National Security and National Development: A Critique

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Abstract

This paper examined the prominent role played by security of life and properties in the development of the society. Its primary focus is that security is the major determinant of development of any society. It also critically examined the role of security in the development of the Nigerian nation. It ramified the concepts of national security and national development, how they are intertwined and linked them to the Nigerian society. The paper examined the causes of national security challenges in Nigeria such as corruption, injustice, poverty, poor health care delivery services, decayed and collapsed infrastructure, environmental degradation and socio-religious crises. The paper examined the correlations between all these causes of insecurity and the crises of underdevelopment in Nigeria particularly in the area of abject poverty, unemployment, lack of functional industries, low foreign investment, diversion of public funds, youth restiveness, religious and social violence, poor tourist attraction, and negative effect on the psychological wellbeing of the citizenry. It evaluates the issues raised and concluded that the issues are meant for pro-active reaction of the generality of the Nigerians and not the government alone.

Introduction

Nigeria as a nation is reported to be blessed by enormous human and natural resources. It is thought that the exploitation and utilization of these resources will no doubt enhance the development of the Nigerian nation but in spite of the exploitation, sales and generation of revenues, and other forms of utilization of these resources, Nigerian nation is bedevilled by serious crises of development.

Fundamental to the emergence of the modern state is the need to cooperatively exploit the productive potentials available to a sovereign people towards the attainment of a qualitative standard of living. In the opinion of Aristotle in Nzelibe, Amobi and Emejulu (1996), the state originates for the sake of life and continues to exist for the sake of the best life. The state is usually assisted in this direction by a government. Wilson (1936) clearly asserts that government is the instrument of the state (and so for the people) by means of which the purpose of the state are sought to be realized

There has been the tendency right from independence to view national security in Nigeria as an exclusive domain of the coercive agencies of the government. In assessing security arrangements, greater focus has away been on internal security. In this respect, the main thrust of security was to suppress and repress the Nigeria people. This approach to national security is premised on the fact that security is always seen not from its causes but from its effects. Hence security has always come to be viewed from the criminality of the people and not what turns them into criminals. The usual answer to the crime level is to equip the coercive agencies, that is, the police and the military to deal squarely with the phenomenon. In the process the security becomes militarize.

Inability to use the appropriate tools in analyzing Nigeria's national security problems right from the colonial period till date is the reason for the difficulties in our national security. The national security problems of Nigeria hinge on the factors of the nation's economic underdevelopment, which has led to social injustice, acute food shortage, population explosion low level of productivity and unemployment just to mention a few. Any country that seeks to achieve adequate security against the background of acute food shortage, population, low level of productivity, fragile infrastructure base for technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment has a false sense of security.

From the above perspective, we will locate the relationship between national development and national security. The objective of this paper includes;

1. To explain the concepts of national development and national security

2. To establish the nexus between national security and national development

3. identify elements in our national security calculations, which help in fostering national development

The Concept of National Development

Scholars have variously perceived the subject of development. May (2004, p.18) defined it from the perspective of institutional framework especially of those created by Western ideologies. Others perceived it as a one-dimensional process and to that extent encouraged the pursuit of economic programmes that seem to compete with western industrialized countries in the level of economic attainment. At other times, we observe countries merely importing political system that are successful in western environment without reference to the requisite civil culture necessary to sustain them. An example is the British Westminster system and the American Presidential system of government that Nigeria borrowed. These perspectives see the western countries as models for development. Development is more than the provision of physical infrastructure.

Amucheazi (1980) was of the opinion that "development is realistically seen as a multi-dimensional process involving the totality of man in his political, economic, psychological and social realties among others". Development is a holistic phenomenon not a concept to be abridged in application or compartmentalized and approached as a uni-dimensional process. Essentially it should be man-oriented and not institutional-oriented. If we focus our attention on the individual citizens we can then think of what he needs at a particular time and how he can combat a number of colonial legacies which have held him down.

Development, more importantly must be conceived in the context of a particular social system. In other words, it is wrong and indeed injurious to conceive of development in terms of system or system suited for a different cultural milieu. Ake (1972) was even more radical in his declarations. He argued that:

> We ought to reject the concept of development. Instead of development we could think in terms of liberation…. If we think in terms of liberation we can accept that we are not all that we ought to be without necessarily feeling inferior to someone else… or committing ourselves blindly to the path that someone else has taken.

