AU-ECOWAS Peace Architecture and Conflict Management in Africa

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Abstract

One basic challenge that confronted African states immediately after independence was the management of conflict and peace building. While African states have tried to develop capacity in several areas of their socio-economic, political and security life, gaps, still exist between the nature of conflict confronting the region and the institutional framework for conflict management. At first glance, neither the concept of security communities nor any of the other concepts of security cooperation currently in the academic discourse, such as regional security complex, regional security partnerships or zones of peace, seem applicable to Africa's emerging peace and security architecture. On the contrary, the continuing presence of violent conflict and humanitarian catastrophes in wide parts of the continent, such as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the Sudan, the Central African Republic, Chad and Somalia, has reinforced many people's impressions of Africa as a continent characterized by quasi-Hobbesian anarchy rather than elaborate forms of security cooperation based on a communality of values. The realization of the change in conflict dimension in Africa and its attendant consequences and the less concern by international community led African leaders to consider some of the guiding principles, structure, designs and policies on conflict management. Consequently, the principle of non-interference and respect for territorial integrity of states were revisited and challenged. The process began with the transformation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) to African Union (AU). By the emergence of African Union, the core objective of promotion of peace, stability and security in the continent changed to non-indifference rather than non-interference. This research investigated AU-ECOWAS peace and security architecture and management of conflict in Africa. The aim of the study is to understand the AU-ECOWAS peace and security architecture; to examine the application of the AU-ECOWAS peace architecture in management of conflict in Africa; and to investigate the challenges of conflict management in

Africa using the AU-ECOWAS peace architecture. The study found that: The Protocol that created the PSC establishes two primary diplomatic ways to achieve the APSA strategic goals: preventive diplomacy and peacemaking. Hence, it recommends that: African leaders should develop stronger political will to intervene in conflict areas. Political will is absolutely vital to operationalize all mechanisms of the AU-ECOWAS peace and security architecture. Develop a balance relationship for conflict management at the sub-regional and continental levels. Emphasis should be placed on security especially human security in Africa.

Introduction

One basic challenge that confronted African states immediately after independence was the management of conflict and peace building. While African states have tried to develop capacity in several areas of their socio-economic, political and security life, gaps, still exist between the nature of conflict confronting the region and the institutional framework for conflict management (Garuba, 1998).

At first glance, neither the concept of security communities nor any of the other concepts of security cooperation currently in the academic discourse, such as regional security complex, regional security partnerships or zones of peace, seem applicable to Africa's emerging peace and security architecture. On the contrary, the continuing presence of violent conflict and humanitarian catastrophes in wide parts of the continent, such as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the Sudan, the Central African Republic, Chad and Somalia, has reinforced many people's impressions of Africa as a continent characterized by quasi-Hobbesian anarchy rather than elaborate forms of security cooperation based on a communality of values (Franke, 2010). However, the past few years have in fact seen Africa's states making great strides at developing an institutionalized framework for such cooperation.

The end of the cold war brought a new dimension to conflicts and war in Africa, the continent now experienced more intrastate conflicts than interstate conflicts, leading to the death of many civilians and non-combatant and destruction of properties. The Cold War ended in

1990 following the collapse of the Berlin wall; by 1994 Africa witness the mother of all conflict the Rwanda genocide that recorded the death of millions of civilians (Shelton, 1997).

The realization of the change in conflict dimension in Africa and its attendant consequences and the less concern by international community led African leaders to consider some of the guiding principles, structure, designs and policies on conflict management. Consequently, the principle of non-interference and respect for territorial integrity of states were revisited and challenged. The process began with the transformation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) to African Union (AU). By the emergence of African Union, the core objective of promotion of peace, stability and security in the continent changed to non-indifference rather than non-interference (Article 3 of the AU Constitutive Act).

In a bid to achieve the above objectives and strengthen the capacity of the AU in conflict prevention, management and resolution, the AU adopted the protocol for the establishment of Peace and Security Council on July 2002 at Durban South Africa, which came into force by December 2003. Thus, the Peace and Security Council of the AU was formed as a collective security and early warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situation in Africa (Article 2(i) of the Peace and Security Protocol of AU).
The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in 1975 by West African state as a strategy for economic integration, development and prosperity for the member countries. However, with the nature of conflict and wide spread instability in the sub-region in the early 1990s and 2000s, the West African leaders realized that economic prosperity and development can only be achieved and consolidated in a peaceful and secured atmosphere. This led to the thinking for a peace and security protocol, the movement towards developing peace and security architecture of the ECOWAS began in 1978 when the leaders adopted the Non-Aggression Treaty

which enjoins member state to refrain from the use of force or aggression against each other (ECOWAS).

Attributing a certain security role to regional organizations is quite a new issue in the African context. The regional dimension of conflict management remained rather undeveloped in the African conditions during the Cold War. This situation had not been changed until the later stages of the Cold War with the emergence of security activities of various sub-regional organizations like SADC - Southern African Development Community, ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States, IGAD - Intergovernmental Authority on Development, among others and more intensively in the context of a broader international consensus about a greater role of regional organizations in maintaining the international order in the early 1990s. Ghali's Agenda for Peace in 1992 articulated a new cooperative relationship between the United Nations (UN) and regional formations in solving regional crises. Regional and sub-regional organizations started to be perceived as the first authorities to solve security problems overlapping the national borders. For this reason, the development of African regional organizations capable of solving security issues was strongly supported by the international community. However, the support of the development of regionalism was coming also from African states themselves. It originated in African aspirations to solve the continent's problems without external interventions according to the principle "African solutions to African problems". Sesay et al. argues that the phrase represents the spirited attempts made by the newly independent states to shield themselves individually and collectively, from the debilitating effects of the Cold War between the two Super Powers—the United States of America and the defunct Soviet Union.

The idea that the best way to keep peace in Africa is that the Africans themselves should solve their continent's problems has been a common part of political debates at least over five decades. In this period, it has received support from many sources, both African and Western. There are several factors explaining the resonance and popularity of this idea. Its origin can be found in the anti-colonial fight, as it reflects

a strong anti-imperialist sentiment, faith in African freedom to make free decisions about their future without outside dictates, ideas of a sovereign African personality, and the philosophical and ideological conception of Négritude.

When advocating their approach, African supporters of African solutions emphasize also Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, which in its Article 52 encourages regional organizations to settle the disputes in their own area peacefully. This approach was advocated during the 1990s as a necessary response to the considerable decline of interests of international actors in Africa after the end of the Cold War (with an exception of Somalia). In some cases (e.g. Burundi or Liberia), the UN explicitly rejected local demands to carry out peacekeeping operations. The most visible loss of interest was the withdrawal from Rwanda during the genocide in 1994. This informed a statement made by International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) in 1997 that *"If there is a common thread running throughout Africa, it is fading international attention. The outstanding feature of Western policy in Africa is its absence,"* The obvious lesson for Africans was that they cannot wait for Western actions, but they needed to take the lead. The culmination of the development outlined above was the establishment of the African Union (AU), which declares its ambition to play an active role in the management of security issues of the continent.

Each of the African regional organizations and initiatives was established at a different time and in various circumstances, organizes different countries for a different purpose and has its own unique historical trajectory stemming from the link to the colonial period and its heritage. None of the local organizations is explicitly focused only on peacekeeping and security, yet all of them have these fields, directly or indirectly, on their agenda. However their collective evidence about their achievements in these fields is not much impressive since Africa is a continent struck by the greatest number of armed conflicts. It is evident that all of them suffer from minor deficits restricting the fulfillment of their roles in the area of peacekeeping, peace-building and security. Amongst the most crucial ones are structural conditions

in which these organizations must work; their often excessively ambitious goals; lack of financial, material and human capacity; in many regions also the absence of a hegemon that would be able to provide local organizations with a vision and become their leader; the dispute over the form and role of these organizations between their members and external donors and overlapping membership duplicating the effort of these organizations, loosening the activity of the member states and also affecting the degree of their commitment to individual organizations.

There is still a lot of suspicion amongst African states, division along colonial heritage. The only thing that really works on the continent is what the individual governments of the member states want to work. The regional structures as sovereign entities cannot do anything about it.

Since 2002, following the transformation of OAU to AU there is increasing efforts to overcome the above-mentioned restrictions of each organization by building a unifying platform called African Peacekeeping and Security Architecture (APSA) that would connect institutions and mechanisms functioning at a continental, regional and national level. The national level is formed by member states of the African Union. Until the formation of the AU, the most active organizations in the security field in Africa were regional organizations. Nowadays, they form the regional level of the APSA.

The African Union identifies as its major components eight regional economic communities (RECs) with a peacekeeping and security mandate as follows: Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Southern African Development Community (SADC) Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)East African Community (EAC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and further on the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). The African Union coordinates the activities of the RECs in the area of peacekeeping and security via liaison officers from the REC operating within the

AU Commission in Addis Ababa. The extent to which AU in partnership with ECOWAS has gone in conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa using the peace and security architecture is the concern of this study as it seeks to examine the following.

Conceptual Issues
The current state of publications about emerging security architecture in Africa is increasing. There are still few books addressing the topic, but the number of published papers and articles from research organizations is already quite significant. This literature review intends to be a survey and discussion of the significant literature about the APSA, Conflict management and is organized in steps. First, it reviews the most relevant literature about the topic, focusing on two books: journal articles and monographs. Second, it reviews thematically the official documents of the AU related to the APSA, by its main mechanisms.

Peace and Security in Africa
Grasa and Oscar (2010) submit issues related to conflict, peace and security in Africa have generated such a constant international debate in recent decades that other important political, economic or social aspects also taking place in the continent since its independent processes have been marginalized and obscured. Emphasizing the role of traditional mechanism for conflict resolution and peace-building in Africa, they praised the role of endogenous mechanism such as the Guurti system used to achieve stability in Somaliland, the Mato Oput peace-building process between the communities Acholi in northern Uganda, the implementation of the Ubuntu concept in the reconciliation process in South Africa. These processes took place without external intervention and their impact to peace building is commendable. The importance of these internal mechanisms has their internal legitimacy, their inclusiveness and ability to reach a consensus.

This was juxtaposed with mechanism adopted and elongated the process of peace-building.

Again, Grasa and Oscar (2010) opines that the special system adopted for Sierra Leone opted for punitive measures which were not rooted in local world view and such become unhelpful and harmful to reconciliation and peace-building in the country. They argued further that African states though engaging in electoral politics, but they are yet to imbibe democratic culture. They see this lack of democratic culture as the cause of conflicts in Africa; they submit that African Union (AU) launched two major initiatives to address the issue of governance and democratization in Africa. Namely: the African peer review mechanism; this enable member country to undergo a voluntary assessment process of their democratic practices. They opine that 29 out of 53 countries have gone through the process as at 2010, another domestic initiative is the African character on democracy, election and governance, launched in 2007, with the aim of deepening democratic principles election, the rule of law and respect for human rights.

They further opine that the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) is structured as follows:

- A policy making body (the peace and Security Council).
- A centre for analysis and data collection (the continental early warning system).
- The military structure (here there is the Africa Standby Force (ASF) and the Military Staff Committee (MSC)
- An advisory body of out-side mediation (Panel of the Wise).
- Special fund to finance operation (the Peace Fund).

African Peace and Security Architecture

Franke (2010) writing from the constructivists' perspective, argues that the emergence of African Peace and Security architecture and its institutional layer can best be described by the concept of multilayered security community. Furthermore, he described a security community as a group of states integrated to the point where people have

dependable expectation of peaceful change. Distinguishing between an alliance and security community he argued that contrary to an alliance, a pluralistic security community is held together by the notion of collective identity and, more specifically, by shared values and meaning rather than merely the perceived need to balance a common threat.

His views suggest that African Peace and Security Architecture are designed by the notion of collective identity of African states rather than the need to balance threat, although threat balance will be accomplished by the architecture. He further argues that a transnational or collective identity develops in the course of sustained interaction between states and through the development of dependable behavior and common norms, eventually leads to the emergence of a transnational community characterized by mutual trust and sense of affiliation.

On the origin of African peace and Security architecture Franke argues that, peace and security frame work is relatively new in African discourse. According to him, at first glance, neither the concept of security communities nor any other concepts of security cooperation currently in academic discourse seem applicable to African emerging security architecture. His argument being that scholar rather described African states with the impression of quasi-Hobbesian anarchical society with the degree of violent conflict that characterized the continent in recent time. Thus, African society falls short in the category of security community based on communality of values. Hence, he argued that African history of security cooperation is none the less exasperating.

Franke (2010), in tracing the history of collective security mechanism for African argues that the idea of a community security in Africa can be traced to the colonial era and the struggle for independence, which majored in the discussion for establishment of the OAU in 1963. Kwame Nkrumah, a leading voice for African Unity, advocated for Africa High Command (AHC) which was a collective security mechanism, but this was not taken as the group who favoured

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a gradual process towards Uniting Africa influenced the establishment of the OAU in 1963. However, he submits that the post cold war development in Africa led to a rethinking on developing mechanism for peace and security. As Africa began to experience the negative impact of globalization, and the waning of interest from the super powers which they enjoyed during the cold war politics. The new wave of cooperative Pan-Africanism evolved. This new wave was characterized by a shift from regime security and sovereignty which was available during OAU days to a human security.

Franke opines that the awareness of the negative effect of unconditional insistence on the status quo of the OAU, inspired leaders like Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Yoweli Museveni of Uganda to call for a redefinition of security and sovereignty as a pre-condition for the continent's development. Hence, the shift from non-interference to non-indifference underlying this sentiment grew stronger as humanitarian catastrophes happened in places like Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia among others which overshadowed any progress made in the continent. Forced into action, the continent's leaders were increasingly ready to overcome the conceptual hurdles that had prevented meaningful and effective cooperation in the past, Franke submitted. Furthermore he opines that it was in this atmosphere of collective – imagination and collective identity formation that colonial Muammar Ghaddafi's radical reform proposals triggered the replacement of OAU and the establishment of the African Union (AU).

As argued by Maloka (2001), this new found readiness and the emergence hopes for an African renaissance. This idealistic undercurrent found expression in renewed interest in African institutions and African solutions to African problems and eventually paved the way for a reappraisal of continental unity. As a result of this, the structural and institutional weaknesses of the OAU came to the fore and the need for a reform became obvious.

Conflict Management in Africa: Issues and Challenges
In the last decades, African states, and African statesmen, have played frontline roles in brokering peace agreements and have sought ways, ostensibly African, to end crises. AU member states have deployed ever more troops to peace operations in Africa, including in Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan and the Central African Republic (CAR) to mention but a few. The AU is more robust and more mature than its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity, with meaningful institutions to tackle the continent's array of peace and security challenges. In 2011, it established a regional cooperation initiative to hunt down the Lord's Resistance Army and the U.S. provided 100 army personnel to support Uganda in this military campaign (Slova, 2013).

But even with increased engagement in peace operations, questions remain about the quality and capability of African troops. Many African armies have pretty dismal track records in their own countries and are often poorly equipped and trained to deal with complex peace operations. Even Africa's strongest armies have been found lacking. Again, differences and competition among AU member states, between the continental and sub-regional bodies, and with multilateral actors have kept progress slow. The AU sees itself as Africa's key interlocutor on peace and security, but it increasingly faces challenges to its authority, with member states seeking more immediate solutions and sub-regional bodies wanting to manage conflicts in their backyards. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), for example, want greater political and financial control over responses to conflicts in their region. While some felt humiliated by France's decisive intervention in Mali, a core problem is that African states failed to act decisively because of disagreement among themselves: the AU and ECOWAS, suffered a degree of distrust and mutual suspicion over their differences in handling the post-elections crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, where they competed over who was in charge;

ECOWAS leaders were unclear about whether a military response was appropriate to address the twin problems of domestic crisis in Mali and transnational terrorism in the Sahel; Mali's political leaders and the military junta were wary of an ECOWAS intervention; and neighbouring Algeria and Mauritania were not members of ECOWAS and did not share its views on military intervention.

In Libya, the AU's preference for an inclusive dialogue with Muammar Gadhafi and his opponents, as opposed to troop deployment, was thwarted in arguably questionable circumstances when NATO chose the Arab League as its partner of choice in dealing with the Libyan uprising. The above challenges coupled with lack of commitment of member state in terms of contributing human material resources militate over conflict management and peace-building in Africa despite the robust peace architecture. The big question is how AU and ECOWAS has been able to overcome these challenges in order to build a strong peace and security architecture for conflict management in Africa and this is the concern of this study as it seeks to examine AU-ECOWAS Peace Architecture and conflict management in Africa.

Conclusion/Recommendations
ECOWAS developed the most elaborate conflict prevention, management and resolution mechanism in Africa. State collapse and conflicts in the 1990s and early 2000s and the ensuing international disengagement from African conflicts prompted an ad hoc response in the form of ECOMOG. Subsequently, the sub-regional body intervened in conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire undertaking tasks ranging from safeguarding civilians to implementing peace-building programmes. The organization achieved mixed results in these interventions with relative successes in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire and not too good result in Guinea Bissau. The various interventions have been plagued by several problems including financial and logistics, lack of political consensus and the absence of a coherent peacekeeping and humanitarian strategy.

Since the transformation from OAU to AU, the African Union has carried out a number of activities towards its ultimate goal of an "integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa," be it political activities, peacekeeping or peacemaking. It was so with a far greater degree than any other African organization at a much lower level has ever managed to achieve. However, also the AU suffers from similar political, bureaucratic, civilian, military or infrastructural deficits as these organizations, which considerably restricts its efficiency and makes the gap between AU's security mandate and the sources for its achievement. If the AU is to fully accomplish all its set goals, it will have to deal primarily with the elimination of this gap.

Nevertheless, despite the portrayal of Africa as 'hopeless', the conflict management and peace-building intervention of AU and ECOWAS deserves commendation and is a manifestation that Africa is taking ownership and responsibility for its conflicts. The efforts at institutionalizing peace and security response mechanisms are steps in the right direction as are efforts to promote good governance and economic development in the region.

The recommendations of this study are based on the major challenge in the APSA and ECOWAS peace architecture, such as the lack of human, technical and financial resources: political will of AU member states to implement the strategy; the discrepancies between the regional level and the continental level; and the lack of ways to address adequately the security dimension of the APSA, i.e., the external threats. Hence, this study recommends as follows:

- African leaders should develop stronger political will to intervene in conflict areas. Political will is absolutely vital to operationalize all mechanisms of the AU-ECOWAS peace and security architecture. Very sensitive issues such as military intervention in a member state with regards to grave circumstances, information sharing, implementing sanctions or addressing transnational threats, require strong political commitment and will of AU member states in order to be effective. Otherwise, the lack of political will can be exploited by the threats—internal or external—to discredit the

AU and its member states, thus hindering obtaining its strategic goals. There is need to develop the political will by AU and ECOWAS for the implementation of the protocols on peace and security in Africa undermining the member state involved.

- Develop a balance relationship for conflict management at the sub-regional and continental levels. The APSA is a very complex security system, relying on regional and continental intergovernmental organizations. At the continental level, there has been significant progress in the development of the AU organizational structures. However, most of the mechanisms of the APSA are completely dependent on the RECs and RMs, such as the regional brigades or the regional warning systems. Without the proper development and operationalization of these regional instruments, there will be no success for the APSA. Hence there is need to develop a stronger link between AU and ECOWAS to strengthen the peace and security process.

- More emphasis should be placed on security especially human security in Africa. The African Peace and Security Architecture have, according to its name, two dimensions: peace and security. However, most of the ways and means of the APSA are primarily focused on the peace dimension of the APSA, not addressing effectively, or simply not addressing the security dimension. Threats such as terrorism, mercenarism, cross-border crimes, cyber threats, or piracy require effective response strategies, both at the sub-regional and continental levels. This will require cooperation between military, security forces (i.e., police), civil society and external partners, but also the development of certain capabilities such as air, naval, special f orces and cyber protection components, not present in the current structure.

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Leadership Dynamics: A Study of Three Unique Leaders and Managers, Mandela, Awolowo and Yew

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Abstract

In the third world the issue of leadership persists as topical, critical and decisively catalytic. The lives of the trio of Nelson Mandela, Obafemi Awolowo and Lee Kuan Yew have shown how different but basically humanly similar organizations are and evolve, how three well-trained lawyers, articulate activists, politician and achievers turned around the fate and fortunes of their countries despite mountains of harrowing battles, using a corpus of intelligent lieutenants and prevailing opportunities in their countries to surmount obstacles and emerge as iconic achievers in history. Mandela, Awolowo and Yew emerged as iconic successes in their unique circumstances, the latter two were products of British political history having undergone the parliamentary system whilst Mandela's South Africa used the newly-fashioned proportional representation model to reach election victory and presidency of South Africa. While two of them Mandela and Yew governed their countries distinctively, Awolowo only managed a Western Region part of his country but so eminently as to draw attention to how much more he could have done for his country. 'In each case, management competence flowed and memorable achievements were attained despite crippling difficulties. No matter the person, it is the qualities of management capacity, integrity and openness that would matter to a country and its people.

Keywords: Leadership, Development, Democracy.

Leadership is frequently adjudged as the basic necessity for development to occur, an enabler and enhancer for progress of groups. The word development has recurred in the thinking, the blueprints, the plans, the rhetorics of politicians, leaders, opinion-moulders, researchers, foreign organizations, scholars, patriots, students and citizens over the ages. Nigeria put together several multiple-tenure

Development Plans 1946-55, revised later to become 1951-55, 1955-60. The 2nd National Development Plan was fashioned for 1970-74, the 3rd Plan 1975-80, the 4th Plan 1981-85, the 5th Plan 1988-92. The Babangida Regime replaced the periodic Development Plans with Rolling Plans the first of which was from 1990 to 1992. Each Nigerian government usually adopts a development plan to cover a few years although the geopolitical recurrence of socio-economic and political instability tends to undercut whatever plans were designed for the country's growth. Thus the country remains in 'economic, political and social mess' as 'all attempts and strategies formulated to develop Africa have ended in futility'. Scarily enough, Africa is described as 'the least developed of all the continents in the world'. It is a continent ravaged by hunger, war, illness and poverty, it seems to be lurching towards a catastrophe, there is a picture of 'unrelenting gloom' since 1989/90.

After the military swoop of African governments in the 1960s and the virtual militarization of the continent up to the 80s, a great deal of countries regained some civility, albeit off and on, like Nigeria 1960-66; 1979-83, 1999 till date. The intense search for democratic leadership was tenuous and ineffectual such that, the next phase of militarization and leadership bedlam swept into Togo 1991, Niger 1990, Mali 1990, Ivory Coast 2000, Angola 1999, Rwanda 1994, Liberia 1992, Zaire 1996, Ethiopia 1985, Sudan 1991, Democratic Republic of the Congo 1993. Nigeria had a protracted and mischievous manipulation of democratization experiments between 1985 and 1999 with a major election crisis in 1993 resulting in abdication by President Ibrahim Babangida who declared his "stepping aside".

Nigeria remains one of the poorest countries in the world but with a bunch of optimism-giving facts; it is the 26th largest economy in the world, the largest economy in Africa, the 121st greatest GDP per capita in the world at US$3001.51. Oil revenues alone are insufficient to provide a suitable economic base for the consolidation of democracy. Although the entrepreneurial spirit of many Nigerians is legendary, rampant corruption tends to limit private enterprises'

ability to grow and prosper. The development of a vibrant middle class in Nigeria has been stunted by economic mal-performance engendered by the poor overall performance of successive military and collaborative civilians. The country's oil wealth has not trickled down to support a strong and consolidated middle class which continues to limit the consolidation of Nigeria's democracy.

Endemic poverty characterizes the lives of most Nigerians today. The World Bank estimates that 93% of the population live on less than US$2 a day. In 2003, 71% lived on less than US$1 day. More than one third of children under the age of five were malnourished in the 1st half of the decade, 20% died before their 5th birthday, 40% of city dwellers lacked access to sanitation. Nigeria's urban population exploded from 27% in 1980 to 41% in 1997. Life expectancy is 50 years. Nigeria has one of the worst wealth distribution patterns in the world. A recent World Bank Report claims that Nigeria has 63% illiteracy rate, UNESCO says it is 65%.

In it all, the calculations for causation point to leadership as the bane. Leadership is frequently blamed as the albatross, the unavailable, the missing link, the jinx, the mirage, the unattainable, and the phantom of the black race. Some allege the presence of a curse, a doom, a jinx on the black race. They are indeed pointing primary fingers at leadership as a fulcrum around which inconsequential movement and stagnancy revolve. Yet it is inconceivable to have a group, an organisation, a society, a school, a collectivity without leadership.

Leadership emerges even in the animal kingdom. Some regard leadership as a gift, a talent. To others, it is acquired and some think it is congenital, others think it is passed down from parents or close relations. Some think it is assumed and seized or evolves through a process. Some claim that leaders are born, others insist leaders are made.

Leadership involves the application of power, the capacity to effect outcomes, to climb the top of the greasy pole, it involves the successful management of the routine transactions of day to day politics, bargaining with other decision makers and currying favour

with other segments of the population, i.e., transactional politics as appointment transforming leadership who can summon the population to achieve more elevated goals such as an expansion of freedom or justice or to surmount severe challenges such as economic crisis or war. Leadership is at the core of power and of governance and of progress or underdevelopment.

Transforming leaders are not afraid to take unpopular decisions even at the risk of losing power. The most successful leaders are the ones who possess a special aura of personal authority. They put the interest of the people they lead above their own. Leadership usually requires and implies some form of democracy, it could otherwise be autocratic. Leadership requires and implies discipline, sacrifice, responsibility, ability to discover, creativity, accomplishment, envisioning, revelation, wisdom.

Toyin Falola sees the leader as a hero, a special creation of God and possesses and uses *a*gbara (*p*ower), *o*ye (*i*nsight), *o*gbon (*w*isdom), *i*mo (*k*nowledge).

Several specific leaders and countries
Some heroes/leaders contribute something substantial and profound to nation building, war, peace, administration, trade, general prosperity. There is common pattern in their history, they are generally of humble origins, rising to greatness through their ability to work hard, seize opportunities and face difficulties. The list includes more men than women. The ideal ones are described as honest, peace-loving and courageous, state builders and founders of dynasties and town-builders who receive greater attention. Thus heroes of most towns are described as hunters and warriors with 'agbara ogun' (the power of charms, magic) and akikanju (bravery). Yoruba's early history gives prominent attention to Oduduwa and his immediate successors and founders of towns such as Lagelu. Some women are eulogised as heroines, described in oral history as possessing the attributes of male warriors combined with cunning and diplomacy.

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John Maxwell whilst sharing his views on Leadership demarcates leadership into five hierarchically arranged sectors:

· Position level in which leadership is followed only because it is imperative, such persons rely on subordinates not team members. They rely on rules, regulations, policies and organograms, do what they are told, dwell in ordinariness, are in prosaic mediocrity,

· Permission level where leadership tries to get along with others, for mutual confidence and trust, it is a shade above the position level,

· Production level which lays emphasis on good achievement leading to success and productivity, application of energy and forward-movement,

· People development where leadership support grows out of being able to catalyse and empower others sustainably,

· Pinnacle leadership requires effort, skill and intention based on talent, capacity to develop other leaders, 'such leaders create legacy and often surpass their position, their organisation, their industry',

Nigerians have often taken on a strong culture of toxic cynicism conveying a rabid disbelief in any good for their country. It is not surprising that some believe in Wole Soyinka's classic book and represents Nigerians as the 'Man who had died'. Ajayi's position is that leaders who can be described as heroes are exceptionally rare such that to him, Nigerian leadership means 'Service to Self'. The Nigerian leaders of the 1950s had an 'unmistakable zeal for the welfare of their people as God gave them the light to see it'. In conclusion subsequently, Nigeria has suffered not just a 'lost' generation of leaders, but a 'no generation' of leaders.

Theoretical Framework
Great Men's Theory

George R. Terry, Conte and O'Donnell described leadership as the process of influencing people towards the achievement of a common goal, a reciprocal process between two or more people, or between leaders and followers. Thomas Carlyle, English philosopher described the history of the world on 'the biography of great men' such as Mahatma Ghandi, Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, Winston Churchill, George Washington and Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore. For the African continent, we can include such great men as Kwame Nkrumah, Nelson Mandela, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Ahmadu Bello, Leopold Senghor, Anwar Sadat. Some associate greatness to specific families like the Kennedy and the Ford families of the USA.

The Trait Theory having been subjected to weighty dissensions receded into relegation. The Situational or Contingency theory option appears more plausible since social situations and circumstances tend to produce an appropriate or emergent leadership to fit those circumstances. In the Nigerian situations, such persons would include Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, Herbert Macauley founder of Nigeria's first political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party in 1922; Dr Christopher Okigbo, frontline economist; Chief Jeremiah Obafemi Awolowo described as 'the best president Nigeria never had'; Alhaji Aminu Kano, founder of the Kano-based People's Redemption Party; Fela Anikulapo-Kuti iconic world famous artistic and musical dissident; Alhaji Ahmadu Bello founder of the Northern People's Congress; Chief Gani Fawehimi, iconic human rights lawyer and crusader; Chief Samuel Oladoke Akintola, brilliant lawyer and orator and Chief Awolowo's deputy in the first republic; Prof. Wole Soyinka, iconic activist, Nobel laureate and Chief Simeon Adebo, original greatest public servant and first Head of the Western Region Civil Service.

Pursuing the historical heroes' concept, what do we learn from heroes? The modern hero is capable of bold acts, loyalty to a cause,

winning a war or achieving peace, bringing progress, politicians, technicians, philanthropists, managers of men and material. For instance, the Ibadan-famed warrior Ogunmola, was described as one of the best of Generals, bringing glory and prosperity to Ibadan, fighting injustice. They had the character of Omoluabi (a good person), Gbajumo (famous person), iwa pele (good character), courage, bravery, accomplishment. At the peak of his power from 1978 to 1983, praise-singers were permanently in his company.

Jeremiah Obafemi Awolowo
Chief Jeremiah Obafemi Awolowo was born 6 March 1909. He transversed various tortuous beginnings as shorthand-typist, journalist, teacher, clerk, money lender, taxi driver, produce broker, a student, a politician, and engaged in various business ventures to raise funds to travel to the United Kingdom for further studies. He enrolled as an external student of the University of London attaining a Bachelor of Commerce Degree in 1944 following which he proceeded to secure a Law Degree in the same London University between 1944 and 1946. His main achievements are summarized:

· He made a strong advocacy for early independence for Nigeria along with an early indigenisation of the civil service thus suggesting an early departure for colonialists, thus earning their opprobrium

· He proposed a federally run Nigeria as he was cynical of the country which he described as a 'mere geographical expression'

· He advocated and implemented various welfare programmes especially universal primary education, increase in health services to the citizenry, diversification of the region's economy, and demarcation of local governments

· He was an explicitly hard-working, articulate and thoughtful leader with a creative mind and an intellectual drive

He made strong advocacy speeches providing unique inspiration, enlightenment and forward-push for the citizenry. A few examples of his powerful and poignant declarations would suffice

· 'The seeds of peace must be sown and nurtured in the minds of Man', Lecture on the Economic Well-being of the Individual at Cathedral Church of Christ, Sun. 8 Feb. 1970,

· 'It is too much of a risk for the Army to remain in power' on the installation as first Chancellor of University of Ife, Mon. 15 May 1967

· 'Democracy is the best form of government' Address on Representative Government; Theory and Practice; delivered to Students' Parliament at ABUZ Fri. 16 Dec. 1975

· 'The rich and the highly placed are running a dreadful risk in their callous neglect of the poor and the downtrodden' at Ondo State House of Assembly, Akure, Mon. 18 Jan. 1980

· 'As far as I am concerned, politics is the art of selfless service to my fellowmen', full text of a broadcast titled 'light over Nigeria' NTA, Mon. Feb. 12, 1979

· 'We are offering free education so that every man or woman can stand up for himself or herself and find the way for the good of society' Address to the Youth of Nigeria on the 25th Anniversary of the Introduction of Free Primary Education in Bendel, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo and Oyo states.

· 'The trouble with many of our youth is that they sleep too much' at the launching of Gani Fawehinmi's book on People's Right to Free Education, Sat. 27 Jul. 1974, Ondo Town Hall

· 'The welfare and happiness of the people of Nigeria are indivisible, so are their misfortunes and adversities' at the

meeting of Leaders of Thought in Western Nigeria at Ibadan 11 Aug. 1966

· 'Gen. Murtala Muhammed died a martyr to Nigerian peace, unity and prosperity' (at Lagos City Hall on 20 Feb. 1976 at the end of the week of mourning)

The significance of the life and times of Obafemi Awolowo amongst African and world leaders, stem from the deplorable and decrepit status of the African continent. Africa remains 'the poorest continent in the world'. Nigeria remains the underdog in the scheme not because it is the worst country on the continent but because it has had the luck of producing persons of administrative and governance geniuses including Chief Jeremiah Obafemi Awolowo. He was a foremost nationalist having formed the Action Group in 1951, one of the three main political parties that crusaded for Nigeria's independence. He was an outstanding first Premier of Western Region. During his tenure, he constructed many ground-breaking achievements. He was a successful and diligent war-time federal commissioner for finance and vice-president of Nigeria war-time federal executive council. He was responsible for much of the progressive social legislations that have made Nigeria a modern nation. He is best remembered for his remarkable integrity, ardent nationalism, principled and virile opposition, and doggedly federalist in conviction.

There is prevailing potent cynicism about Nigeria's ability to produce authentic leadership material. Nigeria is presumably blessed with millions of followers but with only a sprinkling of leaders. It is asked, why did Nigeria not produce a Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore? Yet, Nigeria almost did! The greatest Nigerian alter ego to LKY is Chief Jeremiah Obafemi Awolowo, one of Nigeria's three original regional premiers between 1954 and 1959. He was originally described as 'the poorest of the poor' (Adeolu, 2010 p.68) an extremely intelligent and cultivated, he was reserved, precise, conscientious, over-principled,

and somewhat rigid. He asserted that the British did not have the true interests of Nigerians at heart, a view shared by many other Nigerian nationalists albeit less vocally.

Chief Awolowo was a man of mission and vision and a dynamic manager. He introduced the first free primary education scheme in 1954/5 after a three-year intense study and a white paper submitted by Dr Awokoya's Committee. He was an explosive trail-blazer in modernization of the Western Region having initiated and executed iconic projects including the 25-storey Cocoa House, the then tallest scraper in West Africa, farm settlements patterned after the Israeli Kibbutz model, housing corporations in big towns of Ibadan and Ikeja, forest reserves in Ijebu area, the Liberty Stadium, the first of its kind in Africa, a ground-breaking television station in Ibadan, the University of Ife which he established in affirmation of the fore-front status of his western regional government. He was 'widely revered for his strong nationalist activism' and his dogged insistence on an early political independence and the departure of the colonialists. He was cynical about the structure of Nigeria's federalism since he believed the country was no more than 'a geographical expression'.

He was regarded by some as highly controversial particularly because the Action Group apparently outmaneuvered the Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe-led National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) in the 1952/3 Western Region Elections which Dr Azikiwe was poised to win. Additionally, he is berated by some for not successfully managing his Action Group's 1962 grave party crises with his Lawyer-deputy Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola which crescendoed into an all-gripping imbroglio leading to a break-up of the otherwise dynamic Action Group party, the collapse of the regional government, litigations over the attempted removal and placement of Premier Akintola from office. The ensuing crises carried some connection to a presumably-rigged general election at the federal level (1964) and an even more brazenly rigged West-regional elections in 1965 and a very bloody military take-over in January and July 1966, the civil war 1967-70 and the eventual death of democracy at the national and all levels.

Chief Awolowo led the Action Group as Premier of Western Region between 1953 and 1960, administered a first-class achieving regime with clarity and robustness of ideas. He created a governance model which other regions were left to come to copy in the education, sports, agriculture, forestry, information, and idea realms. He is best remembered for his remarkable integrity, ardent nationalism, principled opposition and dogged convictions. His party was the first to move the motion for Nigeria's independence in the federal parliament (through the nationalist and activist Chief Anthony Enahoro) in 1953 and obtained internal self-government for the Western Region in 1957. He is credited with coining the name 'naira' for the Nigerian standard monetary unit and helped to finance the Civil War 1967-70 and preserve the federation without borrowing. Much more importantly, Chief Awolowo built a first-class civil service in the Western Region. Indeed, he himself extolled the quality of that Service whilst delivering his valedictory address to the Western Region House of Assembly in November 1959:

> "*Our civil service is exceedingly efficient, absolutely incorruptible in its upper stratum, and utterly devoted and unstinting in the discharge of its many onerous duties. For our civil servants, government workers and labourers to bear, uncomplainingly and without breaking the heavy and multifarious burdens with which we have in the interest of the public saddled them, is an epic of loyalty and devotion, of physical and mental endurance, and of my heart, I salute all of them'.*

Within a few years of that historic approbation by Chief Awolowo, the Nigerian civil and public service had been morbidly infected by the grievous atrocities of the polity: rigged elections, rigged censuses, tribalism and the panacea of the quota system, electoral violence, military rule, the civil war, the structural adjustment programme, prolonged military rule, alongside bloody coup d'états, the big headedness procured by the oil boom illusion and the reckless expansion of the bureaucracy in terms of states, local government, proliferation of institutions including universities and parastatals. The

logic of these meant the need for a more ingenious leadership which did not emerge. The prospects for the emergence of a national rather than regional leader, were scuttled by prevailing heterogeneity of Nigeria and the inability of Azikiwe, Awolowo and Ahmadu Bello to subsume their individual ambitions and try to pull the country into a unified harmony. Chief Awolowo gave sterling services to Nigeria even after relinquishing his premiership of the western region by serving at the federal level meritoriously during and after the civil war although he did not reach the ultimate goal of headship of Nigeria which many would have loved. It is within the context of the oscillation in Nigeria between civilian and military rule and the consequences on public administration that the need surfaces for an assessment of the Singaporean model prescribed by Lee Kuan Yew for decades so successfully and memorably.

Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore 1959-1990
The debate could be, should a state stay in search of a triad of 'stability, security and prosperity' as the pivot of its development in which case it is not institutional development that is critical as are personal distinctive phenomenon. Is it uniquely preferable to produce and nurture a philosopher-king to rule the state? Singapore earned the sobriquet of a modernised, transformed and prosperous country through the iconic leadership of one man. What makes such persons succeed and others fail? Why were there such rarity of Lee in the African continent?

Singapore is a Republic with a Westminster model of unicameral parliamentary and cabinet government headed by the Prime Minister and a ceremonial President. It uses a multiparty system dominated by the Singapore's People's Action Party. Singapore laws allow for capital punishment for first-degree murder and drug-trafficking. 'Amnesty International has cited Singapore for having possibly the highest execution rate in the world per capita'.

A united and determined group of leaders, backed by a practical and hardworking people, who trusted them made it possible. 'Did I

expect an independent Singapore with a GDP of US3billion in 1965 to grow 15 times to US46billion in 1997 and to have the eighth highest per capita Gross National Product in the world in 1997 according to the World Bank? The answer is no. That we have succeeded in the last three decades does not ensure our doing so in the future. However we stand a better chance of not failing if we abide by the basic principles that have helped us to progress-equal opportunities for all and meritocracy, with the best man or woman for the job, especially as leaders in government', (Soludo, 2012).

The Asian Tigers contributed a unique brand of civil, stable and progressive democracy to the world as against the massively murderous revolution that precursed the development of France, Russia, China, Italy, Japan and Germany. Singapore showed an instance where 'government is allowed to retain power and authority as long as it fulfils its promise of stability and prosperity'. Thus Singapore's continuing development guaranteed Lee's authority. He ruled Singapore as founder, first and longest-serving prime minister, the longest head of government in Asia and the longest serving prime minister in the Commonwealth. He continued in office as minister-mentor until his resignation in 2011. Moreover, Lee's party, the People's Action Party, has been in power since the founding of Singapore till today (Haig Patapan, Griffith University, Australia).

