

insecurity. A confirmation of this is Nigeria's low ranking in the Global Peace Index.⁴ It is against this background, that this paper seeks to examine the recent ominous and worrying phenomena of insurgency of diverse sorts in Nigeria and its enervating impact on national development. These insurgency and other violent activities are not only threatening the survival of the nation as one united and indivisible entity, but are also adversely affecting its socio-economic development.

This paper therefore undertakes and explores the conceptual basis of national security and its interconnectivity with human rights and national development.

The paper also recommends the steps that will be taken in addressing the monumental security challenges and abuse of human rights in Nigeria. It concludes by asserting that the fight against security challenges must be done within the context of the rule of law.

Conceptual Background of National Security

There are varying conceptual approaches to the definition of security. The concept of national security is often defined in excessively narrow terms and taken to simply connote the preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty of a state, as well as its core political and cultural values, against military threats from without and disruptive activities of non-state actors.

In today's complex and interdependent world, faced with many nontraditional threats like pandemics, climate change etc, the concept of national security must however, be seen in a more holistic manner. The holistic nature of national security demands that appropriate structures are put in place to manage it. Nigeria unlike the United States and India is unfortunate not to have such structures, which of course, need to be institutionalized. However, the concept of national security remains ambiguous. While in the United States America, security concerns cover such issues like migration or terrorism. In Israel, it is more about existential threats posed by Iran, their proxies in the region and the vexed Palestinian/Arab Israeli conflict. In Africa, "security concerns" apply to the activities of sundry criminal gangs, armed groups and ethno-religious uprisings with minimum concern for migration and environmental concerns.⁵

Some of the ramifications of security challenges include climate change which begins with natural disasters including increasing severe hurricanes like Katrina in 2005 and rapid rising sea levels which threaten military infrastructure on low-lying islands in the United States of America.

⁴ According to a study done by Global Peace Index, Nigeria ranks 148th out of 163 Nations in the Index. This places Nigeria above only 6 out of the 54 countries in Africa.

⁵ Sachs, S.E, *the Changing definition of Security* (2003), al i. pitt. Edu/7296/-25k – (2003)

However, in countries like Nigeria, the bad management of resources has been said to threaten livelihoods and those stuck in poverty resort to extremism which results in insecurity.⁶ Until recently, attempts to explain or solve the problem of slow paced development in Nigeria have paid little attention to the place of security in national development despite the fact that a lot of research has been conducted on the issue of insecurity itself. It is no surprise therefore that for a long time, insecurity has hampered national development. The developmental strides achieved by first world countries that place premium on security lend credence to this assertion. For instance, the security situation in our country Nigeria, is presently being threatened by internal rebellion as exemplified by the Boko Haram insurgency in the northern part of the country. This Boko Haram phenomenon has viciously been threatening the control of the coercive apparatus of the State and as such, constitutes internal rebellion. They have been unleashing violent attacks on the people and properties of Nigeria and these attacks have been acknowledged as hampering the economic progress and overall development of the country.⁷

Nigeria is stupendously endowed with abundant human and natural resources, but the challenge of internal security has created a dangerous situation where violent crimes have become rampant and thus negatively affecting development. It is difficult to identify the causes of this heightened insecurity in our country with any degree of precision but it has been suggested that the jaundiced legacies bequeathed to most countries in Africa by the colonial masters are part of the root causes of these problems and challenges. In this regard, it has also been observed that the security challenges in developing countries are more frequently internal than external. These countries are fashioned by their colonial masters with substantial linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious differences as contrasted with most of the European countries that are mostly mono-ethnic states managed by a professional class of officials governed by complex Rules and Regulations designed to combat favoritism and other centrifugal forces.⁸ It is the combination of the above ethnic, cultural, linguistic as well as religious differences in Nigeria that are substantially contributing factors to most of the internal security troubles Nigeria is currently facing. Serious security challenges like the Niger Delta crisis and the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria have impeded development and resulted in gross violations of human rights.

⁶ Flowers Ar Ja, *National Security in the 21st Century: How the National Security Council can solve the Present Climate Change Problem?*. Sustainable Development Law and Policy. Journal, Vol II, (2011), P.2.