From the above assertion, we can see what national development is all about. Meanwhile, Ogai (2003) sees national development as:

> A gradual manifestation of positive changes in the economic, industrial, political, social, cultural and administrative life of a country. He also went further to say that in viewing the progress of a country, the term national development is more comprehensive than

economic growth. It involves high quality and large quantity of productive resources as well as efficiency in using them

When we talk about national development we are concerned about quality improvement in the various sectors of our national life such as the political, ethical, socio-psychological, and economic spheres of national existence, which combined, to define and assure quality and productive existence for the citizens of a country. It is the accelerated economic, administrative, social, political, cultural and industrial changes in a condition considered desirable to achieve the progress of civilization. The crucial element in national development is the constant and joint effort by the citizenry to harness the force of nature and human potentials for their own material well-being.

The Concept of National Security

The term "security" may be looked at as a state of being protected from danger or anxiety. For a nation, security connotes conditions of peace, stability, order and progress. National security has been construed in different ways, each of which emphasized vital factors underlying ideals. Brennan (1961) holds that national security is the protection of national survival, while Ray (1987) says that national security is to be understood in terms of the desire and capacity for self-defence. Ochoche (1998) holds that national security focuses on the amassment of military armament, personnel and expenditure. All the above definition sees National security has changed overtime. It was expanded to include international economics, long term goals of national development and reconciliation. They are very important for the security of any nation. With this approach, Asad (2007) says "that national security cannot be narrowed down to exclusively military term. Socio economic and cultural aspects, problems of development and modernization, and national integration should be deemed important in considering".

Al-Marshat (1985) suggested that national security is more than territorial defence and should focus on the "Physical, social and psychological equality of life of a society and its members both in the domestic setting and within the large regional and global system". According to Mathew (1989), Global development now suggests the need for another analogous broadening definition of national security to include resources, environmental and demographic issues.

National security question involves a lot of issues. It practically touches on all spheres of human existence. The best way to approach it is from the systems theory perspective where a dislocation in any particular area of the system is bound to have an overlapping effect on other areas. It ranges from food security to issues of environmental degradation. It touches on health matters. It encompasses psychological security as well as arms security

A number of factors may expose a nation to danger. To that extent, national security may also be viewed as a multidimensional process whose purpose is to safeguard national values. The most fundamental values of any nation is its survival, self-preservation, and self-perpetuation. A nation that is capable of protecting herself from harm equally enjoys immense capacity for enviable development. We may therefore posit that national security and national development are complementary and inseparable phenomena. They are mutually related. There can be security without real development and no development without security. It is vice-versa.

The Relationship between National Development and National Security

National development and national security are two sides of the same coin. According to Egwu (2000), over the year, the security of the Nigerian nation state was reduced to that of the ruler and his immediate supporters. The country's leaders rules due to their ill-conceived notions of security. The security calculus of Nigeria State failed because it did not include vital aspect of social and national development, such as the provision of basic social amenities. Thus, the Nigerian State could not meet the social, economic, or even the military conditions for national security. These problems are clear indication that the government failed to consistently and committed maintain the core social values and physical infrastructure necessary for establishing and sustaining national security, national survival and socio-political wellbeing of the nation. Nwakpa (2000) asserts the above fact when he says that the increasing national decay and insecurity is seen in the regressing economy, unable health services and facilities, lack of good water, transportation and fuel problems, unemployment and other problems that have overwhelmed the Nigeria society.

From the above we can see that security is anchored on national development. On the other hand, development can be anchored on security. For instance, the case of violence like ethnic crises, vandalism of pipes and electrical poles, armed robberies, kidnapping and others that cannot be mentioned, have hindered development of some infrastructures and foreign investment. Therefore, we can say that they two cannot be detached.

Fundamental Roots of National Insecurity

Two major factors easily undermine the security of any nation. They are injustice and corruption. These elements may manifest outright in the actions or inaction of the government (i.e. the executive, the legislature and the judiciary) in their relationship with the governed and they have great capacity to generate devastating ripple effects. Let us examine some cases before looking at other element.