The writer asks, is performance a sufficient basis for founding and sustaining modern states? Is it not normal for citizens to appreciate and seek to perpetuate good value service? Lee's conception of leadership is that of a pyramid with an exceptionally talented minority of leaders at the apex, a middle strata of talented executives and a large base of general populace, a structure described by him as meritocracy. Born on 16 Sept 1923, proficient in English, he was a talented student, he interrupted his education in England following the Japanese occupation of Singapore but following the Japanese surrender to Allied Powers in 1945, he resumed his education in England, shifting from the London School of Economics & Political Science (LSE) to Cambridge University, studied hard with excellence,

returned to Singapore in 1950 to practice Law, joined Parliament in 1995 general election in which he battled the communists.

Visionary leaders often design, adopt or assemble a dogma or ideology fulcrum for their charismatic advances. Thus he espoused Confucianism as additional values to 'sustain the state' (Haig Patan ibid). He focussed on the need for 'scientific innovation and development'. The philosophy is associated with 'ethical and socio-political teachings' and with social and family harmony and bureaucratic/meritocratic organizations based on assumptions that 'human beings are fundamentally good, teachable, improvable and perfectible'. Lee specifically resolved to produce a large spectrum of leaders. To him 'all parts of society are important but leaders play a crucial role as they decide 'whether a country gains cohesion and strength in orderly progress or disintegrates in chaos' (ibid). He insisted that leadership should have exceptional ability that 'good government requires authority to be given to these talented few'. All nations strive to have a meritocracy where the talented few are elevated to positions of power and authority, but not institutions, which is all that is necessary for good government. This is confirmed by Robert Skidelsky who insists that "democratic countries need symbols of the extraordinary if they are not to sink into permanent mediocrity". Although institutions are important, they are not sufficient. Good men are prerequisites for good government. To that extent he was wary of representative democracy, to be judged by the people is especially difficult in a developing country where the majority of the population is semi-literate and sacrifice is demanded from the people, politicians cannot use the stick, they prefer to offer the carrot, the people resent hard work and resent more capital investment. 'One-man-one-vote produces just the opposite of hard work'. The highest bidder tends to always win. For governmental achievement, one needs a determined leadership, an efficient administration and social discipline.

The Lee-Kuan-Yew prescriptions evoke the principles and the shortcomings of democracy and the first-past-the-post electoral system especially its preference for sustaining quantity not quality, its

vulnerability to be captured by demagogues or the plutocratic godfathers, and to minority's electoral dominance through the often unsuccessful majoritarian electoral count (the successful winner in single-member constituencies) is often a minority winner, he is often designated as winner who 'takes' and 'wins' all as against the lot of others who are termed as 'losers-lose-all'.

> *'Under the FPTP system, where A, B, and C candidates scored 9,500; 10,000 and 10,500 votes respectively, victory is conceded to C on a minority rather than a majority of the votes. In this case, C is not the candidate of 65% (19,500) of the voters, yet C would be their representative for several years. The 65% of voters are then compelled to accept the situation by fate not by choice'.*

Lee's merit-based system requires a constant attempt to recruit the best into politics and public service more generally. This is uniquely outstanding in a developing country in the latter half of the 19th century. For African countries especially Nigeria, the search and focus and thirst for excellence was prominent in the public service and institutions so much so that the Western Region Civil Service was acclaimed locally and internationally as the best in Africa. That distinctiveness soon fell to orgies of tribalism, inordinate ambitionism, political rascality, excessive regionalism by leaders thus exacerbating the primordial acrimonies dissipated amongst immature indigenous successors to colonial masters who themselves did little to teach democracy and good neighbourliness to the Nigerian heterogeneous communities. African leaders were engaged in primitive accumulation, took over from technocratic and sometimes avaricious colonialists and were enamoured by the West, loved their consumption capacity but hated their production capacity.

Lee believed in the Max Weberian pyramidal-scalar-chain concept of bureaucracy but insisted that Singapore 'must get some of its best in each year's crop of graduates into government', including their sense of reality, imagination, quality of leadership dynamism; character and motivation. He insisted on 'tidiness and order'. William James, Robert

Michaels insist on the iron law of oligarchy. The monstrosity of tribalism, nepotism, bloated population and misgovernance prevented Nigeria from using the best as against the most well-connected or well-sponsored.

Idealism
Lee conceived of leaders with idealism who have "some larger conception, philosophical, ideological or cultural" that are compatible with the aspirations and ideals of the party and the nation. He wanted "the best of the people" to be in charge requiring a well-ordered selection process especially for the public service. This was firmly compatible with William James argument that 'humanity does nothing except through the initiative of individual leaders great and small, and imitation by the rest of us'. For the political class he sought a "more attractive incentive-wise career" to avoid attracting the second-best technocrats. Thus he designed and introduced a new pay rate for ministers comparable to the highest pay in the private sector. It was popular but evoked some controversy just as it does in Nigeria where current high remuneration levels for political functionaries is being symptomatic of public resentment to the ruling political class. To Yew "you must want to change society and make lives better". When the author talked about Lee having been forced to create and nurture Singapore out of nothing he was summarizing the fate of the colonized everywhere, they tend to resist colonization either loudly or silently, politically or aggressively.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela - 18th July 1918 – 5th December 2013
The Mandela history is an exclusive in its uniqueness and singularity, a history of pain, anguish, political activism, principled rebelliousness, focused insistence and trying to right the wrongs of history, of seeking deliverance and amelioration for a traumatized and brutalized people. Nelson Mandela spent 35% of his life time in a most harrowing incarceration preceded by a long tenure of anxiety, dangerous struggles in ideological and physical campaigns for the emancipation of his

shackled and degraded people. He is described as an anti-apartheid revolutionary and political activist, a visionary leader who chose the mission of confronting the horrid demon of apartheid at first peacefully but later belligerently.

He rose to prominence as member of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League. That activism intensified after the 1948 declaration of full-blast Afrikaner apartheid policy with the application of oppressive and widespread segregation laws relegating the blacks with their 80% majority population to perpetual servitude and virtual slavery in their country. Nelson attended Fort-Hare University and University of Witwatersrand and trained as a Lawyer with ensuing intense grassroot African Nation Congress (ANC) activities procuring for him several arrests and prosecution for sedition. Since the ANC did not see much result from this resistance effort, Nelson Mandela joined the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Militant Group (MG) in 1961. This served as the gravamen of his arrest and charges ultimately leading to his conviction and sentence to a 5-year term of imprisonment.

The Leadership content of Nelson Mandela's life is conveyed through his extremely daring declaration before his sentencing:

> *"I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live for and to see realized. But if it needs be it's an ideal for which I am prepared to die" (at the Rivonia trial sentencing on 20 April 1964).*

That awesome speech was reportedly inspired by Fidel Castrol's "History will absolve me" during Castro's own trial in 1953. It has been hailed as one of his greatest speeches. Mandela was sent to Robben Island, he was often put in solitary confinement. This sentence was subsequently revised and upgraded to life imprisonment arising from further charges.

Over the years, a combination of happenings in and outside of South Africa led to the softening of the apartheid regime's viciousness especially the adversities of international opposition including economic and political sanctions although these were frequently neutralized or attenuated by the persistent conspiratorial indifference of major Western Governments including the USA. These pacificatory moves of the 1980s increased such that by 1988 at Victor Pester Prison, he was able to"... complete his LL.B degree in the relative comfort of a Warder's house with a personal cook...." The systematic, deliberate, painstaking, courtesious method of his negotiations with apartheid chieftains and carrying the highly toxified ANC leadership and membership along speak volumes about his ingenuity, broadmindedness, sagacity and clairvoyance as a leader devoid of bitterness, desperation and vengefulness.

Nelson Mandela was elected to the presidency of South Africa following the first multi-racial democratic proportional representation-based general election held on 27 April 1994. The African National Congress won 62% of the votes, Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as President on 10 May 1994 along with National Party's F. W. de Klerk as the first deputy and Thambo Mbeki as the second Vice President in the government of national unity. He presided over the delicately complex task of transition from full-blown segregationist policy into a unity-seeking multi-racial government. Some of the memorable decisions taken by his government include:

- a strong advocacy for national and international reconciliation,

- encouraged a rapprochement between the citizens and the much-hated national Rugby Team,

- He played a major arbitratory role in the protracted dispute involving the USA, Britain confronting Libya over the Lockerbie bombing of PAM flight 103 on 21 Dec. 1988.

- To epitomise Mandela's strong sense of justice, he warned the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Edinburgh

in Oct. 1997 that 'No one nation should be complainant, prosecutor and judge',

· The country's constitution with Mandela's blessing, agreed to a two five-year terms.

· He chose to keep to a single term ending in 1999 and spent subsequent years in social and philanthropic work,

· He was acclaimed as a 'benevolent negotiator and quintessential peacemaker.

· He adopted a culture of simplicity in his demeanour and moderation in his utterances.

Whilst dealing with the sensitive issue of the serious accusation against his wife, Winnie Mandela and the subsequent charges that she had had an affair with Dali Mpofu, Mandela was being goaded to but refused to divorce her until after the trial was concluded amidst a flurry of violent interparty attacks amongst the ANC and other parties. Negotiations went on under the auspices of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) leading to general elections, a five-year coalition government of National Unity and a successful proportional representation based general election in 1994. His five-year reign focused substantially on forging reconciliation within the races including the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and procuring foundational stability for a new multi-racial South Africa. The achievements of Nelson Mandela in his 4-year single term presidency and the cumulative attainment of this extraordinary icon has remained a reference point for humanity's capacity to forge leadership positivity for the world.

African and Nigerian Leadership
Mandela, Awolowo and Yew emerged as iconic successes in their unique circumstances, two were products of British political history having undergone the parliamentary system whilst Mandela used the newly-fashioned proportional representation model to reach election victory and presidency of South Africa. While two of them, Mandela

and Yew, governed their countries distinctively, Awolowo only managed a Western Region part of his country but so eminently as to draw attention to how much more he could have done for his country. 'In each case, management competence flowed and memorable achievements were attained despite crippling difficulties. No matter the person, it is the qualities of management capacity, integrity and openness that would matter to a country and its people.

A principal test in administrative theory and practice emerges from the analyses of Mandela, Awolowo and Yew. The trio demonstrated an efficacious action-centred leadership. This concept according to John Adair requires 'keeping the right balance, getting results, building morale, improving quality, developing teams and productivity, the marks of a successful manager and leader.

Several tests in administrative theory and practice emerge from the analyses of Mandela, Awolowo and Yew:

(a) The state of awareness, mobilisation and integration of the country played a role in the emergence to leadership of Yew and Mandela both of whom belonged to countries engaged in struggles to attain corporate unity and freedom, from domination, from externalities. South Africa was trapped in a vicious grip of apartheid inflicted on the country by the Boers who took control of the country and applied the full-blown apartheid policy in 1948. Apartheid meant total domination and oppression of the vast majority of the population who were 80% Africans and coloureds and 20% whites. That oppression was so brutal in various dimensions:

- black Africans were forced to live in designated barren reserves on the outskirts of the main cities which developed into gory and decrepit ghettos,

- the government enforced separateness amongst blacks and whites, they could not marry, contact was severely limited amongst them, they could not use the same toilets or cars,

· more than 3.5 million people were forcibly removed from their homes and sequestered into Bantustans and dumped into poverty and hopelessness,

· systemic suppression of demonstrators and agitators including mass killings and imprisonment of activists including the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres.

· Obafemi Awolowo was himself engaged in struggles to free the Western Region and Nigeria from the grip of British colonialism using his tremendous ideological panache to demand early independence, a faster education and employment opportunities for Nigerians.

· Within this protracted anguish which Mandela and black South Africans had to endure under his incarceration for decades, it required the peak of fortitude and leadership extra-ordinary to spurn despondency, engage in a calm, continual but unpredictable negotiations with the ruling party, indeed he 'rejected at least three conditional offers of release' from his captors. All the major attributes of coolness, endurance, creativity, maturity and clear-headedness were required on the part of Nelson Mandela and his close ANC associates. Operating through protracted negotiations meant continuous stress-suppression. It entailed the frequent shift from the prison-cell in total solitude and loneliness to the status of negotiator and board member for the ANC, brain-storming on issues, demanding better options and solutions and rejecting some and seeking better solutions and formulae. Profound credit must be owed and given to successive South African governments for their mild and innocuous hospitality to Nelson Mandela during his prolonged isolation and during the latter part of his captivity.

(b) All three personalities were eminently successful in the legal profession in their countries thus benefitting from the intellectual

capacity of negotiation and bargaining and drawing compromises to deal with conflict and conflict resolutions. It is indubitable that the legal profession, although vulnerable to accusations of professional pride and fulsomeness, has a lot to offer to leadership in the corporate, business, intellectual and the political world. It is not for nothing that 24 out of 44 presidents of the USA are lawyers including Barak Obama, Bill Clinton, Abraham Lincoln, Gerald Ford, Franscis Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Benjamin Hanson, Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson. Lawyers are prominent in the legislature, sometime on the executive, pre-eminent in the judiciary.

Deborah L Rhode (2010) claims that in recent decades, the American legal profession 'has supplied almost half of Congress membership' and considers lawyers as 'leaders of leaders'. Several of Nigeria's biggest companies (on the Stock Exchange) are headed by Lawyers just as some are in the Legislature and many in the Judiciary.

(c) The three leaders adopted a policy of efficacious and productive governance, avoiding the evils of sit-tightism. Lee Kuan Yew, the longest serving Prime Minister in the Commonwealth contested parliamentary elections through his political party, the Peoples' Action Party (PAP) and won elections eight times between 1959 and 1990. Nelson Mandela clearheadedly chose a one-term presidency of South Africa even when his track record and circumstances for continuity were tempting. Obafemi Awolowo surrendered the premiership of the Western Region of Nigeria (after a brilliant 1953-1959 tenure) to his deputy Chief Ladoke Akintola. Some critics insisted that he should have stayed and retained his Western Region premiership to continue the highly successful stewardship rather than opt for the leadership of the opposition seat at the federal legislature after the 1959 general elections. The scenario depicted for this trio contradicts the typical sit-tightist pattern of African leaders of their era and beyond; Robert Mugabe has ruled Zimbabwe since 1980, is currently

seeking to impose his wife as successor pending his son's gestation as ultimate successor to Mugabe. Mugabe plans to contest the 2016 elections at age 91. Same sit-tightism goes for Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola (1979), Yoweri Museveni of Uganda (1986), Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi (2009), which currently faces a scary civil war for succession crises, Paul Kigame who is dithering and is poised to succeed himself after a glorious rebuilding of Rwanda after a massive horror of the 1994 genocidal civil war; Yahaya Jammeh 1994 who is fixatedly resolved to stay in power and has just declared Gambia as an Islamic republic, Sassou Nguaesso of Congo, 1994, has 'sworn to die in office'. Sit-tightism and the greed for power is still a disease plaguing several African leaders causing social unrest and civil strife, in several countries.

(d) It is possible to suggest that the promotion into office of 'elite leadership' as in Lee's preference, is sectoral or dictatorial, but he believed that rule by the elite is unavoidable. Some persons are more gifted, more capable than others. Thus some emerge out of a crowd, out of a class, out of the town, corporation, the world. Leadership is ineluctable and should come before, though alongside and prior to followership.

(e) Some analysts argue that it would be preferable to have scientists included in the legislatures of countries rather than lawyers and philosophers who tend to predominate the assemblies. Anna Bella Kerbatov argued that the US Congress is over-peopled by lawyers and businessmen, to her "the philosopher-kings may have been the ideal rulers for Plato's utopian Kallipolis but more of today's leaders should be scientist policymakers". Atmospheric pollution, reconnaissance, global warming, alternative energy, and nuclear non-proliferation are all policy areas where leaders from technical science background can make major contribution. In order to craft good public policy, we must train our future policy-makers to have a basic understanding of fundamental technical science and an appreciation of the contributions of technical science to public policy so that they can make informed responsible decisions.

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Nigerian Foreign Policy Dynamics: From Economic Diplomacy to Citizen Diplomacy

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Abstract

Nigeria's several years preoccupation with economic and citizen diplomacy has not yielded the desired dividends in terms of positive foreign policy output. Foreign investment inflow is still low. Domestic economy is still weak. The standard of living is still very poor. Unemployment rate and incidence of poverty have continued to increase exponentially. Nigerians living abroad are still being treated with contempt and many have been victims of extra judicial acts such as imprisonment without a fair trial, and jungle justice. Relying exclusively on secondary data and using the decision-making approach as the framework of analysis, this paper qualitatively examines why economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy failed to remedy these anomalies which are the fallouts of many decades of marginalization of the domestic economy. The paper argues, among other factors, that the economic diplomacy failed, largely because after its introduction and the political rhetoric that ensued, the Nigerian political leadership failed to provide both physical and institutional infrastructures that are fundamentally necessary for industrialization and rapid economic development. Also, citizen diplomacy failed mainly as a result of the failure of economic diplomacy, since both are mutually inclusive. It is our position that citizen diplomacy cannot be achieved without economic diplomacy and that neither economic diplomacy nor citizen diplomacy can yield the desired dividends in the absence of basic infrastructural fundamentalsm that would mediate economic development, and thus, boost Nigeria's international image and respect for its citizens all over the world.

Introduction

Owing to its huge population and endowment with vast natural resources, Nigeria at independence was expected to play leadership role in Africa. And since independence in 1960, Nigeria has not shied

away from this expected responsibility. From decolonization to peace-building and peace-keeping operations at both regional and global levels which restored political stability in Serra Leone, Liberia, Cote D'Ivore, etc, Nigeria has committed both material and human resources and demonstrated uncommon courage, leadership and generosity. Regrettably, these diplomatic largesse and accomplishments have not translated to either economic prosperity at home or respect for its citizens abroad, which ordinarily should accompany such outstanding international accomplishments. Perhaps, it is on this note that Akinboye (2013) described Nigeria's foreign policy as "beautiful abroad, but ugly at home" (p.50). Economically, Nigeria has not benefitted from even those countries it has rendered financial and military help. Thus, across the world particularly in Africa, Nigerian citizens are treated with disdain, though partly because of the misdemeanor of some few Nigerians who have indulged in global crimes such as drug trafficking, advanced fee fraud (also known as 419) and now terrorism following a botched attempted bombing of an aircraft in an American soil on December 25, 2009 by a young Nigerian citizen named Umar Mutallab. It was in order to remedy these appalling economic and image challenges facing Nigeria partly occasioned by many years of sheer neglect of the domestic economy that Babangida and Yar'Adua administrations introduced economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy, respectively, as the major planks of the country's foreign policy. However, these challenges have remained intractable despite those attempts. Foreign investment inflow is still low. Domestic economy is still weak. The standard of living is still very poor. Unemployment rate and incidence of poverty have continued to increase exponentially. Nigerians living abroad are still being treated with contempt and many have continued to be victims of extra judicial acts such as imprisonment without fair trial and jungle justice. This paper therefore examines the practice of economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy over the years so as to ascertain why they failed to remedy these challenges which they were meant to solve. It also suggests the

practicable ways to redesign and implement these policies so that they can yield the expected dividends.

The paper has six parts. Parts one and two contain the introduction and the framework of analysis, respectively. Part three explains the evolution and the dynamics inherent in Nigeria's foreign policy. Parts four and five examine the theory and praxis of economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy, respectively. Part six contains the conclusion and recommendations.

Issues in Foreign Policy Analysis

This paper utilizes decision-making approach. The importance of decision-making approach to foreign policy analysis can only be compared to the relevance of Rostow's theory of economic growth in development studies, or the influence of Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance in social psychology, or the essentiality of Almond's structural functionalism model in comparative politics (Rosenau, 1980). The main argument of decision-making approach is that decision making is central to all political actions, and it entails rational and purposeful weighing of the cost and benefits of taking a given course of action in order to ensure that alternatives with the highest benefits and the lowest cost are chosen. Decision making involves problem recognition and identification, goal selection, identification of alternatives and making of choice from the available alternatives based on cost-benefit analysis. It further argues that decision-makers are rational beings who apply rationality when responding to national and international events (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1989). Both internal variables (such as public opinion, economic conditions, value orientation, etc.) and external variables (such as actions and reactions of international actors, etc.) can influence decision makers in their choice of alternatives (Snyder cited in Enemuo, 1999, p.25).

Foreign policy making is a rational process whose primary objective is to help a country maximize gains while minimizing losses in its international relations. Hence, this paper utilizes the decision-making

model as a framework of analysis to explain how Nigeria adopted economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy in the conduct of its foreign policy, so as to maximize social and economic gains in its interactions with the external world. The decision-making model would help us to understand how economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy were responses to Nigeria's economic crisis and serial abuse of its citizens abroad, respectively. The approach would also show how economic diplomacy was prompted by internal factors such as harsh domestic economic conditions, whereas citizen diplomacy was necessitated by external factors such as the frequent disrespect and abuse of the fundamental human rights of Nigerians in other parts of the world particularly Africa.

The Evolution and Dynamics of Nigeria's Foreign Policy
Foreign policies "consist of those actions expressed in the form of explicitly stated goals, commitments and/or directives, and pursued by governmental representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities, and are directed towards objectives, conditions and actors – both governmental and non-governmental – which they want to affect and which lie beyond their territorial legitimacy" (Carlsnaes, 2002). Although its major thrust has remained unchanged since independence, Nigeria's foreign policy has undergone series of dynamic evolution characterized by continuities and discontinuities.

   In the 1960s, Nigeria's foreign policy objectives were aimed at the protection of the sovereign and territorial integrity of the Nigerian state; promotion of national security and socio-economic well-being of Nigerians; promotion of liberation and decolonization in Africa; promotion of African unity as well as the rights of black people all over the world; promotion of international cooperation, world peace and a just world order (Ade-Ibijola, 2013). The Tafawa Balewa administration that implemented these foreign policy objectives did so with conscious conservatism and tended to be pro-West as the signing of a defense pact with Britain in 1962 indicates. However, the Balewa administration still recorded some giant strides in its foreign

policy pursuit and these include: Nigeria became involved in peace-keeping operations in the Congo and in Lebanon; it helped to foil a coup attempt in Tanzania; it secretly provided fund to ANC in South Africa; it prevailed on the Commonwealth to expel apartheid South Africa; it joined the non-alignment movement in the heat of the cold war; it suspended diplomatic relations with France for its nuclear test in Western Sahara and played a leading role in the formation of the Organization of African Unity - OAU now African Union – AU.

Meanwhile the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War (1967-70) altered the pro-West posture of Nigeria's foreign policy. During and after the war, General Yakubu Gowon who took over in 1966 following a counter-coup, placed more emphasis on Africa because of the betrayal by the West who refused to supply weapons to the Nigerian government to enable it execute the war, hence Nigerian government turned to Russia for supply of arms (Nwolise and Akpotor, 1999) and to the OAU as well as some West African countries for political support and regional cooperation. Under Generals Murtala/ Obasanjo administration, Nigeria's foreign policy became aggressive and assertive as evident in the formation of bilateral and multilateral regional organizations such as Lake Chad Basin Commission, Niger Basin Commission and ECOWAS. Nigeria also nationalized the British Petroleum (BP) as a protest against British colonialism in Southern Rhodesia now Zimbabwe, and contrary to America's support for UNITA, Nigeria recognized the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as the legitimate government of Angola and provided financial support to ANC for the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and this made Nigeria a frontline state (Aluko, 1981). Suffice it to note that Nigeria was able to pursue this aggressive and charity oriented foreign policy partly because of the rise in oil revenues in the 1970s. However, under Shagari's administration, Nigeria's foreign policy could best be described as quiescent and conservative hence, it lost its reputation as a Frontline State in the struggle against apartheid. By the time Buhari/Idiagbon overthrew President Shagari and assumed power, Nigeria already had a battered international image,

thus the regime vigorously embarked on war against indiscipline and corruption so as to bolster the international image of Nigeria. This yielded positive result.

However, when General Babangida ousted Buhari regime in 1985, the anti-corruption war suffered a setback because the new regime that assumed power made little or no effort to fight corruption. But, apart from the high rate of corruption prevalent in Nigeria then, there was also serious economic crisis which compelled the regime to place more emphasis on economic development, hence it introduced the structural adjustment programme (SAP), and adopted economic diplomacy (trade not aid) as the major strand of Nigeria's foreign policy. Each of these policies was aimed at revamping the Nigeria's ailing economy. Unfortunately neither SAP nor economic diplomacy succeeded in solving the economic problems of that era. Worst still, the successor to that regime General Abacha pursued a foreign policy that embraced the East (China) and to some extent, isolated the West. Moreover, the abuse of fundamental human rights particularly the killing of the Ogoni environmental activist -Ken Saro-Wiwa, and other anti-democratic activities by General Abacha further damaged the image of Nigeria in the comity of nations. The implication was that Nigeria became a pariah state, making it isolated by the international community. This further exacerbated the already bad economic situation in the country. When General Abdulsalami succeeded General Abacha in the late 1990s, Nigeria's foreign policy became pacifist and was tailored towards rebranding the battered image of the country and rebuilding its relationship with the international community particularly the West. When General Abdulsalami finally handed over to Obasanjo in 1999 as a democratically elected president, Obasanjo's administration not only continued with the pacifist diplomacy of its predecessor, but also adopted the foreign policy objectives as provided in section 19 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. According to the 1999 constitution, the foreign policy objectives of the Nigerian state shall be:

1.   Promotion and protection of national interest.

2. Promotion of African integration and support for African unity.
3. Promotion of international cooperation for consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations.
4. Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes through negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication.
5. Promotion of a just world economic order.

However, since Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999, the above-listed foreign policy objectives have remained unchanged though each successive administration has pursued them with varying degrees of emphasis and commitment. For instance, in pursuance of a just world economic order and economic development, President Obasanjo deployed economic diplomacy, thus, he travelled round the globe canvassing for foreign debt cancellation for Nigeria and increase in foreign direct investment inflow into the country. Also, Obasanjo's administration demonstrated its commitment to respect for international laws and treaties when it accepted the judgment of the International Court Justice (ICJ) on Bakassi Peninsular which ceded the disputed resource-rich island to Cameroun. The administration equally demonstrated Nigeria's commitment to African unity and peace when it helped maintain political stability in Sao-Tome and Principe after the ousting of a democratically elected president in a military coup. On the economic front, it initiated, along with Thabo Mbeki's South Africa, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism all of which are geared towards promoting sustainable development in Africa.

Yar'Adua/Jonathan's administration continued with the tradition of regional leadership by way of total commitment to political stability, peace and development in Africa. Thus, in 2011, Nigeria played a vital role in restoring political stability and democratization in Ivory Coast which led to the enthronement of Allasane Quattara as the President of the country. In continuation of its charity diplomacy in the continent, Nigeria, in recent times has sent troops to Darfur, South-

Sudan, Mali and Central Africa Republic for peace-keeping and peace-building operations without any socio-political or economic conditions attached. The administration has equally embarked on economic diplomacy so as to attract foreign investments into the country and revamp the ailing economy. But in addition to charity diplomacy and economic diplomacy, the Yar'Adua/Jonathan administration also adopted citizen diplomacy in 2007 in order to tackle the challenge of disrespect for Nigeria and the frequent abuse of the fundamental rights of its citizens which have continued unabated in various countries of the world particularly those in Africa. For long now some Nigerians living in different countries of the world have been subjected to jungle justice for crimes that attract lesser punishment when committed by citizens of other nations. There were also cases of unfair trials and unlawful perpetual detention of Nigerians abroad in foreign prisons. Worst still, some of these countries that meet out these injustices to Nigerians have benefitted in one way or other from Nigeria's foreign policy largesse.

Evaluating the Economic Diplomacy
Economic diplomacy was earlier known as trade diplomacy. Economic diplomacy became an integral part of foreign relations in the 50s and 70s when political leaders realized that strong economy is a key determinant of electoral victory, and that diplomatic channels could be deployed to advance economic interests and achieve sustainable development. Thus, diplomats were charged with the responsibility of marketing the economic goals or products of their countries so as to attract foreign investments and boost export and economic growth (Pogoson, 2011). Under economic diplomacy, a country's economic and political interests are tied to its foreign policy. In this regard, Mercado (1995) notes that patriotic leaders usually design the foreign policies of their nations strategically so that they can pursue the economic development of their states as the priority objective of the foreign policy. In this way, they use their foreign policies to progressively transform their technology, environment, industry and, improve their people's standard of living.

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The idea of economic diplomacy was first introduced into Nigeria's foreign policy by General Babangida's regime in 1988. The aim was to use foreign policy to address Nigeria's dire economic challenges. It would be recalled that by the early 1980s, there was 'oil doom' which caused economic crunch in Nigeria. The rapid collapse of oil prices in the international market led to unexpected decline in oil revenue, and this triggered a major socio-economic crisis in the country which made it unable to service its external debts and fulfill other bilateral and multilateral financial obligations. The implication was that foreign investors lost confidence in Nigeria and this impeded foreign investment inflow. With the meagre external revenue, the Nigerian political leadership could not provide the basic needs of the teeming population. And because prior to the oil doom, the proceeds from the oil boom were grossly mismanaged as a result of corruption, thus there was dearth of physical infrastructure. This forced many companies to collapse, and jobs were lost. Unemployment skyrocketed. Poverty increased dramatically and Nigeria became a poor country. It was in an attempt to tackle this array of economic travails that in 1986, General Babangida's regime adopted some economic measures such as the Structural Adjustment Programme (Pogoson, 2011, p.46). But instead of the Structural Adjustment Programme to solve the economic crises bedeviling the country, it worsened them. Hence, the regime further deployed economic diplomacy to re-negotiate trade concessions, attract foreign investments, reschedule the country's foreign debt servicing and achieve economic growth and development in order to contain the falling standard of living, the rising unemployment and the high incidence of poverty. The Nigerian Minister of External Affairs at the time economic diplomacy was introduced-Ike Nwachukwu, captured the aim of the new policy and how to achieve it in his address to the newly appointed Nigerian Ambassadors in 1991. He succinctly said that:

'The ball-game today in international relations is self interest and economic development...in your utterances and in your behavioural

pattern, please remember that Nigeria is a developing country. It needs support from the international community and that support can only come when you can win the confidence of those whose support you seek…You begin to win that confidence through friendliness and loyalty to their cause (i.e. the cause of those whose support you seek). What matters is your ability to win for Nigeria what we cannot for ourselves, that is, the economic well-being of our people and physical well-being of Nigeria" (Ogwu and Olukoshi, 2002, p.17-18).

Economic diplomacy entails using foreign policy to achieve domestic economic development by re-ordering Nigeria's priorities in the international system and carefully cultivating friendship and good-will of the leading Western countries (Ogwu and Olukoshi, 2002, p.17). The policy was informed by the belief that the socio-political interests of Nigeria could easily be achieved if pursued from a position of enhanced diplomatic relations with the Western powers as well as improved economic strength and favourable terms of trade and balance of payment. Also, economic diplomacy was to be used to encourage the Nigerian Diaspora to have closer economic relations with their fatherland, so that they can contribute to its socio-economic development. In this way, they would help to develop their home country while investing to make profits (Pogoson, 2011, p.52).

Since the introduction of economic diplomacy, successive administrations in Nigeria have adopted it in the conduct of foreign policy relations and in the pursuit of national interest. Regrettably, since the introduction of the policy, it is yet to produce the expected dividends. The domestic economy is still weak. The standard of living has remained very poor. Unemployment rate and incidence of poverty have continued to increase exponentially. Nigeria is still one of the poorest countries in the globe. Apart from the debt relief granted to Nigeria in 2005/2006 under Obasanjo's administration by the Paris Club of Creditors, there has been no other significant gain emanating from economic diplomacy since its adoption in the conduct of external relations.

But why has economic diplomacy failed to yield the desired result in Nigeria? The answer to this question lies in the way the policy has been poorly implemented over the years. A critical examination of the implementation of the policy would reveal that after its introduction, there was no concerted effort by the political leadership to put in place the necessary infrastructure such as constant electricity supply, good network of roads security, and forward cum backward linkages between the needs of industries and the researches of the existing tertiary institutions, which in turn, would have created the enabling environment that could help local businesses to thrive and at the same time attract foreign investors. In other words, beyond the political rhetoric and presidential visits to various countries of the world soliciting for foreign direct investments (FDIs) which followed the introduction of economic diplomacy, the decision-makers did not go further to tackle the prevailing dearth of basic infrastructure that are fundamentally necessary for industrialization and economic development. And from the way Nigerian political leaders engage in incessant travels to Europe and America as well as Asia in the name of trying to attract foreign investors especially in the past one and a half decades, It would appear that it is either they have ulterior motives for embarking on such non-stop international trips or they are still oblivious of the fact that it is not the number of presidential visits or diplomatic meetings that attract foreign investments into a country, but rather the level of internal security and the quality of social infrastructure that a country has.

Also, after the introduction of economic diplomacy, the political leadership failed to henceforth tie Nigeria's economic interests to any form of financial or military assistance it would render to countries in Africa and beyond. It is on record that after the adoption of economic diplomacy in 1988, Nigeria embarked on peace-keeping and peace-building operations in Liberia (1990-1998) and Sierra Leone (1996-2000) without any form of well articulated economic blueprint and bilateral agreements that would ensure that by the time peace was restored in these countries, Nigeria would leave behind Nigerian owned

companies or corporations which would boost Nigeria's foreign earnings by the time the companies begin to repatriate their profits back home. The irony is that instead of Nigeria dominating the economies of the countries it helped, the reverse has always been the case. One typical example that readily comes to mind is South Africa – a country that Nigeria gave both moral and financial aid during the struggle against apartheid, now has many of its companies (like DSTV, Shoprite, MTN, South Africa Airways, Standard Bank, etc) dominating Nigeria's economic landscape without Nigeria having a commensurate economic presence and dominance in South Africa.

The formulators and operators of Nigeria's foreign policy ought to know that in politics among nations, aid is not free. Even the United States of America which is the richest country in the world and the biggest aid donor (Riddell, 2008), usually tie its aid on certain conditions that would advance its economic interests both in the immediate and in the long-run, and this partly explains why today, American Transnational Companies (TNCs) are all over the world doing business and repatriating billions of dollars in profit to the coffers of American government.

Citizen Diplomacy: An Appraisal
Citizen diplomacy entails the prioritization of the protection of the interest of the Nigerian citizens, both at home and abroad as the basis and the guiding principle of Nigeria's relations with other countries of the world. It includes defending the dignity, rights and privileges of Nigerian citizens wherever they may be (Eze, 2009). In their own view, Okocha and Nzeshi (2007) succinctly submitted that citizen diplomacy is aimed at protecting the image and integrity of Nigeria and retaliating against countries that are hostile to Nigeria's national interest. Accordingly, Eze (2007) posited that citizenship diplomacy captures what ordinarily should be the major goal of any nation's foreign policy, and that is being "people-oriented". He further stated that Nigeria's foreign policy primarily should promote the welfare and security of citizens. Citizen diplomacy could also mean that the

Nigerian citizens abroad are at the centre of Nigeria's national interest and foreign policy objectives, and as such the country's entire diplomatic machinery should be geared towards protecting their welfare (Ogunsanwo, 2007).

Citizen diplomacy first came into Nigeria's foreign policy lexicon in 2007 under Yar'Adua's administration. It was necessitated by the habitual criminalization of Nigerian citizens abroad which often makes them to be victims of inhuman treatment and unlawful arrest cum imprisonment that sometimes lead to death. From America to Europe and Asia to Africa, the human rights of many Nigerian citizens are constantly abused by the various foreign authorities and their nationals simply because some few Nigerians do indulge in crimes such as drug trafficking and advanced fee fraud popularly known as 419. Abati (2009, cited in Dickson, 2010) vividly captured this dreadful situation when he lamented that:

One Nigerian was killed in Spain, another one was brutalized in Asia. Routinely, our people are beheaded in Saudi Arabia (p.6).
Unfortunately, while foreign governments do not hesitate to hand down maximum punishment such as death penalty to any Nigerian caught committing such crimes, they usually give lesser punishment or even state pardon to citizens of other countries (especially industrialized Western countries) who commit similar crimes. Also, apart from the fact that thousands of Nigerians are in prisons in foreign countries today without fair trial, Nigerians, including government officials, are constantly being harassed in international airports and embassies simply because they are from Nigeria. The disturbing thing about this ill-treatment of Nigerian citizens is that most times it is meted out to innocent Nigerians who are just working hard to make ends meet. And most worrisomely, even countries in Africa that have benefitted from Nigeria's diplomatic largesse and generosity in the area of peace keeping and financial assistance are often part of this conspiracy aimed at tarnishing the image of Nigeria and denigrating its citizens. In this regard, Ade-Ibijola (2013) cited South Africa as one of the countries where many Nigerians have been victims of xenophobic attacks.

It was an attempt to end such unpleasant incidents in Nigeria's external relations that led to the introduction of citizen diplomacy which was theoretically designed not only to prevent inhuman treatment of Nigerians abroad, but also serve as a retaliatory mechanism that would checkmate the excesses of countries that abuse the dignity of Nigeria and the rights of its citizens. However, eight years (as at date, 2007-2015) since the introduction of the policy, it has not yielded the much expected dividends. Nigerians abroad are still victims of inhuman treatment and extra-judicial arrest, imprisonment and even murder. Just recently the South African immigration authority deported over one hundred Nigerians on a flimsy excuse that they did not possess the yellow fever vaccination certificate. In spite of the public opinion at home against this unfriendly diplomatic gesture and a unanimous call for the withdrawal of operating licenses of some of the South African companies in Nigeria like the MTN as a retaliatory measure, the Nigerian authority did little or nothing about it. This event is one of the numerous others that have continued to cast doubt on the efficacy of Nigeria's citizen diplomacy.

But why has citizen diplomacy failed in Nigeria? Two major factors are responsible for the failure of citizen diplomacy. First is the failure of Nigeria's economic diplomacy. In global politics, economic strength and national prestige/respect are not inversely proportionate, but rather they are mutually inclusive. Hence, the amount of respect that a nation and its citizens enjoy in their interactions with other countries is usually contingent on the level of its economic development and perhaps, military capabilities. The stronger the economy the higher the respect it can command. However, the weaker the economy the lower the respect it can enjoy. In other words, a nation with strong development fundamentals will always be envied and its citizens welcomed in other nations. However, a nation with weak economy will always be disrespected and its citizens ridiculed and abused in other countries. This is partly the reason why the citizens of the United States of America and other industrialized countries like Britain, France, Canada, Germany, Japan and recently, China, are respected

all over the world, while the citizens of poor countries like Nigeria are usually treated like beggars in other countries. That is to say a nation that has been able to improve the standard of living of its citizens, and maybe, uphold their fundamental human rights is most likely to have its citizens respected and treated well in other countries of the world than a nation with huge human and material potentials that are still untapped or underdeveloped. Thus, had Nigeria's economic diplomacy succeeded, the country would have become the envy of the world and its citizens would be respected wherever they may be. Part of the reason why many countries today including those in Africa don't respect Nigeria anymore is because Nigeria's economy has collapsed and it can no longer live up to the expectation of the international community as the giant of Africa. Hence, some people now derogatorily refer to Nigeria as a "sleeping giant".

