

**NIGERIA DEFENCE POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY AN
APPRAISAL OF BABANGIDA'S ADMINISTRATION**

BY

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SSC1508159

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF BENIN

BENIN CITY

February, 2022.

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**BEING A PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE, FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN, BENIN CITY, IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE**

February, 2022.

CERTIFICATION

We, the undersigned, hereby certify that this project was carried out by Lambert David Chinedu and the study is adequate both in scope and quality in partial fulfilment of requirements for the award of Bachelor of Science (B.Sc) Degree in political Science, University of Benin, Benin City, Edo State Nigeria.

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Date:

Date:

DEDICATION

This project work is dedicated to God Almighty, my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, for his sufficient grace, mercy, and wisdom to bring this work to conclusion. This project is also dedicated to my family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has obviously occurred to me that success can hardly be achieved without matching aspiration with determination and no matter the obstacles confronting the goal courage determines accomplishment. The saying that scholarship is a collective endeavour is surely rue of this research essay which in the course of writing I have incurred a debt of gratitude to many people too numerous to mention here.

My first thanks goes to the Almighty father for making it possible for me to complete this programme and putting this work together.

The act of writing a project needs the supervision of a scholar in the person of Mr. A.O. Iyase, who gently and painstakingly conducted and supervised me in the project. His role here was that of a good leader and a father, with his accommodating temperament and his simple nature and care which were sources of inspiration for me throughout the study.

Secondly, my special gratitude goes to my parents. Mr. and Mrs. Lambert whose perseverance, understanding and caring attitude have contributed immensely to my success.

I am indebted to many individuals, the list is inexhaustible, but those that readily come to my mind are my academic lecturers, my Head of Department Prof. A. Otoghile whose initial advice formed the framework of this research essay. His unquantifiable contributions to the completion of this essay clearly underscore my indebtedness to him; I pray that God will give him long life and prosperity.

With this spirit, I also express my profound appreciation to my friends in and out of school, (Bryan, Derek, Faith (mama NADESSTU), Valito Elizabeth and Vivian for their support.

Finally, I extend my gratitude to all lecturers in the Department of Political Science non-academic staff and all my classmates especially, whose association and contribution has helped in no small measures to make me what I am today.

May God bless all the people I mentioned here and those that were not mentioned. Amen.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The issue of national security is contentious and indeed, a subject of immense concern to every Nigeria and Government which has ruled from independence to the present day. It is a subject that concerns the survival of a nation in the international system. However, there is a correlation between national security and pursuit of a foreign policy. In the past, there was demarcation between foreign policy and national defence policy. The truth remains that no nation can play meaningful role in the international system, if the state does not have dynamic foreign policy linked up with her defence policy.

This work is another attempt in search of solution to the problem of insecurity that loomed around Nigeria – both within and outside – since she aspired to a position of greatness as a dominate regional actor. The problem of security and political stability is rooted in the ability of Nigeria to demonstrate the capacity and willingness to contain with internal pressure and economic dependence. The major constitutive element of security problems for Nigeria is the need to develop socio-economic, political and military strategies that will enable her to go with the internal and external threats on her survival. In this regard, we mean dynamic

defence as a means whereby national military power is augmented in order to help achieve the objectives of foreign policy. Thus, the issue of security is domestically rooted; the defence policy becomes an adjunct to domestic policy which determines the type of foreign policy of Nigeria.

Thus, in the context of the quest for national defence and security system in Nigeria, it could be likely adjudged a products of interrelated forces – the colonial experience, internal conflicts disorder arising from socio-political and economic setting, and the prevailing international setting, and the prevailing international system. The threat to the national survival is closely associated with the problem of national integration and nation-building. The forceful amalgamation of people with diverse cultures, languages, religions, etc has its attendant problem in the process of nation-building and socio-economic and political development of Nigeria. This diversities in Nigeria. Coupled with structural imbalance and economic inequalities have tended to undermine the people's sense of unity, national identity and common purpose, the manifestation of this is political instability of coups and counter coups; religious disturbances and civil war. These domestic conflicts in Nigeria have its own international context in the call for the new international order which dates back to the end of the World War II. The drive for the democratization which is presumed to have started from the west, hut with the democratic wind blowing from the East accentuated the democratic process in Africa. The failure of

successive regimes in Nigeria to restore democratic governance has become a source of pressure from external forces which threatens the security of the state. Thus internal conflicts and perceived threats or actual military aggression from external source have constituted real impediments to the maintenance of national sovereignty, peace, and stability.

Perhaps in a bid to solve the security problems, successive regimes in Nigeria have persistently increased the military capabilities by expanding the size of the armed forces, procuring more military armaments and training facilities. The dilemma in which Nigeria found herself today is novel developments in the imperative need for a comprehensive defence and security policy. As a consequence as a security dilemma in the 1980s and 1990s – the historical and complex geo-political strategy location or setting of the country, it became the opinion of most analyst that what is needed is nuclear capability, thus, the expansion of national military power has been considered as indispensable to the preservation of the basic values in which her survival as socio-political entity rests.

However, an analysis of the character of a country's defence policy should necessarily place emphasis on national interests and values'. Defence policy arises from the need to protect the integrity of a state and the interests that make this integrity meaningful. One fundamental question is: "Does Nigeria have interests, values, and goals threatened in any way, and

how does Nigeria have hope to protect or secure them?” One of the core values of Nigeria is the preservation and the survival of the political unity.

Nigeria’s foreign policy objectives are presumed to be the national interests, goal and values. Although, opinions of scholar varies on what constitutes Nigeria’s national interests. Nevertheless, there is a convergent of views among them. Nigeria’s interest in West Africa lies in the realm of strategy to protect her interests in sub- region. This is clearly demonstrated by Nigeria’s Afro-Centric posture which was motivated by interests, values and goal transcending strategy and ordinary quest for military domination.

The post-independence Nigeria foreign relations that focused on Africa, believes that the state cannot feel secure if any part of Africa is still burning or even the entire international system. This foreign policy objective was theoretically provided in the Nigeria 1979 constitution. ‘The state⁴ shall promote Africa. Unity, as well as total political, economic, and cultural liberation of Africa and all forms of international cooperation conducive to the consideration of universal peace and mutual respects and friendship among all peoples and state, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations”.

Defence policy is largely determined by a number of variables among which are the country’s strategic circumstances and principally national interests. The strategic circumstances is a response of defence policy to

charges in political, economic and military situations of a country. Defence policy, like all policies, have channels of formulation and implementation to which Nigeria's defence policies were not an exception. Various institution helped in reshaping, articulating in responses to changes in the international relations and development in the armament industry.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Nigeria defence policy and national security is largely influenced by the historical development of the country and the problems confronting the armed forces. Nigeria was a colonial state with British orientated military formation; perhaps. Nigeria defence policy evolved from the British colonial defence policy in her West Africa territories. To wit, the colonial army was structured to promote the interests and objectives of the imperial power. The traditional roles assigned to the colonial army where to maintain law and order, and to defend the acquired territory, thus, the colonial military defence policies and establishments were designed as tools as to enhance the effective control of the then British acquired territories.

Historically, the evolution of Nigeria saw the amalgamation of the colonial forces of facilitate the economic exploration of the entity hereafter referred to as Nigeria. Remarkably, the colonial state started the practice of defence planning and budgeting. Albeit, the military

planning and budgeting were executed separately in Northern and Southern Nigeria in spite of the amalgamation of the constabularies into the Nigeria regiment of the West Africa frontier force (WAFF). This arrangement from the on-set raised a fundamental defence issue thus, the two Nigeria regiments of the West Africa Frontier Force saw their responsibilities as mutually exclusive.

