agenda of the international community since the end of the Cold. Like never before, the confrontation between the United States of America and the perceived states with Nuclear arsenals has increased in recent times leading to tensions between US Donald Trump and Iranian leader, Ayatollah Komalal.

Additionally, Iran-Israel relationships have been strained as a result of the fear of a possible attack on US allies by Iran if it could not successfully reach the US. In order to avoid the calamities associated with full scale war as witnessed in the Second World War attacks on Hiroshima and Nagashima, both the US and Iran have been engaged in nuclear brinkmanship-pushing dangerous situations to the brink of a possible nuclear war.

Worried about Iran's continued attempts to dominate and control power in the Middle-East, Trump, in the early part of his election as US President began to criticize Iran and other nuclear states. The US, according to him, wanted to create a peaceful world where everybody will be able to participate in the government of their State, exercise their economic freedoms and participate in international trade. Though, his critics accepted that the rise of democracy in the developing world have uprooted the one party regimes, they are quick in noting that US foreign policy against Iran, North-Korea and China is an attempt to stifle these new nuclear states and bring the world war, to an edge of nuclear war.

Powell (2015) noted that the debates are not likely to disappear from the international system soon because more nations are challenging the conventional theory of brinkmanship which shows that military power is a key determinant of pushing an adversary to the brink of war. On the contrary, with the increasing realization of the idea of mutually assured destruction, the balance of power, is not dictated by the resolve of State, not to go to war, rather than possession of military power. Military power plays a role but it is shaped the resolve of nations to keep their countries away from full scale nuclear warfare. This, according Powell happened in the case of Indian-Pakistani war in 1971, when Indian leaders turned down the request to use air power against Pakistan because of fear of escalation of a full-blown nuclear war.

Analyzing US-USSR nuclear brinkmanship, Powell aptly held that: "The balance of military power, much less the trade-off between power and risk, plays virtually no role in nuclear brinkmanship. Indeed, the essence of the nuclear revolution is often thought to be that it transformed contests of relative military strength into contests of resolve. Crises become a competition in risk taking in which resolve and a willingness to run risks are more important in determining the outcome than the balance of military power is. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, strategists and policy-makers anticipated the arrival of a technological condition of mutual assured destruction (MAD) in which both the United States and the Soviet Union could launch a devastating nuclear second strike even after absorbing a massive nuclear first strike.<sup>13</sup> Secure, second-strike forces would render defense impossible because neither state could physically protect itself from an attack. It was the advent of MAD and not simply the development of nuclear weapons that marked the nuclear revolution" (Powell, 2015:).

Obviously, in today's world, what will determine the next world war, is the ability of nations to go resolve on the path they want to follow in the face of an aggression. As new nuclear States emerge in the Third World, the prediction is that, the US is more likely to lose its grip of the world, and face more contests. The contests, which will be based more nuclear

brinkmanship, will overwhelm the traditional approach to foreign policy of looking at persuasion from the point of view of military strengths.

The future of peace, in a today's nuclear world lie in concessions especially in the Northeast Asia where powerful nuclear nations are not unmindful of US imperialism and are determined to challenge the status quo. In order to settle this conflict, Shifrinson (2019) advised that the US must be very tactical and encourage nations denuclearize with a view to creating a room for wider development in the region but this will take time because some of these nations are also on the path of exerting their political hegemony in the global system.

### **SELF- ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAES)**

1. What is Chicken Game Theory of Deterrence?
2. Distinguish between Deterrence by Denial and Deterrence by Punishment.

## UNIT 4 POLITICAL, ETHNONATIONLIST CONFLICTS AND TERRORISM IN AFRICA

Armed conflicts and asymmetric warfare have become some of the major indices of Africa's post-colonial history. From civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, protracted war in Libya to terrorist attacks in Somalia, Africa, has spent the larger part of its post-colonial history fighting one war or the other. In the course of these wars, millions of people have been sent to their early grave while hundreds of others have been displaced from their ancestral homes (Adeniyi, 2017; Collier & Hoeffler, 2002).

Like, most of the developing world, conflicts over power, resources and cultural identity have defined the contours of military contests in Africa rather than imperial domination as found in the case of Great Britain, Japan, France, Belgium, Spain, America, Germany and Hungary. Although, armed conflicts. Many reasons have been attributed to the persistent nature of armed conflicts in post-colonial Africa.

### a. Colonial Bifurcation of the State

The State left by the colonial masters; is said to have been fractured by the seeds and policies of colonialism. In Nigeria and Cameroon, as in many post-colonial African societies, unresolved land issue and demarcation by the colonial masters, have sowed the seeds of discord among the various ethnic nationalities. As earlier noted in the history of Nigeria, the colonial State amalgamated the various ethnic and religious nationalities in pre-colonial African societies without regard for their historical and cultural compatibility. For instance, in the creation of South-Western Nigeria, some Yoruba speaking people were cut off from the mainstream Yoruba-dominated South-Western region, and up till today, are made to live among the Hausa-Fulani in the Central Nigeria.

Where the Europeans did not succeed in imposing using a majority ethnic nationality for their imperial agenda, they empowered the minority over the majority, and in the process sowed the seeds of discords among the ethnic nationalities in the new State (Mbaku, 2010; Mamdani, 2004). Whether in Nigeria, or across the African continent, colonial rule, remains one of the major sources of conflicts in post-colonial society because national leaders have continued to appropriate the gains of the colonial state to maintain regime security and amass enormous wealth for themselves and members of their ethnic group (Adisa, 2013; Ekeh, 1975; Mbaku, 2019; Mamdani, 2001; Nnoli, 1978).

### b. The phenomenon of "Shell or Fragile State"

Apart from the colonial legacy which African leaders often hang on, researchers have argued that Africa's multifarious problems lie in the inability of the State to develop the postcolonial African society. Like in

majority of African countries, the State is simply an instrument of plunder designed to dupe the citizens, amass the wealth and scarce resources of the nation, and convert State powers into personal powers.

While it is undisputed that widespread poverty, and economic deprivation are among the causes of war in Africa, the inability of the African State to significantly reconstruct the postcolonial society, put in place effective institutional arrangements and improve the standard of living of Africans have been described as the immediate causes of war in the continent. This is evidenced in the case of Sudan where State resources have been corruptly used to enrich a few people at the detriment of the majority of the citizens. In Nigeria, corruption scandals revealed, and prosecuted since President Obasanjo's regime to the current President, President Muhammadu Buhari, symbolized the venal nature of postcolonial society that the political elites have nurtured and ethno-nationalist struggles are inevitable in the post-military society.

**c. Widespread Poverty, Youth Disenchantment and Economic Crises**

Poverty, like other socio-political problems, is one of the major causes of conflicts and wars in Africa. Of course, Africa is not the only poorest region in the world but the pandemic has been poorly managed by African leaders, such that most young people are either unemployed or are structurally and economically deprived of the basic necessities of life. This is the crux of the World Bank report when it stated that 87% of poor Nigerians live in the North where Boko Haram has wreaked havoc of millions of people and killed over 20, 000 Nigerians in its over 10 years insurgency (Adisa, 2019).

**d. Political Contests for National Resources and Arms Proliferation**

At the core of Africa's age long conflict, is the phenomenon of "resource curse". Africa has enormous resources from gold to oil but most of these resources have been mismanaged by the ruling elites in the postcolonial society. Thus, the problem of development is not lack of resources but lack of the wherewithal to transform the resources into enormous wealth. While foreign collaborators also join in the seating of these resources, African leaders have gone to war to exert their influence over the natural resources of the continent. This is the case of the prolonged war in the Democratic Republic of Congo and violence in the Niger Delta.

Though Africa is yet to enter the list of countries that will be fighting nuclear revolution or exhibiting nuclear brinkmanship, the continent is currently seen by many analysts as the epicenter of different forms of transnational organized crimes. Some of these crimes include the dreaded Islamist terrorism ravaging the West, East and North-African regions.

They also include crimes such as oil theft, illicit arms trade, illicit drug trade and illegal smuggling of migrants to Europe by merchants of deaths. Although, most African countries are not currently fighting civil wars, multiple and daunting security challenges now come from non-State actors than State actors. This is the contour of armed conflict in post-Cold war Africa (Mazzitelli, 2007; Thurston, 2016).

### **SELF- ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. What is the role of colonial legacy in Africa's security problems?
- ii. How has the politics of the Cold War between the US and Russian deepened conflicts in Nigeria?

### **4.0 CONCLUSION**

This module has examined the concepts of war, brinkmanship and conflicts within the contexts of international politics. It has now argued that war, conflict and brinkmanship have not changed dramatically following the emergence of the US as the new political order. It argued further that the increasing capacity of new states to produce nuclear weapons has continued to challenge the hegemony of the United States. It is this contest for global political leadership that is responsible for the causes of political instability around the world.

### **5.0 SUMMARY**

This module centered around war, brinkmanship and conflicts. It stated that both war and brinkmanship in post-Cold war society, is shaped more by who owns nuclear weapon than who dominates the global political system. The module also discussed the significance of war, conflict and brinkmanship in the study of international conflicts and understanding of the dynamics of global powers. It saw conflict as an inevitable characteristic of human society in its attempts to transit from traditional society to modern society, and even in modern society, conflict still defines "who gets what and how".

The module explained further the degree of conflict that a nation experiences is a function of the level of development of the nation. It argues that conflict diffuses over time as unresolved conflicts can escalate into war and brinkmanship. The module explained that the current nuclear brinkmanship between the United States, the Western world and the emerging nuclear nations, is a continuation of the Cold War between the US and the then USSR. While conflict has characterized most human civilizations, the module noted that war and brinkmanship have shaped international politics more than before. It has defined the end of communism and shaped the future of liberal capitalism and American foreign policy.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Discuss the effect of US-Iran proxy war on the stability of the African region.

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## **MODULE 4            STRATEGIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND STATE SECURITY**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Strategic management is now one of the major distinctions and characteristics of modern society. It denotes aggressive but careful selection of scientifically predetermined procedures to achieve an organization's goal. The idea is derived from Eighteenth Century's scientism and positive philosophy, which believed that science has solutions to the problem of man and society, and can indeed help in the organization of our world.

The idea, which now dominates, management practice has since been extended to connote Frederick Taylor's scientific management. Taylor was an American engineer cum management expert, who decried the wastage that characterized the American society of his time. In the nineteenth century when factory production was just experiencing modernization in America, Taylor observed that most companies were unable to harness their resources and manage available manpower because of their inability to introduce scientifically predetermined principles such as "standardization of work" and "systemization of the work process".

Beginning in the 1970s with work of Schendel & Hofer (1979) which rechristened the field of business policy to strategic management, the idea of strategic management entered into management literature and practice with dynamics of Weberian bureaucracy (Franke, Edlund, Oster, 1990; Nag, Hambrick & Chen, 2007), and by the end of the 20th century, it had become entrenched in conflict management system.

The assumption behind this, is that if organizations could manage their organizations strategically and realize productive results in the process, then, society at large, can adopt this approach in solving many numerous problems of peace and conflict. This is why the term is now used in the field of security studies, to refer to management strategies that take into consideration, scientific procedures in the planning of a war, conflict or resolution of the conflict. It also connotes the process of building peace around objective criteria that allow inclusiveness in the resolution of a conflict and also give parties, objective criteria as to how their grievances have been addressed (Samantara, 2004).

In this module, you will learn about the meanings and types of conflicts. You will learn about the processes for resolving conflicts, and the role of strategic conflict management in global and local conflicts in the 21st century. Additionally, you will learn the significance and role of threats assessment in conflict management and the processes for achieving peace-building in a conflict-ridden society.

## UNIT I      WHAT IS CONFLICT & STRATEGIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ?

The way to begin a definition of strategic conflict management is to ask "what is conflict"? Conflict is a disagreement between two or more persons or parties which may result to violence or expression of anger or friction that may culminate in the outbreak of a war. While it is not every conflict that results to war, when a conflict persists, the tendency that it will result to war or violence is always very high.

Madalina (2016) stated that one of the signs of conflicts in a society, is the expression of opposition to a proposal by another group, which may generate friction or discord. Because of the nature of human society, conflict is almost inevitable in the course of evolution of human society and the process of social change. Such was the eighteenth century French Revolution, which changed the course of the evolution of human race, and set the stage for the emergence of a modern society, organized on the rule of law, as opposed to the rule of law.

In fact, many philosophers have since attested to the fact that, there cannot be any dramatic change in the course of the motion of human society without a war or revolution. War sets the stage for new thinking, and new ideas, will always bring new inventions on how to deal with collective threats facing humanity. For instance, if not for the outbreak of the Second World War which exposed US atomic power, many nations of the world would not have invested in space technology, atomic bombs, airpowers and military warfare. By bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the United States of America sent a signal to the world that no one was safe, and the only defence was to get prepared for war. This must have informed the politics behind nuclear brinkmanship in international politics today (Powell, 2015).

Like other human behaviour (*except sex that is publicly prohibited in many societies*) conflict does not have a home. It can occur in school, family, hospital, workplace, recreational centres, religious houses, and at the global level. Although, conflicts within the workplace and the family system may be minimal, they can set the stage for wider societal conflicts and aggravate stereotypes that could lead to war in the future. Such is the nature of ethno-religious conflicts in postcolonial Africa where minor grievances between two or more members of ethnic nationalities will be aggravated to the level of political violence. Nigeria witnessed this type of conflict, more in the 1990s, following the annulment of the June 12 1993 election by the Federal Military Government, and the associated ethno-religious animosity that accompanied this struggle.

## STAGES OF CONFLICT IN SOCIETY

Barbara Hill in his 1982 article "Analysis of Conflict Resolution Techniques" identified three phases in the evolution of a conflict;

### a. Pre-Conflict Phase

The Pre-Conflict Phase is the stage at which sequence of events leading to conflicts will occur bringing both the oppressor and the oppressed together. At this stage, members of each group will show their expression of anger, friction and discord, and will also come up with defence supporting their anger.

**b. Actual Conflict Phase:** This is the stage at which the two parties in conflict situations will overtly or covertly express their anger using violence or hostility towards the aggressor. Unless, government is proactive at this stage or a mediator is very prompt in mediating the conflict, hostility that begins like a minor misunderstanding can escalate into a civil war and eventually leads to loss of many lives and property.