The second factor is the inability of the Nigerian political leadership to effectively domesticate the concept of citizen diplomacy especially in state-citizen relations. In Nigeria, state power is absolute and arbitrary and those who possess it usually apply it absolutely and arbitrarily against the governed, thus, many at times, state power is used by the political leaders to abuse the rights of the governed in the process of accumulating wealth. By so doing the government has not only failed to fulfill its primary purpose which is security and welfare of the people, but has also become a parasite on the people. This exploitative state-citizen relations makes mockery of the policy of citizen diplomacy because under the policy, the Nigeria government is supposed to protect the interest and welfare of its citizens at all times. Jimoh (2001) cited the case of police brutality in Nigeria to demonstrate these unpleasant state-citizen relations. He argued that the Nigerian Police has replaced its primary responsibility of maintaining law and order with serial collection of bribes ranging from 20 to 100 naira from drivers some of whom and their innocent passengers have been killed by the police for refusing to comply. The Nigerian Police Force have become an agent of exploitation and brutality and also one of the many institutions of government

employed by the political leaders to commit all sorts of crimes ranging from extra-judicial killing to unlawful arrest and detention of innocent citizens. This clearly shows that the Nigerian state does not value the lives of its citizens. At home and abroad, Nigerians are left to their own survival tactics as they often get cruel treatments even from the Nigerian embassy officials who routinely demand bribes from them before their passports and visas can be issued or renewed (Abati 2009 cited in Dickson, 2010). But the irony is that Nigeria is one of the few countries or perhaps, the only country in the world that maltreats its own citizens and yet expects other countries to treat them well. The reality is that citizens of any given nation can only be respected in other countries if they are valued and treated well in their home country by their own government. Hence, by logical extension, it can be said, that had the Nigerian government and its institutions been respecting the rights of Nigerians at home, then other countries would have followed suit, and would not have continued to abuse the rights of Nigerians abroad.

Conclusion and Recommendations
From the preceding analysis, it is quite clear that economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy were conceived with good intentions. However, many years of poor implementation of the policies have worsened the economic and image crisis that prompted their introduction. Without building the basic infrastructures that are inevitable for industrialization and which would attract foreign investments, and without improving the state-citizen relations by purging the state its character of exploitation, brutality and violence which it routinely unleashes on the citizenry, the operators of Nigeria's economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy have been habitually travelling round the world begging for foreign investments and trying to re-brand the nation's battered international image and perception. But until infrastructural fundamentals and cordial state-citizen relations are guaranteed by the state which invariably would enable local businesses to thrive and foreign investments to survive as well as the nation's

international image to improve, those dividends promised by economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy will continue to elude Nigeria.

Therefore, this paper recommends a change in implementation approach to economic diplomacy and citizen diplomacy so as to ensure that first thing is done first, and that is, the provision of essential amenities that are necessary for industrialization and survival of local businesses and foreign investments by Nigeria's political leadership before embarking on the hunt for foreign investors. Also, they should end the culture of exploitation and brutality been perpetrated using state institutions like the police against the ordinary Nigerians at home before demanding an end to the serial abuse of the rights of Nigerians abroad.

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The Leahy Law, Nigeria's Counter-Terrorism Measures and Foreign Policy Direction Question

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Abstract
Prominent among Nigeria's wish-list is the suppression of the Boko Haram insurgency ravaging the country since its radicalization in 2009 and subsequent internationalization since 2013. Among the counter-terrorism measures of the Nigerian government has been to seek military collaboration with its neighbouring countries and foreign powers including the United States government since the beginning of the insurgency. However, accusation of gross human rights abuse indicted by the Leahy Law has been a major impediment to US military assistance towards Nigeria in her bid to stem the scourge of this terror. The Law prohibits assistance to governments of countries whose military is culpable of human rights abuses and to a large extent hindered the fight against global terrorism, thereby questioning the United States policy of rooting terrorism from wherever they find safe haven. In reversing this, Buhari had to take some measures such as shaking up the military, setting up panels to probe past activities and reviewing some national security policies among others before embarking on his first official visit to the white house. Despite the visit, no significant aid in terms of sales and transfer of weapons, tactical and operational modalities have been struck. This paper questions Nigeria's continued policy reliance in the West, East or its continent, Africa and then submits that Nigeria should look more inward than outward in her fight against terrorism.

Introduction

The word 'terrorism' has become ubiquitous in the lexicon of the contemporary international system. There is hardly any nation in the prevailing global system that is shielded from the heinous impacts of terrorist activities. Though a similitude of terrorist activities could be found in the annals of pre-colonial Nigerian societies, for instance

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the Maitatsine Campaign of the 1980s marked the dawn of modern terrorism in Nigeria. This campaign which was led by an immigrant from North Eastern region of the country (Isichie, 1987). The Maitatsine uprising was immediately suppressed because it lacked the sophistication of the 21st century terrorism as influenced by continuous inventions in science and communication technology. The advent, radicalization as well as the internationalization of the Boko Haram terrorist in recent times have also necessitated a concerted effort of states in the international system since a threat to a region has become a threat to all not minding the status of such state just as the insurgent issues in Asia and Africa has led to the migration crisis across Europe. The Boko Haram, which initially camouflaged itself as a genuine religious sect, is a complete replica of horrible terrorist groups such as al-shabab, al-qaeda, ISIS and the like. This is in terms of its projected philosophies and modus operandi. Since it is generally believed that no state is immune from terrorism, the Nigerian state is not an exemption. Despite being a country with abundant resources in human, capital and natural endowments, she has not been able to annex these gifts for sustainable development (Falola and Heaton, 2008; Campbell, 2013). At a time in her chequered history, proclaimed as a big-brother and giant of Africa, that may not be the case in recent times as she has suffered in terms of physical, mental and socio-economic stability that not only most of her citizens are now treated as second class around the world, but the giant itself suffer similar fate as a result of its spectrum of domestic and foreign problems, alongside terrorism.

Terrorism is not new to Nigeria. Certain groups such as the Arochukwu and Ekumekwu cults among others in the pre-colonial Nigerian state used it in order to thwart the advances of the European and even by the Maitatsine Sect in post-colonial state. Be it as it may, the level of such act is a sharp difference from what is obtained in recent times as terrorism which has never been internationalized and radicalized than that of the 21st century (Neumann, 2008). Due to its nomenclature, being an asymmetrical warfare especially with its internationalization, there is need for the state to also seek

international aid to counter it but our erstwhile partners majority in the West, though little from the East tend to be rather uneasily cold towards assisting and Africa (which is the center-piece of our foreign policy) brothers are also constrained either because of their economic and political state or because Nigeria has demean itself. The United States being a leading crusader against terrorism has always lend her supports to any friendly nation facing the challenge of terrorism. However, the promulgation of the Leahy Law has been a major encumbrance to US support against terrorism. The law bars the US from giving military assistance to nations found guilty of human right abuses. The US and the Amnesty International has accused Nigerian soldiers of human right abuse making it difficult for military assistance bail-out. It is on this basis that this paper seeks to examine the present and future implication of the Leahy law on Nigeria's counter-terrorism war interrogating our continued foreign policy reliance on foreign powers (East and West) despite the enormous potentials possessed to dictate regional, continental and international tune from within Nigeria.

Terrorism, Counter-terrorism and Human Right Abuse in Nigeria: Farce or Facts
The nomenclature of terrorism is itself complicatedly complex and a subject of contestations (Mu'azu, 2011; Abbass, 2013) as attempting to give a universally accepted definition is a fool's errand but its definition is important for the explication of this paper. Terrorism is a violent form or method used by any person, group, state or non-state actors for any kind of motive. According to the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 49/60 (adopted 9 December 1994), it defines it as:

Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism was adopted by the Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice in Cairo, Egypt in 1998. terrorism was defined in the convention as:

> *Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize national resources.*

UN Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004) gives a definition:

> *criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.*

Despite these vagaries of definitions, it cannot still be said to have been sufficiently exhausted. In the wake of the new century, the Al-Qaida struck the United States on 9/11. Before then, terrorism was not a popular concept among Americans (Rourke, 2003) so also among Nigerians but the mushrooming of the group now known as Boko Haram began a new episode in the nation's history. Mohammed Yusuf, a charismatic preacher is believed to have organized his community in the city of Maiduguri around 2003 by establishing God's kingdom on earth and isolating itself from wider society. Although hostile to the Nigerian state and rejected western education as non-Islamic, it remained generally non-violent until 2009 (Campbell, 2013; Campbell, 2014) after the gruesome extra-judicial murder of its founder. With about 9,000 members straddling from Nigeria, Chad, Mali, Sudan, Libya etc. (GTI, 2014:53; Odo, 2015: 50), it now has more than 40,000 members (Onuoha, 2010:57-58; Forest, 2012:62-63) committed to the cause. Abubakar Shekau took over until he was supposedly killed

by Nigerian forces on 26 September, 2014 (GTI, 2014) even though this has been often refuted by the sects.

With the incidence of 2009, they responded by destroying government structures, aiming at the armed forces and the Nigerian Police personnel and structures, but transcended into killing innocent Nigerians as well as the internationalization and radicalization of its operations. In November 2013, the US state department formally designated Boko Haram and a splinter group, Ansaru as Foreign Terrorist Organisation (FTOs) (Ploch, 2013) and in 2015, the group claimed to have purportedly pledged allegiance to Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The Ansaru, based in Kano and Kaduna under Abu Usama al Ansari targets Christian churches and government officials (Campbell, 2014:2). In Nigeria, the sect has killed more than 20,000 people and subjected many to vulnerability within the states of Niger, Chad and Cameroon. More than twenty thousand people have been killed in Boko Haram-related violence, and as at September 2015, more than two million have been displaced (IOM, 2015). Boko Haram's brutal campaign includes a suicide attack on a United Nations building in Abuja in 2011, repeated attacks that have killed dozens of students, burning of villages, ties with regional terror groups, the abduction of more than two hundred school girls in April 2014 (Sergie and Johnson, 2015) and several criminal acts against Nigerians, innocent or otherwise, christians, traditionalists or muslims, women, children, men, aged and others.

However, the Nigerian state has not fold its arms, rather it solely embarked on a counter-terrorism campaign against the sect. The Nigerian armed forces have launched several attacks against the group and a kinetic solution in the last three years (Udounwa, 2013) but these seem to have defied all nous even as the government have invested human and capital resources to the fight. It was reported by Premium Times newspaper that N1.488 trillion forming about 40 percent of the entire N3.69 trillion security budget being estimated at about 20 percent of Nigeria's entire budget within the period was spent on armaments between 2011 and 2014 with N369 billion spent

in 2011, N365 billion, N381 billion, and N374 billion spent in 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively for the purchase of the security equipment-mostly arms and ammunition-across the major law enforcement departments of the country meanwhile casualties from the insurgents increased as the spending surges (Olufemi and Akinwunmi, 2015). The armed force with an active military strength which rose from about 10,500 in 1967 to 250,000 after the civil war; 162,000 in 2013 but depleted to a little above 100,000 recently (Whitehead, 2015) even though it is claimed that the military is ill-equipped, poorly trained and motivated, highly corrupt and unethnically oriented; in fact a microcosm of the Nigerian state. However, there are no doubt that confronting and conquering the menace is one of the primary task of the state especially with these gargantuan amount expended for such. Though concentrated in the north-east, the sect has demonstrated a national and international outreach invading states of Cameroun, Chad and Niger; and funding has also been generated multi-nationally as it pledged alliance to ISIS in 2014 (Campbell, 2014:3).

The US and British governments apart from designating the group as international terrorists Organisation also offered technical and resource support to the Nigerian troops. In fact in June 2013, the US placed a as $7 million bounty for the capture of Abubakar Shekau (Thomas-Greenfield, 2013:6). However, these fellowship tend to have toned down before the 2015 general election for some reasons not including: endemic corruption, hoarding of intelligence and information, disregard for military command; compromised operation, insubordination and impugned human rights concerns. In buttressing this point, a US Intelligence source said in an operation to rescue the Chibok girls, details of covert rescue mission that would involve using gas was leaked or compromised shortly after Nigeria's security chiefs were given the plans in high confidence (NewsWire NGR, 2015).

Besides military engagement, the country had embarked on several diplomatic channels to reduce the threat as former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo and Alhaji Datti attempted to mediate between the Nigerian government and the group in September 2011 and

followed by the Nigerian government's offer of amnesty in October 2011 and a proposal for dialogue with the insurgents in January 2012. The Nigerian government also established the Presidential Committee on Security Challenges in the North-East Zone (PCSCNEZ) under the chairmanship of Ambassador Usman Goji Galtimari. The PCSCNEZ was tasked to investigate the remote and immediate causes of the Boko Haram insurgency and make recommendations to the government (Thurston, 2012; Udounwa, 2013:9) and the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of the Security Challenges in the north under the Chairmanship of Alhaji Kabiru Turaki, the then special Duties Minister in April, 2013 (Imam, 2013; Odo, 2015:55) and even an Australian negotiator, Stephen Davis but all these failed hence the government resumed its hostility against the dreaded sect where issues of human rights have been uncovered.

Human rights are those fundamental and inalienable rights, the protection of which are essential to the existence of man, his survival and the pursuant of his happiness. It represents demand or claims, which individual or groups make on society, some of which are protected by law and had become part of *lex lata* while others remain aspirations to be attained in future (Eze, 1984:5 in Bazuaye and Enabulele, 2006:172). This is also enshrined in Chapter IV of Nigeria's 1999 constitution (FRN, 1999). It also has a universal flavor through international organisations such as the United Nations, European Union, Organisation of African Unity now African Union among others. Article 1 of the UN Charter, provides that one of its purpose shall be; "…To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" (UN, 1945). Similarly, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the 171 Nations who attended the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna Austria in June 1993, re-affirmed that:

All human rights are universal indivisible and independent and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis, while the significance of national and regional peculiarities and various territorial cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of states, regardless of their political economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms (Bazuaye and Enabulele, 2015:179)

As Barash and Webel (2002) in Ojukwu (2011) noted that nearly one half of the world's people are denied democratic freedoms and participations; about one third face severe restrictions on their rights to own property; jails are filled with political prisoners, many of them held without trail and victimised by torture; women are often deprived of their economic social and political rights that men take for granted (Ojukwu, 2011:19). But while conventional warfare is obliged to give cognizance to human rights, unconventional warfare often does not. Though the sect has devised several inhuman methods likened to that of the ISIS in executing its victims such as indiscriminate killing, beheading, disemboweling and lynching, there were allegations that the Nigerian military and the militia have also resorted to such. The Human Rights Watch (HRW) supports this claim that the sect had attacked so many villages and villagers in the North-East causing more than a thousand deaths with causalities being civilians. It further added Nigerian military as conspirators in the act since they did little to avert such casualties as reported by villagers interviewed. Amnesty International (AI), in another report based on years of research, analysis of evidence-including leaked military reports and correspondence, as well as interviews with more than 400 witnesses and senior members of the Nigerian security forces alleged that the Nigerian Military also engaged in war crimes especially senior military officers as innocent citizens were arrested, more than 8,000 people were murdered, starved, suffocated and tortured to death with their knowing based on information from anonymous source. It further reported that between October 2012 and February 2013, about 683 detainees died in custody while others were denied access to water, health care and food as

they were deliberately starved by the strategy of suffocation and starvation. It puts it bluntly:

This sickening evidence exposes how thousands of young men and boys have been arbitrarily arrested and deliberately killed or left to die in detention in the most horrific conditions. It provides strong grounds for investigations into the possible criminal responsibility of members of the military, including those at the highest levels…Hundreds have been killed in detention either (by soldiers) shooting them or by suffocation. (AI, 2015)

The military responded to these allegations as being made to distract the revived hope of government forces as AI had never condemned terror in the country despite claiming to have done an extensive research and also downplaying their aim to grind the morale of a man trying to defend his nation and citizenry. In the words of the former Spokesperson of the Nigerian army, Lt General Chris Olukolade:

…For avoidance of doubt, the Nigerian Military does not encourage or condone abuse of human rights neither will any proven case be left unpunished. The kind of impunity being alleged by Amnesty International has no place in the Nigerian military. Every officer in the field is responsible for his action and is duly held accountable. So far, no allegation has been sufficiently proved against those whom Amnesty International is so desperate to convict… (Premium Times 2015)

And some Nigerians even share this opinion that it was because the military is having a upper hand against the sect that some external forces who do not want the country to succeed or who had hoped for the disintegration of the country were at work through the agent of international watch dog like the AI. Whether this allegations and counter allegations are true, it remains a speculation. It is noteworthy that the sect impersonate the military as narrated by some of the escaped Chibok girls that those who came on that night came in military regalia, as these are common in unconventional warfare. What is obvious is that there are evidences that the Boko Haram sect and the government forces are both guilty of human rights abuses, though this may only vary in degree but whether these allegation and counter-allegations

are true or untrue, there is no doubt that in war such as this, such cases are inevitable and cannot be taken with a pinch of salt.

The Leahy Law: Implication for Nigeria's Counter-terrorism Measures and Foreign Policy

The Leahy Law, named after Senator Patrick Leahy, was first approved by Congress in 1997 prohibiting the United States from providing equipment and training to foreign military unit or individual suspected of committing "gross human rights violations" which include extrajudicial killing, rape, torture, and forced disappearance (Lumpe, 2014; Serafino et al. 2014). It is traced to "Section 620M" of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and "Section 502B" which prohibits security assistance to any country found to engage in a "constant pattern of gross violation of internationally recognized human rights (Serafino et al. 2014:3). It is a complex law touching upon many issues of interest to Congress-ranging from current vetting practices and implementation involving human rights standards, relations and policy objectives with specific countries among others but also conflicts with promoting respect for human rights and fulfilling other national interests especially when it comes to stamping out terrorism in their hide-outs. It is on that basis that the issue of vetting arises. By this, the unit platoon before being assisted would be assessed if they will respect or they have respected human rights of their targets, though the Secretary of State may waive the law if recipient country is taking effective measures to bring human rights perpetuators to justice (Miller, 2012) just as the case when the then Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice used it in Indonesia in 2005 (Miller, 2012:673).

Though with its criticism, it remains relevant to US foreign aid. For instance Admiral Williams H.McRaven, head of the special operations Command believed that the US needed to train local security forces fighting Boko Haram militant in Nigeria but less than 1% of 200,000 units vetted were denied assistance in 2011 because of human rights concerns and also raised concerns about the process of clearing units as to long (Lumpe, 2014) despite all measure taken by the Dr. Goodluck Jonathan and Buhari administration, the US is

still slow in waiving the Leahy Law in assisting Nigeria where the insurgency has claimed more than 20,000 lives, displaced about 2.1million people, spread to neighbouring countries and even solidifying its alliance with external terror groups. Rather, the US assisted Cameroon with some drones and also sent some military specialists to Niger. The questions are; had the US assisted earlier, will the casualties be this magnified? Were no units in the military or militias clean of human rights abuse? If cases of such arise in the future since conflict is inevitably unavoidable, where do we turn?

Figure 1 Leahy Vetting Process for Training
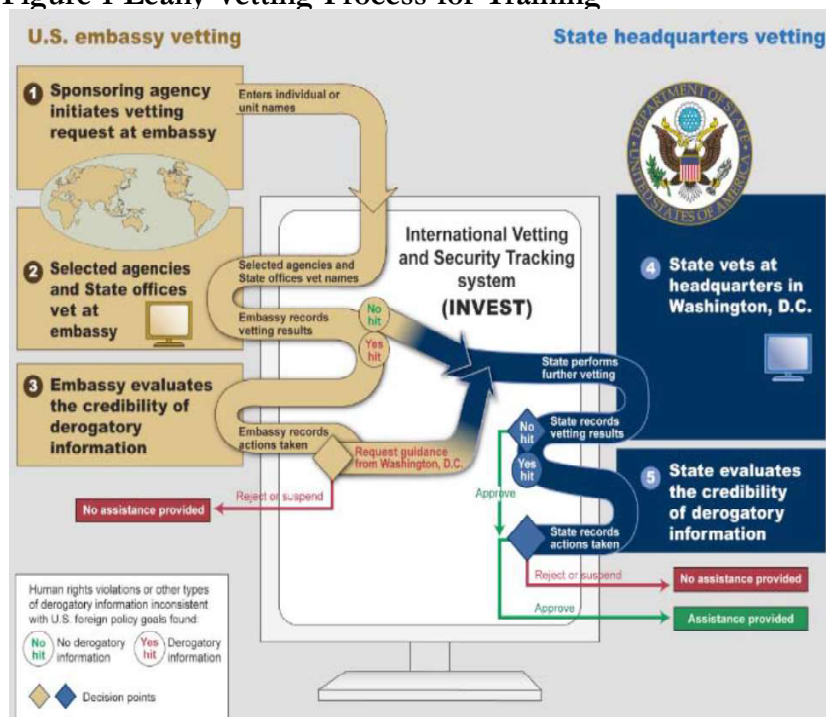
Source: Government Accountability Office (GAO), Human Rights: Additional Guidance, Monitoring, and Training Could Improve Implementation of the Leahy Laws, GAO-13-866, September 2013, p. 10 in Serafino et al. 2014:11

…turning West, East or Inward?

Foreign policy is simply a country's response to the world outside or beyond its own frontiers or boundaries. It can further be defined as a strategy with which institutionally-designated decision-makers seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain national objectives (Chibundu, 2003). At independence in 1960, one of its first preoccupation was to define its position in the world in which it envisaged a policy of non-alignment which implies that the country would not associate with any of the power blocs, neither would it associate with a third bloc, rather will continue to co-operate with her traditional friends consistent with the moral and democratic principles of which its constitution is based (Ajibola, 1978:18) but that Africa will be the centre piece of her foreign policy. No wonder in a speech during the 16th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Hon. (Dr.) Jaja Wachukwu, Minister of Foreign and Commonwealth Relations on 10 October, 1961, said:

> *…And being a member of the African community and feeling ourselves completely bound to its destiny and accepting our involvement in everything that pertains to it, obviously all questions pertaining to Africa must be considered as questions pertaining to Nigeria. The peace of Africa is the peace of Nigeria. Its tribulations are our tribulations and we cannot be indifferent to its future (UNGA, 1961 in Chibundu, 2003:75)*

Though this was not solely true as the first three years of Nigeria's external policy was directed to the Western blocs until in 1963 when Nigeria had diplomatic relations with the countries of the eastern bloc and out of a total of 79 bilateral treaties signed between 1960 and 1968, 38 were with the countries of the western bloc, while 14 were with the countries in the eastern bloc. Besides, Russian literature remained banned in Nigeria markets (FMI, nd in Ajibola, 1978:19). During the Nigerian Civil war, it took the Nigerian state some effort to seek foreign assistance from the West and they later turned East before sufficient and appropriate weapons were gotten to pursue the war. Lt.-Col. Ojukwu in his 31 March 1968 broadcast acknowledged the influence of the West and East in perpetuating the war. In his

words, "Biafrans had fought with success in every sector against total war by Nigeria and its British and Soviet helpers" (Ojiako, 1987:53) of which Africa under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at its summit conference in Kinshasa in September 1967, passed a resolution on the Nigerian situation by recognizing the situation as an internal affair, the solution of which was responsibility of Nigerians themselves (Ojiako, 1987:49). However on the Biafra side, though Ojukwu had boasted that they had sufficient capability and credibility to do same, some of their weapons were self-made, for example they manufactured the Red Devil armored vehicle, locally-made Rockets and Okigwe land mines among others. By the end of the civil war, diplomatic and economic ties between the Soviet Union and Nigeria became revivified than ever as Nigerian youths became recipients of Soviets scholarship programs (Fawole 1993 in Agubamah, 2014). No wonder General Yakubu Gowon reciprocated by paying a visit in appreciation to the Soviet for the timely intervention; though only economic and not political gain was reaped (Onofowokan, 2010 in Agubamah, 2014:195).

On Nigeria's counter-terrorism war, James Entwistle, the US Ambassador to Nigeria argued that the case of human rights abuse by government troops in past years was a sore thumb in Nigeria's military request for arms but that the US had not completely cut-off military aid for Nigeria after all the US was responsible for the additional new fleet to the navy. He further said that the basic needs of the soldiers on the field was important than the country's request for hi-tech equipment (Ajayi, 2014). If he who must judge must come with a clean heart, can the US be justified or exempted of never committed or still committing same? The US had aided the contra in South America, militants groups in Cuba, and in recent times, the Syrian rebels and others even when the Leahy Act existed but she found it hard to aid a country like Nigeria which had always been at the fore-front of anti-terrorism and peacekeeping mission not only in Africa but in the world. It is on this ground that some scholars believe that the US was instrumental in the creation of Al-Qaeda and the ISIS as

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instruments of terror designed to divide and conquer the oil rich Middle-East in order to counter Iran's influence (Garikai, 2014). More so, evidence has shown that the US had and has committed such acts of torture and abuses in her quest to fight Islamic extremism and terrorism across the globe (Pearlstein 2006; HRF, 2008; Forsythe, 2011; Gaist, 2014; Gaist, 2015). In supporting this claim, another analyst argued that the US had not done enough to safe Syria as she should have intervened fully rather than the way she has. It was further argued that it was the aid given to the rebels that resulted in the breakaway-splinter group making up Al Qaeda and ISIS. It concludes that the US is more concerned about democracy and freedom in Syria than helping the rebels (Mckelvey, 2015). Another lesson that ought to be learnt was the Ebola Virus Diseases era when most victims or patients died in Africa, only a few died of such cases in developed countries of the west and the two cases, Thomas Eric Duncan and Dr. Martin Salia that died in the United States even if the second victim was a legal permanent resident of the US, they were both blacks (Fantz, 2014). While this may be a coincidence, there was delay in reviewing, reproducing and distribution of the ZMapp the rapy, thereby resulting in 28,041 cases and 11,302 deaths reported worldwide, the vast majority of them in these same three countries, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia as of 23rd of August, 2015 (The Data Team, 2015). Can the West then be relied upon?

It has been established that it took the country several years after her independence to establish diplomatic relations with the East, former Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) now Russia. And it was the intervention of Russia in the Civil war that changed the tide of the war but after the cold war, this once upon a power has become a shadow of itself. Though in recent times, she's been 'flexing muscle' with the West-cases can be seen in Tunisia, Ukraine, Middle East and currently Syria but what can this bleeding political and economic power shrinking economically by 7.8% since 2009 and with heavy reliance on world global oil price (Russell, 2015) do to help Nigeria amidst the terror war when it has been overshadowed by the

economies of China and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Tigers? There were insinuations that the Nigerian government had to turn to them having been denied weapons by the West-US and UK in 2014 (Agande, 2014) but the significance of such relations had minimal result on the counter-terrorism measures and even China despite being the biggest economy on the planet with 17% of global economic activity has been bleeding economically in recent times as results of its ageing population and aggressive investment (Walker, 2015) raising a red flag for global economy. On a general note, the European Union (EU) being a regional partner of Nigeria since independence having condemned the large scale, widespread and systematic abuses of human rights and violations of international humanitarian law perpetrated by the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger announced a further EU Humanitarian aid boost of €21 million to the displaced through the EU Commission for Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Management, Christos Stylianides. Though it reaffirms the responsibility of state in protecting its population, including from acts of terror, it condemns the report of human rights violations by the Nigerian forces and other government forces fighting Boko Haram, hence called on the president for an independent investigation to hold accountable those responsible (European Union, 2015).

Historically, Nigeria has over depended on foreign powers especially the western world but no doubt that the world powers have lost the piquant of their interest in Africa after the cold war and this was the call made by Ali Mazrui that Africa must begin to look inward (Mazrui, 1996). In his corroboration Nass corroborates this by putting it succinctly:

> *With the progressive decline, and at present, complete obliteration, of the erstwhile ideological complication in African regional problems, began simultaneously the signs of decline of interest in Africa generally. The continent appeared to have seized to be of any strategic importance to the major global powers (Nass, 2012:93-95)*

In another report, a western diplomat admitted that little has been done to assist Africa. He agreed that the continent's problems was partly because the developed world has ignored Africa. In his candid opinion, he averred that:

> *The developed world has kept its markets closed to African products…too few aid programmes of industrialized countries are focused on reducing poverty. It is grotesque that sub-Saharan Africa receives only one-twentieth of the development aid available to Middle East and the Maghreb…If we invest in Africa's future, it will repay the rest of the world (Cook, 2001 in Nass, 95-96)*

There is a general aphorism that when Nigeria sneezes, its neighbours catches cold. Its position as the most populous black nation in Africa, its massive oil wealth and abundant resources have all contributed to making it strategically important in world and African affairs and this she has demonstrated in promoting not only regional, Africa but world course. It is only unfortunate that the country's heavy reliance on foreign powers in times of trouble has affected her sovereignty and status as a true giant of Africa hence this paper challenges it to rise to its potential by looking inward and developing its untapped resources so as to attain sustainable peace. Even at that, the question of looking inward beyond the West or East, that is into Africa is itself also dicey. Nigeria has made Africa the centre-piece of her foreign policy and with her diplomatic and political intervention in the continent's conflict region is feasible in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sao Tome and Principe, Sudan, Mali and recently Burkina Faso among others.

However, the scenario played out by the country during the weapon purchase scandal and allegations of mercenaries from South Africa is a clear indication of the country's lost morale at home and abroad. Be it as it may, it has shown that economic, political as well as socio-cultural indicators have made it hard for the country to continue relying on Africa as North Africa with its continued insurrections; East Africa with its incessant terror and political instability; South Africa with its political and cultural issues; and West Africa with its declining economy. This is evidenced in African Union's cry that most states

have not been able to pay their dues, justifying that even Africa may not be depended on. Where do we then turn? Is it possible to look inward and what lessons can be learnt from the Leahy law?

The answer to this seem one-way but this may not be true as so many factors must be taken into cognizance. These factors vary from political, socio-economic and cultural. Nigeria with its potential human resources, capital, and military is supposed to leave in a state of quasi-autarky or a regional power just as Ali Mazrui had predicted that Nigeria, if stable can lead the force in West Africa but with its current deflated purse, endemic corruption, level of impunity, selfish, materialistic and greedy leaders, and political incompetence among others it may not be able to look inward. It is high time Nigeria stopped entrusting hopes in either the West or East but a time for self-reflection and inward soul searching as some Nigerians within and in Diaspora had made significant breakthroughs in sciences and technology which is sufficient for us to assist them in commercializing, utilizing and sustaining these developments. The emergence of the Boko Haram threat is not an undoing of the political class who intend to use the group as a tool to achieving political end that today their apologist and supporters apart from infiltrating the government are also sabotaging all efforts to curb the internationalized menace. The late National Security Adviser, Lt General Andrew Owoye Azazi once reiterated this point on Channels Television News (27 April, 2012) that the Boko Haram insurgency was borne out of the internal wrangling in the defunct ruling party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and other political parties at the second day of the south-south economic summit where the collapse of the nation's security challenge was deliberated. This is corroborated by the controversial Australian negotiator, Stephen Davies in a report that the sect was being sponsored by ex-Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Azubuike, ex-Governor of Borno State, Senator Ali Modu Sheriff and an unnamed senior official of the Central bank of Nigeria (CBN) and recently, the Catholic Bishop of Sokoto dioceses, Mattew Kukah said that the Northern elites as a result of their negligence and imperalising the

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Sharia law in Nigeria caused the Boko Haram insurgency which has now gone out of the blues (Godwin, 2015). Though, the former head of state acknowledged that the sect had infiltrated all institutions of the government but denied reports of the sect infiltrating his cabinet. It would also be surprising that despite the huge investments and efforts from the national purse and international bodies, the outgoing Air Chief Marshal Badeh in a valedictory speech on 30 July, 2015 to mark his retirement said there was insufficient fund to fight Boko Haram and that the last weapons purchased by the Nigerian Military were last acquired in 2006, statement contrary to that of the controversial former National Security Adviser, retired Col Dasuki that recently purchased weapon were used to pursue the sect during the six-weeks extension prior to the general elections.

These revelations raises more questions than answers and leaves more than meets the eye. Who, where and whence shall Nigeria then turn, West, East, Africa or itself? From the analysis above, the implication of the Leahy law on Nigeria's counter-terrorism campaign is either we shape-in or shape-out. In other words, it will serve as a lesson for future engagements in such combats and warfare to not only always uphold the principle of human rights on enemies but build local institutions, capacities and capabilities in curbing future threat by engaging local brain and engaging the Diasporas. The new minister of Science and Technology, Ogbonaiya Onu during an inaugural meeting with directors and heads in the ministry espoused his vision for the country saying Nigeria has no reason to buy weapons from other nations if a cue is taken from India which used to depend on foreign weapons but now produces its own. He furthered that "…when we needed weapons to fight insurgents in the North-East, it was difficult, even with our money. Why do we need to go outside to buy weapons when we have able men and materials that can manufacture most of the military equipment that we need?" (Elebeke, 2015).

Conclusion

The group is so deadly that some ministerial nominees when asked questions on the dreaded sect begged to be excused so as to spare their lives since they attacked those who criticize them; more so, they have infiltrated all public lives in the country just like the cankerworm of corruption. It has been established that Nigeria being a regional power and Africa's supposed power should realize that continued reliance on the West, East or even Africa is not feasible especially in amidst the contemporary world affairs. As for the West; migration issues, the incessant skirmish in the Arab world and other parts where democracy is yet to take its place may hinder the continued erstwhile friendship; while for the East, the decline in world oil price and the resurrecting cold war ghost has not made it settle either; while for Africa, the unabated conflicts arising from internal or external factors, poverty and harsh economic conditions may not make it dependable.

Since conflict is an inherent part of any society or organism such as the state or the international system, then its prevention should be of paramount to Nigeria amidst an unsteady international system. The terror acts bludgeoning the country may not be the last of such threat to Nigeria's territorial integrity and unity. This has been proved by the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) that plagued the country and some African countries in mid-2014, the Niger-Delta militancy and the secessionist threat of Biafra are evidences. There is no need to blame the West for not coming to our rescue on time as we have the needed potentials to exceed and succeed as a nation. The invocation of the Leahy Law should not be a vexatious aphorism to suspect the West; or the inability of the East to also help; or African brothers to intervene in full force but a learning process for future engagements.

The idea of engaging the insurgents with global best practices which entails respecting all rules of engagement and respecting fundamental human rights or looking up to the West, East or within-Africa is no better way to fight insurgency than to prevent it in the first place. This can only be achieved if we begin to look inward, that is Nigeria and Nigerians as politicians cannot continue to play god

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with innocent lives in the name of politicking. Our government must involve in an all-inclusive agenda, selfless, innovative, good governance, and respect the rule of law. As they say, "charity begins at home," the foreign policy direction of the country must now refocus from the home front, Nigeria. If the slumbering giant must wake, then its foreign policy must not be hinged upon the caprices of the West, East, or Africa, but must urgently be revisited, reviewed and repositioned to look inward so as to be less dependent and claim its rightful place among nations.

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Nigerian Foreign Policy in the 21ˢᵗ Century: A Clamour for Paradigm Shift.

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Abstract
Nigeria since independence in 1960 has played a leading role on various issues pertaining to her continent, with Africa being the main thrust of her foreign policy. She attained a golden era in her foreign policy in the 1970s due to oil boom and economic prosperity, and also because past military regimes were assertive and nationalistic. However, dwindling economic fortunes, political instability, poor governance and the rest has led to a decline. The dawn of the 21ˢᵗ century which also coincided with return of democracy has orchestrated an agitation for renaissance in Nigeria's foreign policy and clamour for a paradigm shift.

Introduction
A country's foreign policy also identified as foreign relations policy consists of self-interest strategies preferred by the state to uphold its national interests and to realise its goals within international relations milieu. The approaches are deliberately employed to interact with other countries. Like all other countries in the world, Nigeria's foreign policy is intended to promote and protect the country's national interests. While it is true that 'national interest' is at the heart of foreign policy, rarely is a country so rude as to stick it to the face of other international actors that its primary concern in its relations with them is the advancement of its 'national interest'. Since independence, Nigeria has played a leading role on various issues pertaining to the African continent. As a non-aligned state, it was at the forefront of the anti-apartheid and anti-colonial struggles from the 1970s, and is generally regarded within and outside Africa, alongside Egypt and South Africa, as one of Africa's leading states and a global key player from Africa. Nigeria was at the forefront of helping to change the now defunct Organisation of African Unity (OAU) from a political

liberation entity into an organisation that places economic development at the centre of its term of office (Afolabi, 2015).

The essential disposition of Nigeria's foreign policy has been determined as far back as in 1960 when Nigeria became self-governing and, to a large extent, this character has remained unchanged. What has changed and will continue to change is the style and manner of execution of Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria's foreign policy has been basically Africa-centred, even till today. An adage in foreign relations says that foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends. A nation's foreign policy is not only a direct continuation of its domestic policy, but it is also a reflection of its way of life (Agbu, 2015). It has become a common practice for the state officials to explain their decisions and actions towards the external environment of the state in terms of National interest. The main objective of any nation's foreign policy however, is the promotion and furtherance of its national interest. Rosenau (1980:12) explained national interest from two perspectives. One hand, national interest is seen as an analytic concept used in explaining, describing or evaluating the sources or adequacy of a nation's foreign policy. On the other hand, he observes it as an instrument of political action which politicians use to justify and legitimize their policies or to mobilize public support for intended objectives. National interest can therefore be viewed as a highly generalized concept of those elements that constitutes the state's most vital need as well as being the fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision makers of a state in making foreign policy (Olasupo, 2015:59). Foreign policy has always been stimulated by benefits, which means security and prosperity for all the citizens of the state. Regrettably, the valuable aspects of foreign policy are always lost on the people, as well as some officials who perform it. This has led to the complaints on the unproductiveness of foreign policy because the seeds are not always discernible for people to value. Hypothetically, a foreign policy should have the competence to produce welfare for the people, through making feasible economic gains and being able to provide sufficient security for its human and

physical components. In a way, citizens of third world countries may be correct, after all, with the position they have taken on the moribund affluence of their countries' foreign policies. Gains of foreign policy, in whatever form, take a long time to arrive, if they ever arrived (Saliu, 2010a:327; Gambari, 1989).

Nigeria needs to change her foreign policies to align with the current world of globalisation, and the dynamics of international politics that are constantly changing. Former foreign minister, Odion Ajumoghobia has also stressed the need for Nigeria to have an enduring foreign policy. So Nigeria's foreign policy should endure which means she must now define her national interest in a new setting of nuclear politics, in a new setting of independence. Government should adopt or define a policy on the Nigerians in diaspora. The Nigerians in diaspora can be very critical to nation building not necessarily in terms of flow of investments of which emphasis have always been laid. The diaspora should assist in the transfer of technology, not necessarily in terms of establishing entrepreneurial activities. There has to be an arrangement that will enable them as Nigerians in diaspora to transfer knowledge. Nigeria's national interest should revolve more around the survival and prosperity of Nigerians, home and abroad than on the continent of Africa and the globe. In fact, the deeds of Nigeria in foreign relations should strategically center on Nigerians' interest (Akinterinwa, 2011:60). Therefore, in view of the realities and several debates that Nigeria's foreign policy seemed to be in decline, a paradigm shift is urgent and the present government of the day must work in this direction, which should include Nigeria's economic prosperity, social welfare, and protection of the nation's national security.

Theoretical Statement
Two major concepts outline the thrust of the subject matter of our dissertation, namely Nigerian foreign policy and paradigm shift. For the reason of collective understanding, it is relevant to delineate and

situate these models so as to underline their significance in the framework of this presentation:

Nigerian Foreign Policy: It evolved from 1958 when the initial batch of Nigerian Foreign Service employees was recruited in groundwork for the concluding transfer of political power to Nigerians. Reflective of the colonial legacies in Nigeria, foreign policy after independence was still being harmonised by the office of the Prime Minister (PM) with a Senior White Officer serving as an adviser to the PM on foreign policy. Nigeria assumed sovereign independent status in October 1, 1960 and the mantle of leadership fell on Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first prime minister of Nigeria. The task of taking and pursuing Nigeria's national interest became a task for the pioneering indigenous administration whose ability and capability in performing the roles were limited by experience, lack of precedence, institutional deficiencies, poor operational environment and shortage of foreign policy experts. Nigeria from January 1, 1914 when the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates was formally effected to October 1, 1960 when she attained independence could not pursue an independent foreign policy which could be said to be separate and distinct from that of Britain (Olasupo, 2015:59-60).