Perhaps, Britain envisioned the possible encroachment of French and Germany, 'she evolved military strategic doctrine of coast-centre defensive posture of territorial offensive defence under the broader cover of the Royal Navy. 9 At the turn of World War I the two Western powers (Britain and France) campaigned for influence and position in the West Central Africa (Cameroon) and "Nigeria army" had a joint operations (British army and Navy with those of France) on the other, with their divergent and conflicting political interests had its attendant political and security problems. In the view of Osuntoso, the war was at first an attempt for national mobilization for the defence of the colonial state. The war was a demonstration of imperial dimensions of colonial defence which was an army of colonial subjugation, oppression and repressions which was a manifest of imperial self-extension in the Cameroon and East Africa."

Consequently at the end of the world, war I, and perhaps the beginning of the World War II, there was clandestine attempt by the British

authority to sanitize the police force against communism and Islamic fundamentalism which were stigmatized as radical movements with radical political ideas that could threaten the colonial expansionist motives.

The mobilization of Nigerian able men during the World War II saw Nigerians in their thousands, joining the military services to keep the “imperial power”. However, Nigeria's proximity to the French colonial neighbours exposed her to danger and possible attack and this prompted the British to draw up evacuation plans. Perhaps, the emphasis on the defence posture throughout the colonial period in Nigeria was to prevent enemy like France from incursion into the British colonial territories.

The use of proto-Nationalism after the World War II changed the British defence policy posture, thus the defence policy was to, check the militancy of emergent radical local nationalists and to prevent communist influence and expansionism and at the same time maintain her vital interest.

At time of Nigeria's accession of independence, she inherited a foreign policy with segregated and chaotic defence policy. Social pressures and the need for national unity and development largely determined a course of gradual integration of the armed forces with the British and that accounted for the Anglo Defence pact signed after independence with Britain. Thirty-seven years of Nigeria as a independent nation is marked

characteristically with re-orientation from a period of idealism and self-effacement, but later Afro-centricity pre-occupied Nigeria's policy makers at the mid-1970s, with the greater appreciation of defence policy incorporated and considered as components in foreign policy.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS

The problem being investigated is that of the failure of the Nigerian policy makers to coordinate foreign and defence policy to achieve national security objective. This failure has militated against an overall integrated course of action since the policy planners often pursue independent and contradictory lines of action. This is a fundamental flaw in the Nigerian defence policy. There is a clear lack of political will in decision making with regards to events in her immediate environment.

Again, the problem of political instability in Nigeria is central to the issue of national defence and security. For over fifty-seven years, the military has occupied itself for over twenty-six years in the political process. Its traditional role has been abandoned in search of a new one in the corridor of power. Besides, the frequent military coups do not allow for process and proper defence planning. One of the major consequences of Nigeria's political instability is low national morale and everybody knows that national morale is a sine qua non to national power. It has direct implication on national determination and resolve.

Nigeria policy planners both in the defence and bureaucratic set up attached relative value to weapon procurement and production. Nigeria does not have sufficient military capability to implement her defence policy objectives. Nigeria possesses the material and human resources which are basic indices to measure national power, hut paradoxically, she depended on external sources for the procurement and acquisition of military weapons.

Nigeria has lost the flavour as a regional power. She is no longer in a position to provide a coherent African leadership because of the persistent decline of her economy. The evident manifestation is the growth of South Africa power.

1.3 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

The purpose of this research is to examine and give critical appraisal of Nigeria defence policy since the country's attainment of sovereign status. Further, to analyse the need for future defence policy to be geared towards building effective and adequate military capability.

The research have the following objectives to accomplish:

- a. To establish the importance of training, planning intelligence (communication) and the social and psychological factors affecting the loyalty and the dedication of the Nigerian armed forces carrying out their defence functions.

- b. The effect of national economy on the implementation of defence policy in relation to weapon procurement.
- c. To highlight on national defence in terms of manpower development and building of arms.
- d. To establish that there is a correlation between foreign policy objective and military capabilities.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The study of this nature is significant in so many respects. Nigeria is passing through a period of socio-economic and political difficulties all of which combined to undermine and threaten the national security and survival.

Another significance of this study is that it has identified the need to acquire a deterrent capability against a state perceived as a threat and enemy or potential enemy. Besides, the need to fulfil certain obligations within the limits of her resources is pointed. The magnitude of the task of the state is maintaining internal security. However, this work is an addition to the growing literature on defence and strategic studies.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The universe in study is the 'nation-state' called Nigeria. The period under review is between 1985 and 1993, though reference can be made to periods before them. The study is conceived in a environment of

military secrecy. The issues involved in national security are usually not discussed publicly in Nigeria. The belief is that government develops and implement policies in respect of national security as it pleases. The citizens are not usually aware of the issues involved.

1.6 METHDOLOGY

The approach adopted for the study is a combination of theory, history and analysis of events against some assumptions. Descriptive method is also adopted and that is aimed at providing further exposition of Nigeria's National strategy.

1.7 HYPOTHESIS

The theoretical foundation under which this work is conceived is power theory of the state. This theory served as link in formulating the hypotheses below to give a general framework for the understanding of the topic under discussion.

They include:

H₁ Weak military, economic and political capabilities endanger the security
H₀ Weak military, economic and political capabilities do not endanger the security of the state.

H₁ Non-democratic governance affects the security of the state

H Non-democratic governance does not affect the security of the state.

1.8 DEFINITION OF TERMS

In the entire work, various terms are used which are worthy of defining to enhance the understanding of readers. I wish to observe that some of the terms are ambiguous while some belong to the same semantic component.

There are terms that are classified as professional or technical which are applied in a specific linguistic context.

- a. **Strategy:** The word is derived from the Greek word “strategos” which means the act or skill of the general. Strategy is defined in the “West point military History series”, broadly as “the planning for coordination of the alliance, a nation, a political group of commander, for the purpose of gaining an advantage a rival.
- b. **Threats:** it has to do with the danger of cherished value of a nation. Imobighe defines threats as an act or intention that has the potential of undermining the peace, stability and progress of a nation. There are internal and external threats. Internal threats is anything that has the tendency to undermine the socio-political and economic progress and stability of the state. External threats on the other hand, usually take the form of challenges to the cooperate existence of a nation and its sovereignty.
- c. **Defence:** it generally has to do with the security and protection of a nation’s interest, goals and values against threat.

- d. Policy:** This is a proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacle and opportunity which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or release an objective.
- e. Defence Policy:** this can be understood by synthesizing the features inherent in both defence and policy. Therefore, defence policy is defined as an action or a course of action pursued or intended to be pursued for the security of protection of nation's values, interests and goals against threats.
- f. National Interest:** it is broadly defined as general and dynamic ends for which a nation acts. National interest therefore, has to do with the welfare of the nation and preservation of its national style of life.
- g. Foreign Policy:** This is a policy option of a state which is formulated and implemented to influence the behavioural pattern of another state in their relations with one another.
- h. Offensive:** this is when a state possesses the ability to attack in the event of any war-this is ability to possess attacking weapons.
- i. Defensive:** when a state possesses all the military capabilities to prevent any attack either in peace or war time.
- j. Deterrence:** it means the following:
- a. The achievement of a favourable correlation of forces adequate for any mission

- b. The creation and consolidation of alliances for collective defence.
- c. The deployment of forward-based forces.
- d. The flexibility of the development and utilization of the armed forces.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many Scholars in strategic studies and military science have written extensively on the issue of national security. In this work, it is important to examine such works. Scholars have not agreed on a definition of a national security. National security as a phenomenon of inquiry in social science has been. Rightly linked with both the properties of the international system and the attribute of its actors.