### c. Post-Conflict Phase

Hill noted that events begin at this stage with an overt attempt to halt hostility and build peace among conflicting parties (...cite the source...). Though peace-building can take the process bringing parties together, persistent conflicts or sporadic attacks may warrant the deployment of the military to a crisis region. This is the approach that the UN Security Council has adopted in many instances to dampen the tensions of war in postcolonial Africa in the 1990s.

## TYPES OF CONFLICTS

Conflicts can also be categorized into different types based on the motivations of the actors.

### 1. POLITICAL CONFLICTS

Political conflicts are those conflicts intended to win a political power or capture the State. Virtually all categories of State-led conflicts are forms of political conflict because the intention is usually to dominate other, capture territories or regime change. There may however be undercurrents of political conflicts such as ethnic and racial discrimination or resource control but ultimately, the politics of war is surrounded by political domination and regime security.

### 2. ETHNIC OR RACIAL CONFLICTS

Conflicts may arise from clamour for ethnic or racial recognition. While political conflict is usually driven by the quest for power and involvement in politics, ethnic and racial conflicts, in most developed and developing

societies, may be driven by long-term stereotypes about a generation (Mamdani, 2001). These stereotypes if not nationally checkmated may lead to ethnic genocide or racial killings, and can cause long-term political instability. This is the case in the ethnic cleaning in Rwanda in 1994, and the protracted conflicts that followed the killing of George Floyd in the US (Glasse, Norvell & Melimoponlous, 2020).

### **3. ECONOMIC CONFLICTS OR RESOURCE CONFLICTS**

Economic factors, such as the quest for materialism, class domination and struggle over scarce natural resources can also be causes of conflicts in modern society. This position has been theoretically proven by Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto (1848) where he stated that the history of hitherto existing societies, is the history of class struggle. Struggle, which had been driven by land ownership in the eighteenth century, has now in today's capitalist society taken the turn of contestation between the bourgeois class and the proletariat.

Wallenstein (1974) held that conflict in the world system in the next decades will be predicted more by struggles over imperial domination between the politically and militarily powerful West and the peripheral nations which depend on the West for survival in the world system. He added that the global capitalist system is skewed in favour of the Western countries at the detriment of the developing world, and in the long run, this will generate unending rivalry between the United States of America and the rest of the world.

### **4. RELIGIOUS OR IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS**

Religious conflict is different variant of social conflict because it is driven by socially constructed values and beliefs that are defined by religion. Like other forms of social conflict, religious conflicts can be aggravated by persistent arguments over certain values held by a particular group but opposed by others. While the possibility of a secular society is high with the continuous influence of modernization, research has indicated that, religion still plays a major role in the decision of individuals in most developing societies.

Unlike conflicts caused by lack of material possession, religious conflicts may be prolonged if certain section of the society holds on to certain values that radically differ to those of the larger society, and in their opinion, those values are the only path to salvation. This is why extremist culture sets and prepares the grounds for terrorism.

### **5. TERRORISM OR TERRORIST CONFLICTS**

Terrorist conflicts are those conflicts caused by terrorism or activities of a terrorist group, which are intended to destabilize a society or cause panic or deaths of majority of people. Unlike political or ethnic conflict, where

one is likely to know his enemies, terrorists use proxy wars to express their anger and threaten government from agreeing with their terms and conditions.

While other conflicts can still be handled by providing what is lacking, terrorists can hold on to their struggle for a longer time, and the possibility of making the extremist ideas intergenerational is very high in weak societies where the State is fragile and the political class is unwilling to effectively end terrorist attacks (Thurston, 2016).

## **7. NATIONAL CONFLICTS OR CIVIL WAR**

There are a set of conflicts that have escalated into a national problem dragging the history, national unity and integration into question. Political violence or civil war is the commonest form of national conflicts, and the greatest source of deaths to war in postcolonial Africa.

## **8. REGIONAL CONFLICTS**

Regional conflicts are those conflicts that have involved two or more countries within the same region or sub-region. Though, this type of conflicts is not common, inefficient handling of conflicts within a country or sub-region, can in the long-run become a major concern of an entire region. The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, and its persistent impact on the Lake Chad sub-region clearly explicate the scenario painted above. Boko Haram, a Nigerian radical Jihadist, that has killed thousands of people, have since extended its hostilities to Chad, Niger and Cameroon. Until recently when it suffered heavy casualties from both Nigeria and Chadian forces, Boko Haram was very active in the Lake Chad sub-region. Despite this experience, the crisis has continued to threaten the stability of the sub-region (International Crisis Group, 2017).

## **9. COLD WAR OR GLOBAL CONFLICTS**

The Cold War is a war involving several countries supporting two or more sides in a global conflict ostensibly to demonstrate the political hegemony of the domineering State in the conflict. A good example of this was the Cold War between the US-Soviet Union, which eventually led to the collapse of Soviet Union and the emergence of liberal democracy in many developing and transition societies (Meredith, 2005).

## **10. WORLD WAR**

World War is one of the variants of global conflicts involving the world and several countries that are polarized along political and economic lines. The conflict, which is more destructive, has only occurred twice in human history-The First World War and the Second World War.

Conflicts can also be described in terms of relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor. Where the oppressor or aggressor is more powerful than the oppressed, we simply that the conflict is asymmetric but where the two parties have equal powers, then the conflict is symmetric. Although, conflict is destructive, it can also be a source of communication and a path to peace between aggrieved parties. This is why Lewis Coser noted that social conflict, is functional because it helps society to maintain some levels of social equilibrium.

It is however important that, learning about conflicts alone may not suffice to equip today's military strategies and policy makers, we must learn about how society prevents conflicts or resolve conflicts to bring about social order.

In the next section, you will learn about meanings and contexts of strategic conflict management. Strategic conflict management is a wide range of scientifically and institutionalized procedures put in place by an organization or a State to end a conflict. It involves strategic use of security measures targeted at preventing the occurrence of a conflict or designed to prevent the damages and consequences that a country may experience in the hands of an aggressor (Samantara, 2004).

Strategic conflict management has also been defined as a set of legal, political, social and economic frameworks put in place by government to pacify aggrieved parties and make them reconsider their positions. The frameworks, usually within the global contexts, include provision of food security, military intelligence, threats assessments, legal defence for refugees, and provision of shelters for the displaced persons.

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

1. What is Conflict?
2. What are the three stages of Conflict

## **UNIT 2 STRATEGIC SECURITY MANAGEMENT, THREATS, ASSESSMENT, AND INTERVENTION IN WAR AND ARMED CONFLICTS**

### **I. STRATEGIC SECURITY MANAGEMENT -A NEW FIELD IN SECURITY STUDIES**

Strategic security management is one of the new fields of security studies. It is found in the public and private security sectors. Following the September 11, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, many scholars have increasingly paid attention to the importance of strategic security management in the art of war, terrorism and political conflict (Allen & Derr, 2016).

While it is good to think that conflict will not occur, if it occurs, what will you do to prevent it. This is what is studied in the field of strategic security management. Strategic security management is the field of security studies that concerns itself with actions, activities, programmes, analyses and predictions done about a phenomenon either to anticipate that a crisis will occur or determine if an organization is exposed to danger.

These include threat characterization and screening, risk assessment, vulnerability analysis, consequence analysis. Apart from analysis of a nation's security risks, strategic security management also entails the analysis of military capability to confront potential dangers, and analysis of the capability of potential enemies. This is essential in view of the fact that, in this age of globalization, hacking of government's information from its data base can expose government's military strategies.

Military and criminal intelligence analysis, both on the warfront and within the neighbourhood including police investigation of evidence of an attack, is very important to achieving viable victory (Frear, Kulesa & Kearns, 2014; Peters, 1987; USA, 2018).

### **2. WHAT IS RISK, THREAT AND VULNERABILITY?**

A risk is any foreseen danger or perceived threat by an organization or a Nation-State, which may be man-made or environmentally induced. A risk is man-made if the threat associated with the risk is being planned and is to be executed by a group of individuals, perceived to be the enemies of the State. Man-made risks include; planting explosives in public places in order to kill, impose panic in the minds of the public or deter government in taking a particular decision.

Because we live in a world where climate change is increasingly a problem, human society is now exposed to so many environmentally induced risks such as tsunami, drought, desertification, famine, COVID-19, Ebola, Spanish Flu, and ocean surge. Depending on the degree of impact, every environmentally induced risks have potentiality of claiming

a lot of lives and rendering people homeless. For instance, Nigeria, has in the last ten years been confronted by the problem of flood and desertification. While flood continues to displace people in Lagos, the problem of climate change and desertification have continued to cause the challenge of herdsmen and farmers conflicts. Though, some have argued that there are historical underlying causes of herdsmen farmers conflicts in Nigeria, recent outbursts, in the middle-belt and South-West regions are largely due to sudden migration of the pastoralists to the South (International Crisis Group, 2017; International Crisis Group, 2020).

### **3. RISK MANAGEMENT**

Risk management is the process of designing comprehensive programme of action to prevent, monitor, deter and control the possibility of a potential threat, risk or reduce the vulnerability of an organization or a State to a threat. Allen & Derr (2016) opined that risk management is "the identification, assessment, and prioritization of risks (defined in International Organization for Standardization ISO 3100 as "the effect of uncertainty on objectives) followed by coordinated and economic application of resources to minimize, monitor, and control the probability and impact of unfortunate events" (Allen & Derr, 2016: 14).

It is imperative for security professionals to note that risks can be categorized as physical risk, reputational risk, occupational risk, information and communication risks and personnel risk. Physical risks are those risks that emanate within or outside the environment of an organization but indeed, are environmentally induced. Reputational risks are those risks that are associated with the reputation of a company among the comity of other organizations. It is usually difficult to quantify because many companies are bound to face a lot of competition in the field.

Operational risks, like reputational risks can also cause a company a lot of money. These are risks that are associated with the daily operations of an organization or maintaining the military formation of a Nation State. Operational risks which encompass, personnel risk, property risk, technology risk and cost of placing the organization on high pedigree, may be more costly where corruption and opportunism thrive (Allen & Derr, 2016).

#### **3a STAGES IN RISK MANAGEMENT**

There are main stages to risk management in public or private organization.

##### **a. Asset Assessment**

This is the process of determining the value of your assets, and quantifying staff, information (hardware & software) of an organization.

In this process, is assets classification which connotes the careful identification, categorization and costing of the assets of an organization with a view to determining their values, the risks they are exposed to and their vulnerability to attacks.

**b. Assessment of Threats**

This is the process of identifying the threats that the assets of an organization are exposed. It includes differentiation of types of risks, degree of exposure and determination of the threats that will have the greatest impact.

**c. Assessment of Vulnerability**

This is the process of identifying risks and vulnerabilities relative to countermeasures that are available to mitigate the problem. For instance, if the Nigerian government foresees a terrorist attack, government may determine prior to the incidence the level of vulnerability of the citizens to the attacks and ascertain the extent of damage that may be done to the security infrastructure in the state.

**d. Risks Assessment**

Assessment of risks measure the value of an asset relative to the likelihood of exposure the assets may suffer in the hands of aggressors or terrorists. This is important to determine the risk and prioritize the risk based on the value of the state (Allen & Derr, 2016).

**e. Determination of Countermeasure Options**

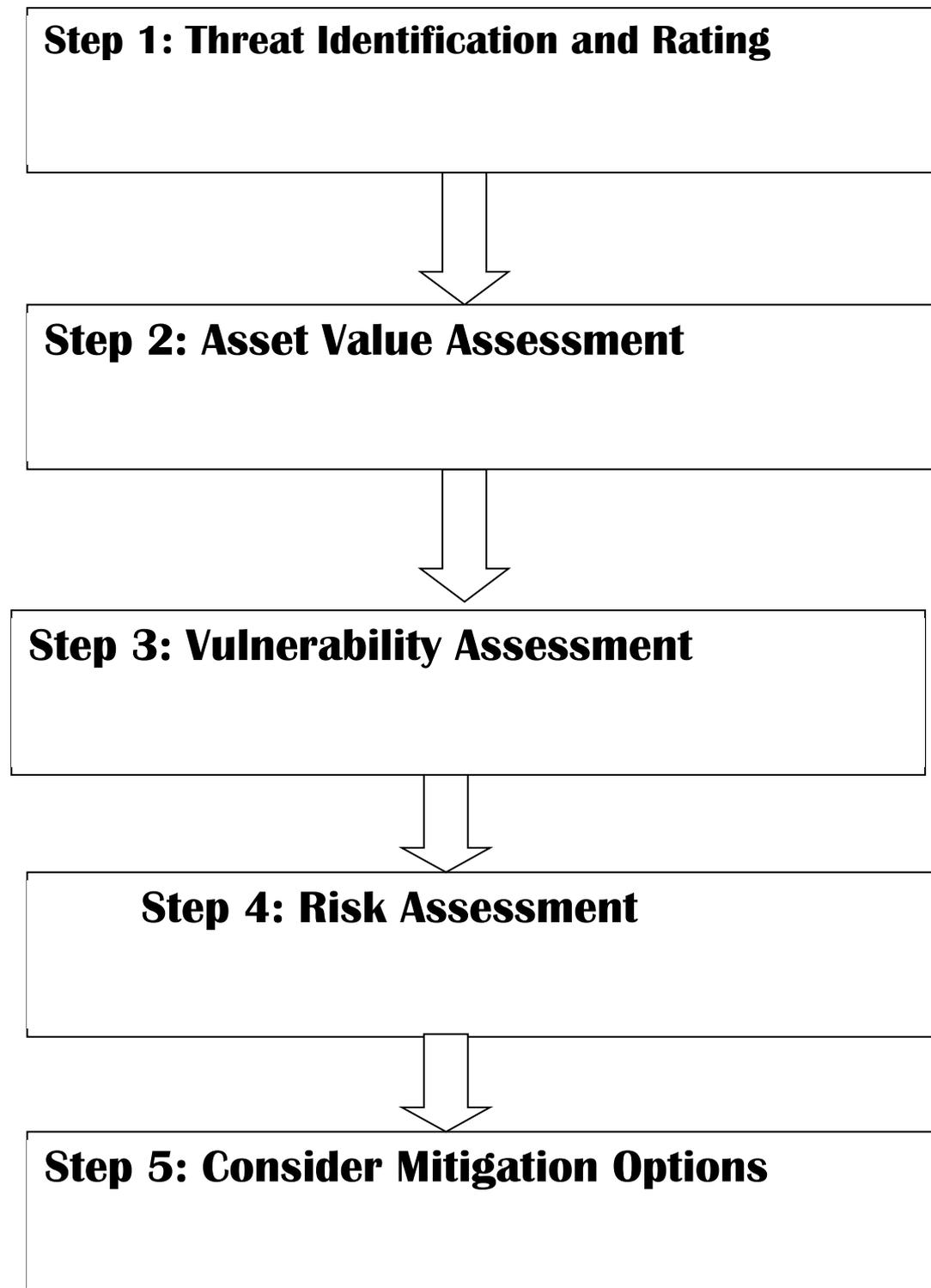
This is the determination of countermeasure options, military strategies, and information management that will be required to effectively prevent, monitor or control the vulnerability of a State or an organization to risk.