⁷ See Sach, S.E, *the changing definition of Security (2003)* at Pt. Edu/17 2961-25k.

⁸ Mbeki M, *Africa Security and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa – Looking for the Future*, 2010; Nnadi; Obi, M.H. and Ojilere O, *Human Rights, Peace and Development: Crisis Area in Nigeria*, being a Paper presented at the Nigerian Association of Law Teachers Conference, 2012, at the University of Lagos, Nigeria.

regardless of their age, ethnic origin, location, language, religion ethnicity, or any other status. They are applicable everywhere and at every time in the sense of being universal and they are egalitarian in the sense of being the same for everyone.

Human rights are rights which all human beings have by virtue of their humanity, such as right to life, dignity of human person, personal liberty, fair hearing and freedom of thought, conscience and religion. They provide a common standard of behaviour among the international community.¹⁴ Chapter IV of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, provides for fundamental rights of citizens including the right to life, right to dignity of human person, right to personal liberty, right to fair hearing, right to private and family life, right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, right to freedom from discrimination and the right to acquire and own property anywhere in Nigeria. They are natural, rational, inviolable and unalterable, the deprivation of which would constitute a grave affront to one's sense of justice.¹⁵ We must note however, that these rights are not absolute but are subject to constitutional limitations, derogations and restrictions.

The question may become apposite as to what is the relationship between human rights and human security. Against the background that individual, international and national development requires the protection of human rights, therefore, one cannot have security without the protection of human rights.

Development requires respect for human rights and respect for human rights prevents conflicts. Thus, security and human rights encompass human rights, good governance and access to education, health care, opportunities and chances to fulfill human potentials. The concept of human security is an admixture of human rights and security as characterized by the freedom from violence and threats and the freedom to fulfill our potential.¹⁶ Similarly, in chapter II of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, provisions are made for several other rights under the Fundamental Objective and Directive Principles of State Policy.

Although, the provisions in Chapter II of Nigeria's Constitution relating to human rights are not justiciable, the Nigerian government also hardly accords any serious

¹⁴ Both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the U.N Charter, for instance, "reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. UDHR, G.A. Res, 217 (111) A. LI-N.Doc.A/RES/217(111), Pmbl. (Dec. 10, 1948)

¹⁵ See Maurice Cranston, *What are human rights?* (Taplinger, Pub. Co. 1973): Osita. C. Eze, *Human Rights in Africa: Some Selected Problems*, Ch.1 (Nigeria Institute of International Affairs)

¹⁶ See Human Rights and Human Security/ Australian Human Rights. 1 July 2006, the Hon Hohn Von Dousoi, HREDC, President, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.

attention to social security¹⁷. Justiciability concerns the limits upon legal issues over which a court can exercise its judicial authority. Unfortunately, there is yet no specific binding set of obligation imposed by the constitution on the national institutions to guarantee individual rights of citizens in Nigeria. This initial and continuing lack of commitment to human rights in Nigeria from our independence as a nation in 1960 to the present day has in turn reflected in the attitude of people to law and governance and even to the Nigerian State. It has caused our citizens not to have a profound sense of love and patriotism for the country. People are more readily disposed to taking laws into their own hands and this impacts our national security greatly. Hence, government policy and attitude to the people presents the view or rather gives the impression of a Nation unsympathetic to the fundamental human rights of individuals. This position can be contrasted with the E.U. member states' position regarding Human Rights. With the end of World War II, Western European Nations were more than ever ideologically committed to the concept of protecting human rights. The German and Italian constitutions for instance, were rewritten with very strong commitments to basic rights contained within a catalogue.¹⁸ From the colonial times to the present day, human rights abuses and violations in Nigeria in general cut across the entire spectrum of rights. The abuses come in different forms and could be direct or indirect. This has continued to pose a problem to National Security and Development in Nigeria.

