The Challenges of Nation-State Security and Humanitarian Dimensions: Implications for National Security in Nigeria

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ABSTRACT

Africa is troubled by insecurity of lives and property. The insecurity ranges from state security to human security resulting to poverty, sectarian violence, political violence/assassinations, electoral violence, ethnic, communal and religious conflicts, and terrorism, kidnapping and armed robbery. The paper concerns itself within the purview of these predisposing conditions and suggests that inspiring leadership, policy direction that favours the vulnerable and governance style that deemphasizes ethnic chauvinism and inclinations could stem the degenerating insecurity in Africa. It notes above all the efforts to provide safety nets against marked driven policies that is widening the gap of inequality should concern the government in order to meet human needs so as to secure stable polity and peaceful coexistence in African states.

Keywords: Human Security, National Security, Conflicts and International Relations Theory.

INTRODUCTION

Security of humans has become a major issue on the international political agenda from the traditional view of national security as nation-state safety of security around realist motivations of appropriating from military, political, and economic power over the pursuit of ethics and ideals, a paradigmatic shift to new dimensions of security emerged in the last three decades. Trobbiani (2013) defines human security in a narrower way, focusing on violent threats to individual. Alkire (2013) however, argues that institutions that undertake to protect human security will not be able to promote every aspect of human well-being. Hence, human security is directly linked to the human being: the vital core that is to be protected. But at very least they must protect this core of people's lives, which is regarded as a duty of government (Ibid).

Consequently, there are new dimensions of human security which include security from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards on human survival (Ginwala, 2002). Similarly, human security is defined as protecting the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms, human fulfillment, and fundamental freedoms constituting the essence of life, and protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations (Ogata, 2002). The revolutionary caravan of change that has drifted across the Middle East, Northern Africa, and parts of Sub-Saharan Africa provides reasons to rethink the realities of the new human security dimensions.

Arguably, the shifting dynamics along generational lines, and the global economic crises in form of unemployment, disease outbreak, hunger, social conflict and political repression have brought to light the realities of a world that has shifted from the traditional state centric security notions to one of human security as the all-encompassing tool determining sustainable governance across the contemporary era. In both Tunisia and Egypt, the sources of the Non-violent Movement that ushered in change were driven by these appalling human security dimensions and Nigeria is not an exception. Characterized by widespread political repression, endemic corruption and bureaucratic ineptitude, the past and present government in Nigeria, are been consumed by an educated generation of young and vibrant middle class demanding change of government from pervasive threats of human decadence in terms of

personal security, and political freedom, and sustainable development – Food, Employment, Health and Political Security. It is against this backdrop that this paper identified and analyzed the humanitarian dimensions of national security. The paper will therefore cover introduction, human security as a new source and concern about security. We shall turn to this later; let us attempt brief conceptual clarifications of what is security and international relations theory on security.

CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE

Security scholars have eagerly adopted this new perspective on security issues as a challenge to the state-centric framework that was thought to have 'endangered people and ignored the real threats to individuals in contemporary society' (McCormack, 2011). Therefore, the conventional perspective on security is rooted in the state-centric view of International Relations. Since states are the key actors in international relations thus believed by proponents of this view to operate in a system that is devoid of a well-structured and centralized political authority. Henry Kissinger once said "When you're asking Americans to die, you have to be able to explain it in terms of the national security and interest". Walt (1979) stresses the point that the anarchical nature of the international system makes it a matter of practical necessity for states to look out for their protection and survival in the system. He describes the system as a 'self-help' system in which each state must take adequate and effective measures to provide for its own security largely conceived in terms of territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty. Proponents of this perspective argue that nation-states compete for many of the same thing including self- preservation, national identity, sovereignty, status and wealth which are acutely scarce.