Injustice:

Injustice in the area of resource allocation and environmental degradation has

led to violent eruption particularly in the Niger Delta. From Warri in Delta State to Akwa Ibom State there have been clashes Rivers State is not spared either. In Rivers State, peace has taken the back seat as menacing youths. Wielding AK 47 rifles, hand grenades and other sophisticated weapon sack the police at will and raid communities. Amadi-Ama, Buguma, Okirika, Tombia, Okuruama, and Ogu/Bolo have been scenes of some of the deadliest cutlass battles the state has ever known. All these actions were in protests against perceived injustices.

Revelations from the judiciary have not helped matters either. Contemporary judiciary history of Nigeria bristles with unethical, artful and dishonest practices which in most cases, have given rise to or exacerbated insecurity in the land.

Miscarriage of justice could be constructive. The former takes the form of flagrant breaches of justice such as when a judge grants exparte injunctions to defeat justice. The latter includes a situation in which a court volitionally delays the trial of a criminal case until all the relevant snippets of evidence concerning that case have been lost sight of. Such as the continued trial of the former Chief of Army staff, Gen. Ishaya Bamaiyi, Hamza Al-mustapha, and Barnabas Jabil, in connection with the murder of Alex Ibru, publisher of the Guardian. The trial of these criminal cases started in 1999. Sometimes some of such trials linger on until some or almost the entire accused, defence, and /or prosecution witnesses die in detention. The trial of the suspected killers of Rewane is a case in point.

Injustices either to an individual or a group breed frustrations. Such frustrations are often ventilated through unprecedented rise in war as was the case in the Nigeria-Biafran Civil War: or *Coup de tat* as dictated by the political uprising in the land over the annulment of June 12, 1993 presidential election. Frustrations may also precipitate gang war fare, kidnapping and political assassinations. We recall with revulsion that a number of prominent Nigerians had been assassinated in recent years. Alfred Rewane, Kudirat Abiola, Admiral Elegbede, Suliat Adedeji, Layi, Balogun, Bola Ige, Odunayo Olagbaju, Barnabas Igwe and wife, Air vice Marshall Aminasoari Dikibo, Andrew Agom, and Philip Olorunnpia are all victims.

Corruption:

Corruption is perceived as dishonest or illegal behaviour especially of people in authority. Ikejiani (1995:142) views corruptions as "the inducement of means of improper considerations to commit a violation of duty, an inducement in cash or kind to secure services or good from public official or agencies through illegitimate or unlawful or irregular means". Where there is corruption in the land, there is bound to be insecurity. When society begins to honour and recognize people who became rich through dubious and questionable means as Nigeria had done in the past decades, we

send signals that crime pays rich divided. This discourages hard work and honesty and encourages others to take crime as a way of life.

The Nigerian value system has deteriorated so remarkably that we now celebrate corruption. A fraudster is more likely to be rewarded with a traditional title than a hardworking member of the community. In the political sphere, you confront situations where candidates who spent their resources to contest the party primaries and won are eventually replaced by other names favourable to the governors or the party hierarchy.

We yet confronted another of this scandal in the case of Iyiola Omisore who was a prime suspect in the Ige's murder trial. Omisore was allowed to contest a senatorial election while in detention on the ticket of the ruling People Democratic Party (PDP). Two days to the inauguration of the National Assembly in June 2003 one of the judges in this case granted bail to Omisore, Ostensibly on ground of "Serious ill-health". Of course subsequent events were to confirm that the bail enabled him travel to Abuja to be sworn in as senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Subsequently, the detainee/senator was appointed chairman of the senate committee on industry.

Corruption is a happy bed-mate with injustice. In point of fact corruption provided the fuel for injustice and where two meet, the resultant effect is crisis. Crisis is coronary to insecurity such as insecurity of life, insecurity of property, insecurity of morals and ethics. They produce fertile ground for decay. Decay is not development. Decry connotes degeneration, deterioration and eventual death. Perhaps death of an entire system apart from injustice and corruption other areas that galvanize a state of insecurity in Nigeria include;

Poverty:

Poverty may be in such intangible area as knowledge or ideas. It may also be in the area of lack of basic necessities of life such as food shelter, clothing and good health care, a hungry man, an adage says, is an angry man. An angry man may not be in the habit of exhibiting a sense of poverty that is affecting security is high rate of unemployment in Nigeria. It is responsible for robbery, fraud (419), trafficking, and other crimes that are threatening our national security

Health Issues

Health care is also important in the equation of national security Chen (2003) says there is a link between global health and human security. One quarter of deaths in the world is due to infectious diseases. The impact of HIV/AIDS on national security and development is also enormous. It creates political and social tension, stunts economic and human development, and reduces the effectiveness of the

military. A nation that is dominated by the sick or hungry majority is already an incapacitated nation. Food security, heath security and even ideation security are therefore aspects of national security.

