AN OUTLINE OF THE SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONAL SECURITY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Onamah, Godwin Ojodomo (Ph.D)
Department of Public Administration,School of Management Studies

Amana, Isaac Akogwu
Department of Remedial Studies,School of General Studies

Attah, Emmanuel Yusuf (Ph.D)
Department of Business Management,School of Management Studies, Kogi State Polytechnic, Lokoja

ABSTRACT

It is popularly acknowledged that international relations has been in a state of flux leading to alteration in the narratives and perceptions of Third World countries including Nigeria towards internal realities and the traction of norms and pattern of social behaviour. National Security and development also known as national unity, survival and progress are core objectives of national interest that constitute State responsibility. Various attempts have been made to contextualise the failure of the State to deliver in its task towards the society. These efforts along the emerging trends elicit renewed understanding of the concepts of national security and development as symbiotic. Quantifications of the are inadequate at estimating the success and failure of the State. This paper therefore attempted a descriptive account of the problem. Dependency theory is adopted as possible explanation for the causes, dynamics and effects of the problem. Secondary data is mostly relied upon for its findings and analysis. Findings are that there is a disconnect between the State and society in Nigeria. It is recommended that sovereignty, the rights and freedoms of the citizens must be respected through deepening of democratic principles if the nation is to advance.

KEY WORDS: *National Security, National Development, Natio/State*

INTRODUCTION

Beginning from the early post-independence period, Nigeria's policy choices have been determined by the composition of the global setting in which it found itself and its domestic multi-ethnic configuration. At the international level, Nigeria and indeed African States were faced with the challenge of managing artificial boundaries drawn by the colonialists (Akinyemi, 2001:2,3) Colonial legacies no doubts contributed to the prevailing security and development challenges in Africa, however the influences of internal dissension and war which characterised the history of Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century, notably the *Jihads* in the north and the Yoruba Wars cannot be overemphasised. Faced with the background of internal dissension and colonisation, what was to constitute Nigeria's national interest upon independence became its unity and survival or security as applicable to other African states. Nigeria's national interest therefore was

shaped by a response to the domestic and international milieu.

On the domestic front, far back as 1954 under the Littleton Constitution, Nigeria adopted the federal system of government and liberal democratic system which is deemed to be more consistent with her multi-ethnic configuration. (Bakari, (2017) The Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy provided in Chapter II of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) which declares that the welfare and security of the citizens is the primary purpose of government also testifies to its liberal democratic nature. The ideological persuasions of all political groups in Nigeria are estimated to derive from these basic objectives of national interest. (Egwu, 2015)

External factors have induced Nigeria's adoption of the African centre-piece policy, being the largest country in Africa and concentration of black people in the world. The negative impacts of these external and internal factors obviously became responsible for the failure of Nigeria and African countries in general to achieve unity, peace and development. Some of the challenges that have resulted from the problem of security and development include rising trans-boundary conflicts due to ill-drawn colonial boundaries; religious bigotry, extremism and violent crises; self-centeredness and mis-governance; vandalisation of public assets, kidnapping, Advance Fee Fraud (419), internet scam (yahoo! yahoo!) Others forms of criminality include insurgency, terrorism and the deepening rot in national infrastructure. Besides the realities on the domestic scene, at the international level, Nigeria found itself in a world divided along two ideological poles. This division made Nigeria to identify itself with States of like nature in the Southern part of the global divide which is characterised by underdevelopment and pervasive insecurity.

Apart from government efforts at integration, cohesion and development, scholars and concerned entities have attempted to contextualise the problem of security and development in Nigeria and probably the Third World in general through an assessment of the patterns and trends, the effects and the likely solutions to the pervasive problem. Quantitative terms have been applied in certain attempts on the traction of security and development studies, such attempts are sometimes inadequate because among the variables apart from population and costs that can be quantified, the volume of security and development can hardly be quantified correctly. This study takes a descriptive approach as a methodical departure from other endeavours in examining the primacy of national security and national

development through a study of symbiotic relationship between the two concepts and other nascent contexts extending to security as index for human survival.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION
National Security
The concept, national security is subjected to various interpretations, paralleled along the world axis the State under study belongs and whether it belongs to the developed or the underdeveloped world. Some of the nascent perceptions about security includes human security, which in the views of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1994) includes freedom from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. Brennan (1961) Al-Marshat (1985) Ray (1987) Ochoche (1998) and Asad (2007) variously hold that national security includes guarantee of national survival, capacity for self-defence or acquisition of military hardware, personnel and expenditure, socio economic and psychological improvement in all spheres of human existence.