This new perspective, however, is strongly weakened by its inability to define who should provide human security to individuals and how it should be practically done. For instance, in a world where states are still the main security providers (Chappuis, 2011), the advocates of human security are affected by bias and more broadly related to neo-liberal culture (Olukoshi, 1999). Furthermore, for those who support the shift to the individual as the referent object of security, the traditional principles of non-intervention, sovereign immunity and state equality appear anachronistic in the face of new security threats on human survival (McCormack, 2011).

Exclusive focus on the security of the state while neglecting human security has proved to be counter-productive in the long run. Widespread social unrest and violence in many developing societies is a potent indicator that security cannot be defined exclusively in military terms (Gambo, 2008). The revisionist or new thinking perspective stresses the non-military aspects of security. It seeks to reconstruct the concept of security in a more inclusive sense. The new thinking perspective emerged with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989. Since the cold war was the basis for the militaristic conception of security, its demise has consequentially cast a dark shadow of doubt upon the strategic relevance of security through build-up of a formidable military defence. This perspective is evidently a post-cold war peace dividend which seeks to redirect efforts towards expanding the frontiers of human-centered development. (Imobighe, 1998) argues that the security of any nation is best guaranteed by utilizing disproportionate amount of its available resources to attain enduring welfare ends of the citizens.

Imobighe (1998) conceptualizes security as not only the elimination of threat to physical existence of the state, but more importantly the ability to shield its citizenry against the agonies of lack of development. Imobighe has

preference for socio-economic and political viability as guaranteeing security. McNamara (1968) in a similar vein cautions against heavy reliance on the military as a means of ensuring security in a modernizing society. He argues that: in a modernizing society, security means development. Security is not military force though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity though it encompasses it. Security is not military hardware, though it may include it. Security is development and without development, there can be no security (ibid).

It must be re-echoed that the increasing role of the economy and finance is considered that in economic terms as a form of security is a "public good" which provides benefits to all members of a community as soon as it is made available to any one person. Such a good is collectively consumed by everyone in a community, and it is impossible to change for its use. This was corroborated by the United Nations when it asserted that the concept of security must change from an exclusive stress on national security to a must greater stress on people's security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security (Human Development Report, 1993).

Cilliers (2004) aptly that state security, in most of Africa, is not threatened by conventional threats of armed attack by other countries but by more insidious measures many of which flow from the very weakness of the state and its absence of control over its own territory. Other factors contributing to insecurity include resorting to extra-legal measures to gain and retain political power- such as support to armed factions in neighbouring countries favourable to its own domestic demands among others.

According to Gebremariam (2011), the main security concern for African leaders became the preservation after African independence. Therefore, African states agreed to respect the inherited colonial boundaries to avoid any further problems. However, ethnic minorities who experience oppression soon started asking for secession, this lead to the reconsideration of the colonial boundaries by some African states, who wanted to redraw their boundaries with neighbuors like the case of Sudan, Nigeria and Cameroon. This resulted in several civil wars and border disputes throughout the continent. These disputes however were more intense in regions perceived to be rich in mineral resources (cited in Oyebade and Alao, 1998). Therefore, the Sub-Saharan African security concept came from this traditional security concept where the state has to defend and preserve itself from external and internal threats at all times. Furthermore, their responses can be anchored on certain theoretical analysis.

International Relations Theory on Security

International relations theory is the study of international relations (IR) from a theoretical perspective in order to provide a conceptual framework upon which international relations can be analyzed. The study of international relations, as theory, can be traced to E. H. Carr's The Twenty Years' Crisis, which was published in 1939, and to Hans Morgenthau's Politics Among Nations published in 1948 (cited in Scott and Linklater, 2005).

Security is simply seen by its proponents as facilitating a new idealism of economic, political, and globalization. Whereby globalization provides an opportunity for the advancement of common human standards and equality as norms and rules are channelled throughout the world. This global proximity is thought to foster cooperation and to increase security. As states increasingly feel the effects of security, particularly in the economic sphere, it has

become vital for international relations theory to account for the international structure of global security. For example, as the Asian financial crisis of 1997–98 showed, close international economic interdependence can increase vulnerability across borders.