The quest for national security has become obsessive in a century which has experienced two world wars and has seen a profound transformation in the destructive potential of weaponry. National security is particularly relevant today more than ever before considering the world in which we are living. Macdonal had observed some years ago, that the problem of security is psychological and as a matter of fact, it is met only to a very small degree by coming to agreements of a military nature regarding it. It is conceived that no country is really safe from the machinations of others. Security is regarded as a pre-condition of ordered human existence.

In Hobbesian's "state", the writer believed that states were founded to defend people from the invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort as that by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and

live contentedly. Most governments accept that the maintenance of natural security is a fundamental duty. The satisfaction of which is directly linked to their claims to legitimacy and public loyalty. Security of the people therefore is the supreme law, and defence and survival are the very core values of foreign policy. It has become critical determinate of international relations. Where states suffer from a sense of insecurity, they adopt 'the posture of gladiators', having their pointing and their eyes fixed on one another.

Natural security is still very much an American term in Britain, it is referred to or concerned with intelligence matters. However, National security as a concept in America strategic studies can be traced to the writings of Madison and most recently the term was given currency in Walter Lippmann's "U.S. Foreign Policy", published in 1943.

There are basically two schools of thought on national security – the strategic school and economic non-strategic school. The scholars in these identified areas have divergent views on what national security is and, what it is not. As one writer noted:

"The character of security as an essentially contested concept defies the pursuit of an agreed general definition... years of effort have failed to produce a generally accepted definition or measure of power, and the concept of justice is traditionally notorious for the way in which it divides

opinion. There is no reason to think that security would be easier to crack, and there is not much point in trying.

Perhaps, because of the difficulty in finding a definition for security there is a siren call of intellectual awakening to satisfy the empty stomach of those who wanted more concrete definition of what constitute national security, is security just acquisition of sophisticated weapons, defending the state boundaries; having oversized army and so on? Security probably means different things at different times, and in different places, depending on what people have to protect and the nature of the threat as perceived by the state.

Robert Osgood has ascription to national security: the broad and intangible character of the national self that is to be secured. The people of the nation personify the state and project upon it ideas of honour and prestige that become as much part of their vicarious collective personality as are the nation's territory, allies and vital interests. The national self, moreover is a moral being.... with principles and missing that gives security a dimension that transcends pure self-interest.

In the view of Mangold, national securities is primarily a term of political convenience. It is more respectable to talk about national security than military power. Most often, national security is linked as military power. The concept is often misunderstood. It does not, for instance, refer only to the defence and survival of the state. National security "assets petrovsky".

embodies the sovereignty of a state. Inviolability of its frontiers, and the right to individual and collective self-defence. In practical terms it means ability, physical and moral of a state to defend itself against external and internal threats. The state is secured when it is able to ensure free, independent and collective self defence in practical terms it means ability, physical and moral of a state to defend itself against internal and external threats. The state is secured when it is able to ensure free, independence and peaceful development for itself.

In security however is a condition rather than an end. It is a product of the structure of the international system, a reflection as much as cause of tension. And this perhaps notably Hans Morgenthau was concerned with power politics in the international system after the Second World War To the realists, security came to being, seen as a derivative of the struggle for power.

National security is often linked with the issues of national interest. Thus, the first law of nature is self-preservation, preservation and the core of national interest is the protection of the country's territorial integrity. Jules Cambon had asserted that security meant more than.

...the maintenance of a people's homeland or even their territories beyond the seas. It means the maintenance of the world's respect for them. The maintenance of their economic interest, everything in a world which goes to make up the grandeur, the life itself of the nation.

The utilitarian approach to the issue of security is a sharp contrast, since it concerned itself with threats stability resulting from the disruption or threat to life from environmental hazard. The approach focuses on the expansion in the range of protective to its citizens. The ability of the state to provide its public with social, economics, and political conditions conducive to happiness and a prosperous life is seen as the basic element of national security in developing nations.

National security is the capacity or a society to protect individuals, group and the nation from physical and socioeconomic danger and from the threats of such dangers created by both systemic and attributional conditions. John Galtung defines security in terms of system maintenance, meaning that a society should change only as a result of internal conditions, not because of conditions (for threat of force) from the outside. The strategic school conceives security in terms of abstract values and mainly with the preservation of independence and sovereignty of nation-states. The non-strategic school on the other hand, concerns itself with both the maintenance of the low of vital economic resources and the non-military aspects of nation-state functions. According to the **Encyclopedia of Social Sciences**, National security is:

“The ability of a nation to protect its internal value from external threats” in the view of Walter Lippmann, for a nation to be secure to the extent of which, “it is not in danger of having to sacrifice ‘care values’ if it wishes

to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a War". Along this line of thought, Arnold Wolfers, conceived National security as the "protection of values previously acquired". If this is the objective view of security, the subjective view held that the "absence of fear that such values will be attacked". Wolfers argued further that national security rises and falls with the ability of a nation to deter an attack, or to defeat it. He concluded after long search for a suitable definition for security by stating inter alia that:

"Security after all, is nothing but the absence of the evil o insecurity, a negative, so to speak", Security is no longer seen as a matter of defending a state from its enemies from within and without, but of ensuring that its citizens do not suffer undue hardship when they are sick or unemployed. Man gold argued that, the concept of threat is more tangible than the emotive desire for social security and social justice and insidious effects of transnational Drug Cartels.

National security perhaps, without much argument, involves the safety of the national territorial base (including airspace and territorial waters). The protection of lives and property within the territory, and the maintenance of natural sovereignty, in the sense of the right to order internal affairs without reference to external dikta.

National security, argued Harold Brown. "Is the ability to preserve the nation's physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations

with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to protect its nature, institutions and governance from disruption from outside and control its borders.

Trager and Kronenberg and Knorr speak of “vital national values” as the core of national security policy. Trager and Kronenberg define security as:

‘that part of government policy having as its objective, the creation of national and international political conditions favourable to the protection or extension of vital values against existing and potential adversaries.

The problem this definition poses, remarked Al Mashat is that the concept of “vital values” The vital values are viewed as these specific issues that the state pursue as its nation interest. The assumption of national security therefore, centres on core values means that there is unity on the social system, but this cannot be possible considering the diversities of modern states. Al Mashat criticised this approach of core values as lacking in methodology and smarked of operational deficiencies. To build the decision-making process in subjective manner is counter productive to the objectivity of issues which are supposed to be value free based on systematic collection of data. In the view of Bruce Arlinghaus, ‘the common perception of people in developed regimes in the world is that to a large extent, social and military development are by their very natures anti-thetical and diametrically opposed. The serious impact of perception and misperception is that the drive for security produces aggressive actions

of the state either requires a high sense of security or feels menaced by the presence of other strong states. The way one person perceives security will bring about insecurity in another person's view. In other words, in an attempt to be secured. People create insecurity in another person, they are asymmetrically related.

National security enjoys high priority in the policy frame of the elites which the states was as the mechanism for the protection and preservation of the vital interests or are values. It is the protection of the elites that formed the core of national security and when those interests of the elite are threatened by a radical leader that brings about insecurity. As observed by one writer in what we noted earlier, that threat to national security is within and not outside. Klause Knorr, attempting to free himself from the consequences of defining the core values, stresses national will also the core for security policies while Ray Cline considers national spirit as a clue to national power, and hence national security.