Allen and Derr (2016) stated that mathematically, the standard measure for risk management is;

Risk = Threat x Vulnerability x Consequence

( $R=T \times V \times C$ )

Rachel Derr's Stages of Threat Identification and Rating (2016):



**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. Differentiate between Risks, Threats and Vulnerabilities
- ii. Use Rachel Derr's Stages of Threat Identification and Rating to explain a security scenario in the country.

### **UNIT 3      STRATEGIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT & STAGES IN STRATEGIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

Strategic conflict management is an essential aspect of security and intelligence studies. It is essential because it deals with the process of resolving a conflict and building lasting peace among the comity of nations. Strategic conflict does not only help nations to build peace, it helps to effectively manage the resources that are available for the prosecution of peace, and supporting the vulnerable people in the society. As an ideology, it abhors corruption, nepotism and political opportunism in the management of scarce resources of the state.

From time immemorial, human beings have always found a way of resolving their conflicts. Despite the history of war, and revolution in ancient times and the middle-ages, human beings have never been completely annihilated by conflict. It then means that the art of resolving conflict has always been part of the humankind for thousands of years (Steele, 1976).

With the advent of modernization, conflict resolution was modernized from traditional and rudimentary approach to the one that is determined by law. Beginning with the British civilization, the modern court system formalized arrangements for the resolution of conflicts introducing in the process the notion of the rule of law, equity, fairness, fair hearing, precedent, obedience of court order and jurisdiction of courts. The eighteenth century inventions in Western criminal justice system pioneered by Cesare Beccaria, Jeremy Bentham and other members of the enlightenment heralded a new dawn in the history of the court system. Within a short period of its introduction, the effects of the formal court system were felt across the world particularly in Europe where modernization swept through, and led to the collapse of the aristocratic States (Dupre, 2004; Kirk, 2000; Rudolph, 2013).

The ascendancy of British and European rule in the mid-nineteenth century led to the transfer of the common law and Western legal system to Africa. In the process, the colonial state modified existing traditional modes of conflict resolution, and reorganized the colonial society to suit its interests (Ake, 1996; Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013; Lauge, Mahoney & Han, 2006; Mamdani, 2004). Between 1862 and 1960 when Nigeria was granted its political independence, the modern court system had been internalized into Nigeria's political system and even more than fifty years after Nigeria's political independence, 90% of government cases are resolved by the courts.

The modern court system, has progressively being accepted for many reasons in Nigeria and majority of countries colonized by Europeans. First, European civilization has systematically discredited the traditional

criminal justice system and imposed the modern legal system has the most recognized legal system of the State. Secondly, it has also been argued by its proponents that, the traditional criminal justice lacks objective criteria to resolving conflicts, hence the resort to culture, convention, belief system and religions of the ancestors to get justice.

Increasingly, there have been arguments that despite decades of using the modern legal justice system, most persistent armed conflicts in postcolonial Africa have not been resolved. Instead, newer organized forms of violence such as kidnapping, violent abduction, and Boko Haram insurgency have shown that more aggressive measures need to be taken to solve the political and economic induced conflicts in postcolonial Nigeria. This is where the issue of strategic conflict management suffices.

Strategic conflict management implies using multiple strategies in bringing an end to a conflict with minimal cost and retention of mutual trust and social justice (Samantara, 2004). This conflict resolution approach has increasingly gained the attention of many people including the international community because it takes into consideration human dimension to security problems. Unlike the rational legal bureaucracy, which sees conflict as something that can be resolved by law, strategic conflict resolution requires in-depth analysis of issues, and comprehensive approach to the diagnoses of the factors that have led to social conflict. This is one of the reasons why the Alternative Dispute Resolution has become more popular in international community's response to global crises.

## **STAGES IN STRATEGIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

Since the entry of the work of Blake and Monton (1964) to the field of strategic conflict studies, scholars have formulated and reformulated several processes of resolving a conflict. In this section, you will learn, the major stages of strategic conflict resolution that are commonly used in formal organizations, State entities and within the international community.

### **A. MEDIATION**

Mediation is the oldest form of conflict resolution, and is found in the literature of ancient societies and the middle-ages, to have played a significant role. The word mediation was first used in Latin word "mediare" to mean "halve", and in Chinese, it means to step between two parties and resolve a conflict (Wall & Lynn, 1993).

Mediation conceptually means the strategic intervention of a third party in management of crime situation or resolution of a conflict. Though, the resolution of a conflict is usually the prime objective of a mediator (Third Party), the mediator must a common ground before he or she steps in to

mediate. This is why in international community, the UN usually calls for "seize fire" from both sides of a conflict in order to give room for amicable resolution of the conflict. Indeed, the International Criminal Court (ICC) is established to handle cases of human rights abuses that may come from international conflicts.

Although, mediation may sound simply, it is a complex issue because the mediator must understand all issues at stake, diagnose the issue and use his or her previous experiences to determine the process or techniques of mediating the conflict. While it is not uncommon to find mediation in modern court process, mediation has largely been informed by the culture and conventions of people. This is why you are more likely to find variations in the way people mediate or the way the State mediates.

Because of the influence of modernization, formal organizations' scholars have since the 1980s been working on the establishment of universal criteria to mediation, which will not only address the "people side of conflict" but also 'produce effective results" (Hill, 1982; Kobb, 1983; Polley, 1988; Zartman and Touwal, 1983).

For instance, Wall (1981) has developed some techniques of mediation which are still applicable till today; these include-

1. Clarify situation
2. Establish protocol
3. Make parties aware of relevant situation
4. Delineate forthcoming agenda
5. Rehearse each party in appropriate behaviour
6. Separate parties
7. Strike a balance
8. Tender agreements points to parties
9. Reduce tension
10. Guarantee compliance to an agreement

Wall (1981) also listed the strategies of a mediator to include: reflexivity, education, assistance, face saving and third party reliance.

## **B. RECONCILIATION (CONCILIATION)**

Reconciliation is the second stage in problem-solving procedure after parties have agreed to speak. Though, mediation will open the way for communication, interaction and talks, the complex situations will unfold as mediator tries to bring parties to reach an agreement. Reaching a common ground will depend on a lot of factors; nature of the conflict, willingness of the parties involved and procedures followed by the mediators to resolve the conflicts.

In macro-conflict situations with deep-seated crises, it may take some time for the international community to bring a conflict to an end because historically marginalized groups who have suffered the domination of the hegemonic class may be bitter about the terms pushed to them. Whereas conflicts within an organization may be resolved within a short time, reaching a consensus may prove difficult in conflicts that have caused a lot of frictions and misunderstanding among members of the society. The underlying theories explain the inability of the international community to find solutions to the Syria conflict, and the political instability in Somalia.

With regards to typologies of conciliation, Orji (2012) examined critically four types of conciliation;

1. Voluntary Conciliation

This is the type of conciliation where disputants voluntarily invite a third party to help them conciliate.

2. Statutory Conciliation

This is a situation where the law mandates disputants to take their matter to conciliator before they take any legal action. This practice is common in the Nigeria's Alternative Dispute Resolution law and the Lagos MultiDoor Court House (Olanipekun, 2018; Orji, 2012).

3. Contractual Conciliation

Contractual conciliation is the type of conciliation where the decision to invite a party to conciliate is explicitly stated in the contract.

4. Court Ordered Conciliation

Orji (2012) described this as a situation where a court of law ordered disputants to explore conciliation before any other legal action.

### **C. ARBITRATION**

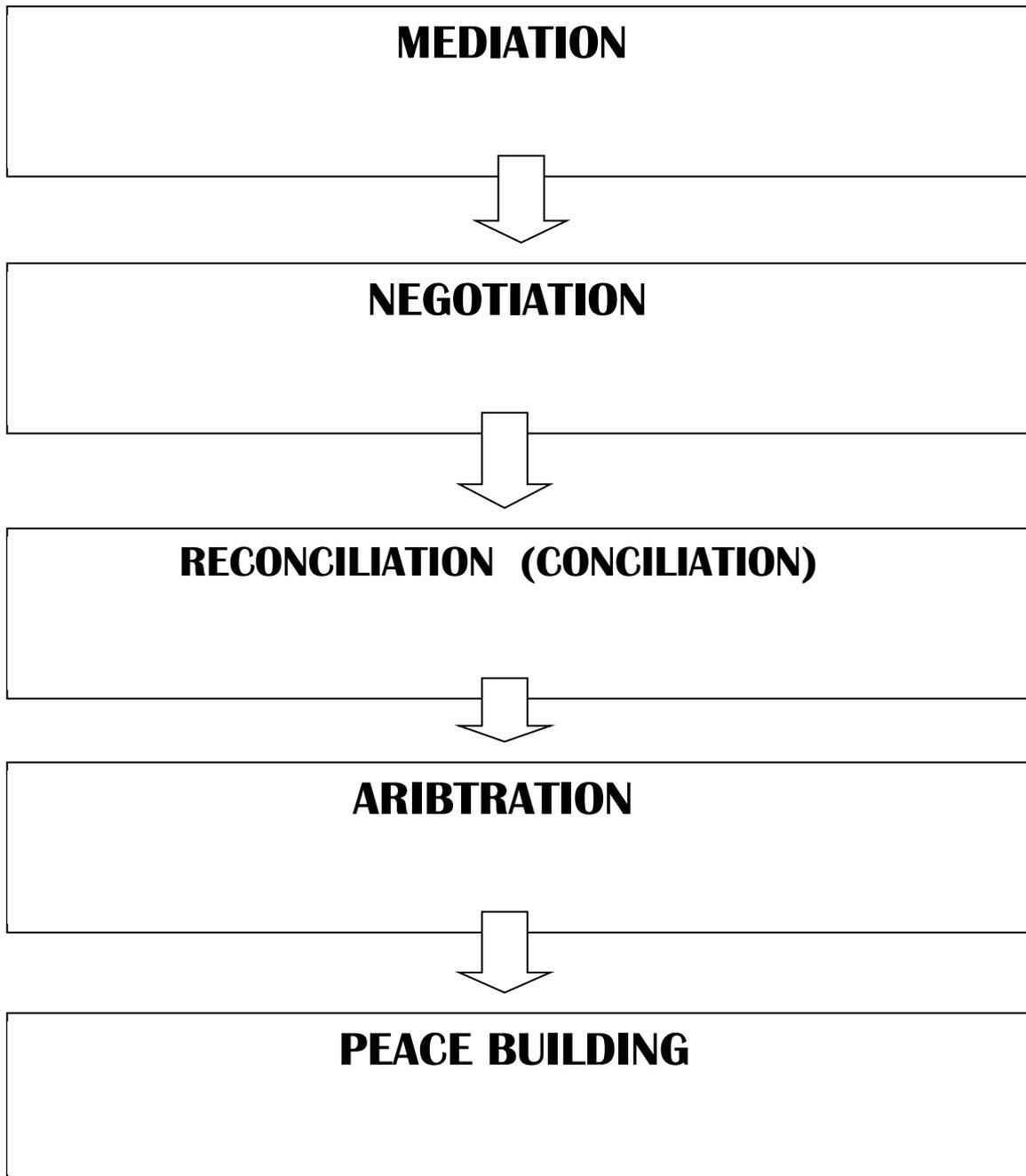
Arbitration is the point at which the agreement that has been reached by parties, and is given legal effect. In most situations, once parties have entered into an arbitration, it may be difficult to abdicate from the case. Abdicating means that the parties are deviating from the terms they have mutually entered into before a competent court or a group of arbitrators.

### **D. PEACEBUILDING**

Peace-building is a more recent approach to strategic conflict management. It goes beyond the agreement that has been entered to create a room for mutual understanding among disputing parties. The diagram

below sheds more light on how the process works in modern society including developing societies where peace-building is still evolving.

Five Stages of Strategic Conflict Resolution applicable to Macro & Micro-Entities (Organizations & State)



**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. What is the difference between mediation and reconciliation?
- ii. What legal effect does arbitration have on strategic conflict management in modern society?

## **UNIT 4 PEACE BUILDING AS A STRATEGIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

Since 1992 when the UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined peace-building as "any action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict." scholars, and practitioners in international relations have brought the idea to the center-stage of agenda for peace in the post-Cold war society.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, might never have known that his idea would transform the world and provoke a new thinking about security in the world. Informed by the sorrow and suffering of many refugees around the world, in the wake of the Cold war, Boutros Butros-Ghali, coined the concept of peace-building to refer to shift the attention of the international community away from "State security" from "human security" because it is from this end that, the lives of millions of people battered by war and conflicts can be redeemed (Barnett, Kim, Hunjoon, O'Donnell & Sitea, 2007).

Unlike the past when emphasis on peace-building on the role of the State, the post-Cold war conception of the idea has meant that countries must make efforts to ensure that societies coming out of conflict do not return to conflict. In order to achieve this, several procedures have been created;

### **1. Peacemaking**

Peacemaking is searching for the returning of peace to a troubled community or State by exploring several options.

**2. Peacekeeping Operation** usually involve the deployment of peace-keeping soldiers and police officers to conflict-prone communities or countries in order to ensure the foundations of peace already laid are not thwarted.

### **3. Humanitarian Aids**

Humanitarian aids are arrangements made by government, non-government organizations or the international community to cushion the effects of war on persons by providing them shelter, food, security, and clean environment where they can enjoy their fundamental rights to a decent living as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, and other UN Conventions.