Africa remains the focal point of Nigeria's foreign policy: this implies that in the nation's external relations, Africa received priority attention. Nigeria's declaration of making Africa her preoccupation was informed by certain factors. One, Nigeria is geo-politically located in the African region. Two, it is the most populous African Country, and black nation on the globe. It is therefore natural for the country to articulate afro-centric concerns. Balewa gave two speeches in October and December 1960 before the United Nations (UN) to herald the principles in the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy and these includes the following: Peaceful resolution of conflict, equality of states, multilateralism, non-alignment, afrian centre-piece, non-

interference in the internal affairs of other states (Saliu, 2010b:169-171).

Paradigm Shift: A paradigm shift is an axiom that was made trendy by American physicist, Thomas Kuhn to depict the character of scientific revolutions, or basic changes in the essential concepts and investigational methods of a scientific order. Kuhn compares these changes to the movement of typical science, which he described as precise work done within an existing structure or pattern. The disposition of scientific revolutions has been an inquiry presented by contemporary philosophy since Immanuel Kant used the expression in the prologue to his Critique of Pure Reason (1781), referring to Greek mathematics and Newtonian physics. Novel dilemmas in the essential concepts of mathematics, physics, and biology invigorated curiosity in the subject in the midst of scholars in the 20th century. It was in view of this dynamic setting that Kuhn published his work and perception of a paradigm shift in his important book in 1962: The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Flavia, 2009:185).

The notion of a paradigm shift has also been applied in several non-scientific perspectives since the 1960s to explain insightful transformations in a basic model or discernment of events, even though Kuhn himself limited the utilization of the phrase to the inflexible sciences. After a particular subject has altered from one pattern to a different form, it was referred to as a scientific revolution or a paradigm shift according to Kuhn's vocabulary. It is frequently this conclusion, the consequence of the extensive procedure, which is intended when the phrase paradigm shift is used colloquially: it is plainly the variation of worldview, without allusion to the specificities of Kuhn's chronological disagreement. Moreover, the grip of the Kuhnian scrutiny on social science has long been unsubstantiated with the wide relevance of multi-paradigmatic approaches in order to comprehend multifaceted human behaviour (Hassard, 1993:52). In Kuhn's analysis, the continuation of a single reigning prototype is distinctive of the natural sciences, whereas philosophy and a great deal of social science were distinguished by a "tradition of claims, counterclaims, and

debates over fundamentals." Others have engaged Kuhn's concept of paradigm shift to the social sciences. The phrase "paradigm shift" has found uses in other environment, representing the perception of a foremost alteration in a definite thought-pattern and fundamental change in individual viewpoint, intricate systems or organizations, substituting the previous way of thoughts or categorization with a drastically diverse way of belief or arrangement (Kuhn, 1972: 6).

Features of Foreign Policy in the 21st Century
In the contemporary era or what some scholars referred to as "post-September 11 era" international politics have become extremely intricate, and therefore mystifying to the conventional diplomat. Not merely are the issues fresh, unsettling and vastly scientific, but they are also happening at escalating tempo. Internet ascendancy will lay down decisive patterns for the way we administer communication in the future; Ebola outbreak in 2014 presented the world with an instance of the sort of fatal challenges we have to undertake, even as climate change conveys astounding and disturbing upheavals that necessitate difficult and enduring response. Some of the major actors in these crises are non-conventional, and this area is no longer limited to nation-states. International foundations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation take part in a crucial responsibility in development, Daesh fighters from all over the world are causing disorder in the Middle East, and unclear forces are implicated in the Ukraine crisis. And to conclude, communication, the foundation of diplomacy, has been thoroughly changed by electronic and social media, by chic phones, by the internet. Never in the account of mankind, has the broad-spectrum of the public had so many chances to stay conversant about foreign policy and never before did they expect to be knowledgeable more precisely and more apt than in the present day. It is no overstatement to forecast that by the second decade of the 21st century, foreign affairs will be confronted by more multifaceted issues and disputes (Forster, Stern & Zurich, 2015).

Toyo (2015) cited World Bank Development Report of 2011 that warns that one of the prevalent threats to development in the 21st

century is unceasing insecurity, occasioned by a sequence of illegal and political hostility that disregard simple answers. Patterns of international aggression have altered in recent years, with smaller quantity of predictable conflicts between two certain sides. The figure of casualties from civil wars is barely a quarter of what they were 30 years ago. Instead, fluid types of bloodshed, frequently motivated by cross-border misdemeanor, such as drug trafficking has ascended. At the same instance, the epoch of foremost super powers with overstretched authority in the world, seemed to have ended. Countries in diverse continents have not only developed but have extended ties with others; cases in point are China and India. As an outcome, awareness has swung to different places in recent years from the erstwhile focuses that were on the UN and other global institutions, mainly with the conflicts arising from the Middle East and North African region. New regions are presently determining the outlook of international relations in extreme and momentous ways than it had done in the past. In addition, the question of resettlement and movement of people continues to be an issue of enormous anxiety, constraining the major powers to rethink issues of boundaries and national autonomy. Democracy has increased in Africa principally; foreign direct investment (FDI) and economies have grown and increased thus elevating the substance of Africa as a business destination, not just a mere beneficiary of development assistance. However, several countries on the continent, including Nigeria, are making efforts to lessen poverty and disproportion; and seem to have failed to build strong public institutions that would give public security and political stability. The world-wide interconnectedness between nation-states becomes supplemented by globalisation as a process in which basic social arrangements (like power, culture, markets, politics, rights, values, norms, ideology, identity, citizenship, solidarity) become disembedded from their spatial context (mainly the nation-state) due to the acceleration, massification, flexibilisation, diffusion and expansion of transnational flows of people, products, finance, images and information (Vanhaverbeke, Duijsters & Beerkens, 2004:13).

Interactions among different states and countries led to globalisation and in the process hegemony evolved. The nature of relationship in the international system made hegemony inherent, powerful nations sought to have control over others.

On the other hand, the most important challenge in the 21st century has been posed by the terrorist acts in different parts of the world. Terrorists respect no frontiers or boundaries. Terrorism is a crime against humanity. Terrorism is, in fact, premeditated, politically motivated violence committed against innocent civilians and non-combatants by individuals, groups or state agents. The emergence of global terrorism has marked tectonic shifts in this relativistic approach. As a rule, global terrorists commit individual acts of an intentionally provocative nature, which may include threats of murder or the assassination of state and political figures; the seizure of hostages or potentially hazardous facilities; bombings; or the release of poisons, radioactive substances, or biologically active agents. Terrorist acts as potentially hazardous facilities enterprises working with chemicals, radioactive materials, or explosives; hydro technical structures; unique tall buildings; subways, surface rail, and air transport facilities present a great danger to personnel and the public and cause substantial economic damage (Chanchal, 2012:7). Nigeria has had its fair share with the Boko Haram sect, with its operations affecting neighbouring countries of Niger, Chad and Cameroon with implications for foreign policy choices.

Some Challenges Associated with Nigeria's Foreign Policy
The troubles with Nigeria foreign policy are basically indicative of the predicament of underdevelopment affecting the country in all facets especially in the task of nation-building. Fatunla (2015) argued that since Chief Olusegun Obasanjo saved Nigeria from the representation of a recluse state, Nigeria's foreign policy has been consigned to the flipside. The country has more often than not failed to gain from high-quality and successful foreign policy, though the focal appendage of its external policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been left without the essential and vital resources to act upon.

The image of a nation in the international community and that of its people is an express indication of its internal politics and its government. Nigeria's foreign policy over the years has been incapacitated and damaged by incompetence, dishonesty, bias, leadership breakdown and meager democratic credentials, which have all depressingly affected the global status of the country.

Furthermore, Nigerian foreign policy in the last two decades has been enthralled by a kind of lethargy that has made scholars to ask questions about what has befallen the country's external relations that its attainments and influence are not as outstanding and rewarding when evaluated with its contour in the 1970s. The nation that was reputed to be a trustworthy and dominant voice in Africa has abruptly turn out to be a country that even less gifted countries ridicule and her leaders were not given the handling that suits them as leaders of the colossal nation in Africa. Some instances often cited are the frequent cases of irritation by South Africa, the Gbagbo crisis in Cote d'Ivoire, habitual interferences and meddlesomeness in Nigerian affairs by some other African countries and ambassadors of some great power countries serving in Nigeria among others; these are regarded as decline in the country's foreign policy. The country's dealings with the foremost western nations have been fraught with awkwardness informed by too many issues in disagreement especially same-sex marriage, terrorism, elevated altitude of official corruption and others and this has spread to the sphere of international organizations with the Africa Union (AU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) regrettably reflecting more the retrogressive influence of the country in multilateral affairs (*Nigeria Newspoint*, 2015).

At the beginning of Yar'Adua administration in 2007, Chief Ojo Maduekwe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared that the government will espouse what he called Citizens Diplomacy. Although every diplomatic activity must necessarily be centred on the protection of the welfare and well being of the citizens of the country, this administration tried to put citizens as its focus, at least at a conceptual framework. That concept is yet to be properly articulated, its impact

is yet to be felt and the result is yet to manifest (Abba, 2009). The criticisms that have followed the introduction and articulation of this new foreign policy thrust have been so much so that nobody takes the government seriously in terms of foreign policy as the government seems to thrive on diplomatic gaffes. Much as it is not clear what the policy thrust is, the much-touted citizens diplomacy is not even clear what it is meant to achieve as the proponent, Ojo Maduekwe, the Foreign Affairs Minister, has not been able to fully explain what he means by that which is known to be an obligation that when a country does not treat another country's nationals right, they could also get the same treatment for their own citizens (Onyechere, 2009).

Toyo (2015) articulates some perspectives on President Jonathan administration's foreign policy. It was argued that under Jonathan's adminitration Nigeria lost its teeth in the African Union (AU). The former president was absent at the 50th anniversary of the AU and in the continental effort to find peace in the Central African Republic, Sudan and Congo. That Nigeria failed to take a driver's seat to help the people of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea in the height of their Ebola days. Also that Nigeria betrayed the people of Palestine by abstaining from voting for their statehood in the United Nations (UN). That Nigeria helplessly watched as thousands of African youths sank in the Mediterranean in attempts to cross over to Europe. It was also argued that Nigeria attracted condemnation from other African countries for depending on France to fight home-grown terrorism in the North-east. The country was equally accused of having no official position on the chaos in Libya and the dangerous presence of ISIS in the continent.

TABLE 1: Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Ministers in the 21st century

Sule Lamido	1999–2003
Oluyemi Adeniji	2003–2006
Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala	2006-2006
Joy Ogwu	2006–2007
Ojo Maduekwe	2007–2010
Martin Ihoeghian Uhomoibhi (acting)	2010–2011
Olugbenga Ashiru/Viola Onwuliri	2011–2013
Viola Onwuliri (acting)	2013–2014
Aminu Bashir Wali	2014-2015
Geoffrey Onyeama/Khadija Abba Ibrahim	2015 till date

Source: retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.ng; on 2016-02-09

Necessity for Paradigm Shift in Nigeria's Foreign Policy
In recent times, however, Afolabi (2015) asserts that Nigeria has not pulled its weight at the continental level for various reasons, such as its inability to produce a coherent continental agenda, and its limited representation at the highest decision-making level of the AU. He added that perhaps, with the development of a coherent foreign policy strategy following the reappraisal of the existing overarching foreign policy strategy, Nigeria can effectively mobilise relevant resources to pursue its objectives. Although the Obasanjo administration made a shift from concentration of Africa as the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy to globally focused policy, yet the Obasanjo administration pursued the affairs of her immediate neighbours and Africa as a whole with vigour and great commitment. He played a crucial role in transforming OAU into a more effective African Union (AU). Nigeria under Olusegun Obasanjo worked tirelessly for the creation of new partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Olasupo, 2015:60).

Adibe (2015) delineates attempts by the Jonathan's administration to evolve a paradigm shift for Nigeria's foreign relations. He reported that in late 2010 the National Executive Council (NEC) took a decision that Nigeria would no longer play 'big brother' to countries in trouble "without getting anything in return", and that going forward the nation's foreign interventions and assistance would be guided by the 'national interest'. Babangida Aliyu, who was at that time the Governor of Niger State was quoted as saying: "…we are going to shed that belief that we are big brother where we go to help other people and we never get something in return…So, wherever we go or whoever we relate with, must be because it will help us develop, rather than, as we normally say, that we have gone to help these or that people without getting anything in return." At a seminar to 'review Nigeria's foreign policy' organised by the Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations (PAC-IR) in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Abuja from August 1-4 2011, this point was re-emphasised.

As a corollary, Fatunla (2015) advice Nigeria to learn how to follow up and benefit from its assistance to other nations; he reasons that Nigeria has given so much without any commensurate support. The history of Nigeria's struggle for a seat in the Expanded United Nations Security Council has not been encouraging. Her position in the African Union, the United Nations and its organs, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, ECOWAS and the Commonwealth, etc. needs to be strengthened. While government should honour and respect existing treaties and obligations in reciprocity, government should be ready to harvest the fruits of diplomatic engagements. Nigerian personnel should be encouraged and supported into joining the various international organisations, which would be useful in the future. Ghana, Senegal and some other nations are good examples from which Nigeria could draw from.

Since 2011, when President Goodluck Jonathan assumed office as elected President, Nigeria's foreign policy has been anchored on the realisation of its Transformation Agenda through the attraction

of Foreign Direct Investment. Jonathan has said in numerous forums that the major focus of Nigeria's foreign policy is the attraction of greater foreign direct investment to the country. According to him, his administration is committed to the advancement of a knowledge-driven economy, which he explains is the anti-dote to incessant crises and violence that has been the bane of Nigeria. Nigerian Diplomatic Missions abroad have been directed to focus more on attracting investment to support the domestic programmes of government. In a bid to encourage and promote the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment into the country, Nigeria has signed bilateral agreements and MoUs with several countries in the areas of trade, technological cooperation, ICT, education, culture/tourism among others (Maliki & Abdulrahman, 2014).

The increased exchange of high level visits between Nigeria and other countries of the world have certainly enhanced Nigeria's bilateral cooperation with these countries. China, U.S., Britain, Germany, South Africa and some other countries have formed strategic partnerships with Nigeria in investments and power, construction, telecommunication and manufacturing. Infact, relations between Nigeria and China have been very cordial and active; highlights of which include a joint commission and several protocols of co-operation. For example, the Abuja-Kaduna wide gauge rail is being undertaken by a Chinese company so also are some of the power projects across the country. This is more of an economic diplomacy and these investments had effect on the Transformation Agenda of President Jonathan. The recent World Economic Forum (WEF) on Africa hosted by Nigeria is a huge image boaster for the administration. At the continental level, Nigeria's interventions in the crises in Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali and Libya among others, had fostered its relations with such countries and repositioned the country in the international community (Maliki & Abdulrahman, 2014). The voting right of Nigeria's diaspora is another issue of importance to paradigm shift as advocated in this paper for Nigeria's foreign policy. These groups of Nigerians are vital to national growth and

development, hence the need to allow them the right to contribute in the choice of the nation's leadership. A World Bank report of 214, accounted that they brought a whopping $21bn through remittances into the country. Adibe (2015) added that global interest in Nigeria in the last five years has been unprecedented (2010-2015), leading to a huge inflow of foreign direct investments. He advised that Nigeria must sustain and improve on policies that helped optimisms that the country in being included in the Next 11 emergent economies in 2005 and in MINT countries (Mexico, India, Nigeria and Turkey) that were predicted to become break-out economies before the collapse of oil prices. There is need for continuity in government policy including the gains attained during Goodluck Jonathan's presidency. President Buhari had in August 2015 said legislation, huge finance, and confidence in the electoral system were required before diaspora voting can commence, adding that absentee voting will be possible in the future (Soniyi, 2015). Yet, the government should find ways including political will to actualize this concern faster than expected; the benefits would be commensurate to the efforts, apart from increase in FDI technology transfer and technical support in different sectors in the economy can be derived as Nigerians abroad would have developed a true sense of identity and greater interest in the country.

Afolabi (2015) reiterate that if the Buhari administration wishes to maximise the benefits of Nigeria's previous and ongoing efforts in ensuring the well-being of West Africa, it must consider undertaking the following:

> *Demonstrating greater interest in sub-regional matters, which it can achieve by ensuring a more strategic representation within ECOWAS decision-making structures; Leading negotiations with the EU on the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA); Demonstrating Nigeria's commitment to the regional integration agenda by reaching out more to Francophone Member States, whilst retaining its regional pre-eminence; Demanding greater accountability from the ECOWAS leadership and actively seeking to effectively utilise its pre-eminence in West Africa as a bargaining*

tool for greater prominence at the AU and UN levels. In comparison to its enormous responsibilities and commitment to peace and stability in Africa, Nigeria remains grossly under-represented at the AU and UN hierarchy levels.

According to Forster, Stern and Zurich (2015), foreign policy is perhaps most renowned for its enormous assortment of strategies and principles, requiring unorthodox methods and approaches. There is no distinct formula for every challenge in foreign policy and there is scarcely another field where the conditions are as vibrant as in foreign policy and consequently, hardly a discipline where ingenuity needs to be emphasised and fully utilised. It is believed that politics will turn out to be more globally inclined with even more challenges that cannot be undertaken by a single nation-state. Advances in technology, transportation, media and communication among others have made this a reality. Therefore; there is a need for diplomacy to fundamentally change approaches where the Ministries of Foreign Affairs are in an exceptional setting to embrace modern developments. It is suggested that having a system of embassies around the world at their retention and diplomats with skill and knowledge in all regions and a multiplicity of subjects, they are programmed to play an essential role in the international politics of the future. Yet, there is also the need to change their orientation, the field of foreign policy has to become more ground-breaking, more interdisciplinary, and more open and occur much quicker. If they are successful in adjusting to the innovative and multifaceted universal realities, only then will they continue to be important actors.

TABLE 2: Some performances of Administrations in Foreign Policy (1999 till date)

Administration	Period	Feats in f/p	Failures in f/p
OLUSEGUN OBASANJO	1999-2007	Reintegration of Nigeria into intl community, foreign debt reduction, front role in AU & NEPAD formation, increase in FDI, intervention in Sudan	President's overbearing strides, loss of AfDB Presidency in 2005, poor initiative in Ivorian crisis, flawed 2007 elections
UMARU YAR'ADUA	2007-2009	Launch of citizens diplomacy, membership of UN failure to Security council seat	Failure in Guinean crisis, articulate and implement citizens diplomacy
GOODLUCK JONATHAN	2009-2015	2013 cancellation of 3,000 pounds deposit for U.K visa application, intervention in Mali, hosting of World Economic summit, increase in FDI, called off U.S defence partnership, initiation of AfDB Presidency	President Obama failure to visit Nigeria, Hilary Clinton's speech of 2009 on corruption, poor handling of phone conversation with Moroccan monarch
MUHAMMADU BUHARI	2015 TILL DATE	Actualize AfDB Presidency, got the support of world powers to fight terrorism and corruption, got global attention on Lake Chad Basin	Major policy pronouncement made abroad, delicate policy on forex, slow economic policies

Recommendations

The following ideas are enunciated in this paper to help alter Nigeria's foreign policies towards continuity and a sound paradigm shift:

i.   Economic growth and development is crucial to a vibrant foreign policy, no effort must be spared to attain this urgent goal. It was the catalyst to the 'golden era' of Nigeria's foreign policy in the 1970s.

ii.   The good aspects of foreign policies implemented by previous administrations must be sustained and improved upon, i.e., the pursuit of FDI at home and abroad by the 106 foreign missions.

iii. A coherent foreign policy for Nigeria must include the need to follow-up and benefit from its assistance to other nations in terms of investment, trade concessions protection for Nigerian citizens, and privileges among others.

iv.   The training and orientation of our diplomats must be deepened to embrace modern development around the world which include interdisciplinary and unorthodox approaches.

v.   The voting right of Nigerians in Diaspora must be facilitated, it will help our FDI and more importantly the development of technology if properly articulated.

vi.   Nigeria needs more representations at the levels of AU and UN chain of command, it should mobilise, lobby and leverage on her contacts and potentials.

Conclusion

A thorough examination of Nigeria's foreign policy in the 21st century showed that the administrations of Obasanjo, Yar'Adua, Jonathan and Buhari though still at infancy had mixed successes. Foreign policy does not exist in vacuum, internal policies of government determines

to a large extent the directions of the former. If the strategic political and economic goals of placing Nigeria among the top 20 most advanced countries by the year 2025 is to be achieved, a sound pragmatic and realistic paradigm shift must be implemented. For instance, Nigeria's foreign policy outside continent Africa is hazy and not anchored on principles that would confer sufficient substance on Nigeria's political or economic merit. There are very strong indications that Nigeria has not adequately funded her 106 foreign missions. Whereas this drift may be attributed to politics of funding, it is proper to state that Nigeria's foreign policy institution and politburo is yet to improve sectoral authenticity by adopting a practical arrangement in explaining the deep-seated objectives to stakeholders in the Nigerian project.

The structure and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy doubtless requires a paradigm shift. The Buhari administration has also embarked on shuttle diplomacy reminiscent of the Obasanjo administration (1999 to 2007). However, the stakes are higher and much more needs to be done. The roles of the foreign minister, minister of state for foreign affairs and that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must not diminish in view of the pervasive visibility of the President in the international circuit. Team work is very essential, it is still imperative to empower the bureaucracy and technocrats in the foreign affairs ministry to execute their respective functions. No matter how knowledgeable a President is on international issues and diplomacy, the synergy and high quality output of a broad and wide ranging consultation cannot be overemphasised. American foreign policy for instance, has a robust process with different layers in the structure, formulation and implementation chain. New international challenges and emerging issues requires that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must be developed to meets the demands in the areas of Economic Diplomacy and Globalization, which needs to be handled by the Ministry, Regional Peace and Security, Environment and impact of climate on the economy and other issues of importance have all made a paradigm shift an imperative.

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Changing Dynamics of Nigeria's Foreign Policy Issues and Concern in the Context of **Security Challenges**

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Abstract

The issue of national security is one that has been on the top list of the Nigerian government in recent years. It has become a matter of concern, not only domestically, but also internationally. The essence of any state as well as government is to ensure and advance the security of lives and property of its citizens. As a result, providing security in all spheres ranging from safeguarding the territorial integrity, security of lives and property of the citizens as well as economic emancipation have constitute the core objectives cum national interest of virtually all nations' foreign policy in the world. In view of this imperative above, Nigeria has enshrined in her 1999 constitution as amended, as its duty and responsibility as a state, to ensure security of lives and property of its citizens. The objective of the study therefore is to examine security challenges of the country since the country returned to democracy in 1999 and its implications for our external relations. The paper adopted Relative Deprivation theory as its theoretical framework and qualitative method was employed in generating data for this study from documentary evidence such as official documents, textbooks, journals, magazines and newspapers. The findings of the paper show that although Nigeria may appear to not to have done much to realistically and objectively tackle the security challenges, the trends leading to this situation are reversible, if seriously proactive and sustained measures could be adopted by the Nigerian Government. The implication of this is that policymakers have the duty to arrest this drift through good governance, social justice and development. Thus, to address the security problem in Nigeria is in effect, to address its crisis of development which will inevitably have positive effect on our foreign policy.

Introduction

Since the return to civil democratic rule in 1999, Nigeria has witnessed deterioration of its internal security. This is worrisome because internal security crisis is inherent with tendencies that threaten national unity and cohesion, discourages investments, retard economic development, increase in abject poverty, sectarian violence, political assassinations, electoral violence, ethnic, communal and religious conflicts, Niger-Delta crisis, bombing, kidnapping and armed robbery. Confronting Nigeria's Security challenges in recent years particularly curtailing the operations of Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad, better known as the Boko Haram, has become one of the most important fundamentals of Nigerian Government foreign policies. The fight against the scourge has increasingly and generally gained legitimacy and justification among the international community particularly as many nation-states consider it to be their international obligation to support the global movement to ameliorate if not to eliminate the menace.

It is the sole responsibility of a government to guarantee the security of its citizens, and also as a matter of fact it is this responsibility that gives any government its legitimacy. In the case of Nigeria, the responsibility to protect and guarantee security is clearly spelt out in Sec 14(2) (b) of the 1999 Constitution which states that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government. This is the basis for the social contract in which we as citizens of Nigeria surrender some of our freedoms in addition to submitting ourselves to the authority relating to governance in order for us to enjoy the full protection of our remaining rights. These rights which include those of life; dignity of human persons; personal liberty; fair hearing; private and family life; freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of expression; peaceful assembly and association; freedom of movement; and freedom from discrimination, are enshrined in sections 33 to 43 of our Constitution. These rights are fundamental to the social contract between government and the citizens, and failure to guarantee them by the former not only means

a violation of the "agreement," but also a threat to the security of a nation (Dambazau, 2013 .).

Confronting security challenge has become one of the most important fundamentals of Federal governments' foreign policies. This paper examined the causes of insecurity and its effects on Nigeria's foreign policy. This paper develops a new approach towards understanding and explaining the causes behind the prevailing level of insecurity in Nigeria today. Today, the country is in the grip of various destructive forces that are coalescing to give it a failed-status toga. The paper shows that the current state of insecurity is a manifestation of deep-rooted and structurally entrenched crisis of development that created the environment for the emergence of conditions of poverty, unemployment, and inequality in the country. These, in turn, has lead to frustration, alienation and, ultimately, social discontent that spark violence and insecurity. Without the enabling environment, these conditions could not have metamorphosed into serious national security problems threatening to tear the country apart.

Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis
A plethora of approaches and theories has thrived within the academic and political parameters to explain security problem among sovereign nations. Ranging from classical realism, frustration-Aggression Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory, linkage theory, political economy among others . Nonetheless, this paper adopted the Relative Deprivation theory. The Relative Deprivation was adopted because it best captures the essence of this study, and provides valuable insights into nature Nigeria's Security predicament

Relative deprivation theory refers to the idea that feelings of deprivation and discontent are related to a desired point of reference (i.e. reference groups). Feelings of relative deprivation arise when desires become legitimate expectations and those desires are blocked by society. Social satisfaction is the opposite of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation is generally considered to be the central variable

in the explanation of social movements and is used to explain the quest for social change that inspires social movements; social movements emerge from collective feelings of relative deprivation. According to Morrison, (1971,675) ''Relative deprivation theory belongs to the larger body of interdisciplinary work called social movement theory. Social movement theory, which began in the late 19th century, refers to the study of social mobilization including its social, cultural, and political manifestations and consequences''. Social movement scholarship is often motivated by a desire for social change and may integrate scholarship and activism. Heck & Wech, (2003.60) chronicle that Sociologist Samuel A. Stouffer (1900-1960) is credited with developing relative deprivation theory after World War II. Stouffer developed the relative deprivation theory while conducting research for the U.S. Army during World War II. Stouffer is remembered as a pioneer in the effort to combine theory and empirical research.

Security

The word security emanated from the Greek word se-cura, meaning to be in a state of no fear. Security is the protection of life and property of a person. The concept of security keeps changing from its original conceptualization. Traditionally, the state is the custodian and ultimate beneficiary of the monopoly use of violence especially if we consider the intellectual view(s) of some theorists like Thomas Hobbes (1962), Max Weber etc. Thomas Hobbes (1962) argued that the essence of a state is to guarantee the security of lives and property and ensure law and order through its political sovereignty and monopoly of violence. Security is the degree of protection against danger, damage, loss, and criminal activity.

Broadly speaking however, there are two positions on national security that speak to state security and human security. The traditional conceptualization has been statist to an extent that security is considered in terms of the level of protection of a State in largely military sense. Thus, during the Cold War, both the US and USSR viewed their security mainly in terms of their sophistication in armaments and it is this perception that had informed the arms race.

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The concept of security is therefore used here in restricted sense of applying to the security of the state in terms of both its territory and its institutions – and to the security of those who profess to represent the state territorially and institutionally. In other words, security is defined in relation to vulnerabilities both internal and external – that threaten or have the potential to bring down or weaker a state structures both territorially and institutionally and the governing regimes" Security as a national condition was defined in a United Nations study (1986), so that countries can develop and progress safely. But in contemporary times, the definition of security goes beyond the traditional military ways of protecting the state against internal and external aggression. The fact is that since the end of the cold war, security management has assumed a new dimension (Ayoob (1995. 9).

Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is defined by Goldstein and Pevehouse (2011:103) as the "strategies that government use to guide their actions in the international arena…they spell out the objectives which state leaders have decided to pursue in a given relationship or situation". Carlsnaes (2008:335) approached the definition of foreign policy in a more detailed form. He argued that it:

…consists of those actions which, expressed in the form of explicitly stated goals, commitments and/or directives, and pursued by governmental representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities, are directed toward objectives, conditions and actors – both governmental and non-governmental – which they want to affect and which lie beyond their territorial legitimacy. This implies that, for countries to relate effectively with one another, foreign policy must be well defined, well thought out, and must possess direction. Hence, Dougherty, et al (1981) infer that Foreign policy is essentially the instrumentality by which states influence or seek to influence the external world and to attain objectives that are in conformity with their perceived national interest. Foreign policy is conditioned by environmental or systemic characteristics, actions by others, which

impinge on the interests or values of a state or groups of states, and domestic social and economic needs.

Nigeria's Security Predicament
The country's security dynamics are inextricably linked with its national politics. While an in-depth analysis of the domestic political scene is beyond the scope of this paper, there are a number of contradictory elements that need to be noted. Various interwoven dynamics are fundamental for understanding the position of the security sector in Nigeria. Almost 30 of the 56 years since independence have been spent under military rule, and the population has become accustomed to a way of life in which traditions and institutions have been significantly influenced by the armed forces. Against this background, this paper examined the condition that predisposes the citizens and country to insecurity to include; abject but persistent poverty, religious crises and terror attacks, kidnapping and ethnic conflicts. Also traced to the problems is wide income disparity and inequality, bad governance, corruption, high unemployment, social dislocation caused by massive rural-urban migration, and the breakdown of societal values, leading to community unrest. Moreover, the institutions established to guarantee security are incapacitated by limited personnel and skills, inadequate funding, poor equipment, and lack of proper orientation and commitment by some officials

Since the return to 'democratic' civil rule in May 1999, there have been dramatic increases in the numerous violent conflicts among Nigerians. The research carried out by the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR), Jos, indicates that the number of selected ethno religious violent conflicts in which several lives were lost and/ or properties destroyed are over 10006. However, since the transition to democracy in May 1999, governments at various levels in the country have failed dismally to ensure security. This fact can be seen in the various political violence and assassinations, electoral violence, wanton ethnic, communal and religious conflicts, sectarian violence, Niger-Delta crisis, There are more cases of violent clashes which do

not fit into this selected category. This number is over four times the of similar violent conflicts, between 1980-1999 (Nwolise, 2006, Elaigwu, 2013.).

The nation, within the period witnessed the emergence of ethnic militias – such as, the Odu'a Peoples' Congress (OPC), the Arewa People's Congress (APC) , the Bakassi Boys, the Egbesu Boys and others. These ethnic militias had taken on the causes of their ethnic groups. In some cases, some of these have played the role of vigilantés – showing that the capacity of the police force was inadequate to demonstrate government's monopoly of the legitimate use of force. In addition to these, there have been inter-ethnic violence, such as, Itsekiri-Urhobo;Tiv/Jukun, Tiv-Fulani, Berom-Fulani, Eggon and neighbours, and others. While the period 1980 – 1999 was marked by few serious religious violence, such as, the Maitasine (an intrareligious crisis), these increased tremendously in number after May 1999.

Militant ethnic and religious protests transformed themselves from the level of criminality to insurgency/terrorism. The activities of Niger-Delta militants, especially the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger-Delta, (MEND), the kidnappers of South-Eastern and South-South Nigeria, and the activities of the Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad, better known as the Boko Haram, are examples of these. Not only did Nigeria witness an escalation in the technology of violence – from guns to bombs – Nigeria has begun to experience suicide bombers. This deflates the argument that Nigerians love themselves too much to commit suicide, even in search of martyrdom. The insurgency from Boko Haram, a fundamentalist Islamic sect in North-eastern Nigeria has, no doubt heightened Nigeria's insecurity. The Boko Haram issue is beyond mere legislation by parliament. The issue has outgrown council boundaries, and has now become an international problem. The security agencies claim that they have evidence that these people are linked with Al-Qaeda, and if they are truly linked with Al-Qaeda, it is not something we can resolve through legislation in National Assembly. They will be dealt with in the same manner Al-Qaeda is being tackled.

Boko Haram has been evolving in northeastern Nigeria for over a decade. An extremely violent Islamist movement, it has in 2014 entered a new transitional phase. The inability of Nigeria's armed forces to obstruct its onslaught, combined with a higher international profile, have lent it a confidence and ambition that appear to have prompted increasingly strategic behaviour, alongside its ongoing indiscriminate and widespread attacks against civilian and state targets". The movement grew out of socio-economic flux that came with a process of democratic transition, coupled with the consequences of decades of mismanagement resulting from military rule and corruption. In a sense, Boko Haram too has been in a constant state of flux: it has always adapted to changing circumstances, with its methods and membership reflecting this. This has allowed for multiple descriptions of the group to endure, bridging different narratives of terrorism, insurgency and criminality, where different drivers of conflict and instability have converged (Pérouse de Montclos, 2014).

Unique in Nigeria for its combination of sectarianism and terrorist tactics, Boko Haram is skilled at exploiting state institutional weaknesses. Its familiarity with the terrain in Borno state, its home territory, enables it to navigate around a demoralized and deficient security presence to carry out attacks with impunity. The movement's ability to use this situation to present itself as a significant threat of substantial capacity, together with the public messaging by its leader, Abubakar Shekau, and the criss-crossing of borders by its members, have led to speculation over the nature of its international links. But while a more internationalized and networked Boko Haram may evolve, viewing the problem through an international prism risks inappropriate policy responses. Boko Haram is strongly rooted in its domestic context and grew out of confrontation with the Nigerian state: it is host to a multiplicity of domestic actors and interests and operates in a complex political environment. Any external actors seeking a more active engagement in the crisis, for whatever reason, risk becoming entangled in what is ultimately a Nigerian crisis.

Boko Haram without any shadow of doubt is linked to Al-Qaeda. Armed with the mission to subvert democracy in Nigeria, the sect started to unleash terror on Nigerians beginning with July 26, 2009 which was the first clash with security agencies in Bauchi state after an all night attack on Dutsen- Tanshi Police station in which 39 members, 2 policemen and one soldier were killed. Terrorist attacks through Boko Haram have much impact on foreign countries policy and foreign relations. Many Nigerian nationals and foreign nationalshad lost their lives due to the attack of this sect. The sect has added another dimension to its attack which is the bombing of strategic areas (Bamgbose, *2013,* Eze , 2013) .

The Federal Capital City, Abuja had a taste of this bombing by October 1 2010.This was followed by the bomb blast that occurred at Louis Edet House, Headquarters of the Nigerian Police. In a similar occurrence, there was the Mogadishu Barracks Bomb blast and to climax it all, there was the United Nations Office bombing that took the lives of at least 23 persons.

The mass kidnapping in Nigeria especially the over 200 girls from Government Secondary School Chibok has brought the Nigerian Predicament to global attention. The insistence by Nigerian authorities that these and other incidents reflect global terrorism is not the full story. For a long time, Boko Haram was portrayed as a local phenomenon. Now it is depicted, most recently in a UN Security Council resolution, as an al-Qaeda affiliate. There is more conjecture than hard knowledge about this elusive entity. Like any other terminology, it doesn't lend itself to easy definition. However, from the conventional usage of the word, security means safety or freedom from danger; and protection from external attack or infiltration. This is security defined from the militarist point of view, but even at that, security involves but does not just mean defence (Joseph, 2015 , Ojukwu, 2011) .

Selected Boko Haram Attacks In Nigeria Between 2009 And 2015

S/N	Dates	Location	Nature of Attacks	Remarks(s)
1	July 26, 2009	Bauch	5 days uprising and attack on the police station that spread to Maiduguri in Borno State as well as Yobe and Kano States.	Over 800 people killed
2	July 27, 2009	Potiskum	Attach on Potiskum, Yobe State Divisional Police Headquarters	3 policemen and I fire service officer died
3	March 13, 2010	Plateau	Churches and Markets	300 people killed
4	Sept. 7, 2010	Bauchi	Attacks prisons	Killed 5 guards and freed 700 inmates, including former sect members
5	Oct.1, 2010	Abuja	Explosions Near The Eagle Square	12 people killed and many more injured
6	Oct.11, 2010	Maiduguri	Bombing/Gun attack on a police station	Destroys station and injuries 3
7	Dec. 24, 2010	Barkin Ladi	Bomb Attack	8 people killed
8	Dec. 28, 2010	Jos	Bomb attack on a church	38 people killed

9	Dec. 31, 2010	Abuja	Attack on mammy market at Army Mogadishu barracks	11 people killed
10	Jan. 21, 2011	Maiduguri	Attack on politicians	8 persons killed including ANPP governorship candidate
11	March 2, 2011	Kaduna	The residence of Divisional Police Officer	Two policemen killed
12	March 30, 2011	Damaturu	Bomb Attack	Injured a police officer
13	April 8, 2011	Suleja	Bombing explosion at polling unit	8 corps members killed
14	April 9, 2011	Unguwar Doki, Maiduguri	Bomb explosion at polling unit	17 persons killed and many more injured
15	April 29, 2011	Bauchi	Bombing of Army barracks	No death
16	May 29, 2011	Bauchi	Explosion at Mammy market of Shanda wanka barracks	Claimed 18 lives, leaving many other injured
17	May 30, 2011	Maiduguri	Early morning bomb explosion on Baga road	13 persons died and many more injured
18	June 7, 2011	Maiduguri	Series of bomb blasts	Claimed 5 lives with many more injured

19	June 16, 2011	Abuja	Bombing of Nigerian Police Headquarters	3 killed with many vehicles destroyed
20	June 16, 2011	Maiduguri	Bomb blast at Damboa barracks	4 children killed
21	June 20, 2011	Katsina	Boko Haram storms Kankara police station	9 policemen killed
22	Jan. 5, 2012	Gombe	Bomb attacks on a church	6 people were killed
23	Jan. 6, 2012	Yola; Mubi	Bomb attacks on Christ Apostolic Church	17 people were killed in Yola; 20 Igbons killed in Mubii
24	Jan. 20, 2012	Kano	Multiple Bomb attacks	250 persons killed
25	Jan. 22, 2012	Bauchi	Attacks on churches and the Headquarters of Balewa LGA	Two churches are destroyed, two soldiers, DPO, and 8 civilians are killed
26	Feb. 10, 2012	Kano	Attack on Police station in Shagari quarters	Many injured
27	Feb. 15, 2012	Koton Karji	Caused Jailbreak in EKoton Karji	A warder is killed and 199 inmates released
28	April 26, 2012	Abuja	Bombing of 3 media houses	8 people are killed and several injured
29	April 29, 2012	Kano	Attack on Bayeroo University	13 Christian worshippers, senior non academic staff and two professors are killed

30	April 30, 2012	Jalingo	Bomb explosion	11 persons are killed and several injured
31	Aug. 12, 2013	Maiduguri	Bomb, Gun attack on Mosque	56 persons are killed
32	Sept. 20, 2013	Abuja	Shootout with security operatives	79 persons killed
33	Oct. 10, 2013	Gujba	Gun attack on Gujba College	Over 50 students are killed
34	Oct. 10, 2015	Damboa	Gun attack on Damoba	20 killed 15 suspected militants and 5 civilians)
35	Oct. 29, 2013	Damaturu	Raid on Damaturu	128 people are killed (95 militants, 23 soldiers, 8 policemen, a and 2 civilians)
36	May 20, 2014	Jos	Car bombs in the city of Jos	118 villagers are killed
37	May 27, 2014	Potiskum	Attack on Military base	49 security personnel and 9 civilians were killed
38	May 30, 2014	Gwoza	Ambush, assassination off 3rd emir of Gwoza, Idrissa Timta, is assassinated during a Boko Haram ambush	Emir of Gwoza was killed
39	June 1, 2014	Mubi	Bomb Attack	40 persons killed
40	June 2, 2014	Borno villages	Random attacks on several villages	Over 200 people were killed

41	June. 3-7 2015	Baga	Book Haram militants raze the entire town of Baga	2,000 people having been killed
42	Jan. 5, 2015	Baga	Massacre in Baga	Several killed, thousands flee Baga
43	Jan. 10, 2015	Maiduguri	Suicide attack on market by 10-year-old female bomber	Bomber and 19 others were killed
44	Jan. 24, 2015	Kambari	Book Haram gunmen attempt to burn down the village of Kambari	15 people were killed
45	Jan. 25, 2015	Maiduguri	Attempt to overrun Maiduguri repelled by Military	8 civilians, 52 terrorists killed

Source: Alapiki (2015), Eze (2013); compilations from wikipedia. Org.