Oshio (2009) maintains that there is a divergence between States' and axial perception of national security; either as State-centric and synonymous with the survival of the State, or holistic, in factoring the people's well being into the security equation. The palpable gap thrown up by Oshio, (2009) is the determination of the custody of sovereignty, between nations and nation-states and between the citizens and government. This gap is the paradox between the promotion of the sovereignty and legitimacy of the State and the protection and promotion of the rights and freedom of the people. There is a breach of agreement involved in the relationship regarded as social contract between the people and the State; therefore there is a priority question between the interest of the government and the interest of the people which includes security, development and guarantee of freedoms.

National Development
National Development can be seen in the same generic context as National Security which involves a holistic improvement in the lives of the citizens and the nation extensively. Various scholars have described development multi-dimensionally as the gradual liberation or positive change of man politically, economically, psychologically and socially. Ake (1972) Amucheazi (1980) Ogai (2003) cited in Ebeh, (2015) Others have looked at development from the levels of poverty, unemployment, equitable distribution of income, inflation, savings and investment, access to health, education water, electricity and other basic necessities. Gobak & Kwopnan, (2018) Others have

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seen national development as the level of life sustenance, self esteem and freedoms. It can also be seen as the application of nascent schemes and techniques to the factors and production processes and the smooth interaction of basic societal elements. Cited in Akowe, (2019)

Nation/ State

Refers to a group of people with common history, culture and identities including language, kin and filial relations; and the social behaviours or cognitive sense of individuals about their country. The concept of nation can be relative, as the existence of and cohesion among ethnic loyalties and as a fusion or assimilation of the sub-nationalities into the national centre. The concept of nation-State can be expressed as meaning the central political organisation referred to as State or nation as a group identity and forms. The feelings of nationhood generate social order which become standard norms for the complex society. Integrating the various nationalities that comprise the Nigerian State has been the task of successive governments. The determinant factor has been the stake of each federating unit at the centre, based on the responsibility of the State to the aspirations of the people.

The elements necessary for the identification of a State according to Shaw, (2008:198) are neither exhaustive nor immutable. Legal entities that comprise of a permanent population; a properly defined territory; some form of government or central control (though it is debatable whether this requirement is unchangeable); possessing the rights to enter into legal relationships; independence or sovereignty, recognisable by other States and sovereigns. (Shaw, 2008) What is in question under this concept is the custodianship of sovereignty, either belonging to the State or the people from whose will derives power and legitimacy. The concept of nation is lost to the privatisation of the State by the elites, tilting the social order in favour of the few that acquired the instruments of government to the detriment of the people. (Egwu, 2015)

Theoretical Conceptions

This paper does not have the ample of time to fashion out a theory which is capable of explaining the cause(s), effects, trends and solution to the problem of security and development in Nigeria; however, there are scholarly views which may be relevant to this discourse. Due to unavoidable exceptions, there may not be a single theory which absolutely underlines all the contexts under examination. We shall mention few models though with eyesight on one which may possess lesser exception. The most popular models apart from acknowledging the division of the world into Northern and Southern poles in line with the distribution of wealth, are premised on the Capitalist and Socialist development paradigms of the North. While some scholars have suggested patterns of development like Rostow's (cited in Saul, 2006) 'economists' wisdom,' that the States of the global South should emulate the capitalist North in their development bid, others have merely conjectured the state of developments in Hamza Alavi's 'over-developed state,' Gunar Myrdal's 'soft state' and Adele Jinadu's Dependency. (cited in Olaitan, 1993)