Shinoda (2004) divided humanitarian aids into two;

**a. Emergency Aid**

Emergency aid is the immediate humanitarian support given after the break out of a war such as setting up of refugees' camp, and providing services that will make life more meaningful for people that have already suffered from the trauma of the war.

**b. Developmental Aid**

Developmental aid is the type of aid designed to help reconstruct the society, fix damaged state infrastructure, train military personnel, reform the public service, build industries and empower the vulnerable people in the society. While emergency aid is a short-term aid programme, humanitarian aid, is a long-term aid that seeks to solidify the foundations of peace and bring parties back to normal life (Shinoda, 2004).

**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. What is the role of the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali in the conception of the idea of the Peace-Building?
- ii. Explain the Peace-Keeping Operations and the delivery of Humanitarian Aids to war torn-areas by the United Nations or a regional Organization like the African Union.

**4.0 CONCLUSION**

This module has examined the concepts of conflict and strategic conflict management. It argued that though, conflict is inimical to the progress of society, it can be a source of communication for aggrieved people. It noted that modern conflict management has changed from the conventional one that seeks to use strategic management procedures to resolve a conflict and also build peace in society.

**5.0 SUMMARY**

The module examined the concepts of conflicts, conflict resolution and provided the significance of strategic conflict resolution in postcolonial Africa. The module also addressed the concept of strategic conflict management within the context of international security studies. It argued that strategic conflict management is now one of the major characteristics of modern society. It denotes aggressive but careful selection of scientifically predetermined procedures to achieve an organizational goal. The module went further to discuss the different stages of conflict management comprising mediation, reconciliation, negotiation and arbitration. It stated that the world has achieved remarkably by adopting using strategic conflict management because it limits the capacity of

nations to go to war and reduces the tendency towards conflicts among individuals because it traces and goes to the origin of social conflict with a view to resolving it. The module held that the emergence of the idea of peace building is one of the attempts by the United Nations to deepen the use of strategic conflict management among people with a view to reducing tensions.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What are the differences between conciliation and arbitration?

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**MODULE 5            THE POLICE, THE MILITARY & PRIVATE  
SECURITY PROTOCOLS IN PUBLIC  
SAFETY AND MANAGEMENT OF STATE  
SECURITY****INTRODUCTION**

The strategies to combating crime and maintaining state security, have kept changing since the end of the Cold war. Indeed, there has been a paradigmatic shift in the debates on the role of the police, the military and private security guard in the maintenance of State Security. The debates revolve around two issues.

First, many people have asked if it is necessary to leave the police to perform their traditional functions of preventing crime, and arresting offenders of the law. The second debate, is whether, the military alone can guarantee public safety in a continually changing world. The reality is that, the world is never the way it was about seventy years ago when the United Nations was formed. Globalization and massive alteration of the contours of economic and political powers have changed the way the Nation-State plans and executes State security. This shift in approach, has changed both the philosophy and strategy of security moving it from the traditional realist approach of strong states with strong military with multisectoral approach to security management. Although, the Military has remained very central to the maintenance of law and order, events have since changed necessitating the involvement of the Police and Private Security Guard.

Private Security is an essential aspect of today's world. With the rise of the influence of globalization and the emergence of multiple security problems, it has become clearer that the State alone can no longer handle the issue of public safety solely without the involvement and support of private security agencies. By adopting integrated policing, many countries of the world have benefitted from both security services rendered by public and private sectors. While this practice of involving the private sector in the management of public security is well recognized in the world, it is a practice that that is evolving in most developing countries particularly in Africa where public safety is seen as the exclusive responsibility of the government while the private security system is restricted to corporate organizations and multinational organizations. Increasingly, the proliferation of security problems has necessitated a review of this practice, and an assessment of the long or short-term benefits of combining the two in the pursuit of State security objectives.

In this section, you will learn about the role of the police, military intelligence and private security guard in the management of public

safety. You will also learn the importance of private security laws, protocols and gadgets in the maintenance of security of nations.

## **UNIT 1 THE POLICE AND STATE SECURITY**

The Police are a paramilitary force established by law for the purpose of preventing crime and maintaining law and order. As the closest arm of the security system to the people, the police are also expected to help gather intelligence with which the government can fight crime and bring criminals to justice. This brings into focus, the issue of police legitimacy.

Police legitimacy is the perception that the police has the rights to rule. It connotes citizen's acceptance of the police and police actions and decision on whether to defer to law or not (Tyler, 1990). Because in most societies, police authorities are usually established by law to combat crime and maintain law and order, accepting the police to do their job is always given by law but deference to law, is depended on citizens' relationship with the police (Tyler, 1990). Deference to the law, is a citizens' voluntary obedience of legal authorities based on their perception of the performance of those authorities. While police effectiveness is a major determinant of citizens' obedience of the law, increasingly, research by Tyler (1990) has demonstrated that procedural justice plays more important role than police effectiveness.

What then is procedural justice? Procedural justice is the extent to which the police complies with the law and treat citizens with decency. When the police treat citizens with due respect, they respect the police and are more likely to defer to the law. Not only this, it helps citizens to make decisions to assist the police with intelligence to combat crimes or not (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012).

## **POLICE BEHAVIOUR, CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE AND CRIME CONTROL IN NIGERIA**

The Police are very central to the process of maintaining law and order because they are the primary agent in the criminal justice administration. In the last two decades, a floodgate of research has been conducted on policing in developing countries, for Nigeria, the last ten years have attracted much scholarly attention on police behaviour, police brutality and management of public safety. While some of the literature have examined the effect of police corruption and police misconduct in the maintenance of law and order (Akinlabi, 2016; Akinlabi, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2010), a vast majority of the literature are interested in the linkages the history of the Nigerian postcolonial society, the establishment of the Nigeria Police and its role in the fight against Boko Haram in northeastern Nigeria.

Similarly, new areas of research investigation have diverted our attention away from what the police do wrongly and shift it to how the police can be reformed. The few literature hammers on the adoption of community policing, reform of police practice procedures, the decentralization of the force and the professionalization of the recruitment process into the Nigeria Force (Mbaku, 2016).

Police involvement in the maintenance of State Security is another area of scholarly investigation in recent times. It is often measured by the extent to which the police are able to use their tactics, strategies and intelligence collected from community members to arrest criminals and stabilize the polity. Thus, it then means that police officers must combine effective training with good behaviour to be able to collect, document and use criminal intelligence. While knowledge and training of criminal intelligence are useful, police officers may not have the opportunity of gathering credible intelligence when they do not have the cooperation of the people. This brings to the fore the idea of community policing.

Community policing is a policing strategy that allows the police to partner with the community and engage in collective problem-solving in combating crime. Though, the idea of community is not alien to Nigeria, and the rest of the African continent, its modernized form is new and is yet to be fully integrated. Community policing entails comprehensive program of action targeted at bringing the community into police services especially those that can be performed by civilians and will not be injurious to police investigation of a crime or prosecution of an offender. Community policing supports the devolution of police powers from the centre to community police officers whose responsibility is to bring the police closer to the crime scene.

The idea of community policing has been accepted as a laudable one to strengthen police involvement in the management of State security and participation in international politics. Because intelligence gathering within the community is now done using modern technologies such as *Voice Analyzer* (Akinade, 2009), police and military officers will require more training in order to be able to cope with this practice in this new age.

Again, the police need procedural justice to drive every aspect of their job. Whether conventional work of arrest of criminals, no citizen will volunteer information to a police officer that is perceived to be corrupt or is likely to leak the volunteered information to the criminal. Police corruption combined with lack of procedural justice help to reduce the extent to which the police can be used to fight crime in Africa (Ayee, 2016 ; Bottoms & Tankebe, , 2012; Hope, 2016; Mbaku, 2016).

## **COLONIAL LEGACY AND POLICE PRACTICE IN POSTCOLONIAL NIGERIA**

The Police in Nigeria is inherited from the defunct colonial State. It was designed by the British to suit its colonial mission in Nigeria, and ensure that State powers, were incontrovertibly obeyed. What this means, is that the police in colonial Nigeria were established as a colonial force designed to enforce colonial laws and assist the State in resisting all forces of colonial opposition in the colonial society (Ake, 2000; Ekeh, 1975).

Though, the police in Nigeria have since undergone series of reforms, both the police and the State still maintain some semblance of the colonial State. Several scholars have stated that the police in Nigeria still maintain high level of force, in their quest to maintaining law and order, and in the process, have trampled upon the fundamental rights of the citizens, which are recognized by the 1999 Constitution, the Universal Declaration for Human Rights, 1948 and the African Charter on Human Rights.

By trampling on the fundamental rights of people, the police would have violated the codes and ethics of due process of the law enshrined in the 1999 Constitution and international police practice ethics. *Policing is a professional practice that is guided by international practice procedures and protocols*. This is not to say that even in advanced societies, police officers still violate the rights of "people of colour" and subject minorities to different forms of hazardous torture. One of such instances, is the killing of George Floyd in the United States, that has generated a lot of public outcry on police racial behavior and inhuman practices.

## **POLICE INVOLVEMENT IN THE COUNTERINSURGENCY AND STATE SECURITY IN NIGERIA**

Police involvement in the counter-insurgency in Nigeria has been affected by many of the problems highlighted above about the police in developing countries; police brutality, police inefficiency, poor intelligence gathering because of lack of support from the public, violation of police ethics, violation of due process of the law, police corruption, poor public perception and the problem of legitimacy generally. One of the signs of lack of legitimacy for the police in Nigeria, is the recent clamour for the decentralization of the force to make it more accessible and public-friendly (Irekemba, 2019; Nwanguna, 2019).

**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAEs)**

- i. Define the essential roles of the Police in the management of State Security
- ii. Evaluate Police involvement in counterinsurgency in Nigeria

## **UNIT 2 THE MILITARY, MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND STATE SECURITY**

Since the creation of man, human beings have always struggled to protect their society and preserve life. Self-preservation, as noted by Thomas Hobbes, is the first law of nature. This thesis has also been reiterated by Charles Darwin, the British foremost biologist, and Herbert Spencer, a British Sociologist of the nineteenth century.

As human society progressed from hunters and gatherers society, they developed different means of defending themselves. Some built community walls, as found in the old Benin Empire, and fortified their society with army. Between the ancient times and the eighteenth century, human society has recorded great history of well-fortified armies in Greek City State, the Roman Empire, Spanish Empire, the Great Britain, the French Society and American society.

With the coming of modernization, both the structure and responsibilities of the military have been influenced by science and technology. Science has transformed the way states set up their army by rationalizing and legalizing the process. The coming of science and modernization has also seen the professionalization of military operations and restriction of their public engagement to the defence of national integrity. Of all these, the conception of the military as a means of self-preservation and national integrity has never changed.

Every society whether developed or less developed, expect its military to be technologically advanced and professionally capable of defending the territorial integrity of their society. National security has always been built around confidence in the army, the navy, the air force and other security agencies charged with the responsibility of protecting lives and property and safeguarding the territorial integrity of the sovereign nation. In fact, sovereignty of the Nation-State is measured by the level of sophistication and the defensive capacity of the State (Hacker, 1994; Krause & Williams, 1996; Luckman, 1994; Paris, 2001; Ukpabi, 1976).

Since the end of the Second World War, the military around the world has witnessed rapid changes and development like never before. The race for development for some countries, is congealed and predicated on the need to develop nuclear weapons and challenge American hegemony in the global political system. America's emergence as the world leader in post-Cold war, has also accelerated the contests for space technology, nuclear brinkmanship and the rise of terrorist organizations. While a good number of the advanced countries have not shown willingness to challenge the political hegemony of the West, the rise of nuclear states in developing and emerging countries like China, Iran and North-Korea, have raised new issues about the new global political order that the US represents (Luckman, 1994; Paris, 2001).

Consequently, there have been hot theoretical debates on the role of the military in today's world. Traditionally, the military, according to the realists, is inevitable in the State attempts to preserve national security and protect itself in an anarchical society. State powers lie, not in its size but in its military capability and its ability to defence itself from both internal and external aggression (Krause & Williams, 1996).

Since the end of the Cold War and the attendant humanitarian crises in the Third World countries that are ravaged by war, armed conflicts and terrorism, there has been a paradigmatic change from realists and neorealist approach to state security to the constructivist approach which sees national security beyond mere possession of military powers.

National security and military engagement now involve maintaining law and order and also defending the territorial integrity of the state. This has been extended to extra-security services such as building peace and partaking in peacekeeping missions designed at building lasting peace in terrorist-affected or war-ravaged societies. The paradigmatic change in the conception of security development, has member of the armed forces partake in environment and food security. Not only this, military war protocols and their involvement in peacekeeping missions have dramatically responded to the forces of globalization of the 21s century.

In this section of the module, you will learn about the role of the military as a critical factor in national security. You will also learn the basic laws setting up the military in Nigeria, and essential aspects of military operations in Nigeria. Essentially, the section seeks to unearth the inevitability of collaboration of the armed forces with other security agencies in the handling of internal national security in Nigeria.

### **LEGAL HISTORY OF THE MILITARY IN NIGERIA**

The Military in modern Nigeria is a product of British colonialism. This is not to say that before the advent of the British, the various ethnic groups did not possess their stand-by armies used in fighting inter-State and intra-State wars. However, with the coming of the colonial State, the various traditional armies were disbanded and replaced with the colonial army. The British retained some structures of the traditional policing and incorporated them into the Native Authority Police in Northern and Southern protectorates.

Unlike the military, the police were the first to be established with the Hausa Constabulary coming on board to help the colonial government curb crime and enforce law and order. Specifically, in 1898, the British thought that the Niger territories should be amalgamated with their armies. The thinking at the time coincided in War Office and Colonial Office that the British needed a strong force in West Africa, in order to be able to maintain its colonies. Thus, a committee was set up to look into

this, the report of the committee, which favored the creation of a strong army for the Niger territories, led to the birth of the Nigerian Military today.

Ukpabi (1976) aptly stated that:

"As far as Nigeria was concerned the forces to be amalgamated included the three forces established in parts of Southern Nigeria and the two battalions of the West African Frontier Force raised in 1898 and quartered in parts of Northern Nigeria. The recommendations of the committee on amalgamation gave rise to the following military establishments in Nigeria in 1900. Two battalions were established in Northern Nigeria. These were made up of those weak battalions already formed by Lugard in 1898 in addition to the Companies of the Royal Niger Company Constabulary quartered in those areas which after 1899 formed part of the government of Northern Nigeria. At the beginning of 1900 the R.N.C. Constabulary was disbanded but the men were allowed to volunteer to join either the Northern Nigeria or the Southern Nigeria Regiment. A battalion known as the 3 Battalion (Southern Nigeria Regiment) was established in the south. This battalion consisted of men of the Niger Coast Protectorate Force and those of the Royal Niger Company Constabulary quartered in parts of Southern Nigeria"(Ukpabi, 1976: 62).