The spate of killings across the country especially during the Obasanjo Administration was a clear indication that there was persuasive insecurity in Nigeria. The security predicament of the country during the Obasanjo era became so glaring when the Federal Attoney-General and Minister for Justice, Chief Bola Ige was murdered on December 21, 2001. His killing and farcical attempt to find or punish his killers were emblematic of the state of criminal justice system and the degree of security riff in the country. Even with the case of the dastardly murder of Chief Ige still lingering, more horrendous killings occurred in various past of the country. This included the murder of Chief Harry Marshall, A. K.Dikibo, Chief Funsho Williams, Dr. Joseph

Daramola, Chief Ogbonaya Uche, Professor Chimere Ikokwu, Victor Nwankwo among others". These incidents were no doubt worrisome especially as they have been ascribed some political motive. Things were made more precarious by the inability of the police and law enforcement agents to apprehend the perpetrators of these heinous crimes (Udeala 2008.).

Nigeria in the recent years witnessed a rising wave of communal violence and turbulent civil disorder across the country. For example such ethnic clashes in part of the country were the Ijaw-Ilaje in Ondo State, Tiv-Jukun in Taraba, Tiv-Hausa in Nasarawa, Aguleri-Umuleri in Anambra State, Ijaw-Itsekiri in Delta, Yoruba-Hausa in Ogun State, Ife-Modakeke in Osun State and the Jos as well as Kaduna religious conflicts were recorded with disturbing spread and use of firearms". The most troublous implication of these ethnic conflicts and resultant mayhem across the country for Nigeria's image project was that most Nigerians lost confidence in the state and were prone to self defense. This apparent loss of confidence in the capacity of the state to mediate objectively and intervene in intra-ethnic disputes was also a symptom of the disenchantment that was pervasive in the country (Udeala 2013, 43).

The influx of arms contributed to the relentless breakdown of law and order in the country which negatively portrayed the nation as a state on the brink of collapse. Although the Firearm Act 1990 prohibits illegal possession of firearms and prescribes 10 year imprisonment for defaulters, its execution was hampered by bureaucratic bottlenecks. The upsurge in small arms and light weapons contributed in the escalation of conflict and violent crimes in the country. With the availability of these arms, small scale riots are transformed into blood letting crises with resultant great number of fatalities.

List of Communal Conflicts Across the Country

Location	Status of the conflict	Causes of violence	Capacities employed
Jos	Chronic	Retaliation/violent competition over resource	The use of machetes, improvised explosive have been recently introduced
Ezza-Ezzilo (Ebonyi State)	Latent	Competition between two PDP leaders in the state	Use of machetes, burning down of homes and other property, stockpiling of firearms
Niger Delta	Chronic	Complex web of inter and intra communal	The Niger Delta violence is a wash with firearms, but violence can be improvised using make shift weapons
Ebiruland Kogi State	Chronic	Political motivated violence	Property belonging to political opponents destroyed, and masquerades are used to terrorize civilians
Abinsi Town-Junkun V TIV Benue State	Relapsing and remitting	On going conflict between the TIV and Junkun	There is/was thriving arms market in Abinsi Town

Katsina-Ala (Benue State)	Chronic	Insurgency	A group led by Terwase Akivavza has set-up Colony in Katsina Ala, attempts by the police to dismantle it resulted in a violent reprisals
Natan Obu Cross River State	Dormant	Dispute over land ownership	Destruction of entire village of Natan Obu
Mokwa Lavun (Niger State)	Chronic	Dispute over ownership of a fish	Killings affected by firearms
Ugambe v Mbaisase (Benue State)	Chronic	Boundary Dispute	Killings and destruction of property on both sides
Anchicha village Benue State	Chronic	Conflict between pastoralists and herdsmen	The use of firearms to kill 'rivals'
Dadiya V Kaltungo	Chronic	Dispute over farmland	Force displacement and destruction of property
Kunini Community (Taraba State)	Dormant	Dispute over distribution of chieftaincy titles	Use of firearms to kill

Sources: A National Security Strategy for Federal Republic of Nigeria FGN Publication 2010

Issues and Concern
Like in many other societies, the sources of insecurity in Nigeria have been traced to a number of factors and explained by different people.

These factors have been classified or grouped into external and internal factors. Beyond the external-internal dichotomy, sources of insecurity have also been classified as either remote or proximate and immediate sources/causal factors. In Nigeria, the challenge is not so much about insecurity of external sources, but rather that of internal sources. It is recognized that some internal factors have been enhanced and strengthened by the presence of external forces, but, there is no doubt that, if the internal situations did not present themselves, the external forces would be unable to infiltrate . .

The concept of security became rigidly militarised, and the politics and processes of reform were manipulated and controlled by officers with a vested interest in protecting their hold on power. Successive governments (civilian and military) pursued haphazard and self-serving security agenda, while civil society was shoehorned into conformity. As a result, security-sector reform in Nigeria is as confused as it is invidious (Abiodun, 2000, Omede, 2011).

The first, is the paradox of Nigeria, a land of poverty, high unemployment rate, endemic corruption and wide income inequality, in the midst of plenty . Income inequality is another serious problem. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), in 2010 65% of Nigeria's wealth is owned by just 20% of the population (i.e. 32 million out of 160 million). Thus 80% of the population share between them only about one third ($^1/_3$) of the nation's wealth. Nigeria is richly endowed with human and natural resources particularly oil and gas as well as 43 solid mineral resources such as gold, coal and sulphur. With a population of about 160 million in 2011, Nigeria is by far the most populous country in Africa, accounting for 47% and 2% of West Africa's and global population respectively (Ladan, 2012).

Despite a plethora of development policies and programmes, Nigeria's level of economic development over the past five decades has been disappointing. Hence, the paradox of Nigeria with widespread and endemic poverty in the midst of plenty. Though Nigeria is a country of paradox, overall, the country has the potential to build a economy, reduce poverty significantly, and provide the basic s ocial and economic

services its population needs. However, several years of military rule, poor public expenditure management, over-dependence on oil and unmitigated rent-seeking behavior to amass wealth from the nation's treasury have conspired to undermine the country's development.

The crisis of state and economy in Nigeria, dating back to the early 1980's, and the consequent structural adjustment it engendered revealed the potent threats to domestic security inherent in its structural imbalance . Also, debt and economic crises has had varying impacts across social and political divides in Nigeria. For the state elites, this conjuncture caused intra elite conflicts as the resources available to the state to maintain its rentier and prebendal character dwindled, thereby intensifying the struggle for the little available resources. Thus, as factions of the state elites get excluded from the largesse of the state, they began to fall back on their ethnic/religious constituencies (Mijah, 2006, Udeala, 2009).

The state of relative insecurity in Nigeria is also to be understood in the specific context of the programme of neo-liberal reforms, especially of the economy, as implemented in the period of democratic rule in the country. In large measures, the programme of economic liberalization, the implementation of which was further accelerated in the period of 1999, was instituted in the same context of structural imbalance and differential distribution of resources between regions, ethnic nationalities and individuals. By this, the so-called attempt at the ‾democratization of the economy by the Nigeria state can be said to have constricted the room for participation by, and alienated the state from, the mass majority of Nigerians. This feeling of economic exclusion and the struggle to create alternative space for economic security also threatens domestic security in Nigeria, as we shall attempt to demonstrate in subsequent paragraphs (Salami 2012.)

The failure of economic policies in Nigeria have manifested in stagnation of the nation economy, over-dependence on a single commodity for export and revenue, the neglect of the agricultural sector, decaying infrastructure and poor delivery of social services. The policy challenges were compounded by mirage of other problems

prominent of which is the crisis of political instability and the horrendous level of corruption, patronage and rent-seeking that has emerge the defining hallmark of governance process in Nigeria. These challenges have given rise to steady decline in virtually all indexes of human development in Nigeria over the years.

The crisis of state and economy in Nigeria, dating back to the early 1980's, and the consequent structural adjustment it engendered revealed the potent threats to domestic security inherent in its structural imbalance . The programme of economic reform in Nigeria has its ideological roots and orientation in the scheme of neo-liberal globalization as championed by the West under the aegis of International Financial Institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) . The economic reforms formulated by the Federal Government to rescue the country from morass of poverty and underdevelopment has actually exacerbated mass poverty and increased the rate of unemployment (Udeala, 2009)

Contemporary Discourse on Nigeria's Foreign Policy
Foreign policy is essentially the instrumentality by which states influence or seek to influence the external world and to attain objectives that are in conformity with their perceived national interest. The main objective of Nigeria's foreign policy and on which others are anchored is the promotion of the national interest of the federation and of its citizens in its   interaction with the outside world. This in essence means that Nigeria's foreign policy like that of any other country ought to be fundamentally guided by its national interest. National interest covers three outstanding components of national security; protection and preservation of the welfare of the state, and national prestige.

Nigeria's foreign policy operates within three concentric circles. The inner most circle consists of Nigeria's policy towards its neighbors in West Africa, the inner one is her policy towards the rest of Africa and the outer circle is policy toward the larger international system. Indeed, in practical terms and for security and political reasons, the

Federal Government authorities consider the entire West Africa as Nigeria's security and political sphere, hence its policy towards and relations with its neighbors as of utmost priority. The interface of domestic and foreign policy makes it imperative that an effective foreign policy will facilitate the attainment of the country's developmental objectives. The foreign policy of every country has an underlining orientation or ideology. For Nigeria, this is liberalism. Liberalism as used here represents freedom of choice; freedom of association; freedom of expression; freedom of worship; respect for fundamental human rights and rule of law; and market-driven economy (Ashiru, 2013)

The main focus of all architects of foreign policy is to articulate in vivid terms their country's national interest which serves as a guide in their relations with other nations. The efficient administration of foreign policy objectives is based on credible and widely accepted principles that help shape a country's image in the international system. According to Kissinger,(1969) , the domestic structures is not irrelevant in any period. At a minimum, it determines the amount of social effect which can be devoted to foreign policy. The domestic political structure and process are of great impact on the nature and character of foreign policy because they serve as channels for internalization of the international environment and events thus making them intelligible and of value to the participants in domestic political roles.

Conceptually, an analysis of Nigeria's foreign policy could only be understood in the context of the country's Fundamental Foreign Policy Principles. Since independence in 1960, certain specific imperatives have governed the conceptualization and the conduct of the Nigerian foreign policy. The method of approach and its implementation may differ depending on circumstances of the time and the style of leadership, but the real substance of our foreign policy objectives have intended to resolve around the principles which the country holds tenaciously in the conduct of our foreign relations. Specifically, Chapter 2 of the 1999 Constitution, which is the

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Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy as provided in Section 19 (a-e) encapsulates Nigeria's foreign policy objectives to include: (a) promotion and protection of the national interest; (b) promotion of African integration and support for African unity; (c) promotion of international cooperation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations, and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations; (d) respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and (e) promotion of a just world order.

Successive Nigerian Governments, from that of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first Prime Minister of Nigeria, to the present Government of President Mohammadu Buhari have demonstrated commitment to these guiding principles of Nigeria's Foreign Policy. It is important to stress the fact that irrespective of the changes in government, the principles and objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy as laid down by the late Prime Minister, Balewa has remained basically the same. However, what was noticeable in all the continuities and discontinuities was in the area of emphasis. According to Akinboye (2013), Nigeria as a sovereign state has experienced a meteoric rise and fall in its diplomatic soldiering, however Jega (2010) has questioned the existing structure, processes and machinery of foreign policy formulation and implementation which have served Nigeria relatively well up to the early 1980's, and states "the contradictions, constraints and inherent weaknesses are glaringly manifest; hence the urgent need to strengthen and re-valuate policy in line with requirements of a fast-changing and rapidly globalizing world".

While Africa has been the centre-piece of Nigeria's foreign policy from the outset, successive governments have been able to adapt its principles, objectives and priorities to the prevailing circumstances. Owing to the Afro-centric posture of our foreign policy, it was to be expected that the founding fathers of Nigeria would anchor the country's foreign policy thrust on the decolonisation of the African

continent and the promotion of African unity. An important component of this stance was Nigeria's commitment to the eradication of apartheid in Southern Africa and the deployment of substantial resources in the various theatres of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, particularly in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and South Africa. Since the dawn of a new democratic era in 1999, a major trend is clearly discernible in Nigeria's foreign policy. This is the desire to establish and maintain friendships with countries that have historically shaped global diplomacy while forging new alliances with emerging powers in the global economic arena. This trend reflects the country's overall objectives as envisioned in its Vision 20-2020 document.

Every sovereign country requires a foreign policy perspective, which has as its attributes, the aspirations and desires of that country as well as the strategies for implementing them. However, such foreign policy perspectives of nations do not occur out of the bleus, but rather depend mostly on one important aspect "national interest (Vital, 1968, Dougherty, Pfalsgraff, 1981). Nigeria, with over140 millions population, is the largest black nation in the world. Ever since Nigeria attended independence in 1960, the country has been bedeviled by numerous challenges. Its history since independence includes coups, countercoups, civil war, recently, terrorism, kidnappings, ethno – religions conflict, etc. however, knowing Nigeria does not necessarily result in knowing Africa, but the problems and prospects of many African states could be found in Nigeria. However, as Nigeria aspires to accelerate economic development and the consolidation of our nascent democracy, national security for the consolidation of these aspirations then becomes a sine – qua – none.

Since foreign policy is the externalization of domestic priorities and the aspiration of citizens, the big challenge for Nigerian diplomacy, is to articulate and vigorously market the country as a conducive environment in which to do business. After all, for a developing country like Nigeria, poverty eradication, job creation, economic progress and security are some of the top priorities on the national agenda which

must necessarily drive foreign policy undertakings. The dignity of humanity must therefore be defended at home and abroad.

There is no doubt that economic diplomacy is entirely compatible with democracy promotion, for at least two reasons. First, building a strong economy will help Nigeria build a strong, stable, prosperous and peaceful country, where democracy will thrive and business will flourish, and where citizens can live and pursue their dreams with dignity under the protection of the law. Second, it is in Nigeria's interest to promote the culture of democracy across Africa. Since it is the surest way to guarantee peace, justice and happiness in the continent.

Security Challenge and its Implications for Nigeria's Foreign Policy

The country's security challenge particularly the emergence of terrorism in Nigeria owing to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Northern Nigeria has greatly undermined the country's foreign policy drive. Boko Haram activities in Nigeria have led to negative reactions from groups and nations that have been affected by its activities in the country thereby leading to deterioration of foreign relations of these countries with Nigeria. The domestic policies and actions of sovereign governments, routine exercise of power on matters which border on day to day governance can snowball in to foreign policy controversies that can attract global attention. When this situation arises, the issues or matters upon which governments have acted within the domestic jurisdiction of states or governments become objects of international concern. The shaping of foreign policy is a dynamic process involving the interaction between a country's internal and external environments. Thus Nigeria's foreign policy cannot be considered in isolation from the country's domestic political context since foreign policy is externalization of domestic priorities and aspirations of the citizens.

Terrorist acts in Nigeria by Boko Haram and other groups have generated so much interest from the international community raising questions as to the potency of government's strategy to deal with the

menace. This is because the audacity of the group has continued unabated amidst government claims of winning the war, every day casualty's increase at alarming rates after each attack making the general public to lose confidence in the system (Ojukwu, 2011).

The current state of insecurity and bombings especially in the Northern part of Nigeria has posed serious challenges and threat to the peace and stability of Nigeria macroeconomic environment. The nation has not only suffered colossal loss in terms of infrastructure, properties, and human lives but also economic disruption leading to crowding out effect of foreign investment. Generally, no business can thrive in tensed and unsecured environment. This has serious implication on foreign direct investment and economic growth. Domestic terrorism and social unrest do not only breed uncertainty in the investment and financial climate but also increase security cost, reduction in output and productive capacity, reduces tourism, damaged to infrastructure and displacement of foreign direct investment which has severe implication for economic growth and development of emerging economies (Osemwengie, 2012, Chidozie, Ibietan , Ujara, 2014)

The operation of the *Boko Haram* has moved from the sphere of domestic or internal politics to international domain. It has been realized that the interconnections between the *Boko Haram* which started in Nigeria as a domestic issue and the external dimension of this same phenomenon. Nigeria security predicament has elicited several reactions from the United Nations, United States, Britain and several other western countries as they warned their nationals traveling to Nigeria to be more cautious especially about non-predictability of local civil unrest and violence, armed banditry, domestic and international terrorism. The World Bank and other international financial institutions classified Nigeria as weak state because of porous security situation in the country.

As a positive response to the call for concerted international action against terrorism, the French President Francois Hollande organized first Regional Security Summit in Paris on May 17, 2014 that brought together neighboring countries of Cameroon, Chad, Republic of Niger

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and Republic of Benin, to overcome the challenge of insurgency through the joint action of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF).

During the summit, President Hollande promised to assist MJTF with intelligence gathering and provision of equipment to check the activities of insurgents in Nigeria.

Before the First Regional Security Summit held in France, the Jonathan Administration came with policy measures to enhance national and sub-regional security. These policy measures included the strengthening of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF) between Nigeria/Chad/Niger as well as Nigeria signing a Bilateral Agreement with the Republic of Cameroun to establish Joint Trans-Border Security in February, 2012. Nigeria within the same period revived and strengthened Nigeria/Benin Joint? Border Security patrol. Also the 14th Ordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Lake Chad Basin Commission held in N'djamena, Chad offered the country the opportunity to energize the Joint Task Force Border Security to assist Nigeria tackle the growing menace of Boko Haram. Nigeria resolved to continue working with the UN and other partners in this global fight. To this end, the Jonathan Presidency worked working closely with the United Nations Counter Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), the Counter Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED), as well as relevant international bodies and friendly countries to sharpen its response mechanisms (Ashiru, 2013). As part of Nigeria's efforts to fight terrorism, the Jonathan Administration signed into law the Terrorism (Prevention) Bill 2011 and the Anti-Money Laundering (Prohibition) Amendment Act on the 3rd of June 2012 . The new laws not only outlined measures for the prevention and combating of acts of terrorism, but also prohibit the financing of terrorism and laundering of the proceeds of crime. Conscious of the wholesome damage that terrorist acts can cause on the people and economy of a target nation, the Buhari Administration on coming to power decided to nip the threat in the bud. The Buhari Administration hit the ground running in tackling the insurgency by

first relocating the military's command and control centre to the theatre of war in Maiduguri, raising the morale of the troops through enhanced welfare and the provision of the necessary fighting tools and then rallying sub-regional, regional and global support for the war. In the first two months of his presidency, President Buhari visited seven countries: Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin – the four other regional countries fighting Boko Haram – as well as the trip to the United States, attended a G7 meeting in Germany and the African Union summit in South Africa and stressed during these visits on the need for global action against terrorism. In addition to trips to Nigeria neighbouring countries , President Buhari hosted the Cameroonian Defence Minister and the Presidents of the other three countries in Abuja to discuss Boko Haram.

This regional focus should not come as a surprise. Before the election, Buhari and his team outlined a foreign policy vision of concentric rings. This means that Nigeria's primary focus is its neighbours, then the West African sub-region, then the African continent, then the rest of the world. How President Buhari has used his time in his first two months has followed this policy to the letter. The seriousness with which President Buhari has taken the threat of terrorism in Nigeria was underscored in his statement at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) on 22 July 2015 and at the UN General Assembly on September 25, 2015 during which occasions he criticized the US for not providing Nigeria with sufficient weaponry. He said the US policy has the unintended effect of "aiding and abetting" Boko Haram. At speech at the European Union parliament's plenary session in Strasbourg, France on February 3, 2016 President Buhari called for the international community to provide more support to people in the Lake Chad region, affected by a six-year-long insurgency by Boko Haram terror group.

In furtherance of the efforts by the Federal Government to enhance the security of lives, property and investments in Nigeria and neighbouring countries, President Buhari hosted the second Regional Security Summit in Abuja on May 14, 2016. The second

security summit was attended by the Presidents of Cameroon, Niger Republic, Chad and Benin Republic. The representatives of "The United States, Britain, Equatorial Guinea, the European Union, ECOWAS, the Economic Community of Central African States and the Gulf of Guinea Commission also attended the summit where it was resolved that more concerted effort was needed to tackle Nigeria's security challenges.

The fallout of raising lawlessness and anomie was that Nigeria's external image was battered reminiscent of the Abacha years. The raising crime wave which was the order of the day at time when the country was desperately repackaging and marketing itself as an investment-friendly destination posed a formidable challenge to the image building project. Investors became discouraged by the gripping stories of mysterious murder of important personalities which carried the undertone that no one was safe in the country. Though the major concern of the image project was how the nation was perceived abroad, much was not done to show similar concern how Nigeria was perceived by her citizens internally..The positive perception of any country's image is an important gauge for judging her standing in the international political system. A good image translates to respect, influence and prestige. On the other hand a bad or negative perception of a country's image indicates that such a country lacks respect, influence and prestige in the international system. As a consequence, all countries endeavour to build, maintain and enhance their images in relation to other countries (Udeala, 2008). In fact, 0suntokun (1998) has expressed dismay on the present reputation of Nigeria as a dynamically chaotic country is not a good augury for the future . Our reputation as fraudsters, drug peddlers and pushers, asylum seekers, racketeers and document and passport forgers have done irreparable damage to our country.

The emergence of terrorism and piracy as major issues in the contemporary world pose a major challenge to Nigeria's foreign policy. Nigeria has to act in concert with other countries to meet this challenge. The National interests for which foreign and security policies need be

designated most importantly, in terms of the fact that without it all other interests cannot be achieved. This is the ability of the state to perpetuate its existence and sustain its values. This will require the preservation of the nation as an integral unit, and entails the safeguarding of the independence, unity and territorial security of the nation from acts of aggression both internally and externally instigated or fostered force. As Nigeria increasingly comes to terms with these additional concerns in its foreign policy pursuits, there is need for a carefully defined framework to guide decisions and actions. Studies on Nigeria's foreign policy have pointed to the incapacity of the structure and processes of conceptualizing and implementing foreign policy decisions to meet the challenges of the rapidly changing reality of the contemporary international system. This inadequacy will only worsen unless reforms are introduced and institutionalized to address it.

A re-assessment and re-evaluation of Nigeria's foreign policy, in all its ramifications is indeed necessary and long over-due. The existing structure, processes and machinery of foreign policy formulation and implementation which have served Nigeria relatively well up to the early 1980's, now leave much to be desired. The contradictions, constraints and inherent weaknesses are glaringly manifest; hence the urgent need to strengthen and re-valuate policy in line with requirements of a fast-changing and rapidly globalizing world. Present-day foreign policy decisions and actions need to focus on addressing the challenges of national survival, human security, progress and development in the new millennium (Jega, 2010).

Conclusion
Nigeria is one of the relatively secured nations in West African sub-region. Since the return of the country to democratic rule in 1999, this endowed nation suddenly metamorphosed into an abode of serial bombing, hostage taking, armed robbery, cold-blooded killings and ethno-religious conflicts traceable to militant groups with conflicting ideological, political and religious agenda. Among these militant groups

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are Niger-Delta insurgents, Campus cults, Bakassi Boys, Armed robbers, O'odua People's Congress, MOSSOB , Boko Haram et cetera. The resultant loss of lives, rising budgetary spending for security and destruction of valuable government facilities portend devastating consequences for Nigeria's foreign policy. This paper examined the link between national security and foreign policy.

The country's security dynamics are inextricably linked with its national politics. From the foregoing, it is obvious that security problems of the country in all its ramifications is a serious threat to any country's national interest and foreign policy. Foreign policy is a reflection and an extension of domestic policy. For Nigeria to have an effective and successful foreign policy, the country needs a stable domestic policy. No foreign policy can be effective if the domestic arena from which it takes its inspiration and operational essence is dysfunctional.

Consequently, fundamental measures need to be taken to address domestic social, economic and political challenges that engender internal instability and negative publicity or perception in the international arena. The design and effective implementation of foreign policy, as in the effective pursuit and implementation of other facets of a country's national objectives, is absolutely dependent on the calibre of leadership.

Nigeria's security challenges are multi-dimensional, therefore overcoming them requires a multi-dimensional strategy. There is no doubt however that whatever strategy is adopted would be dependent on good governance, because the majority of these challenges are the consequence of lack of transparency and accountability in governance; poorly observed rule of law; violations of fundamental human rights; high incidence of corruption; and general indiscipline. In addition, Nigeria's political and criminal justice institutions have become very weak, while our values have been degraded. We therefore need to strengthen our armed force and law enforcement agencies to be effective and efficient both in terms of its professionalism and structure so that it sustains the capacity to carry out its constitutional responsibility of maintaining law and order, and first preventing crime

from occurring and controlling it where it occurs. Security and development are like Siemens twins, sharing the same internal organs, therefore neither can exist without the other.

Security of life and property is a fundamental human right guaranteed under Nigeria's constitution. Unfortunately, the governments since 1999 have faced a great challenge in efforts to guarantee security in the country. Capacity failure of democratic governance and the growing insecurity it endangers, elicited violent forms of reactions that threatens internal security and the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. The socio-political and economic landscape in Nigeria has been blighted by the endemic twin evil of crime and violence. The abysmal failure of successive administrations in Nigeria to address challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities, ultimately resulted to anger, agitation and violent crimes against the Nigerian State by some individuals and groups. Such crimes include militancy, kidnapping, bombing, armed robbery, destruction of government properties, among others. From the foregoing, it is obvious that the challenge lies in the resolve to strengthen the democratic process that allows for emergence of focused and determined personalities that can transform national psych from the mindset of ethnic jingoism and religious fanaticism to mindset of patriotism.

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Xenophobia in South Africa: Implications for Regional Integration in Africa

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Abstract
Not very long ago, the image that often appeared in the minds of many wherever and whenever South Africa was mentioned was the Apartheid and its defeat after many years of liberation struggle led by Nelson Mandela. But today, that image is fast being overshadowed by xenophobia which has become the defining feature of the post-Apartheid South Africa. The aim of this paper is to examine the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa and its implications for regional integration in Africa.It adopts qualitative methodology and secondary sources of data as well as political economy approach to show how material conditions, especially economic factors, are shaping and re-shaping South Africa's social relations, including that of African migrants and South African citizens. It is argued that the xenophobic violence in South Africa portends great danger not only to sub-regional unity and development, but also to regional integration. For African countries to achieve rapid economic development they must cooperate and trade with one another, and this requires the integration of their economies and mutual interactions between their citizens. Xenophobic violence in South Africa has the potential of breeding hatred among African countries and triggering retaliatory attacks across the continent. This could diminish not only the inflow of foreign investment into South Africa, but also regional unity, cooperation and intra-African trade.

Introduction

> *We cannot get the respect and global voice we crave for as a people if we do not build a platform where black people the world over can speak with one voice. We will remain shut out of permanent membership of the United Nations' Security*

Council if we don't blend our voice…The greatest affirmation of a racist's or a supremacist's thinking is actually the way and manner black people treat each other. Tribalism and Xenophobia, which are rampant in Africa, make people with such inclinations think 'how can I like them if they don't like themselves?[1]

The above postulation captures the state of affairs in Africa today. At the end of the Apartheid regime, and the emergence of a black-majority rule in 1994, South Africa was seen as a beacon of hope for Africa in particular and the world in general. It was unique for its multiculturalism. Initially, its peace, development and prosperity prospects attracted people of different cultures who moved into the country in search of greener pasture, and safety from political crises in some cases. However, the post-Apartheid South Africa has not lived up to the regional and global expectation in terms of being a safe abode for African migrants. It would be recalled that South African freedom fighters had promised the people that their hardship and poverty would come to an end once Apartheid was defeated and a black South African assumed the leadership of the country.

Unfortunately, the defeat of the Apartheid brought only political freedom and not economic prosperity that had been promised by the anti-Apartheid fighters. And this is similar to what obtains in the rest of Africa where political independence was never accompanied with economic independence, hence poverty and economic underdevelopment deepened on the continent after decolonization. The effect of the failure of the South African elites to create enough economic opportunities to reduce poverty has been the increase in unemployment at a geometrical proportion coupled with economic inequality whose origin dates back to the racial and exclusion policies of the Apartheid regime. In the midst of the rising economic inequality as well as unemployment and the resultant crimes, xenophobia has become the defining feature of the post-Apartheid South Africa. Xenophobia is a reality in South Africa even though it is sometimes

denied by the political elites.[2]Some South Africans seem to believe that African migrants are the cause of the rising unemployment, lack of and poor delivery of social amenities, increasing crimes and the spread of diseases in the country, hence, the recurrent xenophobic attacks on migrants of African extraction. According to available reports, attacks on foreigners, particularly African migrants, have continued unabated in South Africa since 2008 when the first major outbreak of xenophobic violence was recorded.[3] But the current xenophobic violence in South Africa appears to be in contrast with Nelson Mandela's famous declaration that: 'Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another'. It is also not in tandem with South Africa's description as a rainbow nation. Moreover, it portends a profound danger to regional integration which is crucial for Africa's development.

In essence, the objective of this paper is to examine the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa and its implications for regional integration. To achieve this, the paper brings to the fore the various episodes of xenophobic violence in South Africa, its remote and immediate causes and how it could endanger the on-going quest to use regional integration to bolster Africa's unity, mutual cooperation, intra-trade and development.

Incidents of Xenophobic Violence in South Africa

With 11 official languages and 5 racial groups - black African, white, coloured, Indian and Asian, South Africa is indeed one of Africa's most culturally diverse countries. The last national census in 2013 revealed that nationals from 53 African countries reside in South Africa; thus the country has a wider range of ethnic variety than all other countries on the continent.[4]

Before now, the image that South Africa invoked whenever and wherever it was mentioned was that of the Apartheid and Nelson Mandela who fought the Apartheid regime and as a result was

imprisoned for about 24 years. But today, South Africa has become synonymous with xenophobia.

The term 'xenophobia' is derived from two Greek words: *xenos* meaning a 'stranger' or 'foreigner' and *phobos* meaning 'fear'. It means the fear of strangers or foreigners which could result in discrimination and collective violence against them. In the recent past, xenophobia has become a recurring event in South Africa. Generally, South Africans usually describe foreign immigrants from other African countries particularly those from Mozambique, Somalia, and Zimbabwe as *makwerekwere* - a derogatory word for foreigners whom they believe speak unintelligibly or incoherent language.[5] And within such derogatory remarks, the hatred of foreigners which sometimes manifests in the form of xenophobic violence could be noticed. But xenophobia in South Africa is not just the fear of all foreigners; rather it is the fear of black Africans from other countries. Hence some scholars describe it more accurately as 'negrophobic' xenophobia to show that those who are often targeted are the black African migrants.[6] The whites or even the Asian migrants are rarely victims of xenophobia in South Africa.

Xenophobic violence in South Africa dates back to 1995 in what became known as operation 'clean the township of foreigners' during which immigrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique residing in the Alexandra Township near Johannesburg were physically assaulted by armed gangs (called 'Buyelekhaya' or 'go back home'). When these gangs had identified suspected migrants, they would march them to the police station for detention and onward deportation. The campaigners blamed the migrants for crime, unemployment and rape.[7] In September 1998, two Senegalese and a Mozambican were thrown out of a moving train by a group returning from a rally that blamed foreigners for some of the South Africa's economic challenges and social vices such as unemployment, crime and the spread of HIV/AIDS. In 2000, seven foreigners were killed on the Cape Flats in what the police suspected to be xenophobia-induced murder. In 2001, the

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local residents of the Zandspruit informal settlement gave Zimbabweans 10 days' ultimatum to leave the area on the accusation that they had taken all the jobs meant for the locals, thus making the locals jobless. At the expiration of the ultimatum, Zimbabweans and other foreigners were forcibly evicted from the settlement, and their shacks burnt down after their property had been looted.[8] In late 2005, at least four migrants were found dead in the Olievenhoutbosch settlement after foreigners were alleged to have caused the death of a local man. Apart from the demand by the locals for the police to evict all the foreigners in the area, the locals also set ablaze shacks belonging to foreigners. Between July and August 2006, forty-seven Somali traders died in xenophobia-induced circumstances necessitating Somali refugees to seek government protection. In 2007, there were also cases of xenophobic violence. However, the worst case scenario of xenophobia in South Africa occurred in May 2008. But before then, in 8 January 2008, the Eastern Cape towns of Jeffreys Bay and East London witnessed the murder of two Somali shop owners, and in March of the same year at Atteridgeville near Pretoria, seven migrants from Zimbabwe, Pakistan and Somali were also murdered after their shops and shacks had been set ablaze.[9] Worst still, in May 2008, series of xenophobia-induced violence took place leading to the death of over 70 immigrants, with 400 seriously injured and about 100,000 displaced from their communities of residence. There were also looting and burning of migrant-owned businesses such as stores and shops during the violence. Even after the May 2008 violence and the international condemnation it attracted, xenophobia did not stop in the country; rather it became more 'insidious and pervasive'.[10]Between 1994 and 2014, there were over 200 recorded cases of xenophobia-induced violence against migrants and their businesses in various parts of South Africa (see Table 1).[11]

Table 1. Chronology of Collective Violence in South Africa

Year	No. of Incidents	Percentage
Pre-2005	9	4
2005	4	2
2006	9	4
2007	9	4
2008*	19	8
2009	17	7
2010	46	20
2011	22	10
2012	25	11
2013	36	16
2014 (to end August)	32	14
Total	228	100

Source: SAMP Survey 2010 cited in Crush and Ramachandran, 2014

The number might be higher, considering the fact that some incidents happened undocumented or without reaching the attention of the media and civil society/human rights organisations. Available evidence shows that less than 5% of the pre-2005 incidents were recorded. After that, there has been upsurge in xenophobic violence from 2006 upwards with the May 2008 episode being one of the most devastating. Meanwhile, the highest number of incidents occurred between 2010 and 2014. The 2010 incident which occurred after the World Cup was held in South Africa accounted for 20% of the total annual records. In all these cases, migrants who operated small-scale and informal businesses were the most vulnerable targets and victims.[12]

Various in-depth researches such as national attitudinal surveys by SAMP and personal accounts of many migrants who were either victims of xenophobia or witnesses of xenophobic violence have

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revealed that many South Africans harbour deep-rooted negative view about African migrants, especially the migrant entrepreneurs. They also draw 'clear distinctions between African migrants of different nationalities, with migrants from countries including Somalia and Zimbabwe viewed far less favourably than those from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland'. Unfortunately, many informal migrant entrepreneurs are from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Somalia and the DRC, and since they sometimes out-compete South Africans in the informal sector of the economy, they are usually the main target of xenophobic violence.[13] In a similar vein, in recent times, Nigerian immigrants seemed to have become one of the primary targets of xenophobic violence in South Africa. Between 2011 and 2014, a total of 143 Nigerians were killed in South Africa and most of them were victims of xenophobia. Moreover, shops and other property worth millions of rand belonging to Nigerians were destroyed during the wave of xenophobic attacks in the country.[14] In 2010 SAMP survey of the predisposition of South Africans to collective violent action against migrants, it was found that 25% of South Africans were likely to prevent a migrant from operating a business in their area, and that one in every ten South Africans was inclined to resort to violence to purge migrants from their neighbourhoods (see Table 2).[15] This number translated to about 3.8 million people when calculated using the national adult population of around 35 million.[16]

Table 2. Likelihood of South Africans Taking Preventative Action Against Migrants, 2010

How likely are you to take action to prevent migrants doing the following: (% Likely/Very likely	All Urban Areas	2008 Hotspots	2008 Other Areas
From operating a business in your area	25	27	24
From moving into your neighbourhood	23	27	21
From enrolling their children in school	20	18	21
From becoming a co-worker	15	14	21

Source: SAMP Survey 2010, cited in Crush and Ramachandran, 2014

In 2015 for instance, at least five people were killed and hundreds of migrants were forced to flee their homes following the outbreak of xenophobic violence in South Africa.[17]The 2015 xenophobic violence was triggered by the statement attributed to the Zulu King – Goodwill Zwelithini delivered in Pongolo that foreigners 'should leave the country'. The king later denied making such a speech and accused the media of misquoting him; but by then the damage had been done. It is important to note that the South African Police's reaction to the alleged xenophobic speech of the king was that he might have made it out of fear.[18] This was not surprising because the police by their actions so far seemed to be sympathetic to anti-migrants crusaders. They are thus often reactive than proactive to xenophobia-induced cases. In some of the xenophobic attacks, migrants were hounded out from various communities, settlements and shacks and lynched or burnt to death sometimes in a broad day-light under the watch of security personnel. Also, one observable unique but dangerous pattern that characterised most xenophobic attacks in South Africa over the years has been the unleashing of violence on migrants based on their

nationalities. It would appear that nationality has been the major determinant of the severity of violence unleashed on every victim. In other words, even though most African migrants were attacked during the crisis, some nationals appeared to have been the primary target and as such more violence was unleashed on them.

Table 3. South African Impressions of Migrants by Country of Origin, 2010

Country	Unfavourable (%)	Favourable (%)
Neighbouring countries		
Zimbabwe	44	15
Mozambique	40	15
Botswana	24	31
Swaziland	23	33
Lesotho	23	32
Other African countries		
Nigeria	59	7
Angola	48	9
DRC	51	9
Somalia	50	9
Ghana	45	11

SAMP Survey 2010, cited in Crush and Ramachandran, 2014

The study carried out by SAMP in 2010 showed that South Africans draw distinctions between African migrants from different countries, and the amount of hatred every immigrant gets is a function of their nationality. Migrants from the southern African sub-region such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique are viewed more negatively than those from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Similarly, migrants from non-neighbouring African countries such as Nigeria, Congo, etc. are even considered more dangerous and have more negative acceptance rate. For example, while Somali immigrants who are among the most hated in South Africa have 50% unfavourable rate of acceptance among South Africans, Nigerian and Congolese immigrants have 59% and

51% unfavourable acceptance rates respectively (see table 3).[19] What this means is that there are more chances and likelihood of migrants from Nigeria, Congo and Somalia being attacked than those from Swaziland and Lesotho.

From Johannesburg to Pretoria to Cape Town to Durban to KwazuluNatal, it has been the same story of xenophobia. In the face of the increasing body of evidence, the claims by some of the South Africa's political elites that xenophobia does not exist in South Africa lack merit.[20] However, some factors have been adduced to be the immediate and remote causes of xenophobia in South Africa. It is to these we now turn.

Causes of Xenophobia in South Africa
Generally, South Africans who perpetrate xenophobic violence often accuse African migrants of taking away their jobs, businesses, houses and wives. African migrants are accused of charging less for their labour hence South Africa's employers prefer to employ migrants to South Africans because of cheap labour. Apart from being accused of selling goods at cheaper prices, African migrants are also accused of using their better economic power to lure and marry beautiful South African women whom South African men themselves could not afford because of their poor economic status. The large number of migrants from other Africa countries in South Africa is also alleged to be responsible for shortage of social services such as water, electricity, etc. South Africans equally allege that apart from spreading diseases, most crimes in South Africa are committed by African migrants (see Table 4).[21] Most of these allegations have been found to be false, and moreover, they are not cogent enough to warrant attacks on African migrants. It is against this background that the President of South Africa - Jacob Zuma, once told the South Africa's Parliament: 'no amount of frustration or anger can ever justify the attack on foreign nationals and the looting of their shops. We condemn the violence in

the strongest possible terms. The attacks violate all the values that South Africa embodies'[22].