While some scholars have blamed the colonial legacy for the absence of ideologies in Nigerian political settings, others have viewed as more intense, the Marxist class structure and class interest activities which changed the mode of production to the liberal pattern, created a social class structure, integrated and rendered Nigeria dependent on the capitalist metropolitan system (Aforka Nweke, 1985:5,6) The Nigerian state according to Claude Ake (cited in Olaitan, 1993) can be likened to an 'irrelevant state' due to the disconnect between the State and the majority of its citizens. (see Olaitan, 1993:331) Olaitan, (1993) has summed the Nigerian situation as a 'Hanging State' where the productive link between the State and the society is disconnected, with each surviving on its own. State resources are up for grabs as not belonging to anyone. Beyond Olaitan's (1993) Hanging State conjectures, the Nigerian State exhibits absolutist tendencies that suppress societal life through denial of basic rights and freedoms. Within this context, scholars have called for another liberation from the second scramble for and partitioning of Africa. Osaghae, (2005) The Nigerian situation elicits a cephalometric examination of the size of the State as the head resting upon a feeble body and legs. This study adopts the Dependency theory of Andre Gunder Frank as a paradigm which suitably underlines the problem of the Nigerian State and its relation with the society.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT CONSIDERATIONS

This study therefore maintains that security means the prevalence of peace, while holding development as progress. It therefore goes that there cannot be progress without peace and in the same vein there cannot be peace without the atmosphere to realise individual and national dreams and aspirations. This perception has altered the narratives of national development to include health, wealth or resources, environmental and demographic issues. Mathew (1989) The concepts of national security and national

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development are therefore interleaved and indispensable goals of national policy. The concepts of National Security and National Development can notably be explicated as two sides of a coin (Saliu:2009) contextually referred to as national interest. Both concepts are key objectives of national interest.

It has been argued by Ebeh, (2015) that national security in Nigeria from independence is viewed as an exclusive domain of the coercive agencies of the government. He further stated that in assessing security arrangements, greater focus has always been placed on internal security. Security to him is seen not from the causative factors but from the aftermath known as insecurity. The concept of security when viewed from the context of government responsibility is still subjective. If development means the air of liberty to aspire to realise individual dreams rather than government provision of guards to individual homes, security and development is somewhat apparently the responsibility of the people. Owing to the abuse of the meaning of security as the safety or protection of government or regime in power, focus has tended to be on sustenance of administrations rather than providing the enabling environment for self actualisation and development which invariably increases the people's stake in their own security investment.

In trying to determine what pie each factor contributed to the question of security and development in Nigeria, Akinyemi (2001) has juxtaposed the responsibility of domestic and external forces for the inability of Nigeria and other African countries to develop. Domestic crises he says are generated by the demarcation of artificial national boundaries by the colonial powers, however he balanced this argument with the existence of multi-nationalities in the states of Europe. He further argued that the wars that characterised African societies in the pre-colonial period could not have done more damage than the series of war including the Great European Wars. Devoid of subjective tendencies, this study would not blame the post independence structure of Nigeria on the colonial legacies as much as the internal forces which feel comfortable with the state of affairs and offer to remain unbalanced in a world of change.

The end of the Cold War according to Otto and Ukpere, (2012) exposed the interlink and symbiosis between security and development and that security spending among the developing countries has increased tremendously, thereby affecting the prospects of development. This is a quantitative attempt at analysing the relationship between security spending and the resultant development, and also at explicating the holistic impact of peace, security and development which defy accurate numerical representation. Security and development are obviously mutual preconditions, meaning national security is a precondition for economic and social development as much as economic and social development is a precondition for national security. Wolfgang-Peter Zingel

BRIEF TRENDS IN NIGERIAN SECURITY

During the Nineteenth Century, the area known today as Nigeria witnessed the *jihad* in the northern parts, the Yoruba Wars and internal strife in other areas for the control of trade routes. Nigeria upon gaining independence found itself in the global Cold War where African countries needed external support for liberation struggles and to suppress internal revolts. The Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970, the involvement of the USA and then USSR in Ethiopia and Somalia, support for UNITA and the MPLA in Angola are evidential. Nigerian and African security perception was dominated by western conception of security which is solely dependent on the acquisition of military hardware. (Orhero, 2006)