He added that:

"In Lagos a three-company (V2) battalion was established. Each of these military formations was under a separate command and thus duplicated the divisions which existed in Nigeria's political and administrative systems. However, a great deal of liaison and mutual support existed between the various military commands after 1900 and this made it possible for a unit from one part to be used in support of other units in other parts of the country" (Ukpabi, 1976: 62).

Ukpabi (1976) held that when the Lagos colony was amalgamated with Southern Nigeria in 1906, the Lagos Battalion was merged with Southern Nigeria Regiment on May 17, 1906 resulting in two battalions being established in the protectorates. As an instrument of colonial policy, the colonial army created by the British was primarily meant for the maintenance of British political order in the colonies. This is understandable in view of the fact that the British had to contend with other colonial powers such as France and Germany that were struggling to take over some territories from Nigeria.

The first military act in Nigeria was the British Military Act of 1881 applicable to the West African Frontier Force. Several laws have succeeded this law since independence, and have led to the formation, structure and operations of the Nigerian military till today. The Sections

217-220 of the 1999 Constitution concern the creation, structure and functions of the Nigerian military.

Specifically, the Section 217 of the 1999 Constitution stated inter alia:

*217. (1) There shall be an armed force for the Federation which shall consist of an army, a navy, an Air Force and such other branches of the armed forces of the Federation as may be established by an Act of the National Assembly.*

*(2) The Federation shall, subject to an Act of the National Assembly made in that behalf, equip and maintain the armed forces as may be considered adequate and effective for the purpose of -*

*(a) defending Nigeria from external aggression;*

*(b) maintaining its territorial integrity and securing its borders from violation on land, sea, or air;*

*(c) suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order when called upon to do so by the President, but subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly; and*

*(d) performance such other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.*

### **COMPOSITION OF THE NIGERIAN MILITARY**

The Nigerian military, according to the 1999 Constitution is composed of three essential structures:

1. Nigerian Army
2. Nigerian Navy
3. Nigerian Air Force.

### **THE MILITARY AND NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY**

The military is very important both in the conception and implementation of the National Security Strategy. In Nigeria, the responsibility is bestowed in the defence ministry, who is saddled with the drafting of the national strategy under the supervision of the Presidency and in line with global and regional best practices.

The National security strategy bestows a lot of responsibilities on the military because it is the military that handles the development of military technology, development of rules of engagement during war or conflicts

and also ensure that the territorial integrity of the nation is effectively guaranteed. Besides all of these responsibilities, it is the military that also develops defence strategies and also identifies the risks and threats that the Nation-State is confronted with.

## **MILITARY INFRASTRUCTURE**

Military infrastructure are those military facilities, weapons, technologies and ICT produced at home or imported from abroad or those budgeted for the purpose of enhancing the capability of a Nation military. The facilities could also include space technology and nuclear capability that a Nation depends.

There is however a relationship between level of development and the military capability of a nation. For instance, the US, China, Russia, Iran, North-Korea, India maintain high military infrastructure because they have adapted to the new age of globalization and maximize the opportunities offered by globalization to develop sophisticated technologies for their military.

As it stands today, the United States of America is the most powerful nation in the world followed by Russia as the two countries race for more advanced nuclear and space technologies to defence their countries. Unlike the developed world which produces its own weapons for war and defence, majority of African countries still depend on the Western world for weapons. One of the striking examples of US military sophistication was the extent to which its military was able to use drone to assassinate Iranian top General Qaesem Sulameini (Borger & Martin, 2020). The killing of ISIS leader, which signaled an end to the dreaded role of the Islamic State in Levant and Iraq, was also another dramatic turn in US military sophistication in the post-Cold war society.

Of course, the Nigerian military has transited through reforms, the military capability is still undermined by the nature and character of the postcolonial state in Africa. The state in postcolonial is said to have neglected largely deliberately equipment of the military to be able to fight wars. Except for a few African countries, most of the arms used by the military are still largely imported to the continent, at a higher rate, and the training of soldiers, are still foreign-dependent in terms of new skills and use of space technology to advance military intelligence, war confrontation and human rights protection. There is no way we can rule out this, in view of the fact that, the West entered the process of modernization before the peripheral formations. Notwithstanding this, some scholars have argued that the Nigerian military has been undermined by years of involvement in politics Bienen (1978), gross abuse of the principles of the rule of law during the era of the military, Oshio (1988), Onuoha, Nwaugwu & Ugwuaze (2020) attributed the challenge to low morale and lack of professionalism.

Of course, long years of military rule have dealt heavy blow on the Nigerian military. Since the return to democracy in May 1999 particularly after the election of President Muhammadu Buhari, the Nigerian military have rejigged its counterinsurgency in the Northeast, and has pushed back the dreaded Islamic sect from many parts of the region (Olalekan, Ogundele, Adepegba & Alluko, 2018).

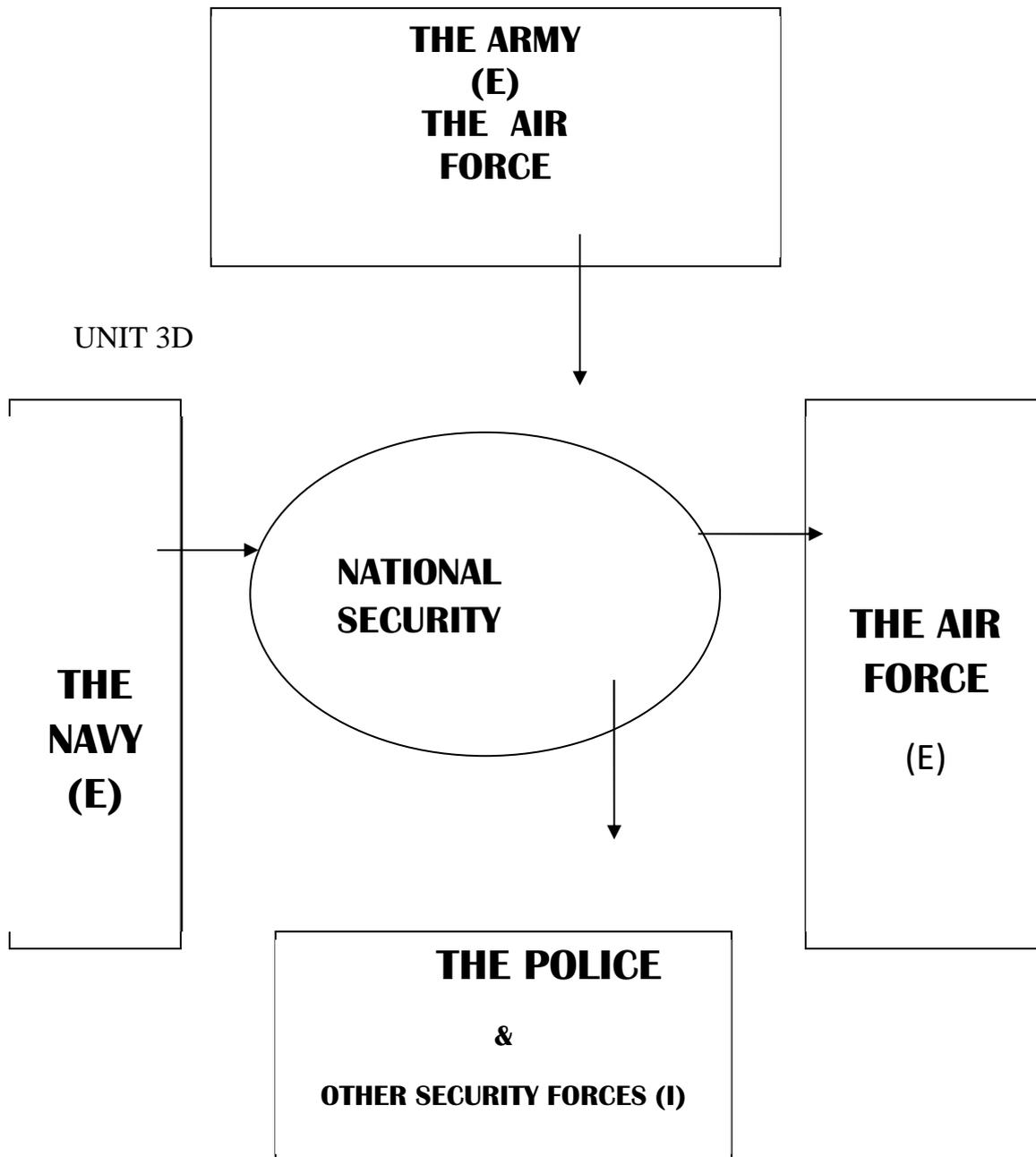
### **MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, MILITARY PROTOCOLS AND USE OF SPACE TECHNOLOGY**

Military intelligence is an essential aspect of military warfare. It is the process by which the military gathers its criminal intelligence, process and use it for national security strategy but military has specific procedures, and protocols that each officer in the military must follow. This is what is referred to as military protocols. The Armed Forces Act, 2004, Law of the Federal Republic of Nigeria specifically stated the guidelines for the operations of the Nigerian army, Nigerian Navy and the Nigerian Air Force. It provides a Council each for each of the Nigerian military and also states punishments for officers that dissent the service.

Unlike the developed where NATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT has been significantly enhanced with modern technology, in most developing countries particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa where long years of military rule, has undermined military professionalism, both intelligence gathering and implementation of National Security Planning are still subjected to politics, corruption, and nepotism, thereby reducing the efficiency of the force. When the capability of military officers is undermined by primordial values, it erodes their culture of discipline, efficiency and command structure which are rooted in Taylor's scientific management (Lissak, 1967).

It is however important to note that the extent to which politics influences military capability will determine how they win a war, and they are able to significantly degrade terrorist organizations. Degrading terrorist groups require high level of morale boosting, incentives to achieve, and dedication that will be recognized and compensated by the State. In instances where corruption and nepotism have dominated both the posting of officers and appointment of military leadership, it affects intelligence gathering and a whole range of issues bordering on military cooperation and effective management of resources. The challenge today in many African countries, is that military appointment is often used to settle political scores at the detriment of merit, experience and credibility. This is one of the problems of the military in Nigeria and in majority of West African countries where decades of investment in counterinsurgency struggles have not yielded the anticipated results (Agbiboa, 2012).

NATIONAL SECURITY FORCES AND NATIONAL SECURITY



**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. How does politics shape military capability in the developing world?
- ii. What is the role of military infrastructure in the formulation and implementation of a National Security Strategy?

### **UNIT 3 PRIVATE SECURITY GUARD AND PUBLIC SAFETY**

The private security industry is an essential part of today's world. It is distinctively known as private security because it is owned and designed by private organizations and private individuals to cater for the needs of their industries. Given the divergent nature of security in our new world, an intricate relationship exists between private security and state security (Shearing & Stenning, 1981; Stom, Berzofsky, Shook-Sa, Barrick, Daye & Kinsey, 2010; Oyebode, 2019).

The intricate relationship is that the private security industry exists within the public domain to carry out the routine tasks of protecting lives and property. For instance, organizations do their businesses within the business environment created by the political state. When the investment climate is volatile, the business environment will also become volatile. It is within this context that modern industries and multinational organizations make their own private arrangement to hire or set up well trained and equipped private security guards that can help protect their facilities.

#### **WHAT IS PRIVATE SECURITY?**

A private security is a private security firm, private security organization or an arrangement designed by private individuals for the purpose of protecting their property, facilities and personnel from security risks and threats. Depending on the nature of organization, private security organization could either be small or large in terms of staff and security facilities available for public safety.

Private security with large security personnel and modern equipment are more likely to attract patronage and work with the police in helping the government track the movements of criminals. It is however important to note that, the fact private security is set up by private persons, does not mean they are not regulated by law.

#### **REGULATION, LICENSING AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF PRIVATE SECURITY**

Private security is a regulated industry anywhere in the world. In the United States, registration and obtaining appropriate licensing is a condition for setting up of a private security firm. Like the police, the army, the navy and air force, private security service is guided by law because it deals with public interest; *public safety* (Shearing, Stenning & Philip, 1998).

Besides dealing with public safety, private security organizations usually in the course of their day to day encounters with citizens and complex organizations deal with issues of human rights, crime violation,

information and property protection. All of these issues are bound to generate litigations if unregulated or poorly regulated. Thus, the rule of law is not only the sine quo non for the maintenance of public order, it is a significant tool for building a prosperous and competitive business environment.

In Nigeria, the operations of private security are guided by the Nigerian Civil Defence Corps Act, and the Private Security Guard Company Act, 1986 (amended in 2018). The Private Security Guard Company Act specifically states that a person requesting for the establishment must write to the Minister, attach necessary particulars as stated in the law and stipulated the conditions of service of his or her proposed staff. Though, the law is good by conferring authority on the Minister to process the recommendation of the Nigeria Civil Defence Corps, it could be a great opportunity for corruption and discretion in the public service, given the history of corruption in the Nigerian public service. Oyeboade (2019) believed that the PGC Act, is against the participation of foreigners because it precludes "foreign security companies" from being licensed in Nigeria.

### **TYPES OF PRIVATE SECURITY**

Private security has been categorized into different types but in this module we shall restrict ourselves to two types;

#### **1. Proprietary or In-House Private Security**

Proprietary or in-house private security is the private security arrangements made by companies to secure their property. In this instance, the management of a company will hire some security officers to protect their facilities. This is the oldest form of private security adapted from the traditional private security system.

#### **2. Contractual Private Security**

The Contractual Private Security is much more complex and more sophisticated than the in-house. However, owners of the hiring organization may not be able to guarantee the loyalty of the staff because they are not trained in-house. Increasingly due to the forces of globalization and cost of maintaining staff, multinational organizations, banks and highly mobile industry usually prefer the contractual kind of private security so that once the contract terminates, they can remove the cost of security from their overhead costs.