On the historical dialectical process of events, the economics Lionel Rohhins, on the eve of Second World War, argued that 'unless we destroy the sovereignty state, the sovereign state will destroy us'. G.B. Chrisholm, a former director of the World Health Organization reflecting on a nuclear revolution declares:

Right up to the present time the ancient believed that: 'the welfare, prosperity and power of the group into which I happened to be horn is

more important that the welfare, prosperity and power or even the lives of the members of any or all other groups has been held by the most of the human race. Along with that faith is also held another: 'whenever we are frightened or feel threatened, the right, effective and virtuous thing to do is to increase ability to kill other people'. That was our normal method of ensuring the survival of our groups in the past, but its success depended upon the defensibility of our group or its ability to overcome the defences of competing groups.

According to Samai, 'security is of multi-dimensional categories. These dimensions are political and military; external and internal; and social and economic'. Importantly, security of individuals; the social system, the country's territoriality and the security of mankind generally in the global setting. The security building of the super powers is geared towards maintaining global order based on the interests and values of the countries. On the other hand, the security need of the third world countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America is to maintain the colonial boundary which often times threatened the securities of the countries that are contiguous internal conflicts which is a manifestation of the lumping together of different ethnic groups with variant of religious and cultural differences. Poor economy, outright civil disobedience and breakdown of law and order and the destabilizing policies of external powers through their propaganda machinery etc.

Gerald Barney, et al, defined national security to include not only military securities against foreign invasion, but also put security, economic environmental, domestic order, educational security, old-age, security and natural disorder security”. In addition, ‘drugs, corruption, employment and synonymous with security because it is through these that individuals in a state can realize there full potentials. This idea suggests on basic trend in the national security proposition of most developing countries.

Al Mashat contended that whichever way national security comes to be perceived as the core values, it gains priority in resources allocation over other national policies. In other words, Adam Smith describe the question of ‘gum and butter’ as the choice between defence and opulence which will be based toward defence requirements. The central thesis of advocates of national security as one values are concerned with independence and territorial sovereignty of the nation-state as the prime objectives of security policy. In the federalist papers it was stated:

...the primitive objective of civil society was security against foreign dangers.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The central thesis of political science is power. The work is conceptualized on power theory of a state. Power is an essential aspect of relations among nations. Hans Morgenthua, has stated clearly that

power is the main sign-post that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics'. Power is the basic condition for securing territorial integrity and national independence.

The 'power theory of the state', emphasizes the development of effective military power by the state in the view of some German 19th century historians. Heinrich Von, Treitschke and philosophers like Friedrich Nietasche, and was upheld by Erich Kauffummann who said that:

...the essence of the state is development, increase and display of power, along with the will successful to maintain and assert itself ...

The primary purpose of the state was the cultivation not of the mental and moral energies of the nation-which was a buy-product, but of the power. The real social idea of the state, is not the community of free willing men, 'but victorious in war'. To Kauffummann. "the state reveals itself in its true essences war is the state's highest performance, in which its special nature reaches it fullest development.

Power is an instrument of coercion and has a physical effect. In Bertrand and Russel' analysis of power, they accepted that the qualities of power secured by its dispersion was more important condition of human freedom than the equality or dispersion of wealth. Although Russel in realising the dangerous nature of power in the international system, he

asserted that an extension for power of the state is harmful both to those who wield it as well as those on whom it is exercised.

To George Catlin, political science is the study “of the phenomena of control with the provisional hypothesis of some basic ill-understood urge to power as a determinate. Catlin disagreed with Morgenthau’s argument of international politics as to be based on cooperation which is a form of power because operation is more stable than domination. In Lasswell’s assertion of power, “what men seek in their political negotiation is power.

However, the views of Thomas Hobbes do not seem to invalidate the above assertions about power. To Hobbes, the general inclination of all mankind was “a perpetual restless power after power, that ceaseth only in death”.

The paradigmatic assumption of the realist theory is that ‘power’ is at times to supplement the concept of ‘national interest’. The central thesis of the realist paradigm about power is that state, acting through statesmen who personify them, ‘think and act in terms of interest define as power? To the realist, the concern for power is rational to state acting through its statesmen, and the statesmen are desirous to increasing states power. Conserving or consolidating or demonstrating it. Since it is the only condition for ensuring national security and maintaining order and peace in the international system. For state, in the pursuit of values

instead of honour (power) often lead to conflictual situation among states that interact which is the highest stage of irrationality by the statesmen. It is a truism that nation-states that made up the international system have conflicting national objectives some of which lead to war and capabilities of nations are crucial for the outcome of international conflicts. The only way to prevent war and maintain peace is to ensure that power is balanced with a counter-weight.

Power to Morgenthau is a guide to policy. It is the perennial standard by which political action should be judged. Thus, according to him a foreign policy should concern more with the political requirements of success rather than anything else. One of the concerned notion of the realist principle as typified by Morgenthau, maintains that universal moral principles should be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal; political ethics justifies action by its consequences.

Morgenthau philosophical realism is that in the World there are opposing interests and conflict is among them. This conflict can be traced to two human traits-selfishness and lust of power. To Chandra, power is not only a political action, but also a means to an end both at domestic and international politics. It is a means for serving national interest and an end because continuing possession of power and commonness 'ends' or goals of all state ensures preservation of national interest. Power in the dynamic force which moulds international

relations as exhibited by the state their relations which each other in the international system. State tend to demonstrate power, and at times, tend to adopt the policy of maintaining the status quo which is aimed at keeping power rather than changing the distribution of power, which other states tend to adopt policy of imperialism which enable states to acquire power by reversing the existing power relations.

In Chandra's view, the national interest is defined in terms of power and it is what the state purpose in their relations with one another. The survival and security of a nation constitute the irreducible minimum of the necessary element.

Morgenthau believes that men do not fight because they have arms but they have arms because they deem it necessary to fight'. The moral duty of a state is to possess those things that will enhance her security. It is through the over-whelming strength against potential aggressor, that security of the state will be maintained. The realist paradigm about power has been faulty for so many reasons. The international system has been portrayed as being in a state of war which is likened to Hobbesian state of nature in the great Lercathan. If all states power, international relations will appear as battlefields or theatre for war where peace is not guaranteed. The realists of Nigerian foreign policy and the "Ife school of international Relations" in their "pathological antagonism" to foreign-inspired creation of a Pan Africa Force Security They expressed

the fear that Nigeria is likely to adopt ‘an isolationist foreign policy’ because her role in Africa is rebuffed or her influence is shrinking around the continent.

It is the position of this work to agree with the realist view that the external behaviour of a state is shaped, influenced or to a large extent, determined by the traditional elements of national power. The external environment constitute a major element and these consists states are well the configuration or distribution of power in the international system.

Nigeria’s foreign policy from inception reflection the realist position that a country should pursue only those policy objectives which its power can sustain.

2.3 THE VIEWS OF NIGERIANS ON NATIONAL SECURITY

In the preceding discussion on literature review, the study attempted to give an insight on what various authorities on national security and strategic studies expressed. This becomes necessary considering the task of the paper which is aimed at elucidating the world view of what constitutes internal threats of the security of a nation.

In this section, the views of Nigeria authors are necessary in view of the issue under study however, the views expressed by authors and scholars in the persons of Professor Imobighe, Vogt, Ekoko, Seasay, Akinyemi,

Joy Ogwu, and the rest represent the modern views of the concept of national security. This review of the literatures on national security in Nigeria is an attempt to provide a comparative overview of ideas, concepts and thoughts on national and 'internal security' and 'National security'. In this research, for the purpose of spilling the ink, the two terms would be used interchangeably.