The end of the Cold War altered Africa's security narrative and dependence on foreign powers because their relevance in the new equation was absent; internal arrangements for security sufficed. Nigeria experienced military and civilian administrations until the current dispensation, experience shows that the pate of threats to national security and development have heightened during the civil rule of the last few years. This may not reflect relative preference, but it shows the predilections of the people and administrations and how their priorities affected development. Needless to embark on this disquisition. The functional requisite of a modern state includes the maintenance of law and order, the maintenance of internal security and sovereignty against internal subversion and external invasion, provision of social amenities and basic welfare services. (Ottoh, 2006) A State is therefore deemed a failed State from the moment it fails to take responsibility for the security and welfare of the increasing population and the growing needs. The conception of security has however changed from the military strength to the guarantee of the (Orhero, (2006)

FACTORS MILITATING AGAINST NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

One of the basic factors that militate against the success of national security and development

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efforts in Nigeria includes the lack of integration and cohesion as a nation. Ayoob, (cited in Olaitan, 1993) has adduced the threats to Third World security to the poor integration of multi-ethnic groups and irrational borders as also put forward by Akinyemi, (2001) and disarticulated economies and external dependency. Nweke blamed insecurity on economic and military dependence on internal rivalry and external interferrence in Africa. (cited in Olaitan, 1993) Ethnic division, sentiments and rivalry or conflicts have manifested in the formation of ethnic and regional political platforms right before independence, when the Action Group lead by Obafemi Awolowo dominated the western Nigeria while the Northern Peoples Congress dominated the northern part and the National Council for Nigerian Citizens dominated the eastern region. These rivalries culminated in the surge of the military on the political scene in 1966, the resultant counter-coup and the Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970 which led to the arrogation of political powers to the centre.

Nigeria from the time of the oil fortunes in the early 1970s depended on oil without turning the proceeds of oil into productive capacity. This generated the popular Niger-Delta militancy and demands for resource control. Nigeria has suffered the lack of visionary leadership following the lack of ideologies that drive political party inclination, a misnomer which affected the election processes and the well being of democratic institutions. In order to sustain itself and protect itself from the popular protest of the poor, the elites have generated poverty and tried to maintain the status quo using all forms of primordial and bigoted means.

The Nigerian education system is mainly concentrated on academic laurels without adequate skill acquisition towards a productive economy. Thus, poverty among Nigerians and the attending societal ills have produced a generation of cannon fodder ready for use in the perpetration of violence in reaction to feeling of neglect at the centre and during elections. Absolutism and despotism have overtaken genuine democratic drive for national security and development; regime security is made synonymous with national security because murderers walk freely on the streets while mere critics of the State suffer incarceration without recourse to the rules. Phantom electioneering promises have renewed the people's faith in new administrations, however abandoned projects and schemes continue to depreciate national funds. There is a palpable bid to satisfy narrow interests leading to excessive interference in the economy, a phenomenon which has discouraged foreign and local investors.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Following their experiences of colonisation, independence struggle and the Cold War, the security orientation of Nigeria and African countries became synonymous with the western acquisition of military hardware. This orientation as noted earlier was meant to ward off external threats and suppress internal revolts against their regime interest. Regime interest became known as national interest or national security and development. A new dawn of security perception resulted from the end of the Cold War, where the failure of government to meet the increasing needs of the local population and the demands for development became the source of insecurity in Africa. It became obvious that national security cannot be met without meeting the development needs of the citizens.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Ogaba (2001) has recommended regional security which conforms with the domestic priorities including survival and generalised solidarity. To him, the security of neighbouring countries in Africa and peace in Nigeria are *sine qua non*. This view is corroborated by Nweke's (1985) position that Nigeria's national interest must be considered not from the narrow point, but from the broad perspective of domestic and international politics which estimates the interest of all sectors or groups within the society dictated by the ideological and analytical factors.. Though this idea focuses more on the acquisition of military hardware than the nascent perception of security which includes human security through improved democratic practice and governance system, it provides a reasonable platform in the spirit of the African Peer Review Mechanism of the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

It is necessary to reconsider security and development projects on Wolfers' (2006) chain of goals and means; it is not viable to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the two because all means can be said to constitute intermediate or proximate goals, and few goals if any can be considered ultimate because they can be sought as ends in themselves.

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