Religious Issues

Religious has been described by Karl Marx as the "Opium of the masses". Doctrines that are at variance with the principles of nationhood are likely to be a source of insecurity to the nation. Religion is the powerful instrument for good and for iii. This power of religion was the principal reason for tussle between church and state in England in the 15th and 16th centuries. A lot of crisis experienced in this country have traces of religious undertone. Examples include, the Maitasine riots, the uproar that greeted Nigeria's admission as the 46th member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). Religious issues of this nature tend to constitute security issues to a nation.

Collapsed Infrastructures:

The evidence of the dismal state of national security can also be in what Onyegbula (2000) described as the diminishing standard of living and the deterioration of social infrastructure and educational system. For instance, the roads, electricity, pipe born water, refineries, hospitals and schools have not been functioning at their optimum level.

Egwu (2003) says that the security calculus of the Nigerian state failed because it did not include vital aspect of social and national development, such as provision of basic social amenities. Thus, the Nigerian state could not meet the social, economic, or even the military conditions for national security. These are a clear indication that the core social values and physical infrastructure necessary for establishing and sustaining national security, nation survival and socio-political wellbeing of the people are not there. Some example of the infrastructure that has remained in the chronic or permanent state of disrepair low performance and even stagnation thus consisting a several threat to the national security of the country include the county's airports, sea ports, oil refineries, strategic inter-state highways, rails, bridges etc.

Nigeria has demonstrated that it lacks the fundamental requirements for national security namely a major stockpile of strategic defence, civil or general-purpose infrastructure. This situation exists due to lack of knowledge skills and vision concerning the requirements of true national security. This is compound by the fact that political manipulation and corruption have led to the misuse, embezzlement and misappropriation of the vital material and resources needed to improve the

infrastructure for guaranteeing genuine security.

Consequences of Insecurity to the Nigerian Nations

A nation that is riddled with crisis and insecurity can hardly make progress. For one, genuine investors are scared away from such counties. This has in large part become the burden of governments in Nigeria. Government officials either at the states or federal level who have been wooing foreign investors for foreign direct investments have always had the issues of the state of national security dominating their discussions with foreign investors rather than the potentials and opportunities that exists in the state. The foreign direct investor profile of Nigeria for the period 1990-2005 aptly reflects he dire economic consequences face by a nation riddled with insecurity

From the records show in table 1 below, foreign direct investments into the country dropped remarkable within those periods that there are heightened crises in Nigeria. In 1990, foreign direct investment into Nigeria stood at 10450.2 But shortly after the failed coup attempted in that year nod the attendant state of insecurity the figure dropped from 10,450.2 to 5,610. 2 .Again in 1996, total direct foreign investment plummeted to 5,672.9 from an initial 1995 figure of 55,999.3 This drop in foreign investment cannot be wished away from the various bomb attacks and glaring state of insecurity in the land. It was within the period that the son of he president Mallam Ibrahim Abacha lost his life with 13 other in a plane crash that was suspected to have been bombed by a terrorist gag cell Movement for the Advancement of Democracy (MAD) led by Yusuf. In 1999 a mere 4.035.5 figure was recorded. It is clear that period of crisis the country usually records low direct foreign investment because no sane person will put this investment in a troubled zone.

It is also interesting to observe from the records in table 1 that total capital outflow usually rise during periods of crisis in the country. This will further underscore the dangers of insecurity to national development. There is usually capital flight both of human beings and of investment funds. According to Ambulacra (2005) the problem to insecurity have a very damaging consequences of giving signals to the rest of the international community that Nigeria is not safe and secured place and as such, not sustainable to economic investments and activities.