As noted elsewhere, the issue of internal security has attracted very little scholarly attention among Nigeria academics. According to Imohighe, Even though internal security forms the baseline of a nation's defence, it has at best received only a peripheral treatment in strategic literature...

The above observation is particularly relevant to the Nigeria situation where, possibly due to the lack of basic information about Defence and security matters, the exploration of security issues is not particularly attractive to many scholars.

In any serious discussion on national security we cannot divorce or neglect the issues of national interest. The national interest formed the basis of national security interest. For proper conceptualization, we can understand from three broad perspectives viz: the leadership perspective, the citizens perspective and the 'perspective o analysts or academics, the views of leadership, Joy Ogwu argued that it is the leadership that determine which interests reflect the highest moral values and which are vital interest. In the Nigerian defence policy process, the vita interest is

national defence and wellbeing, self-reliance, democracy. In the national interest matrix, it will be discernible which of the interest that are vital.

TABLE

NATIONAL INTEREST



From this matrix, it is the political leadership which determines correctly which interests [are more important than the other at a specific time and then, mobilizes the nation's resources to defend and protect them. This explains why leadership responds to different situations in a different way. It is the leader that determines the vital interest to facilitate a more realistic judgement of Nigeria's foreign policy and provide a guideline for the future. According to Ogwu:

An interest is vital when the highest policy makers in a sovereign state conclude that the issue at stake in an international dispute is so fundamental to the political, economic, social well-being of country that it should not be compromised further, ever if it results in the use of economic and military force...,

Each policy or direction of policy must be judged relative to the leadership perception, national capability and other relevant variable.

Within the Nigeria concept, national security has been used by civilian

statesmen as a political rhetoric or slogan for rallying the citizen in the face of perceived internal and external threats to the government in power. There is the tendency to equate national security with the security of the state. The state is being viewed as the leadership. The security operations, therefore, significantly work for the protection of the elite group thereby missing the point of national security.

The concept of national security has its origin in the emergence of modern nations and the desire to protect it. More recently, it has assumed a distinct category in the entire gamut of foreign policy because of differing historical formulations for the concept of national interest.

It is no doubt the national security embodies the sovereignty of the nation: the inviolability of its territorial boundaries and the right to individual and collective self-defence against internal and external threats. The term national security therefore, involves the protection of vital national interests against possible external threat.

From the perspectives of the analysts (academics) national security is seen generally as the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threat. Its domain therefore, is the analysis of the manner in which nations plan, make and evaluate the decisions and policies needed to increase this ability. In the view of the analysts, the leadership perception of national security is the survival of the regime in power.

Therefore, this is the perennial problem of how to decipher national interest from the varying interest groups in Nigeria. For instance, in the United States, a new dimension is given to the meaning and application of national interest to encompass national security. It is rightly or wrongly believed, that the vital national interest of any nation is the survival of that nation. This core interest is the same as the only vital national security interest of United States.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF MILITARY POWER IN STATE POLITICS

In today's international environment, states maintain forces for both external and domestic purpose, that is, primarily to defend and also establish a particular socio-political order. There are views expressed by scholars that nation-states maintain strong military forces in the prosecution of nation's foreign policy. National power, however, is viewed as the general capability of a state to influence the behaviour of others. Military's strength has its rationale in the contribution to a state's national security and the attainment of national foreign objectives.

No great power in the present or past has failed to maintain a large military establishment and those states which aspire to great power status allocate a large portion of their resources to military machine.

Military establishment has always been one of the trappings of 'sovereignty', and political leaders are compelled to maintain one as a status symbol. Military power is the legally sanctioned instrument of violence which when necessary, governments use in their relations with one another in an internal security role. However, the usefulness of military power is self-evident in both ancient times and modern state system. In the ancient empires and kingdoms, the preponderance of military power or force is used to expand the territories, to maintain

internal law and order and most fundamental to protect the state against external invasion of aggression.

In the book titled “The Age of Violence”, the authors gave an insight of the world in which we are and he also established the importance of military power in contemporary international politics. Perhaps, the growing awareness today has rendered the question of the validity or utility of military power irrelevant, since the world public are aware of the danger in which we are.

Many political observers, diplomats and military strategists have continued to reflect on the Clausewitzian maxim. In the famous work of the German military strategist Karl Von Clausewitz, drew a conclusion that:

War is a continuation of policy through violent means....

One fundamental question is whether the concept of war continues to be applicable in our contemporary international system. Von Clausewitz maintained-“War is an instrument of policy: it must necessarily bear its character, it must measure with its scale’... ‘The conduct of War... is therefore policy itself which takes up the sword in place of the pen.

In the search for the role of the military, an answer to the question on the connection between contemporary politics and a modern war must be understood. The “Grand Soviet Encyclopedia described “Politics as a

field of human activities which has to do with relations among classes, nationalities, and other social groups: it is centred on the problem of gaining, retaining and utilising state power". The essence of politics is the "organisation of state power" (Lenin)' Further, politics is involvement in the affairs of the state, the orientation of the state, and determination of the forms, aims content of the state's work.

Foreign and domestic politics however, are ultimately intended to preserve and consolidate the system of social relations of the state in question. The view that a nuclear holocaust is a continuation of policy through different means and methods accepts nuclear war as an ordinary instrument of policy and the nuclear arms race as the only way of conducting that policy. Thus, in our world today, states pursue power as the objective of their foreign policy. The international system has been militarized in the activities of the super powers during the cold war and even after the post-cold war years. There is an anxiety and uncertainty of the safety of mankind because of weapons acquired by the superpowers. The new states are inadvertently exposed to the possession of military power.

In our unipolar world, states in the international system pursue power as the objective of their foreign relations. Some will argue that with the dissolution of war saw pact and the disintegration of Soviet Bloc, that the fear of nuclear war will be allayed it means therefore, that war will

become unacceptable in the settlement of inter-state disputes. It is polemical to argue that the outlawing of war does not outlaw the technology in which the weapons are made. Besides, the series of armament summits barring the super powers from nuclearisation of the world were mere gimmick, because the big powers' intention is to ensure continued perpetuation of dominance over the small states and to prevent the small states from rising to challenge their hegemony.

As the world faces various crises such as economics, political, and military, states may once again find it expedient to pursue their national interest and foreign policy objectives by the age-old techniques of intimidation with military might war and conquest. Many have criticized the use of military power for the exploitation of foreign policy on the ground that military preponderance cannot always be translated into political victory. The U.S. with her nuclear monopoly in the late and early 1950s. A position which saw her victory in the cold war testified the potency of the super powers capability of destroying the entire world. Although. U.S. could not successfully pursue a guerrilla warfare against the Vietnamese in what one writer described as a Rice-based bicycle – powered economy”. It has been argued in some quarters that American failure in Vietnam was not basically because of lack of military power but her inability to use military power at the right time. Delay, they said a “dangerous act in a situation of survival of a nation.

The underlying assumption either hypothetical or in reality is that military power is a purposive, functional thing, one of the instruments which states use in the pursuit of their national interests. Clausewitzian theory becomes a plausible explanation of military power as one of the many techniques of states craft, taking side alongside with diplomacy and propaganda. Nigeria's role in Angola's independence for instance, is a demonstration of the fact. Clausewitz indisputably recognized the tacit fact that war was not always an instrument of policy or purposive political act. Sometimes war appears to be a kind of madness, and explosion of violence which erupts not as a result of political decisions.