This outcome became especially clear to authoritarian regimes who could not sufficiently adapt to the pressures of economic and financial globalization without risking their hold on state power. Countries like Indonesia have witnessed significant economic pressures for governmental reform. The desire of China to reap relative economic gains via international trade has clashed with its internal human rights record and its management of transnational diseases such as SARS and HIV/AIDS. Additionally, China's quest to join the World Trade Organization has forced it to adapt to certain international norms of trade espoused by its Western partners.

However, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 necessitate a hard look at existing analytical frameworks for understanding the relationship between globalization and security if adequate international responses are to be achieved. If it is difficult to define globalization, it is even more difficult to make a precise conclusion as to how globalization increases or decreases the degree of security (Clark, 1999). If security is the quest for the absence, or lessening, of threats in an anarchic world, globalization might increase or decrease security outcomes. If security is seen as a particularistic quest of nation-states to provide for their own defence, then globalization also provides both challenges and opportunities.

What makes global security such a crucial aspect of modern international security is that the phenomenon brings an entirely new set of measurements of international security layered on top of those that are dominating contemporary global politics.

IDENTIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF HUMANITARIAN DIMENSIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY

Underlying these parameters, human security conditions means "creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood, and connecting different types of freedoms – freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one's own behalf"(Ogata, 2002). Studies done by Ogata, 2002); (Ginwala, 2002) and **Minteh (2011) among others** identified the following as the main elements of humanitarian dimensions on national security. These are:

Struggles over oil and other resources

Natural resources are at the core of a number of security issues. Resource wealth has fueled a series of civil wars, with governments, rebels, and war- lords in Latin America, Africa, and Asia clamoring over resources such as oil, metals and minerals, gemstones, and timber. Oil is the most strategic and lucrative commodity in the world economy. Struggles over access and control have long fueled geopolitical maneuvering, civil wars, and human rights violations. Major Powers have repeatedly intervened in resource-rich countries, militarily and by other means, in order to control lucrative resources. The result has often been enduring political instability. Against the backdrop of surging demand for oil, geopolitical rivalries for preferential access are today again intensifying among major importers. Economic and environmental dimensions are also of growing concern. The economic security of both supplier and buyer nations is potentially compromised by severe price swings, particularly as

ever-growing demand bumps up against limited supplies. And as the dominant fossil fuel, oil of course plays a central role with regard to carbon emissions and thus climate stability, an issue that poses grave threats to human safety everywhere on the planet, presently in the Niger Delta. This aspect is quite significant to the people, being that it constitutes a grave threat to a hitherto economic hub of their lives fishing. It is a common sight that in the process of oil exploration and production materials such as drill cuttings, drill mud and other fluids that are used to stimulate production are discharged into the environment and most end up in the streams and rivers (Nwaomah, 2009).

Just like Sudan, hundreds of thousands of people have been killed since South Sudan's civil war began in December 2013, and millions more have been forced to flee their homes. In February 2019, the United Nations Human Rights Council released a report describing what it believes is funding the war: the country's rich oil industry. It says that the state-owned Nilepet oil company "has diverted oil revenues which should be shared with states into the coffers of elites in the government," and that its operations have been characterised by a total lack of transparency and independent oversight. In conclusion, the oil revenues and income from other natural resources have continued to fund the war, enabling its continuation and the resulting human rights violations (Copnall, 2011).

Terrorism

Terrorism is the most fundamental source of insecurity. According to Kambela (2019), The most prominent terrorist groups that are creating a terror impact in Africa include Boko Haram of Nigeria and al-Shabaab of Somalia. The presence of these terrorist groups, together with their allies across Africa, has led to property damage and huge numbers of people dying and sustaining injuries. In addition, terror activities on the continent have contributed to mass displacements of the civilian population. This growing trend of terrorist attacks, which has resulted in the increased movement of people across borders, remains a major security challenge for policymakers in Africa.