Table 1: Flow of foreign private capital in Nigeria (N=MILLION)

Year	Inflow	Total outflow	Net
1990	10,450.2	10,914.5	464.34
1991	5,610.2	3,02.2	8,808.0
1992	11,730.7	3,461.1.5	8,269.2
1993	42,624.9	9,630.5	32,994.4
1994	7,825.5	3,918.3	3,907.2
1995	55,999.3	7,322.3	48,677.0
1996	5,672.9	2,941.9	2,731.0
1997	10,004.0	4,273.0	5,731.0
1998	32,434.5	8,355.6	24,078.9
1999	4,035.5	2,256.4	1,779.1
2000	16,453.6	13,106.6	3,347.0
2001	4,937.0	1,560.0	3,377.0
2002	8,988.5	781.7	8,206.8
2003	13,531.2	475.1	13,056.1
2004	20,064.4	155.7	19,908.7
2005	26,083.7	202.4	25,881.3

Source: Central Bank of Nigeria

Secondly insecurity in the lands diverts money supposedly meant for development to meet the cost of violence. Likely investors would usually demand for country risk insurance. Most often, large sums of money are spent by Individuals and government on one form of security outfit or another. A typical households in Lagos or Onitsha spends about N5,000.00 per month on security. This is in addition to fortifying his space at enormous cost.

Third, the tourism potentials of the state are threatened as both tourists and potential investors in the industry will prefer to take their money to a place where there is peace and safety not where the risk of being killed is high.

A fourth point about insecurity is the devastating effect it impacts on the psychological health of individual and the state as a whole. When an individual feels unsafe such state of security may also affect his productivity.

It is obvious that insecurity in the land produces enormous negative consequence that affects meaningful development into the state. The natural question that follows therefore is what should be the way out?

Imperatives for National Development

We have been able to establish that there is a common link between national security and national development. In consequence, any remedial attack on national development must therefore involve issues of national security. Where there is peace and safety there is progress. We propose as follows:

Dialogue **-** There is the important need to encourage health discussions among individuals, communities and the government. This will be helpful in understanding one another and identifying issues conflict and negotiating peaceful resolution. Situations of misunderstanding are situations that promote strive and crisis. Dialogue respects individual's views, opinions and sense of self-worth. Understanding raises value and productivity. When Ake (1972) talked about liberation, it is in the area of encourage the individual to rediscover himself and believes in himself. That may, in point of fact, by what is needed to advance development.

Respect for Agreement: A lot of crisis in the land are traceable to abdication of abandonment of agreements by one of the parties (especially the government) in the issue without any clear reason. Where agreements are abandoned by a party it tasks the resilience of the other party to the agreement and lead of unpleasant outcome.

Equity in Resource Allocation- Conscious effort must be made to equitably distribute the resource of the country. Every segment of the Nigerian project must be carried along and given a sense of belonging.

Enabling Environment- Government must create enabling environment for sustained entrepreneurial development. Youths must be re-educated and given skills that will make them feel useful and vital.

Proactive Interventions **-**There should be proper equipping of the regulatory and enforcement agencies for better proactive interventions to address security problems rather than managing by reactions. Our country, so far, seems to derive maximum joy and satisfaction from reaction. A cure seems more appealing then prevention.

Patriotism and self involvement- Nigeria should also take responsibility for the security and welfare of their environment by offering vita information to law enforcement agencies that will help them burst crime. Indeed, this generation of Nigerians and indeed future generation have no other country then Nigeria. We shall remain here and salvage it together (General Muhammed Buhari, Former Nigeria's Military Head of State) National development and national security are complementary imperative. The later reinforced the former.

Conclusion

In analyzing the role of the government in relation to the state, Ukwu (1984) identified four important functions of the government. These include: system maintenance function-to guarantee the continued existence of the state and the maintenance of law and order; Regulatory and control functions; Redistribution of resources; and Participation alone or with other actors, directly or indirectly, in the provision of various goods and service. The government is therefore the agency of the state for actualizing the purposes of the state. The ease at which national government fulfils the essence of the state unarguably lies on the degrees of cooperation they enjoy from the people.

The state must therefore ensure that there is peace within her borders. The opposite of peace is war. Injustices, corruption, poor planning, tyranny and selfishness often affect development efforts of a nation. These elements breed disaffection, frustrations and in extremes cases, violent eruptions which precipitates crisis and insecurity all over the nation.

Peace is synonymous with security. No nation can afford to play with its own security. Emphasis on security therefore must not be limited force or hardware. It encompasses issues of justice, food, good health care, and environment protection, tolerance and respect for human rights. It is a total package. National security is like personal survival, is the first law among nations. National security is the precursor for national development.

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