3.2 THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY PROCESS

Military influence in policy formulation was evident during the Nigerian Civil war between 1967-1970 and other various national crises. With the outbreak of the civil war, the military was given wide discretion in dealing directly with rebel forces in the Eastern part of Nigeria shortly after the civil war. There was a plan to maintain a substantially stronger military both in size and in war instruments.

The war typified and demonstrated the type of role the military should play in the formulation of national security policy only when the duress of war made the armed forces responsible for executing such policy". However, the absence of any major threats to the nation's survival, apart

from the civil war, left the military services with only the routine problems of territorial defence, contingency planning and support of foreign policy.

The imminence of the civil war in 1967 had generated new structural arrangement designed to bring military advice into the process of policy formulation. The head of the military who was the Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces commanded the troops; the chief of staff supreme headquarters' influence was particularly important concerning strategic operations. Military influence during the war extend beyond political-military planning for victory over the rebel forces. The military played the leading role in developing war termination and post war occupation policies.

Military influence in all areas of national security policy was also drawn in constructing the ECOMOG alliance in maintaining peace in Liberia.

The military and domestic security in the areas of civil rights, emerging strongly during the 1990s, provided yet another political- military rule for the services. The establishment of National Guard was to further enhance the domestic security. The President General Ibrahim Babaginda established the National Guard to mobilize them to complete the regular army units to enforce domestic order. This is a new pattern of army involvement in law enforcement. However, the final decision to involve the army would be made at the highest level of government,

commitment of troops would be delayed until all local means of dealing with the problem. Proved inadequate.

The nature and extent of military influence in formulation and execution of Nigeria foreign and defence policies varies with a number of influences. Among these have been the size and nature of defence establishment, the military's own definition of its appropriate role, organisational structures and political forces and the extent of public support for the military. The increased size of the military. The increased size of the military after the civil war left its imprint on the formulation and execution of foreign policy. The military has become policy maker in both defence and national security. Military influence in all areas of national security, however, derived in part from superior organisation and resources.

3.3 FUTURE ROLE OF THE MILITARY

Nigerian military itself is far from monolithic either in character or in outlook. The recurring demand for war has been over its appropriate role in the formulation and execution of national security as expressed by General Douglas Mac Arthur in 1962 in an address to the Cadets at West point.

...Your mission remains fixed, determined, inviolable – it is to win our wars. Everything else in your professional career is but corollary to this

vital dedication...

He went on to observe that the merits and demerits of our processes of government and of such issues as deficit financing, taxes and personal liberties are “not for your participation or for military solution” General Mathew Ridgway, army chief of staff in 1995, had earlier expressed essentially the same traditional, “military purist point of view.

The military adviser should give his competent professional advice based on the military aspects of the programmes referred to him, based on his fearless, honest objective estimates of the national interest, and regardless of administration policy at any particular time. He should confine his advice to the essential military aspects.

It is against this background, that he posits to argue that the future role of the Nigeria military should remain its traditional role of maintaining the territorial integrity, the defence of the country's sovereignty and the preservation of the country's independence and nationhood. The regional peace-keeping mission is accorded relevance more than ever before, therefore, the nation's armed forces should be fully equipped to maintain regional peace and security, since it is a fact, that peace in the region will guarantee the peace at home.

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CHAPTER FOUR

AN OVERVIEW OF THREATS PERCEPTION TO NIGERIA

NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENCE

Whenever people think of National security in a country, their minds automatically go to the protection provided within in the country for its people. National resources, assets, as well as its territorial integrity, by the government of the day. Besides, the term security covers the protection of the economic interest would eventually undermine internal security.

In conceptualizing the possible threats to Nigerian survival as a nation-State, it is important to bring into focus the requirements of the military instrument of power.

These are:

- a. Deter actions that are likely to threaten the security of Nigeria
- b. Conduct warfare it requires in a manner that will achieve specific national objectives;
- c. Resolve conflicts on terms acceptable to people.
- d. Assist other Government agencies in dealing with national emergencies and natural disaster.

However, Nigeria defence policy revolves around certain cardinal principles which in broad terms, explain the natural aims of the country for the assumption of her citizens and the world at large. Defence is not the

exclusive concern of the military as conceived by some, but it is something that affects the citizens. In other words, the principles of Nigeria defence policy are not restricted to technical judgements of an exclusive military kind, but must take into account the geo-political, social, cultural, religious and economic development of the nation since independence.

Defence policy is concerned with the protection of the Nigeria state and it's from military threats and actions of other states. The national defence policy is formulated principle that provide a broad course of action for the use of force as an instrument of national power, to attain a set of specific national aims, goals or objects its vital interest. It is the policy formulated by the political leaders for the preservation of their corporate interests and maintaining them in power. It includes all relevant factors, issues, concerns, principles and strategies best suited for ensuring the preservation of a nation's sovereignty and its continued economic, social and political development. In essence, a country's defence policy is primarily a statement of how the country, perceives its position in the international community, and perhaps what she considers her national interests and what type of posture she would require to promote, these interests.

Nigeria's defence policy since independence is in line with her foreign policy principles which are worthy of note here to include:

- a. The defence of Sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity;

- b. The creation of a necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will facilitate the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African states times fostering national self-reliance in Africa and the rest of the developing world;
- c. The promotion and defence of justice and respect for human dignity. Especially the dignity of the black man;
- d. The defence and promotion of world peace.

Perhaps, the framework of the national defence and security policy is predicated on the interaction of several internal dynamics. These dynamic factors depend largely on the perception of the political leadership and the changes in defence and security policy; which in turn, would depend on the emphasis is placed on each of its determining factors by the government in power. These factors are classified as threats to internal security of the state.

In contemporary thinking, General Babangida's administration provided the dynamics and the impetus for scholarly study of Nigeria's aims, interest and objectives more vividly. This administration emerged with three different concept of national interest. National interest was interpreted as total liberation of Nigeria in particular and African continent in general; it was conceived as the interest of the dominant class: it is defined as the promotion of Nigeria's national security or the

enhancement of national power. It is whenever these interests are threatened either from within or outside that security of the state is affected.

The threats to Nigerian security are classified into two. This classification rather than being practical is purely academics since there is no fine line between threats' germinating in Nigeria and those that are termed "externally influenced". However, these are two sources of threats – internal and external. Perhaps, wherever a society is unstable, a conducive atmosphere is usually created or threats within such society. A society is unstable if any of the following exist viz

- a. Political pandemonium
- b. Economic crisis
- c. Social unrest, etc.

All these are categorized as internal threats which are likely to teleguide external threats. For instance, through social warfare, a nation's power can be weakened by the promotion of internal rifts and dissensions political warfare could destroy the will of the people and the government to resist certain pressure, while economic warfare could lead to the destruction of various aspects of the nation's economy and could manifest itself in such offensive acts as denial of resources, trade and capital as well as diversion of labour.

4.2 INTERNAL THREATS TO NIGERIA SECURITY

Nigeria is a plural society which has to contend with the systematic implications of a plural order, the most fundamental of which are the contradictions and conflict of values intrinsic in the nature of Nigeria's social political order. The ethnography of Nigeria with its attendant consequences of regional conflicts and rivalry among the component units, have been the major threat to the political leadership and a bane to political stability.

Secondly, the Wave of religious fanaticism and fundamentalism has triggered the further accentuation of the problem of internal security threat. This has militated against intensified and coordinated efforts at national integration, cohesive, and consensus.