Table 4. South African Perceptions of Impacts of Migration

Social Impacts	1999 (%)	2006 (%)	2010 (%)
Use up resources (e.g. water, electricity, housing)	59	67	63
Commit crime	45	67	55
Bring disease	24	49	39
Economic Impacts Take jobs	56	62	60
Bring needed skills	58	25	34
Create jobs for South Africans	–	22	27
*Percentage who agree/ strongly agree			

SAMP Survey cited in Crush and Ramachandran, 2014

However, xenophobia in South Africa has both remote and immediate causes. While apartheid is said to be its major remote cause, unemployment, job insecurity and poor service delivery are adduced to be responsible for its recent occurrence and increasing recurrence. It is not in doubt that apartheid regime used politics of exclusion and racial discrimination not only to impoverish black South Africans but also to create a very wide economic inequality between the whites and the black population. The implication is that over two decades after the defeat of the Apartheid regime, the impoverished black population lacks the basic skills to compete favourable in the South African labour market. Those with little or no education and skills compete with numerous immigrants from other African countries who in some cases out-compete them, not because they are more qualified but because they are often willing to charge less for their labour. This

is partly the reason why unemployed South Africans see African migrants as the cause of their unemployment.

Also, the inability of the African National Congress (ANC)-led government to create adequate job opportunities and economic prosperity has pushed many black South Africans below the poverty line. Human Development Index has worsened, decreasing from 0.73 in 1994 to 0.067 in 2003. About 48.5% of South African population is still poor and income inequality has skyrocketed over the years. Most households have limited access to basic services, and unemployment rate has risen dramatically.[23] The number of South Africans that are shack dwellers has increased by fifty percent, such that more than one quarter of South Africans live in shacks today.[24]The rate of economic growth of South Africa which is measured by its gross domestic product (GDP) averaged 2.7% per annum between 1997 and 2003 and rose to 5.2% per annum between 2004 and 2007, but then slowed to 2.2% per annum between 2008 and 2013. Growth in employment has also been slow and unable to attain the threshold needed to diminish the country's unemployment rate.[25] The official national unemployment rate is about 25%, although the figure could be much higher in reality.[26] The implication of this high unemployment among South Africans is that some of them resort to violence, in most cases against African migrants. Meanwhile, despite the fact that high unemployment is a major contributor to xenophobic violence in South Africa, it is important to note that even those who are employed have been found to be among the major purveyors of xenophobia. According to a study by SAMP, in the informal economy, the levels of xenophobia are highest among self-employed South Africans, but lower among both the unemployed and employees in the informal economy.[27]This leads us to another cause of xenophobia – job insecurity.

The fear of losing jobs to foreigners who are cheaper to hire and are always available to be hired and the fear of being outcompeted by businesses owned by foreigners sometimes trigger xenophobia among some South Africans, especially those in the informal sector. That is

why in some cases, migrant shop owners and their shops are the main targets of xenophobic violence. They are usually attacked and their shops ransacked. The aim of such attacks is usually to eliminate the perceived competition from the migrant shop owners, thus creating room for more 'business opportunities and patronage' for South African shop owners or those who wish to do such business. *While unskilled illegal migrants in South Africa usually target agricultural and construction jobs as well as menial domestic jobs, educated and skilled illegal migrants often target the educational sector, and prefer to work in private schools in remote villages so as to avoid easy detection by police and immigration officials.*[28] *Some African migrants also own and run small private businesses such as shops.*

Table 5. Unemployment rate by population group and educational level

Population Group	Year		Educational Level					
			Tertiary Education		Secondary Education		Less than Secondary	
	1994	2014	1994	2014	1994	2014	1994	2014
Black African	43	40	8	19	45	40	44	44
Coloured	24	28	7	12	20	26	25	32
Indian/Asian	17	18	6	8	17	16	20	33
White	7	8	3	2	6	9	12	15

Source: Adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2014

From Table 5 [29], it is clear that with 40 percent the black South African population has the highest unemployment rate as against 8 percent for the white population as at 2014. Also the table revealed that unemployment is highest among black South Africans with no or little education and skills, hence about 44 percent of them are unemployed as against 15 percent for the white population with similar disadvantage.

Africa's Reaction to Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

The xenophobic violence in South Africa triggered series of calls for retaliation in African countries whose citizens were targeted. There were protests and attempts to unleash violence on South African citizens and, or sabotage South African businesses in the affected countries. However, through timely intervention, governments and security agencies were able to contain such protests and prevent the planned sabotage cum retaliatory violence. Accordingly, the BBC reported on 17 April, 2015, that the rise in xenophobic violence in South Africa that started in the port city of Durban and later spread to Johannesburg and in which foreigners especially those of African origin were targeted and their shops looted – similar to that experienced in 2008, did anger African countries who felt betrayed by the attacks, given the support the continent gave to South Africa during its long fight against white-minority rule. Here are some of the reactions of African countries as captured by the BBC[30]:

In Nigeria, Lawmakers in the House of Representatives (the Lower House) passed a motion urging the President to recall the Nigerian Ambassador to South Africa for consultations over the attacks. A similar motion was moved in the Senate (the Upper House). This was after the motion calling for Nigeria to sever diplomatic ties with South Africa was defeated. Suffice it to note that this action by the Nigerian lawmakers was in response to the feelings of many Nigerians who not only condemned the xenophobic violence particularly as it affected Nigerians residing in South Africa, but also urged the government to retaliate by sanctioning or taxing heavily numerous businesses owned by South Africans scattered all over Nigeria, and by repatriating some of the South African citizens residing in Nigeria. In Zambia, a small group of protesters went to the South African High Commission in Lusaka to complain about the xenophobic attacks. Also, the Zambia's biggest private radio station – QFM, stopped playing South African music indefinitely as a protest against the attacks. In Malawi, there

was call for Malawians to boycott South African goods and services. The call was spearheaded by John Kapito, Executive Director of the Consumers Association of Malawi (CAMA). Petitions were equally sent to the South African High Commission and there were also calls for the repatriation of South Africans in the country and closure of all South African shops like Shoprite and Game. In **Mozambique,** a road block was set up near the Ressano Garcia border post with South Africa by a group of Mozambique protesters who stopped vehicles with South African number plates from entering the country. Also, Mozambican workers at mining and gas companies protested against the violence by downing tools and demanding that South African employees leave the country - and that their jobs should be taken by Mozambicans fleeing the xenophobic violence in South Africa. In Zimbabwe, there were protests in the capital city – Harare, and it took the intervention of the riot police to disperse the crowd of protesters outside the South African embassy after they tried to force open the gate of the embassy.

The African Union (AU) also condemned the attacks against foreign nationals. The official position of the AU was made known by the then Chairman of the AU Commission, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma who described the attacks as 'unacceptable'. She further stated that:

> *Whatever the challenges we [South Africans] may be facing, no circumstances justify attacks on people, whether foreigners or locals…the founding of the Organisation of African Unity…played such a critical role in mobilizing international solidarity for the end of Apartheid…The challenges faced by South Africa, poverty and unemployment, are challenges faced by all countries on the continent and we must work together to address these, and build a better future for all Africans.[31]*

The reactions to the xenophobic attacks in most countries on the continent were almost similar. There were condemnation of the act, protests and call for retaliation. Although the pre-emptive and proactive security measures taken by the governments of the affected

countries were able to stop retaliatory violence, the formal and informal protests it triggered across the continent indicate that xenophobic violence is a threat to Africa's integration and the envisaged development it would bring.

The Implications for Regional Integration

Regional integration is a dynamic process and it entails the unification of independent states at continental level into a larger and super politico-economic entity with the aim of attaining closer, complimentary and seamless economic, political and social ties. This is important for regional security, political stability and economic development. Hence, the question today is no longer whether integration at whatever level is important, but rather how best to deploy unity and cooperation emanating from integration to achieve the developmental goals of nation states. However, regional integration could produce some fallout. Regional integration is 'a noble cause, [but it could]cause disaffection to certain important stakeholders…immigration officials, the police and other state security organs are often hesitant to radically embrace the doctrine of integration, as they fear this may bring an influx of unwanted people, especially criminals'.[32] Despite these shortcomings in regional integration in Europe, North America and Asia, it is still seen as a *sine qua non* for regional unity and development, hence the increasing number of regional organisations around the world today. Africa needs regional integration for several reasons. One is to contain and survive its marginalisation in the global political economy.[33] The Western World's quest for cheap raw materials, labour and markets for manufactured products led to the introduction of slavery and colonialism in Africa. During this era, the international economic system is being manipulated by the Western agents for global domination such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to the disadvantage of Africa. The impact of that manipulation is that for several decades now agricultural commodities and mineral resources which are mainly

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from Africa are bought at low prices determined by the industrialised Western buyers. These same products are processed by the West and sold back to Africa at exorbitant prices, also determined by the West. This has led to unfavourable terms of trade and balance of payments deficits, accumulated sovereign debt, economic dependency and underdevelopment.

Integration is crucial for Africa's development because some of the challenges facing many of the countries on the continent could be better solved through regional integration and its resultant co-operation. For instance, while some countries in Africa are landlocked, others have links to seas and oceans which give them access to international market in terms of exporting and importing goods. But for the landlocked countries to export or import goods and services from the international market, especially Europe, America and Asia, they would need the help and cooperation of their neighbours bordered by seas and oceans. The sea is the cheapest means of transporting huge cargoes. Large ships can enter countries that are located on the sea coast or on a navigable river. It costs roughly seven times more to ship a ton of cargo by land than by sea. That puts landlocked countries at an economic disadvantage. This is partly the reason why the poorest countries in South America are the landlocked Bolivia and semi landlocked Paraguay. This is also one of the reasons why Africa, with fifteen landlocked countries, is the poorest continent in the world. The average income of eleven out of the fifteen landlocked countries in Africa is $600 or less, and only two countries outside Africa (Afghanistan and Nepal, both also landlocked) are as poor as these eleven African countries.[34]

Also, problems like the illicit financial outflow in Africa can only be tackled effectively through regional cooperation. Only recently, the UN-AU Joint Panel Report revealed that in the past fifty years, about one trillion dollars have been flown out of Africa illegally, and presently, about 60 billion dollars still flow out of Africa annually.[35] Through regional integration, particularly financial integration, African countries can plug some of the loopholes through which these illicit

financial outflows occur. Moreover, with the rising international terrorism and environmental disasters such as climate change, greater regional integration is required around the world to tackle them effectively. Africa, being one of the regions that are most affected by these global challenges, needs an integrated approach to fight them. And regional integration comes in handy here. In addition, in this century of globalization and 'protectionism', it is essential that African countries integrate their economies and speak with one voice at the global level. This would help the continent to withstand and survive the protectionist policies of the EU, NAFTA, MERCUSOR and ASEAN. Africa's integration would accelerate trade, investment and development on the continent.

In Africa, two levels of integration have been taking place: regional and sub-regional. While regional integration is championed by the African Union (AU), several steps have been taken by African countries towards promoting sub-regional integration. These include the formation of 17 regional economic blocs, 8 of which are at present, officially recognized by the African Union. These are: Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), East African Community (EAC), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA). These organisations are pursuing integration at sub-regional level through free trade, customs unions and a common market which can boost intra-African trade and fast-track development on the continent.[36]. Anyanwu, J. C., Does Intra-African Trade Reduce Youth Unemployment in Africa? Working Paper Series N° 201, Tunis: African Development Bank, (2014) P.6.

Successes have been recorded at both levels, but a lot still needs to be done. Moreover, the successes achieved over the years could be eroded and the prospects of further integration would diminish if xenophobic violence continues unabated. Xenophobic violence in

South Africa has the potential of promoting not only disintegration within the SADC sub-region, but also mistrust and disunity within the AU.

South Africa is critical to Africa's integration because it is the most, or perhaps the only, industrialized and advanced economy on the continent. It is also the second largest economy in Africa, coming behind Nigeria. It is partly because of its advanced manufacturing sector that many African migrants go there in search of greener pasture. With these unique features, South Africa occupies an indispensable position in Africa's quest for stronger regional integration. Thus, anything that affects South Africa more often than not has multiplier effects on the entire continent. Xenophobic violence happens to be one of such things. The threats of retaliation which xenophobic violence has elicited across African countries might lead to hatred, antagonism and disintegration on the continent. It could also negatively affect South Africa's economic interest on the continent. Such retaliatory attacks may target South African companies such as Shoprite with about 290 retail outlets in SADC sub-region alone; and Standard Bank which is the largest bank on the continent with operations in many African countries. These companies make huge offshore revenues significant part of which is a source of external earnings for the South African government. When these companies are attacked or compelled to operate under difficult environment in other countries as retaliation to xenophobia, the economy of South Africa will be affected adversely because its external revenues will reduce.[37]

Also, xenophobic attacks in South Africa contradict the financial integration agenda of SADC which is aimed at eliminating barriers to cross-border investment and financial transactions. The attacks create a sense of exclusion and disunity among SADC countries.[38] Integration, particularly economic integration occurs through four main channels: namely the flow of trade, capital, information and people. The flow of people ranges from tourists to skilled and unskilled workers.[39]

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Xenophobia hinders free movement of people which is an important aspect of integration because the flow and the workings of other aspects such as capital and trade depend on people to a large extent. For example, in Africa, at sub-regional level such as ECOWAS, the policy of free movement of goods and people has promoted socio-economic integration. Likewise in East African Community, the policy of free movement of people between the member states of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi has boosted productivity and competitiveness as well as resource security, thus reducing the challenge of shortage of resources in some countries. The elimination of such movement barriers has resulted in a more balanced utilisation of resources between countries.[40]

Generally, xenophobic violence in South Africa could have a multiplier adverse effect on intra-African trade. Trade among African countries is crucial for regional integration because it can reduce costs, 'catalyse investment', create employment and promote export diversification. However, xenophobia has the potential of hindering intra-African trade. Although in terms of value, intra-African trade has recorded significant success in recent times having increased from about 29 billion dollars in 1995 to 136 billion dollars in 2012, which is over five-fold rise. However, in terms of percentage share in Africa's total global trade, not much has been achieved in intra-African trade. Between 1995 and 2012, the average intra-African trade was 12 per cent (see table 6).[41] This was very low when compared with 70 percent for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation - APEC, 64 per cent for the European Union - EU, 44 percent for North American Free Trade Agreement - NAFTA, 24 percent for Association of Southeast Asian Nation - ASEAN, and 18 percent for Southern Cone Common Market - MERCUSOR.[42] In particular, intra-trade in Southern and Central Africa has been declining in recent time. Intra-trade has declined from about 7 percent in 2008 to about 5 percent in 2012 in Southern Africa sub-region in particular.[43].

There is no doubt that xenophobia is contributing to this downward trend. The incessant xenophobic violence against African

migrants especially the nationals from the SADC sub-region has been hindering free movement of people and goods, and this decreases economic interactions and reduces intra-trade within the sub-region.

Table 6. Africa's Export and Import (total and share of total exports, in US dollars)

Period	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010-2012
World	245 billion	322 billion	771 billion	1.1 trillion
Africa (intra-trade)	29 billion (12.2%)	39 billion (12.2%)	88 billion (11.5%)	136 billion (12.1%)

Source: Adapted from UNCTAD (2013)

Already, the absence of strong regional integration in Africa has made the cost of business transactions among African countries to be very high. For instance, it costs more to transfer money from one country to another in Africa. It costs roughly ten times more to transfer money from Kenya to Tanzania than from the UK to Pakistan. It costs nearly eight times more to send money between Tanzania and Rwanda than between the UK and Pakistan. The same applies to South Africa and Mozambique where it costs six times more to move funds between the two countries than between Pakistan and the UK. One of the major factors militating against economic integration in Africa is that most of the existing trade infrastructures like railways were designed by the colonial powers to link the continent's huge natural resources with export terminals leading to America and Europe rather than to move goods within Africa. The implication is that there is little trade infrastructure linking African countries, hence the exorbitant cost of transacting businesses[44].

Xenophobia in South Africa is neither in accord with Muammar Gaddafi's call for a United States of Africa nor in tune with Kwame Nkrumah's idea of Pan Africanism – 'one Africa without borders' nor in harmony with the vision of Nimrod, 'the great empire builder who founded the world's very first empire in Babel. He was black and a

descendant of Cush. He was the grandson of Ham - the progenitor of the Black race'.[45]Moreover, it is on record that the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) now AU, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, closed Africa's harbours and airports to South Africa's Apartheid regime as a sanction for atrocities committed against the black South Africans. It is also not in doubt that the neighbouring nations of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania, Namibia, Malawi and Botswana hosted exiles from South Africa during the liberation struggle. It was with these supports that South Africa was able to achieve liberation in 1994. Therefore, South Africa owes much to the magnanimity and support it received from African nations during its trying times, and xenophobic violence is certainly not the best way to pay back.[46] Also, it behoves South Africa, being one of Africa's leading economies, to promote Africa's socio-economic integration. Under NEPAD's initiative, the African Union (AU) has launched Africa's Agenda 2063 which is a 50 year roadmap to Africa's development that is predicated on a 'united identity, vision and progression'. It is expected that the Post-colonial Africa should use the platform to achieve economic prosperity by increasing intra-African trade and local investment.[47]Although Africa has had high and steady growth in the recent past, many countries are yet to experience 'structural transformation characterised by a shift from low to high-productivity activities…an increasing share of manufacturing… Available data indicate the share of manufacturing in total value added has declined…It fell from an average of 14 per cent for the period 1990–1999 to 11 per cent for the period 2000–2011'.[48] There are still low trade complementarities among African countries. Infrastructure was originally designed and built by external interests, to extract resources from the continent and ship them abroad. Such development did not necessarily connect one African market to the next'.[49] In a globalised world, the economy of scale that accompanies regional integration can help Africa achieve efficiency, competitiveness and high productivity.[50] The benefits of integration 'especially when it entails more connectedness with neighbours – should translate into

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rising investment opportunities and prospects for new business relationships across the continent'.[51] The bulk of FDI inflow to Africa still comes from outside the continent. Between 2007 and 2011, intra-African Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) was about 5%. This is unlike Latin America and Asia with 10% and 17% intra-FDIs, respectively.[52]. It is estimated that Africa requires about 93 billion dollars per annum in investments to fix up its infrastructural deficit.[53] Xenophobic violence in South Africa is capable of not only triggering regional hatred, but also impeding the integration of African economies which is fundamental to achieving this financial bench mark.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa by looking at its various manifestations, causes and implication for integration in Africa. It found that high unemployment, job insecurity, dearth of basic amenities especially in slums and the rising poverty among South Africans are at the centre of xenophobic violence. But why the aggression is being channelled to African migrants instead of the South African government and political elites is because South Africans believe that the presence of large population of African migrants have exacerbated the poor economic condition in the country by adding to the competition for the few available jobs, business opportunities and social amenities. However, xenophobia and regional integration are mutually exclusive, hence the retaliatory threats across African countries while reacting to the recent xenophobic violence in South Africa. Therefore, the paper recommends that the African Union (AU) should deploy sanctions or otherwise to compel the South African government to take drastic and proactive actions to mitigate xenophobia by ensuring adequate security for African migrants in the country. The police should be seen to be proactive in discharging their duty in this regard. It is also important that the South African government tackles the economic needs of its citizenry through good governance to allay those fears

that make them to attack African migrants. Even the alleged criminalities often involving African migrants could be addressed if the government improves social infrastructure and economic productivity which would in turn increase employment opportunities so that those who migrate to South Africa with criminal intentions might jettison such ideas once they discover that they could get job and live a good life in the country. Also, the AU should encourage all African countries to embrace good governance and expand economic opportunities in order to reduce the constant emigration of their citizens. Indeed, regional integration is crucial for Africa's economic growth and development; but it can only thrive if African countries embrace mutual cooperation as well as free movement of goods and people rather xenophobia.

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The Impact of Corruption on Wealth Creation and Inequality in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract

This paper examines the impact of corruption on wealth creation and inequality in Nigeria: challenges and prospects. With corruption being the generally agreed major bane of Nigeria's development, the paper adopts the elite theory as the framework to analyze the secondary data gathered. In the course of the study, it was discovered that the Nigerian state is made up of unequally yoked individuals and groups in terms of history and culture. This is just a colonial error which is not as sharp as the inequality that corruption has created in this globalized Nigeria. Primitive accumulation of wealth by the few economic, social, political cum religious oligarchy has created a wide gap between these groups and the bulk of the Nigerian masses. There is a sharp divide between the modern and traditional sections of the Nigerian social arrangements with the former enjoying a relatively sophisticated lifestyle while the later are closed to savagery. Corruption has created holes in the nation's economy that drain the indigenous inventions and innovations that could help create more wealth for the country. To fight corruption, it is recommended that the attitudes of Nigerians should be changed towards the moral rebirth of the country. "a corrupt leader is a product of a corrupt society who gets his legitimacy from the support of his corrupt followers".

Introduction

No doubt that there is a synergy between corruption, inequality of income and wealth creation in Nigeria. Since recently, in both research directions, an increasing attention has been made to measure the more precise channels, through which corruption and inequality of income impulse for growth in the magnitude of wealth that could be generated. The major jolt to this development thinking emerged due to the practical experience reflected in the rate at which the economic growth of some the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is growing rapidly in the

midst of poor governance and corruptions (Yusuf, Malarvizhi and Khin 2013). A typical case here, is one of the oil rich country Nigeria, which recent data have indicated that economic growth of Nigeria rose to the average of 7% since 2006, and inequality rose from 0.429 in 2004 to 0.447 in 2010 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2011). In the mist of these rising economic growth and inequality of income the country continues to show high rates of corruption orchestrated by poor governance.

In fact, a recent report of the International transparency global corruption ranking, ranked Nigeria the 3rd most corrupt country in the West African region. The report ranked Nigeria 144 of 177 countries out of which data are made available (TI 2013). The fundamental objective of virtually every sovereign state is to provide a reasonable amount of security for its citizens. With some notable exceptions, such as tyrannies and dictatorships that deliberately implant suspicion and fear among their citizens, governments tend to view individual and collective security as important in their own right and as prerequisites for the achievement of all other worthwhile ends (Magstadt, 2006). John Mukum Mbaku rightly observed that:

Although a few (developing) countries have performed relatively well economically, the post independence period in the majority of African countries has been characterized primarily by extremely poor economic performance. In addition to the fact that, most African countries suffer from food insecurity, the majority live in poverty

In Nigeria, since 1999, security, governance and wealth creation are nothing short of the prevailing political discourse. The discourse is even becoming more imperative given the proliferation of terrorist activities on the side of Boko Haram, other armed militias groups corruption in high places of governance and an escalation of teeming population of youths without employment and the opportunity to even enable them become useful for themselves neither here nor there. Security and good governance are two inseparable political phenomena that give rise to wealth creation in any country, including Nigeria.

Where the two leading independent variables are observed in a breach, wealth creation is compromised and social inequality becomes amplified. The result is the increase in the rate of poverty, hunger, squalor and despair as well as growth of violence (whether called terrorism or militancy), among others, including the permeation of corruption on the side of those who determine "who gets what, when and how" following the uncertainty of what the future holds. Thus, the urge to amass more wealth (while the opportunity lasts) at the expense of the hoi polloi in anticipation to sustaining their own generation should worst come to what.

Accordingly, there is no development without wealth creation and there cannot be wealth creation without security and good governance. The world leaders at the 2005 World Summit concluded that good governance is integral to economic growth, the eradication of poverty and hunger, and sustainable development (*http:// issues.tigweb.org/civilsociety*). The views of all oppressed groups, including women, youths and the poor, must be heard and considered by governing bodies because they will be the ones most negatively affected if good governance is not achieved.

Governance, therefore, is an indispensable tool for achieving both security and wealth creation in any society. Similarly, for good governance to exist both in theory and practice, citizens must be empowered to participate in meaningful ways in decision-making processes and one of the cardinal ways of achieving this is to allow their votes count during elections so that the fear of being voted out could draw the political leadership to making and implementing policies that are populist-oriented. Indeed, where there are security, good governance and wealth creation, politics is conducted by civil means and the driving forces here become the citizens, leaders and policies and where these variables are in critical short supply, politics is conducted by violent means and the driving forces become revolution, war and terrorism (Magstadt, 2006). However, this paper is an attempt to address the impact of corruption on wealth creation

and inequality in Nigeria with emphasis on the challenges and prospects.

Conceptualization

It is pertinent to clarify concepts like corruption, inequality and wealth at this junction.

Corruption

Corruption we all know does not yield to easy definition, thus writers' definitions have been varied and divergent. According to Abdul-Ismail (2007:3), the word "corruption" is derived from a Latin word "*rumpere*" meaning "to break". Corruption implies the breaking of established codes of behaviour for the benefit of the perpetrator. It involves the abuse or perversion of public power for private gains. In public discussions, corruption is used to capture such acts as embezzlement of public funds, bribery, nepotism, fraud whether on a small or large scale, impairment of integrity or departure from accepted societal norms Toyo, (2006).

Akinseye (2000) attempts at describing it as 'the mother of all crimes' and identifies four forms of corruption as bribery, prebendalism, graft and nepotism. EFCC a commission that deals with economic issue through Ngwakwe (2009) defines corruption from economic perspective as follows:

> *The non-violent criminal and illicit activity committed with objectives of earning wealth illegally either individually or in a group or organized manner thereby violating existing legislation governing the economic activities of government and its administration.*

No doubt, corruption is the unethical or illegal advantages procured through official position. Akanbi (2003), the distinguished former chairman of ICPC classified corruption in Nigeria into three categories, these are:

    I.   Street level corruption which describes corruption in administration as shown in day to day experiences of the citizens in their interactions with officials.

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II. Business corruption that occurs among low to medium sized business with or without active connivance of the equivalent public sector official; and

III. High level corruption, which involves huge sums of money in high power centers in finance, public service and administration.

Petty corruption is highly visible, pervasive, and endemic and in some cases institutionalized. This institutionalization of corruption according to him, is possible because of the poor standard of ethics which is of course a function of other social malaise like greed. It draws special allusion to the instrumental bureaucrats who have been compensated at the cost of nation's revenues.

Although corruption is systematic, Egwakhe (2007) opined that the institutional agents' extortive (extractive) corruption contexts are perfectly distinguishable and independent, thus, less difficult to authentically specify the order of casualty or precedent between the perpetuator and the beneficiary. Bureaucratic structure gave birth to extractive corruption. Critical observation reveals that the state or some state agents benefit most from extra-legal transactions in the name of the state. This kind of corruption unfolds when institutional decision-makers exploit the government power they are equipped with, to tailor and sustain their self-interest, power, status and wealth. The agents' extractive behavior unfolds towards evading the iron cage of the law thereby instituting conditional reciprocity between the agent(s) and the law breaker.

Obasanjo (2004) as reported by Afolabi (2007) enumerated the various forms of corruption to include advanced fee fraud (known as 419), money laundering, unconventional and fraudulent trade practices, misappropriation or diversion of funds, kickbacks, under and over invoicing, bribery, false declarations, abuse of office, and collection of illegal tolls. Other contextual meanings include the impairment of integrity, virtue or moral principles, and an unauthorized use of resources for private gain.

Agbaje (2004) by way of contextualizing corruption within the territory of public service listed such factors as pervasion of public rules and misuse of official power for selfish motive, and the frustration of electoral process to make free and fair election impossible. Other forms of corruption to him are the deliberate refusal to declare one's assets on the assumption and expiration of public office and of course using one's official status to prevent the administration of justice which is common by the executives (past and present) of different capacities in Nigeria.

In the words of Akinyemi (2004) corruption was described as "the acquisition of that which one (as a member of society not public official alone) is not entitled'. In 1996 described corruption to be any use of official position, resources or facilities for personal benefit, or possible conflict of interest between public position and private benefit. This, of course, to him involves offenses of misconduct in public offices and is also covered by a variety of internal regulations lastly El-Rufai (2003) made corruption to cover:

> *A wide range of social misconducts, including fraud, extortion, embezzlement, bribery, nepotism, influence peddling, bestowing of favor's to friends, rigging of elections, abuse of public property, the leaking of official government secret, sales of expired and defective goods like drugs, food, electronics and spare parts to the public, etc.*

To round up this conceptualization, the words of Alanamu (2009) will be useful. He says corruption is like a disease that can cause total pathology for an organization and in relation to society corruption can affect the economic, social, political and the moral aspect of the society as it is the case in Nigeria.

From the various foregoing definitions of corruption, one can see that there is hardly consensus on the meaning of the term. However, one thing is certain about those various definitions are that they lack precise elements that constitute corruption. Nonetheless they all have enough indicators as to conducts that might be "judged

as corrupt and the distinguishing element of such conduct is some moral failing or depravity" Ibrahim (2003).

Types, Nature and Characteristics of Corruption
Some researchers have taken a holistic (broader) approach in the discussion of corruption by dividing it into many forms and sub-divisions. These according to Taylor (2010) include;

Political corruption: This occurs at the highest levels of political authority. It occurs when politicians and political decision-makers, who are entitled to formulate, establish, and implement the laws in the name of the people, are themselves corrupt. It also takes place when policy formulation and legislation are tailored to benefit politicians and legislators. (The Encyclopedia Americana 1999).

Bureaucratic corruption: This occurs in the public administration or the implementation end of politics. It is the kind of corruption that the citizens encounter daily at places like the hospitals, schools, local licensing office, police, the various ministries etc. Bureaucratic corruption occurs when one obtains a business from public sector through inappropriate procedure (NORAD; 2000 in Victor; 2008).

Electoral corruption: This includes buying of votes with money, promises of office, special favors, coercion, intimidation, and interference with freedom of election (An example where this practice is common is Nigeria. Votes are bureau
bought, people killed or maimed in the name of election, losers end up as the winners in elections, and votes turn up in area where votes were not cast).

Other forms of corruption may include
Bribery: The payment (in money or kind) that is taken or given in a corrupt relationship. These include "kickbacks", "gratuities", "pay off", "sweeteners", "greasing palms, scratching back" etc Bayart (1997).

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Fraud: This involves some kind of trickery, swindle and deceit counterfeiting, racketing, smuggling and forgery.

Embezzlement: This is seen as the theft of public resources by public officials. It is when an official of the state steals from the public institution in which he/she is employed. In Nigeria the embezzlement of public fund is one of the most common ways of wealth accumulation, perhaps, due to lack of strict regulatory systems.

Extortion: This is money and other resources extracted by the use of coercion, violence, or threats to use force. It is often seen as extraction from below (Bayart, 1997:11).

Favoritism: This is mechanism of power abuse implying a highly biased distribution of state resources. However, many see this as a natural human proclivity to favor friends, family, and anybody close and trusted.

Nepotism: This is a special sort of favoritism in which a public office holder prefers his/her kinfolk and family members. Nepotism occurs when one is exempted from the application of certain laws or regulations or given undue preference in the allocation of scarce resources (NORAD, Ch.1, Ch.2 Jan. 2000; Amundsen 1997 and Girling 1997).

Inequality
According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2001:611), inequality refers to "the unfair differences between groups of people in society, when some have more wealth, status or opportunities than others". Following from the definition it is clear that inequality is not a just phenomenon as it gives one group of people in society an unfair and unmerited advantage over other groups. Taken together the two concepts we have briefly reviewed above are mutually re-inforcing phenomena which allow those favoured by it the latitude and leverage to primitive capitalist accumulation while condemning their hapless contemporaries to abject poverty.

Inequality also implies the dispersion of a distribution whether one is considering income, consumption or some other welfare indicators or attributes. Although conceptually distinct, income inequality is often studied as part of the broad analysis covering poverty and welfare. Thus, inequality is a broader concept than poverty because it is defined over a whole distribution (Litchfied, 1999). The pattern of income distribution has been of great concern to economists for a long time. Since Atkinson (1970), most questions about the measurement of inequality have been formulated using the explicit logic of social choice theory. Pigou (1912) and Dalton (1920), proposed a Pigou-Dalton a principle. This principle opines that inequality increases when there is a transfer of income from a poorer to a richer person. Most measure of inequality in literature satisfies this principle. Furthermore, Dalton (1920) proposed the population principle of income inequality measurement, which observes that inequality measures are invariant to replications of the populations. This implies that, merging two identical distributions will not alter the level of inequality.

Wealth Creation

The concept of 'wealth' varies among societies. Therefore, the word wealth means different things to different people. In its most narrow sense, wealth refers to abundance of anything. But generally, wealth refers to abundance possession of object(s) of value (e.g. gold, clay, water, property, certain skills etc.) and the state of having accumulated of these objects. The Webster Dictionary of English sees wealth among others as: natural resources of a country, whether or not exploited; the product of the economic activity of a nation; anything which can be exchanged for money or barter. Just as the word wealth is relative, the state of being wealthy is also relative. A person that is wealthy is someone that has accumulated substantial wealth relative to others in a given society of reference group.

Wealth creation is a term often used by economists and very important in development theory but which is very ambiguous if not properly explained. However, explanation of wealth creation elicits a corresponding understanding of the meaning of wealth especially as

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it affects this work. Adam Smith, the leading economist and author of *The Wealth of Nations*, described wealth as the annual produce of the land and labour of the society. This "produce" is at its simplest form that which satisfies human needs and wants of utility (Wikipedia, 2013). In popular economic usage, wealth can be described as an abundance of items of economic value, or the state of controlling or possessing such items, usually in the forms of money, real estate and personal property (Wikipedia, 2013). Wealth therefore, refers to the net worth of a person, household, or nation, that is, the value of all assets owned net of all liabilities owed at a point in time.

There is no fundamental difference in explaining the concept of wealth in economic and political viewpoints. Though in political term, wealth may be used more broadly as referring to the productive capacity of a society or as a contrast to poverty. To this end, wealth may involve both-one's state of health, economic wellbeing and other accruing social benefits. Indeed, wealth provides an important mechanism in the intergenerational transmission of inequality Gilbert, (2002). Wealth is a tool for measuring both social stratification and class division in a society.

Perhaps, from the foregoing explanation of wealth, wealth creation may be seen as the combination of materials, labour, land and technology in a way as to capture a profit (that is, excess above the cost of production) (Smith, 1776). There are different types of wealth creation: national, social and individual wealth creations. However, whether national, social or individual, wealth creation entails man's ability to combine the productive forces in reaching his utmost end in the society. Productive forces here consist of labour power (man's physical, psychological and intellectual capabilities), objects of labour (the things to which labour power is applied), examples land, water, and other natural gifts waiting to be exploited and converted for man's utmost needs) and instruments of labour (the tools used by man in converting nature to his needs, examples, cutlasses, and other industrial equipment) (Ake, 1981).

Accordingly, wealth creation involves the production and distribution of material means of existence. Those who produce in large quantity far beyond what is necessary for their sustenance are said to be creating more wealth than those not so favourably disposed to production beyond their daily needs. The basis of societal development is dependent upon the ability of such society in creating wealth, otherwise producing its daily needs whether in agricultural, industrial, educational and health sectors. Central to wealth creation therefore, are employment generation, poverty reduction, disease control, disaster management and crime guard.

Theoretical Framework
The Elite Theory
The elitism as elite theory is sometimes called is the postulation of Italian political thinkers, Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosco. Historically, the theory became popular towards the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Also, the theory is also traceable to likes of Ortega Gasset and Robert Mitchell. Since then, according to Ojukwu and Shopeju (2010:1), the existence and role of elite and its activity has been widely recognized and discussed especially in the social science literature.

However, this very loose term encompasses all those who through educational exposure, connection and talent, are materially empowered, they also exercise considerable influence in the nation's political, economic, cultural, social and intellectual life Nwankwo, (1997). This group of people (a privileged minority) is imbued with or characterized by organizational skills, leadership abilities, knowledge and information, drive and ambition. Thus, elites are the societal agents through which broader forces such as ethnicity, class and religion are filtered to ordinary people.

The theory is premised on the fact that every society factionalized into two antagonistic camps, the elite and the non-elite who are in constant struggle of either maintaining the status quo or suppressing it. While the elite group is working round the clock to preserve its hegemony over the society through politics and governmental policies,

the non-elite group is at the receiving end and often lacked the required cooperation to check the excesses of the elite camp.

The exponents of elitism according to James (1998) are in agreement over the belief that every society is ruled by a minority that possesses the qualities necessary for its accession to full social and political power and they are known as the elite. It is the contention of these scholars that elite group consists of people who are successful and had risen to the top of the stratum in every occupation. In the society, there are the higher stratum and the lower stratum. The higher stratum of the elite is divided into the 'governing elite' and the 'non-governing elite' and the lower stratum consist of the non-elite. The theory of political elite was in the words of Mosca (1939) states that:

> *In all societies, from societies that are meagrely developed and have attained the dawning of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies-two classes of people appear- a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first*

Obviously, the larger the political community, the smaller will be the proportion of the governing minority and the more difficult it will be for the majority to organize themselves for reaction against the minority. Though the elite class is always the less numerous but often stronger as well with the use of 'divide and rule' to keep the numerous class, non-elite into perpetual checks. Thus, 'performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings'. Often most of the policies (such as anti-poverty ones) emanating from the government are therefore to maintain the hegemony of this class rather than to alleviate the sufferings of the masses, whose advantage of being poor is often taken, for instance during elections to maintain the status quo.

Empirical observations from comparative view

Now we summarize the main empirical implications from the theory, and when appropriate, discuss further implications from the literature about how corruption affects inequality and wealth creation:

    a. Corruption affects inequality in an inverted U-shaped way: Inequality in countries with an intermediate level of corruption is higher than that in countries with little or rampant corruption.

    b. Corruption should be negatively correlated with the income level.

    c. Corruption should also be negatively correlated with wealth creation.

According to this logic, an increase in corruption amounts to a tax hike, which pulls talented entrepreneurs toward the rent-seeking sector; growth rates, in turn, drop. In addition, bureaucrats may distort investment toward projects offering better opportunities for secret corruption, such as defense and infrastructure [Shleifer and Vishny, (1993)]. The distortion in the composition of the modern sector raises the relative return to rent-seeking activity and, as a result, inequality soars and wealth creation levels drop.

There are further implications based on the above framework that are not modeled explicitly. These implications include:

(i) Since corruption pulls labour to the traditional sector—which needs low-skilled workers—the demand for unskilled relative to skilled workers increases. As a result, population growth in more corrupt countries will be higher.

(ii) In so far as the modern sector is likely to be concentrated in cities, and corruption discourages the modern sector, countries with more corruption are likely to be less urbanized.

(iii) Corruption affects reliance on banks or other financial intermediaries for business transaction.

Inequality and Income in Nigeria

Nigeria is among the thirty most unequal countries in the world with respect to income distribution. The poorest half of the population holds only 10% of national income. Significant rural-urban differences in income distribution impact particularly on women, because 54 million of Nigeria's 80.2 million women live and work in rural areas, where they provide 60-79% of the rural labour force.

Inequality harms social cohesion and may exacerbate conflict, especially when some social groups are perceived to be excluded from opportunities. Conflict adversely impacts on women and girls, reducing their mobility and inhibiting participation in social, economic and political life (DFID, 2012). Pronounced regional gender disparities Nigeria is marked by huge geographical disparities.

Human development outcomes for girls and women are worse in the North, where poverty levels are sometimes twice as high as parts of the South (72% in the North-

East compared with 26% in the South-East and a national average of 54%). Nearly half of all children under five are malnourished in the North-East, compared to 22% in the South-East. Hausa girls, for example, are 35% less likely to go to school than Yoruba boys. The impact of inequality on the lives of girls and women is reflected starkly in health and education outcomes, nationally and between North and South. Levels of gender violence are also high, notably in the South where inequality is greatest.