In the same vein, insurgency in the oil-rich Niger Delta and Boko Haram terrorism in the northeast have posed a major threat to national security and corporate existence of the Nigerian State. Insurgency in the Niger Delta region assumed a worrisome dimension beginning from 2006, when militants embarked on multiple bombings of critical oil installations and kidnapping of expatriates. The incessant attacks resulted in several loss of lives and property as well as the reduction of Nigeria's oil production and revenue generation capacity. The implementation of amnesty programme in 2009 brought relative peace in the region. However, Nigeria continues to battle with the Boko Haram insurgency that stated in July 2009. In its quest to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria, the Boko Haram had embarked on series of gun attacks, raiding of communities and bombing of places in a spate of terrorist attacks unprecedented in the history of this nation (Cited in Alade, 2016).

Water scarcity

Disputes also arise over access to renewable natural resources such as water, arable land, forests, and fisheries. This is particularly the case among groups such as farmers, nomadic pastoralists, ranchers, and resource extractors that depend directly on the health and productivity of the resource base but often have incompatible or directly

conflicting needs. Water is the most precious resource. Both the quantity and quality are crucial for such fundamental human needs as food and health. Worldwide, more than 430 million people currently face water scarcity, and the numbers are set to rise sharply. Given population growth, nearly 3 billion (3,000 million) people 40 percent of the projected world population will likely live in water-stressed countries by 2015.

Food security

A reliable supply of food is one of the most basic determinants of how secure or insecure people are. Food security is at the intersection of poverty, water availability, land distribution, and environmental degradation. But war and social disruptions also play an important role in some cases. And the proliferation of factory farming and the promotion of monocultures have triggered growing worries about the safety and quality of food supplies. Worldwide, nearly 2 billion people suffer from hunger and chronic nutrient deficiencies. About 1.4 billion people, almost all of them in developing countries, confront environmental fragility. Of these, more than 500 million people live in arid regions, more than 400 million people eke out a meager living on soils of very poor quality, some 200 million small-scale and landless farmers are compelled to cultivate steep slopes, and 130 million people live in areas cleared from rainforests and other fragile forest ecosystems.

Infectious disease

Disease burdens can in some cases be sufficiently severe to undermine economies and threaten social stability. Although the poor are most vulnerable, societies across the planet are now confronting a resurgence of infectious diseases. Some 20 known diseases have re-emerged or spread geographically, and many new ones, such as SARS and avian flu, have been identified. Pathogens are crossing borders with increasing ease, facilitated by growing inter- national travel and trade, migration, and the social upheaval inherent in war and refugee movements.

The AIDS epidemic has a particularly devastating impact on farm production and food security because it incapacitates and kills primarily young adults during their peak productive years. AIDS is projected to claim a fifth or more of the agricultural labour force in most southern African countries by 2020, heightening the risk of famine. In the same vein, Ebola Virus Disease is a highly contagious disease caused by the Ebola virus and it kills fast through excessive loss of body fluids and blood. According to The American Public Health Association (APHA) sees Ebola virus disease as a severe and often deadly disease that can infect humans and non-human primates such as monkeys and chimpanzees which is spread via an infected person's body fluids and contaminated objects like needles and for mites. In concrete terms therefore, increased cases of EVD in a country, means more sick people, more deaths, fear, panic and socio-economic disruptions that jeopardize national security.

Environmental decline and natural disasters

A combination of resource depletion, ecosystem destruction, population growth, and economic marginalization of poor people has set the stage for more frequent and more devastating "unnatural" disasters natural disturbances made worse by human actions. The number of disasters has risen from about 750 in 1980-84 to almost 2,000 in 2000-2004; the number of people affected has risen from about 500 million to 1,400 million during the same period of time. The pace is likely to accelerate as climate change translates into more in- tense storms, flooding, heat

waves, and droughts. In addition to sudden disasters, there is also the "slow-onset" degradation of ecosystems, in some cases sufficiently extreme to undermine the habitability of a given area. This is most calamitous for the poor because they tend to be far more directly exposed, have inadequate protection, and have little in the way of resources and wherewithal to cope with the consequences.