### **THE EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF THE PRIVATE SECURITY INDUSTRY IN NIGERIA**

The private security industry in Nigeria has grown in response to the contexts and socio-economic and political history of Nigeria. It began in

the 1980s but reached its peak after the Cold war and the return of democracy to Nigeria, when many companies began to request for additional security support and services beyond the one provided by the police.

Although, the wave of industrialization going on around the world, has also driven more companies to Nigeria, it was the increase in the incidence of armed robbery in the major cities of Nigeria, kidnapping of oil workers in the Niger Delta, and high level of insecurity foisted on the nation by political violence decades of military rule that are the immediate causes of setting up the private security industry particularly the contractual private security industry.

Within a short time, most of the private security industries have been influenced by the information and communication technology age as they use advanced technology for detecting crime and profiling offenders of the law. While changes in banking system approach to security could be linked to the level of insecurity in post-military Nigeria, the entry of private security has increased banking screening of their customers and the use of CCTV cameras to document activities within and outside the banking industry.

Since the police can handle the problem of public safety alone, private guards have also been useful for the Nigeria Police in their investigation of crime relating to organizations they serve. This is a new trend in the development of the private security industry that is likely to help Nigeria's future.

Though, the interests of most owners of private security companies, was never to create jobs, the industry is one of the employment-generating sector, as millions of young, agile and well trained Nigerians now go for private security jobs. This development has consequently led to the emergence of Security Training Institutes in Nigeria.

#### **UNIT 4      MODERN SECURITY INFRASTRUCTURE, SECURITY PROTOCOLS AND CYBERSECURITY**

Today is a technology age driven by high-tech and space technology. Nations both in the developed and developing world are struggling to explore the benefits of the information and communication technology but not many of these nations have succeeded because the race is expensive, dangerous and scientific.

Globalization has however made it possible for those who are not in the race for advanced technology to benefit but this has implications for their national security. The implication is that, the power to control the new technology will reside in the producer irrespective of global regulations on ICT utilization, distribution and consumption. This is the politics of cybersecurity and the politics of nuclear brinkmanship that accompanied the Cold war (Yannakogeorgos, 2012).

Unlike other industries, the security sector, seems to have had the most profound impact of the cyber-age. Positively, it has brought new hard and soft technologies for crime prevention, investigation, profiling, and prosecution. One of the most profound effects of global technology is the invention of CCTV Cameras. CCTV Cameras, though, they are of different sizes, and structures, they have the unique way of capturing images of the crime scene and crime incidence pushing further evidence that would have hidden if the criminal or suspect had disappeared from the crime scene (Ashby, 2017). There have also been numerous inventions such as BODY SCANNERS, GUN DETECTOR, BOMB TRACTER, DRONES AND AIRCRAFT FIGHTER JETS and several other soft technologies used in space military exploration.

#### **INTERNET GOVERNANCE, US HEGEMONY AND MULTILATERALISM IN THE GLOBAL POLITICAL SYSTEM**

Internet governance has become an integral aspect of the international community especially with the contests between the US and other world powers like China, Russia and North-Korea. Given the nature of the internet, it can positively contribute to the development of a country, and the same time, mire its development if the government unable to guarantee its cyber-security.

Cybersecurity is therefore very integral to how global security networks are managed and protected from cybercriminals. For decades, stakeholders in the cybersecurity industry have been working to secure internet facilities considering the growing incidence of viruses to damage computer software and destroy government's documents.

In recent times, there have been debates on whether US National Security Strategy will not be threatened by the growing influence of Russia, China,

North-Korea and Iran in the technology industry. China, to be specific, has made a lot of inroads into the IT industry through Hawaii, and with its influence, US influence on the standardization and regulation of internet usage has diminished (Yannakogeorgos, 2012). This is possibly the cause of President Trump's annoyance with China and the fact that China is doing everything to make internet governance multilateral as opposed to US unilateral. The war against the domination of the IT industry will define the next fault lines in the global political system. This is the submission of Yannakogeorgos when he submitted that:

*"China is making a great leap forward in terms of sowing the seeds for global friendly conquest in cyberspace. As reported by the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, "If current trends continue, China (combined with proxy interests) will effectively become the principal market driver in many sectors, including telecom, on the basis of consumption, production, and innovation." 19 US reliance on China as a manufacturer of computer chips and other information and communications technology (ICT) hardware has allowed viruses and backdoors in equipment used by US-based entities, including the military. Extraordinarily low-priced Chinese-made computer hardware is a lucrative buy in Asia and the developing world. 20 Furthermore, Chinese entities, such as Huawei, are on the leading edge of developing the standards of next generation mobile 4G LTE networks".*

## **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. What is the law regulating private security practice in Nigeria?
- ii. How can the participation of private security sector enhance or boost effective management of national security in Nigeria?

## **4.0 CONCLUSION**

This module has examined the role of the military in relation to the police and private security, and concluded that since time immemorial, military significance in the maintenance of state security is irreplaceable. However, there is a paradigmatic shift towards an integrated national security strategy that incorporates the security inputs of other law enforcement agents in the society.

## **5.0 SUMMARY**

This module examined the role of the military, the police and private security in the management of state security. It argued that the power and capability of a military in internal and external security management is a function of the history and the socio-political context within which it has developed. The module held that essentially, the core functions of the police and the military have been increasingly shaped by global politics, advantaged technology and intelligence-led policing. It is therefore that

Nigeria combines both criminal intelligence and intelligence-led policing in its counterinsurgency struggles in the Northeastern part of the country. Moving forward, the section held that modern national security strategy requires the adoption of a collective and integrated approach as nations battle with the technological age.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. which section of the 1999 Constitution establishes and states the functions of the Nigerian armed forces?
  - a. Section 111
  - b. Section 113
  - c. Section 115
  - d. Section 217
2. Which of the following is not one of the core nations contesting governance of the internet at the global level?
  - a. US
  - b. Russia
  - c. China
  - d. Norway
3. Which of these instruments is more useful in revealing the image of a criminal?
  - a. Metal Detector
  - b. Gun Detector
  - c. Scanner
  - d. CCTV Cameras
4. Private security hired based on contract with a private security company is proprietary private security.
  - a. True
  - b. False

5. The last time the law regulating private security practice in Nigeria was amended was in (a) 2012 (b) 2014 (c) 2015 (d) 2016

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**MODULE 6            THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,  
REGIONAL POWERS AND MANAGEMENT  
OF INTERNATIONAL PROTOCOLS ON  
GLOBAL    CONFLICTS AND PEACE-  
BUILDING AROUND THE WORLD**

The International Community has come a long way and remains a formidable force in the management of global conflicts. Not only this, it has remained an integral component of setting agenda for global peace and reducing tensions thrown up by proliferation of armed conflicts around the world.

Beginning with the formation of the League of Nations in January, 1920, a world without the international community, would have been chaotic and lawless given the esoteric and aggressive ways the Nation-States have been engaging each other in endless battles since the end of Second World (Goodrich, 1947).

In this module, you will learn about the origin, history, and the role of the International Community in the management of global conflicts. You will also learn about the politics of UN peace-keeping operations and the critiques of UN peace-keeping operations in non-Western societies. The essence of this, is to equip with the necessary skills in planning military and security operations, develop yourself as a critical policy maker in postcolonial Africa, and harm yourself with the skills that will enable you diagnose international conflicts, and examine the roles of international and regional bodies in the resolution of global conflicts, and the war against terrorism.

**UNIT 1            THE HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNITY**

The history of the United Nations Organisation dates back to the end of the Second World War in 1945. The War was a disaster for the world because the world saw for the first time, unprecedented effect of nuclear weapon used by the United States to destroy and kill so many people in Japan, within a short time. While the idea of a universal world, has since been conceived after the First World War, it was the carnage associated with the Second World War that rejigged the commitment of world leaders to the promotion of peace around the world.

Beginning from August 14th, 1941, the United States of America, United Kingdom and the Northern Island signed a Joint Declaration known as "Atlantic Charter. The Charter, which set, the tone for the birth of the United Nations on October 24th, 1945 was designed by President Franklin

D. Roosevelt, then President of the United States of America, to unite the world for a common purpose. Initially, only 26 countries signed United Nations Declaration led by the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Canada, New Zealand, Greece, Norway, Union of South Africa. Later, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Ethiopia and Chile joined the league of the countries that adopted the UN Charter.

## UN CHARTER

The UN Charter Article 1 stipulates the primary purposes of the United Nations;

### Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

- 1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;*
- 2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;*
- 3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and*
- 4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.*

While Article 1 deals with the objectives of the United Nations, Article stipulates the principles guiding the operations of the United Nations. For instance, Article 2 explicitly stated that the principle of sovereign equality of States shall be respected. This is addition to the recognition of the territorial integrity and political independence of Members.

Although, the UN Charter seems to be consistent with the visions of the founding fathers of the United Nations, in practice, they have not been consistently been implemented to the letter by the United Nations itself, and its member nations. We shall demonstrate this, as we survey some of

the United Nations Conventions and International Protocols on World Peace, and Security, and faithfully of implementing the sanctions for those who deviated from the Conventions (Sherry, 1986).

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE**

- i. Write a brief history of the United Nations?
- ii. How significant is the UN Charter in the conception, adoption and implementation of human rights laws in modern society?

## **UNIT 2 UN CONVENTIONS, INTERNATIONAL PROTOCOLS AND SECURITY AROUND THE WORLD**

Over the past three decades, there has been increasing discussion among international relations experts about the role of the United Nations in the promotion of global peace. While some have tended to support the idea of a Universal World upon which world leaders conceived the United Nations and sold it to the world, there are a group of radical and more critical scholars queering the authenticity of the United Nations in a world where powerful nations invade the territories of smaller nations under the guise of their war against proliferation of nuclear weapons. Who then is more powerful- The United Nations or the Core Nations?

In this section, you will learn about the role of the UN Conventions and international protocols in the regulation of global conflicts. You will also learn about the challenges faced by the United Nations and regional powers in enforcing internationally agreed legal instruments designed to prevent the world from economic, political, social and environmental threats. In the course of the lectures, we expect that you develop the skills to be able to identify the factors that have inhibited UN efforts at fighting the excesses of powerful Nations, and the consequences it has had on the legitimacy of the international community in the eyes of the people around the world.

### **WHAT IS AN INTERNATIONAL PROTOCOL AND UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION?**

International protocol is an international law or legal instrument guiding the security of the international community or its assets that are spread across the world. The concept, has also been used to describe internationally agreed diplomatic relations/positions on the processes, and institutional procedures for protecting Nations, cyber infrastructure and political and economic entities from the attacks of terrorist organizations or aggressors. Thus, international protocol, within the context of security studies, can be defined as a preventive, monitoring and control measures against perceived risks, threats, vulnerabilities and consequences of war, disasters and other problems that faced the Nation-States in modern society (Derr, 2016).

International protocols can be categorized into four different types;

#### **1. International Protocols and Conventions of the United Nations and the International Community**

These are legal instruments reached and designed to prevent, monitor and safeguard fundamental human rights of people around the world and also promote international peace in the face of aggression of State, terrorist

groups and transnational organized criminal networks. Because the United Nations is the umbrella body for the international community, it is the UN that provides the appropriate leadership for what is to be contained in international legal instruments and the humanitarian aids that are to be pursued by other multilateral agencies including those of the UN.

The United Nations General Assembly is a significant actor, in the conception, passage, promotion and enforcement of UN treaties. It is however the duty of the United Nations Security Council, the highest body, on global peace and security to decide on appropriate sanctions to be imposed on Nation-States that deviated from any of the various UN Conventions on international peace. Sherry (1986) noted that despite the posture of the United Nations as a global peace maker, it has not been able to checkmate the excesses of the superpower confrontations that have confronted since its establishment.

## **2. International Treaties and Protocols reached by Regional Organizations (European Union) and African Union**

It is also not uncommon to find regional bodies develop international treaties and protocols that will guide their relationships with other countries and regions of the World. For instance, since the end of the Second World War, the European Union has been active in the politics and balance of power in the international system. The recent withdrawal of the European Union is a reflection of the acrimonies and contradictions embedded in the politics of European Union and UK. UK for instance, has been clamoring for political assertiveness in the international system, having edged out by the United States but UK partnership with the European Union, has meant that, its role in the international system would be determined by the feasibility of the EU in global development. This is one of the reasons for UK-EU severed relationship.

While it is plausible to say that international protocols could generate frictions during the course of its implementation, at another level, it can help to maintain regional stability, enhance economic growth and economic development, and provide a platform for regional powers to alliance against transnational organized groups.

## **3. International Protocols signed by Sub-Regional Bodies**

International protocols can also emanate from sub-regional bodies in several areas of development particularly in the areas of security and development. For instance, since 1975, the Economic Community of West African States have been involved in peacekeeping missions in Africa especially in the West-African sub-region where transnational organized crimes have threatened the stability of the region for years (Meredith, 2005; Mazzitelli, 2007). One of the ways through which sub-regional bodies engage in peacekeeping operation is to set up

multinational joint taskforce. The multinational joint task force, which will operate under the supervision of ECOWAS, will comprise of soldiers and police from different countries, which the membership of regional organization like ECOWAS. The essence of this, is to provide a regional assistance both to the State confronted by war and citizens who possibly might be affected by the war (Adeleke, 1995).

In recent times, ECOWAS and the African Union have been working assiduously to deepen the rule of law in the West-African sub-region and support countries, internalize democratic norms in countries that had hitherto suffered from long years of military rule and one-party state (Kode, 2016).

#### **4. International Protocols signed by Corporate Organizations**

Corporate organizations in a bid to safeguard themselves from criminal attacks can also sign international protocols and develop standards of behaviour among its members. The essence of this, first to prevent their corporate entities for attacks and secondly to internalize cultural standards comparable anywhere in the world. For instance, International Organization for Standardization (ISO) and National Institute of Standards and Technology, actuarial societies have specific measures and ways of determining risks, threats, vulnerabilities and consequences (Derr, 2016).

##### **1. UN SECURITY COUNCIL**

The United Nations Security Council is the highest security ruling body in the world. It was established in 1945 for the maintenance of international peace and security, and is saddled with an onerous task. The UN Security Council is very important in the regulation of the international system because it helps nations determine their fate when it comes to war, counterterrorism and any form of insecurity that is likely to threaten global peace.