National Security and Development

The prominent role played by security of life and properties in the development of society is too obvious to be stated. Security is no doubt the major determinant of development of any society. Thus, the role of security in the development of the Nigerian nation cannot be overemphasized. It has been said that the concepts of national security and national development are intertwined. Development is impossible without security.¹⁹ The causes of national insecurity challenges in Nigeria are legion ranging from corruption, injustice, poverty, poor health care delivery services, decayed and collapsed infrastructure, environmental degradation and socio-religious crisis.

The above –mentioned problems are seemingly prevalent in Africa especially in the Sub-Saharan Africa. Instability and security challenges in Africa have resulted in high capital flight from the continent.²⁰ It is said that nearly 40 percent of Africa's wealth is kept outside Africa instead of its being invested in the continent. Insecurity not only results in capital flight but also forces skillful technicians and professionals needed to

¹⁷ See Article 43 of the EC Treaty, the predecessor Treaty to the present E.U Treaty. "Justiciable" here is taken to mean any issue to be examined in court of justice and "non-justiciable" is taken to mean the inability of any court of law to try any matter even where real interests or rights are infringed.

¹⁸ See Foster N, Foster On E.U. Law, Oxford University Press, First Edition, 2006 p. 97-98

¹⁹ See Security and Development in Africa: Strengthening Conflict Prevention, Resolution, and Management Mbeki, M, n. 2.

²⁰ Mbeki. M Ibid

maintain social and physical infrastructure to flee, thus impeding industrialization and making development impossible. That is why every responsible government devotes realistic and genuine efforts in combating these causes of insecurity in their nations. Being acutely aware of the correlations between all these causes of insecurity and the crisis of underdevelopment in Nigeria and negative effect on the psychological wellbeing of the citizenry, the government has not demonstrated enough capacity and leadership in the face of these menaces.

It should be noted that development is not purely an economic phenomenon, it also involves changes in structure, institutions and attitude as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of absolute poverty. Thus, the issues raised in the foregoing are meant for proactive reaction of the generality of the Nigerians and not the government alone. In this respect, it must be appreciated that there is the important need to encourage healthy discussion among individuals, communities and the government. This will engender national security and national development. Development must be a tool to support security so as to keep vulnerable youths employed as well as employable in addition to improving the overall quality of life of the people.²¹ It is axiomatic that human development is also a very useful strategy for maintaining national security. Where there is peace and safety, there is progress. The protection of life and property as well as the promotion of national security are vital for the overall national economic development.²²

Recommendations

Any recommendation for redressing out current monumental security challenges and gross abuse of human rights in Nigeria must recognize the imperative of addressing the root causes of our present socio-economic and political challenges in Nigeria. The growing disaffection, discomfort and distress within the larger society coupled with the seemingly indomitable official corruption, high unemployment rate, economic crisis, pauperization of the masses, decaying infrastructure and a futile national integration project have led to the increasing number of persons taking to crime. Consequently, kidnapping, ritual killings, armed conflicts, armed robbery, terrorism, cultism and other violent crimes have become the common denominators of Nigeria social relations. The government has made efforts to contain the insecurity in many parts in the country. Until the security architecture of the Nigerian state is regenerated and reinforced, a good economic and educational roadmap/blueprint developed and sustained, Nigeria may be walking the precipice.

²¹Security and development, Op.cit.

²²Ladan, M.Y., *Law cases and Policies on Energy, Mineral resources, Climate, Environment, Water, Maritime and Human Rights in Nigeria*, (Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd, Zaria, 2009, P. 604

Government should be concerned about the rate at which our youths are leaving the country for the so-called greener pastures and innovate policies to stem the tide of this mass desperation of Nigerian youths to leave the country.

National development and national security are complimentary imperatives. The latter reinforces the former and the two are primary responsibilities of the government. The government is therefore the agency of the State for actualizing the purposes of the State. The ease with which national government fulfills the essence of the state unarguably lies on the degree of cooperation they enjoy from the people, and this in turn, depends to a large extent on the degree to which government meets or fulfills their legitimate aspirations.

Government must make and enforce good laws as a “bad law does not bind the conscience of man”,²³ In addition, the democratic system in place must begin to positively deliver the expectations of Nigerians. It must also improve the standard of living of Nigerians and deliver many citizens from the state of abject poverty to which they have been subjected to for a long while.