Thirdly, the present economic crisis of the country is another threat to the survival of the nation and the citizens. The country depends on her crude oil as the mainstay of the economy and the major source of foreign exchange earnings. Therefore physical facilities and structures of the strategic economic sectors could be the targets of attack by enemy countries or even disgruntled citizens. The national debt burden with its resultant effects on national economy such as low industrial output, massive unemployment, retrenchment and deteriorating income value, is another great concern. Today, the nation takes new contradictions in the nature of income inequalities and her inability to provide most of the

basic needs of her citizens. Consequently, crime rate has increased, the nation is now experiencing rising urban terrorism, insecurity of life and poverty etc. In an attempt to bring the nation out of the economic quagmire, the Structural Adjustment Programme was adopted and this policy further orchestrated the May 1989 riots in the towns and cities in Nigeria.

Fourthly, the numerous aliens that enter the country illegally from neighbouring countries are another potent source of threat to the nation's security. Aliens are known to have played active roles in promoting religious intolerance and disharmony. They have often trespassed the nation's frontiers with the least regard for the nation's territorial sovereignty. Some of the aliens that are legally resident in Nigeria engage in acts of economic sabotage in collaborating with some dubious, dishonest and unpatriotic Nigerians.

The fifth one is the subversive activities of the citizens either jointly or in collaboration with foreigners. Subversion is usually directed at undermining the whole government set up in a country. When the government of a country abhors and prevents democratic means of protests and change, one of the resultant effects is often, that of revolutionary elements and opposition factions in the country resorting to subversive strategies to change the established authority and to attain political power for their own selfish benefit. In a country like Nigeria,

where nationalism and patriotic feelings are yet to have any root among the people, subversion can easily be made a festering menace. As the government of the day flounders and plunders the nation's resources: sheer poverty; economic and political disillusionment can easily make some Nigerians readily collaborators for anti-state subversive activities.

4.3 EXTERNAL THREATS TO NIGERIA SECURITY

Nigeria's leading role in the West African sub-region and Africa as a threat to internal security. This leading role is seen in the context of Nigeria's national security interests and her desire to re-order world system in a manner suitable to her interests. Based on this premise, Nigeria would like to influence events in the sub-region particularly plays a leading role in ECOWAS, OAU, UNO, OPEC etc. Nigeria's leading role galvanized other members of ECOWAS members to support the formation of military group (ECOMOG) which was aimed at maintaining peace in Liberia. This hold effort by Nigeria was viewed by some as an attempt to purse her interests which was meant to provide her security of existence as well as play a leading role in the region.

Besides, Nigeria's foreign policy which centred on Africa means that she cannot remain indifferent to conflicts on her borders. During the Chadian conflicts, some countries that had vested interest in West Africa were drawn into it. For instance, France and Libya. The presence of these countries in Chad poses a different military threat to Nigeria.

Again, the boundary dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon over the Bakassi Peninsula in areas between Akwa-Ibom and Cross River states poses another security threat to Nigeria. The discovery of minerals at the border area has attracted the attention of the Cameroonians who constantly harassed Nigerian fishermen sailing within the Bakassi Peninsular. This situation has raised some anxieties in the military circle and the nation generally, because it is likely to lead to military confrontation between the two countries. Here France' interest will be fully registered since Cameroon is a Francophone country.

Libya's ambition of playing the role of regional leader becomes a source threat to Nigeria's leadership position in Africa. There is every possibility that Libya could extend her terrorist activities to Nigeria via religious fanaticism under the guise of Islamism.

The events arising from the annulment of June 12, 1993 Presidential Election has invited the Western democratic countries to meddle in the country's political process. The West has found South Africa as a veritable instrument to play the guidance role of democracy in Africa. This is testified from recent diplomatic assault of South Africa on Nigeria mainly because of non-democratic government of the country – Nigeria. Now South Africa has become the guidance of democracy in Africa and considering her military capability she has become a threat to Nigeria. Thus, we can safely say that. South Africa now contests Africa

leadership position with Nigeria. Besides, South Africa is Strategic located in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean, with abundant natural resources which remain a major interest of the West who hell-bent on maintaining it and this position of the West in South Africa tend to threaten Nigeria's national interest.

4.4 THE QUEST FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENCE IN NIGERIA

Today, more than ever, the world is in a state of flux with a tendency of shifting towards unipolarity with the United States of America lording over all. That notwithstanding, lesser powers are not resting on their oars but are creating power centres as a deflation of the Soviet exit. Nigeria cannot afford to sit on the sideline, but must position herself in such a way to protect her interests within the global scene. Nigeria has to articulate her National security strategy in the contest of the perceived roles. It is on this basis, through research that attempt is being made to develop some thrust on national security strategy for Nigeria.

According to John M. Collins, sound national security interests and objectives are keys of effective strategies. 4 National security seem to take the centre stage in relationship whether internal or with other nations. The concept of national interest is used in both political analysis and political actions. As an analytical tool, it is employed to describe and explain a nation's policy, to evaluate the sources or the adequacy of

a nation's policy. Besides, as an instrument of political action, national interest serves as a guide to justify and denounce a policy action and to propose another policy action where the need arises.

Hans Morgerithua's definition of national interest is based on national security. To him, the national security must be defined as integrity of a national territory and its instruments. The pursuit of national interest demands that the leaders focused on those essential concrete (and, where necessary selfish) objectives dictated by national power other than those that are dictated by sentiments. It is important to establish that power is a concept that cannot be separated from national security interest. Power is the principal instrument for the realization of national interest. It is made up of several elements such as geography, economy, political ideology, military capability, technology, national moral etc. All these elements form the national power as shown diagrammatically below.

THE STRATEGIC MATRIX

Fig I. INPUTS

POLITICAL
MILITARY
ECONOMIC

SOCIAL
PSYCHOLOGICAL
TECHNOLOGICAL

SOURCE: JOHN A COLLINS



POWER:
National Institution
Armed Forces
Geography
National Resources
Industrial Base
Trade
Finance
Population
National Characters
Morals
Science and Technology
Leadership

“GRAND STRATEGY” USNMA PRESS, 1974

It is worthy of note that perception of threats changes with time, leadership personalities and issues. As such, the strategies adopted for containing them also change with the situation presented in the matrix above. However, the global environment with its uncertainties is the field of play where nations like Nigeria are players. The energy to continue in the game plan has to do with the inputs and potential power elements of the nation which has to be assessed. Nigeria therefore, needs to develop its strategies based on the definitions of its environmental spheres of interest.

Nigeria operates within the global spheres of interests. The pursuit of some interests by Nigeria could conflict with the desire or interests of other nations. There are categories of nations whose influence and options are critical to Nigeria development. They could influence a change in policy interest whether they conflict with their interests or not readily lead to Nigeria's change of position. To this effect, Nigeria has spheres, of influence and action.

Nigeria's first spheres of influence are countries within the West Africa sub-region and the rest of Africa. However defined as what constitute Nigeria's sphere of influence, the fact remains that those countries that are contiguous to Nigeria by land-mass are capable of being influenced either positively or negatively by Nigeria's action but of which no major

change of policy is necessary, since Nigeria has the capacity for influencing their leadership thought process.