Unemployment

Lack of employment, uncertain economic prospects, and rapid population growth make for a potentially volatile mix. A 2004 report from the International Labour Organization found that three quarters of the world's workers live in circum- stances of economic insecurity. Most worrisome in some ways is the vast reservoir of unemployed young people in many developing countries. Youth unemployment is skyrocketing to record levels, with the highest rates found in the Middle East and North Africa (26 percent) and in sub-Saharan Africa (21 percent). At least 60 million people aged 15–24 worldwide cannot find work, and twice as many some 130 million are among the planet's 550 million working poor who cannot lift their families out of poverty. Particularly if political grievances linger, the malcontented may be easy to recruit into insurgent groups, militias, or organized crime as experiences in places like Nigeria, Rwanda, Kosovo, and East Timor have shown in recent years. An angry man may not be in the habit of exhibiting a sense of poverty that is affecting security is high rate of unemployment in Nigeria. It is responsible for robbery, fraud (419), trafficking, and other crimes that are threatening our national security.

Ethno-religious Conflict

These have arisen from distrust among various ethnic groups and among the major religions in Africa. For instance, Igbuzor, (2011) identified ethno-religious conflict as a major source of insecurity in Northern Nigeria. Ethno-religious conflicts are part of the most recurring issues in Nigeria's body politic which has penetrated deeply into Nigeria landscape could be traced to the colonial period and till present moment (Ogbuleke, 2019). Ethno-religious conflict is defined as a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontation.

Personal security

Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse, or from predatory adults. For many people, the greatest source of anxiety is crime, particularly violent crime.

Community security

Community security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. Traditional communities, particularly minority ethnic groups are often threatened. About half of the world's states have experienced some inter-ethnic strife. The United Nations declared 1993 the Year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of the 300 million aboriginal people in 70 countries as they face a widening spiral of violence.

Political security

Political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors their basic human rights. According to a survey conducted by Amnesty International, political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance was still practiced in 110 countries. Human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest like the case of Yayah Jammeh Regime in Gambia, even presently in Nigeria, were by citizens are been detained and tortured without charging them to court. For instance, the Former Gambian President Yahya Jammeh was accused ordering the murder of AFP correspondent, Deyda Hydara, 15 years ago. During a public hearing before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a Gambian army officer Lieutenant Malick Jatta admitted that he was directly involved in the murder of the journalist critical of Yahya Jammeh's regime. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try to exercise control over ideas and information. Jammeh seized power in a bloodless coup in 1994 and ruled for more than 22 years, until he was deposed in 2017.

Since then, human security has been receiving more attention from the key global development institutions, such as the World Bank. Tadjbakhsh (2007) traces the evolution of human security in international organizations, concluding that the concept has been manipulated and transformed considerably since 1994 to fit organizational interests.

Globalization

Globalization may be defined as an integration of economic, social and cultural relations across borders (Clark, 1997). Today, many articles have gone beyond simply restating basic arguments about economic globalization and discuss political globalization and security globalization (David, 1998 As Kay states, "globalization is best understood as the creation of a variety of transboundary mechanisms for interaction that affect and reflect the acceleration of economic, political and security interdependence (Kay 2004)". One of the negative effects of globalization is cybercrimes. Recently, Nigerian citizens and other nationals were indicted into cybercrime in United States by FBI. According to Kazeem (2019), a series of arrests by the Federal Bureau of Investigations in the US has nabbed one of the "most prolific" rings of Nigerian fraudsters operating in the country. However, these computer and related criminality has become the phenomenon of the end of the twentieth century, and is expected that its further rapid development will follow in the 21st century.

PERCEIVED CHALLENGES OF HUMAN SECURITY IN AFRICA

In Africa exist some of the areas of the world that constitute the biggest challenges to human security. The nature of the threats, from a narrow perspective, is the most various one, and present ethnic, religious, political and economic causes. Some trends and features are usually underlined, among them the fact that armed conflict in Africa cannot normally be included in a 'Westphalian' scheme of analysis because they don't fit in the idea of wars between states or between a population and an oppressing regime (Hentz, 2010). Rather, these conflicts are primarily 'wars across states' (Hentz, 2010).