Since its founding in 1945, the UN Security Council has had 5 permanent members; *China, France, Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States*. Today, it has added 10 *non-permanent members* who are voted into office every two years. Non-members of the UN Security Council do not have the right to vote but they can be invited by the Council when matters concerning them come up at the Council (UN, 2020).

The UN Security Council, like the United Nations, has come under serious diplomatic scrutiny. Some have argued that it is a proxy representation of the United States or better still, the West. It has also been argued that the UN Security Council has not acted enough to sanction confrontational States because it lacks the diplomatic power to enforce

certain decisions of the international community on powerful nations of the World. Conin (2002) and Dedring (2004) have also subscribed to the fact that, the movement of the international system from a bipolar to a unipolar and now to multilateralism, has raised many questions about the legitimacy of the United Nations Security Council. One of the argument pushed forward is that, if the United Nations Security Council is not a proxy of the West, it should allow emerging states to become permanent members of the Council. How can the fate of a people be determined where they do not have a representation?

## **2. UN CONVENTIONS ON UNIVERSAL DECLARATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

Since the founding of the United Nations in 1945, respect for human rights has been one of the major agendas of the United Nations, and it has consistently pursued this agenda by formulating a good number of international human rights laws (Goodrich, 1947; Fabamise, 2018).

Beginning with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1966), Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990) to Vienna Declaration of Program of Action, the United Nations has at different times, emphasized the equality of the human persons irrespective of sex, race, language, country and locality. It has emphasized the need for equal treatment of human persons irrespective of race or language reiterating this in many legal instruments such as Vienna Declaration of Program of Action which abhors discrimination between men and women.

For instance, Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 explicitly states that:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty (United Nations, 2015: 6).

Though, since the formulation of many of these instruments, the war against human rights violation have been going on around the world, critics of the United Nations stated that the international community is still unable to assertively address many issues of human rights violation going around the world such as killing of innocent citizens with chemical weapons or the use of women and children as shields by Islamist terrorist

organizations. There have also been criticisms in the area of UN readiness to compel advanced capitalist nations to be committed to climate change programmes designed to mitigate the effects of gas emission. This is just in addition to senseless killings of innocent killings in proxy wars going on between the United States of America, Israel and Iran in the Middle East. The UN has also been criticized of weak response to regional crisis, which is partly because the organization is run by two divergent interests- *intergovernmentalism* and *transnationalism* (Cronin, 2002). The UN is an intergovernmental organization because it represents the interests of its members, and in this politics of balance of power, it is the key members of the UN Security Council that influence most diplomatic decisions of the UN. On the other side, the UN is transnationalism because it seeks to reach several people around the world with aids to mitigate human and environmental security and bring hope to the hopeless people.

Through its various agencies, the UN does this but most of funds used in the execution of its humanitarian aids still come with the developed capitalist nations. A good example of this was the US President Trump threat to the World Health Organization that the United States would exit the UN because the organization failed to take proactive step in sanctioning China for hiding information about the Corona Virus pandemic (The Guardian, 2020).

### **3. UN CONVENTION ON TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIMES**

The UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crimes was entered in Parlemo, Italy, in year 2000. It was a global response to a global challenge. The Convention came at a time, when organized criminals around the world were responding actively to the rising influence of globalization. Determined to serious undermine their operations, the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized criminalizes every form of transnational organized crime involving two or more persons that is either targeted at individuals, State or the international community.

The Convention also asks member States to domesticated transnational organized laws to address the huge challenge of transnational organized crime thrown up by globalization. It would be remembered that after the Cold War, US policy of liberal capitalism encouraged nations to participate actively in the global political economy. While new markets were opening up for business, and advancement in information and communication was improving the way people were doing business, international criminal networks, were also poised in internationalizing their operations (Mazzitelli, 2007).

The UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crimes encouraged member nations to disrupt the operations of these criminals by setting up legal and institutional frameworks that can lead to the arrest of these

criminals and reduction of the threats they pose to collective and global security (UNODC, 2004). While this was ongoing the UN added the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children a supplement of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. The Protocol asks member nations to act swiftly to address the phenomenon of human trafficking and smuggling of migrants that have increased in the wake of transnational migration that followed the end of the Cold war. Besides this, the Protocol asks members to work out legal and institutional frameworks for the protection of the victims of illegal migration.

It was in response to this global action against child and women trafficking that the Federal Government enacted the Child Rights Act, 2003 and the NAPTIP Act, 2003. It was in the light that the Federal Government of Nigeria enacted the Economic and Financial Crimes Act, 2004 to complement the Independent Corrupt Practices Act, 2000 and the Code of Conduct Bureau, which has already been given legal effect in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. One lesson that we have learned here is that global events could have radical effects on local issues and policy reforms at local level (country level) (Mbaku, 1994; Mbaku, 2019).

#### **4. UN ARMS TRADE TREATY**

The United Nations Arms Treaty is also another crucial law that has shaped the context and politics of global conflicts. The law stipulates that each country shall formulate the regulation of the production and sale of arms in line with global standards. It also noted that the law shall not be applied to arms legally recognized for use by states.

What this implies is that the arms trade treaty target is the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons and other illegal weapons transiting from the developed world to the developing world, and those being proliferated within the developing world as a result of wars. Adisa (2019) noted that, since the end of the Cold war, illicit movement of arms has been consistent across the African continent, and this is partly responsible for the prolonged armed conflicts that the continent has witnessed in the last thirty years.

Though, arms are now produced in some African countries, most of the arms used by terrorists and transnational organized criminal groups are either illegally smuggled into the continent or stolen from the armory of soldiers. Such is the experience of the Boko Haram insurgency that has benefitted from the illicit arms struggles in the West African sub-region (Adisa, 2019; Craft & Smaldone, 2002; Financial Action Task Force, 2016).

**SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. What is the role of the UN Security Council in the management of global peace?
- ii. How tenable is the argument of universal human rights when the UN does not deem fit to give Africa a permanent seat at the UN Security Council?

### **UNIT 3 REGIONAL POWERS, THE AFRICAN UNION AND PEACE-BUILDING IN AFRICA**

Regional powers are also a critical factor in the prevention of conflicts and the stabilization of regional politics. With the herculean task of maintaining international peace and security, it is almost impossible for the United Nations to reach every part of the world at the same especially when balance of military power, economic power and position coalesced with internal politics to shape regional conflicts.

The African Union remains at the center stage of the prevention of peace and security in the African continent, a task it inherited from the defunct Organization of African Unity. While the OAU had acted as buffer to reduce multiplicity of ethnic and civil conflicts in post-independence, the African Union came at a time when African countries need to consolidate on the gains of democratic change but are battered by different forms of armed conflicts.

In order to overcome this challenge, the AU embarked on series of reforms building on international conventions and enacting regional laws to combat terrorism and transnational organized crimes. For several years, the West African sub-region has been the epicenter of different kinds of transnational organized crimes including but not limited to illicit arms trade, illicit drug trade, advanced fee fraud, human trafficking, trafficking in human organs, currency counterfeiting, cybercrime and in recent times global terrorism and armed banditry (Mazzitelli, 2007).

Coming out of decades of crises, the AU sought to reform the peace and conflict resolution mechanism inherited from the Organization of the African Union. The conflict resolution mechanism was Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. In place of this, the AU for the first time established the African Peace and Security Council in May, 2004 to replace the (MCPMR) that had been in place since June 1993 (Williams, 2009).

Today, the AU's PSC has been involved in peacekeeping operations across Africa, and is more visible in peace keeping and conflict resolution than previous times. It has also adopted more aggressive approach to ensuring that peace building is weaved around human security, security of the human person and enforcement of the human rights. Williams (2009) opined that despite the fact between 2004 and 2010, the AU elected 29 states to serve on the Council of the African Union, majority of these states did not have respect for human rights, lacked constitutional governance and enforcement of the rule of law. These challenges also constrain on the powers and extent to which the African Union could reasonably intervene in the political conflicts in the continent (Williams, 2009).

Despite all these shortcomings, the African Union still ask its member states to be committed to international conventions on human and people's rights, and also gone ahead to formulate similar laws within the African region. Some of these laws include: the African Charter on Human Rights and People's Rights, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, the Protocol to the African Charter on Human Rights and People's Rights on the Rights of Women. The African Union also maintains a statute guiding the cooperation of police across the African Union similar to INTERPOL, which helps the international community to combat crimes at the global level (Fabamise, 2018).

### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAE)**

- i. Briefly discuss the role of the AFRICAN UNION in the management of African peace and security in the 21st century?
- ii. To what extent is the AFRICAN UNION able to enforce its own Human Rights Charter on dissident regimes?

**UNIT 4      ECOWAS, SUB-REGIONAL SECURITY  
COOPERATIONS AND COUNTERRORISM  
EFFORTS    IN THE WEST-AFRICAN SUB-REGION**

The Economic Community of West African States has remained a formidable force in the maintenance of peace and security in Africa especially in the West African sub-region where prolonged civil war in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinean Bissau have threatened the stability of the region. Though, when ECOWAS was established in May 1975, the 16 member states, for the first 15 years, concentrated on economic matters, events later changed as civil and political conflicts in the region continually threatened the stability of the West African region.

This is understandable in view of the fact that ECOWAS came at a time when the West African region witnessed oil boom, and by the early 1980s, the region had plummeted into deep economic crises leading to high level of poverty, loss of jobs, downsizing in the public service and inflation as a result of the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) introduced by the military. Ake (2000) stated that, in Nigeria, the SAP crisis was combined with military draconian rule which led to political annihilation of forces of the opposition. The pressure for change combined with local grievances produced two results; first, it led to wars in Liberia, Guinea--Bissau and Sierra Leone and in Nigeria, it culminated in almost a decade of political unrest.

The second effect of the SAP crisis in the West African was that it provided a fertile ground for the emergence of different forms of transnational organized crime. It was at the time that the rate of armed robbery increased in major cities of West Africa and young people who were eager to work but could not get a job diverted their energy into drug trafficking, currency counterfeiting and advanced fee fraud (Mazzitelli, 2007; UNODC, 2005). Today, ECOWAS is battling with global terrorism that has killed thousands of people in Nigeria and displaced hundreds of others from their ancestral homes (Thurston, 2016). What then is ECOWAS doing to keep peace in the region?

ECOWAS countries battered by the armed insurrection of Boko Haram and the Islamic State have formed Multinational Joint Task Force to complement regional and global efforts to combating terrorism in the West African sub-region. Nigeria, being the epicenter of the Boko Haram uprising has taken the lead. With the cooperation of Chad, Niger and Cameroon soldiers, Boko Haram has been pushed back from the Lake Chad region but it still has tendency to carry out sporadic attacks on lone communities (International Crisis Group, 2017; International Crisis Group, 2020).

Unlike the past when ECOWAS peacekeeping operations focused largely on military combat and bombardment of armed insurgents, disarming the

armed groups by disrupting their sources of income, has been an integral policy of ECOWAS peacekeeping in the last ten years. ECOWAS has, in compliance with the Financial Action Task Force established "INTERGOVERNMENTAL ACTION GROUP AGAINST MONEY LAUNDERING AND TERRORIST FINANCING IN WEST AFRICA. This is a paradigm shift in international politics of the West African sub-region and an attempt to key into UN war against terrorism in the world (GIABA, 2010).

#### UNITED NATIONS CHARTER ON SELF-DETERMINATION, INTERNATIONAL TREATIES ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND NIGERIA'S SECURITY OBJECTIVES: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF NIGERIA'S SECURITY SYSTEM

The United Nations has since the end of the Second World War, been working assiduously to stabilize the world by ending conflicts and promoting global peace and unity around the world. Underlying this concern is the international community's effort to help nations protect their citizens by building viable security system, enactment of human rights laws and enforcement of existing international human rights treaties that they have already subscribed to over time. The essence of this, is to ensure that no group of people are subjected to any form of inhumane treatment anywhere in the world (Okoronkwo, 2002).

Additionally, the international community believes that human rights are the inalienable rights of every citizen of the world but the extent to which countries including Nigeria implements these laws in their bid to defend their citizens and ensure territorial integrity has varied across the world (Ariye; Goodrich, 1947; Reddy and Reddy, 2015; Sarkin, 2009; United Nations, 2010).

#### INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA

Historically speaking, the first internationally acclaimed human rights instrument is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed by the UN General Assembly in Paris in 1948. Article 1 of the law states that; *"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood"*. Article 2 of the international legal instrument went further to state that;

*"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the*

*country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.*

Nigeria, being one of the leaders in Africa has domesticated many of the human rights in the Constitution including the right to life. For instance, Section 33 (1) of the 1999 Constitution states that:

*"Every person has the right to life, and no one shall be deprived intentionally of his life, save in execution of the sentence of a court in respect of a criminal offence of which he has been found guilty in Nigeria."*

The right to life has also been extended to the right to a dignified treatment and protection from inhumane treatment, slavery, trafficking and oppression either by the state or a group of individuals. The United Nations has also at different times adopted other international Covenants such as the International Covenant On Civil and Political Rights 1966 (ICCPR), The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 (ICESCR), The Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (CTOC) and its Palermo Protocol, Italy, 2000. The UN has also put in place the Convention On the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Optional Protocol on the Rights of the Sale of Children, Child Protection (Fabamise, 2018:434).

At the regional level, Nigeria has subscribed to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights adopted by the Organization of African Unity. The Charter has also since been adopted by the African Union. Specifically, Article 5 of the Charter in respect dignified treatment emphasized that;

*"Every individual shall have the right to the respect of the dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition of his legal status. All forms of exploitation and degradation of man particularly slavery, slave trade, torture, cruel and treatment or degrading punishment and treatment shall be prohibited" (See ACHP, 1981: 4).*

The question is to what extent Nigeria has complied with this law in the treatment of its citizens. This, we shall answer, after critically examining the UN Charter on self-determination and secession struggles in Nigeria.

#### UN Charter on Self-Determination and Secession Struggles in Nigeria

The UN Charter on self-determination is a product of UN resolution after the Second World War but its history dates back to the statement made by former American President Woodrow Wilson in 1918 his Fourteen Point Agenda. Wilson, in the statement had criticized world leaders for oppressing people around the world using all forms of political ideologies including colonialism. As if the world was waiting for his statement, the

concept quickly became popular in international law and quickly entered foreign policy discourse of colonial nations (Lynch, 2002; Thronteveit, 2011). Wilsonianism, as it was then called, spread across the world but waited till after the Second World War before it ignited decolonization struggles in Africa.