Analysis of the Challenges of Corruption on Inequality and Wealth Creation in Nigeria

That corruption is a cancer to the growth and development of Nigeria is just an affirmation of the obvious. The malaise has general impacts on the entire life of any society where it is rampant. Corruption has encouraged inequality and reduced wealth creation in the following ways:

1. Diversion of empowerment funds has hindered efforts at bridging the gaps between poverty and wealth through the narrowing of the exploitation of the poor by the elites in Nigeria has been unproductive due to corruption. Empowerment programmes of the governments like the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Subsidy Re-investment Programme (SURE-P), etc could not achieve its objectives due to the choking power of corruption. The Chairman of SURE-P, Dr. Christopher Kolade had to resign his appointment when the Ministry of Finance could not account for over N500 billion of the programme in 2014.

2. On the contrary corruption may constrains economic growth by hindering both internal and external productive investments through tax and discouraging entrepreneur manpower development, which will, in turn, reduce economic growth and decline in wealth creation.

3. In another way, corruption reduces the quality of social infrastructures such as roads, electricity, housing, and water supply. The Bichotney contract scam on the expansion of the Lagos-Ibadan expressway has lasted for years with great consequences on the road project. In 2010, the Nnamdi Azikiwe International Airport, Abuja Cargo way expansion contract was alleged to have been inflated by N13 billion. These respective projects had had implementation challenges due to corrupt tendencies.

4. With the dwindling oil revenue, the gap between the rich and poor in Nigeria is getting wider. Unlike in other oil producing states where oil has created wealth for the nation, the oil booms in Nigeria have only empowered the rich who enjoy sophisticated lifestyles at the detriment of the poor.

5. Corruption also reduces tax revenue where entrepreneurs are diverted into an informal arrangement of excessive rent taking which reduces taxes in exchange due to excessive rent taking by the officials.

6. Infant industries that would have helped developed the country's economy have been choked by domesticated capitalist policies of the West. The comprador bourgeoisie who are mere agents of imperial exploitation and underdevelopment.

7. Corruption has been the major impediment affecting African countries to re-invest rent- driving investment in a short run period of time.

8. An import-dependent country like Nigeria will continue to soar in National poverty as long as the country's leadership has no control for the inflow of foreign products

9. Corruption hampers growth and development n any society where it is rampant. The more corrupt a society is, the higher the level of inequality and the lower the rate of wealth creation.

Conclusion and Recommendations
No doubt that inequality and wealth creation are variables that rely on the level of corruption that pervades a society. In an advanced society where indiscipline has limitation, the generation of wealth by citizens and by extension the state is very high. Inequality is minimized through deliberate actions of the government towards making life bearable for the people at a minimum standard through taxation and social security. However, corruption has been a major constraint to wealth creation both at individual and national levels not only in Nigeria but also the most parts of the continent. It is our view that the following recommendations will help fill the gaps and also serve as

the prospects for reducing inequality and encouraging enduring wealth creation in the country:

1. There must be a conviction by all and sundry that corruption, just like Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), cancer, Ebola Virus, Lassa Fever and other diseases, is deadly and is a catalyst for the economic ruination of any country. It is only then that the laws against corruption can begin to be effective; whether or not such laws are draconian. Without the co-operation of the leaders and the led, the Anti-corruption Act, like its precursors, is doomed to failure.

2. The leaders of the country at every stage (family, church, mosque, school, government) must lead by example in upholding accountability, discipline, and integrity.

3. The Nigerian capitalist system must give room for the indigenous entrepreneurs to grow internally. The Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) must be protected from undue pressure of the multinational corporations with adequate laws.

4. Since oil is a factor in our economic problem, there should be a deliberate effort to diversify the national economy.

5. Social security framework should be created so that the very poor and vulnerable in the society will be able to afford basic necessities of life.

6. There is need for a progressive tax system that will help redistribute the current income scale in the country. This is a Pay As You Earn (PAYE) system where the tax paid is commensurate to the income earned.

7. The nation's anti-graft laws must be strengthened and the institutions strong enough beyond the "man" in power. This

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is the only way to make the fight against corruption more holistic.

8. The international community should help the current government in Nigeria in its fight against corruption through deportation of allegedly corrupt public officials, travel restrictions, international prosecution and convictions of corrupt Nigerians like the Ibori experience, etc.

9. Nigerian leaders, at all levels, should stop exhibiting high degree of insensitivity by flagrantly displaying wealth in an environment characterized by poverty while denying the youths the means of enjoying same. They build exotic and expensive private schools where people pay heavily without establishing corresponding industries that would absorb the students on graduation. At the end, the result would be increase in unemployment and contrapuntal escalation of crime in the society thereby exacerbating the problem of security and worsening the crisis of job creation. As a matter of necessity, while not discouraging establishment of schools, efforts should be made by both government and private individuals towards industrializing the country.

10. In the war against corruption, there should be no sacred cows. Nobody should be above the law or covered by the law.

11. Government policy should prioritize agriculture and rural development, because 54 million of Nigeria's 80.2 million women live and work in rural areas where they constitute 60-79% of the rural work force.

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Executive Presidency and Institutional Manipulation in a Multi-level Representative Government

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Abstract

Nigeria's 1999 Constitution enjoins a democratic federal system with separation of powers that transcend branches of government to delineation of the functional boundaries of the thirty-six states, each being microcosm of the federal structure.It embraces executive presidency with extensive and far-reaching discretionary powers, a bicameral national legislature and a unicameral subnational assembly and the rule of law to guard against encroachment and impunity. Inter-institutional and inter-governmental relations have had both "stabilizing and conflictual elements".The entrenchment of vertical and horizontal separation of powers has nor-enhance unfetter measure of autonomous operational authority and systemic efficacy. Jettisoning the preceding ego-tripping authoritarian leadership styles for viable governing institutions synonymous with civil rule to thrive has been daunting. Formal and informal rules shaped the leadership style of successive Presidents, manipulation of executive instruments undermined institutional viability and asymmetric advantage over fiscal policies and security; occasionally deployed arbitrarily to political ends constitute impediments to effective representative governance. This article interrogates Nigeria's fourth republic, 1999-2015, to underscore the "demos-constraining" potentials of executive presidency amidst weak institutions. The militarisation of impeachment campaigns affirms the fundamental flaws in strong unrestrained political executive. Successive presidency was fingered in virtually all controversial legislative-executive relations that halted governance in most States. The presidency played promient roles in producing and removing the leadership of the national legislature and executive bodies like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) spearheaded flawed impeachments. The police siege on the National Assembly following the defection of the Speaker of the House of Representatives from the ruling party to the opposition was the height of partisan disposition of executive instruments. The constitutional breach calls for the review of the devolution of powers, renewed commitment to the strengthening of institutions and the rule of law for effective checks and balances and enduring representative governance.

Introduction

Robert A. Dahl defines federalism as a system of dual sovereignty, "in which some matters are exclusively *within* the competence of certain local units—cantons, states, provinces—and are constitutionally *beyond* the scope of the authority of the national government, and where certain other matters are constitutionally outside the scope of the authority of the smaller units" (Cameron and Falleti 2004). Federalism according to Kenneth C. Wheare requires that two governments be independent and co-ordinate within their spheres, generally set out by the division of competences codified in a constitution, which is supreme. Wheare's criteria for the federal principle entail the presence of a supreme constitution and an independent judiciary. The independence of the judiciary is guaranteed to ensure that the national government cannot encroach upon the jurisdiction of the subnational government. The principle of separation of powers within this context goes beyond separation of branches of government to delineation of the functional boundaries of the levels of government. Separation of powers emphasises mutual interdependence or non-subordination of one arm of government to the other. It encompasses a relationship of checks and balances, implying that neither should be in a position to act with impunity (Lijphart, 1992; Hague and Harrop 2004). The ultimate achievement of the separation of powers is the rule of law, which is the institutional guarantee against encroachment. The rule of law requires that each of the branches and levels of government or component units abide by the law (Cameron and Falleti 2004). Following Dicey A.V., a federal state is 'a political contrivance to reconcile national unity with state power', where 'national' refers to the federal level and 'state' to the subnational levels (Smith and Soar 2002). Federal principle entails that the national and state governments operate independently, each tier acting autonomously in its sphere, and linked only through the constitutional compact. In particular, the federal government was required to confine its activities to functions explicitly allocated to it. In the federation under reference, neither level can abolish the other (Hague and Harrop 2004).

Following Cameron and Falleti (2004), federal systems can either be presidential, semi-presidential or parliamentary. For a system to qualify as federal, a constitution must simply create executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government at the subnational level. Federal system may also vary in terms of which policy areas are controlled exclusively by the national government, which by the sub-units and which are shared. Variation could also be a function of the overall balance of power between the national government and the sub-units and the mechanisms used to incorporate the sub-units into the decision making process (Kreppel Amie, 2005). Kreppel Amie cautions that it is essential that each branch should be free from arbitrary control or dismissal by the others. This author aligns with the view that, K. C. Wheare's federal principle is essential but not sufficient to guarantee efficacy of the system. The justification for fully independent institutions is further supported within federalist systems by the existence of different constituencies serving as the electoral base for the various representative institutions. It is a general requirement of representative government that officials elected by the people can be removed only by those same people via another election, except in the case of legal wrong-doing (Kreppel Amie, 2005).

Representation signifies an individual or sizeable number of individuals acting on behalf of a larger group of individuals. Representatives are generally elected by popular vote and are expectedly accountable to the electorate because each representative in the legislative assembly is autonomous in relation to other representatives and to the executive (Hans, 2000). The essence of representation is to aggregate the dominant views of the entire individual electors, whose interests are held in trust by the representatives and whose sentiments and opinions must take precedence. Legislatures are symbols and agencies of popular representation in politics. Legislators play an essential role of standing for the people by providing a formidable defence against executive tyranny (Hague and Harrop, 2004). Representative government is seen as the establishment of the legitimate authority of the state (Hans,

2000). This presupposes that the legislature's performance is to be rightly measured vis-à-vis people's expectations. With extensive representative components, a legislature's functions hold far-reaching implications for the people as well as for the system of rule. The legislature is a representative in so far as it reflects the yearnings and aspirations of the electorate in its relationship with the executive arm of government. The word 'assemblies' refers to legislatures at the national or sub-national levels of government in Nigeria.

Political executive constitutes a significant part of government, comprising political leaders who form the top echelon of administration (Hague and Harrop, 2004). Political executive have many names and titles, and their duties and powers also vary enormously (Almond, et al 1996). Literature features different classifications of political executive some of which include: presidential, parliamentary, dictatorship and autocratic systems. The distinguishing features include the degree of intra and inter-institutional control, exercise of power and value preferences (Alvares, 1996). However, popular among established democracies are presidential, parliamentary or semi-presidential executive (Hague and Harrop, 2004). The presidential system has remained a prominent feature of most democratic federal system (Hans, 2000). Presidential system presupposes a form of constitutional rule in which the chief executive governs using the authority derived from direct election (Hague and Harrop, 2004). Characteristically, presidential system is synonymous with one-person executive who dominates the politics of government and represents the country at locally and internationally (Hans, 2000). The president is that single individual who presides at ceremonial functions and also symbolizes the nation (Mahler, 2003). Unlike the parliamentary system, ceremonial and effective roles are almost always held by the same person, the president as there is no distinction between the "Head of State", who is primarily a ceremonial official and the "Head of Government" who makes and implements policy decisions (Almond et al, 1996). Quite often both the formal and informal rules affect the style of leadership in such polities, a

feature that also determines the prevailing nature and character of governance (Hans, 2000).

The task of reconciling the leadership styles of the authoritarian and post-conflict political executive with the demands of contemporary civilian leadership style has been daunting. This dilemma of democratic governance is much more pronounced in federal systems with the predominance of personal leadership as opposed to widespread viable governing institutions and component units. In furtherance of discussion on democratization and decentralization, this paper interrogates the Nigeria's presidential federal system as regards its "demos-constraining" potential (Alfred Stepan 2001), projecting 'executive presidency as constituting occasional anti-democratic device' in the face of weak complementary governing institutions. The Nigerian experience for example attests to the fact that the vertical and horizontal constitutional entrenchment of separation of powers do not necessarily guarantee unfetter measure of autonomous operational authority between institutions and between governments. The processes of inter-institutional and inter-governmental relations have had both "stabilizing and conflictual elements" with extensive implications for representative government (Boadway and Watts, 2004). Perhaps this is not unconnected with the military background of the civilian rule as elements of militray ethics namely, command structure, absolute loyalty and obedience seems to have pemeated politics. The political class appears has been at home with the culture of impunity and lawlessness that was the hallmark of authoritarian rule.

Multi-Level Representative Institutions and Separation of Powers 1999-2015

The 1999 constitution that provided the framework for the Fourth Republic bestowed a federal arrangement on Nigeria. In addition to an executive presidency, Nigeria has a bicameral legislature of two chambers at the national level and a unicameral assembly at the subnational level of government. In contemporary Nigerian politics,

the status of the legislature is as stated under Section 4 of the 1999 constitution. Section 4(1-2) vested the legislative powers of the Nigerian Federation in the National Assembly comprising the Senate and the House of Representatives. Section 4(6-7) clearly defined the legislative powers of the States' Houses of Assembly similar to those of the National Assembly (Ayaegbunam, 2010). Nigeria also has 36 states constituting the component units with distinct and peculiar socio-cultural characteristics. Each state is a microcosm of the federal structure with separation of powers in terms of functions and personnel among the three branches of government namely the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, each of which is almost exclusively responsible for the exercise of one of the functions of government. Representatives in the legislature are to be elected by popular vote for a renewable term of four years and are expectedly accountable to the electorate. The principles of separation of powers and checks and balances are enshrined in Section 4 of the 1999 constitution. The entrenchment of separation of powers between the legislature which is responsible for lawmaking, representation and oversight, the executive, which is responsible for the interpretation of the law, and the judiciary, which is responsible for adjudication and final arbiter, accounts for the limit on the exercise of powers that should characterize inter-institutional relations. Thus, the doctrine of separation of powers consists in giving each institution of government in the three branches of government and the component units the necessary powers to perform their respective functions and resist possible encroachment by one branch on the other to avoid chaos and lawlessness.

The vices of military rule, the desire for unity in diversity and the institutional requirements of modern state necessitated the consideration for an executive presidency that could muster the requisite political will, offer a rallying point for diverse interests and stabilize the polity. However, widespread impunity amidst the arbitrary deployment of executive powers necessitated a revisit of the fundamental flaws in executive presidency. The militarisation of the

impeachment processes against many Governors through massive deployment of security forces, huge funding for the plots and support for the default interpretation and the manipulation of the numerical requirement for and supremacy in the exercise of impeachment power by the legislature among other instances of manipulation of the legislative institutions to executive advantage (Muheeb, 2015) speaks volume of the extent to which the person of the president determines the consolidation or truncation of the representative government processes. Many states legislatures suffered from the presidential burden of successive PDP controlled presidency often fingered in many of the controversies that bedeviled the polity and were major factor in the legislative-executive relations crisis at the State level rendering most legislature uncoordinated and ineffective.

Executive Presidency as Demo-Constraining

The Nigerian experience during the civilian rule (1999-2015), attests to the above essentials and to the postulation that the executive presidency have been showing demo-constraining signs. Demo-constraining signs were evident at both the vertical and horizontal divide of the inter-governmental and inter-institutional relations. The palpable failure of a number of state assemblies due to crises and conflicts had their roots in presidential incursions. The presidency played prominent roles in producing and removing elected representatives in the National Assembly and in determining the fate of legislative institutions and elected executive officials at the subnational level. The situation was given fillip by the fact that some state assemblies were ready tools at the disposal of the presidency either willingly or willy-nilly through unhealthy compromises. States like Bayelsa, Ekiti, Oyo, and Plateau had their Governors arbitrarily removed from office in hasty and controversial impeachment sclandestinely supported by federal executive instruments like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) affirming the affected State assemblies' complicity. Effective representative

government became a secondary issue in these States as in some others with similar experiences.

The Nigerian Police Force has a reputation of being a helplessly biased national institution such circumstances going by accounts of its interventions in issues of inter-institutional and inter-governmental relations since the commencement of the Fourth Republic. By omission or commission, the Police authorities through the Inspector General of Police (IGP) have consistently been willing tool at the disposal of the executive especially at the state level. The Jonathan Presidency like the Obasanjo regime 1999-2007 accounted for a considerable share of attempts at truncating the consolidation of popular government. By its actions and inactions, the law enforcement agency's disposition put representative government in jeopardy in states like Plateau, Ekiti, and Rivers in particular, where the Police Force tacitly gave security support to minority members against majority to further legislative actions. In Rivers State, a group of five minority lawmakers determined to move against 27 other colleagues considered to be in support of the State Governor had the tacit support of the State Police Command. The same scenario was recorded in Edo State where the Force was reported to be instrumental to the factionalization of the State Assembly into pro and anti-executive groups, a development that grounded the legislature and prevented it from functioning in plenary as a full House (Kupoluyi, 2014, Onyekpere, 2013, Onoyume, 2013, Akasike and Ameh 2013, Akasike, and Oluwole, 2013 and Isa, 2006).

The state of emergency declared in Ekiti State by President Obasanjo in 2006 terminating the tenure of office of elected representatives on grounds of irreconcilable differences and festering crisis among lawmakers thereby shortchanging the electorate was unnecessary and avoidable (Ifedayo, 2006, Ifedayo, Ogunsakin and Ogbodo 2006 and Muheeb, 2007). The politically motivated impeachment of Governor Murtala Nyako of Adamawa State in 2014 and the flawed impeachment attempts on Governor Umar Tanko Almakura of Nasarawa States in 2014 largely on political grounds

were both heavily policed. This was also the case in Ekiti State prior to May 2015, where the Police was widely reported to have aided seven People's Democratic Party (PDP) members of the 26-member House of Assembly to launch impeachment campaign against the substantive Speaker of the State Assembly, and further the conduct of legislative businesses without the presence and inputs of the 19 majority members of the opposition party, the All Progressives Congress (APC) extraction (Danjuma, 2014 and Olaifa, 2014,Yusuf, 2014, Ogundele, 2014 and Kupoluyi, 2014).

The impeached Governor of Adamawa State would have been removed from office much earlier in 2009 but for the personal intervention of late President Umaru YarÁdua on whose order the State House of Assembly backed down on its impeachment campaign. In spite of myriads of allegation of official misconduct and abuse of office levelled against the Governor, the State Assembly passed a vote of confidence on Governor Nyako, referring to him as a "messiah" to the people of the State. It was on the strength of this popularity that he ran for a second term of four years and got re-elected. Governor Nyako was eventually impeached partly for the same accusations after he was alleged of being a staunch critic of President Jonathan's administration handling of Boko Haram. Nyako had taken up the Jonathan administration following intense and relentless assault from Boko Haram on the Nigerian state particularly in the Northeast. Nyako further strained his relationship with Presidency when he switched party from the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to the opposition, All Progressives Congress (APC) with four other Governors of PDP extraction. He was summarily impeached in a process that lasted barely one week. Typical of such political undertakings, the presidency mobilised troops, policemen and allied security agents to the state capital, Yola ostensibly to boost the morale of the lawmakers as well as to forestall any likely backlash. This trend was evident across the states where governors had issues with the presidency. State Assemblies were practically stampeded by the EFCC into plausible fast-tracking of impeachment processes (Oladesu. 2014,

Ade-Adeleye, 2014, Adekunle, 2014, Barnabas, 2014, Yusuf, 2014, and Ndiribe, 2014).

Successive partisan disposition of the Nigerian security apparatus under the command and control of the presidency cannot be over emphasized. For example, the command structure of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) had implications for the crisis that engulfed the seventh assembly in Ogun State, when and where the Police authorities could not guarantee the security of the lawmakers to hold plenary. The State Assembly was locked-up for the most part of the legislative term 2007-2011. It was alleged that the situation persisted because the police authorities should not be seen to be taking sides notwithstanding tacit support for a faction of the group of eleven legislators loyal to the Governor, as the anti-Governor's group of 15 other legislators would want the public to believe. It was a distasteful precedence and a test case for constitutional government and the Nigerian federalism that after September 2008, the Ogun State Assembly was not able to reconvene in plenary as a full House throughout the remaining period of the legislative term 2007 - 2011. Instances like the above across other states like Rivers, Edo and Ekiti traumatised the citizenry who became disenchanted with the system of rule (Muheeb, 2015).

Police Invasion of the National Assembly
As noted earlier, the military background of the prevailing political culture tainted the general understanding of the essence of popular government in particularly and the appreciation of the adoption of executive presidency for a diverse Nigeria (Bugaje, 2003). The constitution vested the Presidency with wide-ranging powers including authority over the state instruments of force. Section 218(1) of the Constitution states that:

> *The powers of the President as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federation shall include power to determine the operational use of the armed forces of the Federation.*

This becomes even more pronounced and counterproductive with the preponderance of weak institutions that were amenable at the slightest opportunity. Beyond constitutional provisions that aid the president's

desire to deploy power arbitrarily are other socio-cultural factors that manifest in the jaundiced understanding of the state and the end to which state institutions could be exploited. Hence, the presidential powers, much more than what the constitution envisages have been deployed arbitrarily, and at will by successive occupants of the office of the President in the Fourth Republic. This has manifested in series of alleged federal executive promoted intrusion into subnational spheres in manners that projected the structural imbalance of the Nigeria's federal arrangement, and the inadequacies of the system of rule. The Presidency through executive agencies and institutions under its supervision displayed false sense of superiority over components arms and levels of government as well as their respective institutions. The legislature was at the receiving end of many of these unwarranted relationships of inequality and the National Assembly was not spared of this executive arbitrary intrusion.

Nigeria opted for separation of powers among the three arms of government – the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. This implies that none of these arms should interfere with the other in the performance of its functions. Identifiable instances of interference have however reveal rampant incursions of arm-wielding security agencies' into the legislature's spheres at the instance of the executive. These had resulted in occasional constitutional breaches, chaos, and lawlessness. The November 20 2012 invasion of the National Assembly by men of the Nigeria Police Force, an institution under the command of the executive going by Sections 214 to 216 of the Constitution, which resulted in commotion following teargas canisters thrown by the Police personnel, was another classic case of executive interference. The police laid siege to the National Assembly Complex, prevented some lawmakers from gaining access under the pretext that there was an 'intelligence security report', to the effect that some 'hoodlums' planned to invade the Assembly Complex.
During the daylong siege, not only were all entries into assembly complex barricaded; scores of federal lawmakers including the Senate President, David Mark and Speaker of the House of Representatives,

Aminu Waziri Tambuwal among others were tear-gassed. The Police practically assumed superior authority over and above the legislators by this unwarranted action against constitutional provisions under Section 214(1-2) of the 1999 constitution. The attendant frustration triggered the flagrant resort to self-help by some opposition lawmakers who had to scale the fence of the assembly complex to forcefully make their way to the assembly chambers. This was with a view to thwarting the perceived executive's sinister plan for a pseudo plenary of lawmakers of the ruling PDP extraction allegedly being lobbied to launch an impeachment campaign against the Speaker. The invasion was thus primarily aimed at preventing the Speaker, Aminu Tambuwal, and those lawmakers perceived to be sympathetic to his cause from gaining access to the Chamber. It would be recalled that the Inspector General of Police (IGP) had earlier ordered the withdrawal of Tambuwal's security without any legal pronouncement to that effect. Similar cases of desperate contests for power by the national and subnational executive and legislature had resulted in gridlocks, chaos and near collapse of the rule of law. While executives were guilty of undermining the rule of law, legislators were equally culpable of promoting lawlessness by resorting to self-help as primitive remedy for perceived threats from their respective executives (Ameh, 2014, Amalu. 2014, Ameh and Adesomoju, 2014, Agbakwuru,2014, and Agbakwuru and Erunke, 2014).

The November 20 invasion was, thus, a clear breach of protocol and flagrant abuse of powers by the executive through the Police Force. The Police or any other outfit with legitimate authority to the use of force cannot debar lawmakers from conducting their legitimate legislative businesses as representative of the people. Except with the express permission of the National Assembly through the designated authority, the siege on the National Assembly without the knowledge of the principal officers, particularly the Senate President in such a manner as widely reported in the print and electronic media was antithetical to the principle of separation as well as the spirit and letters of the constitution. The Police unwarranted action in this

author's estimation was symptomatic of executive's attempts at muzzling a seemingly uncooperative legislature. Given the status and statutory powers of the National Assembly; the police could not have taken such a drastic course of action, were the legislative-executive relations cordial, without the knowledge and consent of the President who also doubles as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Constrain of Undue Executive Advantage

By and large, the seemingly premeditated siege on the National Assembly raises questions bothering on both the horizontal and vertical relationships within and between the national and subnational governments. On the one hand, the federal executive was fingered serially in attempts at covertly manipulating the law enforcement agency to limited political ends. Manipulation and arbitrary deployment of the force thus signifies the brute presidential power to further interests of the successive occupants of the office of the President, especially where victims of such arbitrariness were considered vulnerable and opposed to the President's interest. On the other hand, some of the victims of presidential arbitrariness were culpable of allegation of abuse of office levelled against them and often exploited by the executive officials in such circumstance. The situation was not helped in these circumstances by legislators' inconsistencies in their political dealings, and tardiness in their legislative callings. The ensuing scenario thus suggests that executive's resort to self-help was largely a punishment for lawmaker's malfeasances. It also suggests an executive's statutory intervention strictly in an exclusive politics within the confines of the legislature in which the presidency had no interest but only needed to take legitimate proactive action in the guise of public safety and security as guaranteed under Section 214(3) that states:

> *The President or such other Minister of the Government of the Federation as he may authorise in that behalf may give to the Inspector-General of Police such lawful directions with*

respect to the maintenance and securing of public safety and public order as he may consider necessary, and the Inspector-General of Police shall comply with those direction or cause them to be compiled with.

For example, at a committee hearing in the National Assembly, the IGP attempted to justify the barricade of the National Assembly, on the pretext that the Police was been proactive by acting on information of an impending protest by supposed members of the All Progressive Congress (APC). It was the statutory duty of the Police to prevent the would-be protesters from gaining access to the Assembly Complex, as they had allegedly threatened a showdown. The IGP also predicated the Police conduct on the ground that Tambuwal, had lost his mandate, on grounds of judicial pronouncements, as different law courts had held that there was no division in the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), to justify his defection to the APC, going by section 68(1)(g) of the 1999 constitution, as amended. The IGP however acknowledged the fact that the defection under reference was still a subject of litigation in the Court of law while he was summoned before the House Committee on Police Affairs. He nonetheless refused to recognise Tambuwall's Speakership at the hearing, despite an earlier order of a Federal High Court that the status quo ante, should be maintained.[1] He also could not justify why some of the legislators from the ruling party had free passage, when their colleagues including those of the opposition party, were locked out (Ameh, 2014, Amalu, 2014, Ameh and Adesomoju, 2014, Agbakwuru, 2014, and Agbakwuru and Erunke, 2014).

Going by the provisions of the Constitution, the police was meant to be apolitical state institution vested with powers and resources to guarantee the safety and security of the citizenry irrespective of political leaning or party affiliation. In this case, the Force could not be excused for its seemingly partisan conduct, which tends to suggest an overzealous attempt to identify with the President and show loyalty to the ruling party, the PDP. The executive intransigence and highhandedness through this incident was targeted at the Speaker,

Aminu Waziri Tambuwal who had earlier defected from the ruling party, the PDP to the main opposition party, the APC. Typically, in order of hierarchy, the Senate President, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives are numbers three and four Principal Officers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria respectively. The Inspector General of Police could not have invaded the premises of the National Assembly in an action that would obstruct these officers from their official assignments without an express order from the President (Ameh, 2014, Amalu. 2014, Ameh and Adesomoju, 2014, Agbakwuru, 2014, and Agbakwuru and Erunke, 2014). Section 214(1-2) state that:

(1)   There shall be a police force for Nigeria, which shall be known as the Nigeria Police Force, and subject to the provisions of this section no other police force shall be established for the Federation or any part thereof.

(2)   Subject to the provisions of this Constitution:

(a)   the Nigeria Police Force shall be organised and administered in accordance with such provisions as may be prescribed by an act of the National Assembly;

(b)   the members of the Nigeria Police shall have such powers and duties as maybe conferred upon them by law;

(c)   the National Assembly may make provisions for branches of the Nigeria Police Force forming part of the armed forces of the Federation or for the protection of harbours, waterways, railways and air fields.

Section 215 states that: (1) There shall be:

(a)   an Inspector-General of Police who, subject to section 216(2) of this Constitution shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Nigeria Police Council from among serving members of the Nigeria Police Force;

(b)   a Commissioner of Police for each state of the Federation who shall be appointed by the Police Service Commission.

(2)   The Nigeria Police Force shall be under the command of the Inspector-General of Police and contingents of the Nigeria Police Force stationed in a state shall, subject to the authority

of the Inspector-General of Police, be under the command of the Commissioner of Police of that state.

(3)   The President or such other Minister of the Government of the Federation as he may authorise in that behalf may give to the Inspector-General of Police such lawful directions with respect to the maintenance and securing of public safety and public order as he may consider necessary, and the Inspector-General of Police shall comply with those direction or cause them to be complied with.

The Police undertaken in the situation under reference was therefore a negation of the spirit of the constitution, which expects the law enforcement agency to be dispassionate in its dealings with individuals, parties or groups in such circumstances as the alleged security breach that informed the siege. The conduct of the Police undermined the rights and privileges of the lawmakers who were representatives of the electorate with similar mandate as the executive. By their respective status and mandate, lawmakers deserved to be accorded similar privileges and courtesies as deserving of elected representatives in the executive, in this case the President and the Vice-President under whose command the Police functions. The indiscriminate deployment of chemical weapons and discourteous face-off similar to those on call in quelling riotous hoodlums should not have been brought to bear within the precinct of the Assembly Complex as widely reported in this circumstance. Given the extant command structure vis-à-vis the antecedent of the Nigeria Police Force on the subject matter, denials by the presidency of executive's involvement in the invasion was not enough to exonerate the federal executive institution. Reports of instances of executive infraction in active connivance with the Police Force across the states of the federation are legion. This record accounts for why the presidency was consistently held responsible for executive encroachments in legislatures' spheres.

Public Sympathy, Popular Support and the Challenge of Credibility

The National Assembly was almost denied the much needed public sympathy and popular support while the crisis lasted. In essence, the abuse of, and unbridled contest for influence and power between the legislature and the executive became a contest between two governmental institutions with questionable credentials. In an ensuing institutional politics, the federal lawmakers being victims of executive arbitrariness, could have inadvertently granted the executive the opportunity to exploit the legislature's institutional inadequacies especially those that gave vent to inconsistencies in political leaning and political party affiliations. Thus granted the executive the right of statutory intervention in what ordinarily could have pass for an exclusive internal politics within the confines of the legislature in which the presidency had no interest but only needed to take legitimate proactive action in the guise of public safety and security. The burden of proof of innocence before the electorate lies with either of the two parties. In this case, the executive arbitrariness was almost overshadowed by the legislature's battered image in the estimation of the public but for the leadership competence of the principal officers of the 7th Assembly committed to advancing the cause of the legislature as autonomous institution against all odds quite unlike the fourth, the fifth and the sixth legislatures.

Prior to police invasion, the National Assembly has had its reputation battered by allegations of unhealthy compromises against some hitherto distinguished members of the legislature. Allegations of widespread corruption also trailed some of the Assembly's oversight engagements. The impression of the National Assembly held by a fraction of the populace was given credence by the tirade by former President Olusegun Obasanjo to the effect that the National Assembly members were corrupt. Obasanjo's swipe impugned the integrity of both the membership and leadership of the national assembly. As discussed elsewhere, the national Assembly had to contend with the burden of clearing itself of many scandals including alleged bribery

and financial gratifications. For example, there was the Hon. Farouk Lawan US$620,000 bribe received as part of $3 million bribe from Femi Otedola, Chairman of Zenon Oil. Hon. Herman Hembe-led group was accused of demanding sponsorship of its meeting and public hearing and collected some money from the Securities and Exchange Commission for a trip to the Dominican Republic, for a training programme they never attended. Senator Abubakar Sodangi led panel to probe land allocation in the Federal Capital Territory under the administration of Mallam Nasir El-Rufai was accused of grandstanding because the Minister's refusal to yield to their demand for allocation of choice plots of land in Abuja (El Rufai, 2013 and Oluwole,2011). There were allegations of corruption leveled against the National Assembly Joint Committee headed by Senator Aloysius Etuk from Akwa Ibom State to conduct investigation into the Police Pension Fund Administration in 2012 (Oluwasegun, Ojiabor, Anofi, and Onogu, 2013) among others.

The National Assembly, especially the Senate was perceived as subservient and an extension of the executive arm of government, perhaps on accounts of its willingness to overlook some of the perceived inadequacies of the national executive. The House of Representatives members were also viewed as immature going by their seemingly independent mindedness of the principal officers in their relationship with the executive. This was in the same manner that national issues were considered from the angle of partisanship. Some national issues like the extension of emergency rule in the North-East were debated on the floor of the Senate or the House from geographical or political affiliation point of view irrespective of the consequences on the electorate. In a build up to the invasion, the Presidency and Senators of Peoples Democratic Party, PDP extraction was engaged in battle of wits over the congresses of the party prelude to the 2015 general elections. The presidency was accused of collaborating with the National Working Committee of the PDP to undermine Senators seeking reelection to the Senate in the general elections (Agbakwuru and Erunke, 2014, Agbakwuru, 2014,

Odebode, Alechenu and Ameh, 2013, and Oluwole, 2011). Thus, the indiscriminate and overbearing deployment of presidential powers for malevolent political ends, and the appropriation of legislative powers for pecuniary benefits were both indicative of the prevalent abuse of power by public officials in the legislative and executive arms of government. Such acts of compromise in the exercise of public power should be discouraged and parties' resort to self-help in their respective quests to assert authorities should be jettisoned.

Implications for Popular Government
The PDP understandably appropriated the reactions of the Presidency to the effect that the executive was not responsible for the Police invasion but that the Police only acted within the confines of its statutory responsibility. The APC likened the police invasion and the free use of chemical weapons (tear gas) to attack the lawmakers, thus preventing the legislature from functioning to a military coup. It also challenged the Presidency and the ruling party to institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the incidents and its fallout. This author however differs with the party congratulatory message for members of the National Assembly, especially those who scaled the Assembly Complex fence to access the Chamber. Lawlessness has no place in representative government. APC noted that 'the lawmakers, who were united across party lines to restore the integrity of the House of Representatives and prevent an attempt to truncate our democracy, were heroes, because if they had not done what they did, no one could have imagined the consequences of the orchestrated police action against the National Assembly.' It also commended Senators who stood in sympathy and solidarity with their colleagues in the House of Representatives, including the Senate President, David Mark, for resisting tyranny and anti-democratic forces.

Going by subsequent submissions on the floor of the Senate, the Police invasion of the National Assembly was 'demos-constraining', as a threat to the desirable autonomy of the National Assembly. There was a collective admission by the lawmakers that the siege was more

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of impunity than professional discharge of legitimate responsibilities of the Force and that the action was grossly inimical to the cause of the legislature and popular government. It nevertheless exposed the weak link (in this case the National Assembly) in the democratic engagement chain between government institutions and the electorate. Lawmakers recourse to informal rule of engagement in resolving fundamental issues of governance and the rule of law was brought to the fore as the executive attempted to test the will of the legislature in this matter was not in doubt. In this author's estimation, perhaps, the executive could have taken a different course of action had the legislature risen up to its responsibility in holding the executive accountable for similar atrocities perpetrated by the Police Force across the States of the federation.

Perhaps, the legal framework concerning the security of the legislature vis-à-vis the command structure of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) should have been in focus much earlier than the November 2014 breach, as the Governor was constitutionally recognised as the Chief Security Officer (CSO) of the State. This leverage has also been deployed against the legislative institutions by some State Governors that enjoyed the confidence and patronage of the president. For example, as noted earlier, the Ogun State legislature was factionalize and could not operate for almost two years for the better part of the sixth Assembly 2007-2011. Going by reports, the Ogun State Police command, perhaps on directive from higher authorities could only guarantee the safety and security of a faction (G11) of the 26-member Assembly loyal to the Governor. The other group G-15 opposed to the governor claimed to have alerted the Federal Government and requested its intervention in the crisis through a petition it forwarded to the National Assembly. The petition among other issues claimed that the State Commissioner of Police had sealed off the State Assembly Complex and refused to provide security for the legislators, thereby preventing the lawmakers from sitting. Report has it that thugs suspected to be loyal to the Governor invaded the

Assembly Complex to prevent a sitting of the Assembly while it could not reconvened in plenary thereafter (Muheeb, 2015).

Similar incident that better explains the trajectory, and implications of the Nigeria Police excesses particularly in legislative practices was the absurdity of five Rivers State lawmakers' attempt to overwhelm twenty-seven other colleagues in a bid to impeach the substantive Speaker of the State House of Assembly in 2014. The political crisis in the State degenerated as attempts to impeach the Speaker accused of ineptitude sparked a free-for-all in the presence of men of the police. The Rivers State crisis was made worse by the irreconcilable difference between the Governor and the State Police Command as the State Commissioner of Police would only take order from the IGP. Following the crisis, the relationship between the State Governor and the Commissioner of Police, broke down irretrievably. While the Commissioner of Police held the Governor in contempt, the Governor repeatedly called for the removal of the Commissioner without action from the Police authorities in that regard (Onyekpere, 2013. Onoyume, 2013. Akasike and Ameh. 2013. Akasike, and Oluwole, 2013).

The Inspector General of Police (IGP) feigned ignorance of the many unsubstantiated allegations against the Commissioner of Police claiming not to have gotten any written documentation to buttress any allegation of wrongdoing against the Commissioner. As opposed to the Governor's claim, the IGP also denied the allegation that Policemen from the State Command fired teargas into the Government House, Port Harcourt. Inspite of its legislative resolution including House of Representatives resolution for a legislative emergency in Rivers State; the National Assembly's intervention was of no significance. It could neither ensure the resumption of the State Assembly in full plenary nor amicable resolution of the festering crisis between the State executive and the legislature on the one hand and between the State executive and the national executive on the other. The National Assembly was irked that the Police could not prevent intruders from making their ways into the State Assembly chambers

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despite prior knowledge of the attendant mayhem possibly for reason raging from feud between the State police Command and the Rivers State Governor to the State Governor's friction with the Presidency. The tacit presidential support for the factional legislators was a serial acknowledgement of the superiority of five minority members over 27 majority members of the State Assembly, an action that amounted to a negation of representative government (Onyekpere, 2013, Onoyume, 2013, Akasike and Ameh 2013, Akasike and Oluwole, 2013).

The Ekiti State experience was another test case in Police blatant support for impunity to please the ruling party. While a good number of victim Governors of the many impeachment campaigns during the Obasanjo regime may have been culpable of many allegations of corrupt practices and misrule leveled against them, the use of Police to hoodwink, blackmail, and intimidate legislators to initiate impeachment under duress was unconstitutional and unjustifiable. We could also infer that the succesive legislative-executive crisis in the Fourth Republic confirm the fact that there is a deficiency level below which a system must not fall to be considered meaningfully representative. This development was not helped by selective actions on the part of the legislature that have chosen to be driven more by scandals too large to be ignored than by a constant pressure for efficiency, responsible government, credible public policy and the pursuit of public good generally. Legislators have often been lured to, and have been unable to resist compromising public trust as well as the confidence reposed in them by supporting the executive in exchange for personal gratifications or sometimes advances requests for constituency projects. Oversight only suffices when executive corruption or government failure to deliver on its promises cannot be ignored.

On institutionalisation, the legislature must not be an all-comers' institution. The 7th Assembly was unable to take advantage of its majority component to advance its cause as an institution. It has the power but lacked the political will to hold the executive accountable

for its actions as some of the identified cases attest. Some attempts by the legislature to consolidate this initiative were resisted by the executive and aided by a faction of the legislature not necessarily for reasons of ideology but partisanship and ethnicity. Legsialture's invitations to executive officials were sometimes ignored or appointment with Committees often rescheduled. A number of calls on the president to remove or replace his appointees were either ignored or issues around such calls resolved as family affairs. Failure of the executive to act on legislative House resolutions have not attracted concrete legislative sanction beyond occasional outburst by opposition members, actions often interpreted from political point of view.