Although, Africa is not officially at war, but the increasing level of violence, conflicts, insecurity, civil war, violence in the continent is becoming more vicious by the day, thus giving the impression that Africa is at best not

at peace with itself. According to Bariledum (2013), armed militias and insurgents are sprigging up in many parts of the country either to attack or to engage in a balance of terror in defense of their sectional, political or religious interests. The proliferation of small and light weapons according to UN, "Wreaks havoc everywhere; mobs terrorizing a neighborhood; rebels attacking civilians or peace keepers; drug lords randomly killing law enforcers or anyone else interfering with them illegal business (and) bandits hijacking humanitarian aid convoys.

Furthermore, human security is an extremely serious issue in West Africa. Many internal conflicts have undermined security over the past two decades. According to Diallo (2006), political instability, civil wars, under-development and poverty have weakened governments (responsible for their populations' security) and rendered large sections of society increasingly vulnerable.

For instance, states like Gambia, Nigeria dependence upon overseas development assistance, rather than domestic tax revenue, undermines domestic accountability in manners similar to the impact that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have in removing or curtailing the responsibility for financial and economic management from the national government. For instance, the fiscal situation in Gambia deteriorated as the fiscal deficit increased to 6.2 percent in 2018 (from 5.0% in 2017), mainly due to lower grant revenues (by 4.4% of GDP) and unbudgeted transfers to SOEs. This led to a sharp increase in net domestic borrowing from -0.7% of GDP in 2017 to 3.4% in 2018 (see; https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/gambia/overview).

Just like Gambia, Nigerian government Government and World Bank are in talks for as much as $2.5 billion in a new tranche of concessionary lending to Nigeria, the bank's Vice President for Africa Hafez Ghanem has said. In the past year Nigeria received $2.4 billion from the World Bank, Ghanem said in an interview with Bloomberg in Abuja. "We're talking about a new set of programs of about the same amount, it should be around $2.5 billion," he said. Due to revenue shortfalls as the output and price of oil fell in the past five years, President Muhammadu Buhari's administration has increased borrowing to finance government spending, with domestic debt at $55.6 billion and foreign loans at $25.6 billion (Cited in Agabi, Adaramola, Simon and Opoola, 2019).

THE WAY FORWARD

The corollary is that we should all cleanse ourselves of the animosity against one another as a people. The humanitarian dimensions of national security in African countries point to the fact that Nigeria's situation is not beyond redemption. The call for a paradigm shift becomes imperative as military solution alone in the fight against humanitarian security in the country seems unrealistic. It is against this background that the following recommendations are made:

- Strengthening judicial system by ensuring that justice is dispensed no matter whose ox is gored. Nepotism and a culture of impunity must be eschewed from our national psyche and life.

- Citizens should hold the leaders accountable and task the electorate to ensure that their votes serve as an instrument to bring development.

- Embracing the concept of good governance so that poverty related indices are drastically reduced.

- New states like Africa should think inwardly out of the shadow of the developed nations.

- Leadership by example with such traits as political will, commitment, passion, integrity, among others.

- Putting in place collective security arrangement at all levels of government up to village level, community policing to reducing crime rates.

CONCLUSION

So far the elimination of these threats and enemies of man should be the number one programme of the governments in Africa and Nigeria in particular. This will give rise to human development and a habitable environment for us all. Apart from the governments' own role, all hands should also be on deck to eliminate this monster of insecurity in Africa. Like Nigeria, if the level of insecurity in the country is not scaled down, her vision to be among the best 20 countries of the world in the nearest future may be aborted. There is therefore the need for a departure from always approach towards attempting to respond to the menace only when the damage has been committed and the harm has been done. This is because, the role of the state as a human security provider cannot be replaced.

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