Self-determination is simply the right of a people to determine their own destiny and form a government. It contains the rights to be free from colonial domination and also the rights to secede from an oppressive state. Self-determination also means the right to establish a sovereign and independent through voluntary commitment or submission of a people. Though, the right to self-determination is contained in Article 1 (2) the UN Charter, many nations are said to have violated the rights and subjected the peoples under them to different degrees of humiliation, oppressive treatments and discrimination with little or no consequences particularly the advanced capitalist nations (Okoronkwo, 2002).

Specifically, the Article 1 (2) states that the United Nations is created: "*To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace*" (UN Charter, 2020). Similarly, Article 55 of the UN Charter provides that: "*universal respect for, observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion*". While Article 55 enjoys provides for universal respect for human rights irrespective race or language creates an obligation for member nations to respect fundamental freedoms of people including the right of self-determination.

Even though, it is explicitly stated in UN Charter that states that have ratified the Charter have an obligation to respect the right of a people to self-determination and other rights that are related to political freedoms, events after the Second World War, have shown gross violation of these rights by rogue nations in Africa. Okoronkwo (2002) noted that despite the stunt opposition to the observance of the right of self-determination in Africa, the right is claimable, which every people whose rights have been violated of the international law, can invoke and seek redress from the international community (Blay, 1985; Okoronkwo, 2002).

Okoronkwo (2002) stated that the validity of the self-determination was first tested under the colonial rule as the United Nations supported the granting of political independence to many African countries. As more African countries were gaining their political independence in 1960 or preparing to be granted self-government, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolutions 1514 and 1541 (xv) with the primary objective of sealing the fate of colonialism in the developing world. The Resolutions affirm *UN commitment to the UN Charter recognizing the*

*rights of all peoples to self-government.* Paragraph 2 of 1514 abolished the thinking that the colonized people were not matured enough to attain self-government (Okoronwo, 2002).

In order to protect the interests of the colonial people, Paragraph 6 of the UN resolution 1514 forbade the colonial powers from severing the wealthiest parts of non-self-governing territory before granting independence to them. It was on the basis of this that the UN General Assembly condemned "the actions of the United Kingdom as a violation of paragraph 6 when the United Kingdom detached the British Indian Ocean territories from the colonies of Mauritius and Seycheles before granting them independence" (Okoronwko, 2002: 79).

By condemning the actions of the UK at this time of transition of African countries from colonial rule to self-governing sovereign and independent states, it showed that the UN was really determined to protect the interest of everyone. It is however, important to note that, while it was easy for the United Nations to act decisively in the 1960s leading to the granting of political independence for Nigeria (Blay, 1985; Okoronkwo, 2002), it has not been easy for the international community to fight for the rights of the oppressed in postcolonial Africa. We shall examine the examples of Biafra *agitation for self-rule* and the call or restructuring to buttress our points.

#### BIAFRA AGITATIONS, SECESSION STRUGGLES AND THE MARGINALIZATION OF THE IBOS AND OTHER MINORTY GROUPS IN NIGERIA

The agitation for self-government by the Ibos dates back to the era of the Nigerian Civil war. Before the Civil War, the Ibos were accused of masterminding the genocidal killings of Nigerian Nationalist and First Republic leaders such as Sir Ahmadu Bello, Chief S.L. Akintola and a host of other leaders, in connivance with their Southern collaborators. The emergence of an Easterner, Gen. Aguiyi Ironsi as the Head of State after the January 15th, 1966 Coup gave credence to the claim of the critiques of the 1966's political assassination (See Diamond, 2007).

Diamond (2007) opined that, in retaliation of the assassination of Northern leaders, a group of northern soldiers carried out a counter-coup that saw the killing of Gen. Aguiyi Ironsi purging the easterners as their dominance of the federal government. As events turned out, easterners became suspicious of their continued stay in the Nigerian federation given the massacre of the Ibos had taken place in 1953 and the series pogroms that had been experienced in Northern Nigeria. Diamond (2007) stated that "During this chaotic period, the Ibo were isolated as the enemy of the regime. By October 1966, thirty thousand had been murdered in Northern Nigeria, in a systematic series of pogroms (Western Nigerians were not molested). Most of the remainder found their way back to the East in one

of the most extensive migrations in modern history. In May 1967 after fruitless negotiations in Lagos, Eastern Nigeria and its 14 million people seceded from the federation and established the independent republic of Biafra. The war was led by former military Governor of Eastern L. Colonel, Odumegwu Ojukwu while Gen. Yakubu Gowon, Nigeria's Head of State, fought on behalf of Nigeria to regain the unity of Nigeria (Diamond, 2007; Okoronkwo, 2002; Schwarz, 1966). The War was devastating as many Nigerians died in the war particularly the Easterners, who as a result of maximum pressure from the federal government and dwindling economic resources of the Biafra state died of starvation.

One interesting thing about the war, was the role of foreign nations in the politics of Biafra. Though, many people including Easterners expected Britain to support the secession of Ibos, as the war went on, it became clearer that Britain was not interested in the disintegration of Nigeria and could not afford to lose Nigeria; *a nation it perceived as its pride in the West African sub-region*. British foreign policy was therefore to the Federal Government and a map that shaped the disposition of Washington towards the Biafra War, as America did not come out publicly to condemn either the pogroms in North or the killings of Ibos during the 30 months War, *until protests within the US and abroad elicited the attention of the global community* (Diamond, 2007). Thus, it was obvious that, British foreign policy during the Biafra War contributed to non-actualization of the right of self-determination of Ibos in the Nigerian federation whereas it is one of the founding members of the United Nations that formulated the UN Charter.

Of course, the Ibos are not the only ethnic group that has threatened to secede from Nigeria, as a result of unfair treatment by the Nigerian state. In the Niger Delta, there have been agitations by Ogonis, Ijaws and other minority groups for self-determination. Until recently, Federal Government policy towards the compensation of the oil-rich region, had not been inclusive. This debate can be supported by the case between the Federal Government of Nigeria, and the oil-producing states over 13% derivation principle enshrined in the 1999 Constitution. Although, the Supreme Court ruled in 2002 that the states did not have control over offshore, a political solution has since been struck between the Federal Government and the oil-producing states on this principle but the challenge of oil spillage that has displaced thousands of farmers from their farmlands continues (Adamolekun, 2005; Osagie, Ibaba & Walts, 2009).

The Niger Delta issue was initially economic because explanation for resistance against the Nigerian state was weaved around the inability of the oil producing states to benefit from their natural resources. As turned out after the killing of the Ogoni leaders, led by Dr. Ken Sarowiwa, a human rights activist by the regime of Gen. Sanni, Abacha, it has become clearer to most people in the region that, lack of economic power is

constrained by over-centralized federalism that Nigeria practices (Adamolekun, 2005). This political economy analogy has therefore changed the agitations in the region since the end of military rule leading to the proliferation of militant groups and elites involvement in Niger Delta politics. The emergence of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2011 has been described by analysts as a concession by power block to the Niger Delta regime (Onuoha, 2015).

The Niger Delta crisis is just one out of the several agitations in the Nigeria bordering on self-determination and the need for inclusion in the Nigerian federation. The agitations, across the country especially in the South and the Middle-Belt stems from the fact that, the Nigeria's *military federalism* or centralized federalism, has concentrated powers in the North, at the detriment of other regions leading to the infringement of the rights of other ethnic groups to political leadership in the federation. For instance, it has been argued that, since independence, Ibos have only produced two Heads of State, whereas the Hausa-Fulanis have produced majority of Nigeria's Head of State. There is also the argument that top government's appointments under successive administrations including the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari have been occupied by Northern extraction whereas the 1999 Constitution stipulates that appointment into the federation shall follow strictly the Federal Character Principle.

Additionally, most of the critics of the President has not only breached the Principle of Federal Character as enshrined in Section 14 (3) of the 1999 Constitution, he has populated the security and quasi security sectors with the Northerners at the detriment of the Southerners. This was what happened recently when some Southerners dragged the President to Court over non-compliance with the Federal Character Principle. The group led by Chief Edwin Clark, asked the Court to fine the President, and two others the sum of ₦50 billion for breaching the Federal Character Principle in his appointment of Security Chiefs and other Federal appointments (Thisday, 2020).

#### HERDSMEN FARMERS' CONFLICT AND THE DEFECTS OF NIGERIA'S FEDERALISM

Herdsmen farmers' conflict is another major crisis that befalls the Nigerian nation. Apart from the Boko Haram insurgency, that has claimed the lives of over 20, 000 people in the North-East, since 2011, the crisis between pastoralists and farmers in Northern Nigeria has escalated in states like Kaduna, Zamfara, Katsina, Kano, Kogi, Benue, Adamawa, and some parts of Osun and Ondo in the South-Western Nigeria have escalated.

While it is not new for the Fulani herdsmen to clash with their farmer counterparts, the resort to arms, banditry and the proliferation of violence

that have challenged Nigeria's security system and have raised some questions about Nigeria's federalism. One of the first questions it has raised is whether the Federal Government of Nigeria has the ability, the manpower and the political will to guarantee the security of lives and property of Nigerians as enshrined in the 1999 Constitution using the Nigeria Police. The second question is whether the various ethnic nationalities are comfortable with the present federalist structure that favours one section of the country against another. The third question, is whether in the face of a *defective policing structure*, the agitation for alternative policing is valid to advance the unity of Nigeria. The fourth question is whether inclusive governance that accommodates the interest of all in the management of affairs of the nation can guarantee peace, equity and prosperity as Nigeria advances military federalism to true federalism. We shall look at these questions *seriatim*.

The first question which borders on the ability of the Federal Government to guarantee the security of lives and property has been challenged by scholars. Adamolekun (2005) for instance argued that given the size of Nigeria, and differences in language and complexity of criminality problems, it has become obvious that Nigeria can only deceive itself by retaining the centralized policing system and not giving in to state police. Although, critics of the state police paradigm have argued that, if approved state governments would abuse it given Nigeria's antecedents, scholars have been quick to state that, the Federal Government is also guilty of what it accuses of the state government for in terms of arbitrary use of the police force to the maintenance of law and order. It is therefore not surprising that early in year 2020, three of the six South West Governors were in Ibadan to launch the Operation Amotekun, a South-West regional security outfit designed to crush banditry and other rising criminalities in the country (Punch, 2020). Although, Amotekun promises to fill the yearning gaps in the management of the security of the South-West, there is fear that, the politics that killed the effectiveness of the Nigeria Police may eventually sink the laudable project (Adeyemi, 2020; Thisday, 2020).

Given the emergence of Amotekun in the South-Western Nigeria, the formation of similar security outfits in the North and in the East answered the second question about comfortability of the Nigerian national ethnic groups with current structure and the third question about defective policing structure have been answered. Without any iota of doubt, it is obvious that the Nigeria police is defective, and incapable of guaranteeing the security of lives and property given the increasing population of the country and complexity of security problems, unless powers are devolved and decentralized from the center to the states (Adamolekun, 2005), and the people are integrated fully into the community policing project going on in the country. The benefit of this, is that enhanced police community

relations does not only guarantee the security of lives and property, it helps citizens to voluntarily defer to the law (Tyler, 2003).

#### FIGHTING INSECURITY AND REALIZING NIGERIA'S SECURITY OBJECTIVES BY COMPLYING WITH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAWS

Nigeria, has suffered and continues to suffer from myriad problems of security and development. Despite the overwhelming nature of the problems the Federal Government of Nigeria has been to fight stabilize the country by pushing back the dreaded Islamist sect, *the Islamic State in the West Africa Province*, and fighting the *rampaging armed banditry*. The battles that lie ahead may be overwhelming given the Muslim Christian, North South and ethnic dimensions of the problems. In the face of these multiplicity and complexity, the Federal Government must be bold to find lasting solutions to the separatist movements by looking at their grievances within the context of the Federal Government of Nigeria's obligations to the Constitution of the Federal, regional treaties on human rights and the UN Charter on the rights of a people to self-determination.

As more people identify with their civilizations following the end of the Cold war (Huntington, 1993), it is not certain if Nigeria will escape internal agitation for self-determination. The only solution is to keep to the promise of equity, justice and fairness in the sharing of national resources and political leadership. Additionally, the Federal Government of Nigeria must show commitment towards finding redress to the agitations for restructuring because of the defective federalism that the country inherited from the military.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

- i. Discuss the role of ECOWAS in the promotion of regional security in the West African sub-region especially since the emergence of the Islamist sect, Boko Haram.
- ii. Critically examine the UN Charter, Nigeria's secession struggles and the future of security management in Nigeria.

#### 4.0 CONCLUSION

The UN remains a formidable force in international in international security in the 21st century. The significance of the UN, is visible in UN agencies efforts to promote international peace and security but the organization has come under scrutiny as it is unable to curb the excesses of the super powers. This module has addressed the politics of international commitment to peace and security in post-Cold war society especially in Africa.

## 5.0 SUMMARY

The module examined the role of the United Nations and United Nations Conventions in the promotion of peace and security around the world. It specifically investigated the UN Security Council efforts at building peace in war-torn countries, and the challenges that the body currently faces. The module argued that though the UN Security Council has tried significantly in maintaining global peace, the non-inclusion of African countries does not validate its claim that every human being has equal right and that there should be no discrimination anywhere in the world in terms of race, religion, language and culture. This area, needs redress, in order to give Africa more visibility and power to be able to negotiate peace for the countries in the continent.

The module also examined critically the UN Charter viz- a viz the secession struggles in Nigeria and the right of self-determination of marginalized and minority groups in Nigeria. The module argued that the future of security management in Nigeria will depend not only the use of force but on the extent to which the Federal Government is able to fulfill its obligations to the Constitution it sworn to comply with and international treaties on the right of people to self-determination. For instance, the module identified the perceived violation of the Federal Character Principle in the appointment of Federal Government officials as one of the basis for the agitations in contemporary Nigeria. It therefore urges the government to reexamine the structure of the Nigerian state viz a viz the agitations and find a way of redressing and re-conceptualizing the inherited military federalism.

## 6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

What are the roles of the UN security Council and how can the war against terrorist financing help West African countries combat terrorism and banditry?

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