Thus, legislators' preferences and political interests unduly influenced their concrete official decision-making. The siege was therefore a manifestation of the legislature's ineffectiveness as regards due attention to statutory provisions (like Sections 214 and 215 of the Constitution) that were meant to regulate legislature-executive relations in the discharge of their responsibilities and in keeping faith with the electorate. One would have expected the National Assembly to take advantage of Section 214 and 215 establishing the Nigeria Police and explore a comprehensive review of those sections of the Constitution as to checkmate further possible damage to the democratic process. Judging by record of police intrusions across the States since 1999, the National Assembly can be accused of either complicity or abdication of responsibility in bringing its legislative powers to bear in such constitutional breaches. The overall potentials of the legislatures had limited effect, or were of no effect on the measure of executive accountability, hence, the representativeness quality of the system.Police invasion was a breach of the security, privileges, sanctity of the premises and precincts of the National Assembly, which could be likened to undermine the legislature and by extension, the electorate. It was absolutely unconstitutional, more so that it was not the duty of the police to remove the Speaker for defecting from the PDP to the APC, as the responsibility for such

undertaking was that of members of the House of Representatives. Such impunity should be avoided to restore the dignity and sanctity of the National Assembly. The desecration of the temple of democracy, the National Assembly was a breach of the Legislative Act Section 14:1 which prohibited the invasion of the National Assembly and Section 16 which makes it criminal for any visitor to obstruct a lawmaker in the line of duty (Agbakwuru, and Erunke, 2014, Agbakwuru, 2014 and Amalu, 2014).

Summary

Federal system suggests dual sovereignty codified in a supreme constitution with separation of powers that transcend branches of government to entails the delineation of the functional boundaries of component units embracing the rule of law as institutional guarantee against encroachment and impunity. Presidential system is synonymous with political executive exercising the authority derived from electorate remains a prominent feature of most democratic federal system. Findings reveal that federal principle has not sufficiently guarantee systemic efficacy as formal and informal rules affect the style of leadership in presidential polities bolstering manipulation of state instruments to limited political ends. Measured delegation of powers and piecemeal decentralisation, asymmetric advantage over power, security and fiscal policies at the discretion of and to the advantage of the national executive are all demo-constraining.

The 1999 constitution make provisions for executive presidency and a bicameral national legislature and a unicameral subnational assembly in each of the 36 states being microcosm of the federal structure. It granted the president extensive and far-reaching executive powers including exclusive right to the control of the armed forces deployed occasionally, to questionable ends often constituting impediment to the effective functioning of representative institutions. The entrenchment of vertical and horizontal of separation of powers has not guarantee unfetter measure of autonomous operational authority between institutions and governments. Viewed against the

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military background of the system of rule, reconciling the leadership styles of the preceding authoritarian political executive, the predominance of personal leadership with the civilian leadership as opposed to widespread viable governing institutions and government is anti-democratic. This paper acknowledged the "demos-constraining" potential of executive presidency amidst weak complementary governing institutions. It also noted that the processes of inter-institutional and inter-governmental relations have had both "stabilizing and conflictual elements" with extensive implications for representative government. Perhaps this is not unconnected with the military background of the civilian rule.

Dictatorial tendencies manifested in electoral processes, inter-governmental and inter-institutional relations but more pronounced in the manipulation of legislative institutions at the vertical and horizontal levels. This includes using instruments of coercion to thwart legislative action consider not in favour of the president. Thus, widespread impunity amidst arbitrary deployment of executive powers underscores the fundamental flaws in executive presidency. The militarisation of impeachment campaigns through massive deployment of security forces and periodic manipulation of the legislature undermining representative government. Successive PDP controlled presidency was fingered in virtually all controversial legislative-executive relations that rendered most state legislature uncoordinated and ineffective.Demo-constraining signals from the presidency also include the prominent roles it played in producing and removing the leadership of the National Assembly, and arbitrarily deployment of federal executive instruments like the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) for flawed impeachment campaigns.

The partisan disposition of the security agencies under the command and control of the presidency was at its peak with the invasion of the National Assembly by men of the Nigeria Police in breach of the security, privileges, and sanctity of the premises and precincts of the legislature. This was ostensibly to halt the trending outward drift in party membership and probably to effect the removal

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of Speaker of the House of Representatives for defecting from the ruling party, the PDP to the APC. The invasion and siege on the National Assembly was a breach of the Legislative Act Section 14:1 and Section 16 which makes it criminal for any visitor to obstruct a lawmaker in the line of duty. Such impunity should be avoided to restore the dignity and sanctity of representative institutions. While the incident undoubtedly necessitates a revisit of the devolution of powers to guarantee institutional autonomy for effective checks and balances, it nonetheless challenges lawmakers to be decorous in their conduct and in dealings.

Concluding Remarks
The constitutional breach calls for the review of the devolution of powers, renewed commitment to the strengthening of institutions and the rule of law for effective checks and balances and enduring representative governance. The executive and its instruments remained essential creations of the constitution in the same manner that other institutions of governments are. The National Assembly has the legislative power and privileges, which make its premises immune to Police invasion of this nature. It is therefore necessary that legislators be accorded the necessary rights and privileges as could guarantee lawmakers opportunity to freely perform their legislative functions without hindrance. The electorate should also be alert to their obligations to the system of rule by rising, resisting the temptation of applauding those in authority on sentimental grounds regardless of palpable atrocious acts like scaling the fence of the Assembly complex. However, a legislature that lacks autonomy would naturally be subservient to the executive, a path the National Assembly must not thread to avoid a repeat of the November 2014 absurdity. The danger of compromised or subservient legislatures manifests in the reign of dictatorship, much the same, impunity thrives, as issues of national importance are viewed from myopic and partisan point of view. Legislators should therefore, internalize the understanding that winning

election is different from governance and entrenchment of effective representation, which requires in-depth knowledge of the potentials and inadequacies of existing laws and institution.

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Nigeria – US Relations during Barack Obama Presidency (2009 – 2017)

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Abstract

That the behaviour of states at the international arena is governed by what they perceived as the actualization of their national interests, is a fact that is sacrosanct. The extent to which the relationships between the U.S and Nigeria was altered as a result of the coming to power of Barack Obama, as U.S President, with his African heritage is a position worth investigating. The paper seeks further to examines this issue around the indices of foreign relations parameters such as bilateral trade, financial aids, military assistances and diplomatic engagements between the two countries and to determine to what extent the impact of Obama foreign relations as relates to Nigeria was coloured by his background or they were purely U.S foreign relations positions. The paper also takes a look at those factors that tend to alienates Obama from a more robust engagement with Nigeria and indeed Africa and how those facts can be mitigated against in the future. Conclusively, the article proceeds to evaluate the findings, draw conclusions and proffer recommendations.

Introduction

The United State and Nigeria have always been perceived to have positive relationships. Statistically about 81% of Nigerians in 2010 viewed the United States positively and more importantly, the U.S is Nigeria's greatest trading partner and its most important diplomatic partner (Pew Research Center, 2013). On bilateral level the relationship has been described as relatively robust and healthy and within the confine of their respective national interests' aspirations. These relations range from trade agreements, financial aids and assistances, cultural and educational exchanges, military trainings and equipment procurements, political and diplomatic missions and other forms of interactions. This scenario made many analysts to believe

that the US has consistently played the 'big brother' role towards Nigeria ever since she attained independence in October 1960.

The level of attention both the government and citizens of Nigeria pay towards happenings in the US can be understood from the aforementioned relationships. Specifically, Nigerians have always paid consistent interests to the electoral processes and to who becomes the president of United States. This was very apparent in 2007-2008 US electoral periods when it became evidence that the first African American was most likely going to become the candidate of one of the major political parties, *The Democratic Party*. The interests and enthusiasms this particular election drew within the Nigeria social and political cycles were unprecedented; this is quite understandable given that Barack Obama was the first African American to have attained that status in America political history. It is on record that series of fund raising activities were organized by prominent Nigerians to support the candidacy of Obama. When eventually he became the president-elect and subsequently sworn in as the 44th president of the United States, the euphoria was palpable.

Therefore, it was assumed without much in-depth evaluative that Africa and indeed Nigeria will fare better under the regime of Obama in term of trade, aids, military assistance, political tutelage and in other areas of socioeconomic and political ties.

The focus of this paper therefore is to take a critical look at the Obama administration to determine if there were developments that lay credence to the fact that because of Obama, the dynamics of relationships between the two countries were fundamentally altered in favour of Nigeria or if not, why did it not happen?

Theoretical Framework – Objectivist National Interest

Various theories have been propounded by social scientists in their attempts to explain the foreign policy of states. Joseph Frankel (1970) grouped these efforts into three perspectives namely; the Objectivists (Realists) approach: these are those that see national interest as fixed, permanent, enduring, independent, continuous and autonomous of

the ideological disposition of the decision makers. To this group national interests are scientifically and objectively driven, and among proponents of this group include, Hans Morgenthau, E.H Carr, and F.S Northedge (1965) etc. Secondly, the Subjectivists (Behavouralists) approach: This group views national interest as how the policy makers perceived it to be. Therefore to understand national interest is to evaluate the disposition and body language of the policy makers and what their personal or overriding interests are. Key proponents are Allison Graham, Snyder, Sapin and Bruck (1975). Lastly, the Rejectionists (Marxists, Revisionists), see national interest as nothing but the interest of the ruling or dominant class, advocates of this group include Karl Marx, Fredrick Hegel, Richard Barnet, Joyce and Gabriel Kolko.

As part of his personal contribution to the study of national interest Joseph Frankel, identified three stages of national interest, which include; aspirational/declarative, operational and evaluative. While aspiration denotes a country's foreign policy objectives and a declaration of same, operational is the stage of execution of specific foreign policy objective in practical terms. Evaluation is the roles of scholars who measures the gap between the aspirational and the operational and determine the extent to which set objectives were realized.

The influence of Hans Morgenthau (1948) is also noticeable in foreign policy studies; he perceived national interest as self preservation through the instrumentality of power (military) in the international relations. For him national interest is all about power equation.

In the view of F. S. Northedge (1965), he states that the motive of nation's behavior is "that governments acting on behalf of state in international system do what they believe to be for the nation's good". This further amplified the objective sense that states act at all times for their general good and interest and not based on emotion of political leaders.

National interest in the perception of this paper is an objective and realistic explanation of the foreign policy of a nation that is not necessarily dependent on the ideological disposition of the political leader(s) nor on the predominant interest of the ruling class or any other class. Although class interest or ideological disposition of the leader may inform a specific policy aspiration of a state, it cannot be concluded that a particular class or leader determine the overall policy focus of a nation. Rather predominantly the foreign policy of a state is rooted in the overall interest of the nation.

Methodology
Trend analysis will be employed as the methodological approach to collate, evaluate and interpret statistical data as they relate to trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), financial aids and military assistance between the US and Nigeria. The scope of the study will focus primarily on the periods preceding to and during Barack Obama administration. The findings will enable the paper to draw some conclusions and recommendations.

Historical evolutions of Nigeria/US Relations
The US Nigeria relationship took off almost immediately Nigeria gained independence from Britain in October 1ˢᵗ 1960. From the US congratulating message to the then Prime minister Sir Abubukar Tafawa Balewa, to the establishment of a consulate office in Lagos headed by Joseph Palmer II the Nigeria US relations have evolved gradually to cover virtually all relevant areas of diplomacy (US office of the Historian).

   As a young state in the 60s, the US has shown full commitment to assist Nigeria to grow and become a force to reckon within West Africa sub-region. By virtue of her population and abundance agricultural and natural resources, comprising of cocoa, palm oil, Rubber, Groundnuts, crude oil etc. the US viewed Nigeria as a strategic partner of the US and a potential power in Africa and the black world.

However, the tale of Nigeria took a new twist when political and tribal divisions led to the first military coup of 1966 that was to subsequently snowball into a civil war in 1967 between the Nigerian state and the secessionist Biafra Republic. It was alleged that the US played a neutral role during the civil war and on the believe that Nigeria is an area under British influence (Damola, 2013). The US Department of State stated that "the 30-month long civil war, which ended in January 1970, resulted in 1-3 million casualties". However, the aftermath of the civil war that was declared 'no victory no vanquish' left the country in a distrait. The preceding epoch of 1970 – 1999 witnessed series of military incursions in politics only punctuated by 2nd and the short-lived 3rd republics between 1979 – 1983 and August-November 1993 respectively. This period witnessed series of undulating relationships between the US and the Nigerian state. The relationship was fundamentally strained following the annulment of the June 12th 1993 federal election and the subsequent abortion of the 3rd Republic and during Gen. Sani Abacha (1993-1998) regime when Nigeria was globally declared a pariah nation following very poor human right record.

Despite all these instabilities, the US and Nigeria relationship continue to forward in leaps and bounds. Within this period, in 1972 Nigeria began to export crude oil in commercial quantity and US was one of the first point of call. Most US major oil companies including Mobil, Tenneco, Gulf and Chevron were among the first to invest in Nigeria oil exploration that surged the country's export potentials.
The above was the scenario pre 1999 when the country began this current process of guided democratic experiment tagged the fourth republic. The period between 1999–2008 will be categorized as the pre-Obama era and the period covers the tail end of Bill Clinton administration and the presidency of George W Bush. Therefore, the focus of the paper will be between 1999-2008 (pre-Obama period) and 2009-2017 (Obama presidency).

Nigeria/US Relations pre and during Obama Presidency
Bilateral Trade Relations

As the data below in Table 1 indicate, Nigeria has always maintained a positive trade balance with the US as a result of our huge crude oil export to the US Between 1999 and 2012 Nigeria total export figure to US stood at $281.74 billion on the average of $20.12 billion per year and a yearly average positive balance of $17.67 billion. However, in 2014 trade balance nosedived into negative with a balance of ($2.13) billion deficits and also a deficit of ($1.12) billion in 2015 (US Census Bureau). The reason for this occurrence was the trade embargo placed by the US government on Nigeria crude. This was informed by allegation of massive corruption that was going on within the Jonathan administration and the inability of the government to address it decisively. This action of the US government is consistence with her foreign policy of abhorring every form of corruption wherever it might be found.

Therefore, it was not within the powers of Obama as US president of the US to continue to encourage huge crude imports from Nigeria and watch the proceeds from such trade being squandered or embezzled by political officials. One way to help the Nigerian economy was by imposing trade embargoes and cut short sources of excessive cashflow where possible from the Nigerian government.

Table 1.   US - Nigeria Trade Figures 1999-2016 $m

Year	US Export to Nigeria	Nigeria Export to US	Nigeria net trade position
2005	1,619.8	24,239.4	22,619.60
2006	2,233.5	27,863.1	25,629.60
2007	2,777.9	32,770.2	29,992.30
2008	4,102.4	38,068	33,965.60
2009	3,687.1	19,128.2	15,441.10
2010	4,060.5	30,515.9	26,455.40
2011	4,904.8	33,854.2	28,949.40
2012	5,029.3	19,014.2	13,984.90

2013	6,388.4	11,723.9	5,335.50
2014	5,965.9	3,839.5	2,126.40
2015	3,435.1	1,915.8	1,519.30
2016	1,894.9	4,176	2,281.10

Source: Adapted from United States Census Bureau

Figure 1.   Representation of US Nigeria Trade Figures (1999-2016) $M
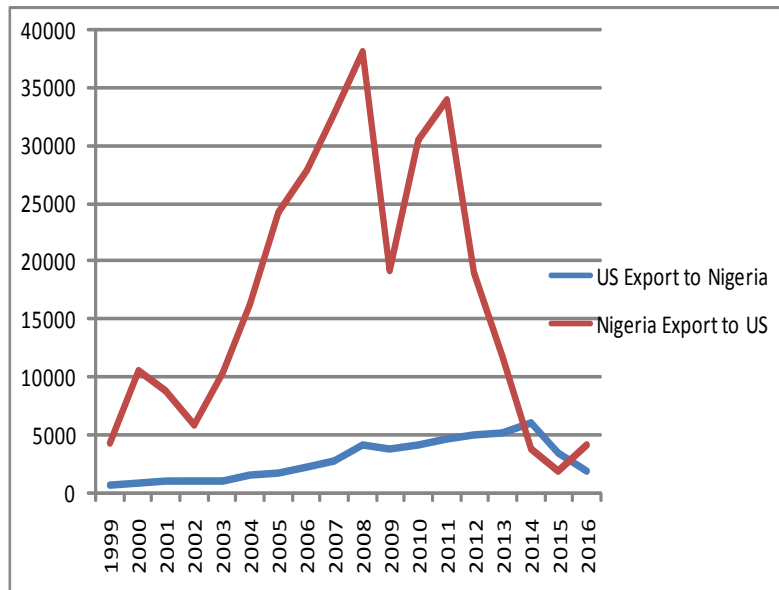
The assumption that the US cut down on crude oil importation from Nigeria because it has commenced local exploration of oil instead of importation, proved not to be true. A trend study of US crude oil importation shows that total oil importation by the US remains consistent within this period in focus. Table 2, below shows that it

was only crude oil importation from Nigeria that was cut down considerably, to account the noticed drop in US total crude oil imported.

Table 2. US Crude Oil Import by Year 2010 - 2016

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
US Global Oil Importation	9,013	8,935	8,527	7,730	7,344	7,363	7,877
US Oil Importation from Nigeria	983	767	406	239	58	54	210

Source: Adapted from US Energy Information Administration.

The supply of 58 and 54 thousand barrel of crude oil for 2014 and 2015 respectively, represent the lowest in history of Nigeria and US Crude oil supply since inception in 1973.

This fact further underscore the position of the paper that US near total cut off of crude from Nigeria was motivated by the embarrassing level of corruption in Nigeria that the US government has openly rebuked.

Security Relationship
Table 3. US military and Police Aids to Nigeria $m

YEARS	MILITARY AIDS
2009	7.13
2010	9.26
2011	14.4
2012	15.53
2013	5.31
2014	4.91
2015	4.39

Table 4. US Commercial Arms Sales Authorization to Nigeria $m

YEAR	ARMS SALES
2009	3.35
2010	22.19
2011	22.13
2012	27.03
2013	25.35
2014	15.23

Source: US Security Assistance Monitor

Table 5. US Military Trainings to Nigeria Military

YEAR	Training('000)
2009	9.12
2010	2.02
2011	5.32
2012	6.02
2013	6.26
2014	0.57

Source: U.S Security Assistance Monitor

Figure 3: U.S Aids, Arms Sales/Authorization and Training to Nigeria Military

Source: US Security Assistance Monitor

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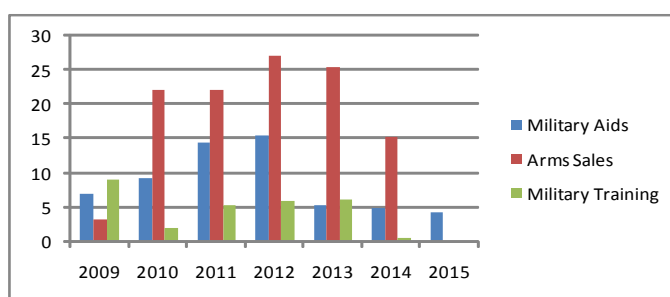
Assessment of Nigeria and US military engagement follows the same pattern as that of trade relations. According to US Security Assistance Monitor, 2015 report, U.S military and police aids to Nigeria dropped significantly from $15.53m in 2012 to $5.31m in 2013 and further down to $4.91m in 2014. Likewise the level of US authorization given to Nigeria to purchase arms and ammunitions from US and her allies also went down considerably from $27.03m in 2012 to $25.32m in 2013 and further down to $15.23m in 2014 despite the intensity of the fight against Boko Haram within this period by the Nigerian government. This action was hitched on what the US officials perceived as the widespread corruption within the Nigerian military. The US report summed up the allegation to include

1. Basic military supplies such as bullets failing to reach the front lines
2. Stolen soldiers salaries encouraging mutiny
3. Civilians distrust in the military preventing intelligence gathering
4. Military personnel colluding with Boko Haram, including providing them arms and ammunitions, such as firearms, assault rifles, shotguns, grenades, mortars and combat vehicles (US S.A.M. 2015)

Human right abuses report also indict the Nigerian security forces of the following, arbitrary arrest of over 20,000 people between 2012 and 2013, estimated extra judicial execution of over 1,200 persons, over 7,000 deaths in military custody since May 2011. Other includes forced disappearance, torture, community punishment, mass arbitrary arrests, unlawful detention and so many other forms of brutalities. The only option left for the U.S according to US state Department, was to apply the Leahy Law. The Leahy Law prohibit the US Department of state and the Department of defense from providing military assistance to foreign military units that allegedly violates human right with impunity (Premium Times, 2015).

Another case in point was the much reported $15 million that was seized by the South African government. Fund purportedly meant

to purchase aims and ammunitions by the military was declared illegal and therefore seized. The shady and backdoor process the money was whisked out of the country raised numerous eyebrows and till date the money is yet to be returned (The Cable, 2017). The only explanation the government could offer was that they route the fund through the backdoor in order to avoid US blockage on arms sales to Nigeria military.

While all these were going on, according to Akande (2015), President Obama ordered the release of $35m worth of US military and defense assistance to France which has been backing the military of Chad, Niger and Mali in the fight against Boko Haram, ignoring Nigeria that is at the centre of the five year insurgency.

Nigeria only response to all these issues was to cut off joint training by the US and Nigeria military, instead of addressing the concerns raised by the US government about the level of corruption within Nigeria governmental cycle.

US Financial Aids to Nigeria (2006-2016)

Table 6. US Financial Aids to Nigeria $M

Year	US Global Financial Aids	US Aids to Nigeria	Nigeria Percentage of US Total Global Aids
2006	21,487.55	180.35	0.84
2007	22,789.72	349.95	1.54
2008	29,452.24	496.46	1.69
2009	35,138.43	594.30	1.69
2010	40,678.74	616.18	1.51
2011	47,567.42	633.30	1.33
2012	39,811.71	649.97	1.63
2013	43,628.41	699.78	1.60
2014	41,883.94	703.86	1.68
2015	46,745.10	663.50	1.40
2016	45,055.43	469.85	1.04

Source: Adapted from USAID.GOV

Figure 4: US Aids to Nigeria $m
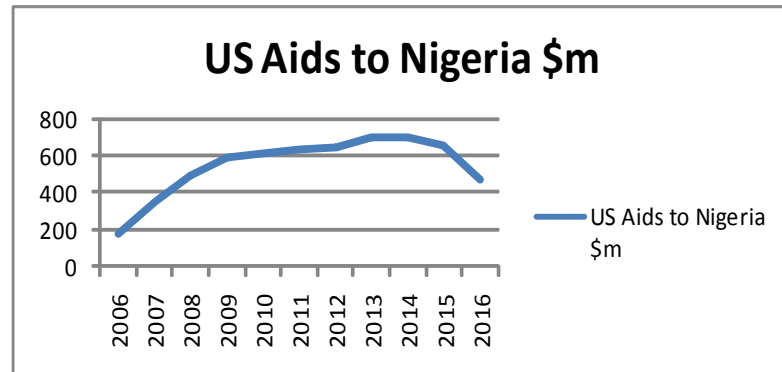
US Aids to Nigeria $m

Source: Adapted from USAID.GOV

The data above indicates that despite the differences between the administrations of Obama and Jonathan, the inflow of assistance from US to Nigeria was still on upward swing as at 2014 report, unlike in trade and military assistances figures. This is because, it was perceived by the US administration that if disrupted, it will portend further hardship for those the assistances were meant to relief. The US assistances are directed to areas of need such as health, education, security and peace, human right and democratic and economic developments and as such do not end up in the pockets of corrupt politicians. According to US state Department:

> *"The State Department's for year 2014 foreign aid request includes more than $690 million for Nigeria. Improved health and education services, democratic governance, agriculture and economic reform, professionalization and reform of the security services, and HIV/AIDS have been the main areas of focus in recent years. Governance aid focuses on the justice and electoral systems, on advancing anti-corruption efforts, and on initiatives to make governance structures more responsive and accountable"* (Ploch, 2013)

In like manner US Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), flow to Nigeria was not fundamentally affected, it has consistently grown from $98 million in 2001 to $596 million in 2014 and drop slightly to $444

million in 2016. (Trading Economics, 2016 Report). This is so because, investments inflow and outflow are not directly control by governments but are managed by multinational corporations and their Chief Executive Officers.

Diplomatic Ties

However, another area where the seemingly acrimony was also noticeable was in the area of diplomatic interactions. The fact that Obama deliberately refused to visit Nigeria speaks volumes of the level of animosity between the two countries. Nigeria been a key strategic partner to the US and a major trading partner in Africa, would have been one of his first point of call, but this was not to be giving the political climate in Nigeria as at then. This was a major humiliation for the Jonathan administration and the country at large.

Obama did not want to be seen, from the various evidences and allegations coming out, as encouraging or supporting an administration that is fully embedded in corruption. It is against US foreign policy and international image to continue to 'pally' with a regime that is clearly corrupt and that does not have due regard for human right protection. Especially, the various negative reports that were emerging from the North East region of the country.

As part of foreign policy interest of the United States is to see Africa democratized. In the final leg of his last visit to Africa and at the Africa Union Headquarters, in Addis Ababa, President Obama admonished African Leaders who cherished the idea of sit-tight in office. He said "when a leader tries to change the rules in the middle of the game just to stay in office, it risks instability and strife" (Dovere, 2015). He further stressed that "nothing will unlock Africa's economic potential more than ending the cancer of corruption". A democratized Africa will pose less of a burden to the US. If governments are accountable to the citizenry, resources are judiciously managed for the benefit of all, transitions from one regime to another are less conflictual, elections are devoid of rigging and violence, and electoral disputes are judicially resolved, human right abuses are less frequent

then Africa would have been on the path of development. And United States' projected foreign policy for Africa would have been saved.

Critic of Obama Foreign Policy towards Nigeria
Corruption Index

Corruption in Nigeria, according to US State Department is "massive, widespread, and pervasive," and by many accounts, the country's development will be hampered until it can address the perception of impunity for corruption and fraud (Ploch, 2017). Human Right Watch suggests that Nigeria's political system rewards rather than punishes corruption, which is fueled by oil revenues for decades (HRW, 2011). The height was that, in May 2014, President Jonathan told journalists that allegations of corruption against members of his cabinet were politically motivated and that most acts were not more than 'common stealing'. This was sequel to the suspension of the Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Sanusi Lamido Sanusi on allegation of financial impropriety. Sanusi was very critical and vocal of the level of impunity going on within the Jonathan government, he had alleged large-scale corruption within the top echelon of the NNPC and reported that a whopping $20 billion was missing, which the corporation was yet to remit to its account with CBN (Cocks and Brock, 2015). This allegation was later dismissed by the government without proper investigation. Among the many 'sins' of president Jonathan was the pardoning of the former Governor of Bayelsa state. In the 2014 report, Transparency International states "in a major setback on ending impunity for corruption among political office holders, President Jonathan in March 2013 'pardoned' Diepreye Alamieyesiegha, his political mentor and godfather and the only governor to have served prison time in Nigeria for corruption."

Subsequent revelations have been showing that billions of naira was looted under the watch of Jonathan presidency. And with the benefit of hindsight it is made clear why the US government under President Obama would want Jonathan to be removed from office at all cost. President Jonathan said this much in the advance copy of the book 'Against the run of play' by Olusegun Adeniyi. He said "the

former US President Barack Obama and his officials made it abundantly clear by their actions that they wanted a change of government in Nigeria and were ready to do anything to achieve that purpose". And by 'anything' the US government was ready to employ all means including military option should in case President Jonathan employ force to remain in office the book added. According to President Jonathan the US government even brought some naval ships into the gulf of Guinea in the days preceding the elections.

Same-sex Marriage/Human Right Accusations
Another area of disaffection between US and Nigeria in particular and Africa in general is the vehement and defiant rejection of same-sex marriage and any form of sexual affection between persons of same sex.

Nigeria's criminal and penal codes for instance, punish 'consensual homosexual conduct with up to 14 years in prison. Sharia penal codes in many northern states criminalize consensual homosexual with canning, imprisonment or death.

The same sex marriage (prohibition) bill, which President Jonathan ratified in January 2014, took things to a different level, it however has been criticized and described as 'absurd' as the new law criminalized public displays of affection between same-sex couples and penalizes organizations advocating for the rights of LGBTQ people.

This was a major area President Obama and the international community, especially the human right institutions had issues with African leaders because, in their world view this segregation is antithetical to freedom of association which is a fundamental principle of democracy. For instance when Obama visited Kenya and tried to advocate for the rights of LGBTQ groups he was flatly and decisively pushed back by President Uhuru Kenyatta with the popular quote that "the primary problem confronting Africa is economic and not same sex debate."

China as External Influence

Considering one of the reasons why Nigeria seemingly was not fundamentally affected by the pressure coming from the US or seem not to have been hard hit by trade embargo imposed by the US seems to be China. China have been aggressively filling the gap that the US is creating in Africa, for instance Nigeria China total bilateral trade moved from $560million in 2000 to over $15billion in 2016, while that with US slide from $12billion to $5.4 billion for the respective periods (WITS, 2016). Equally China FDI inflow to Nigeria has been on an upward swing from $1.14 billion in 2001 to about $13 billion as at 2016 (UNCTAD, 2017). In the area of assistance China is one of the leading contributors to Nigeria economy.

Nigeria and most African countries' relationships with China seem positive looking and comfortable for African leaders. Unlike the United States, China as a matter of foreign policy does not interfere in the internal politics of other countries. This is a total contrast with US policy of enforcing human rights, accountability, democracy and good governance, as a matter of foreign policy she relates with mostly African countries. The loophole created by dwindling visibility of US in Africa was spontaneously filled by China and India. According to Witney Schneidman "the general view of the US on Africa is: Where is the US? We see China. We see India. There is a desire to see more of the US on the continent (Schneidman)"

Conclusion and Recommendations

Most Africans, both at home and in diasporas tend to blame President Obama for his 'inability to help' the African continent so much more than his predecessors in office, on the premise that he shares African background and heritage, yet Africa did not fare better during his administration.

A review of this position and as documented in this paper is of the conclusion that, although the thesis that president Obama indeed did not do much more for Africa than his predecessors, is a statement of fact, but the conclusion that the paper was able to reach is that the

continent and indeed Nigeria are not to hold Obama responsible for these unmet expectations based on the following reasons;

The foreign policy of America would not have allowed Obama to focus on Africa in such a way as to neglect US other commitments in other parts of the world where US attention and efforts were also needed, quite frankly during Obama presidency, these areas were quite overwhelming.

Again as the theory indicates, foreign policy focus is objectively fixed, consistence, enduring and permanent. These characteristics are also true of US foreign policy. Therefore Obama could not have fundamentally brought his passion to bear on Africa issues even if he had wanted to without breaching the principal objective of US foreign relations and US foreign policy position on Africa.

Even where it is possible for Obama to influence policy position in favour of Africa, circumstance in Africa and indeed in Nigeria did not encourage such. There were wide spread and endemic corruptions being committed by governmental officials. This clearly negates US policy of transparency, accountability, prudence and good governance. For instance between 2000 and 2016 Nigeria racked in $212 billion in foreign trade income, just with Obama 8 years period the country pulled a whopping $100 billion, this is exclusion of money that was declared missing. For instance former governor of Central Bank of Nigeria, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi raised alarm of $20 billion crude oil sales not remitted to CBN account. Despite this huge income, the US felt it is not impacting on the lives of ordinary Nigerians because of the endemic level of corruption that was going on in the country under President Jonathan. This scenario was the reason why Obama felt that his hands were tied in providing more than usual incentives to the Nigerian government while officials squander the huge resources from crude oil sales. Therefore any unusual assistance will not be justified especially to the American congress and general public why such is desirable. Nigerian government officials and their cronies engages in ostentatious display of wealth while holidaying abroad, on medical trips, sending their kids abroad for education and generally

living far above an average American politician at the expense of the impoverished Nigerians. It becomes really difficult to continue to assist in a major way such a country without facing a backlash at home. Again human right record was appalling and these create friction in the relationship between the US and Nigeria to the extent that Obama could not do much for the continent and in particular Nigeria in terms of aids, trade concessions, military assistances and other cooperative and diplomatic assistances.

Recommendations

From the conclusions drawn above, it is made clear that it is not just enough to have a leader that shares some affinity with another country to enjoy the privileges that flow from such a super power nation. For a country like the US, with highly entrenched institutions and due processes, the influence of a political leader cannot be absolute. It is equally germane to pursue those policies that will put the recipient country on a sound disposition for such benefits to be easily attractable. In the light of the above, Nigeria as a country need to look inward and address issues that tend to discourage external assistances in the form of aids, trade concessions and general diplomatic connectivity. Firstly, the country must continue to be entrenched on sound and solid democratic principles both in words and in deeds. By this transition from one democratic regime to another must not only be free, fair and credible but it must be demonstrated and seen as such by both local and international observers. Nigeria democratic experiment, although is picking up since 1999 when the current fourth republic was consummated, it is equally important for the process to be sustained. Elections devoid of violence, thuggery, intimidation and oppression, manipulation of results, electoral rigging and falsification of result should be regarded as the minimum standard going forward in the country and elsewhere in Africa. As it stand today (2017) in the continent, elections are not only far from being fair, free and credible they are usually characterized with violence before, during and after elections. An instance is the recently, Supreme Court, annulled election in Kenya where supporters of President Uhuru Kenyatta and

his main rival Raila Odinga engaged in nationwide violence. Therefore if elections are not credible, legitimacy is generally questionable.

Accountability and transparency in governance is another issue that our political leaders need to take seriously. Where the minimum standard of accountability and transparency is not met corruption, nepotism and prebendalism strive. To say these have been the issues in Nigeria pattern of governance is to stress the obvious. It is not in Nigeria's corporate interest to continue to allow these and other negative and subjective factors to determine the modus operandi of our political system. We cannot afford to continually brace the rear as one of the most corrupt countries in the world annually based of Transparency International consistent reports. Anti-corruption agencies within the country e.g. EFCC and ICPC need to be given free hands by ensuring their independence both in their operation and funding. The idea of not persecuting alleged corrupt public officials simply because of their connection to the corridor of power serves as encouragement to others who are watching and are ready to dive into the hay of corruption as well, but when scapegoats are made and people watching know they too will not be spared if found wanting they will definitely be deter from making the venture.

The need to tackle decisively the various insurgent groups within the country, especially the Boko Haram in the North East, is another issue if dealt with could endear the country to the US government. The Nigerian military has in the period under review faced major backlash especially from the US government of inefficiency, corruption, human right abuses and ineffectiveness in the fight against Boko Haram. There is the urgent need to erase this assessment of Nigerian military by totally decimating this dreaded insurgent group, Boko Haram, once and for all. By doing this the image of the military will definitely be restored, given that they have proven their worth in various peace keeping missions across Africa and beyond.

Couple with the above, the brewing internal schisms and divisions within the country bothering on ethnic, sectional and religious lines need to be addressed by all parties involved under the leadership of

the federal government. The country cannot afford at this time or at any other period in the future to be bugged down by wars resulting from political differences, the end of which no one can predict.

This paper has shown that the dominant influence in foreign policy of the United States is the national interest of the country as against the ideological disposition or personality of the president. Despite the fact that Obama is of Africa descend, that profile did not overtly influences the foreign policy disposition of the United States toward Africa as a continent, or to Nigeria as a state, in any material way as many analysts had projected. Rather the policy of the US towards Nigeria is objectively determined by the perception of the US government to the leadership of the Nigerian state and what the US perceived as her national interest.

The central recommendation of this paper is to establish the fact that what Nigeria need in order to have a good and striving relationship with the US in term of trade, aids and assistances, robust diplomatic ties. It is not so much so, to have an 'Obama' in the white house, but to imbibe those attributes that will put the country on a good footing. That irrespective of the person in power or the political party, Nigeria will continue to have a good rapport with the US. Ability to study and know what the US foreign policy focus is and key into it is germane for a lasting relationship.

The power equation is clearly in favour of the US, therefore, Nigeria need the US more than the US need Nigeria. To make the most out of the relationship Nigeria need to toll the line of the U.S on those issues that are of importance to the survival of the Nigeria state. When this is done, it will not matter if it is the 'Barack Obamas', or the 'Donald Trumps' that is in power Nigeria will continue to benefit.

What is true for Nigeria is also true for all other African states. What is true for Nigeria in terms of massive corruption, political and social violence, electoral malpractices, sit tight politics, nepotism and other social vices are same for other African states. Therefore the panacea for Nigeria societal problems represents a panacea to all African states.

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Book Review

Religion and the Making of Nigeria

Author:	Olufemi Vaughan
Publisher:	Duke University Press, Durham and London
Year of Publicarion:	2016
Pages:	311
Reviewer:	'Tope Akinpelu Department of Politics and International Relations, Lead City University, Ibadan

"Religion and the Making of Nigeria", is part of the Religious Cultures of African and African Diaspora People, book series, edited by Jacob. K. Olupona, Dianne M. Stewart and Terrence L. Johnson, which focuses on religious, cultural and political aspects of the traditions of African and African Diaspora peoples.

Divided into two sections, asides from the introduction where the author defines the scope of his research, the author, in the first section (Chapters 1 to 6), and focuses on the influences of Islam and Christianity in the formation of modern Nigeria. Specifically, He examines the impact of these two major world religions from the advent of these religions in the pre-colonial era to their present state and impact in contemporary Nigeria. This first section particularly dwells on the juxtaposition of ethno-political ideals in Nigeria's socio-political terrain.

The second part, (Chapters 7 to 9), focuses on the impact of *Sharia* (Islamic Law) in post colonial Nigeria as reflective of what the author calls the "structural imbalance" which exists between Northern Nigeria on the one hand, and the middle belt and Southern Nigeria on the

other hand, which could be traced to the colonial administration of Nigeria. From its practice during the colonial period to various attempts at imposing the expanded version of the *Sharia* law in twelve predominantly northern states in the 21st Century and reactions by its religious and regional opponents.

The Book revolves around four distinct themes: the role of Christianity and Islam in transforming pre-colonial Nigeria, the impact of these religions on Nigeria's Northern and Southern protectorates in the colonial era, the impact of these religious movements on the socio-political transformation of the Northern region and the middle belt during the decolonisation process in Nigeria and their continued impact in the post colonial era.(see p.8). The author's central argument that religion has been a major thread in the process of weaving the tapestry of Nigerian society, is supported by his ability to give historical accounts of the start of religious movements (of Islam and Christianity) which precedes colonial rule, thus defeating the belief that the role of religion in Nigerian politics could be traced to the colonial era.

Written in clear, straight forward language that is void of ambiguity, the author helps the reader to appreciate and understand the vital role religions plays in Nigerian politics. Also, the author's use of maps depicting the various stages of administration in Nigeria, from the colonial era to the post colonial era, helps the reader understand the import of regionalism and state creation in the process of Nigeria's development.

While the Book is a welcomed contribution to knowledge, a major shortcoming has been noted. The illustration on the cover of the Book shows symbols of three religions; the Crucifix and the Image of a pries (Christianity), the Crescent, the Star and an Image of an *Imam* (Islam), and the "Opon Ifa"(the divination plate for *Ifa* , a god identified with the Yoruba, perhaps representative of indigenous African religion in Nigeria). The author however, does not dwell much on the impact of the traditional religion in Nigerian politics rather he focuses mainly on the impact of Islam and Christianity. Perhaps, because he already

indicates in the introduction, that the work would dwell principally on the impact of two major world religions.

Overall, the book represents exceptional scholarship, as the author draws on archival and contemporary sources to accomplish his task while simultaneously employing an interdisciplinary approach to explaining the role of religion in the making of contemporary Nigeria. Students of History, African Studies, International Relations, Anthropology, Sociology and Religion would doubtless find this book rich and educating.

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