Furthermore, there is the need to identify the core, pivotal virtues and ethical values that should guide and regulate the conduct and behaviour of members of the armed forces and the other security agencies to mitigate human rights abuses. These values should be built on the respect for human life, the regards for human dignity and the right to life, liberty and security of the people, freedom of worship, religion thought and conscience and the freedom of opinion.

Nigeria should also cut down the cost of governance drastically. The cost of governance in Nigeria is “atrociously” expensive. Governmental agents and officials are endowed with stupendous and unjustifiable powers. A state governor in Nigeria for instance, is dialectically more powerful than a pharaoh in ancient Egypt. Concentration of government’s powers in the hands of one individual (a state governor for instance) is the very definition of dictatorship and state –orchestrated recipe for graft and corruption. Absolute powers by their very nature tend to be arbitrary, capricious, despotic and such overwhelming power is prone to abuse. The arrogance of power is the worst form of arrogance ever known to man²⁴. Note that graft and corruption especially in the Nigerian context includes bribery, extortion, nepotism are characterised by the subordination of public interests to private aims and violations of

²³ According to St Thomas Aquinas. Injustices, corruption, tyranny, nepotism etc. often stunts and affects development efforts of a nation. These elements breed disaffection, frustration and in extreme cases, violent eruption, crisis and insecurity all over the nation as we are presently witnessing in Nigeria.

²⁴ Nwabueze B.O, *The Presidential Constitution of Nigeria*, London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1982, pp 32-33, quoted in Iman, I. & Mustapha M.A “Combating Corruption in Nigeria. The Role of the Legislature Examined”, p.5

the norms of duty and welfare, accompanied by secrecy, betrayal, deception and a callous disregard for any consequences suffered by the public. It is strongly recommended that there should be a drastic circumscription of the powers of state governors in Nigeria. Government should plug all the holes through which scarce resources are being siphoned and dissipated so as to free resources for national development and equipping of the military to fulfill its functions.

National security, human rights and altruistic governance are in all, the requisite panacea for peace and development in any well-organized nation. Thus our government is strongly urged to place greater emphasis on them so as to rescue our dear nation from some of the worst existential challenges that we have ever seen since the inception of Nigeria as a sovereign and an independent country. The governance process must be erected on the pillars of sovereignty, security, improvement of the living conditions of the people, respect for human rights, effective and efficient service delivery. Most crucially, Nigeria people must be led by a focused and genuinely altruistic leadership that will strive to secure the lives of the citizens and galvanize the support of all citizens to make the Nigerian project a true success.²⁵

Conclusion

The paper has been able to establish that there is a common link between national security and national development. In consequence, any attack on national security must therefore involve issues of national development. The relationship between national security, terrorism and development in Nigeria is one that cannot be ignored. No nation can attain development where there is no security. The insecurity challenge in Nigeria has become a formidable challenge for the Nigerian government and its peoples. The present state of insecurity in Nigeria does not only affect our development as a nation, but also reverses the little progress the country has made since independence. Nigeria's present security challenges pose an existential threat to our nation. The security challenges facing the polity have trickled into the society, resulting in the unwholesome escalation of crime, violence, exposure of gross inefficiency and lack lustre performance on the part of the security agencies. The methods employed in the current fight against terrorism activities in the country still falls short and this is done in total disregard to freedoms of not only those suspected of terrorism, but also against innocent citizens who find themselves in those areas that are prone to terrorist/insurgent activities. Nigeria in its fight against terrorism, insurgency and organized crimes must do so within the ambit of law. The rule of law must be upheld in the fight against insecurity and due regard must be given to the cause of human rights in all government endeavours at combating insecurity in Nigeria.

²⁵Omidade Comfort et.al "addressing the Insecurity Challenges in Nigeria: The Imperative of Moral Values, and Virtue and Ethics" *Global journal of Human Social Sciences/ Political Science*, Volume 13 issue 2, year 2013 available. <https://Core.ac.uk/download/pdf/1670/00/.pdf>.