4.5 THE CONSTRAINTS TO NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENCE IN NIGERIA

There are various constraints to proper national security and defence planning strategies, any critical assessment of a national security in Nigeria must address the following constraints:

- a. Dependence on the major industrial powers, military, economically, technologically and politically, affects the security of the nation and the region as a whole. Nigeria's security policy is usually harmonized for the interests and preference of the dominant powers, thereby hampering the effectiveness of a good defence mechanism.
- b. The inability of Nigeria to control or at the minimum, have assured access to, vital resources. This to a large extent thwarted her hope of providing solutions to the internal security problems which may be externally motivated. This limitation which the 'non-control' of utilizable resources – financial, military, technical skills – imposes on Nigeria defence
- c. The absence of common value system and appreciation of security mechanism by the citizens which enhances the country is autonomy and thereby limiting foreign penetration. The resulting effect of this failure is the absence of a uniform conception of the sources of

internal and external threats to the country and to the appropriate strategy for its management.

- d. Another one is the absence of individual or collective political will on the part of states or association of states to organise a framework of defence and security based on a foundation of self-reliance. These constraints are natural, it only demands that a visionary leader will be able to address them, since the absence of these constraints guarantee peace and stability of the state.

4.6 AN APPRAISAL OF BABANGIDA'S ADMINISTRATION

Generally speaking, the assessment of a regime is a difficult task. This is because of individual perception of the performances and failure of that regime will be different. The research of this nature therefore, demands objectivity in order to bring out a clear picture of and administration that lasted for eight years amidst all threats which were basically internal.

The regime like its predecessors was security conscious. To wit, it began to fortify itself to be to accomplish its mission and that it started by tackling the economic problems. We must acknowledge the fact that there is a link between economic and foreign policy which brought about the concept of economic diplomacy. The overriding national security interest of the administration was the corporate existence or survival of the citizens. The regime adopted various economic policies which were aimed at improving the

living conditions for the citizens. Through the policy of economic diplomacy, foreign investors were encouraged to invest in Nigeria.

However, the administration could not meet the yearnings and aspirations of the citizens in the economic front. The economic policies adopted were more or less imported which indirectly stifled growth and development of the economy. The administration's economic measure dictated by the changes in the global economy were for the interest of the governing class. Thus, Nigerian merchants were found canalizing in buying and selling of imported goods which created consumerist behaviour in the citizens. The Structural Adjustment Programme that was meant to create economic self-sufficiency became a source of misery to the Nigerian populace. Eabangida's administration prevented a situation of war between Nigeria and her neighbours, the rest of Africa and the world at large. The administration did not make unnecessary enmity with Nigeria's neighbours and the rest of the world. The administration was guided by the principle of a "no permanent friend, no permanent enemy, but permanent interest. The projection of Nigeria's image both in the West Africa sub-region and Africa as a whole could be seen in the administration's quick responses to Liberian crisis. The West African Economic Community members states (ECOWAS) were mobilized by

Nigeria to send troops Liberia to stop the mass killings of the various warring factions. The regime quickly acted because of the fear of the possible crisis spilling over to Nigeria, a situation which may pose an internal threat to the government.

Under the administration, the Nigerian armed forces was mobilised for peacekeeping mission under the United Nations in Somalia, Rwanda, Yugoslavia etc. It is important to mention here, that the regime did not participate in the famous ‘operation Desert Storm’ under the allied forces. It was viewed as a major flux of the administration to aid the Allied forces to invade Iraq and save Kuwait.

Again, the administration maintained consistently in Nigeria’s foreign policy and her positions in the international issues were in line with the country’s foreign aid defence policy objectives. The defence of the sovereignty and independence of the country and black man all over the world were pursued by the administration of foreign policy. Nigeria was a force of reckon with in the world politics. With that, the regime was to deter enemies (if there was any) and won more friends. The defence planning as provided in the 1979 constitution contained the joint service cell. The administration organised the first joint service operation known as a “operation sea dog” in 1988.

The defence industries corporation was re-organised. The Armed Forces basic hardware were supposed to be produced in these industries to save the country some foreign exchange. These industries were established in 1963, but they never functioned, until the Babangida's administration took the bull by the horn with the re-organisation. This was aimed at making the industries to be efficient and effective. The abolition of the Armed Forces Ruling council as the highest decision-making organ and replaced by the National Defence and Security Council (NDSC). This was a measure aimed at effective control of security and thereby enhancing the nation's defence. The National Guard was established to replace the Brigade of Guards which is the traditional army unit. The National War College was also established to train needed manpower for the development of the armed forces.

There was drastic reduction on defence expenditure. This was to save the national resources in maintaining large and unproductive military. The resources saved was expected to be diverted to productive sectors of the economy. Although, it will sound contradictory here, that the regime that was aimed at restricting the economy later embarked on profligate spending with the buying of cars to the officers of the armed forces. Nigeria's

defence spending from inception does not bear semblance with the capability of the armed, forces.

4.7 HYPOTHESES TESTING AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Based on the conceptual foundations that weak political, economic and military capabilities endangers the security of the state while alternative hypothesis is that the weak political, economic and military capabilities does not endanger the security of the state, the second hypothesis therefore, tends to examine the issue of non-democratic governance which affects the security of the state.

However, the work is conceptualized on power theory of a state. It is based on this assumption that, the research study is designed as a survey of all the elements of national power of a state which are military capability, good economy, and stable political system with good leadership.

Specific requests were made to individuals and academics who could provide greater discussion on the issues of national security, since it will be difficult for a professional soldier to discuss that secret with a civilian. Besides, oral interviews with those who by virtue of their position within the government provided a better insight into the discussion on national security.

About ten people were surveyed representing an insignificant figure compared to the population of the country. However, this few number of

people notwithstanding, their views represented varieties of opinion of Nigerians and professional groups.

In reviewing the literatures on Nigeria military, according to the “African Guardian and the military balance” 1986-1987 published by the international institute for strategic studies, the strength of the Nigeria military is: Army, 80,000 strong; and Air Force 9,000. The African Guardian states that “Nigeria’s entire defence force stood at 94,000 men. The Nigerian Army itself is about 80,000 strong, comprising one armoured division. There is also one composite division consisting of the newly developed airborne, air portable and amphibious brigades, and two mechanized divisions, each made up of three brigades, four engineering brigades and four reconnaissance battalions. In addition, “Tanks total 162 with 165 fighting vehicles, Artillery fire power boast of 200D-30/-74 guns, gun of the 122mm Calibre. There are two antitank and air defence guns. The 5,000 man Navy has two fagates fitted with surface-to-air missiles, four corvettes, six fast attack and nine patrol crafts. The Air force has 53 Combat aircraft including three squadrons; and scores of training jets.

The Military Balance – 1986-1987 issue listed even more assorted kinds of weapons with varying sophistication on air, sea and land warfare. For the air Force, MIGZIU, Boeing CH-47, Puma Helicopters etc. Are part of the arsenal of the Air Force for 9,000 men. In addition, the military Balance went beyond the conventional units of the Army. Navy, and Air force to

discuss the para-military formulations such as coast guard. Port security Police comprising of % worth 12,000 and the security and Civil Defence Corps under the internal Affairs Ministry, as well as the Nigerian Police Force with their UR.-416 APC, 4 helicopters. 68 small aircraft, 7 Hoover craft (5AV Tiger).

With all those in mind, most of the respondents argued that Nigeria does not possess the military capability to fight any major conventional and nuclear war, either within or outside the continent. The argument is that Nigeria does not have nuclear plants like South Africa. Again, they rated Nigeria defence capability as low relative to other Middle Power like Brazil, India and Argentina.

Besides, even the North Africa countries, pose a threat to National because of their military might. For instance, Libyan army is roughly 73,000 with the population less than that of Nigeria. In terms of weapon procurement, one respondent described as having military officers who are nothing but “office Generals” without war experience.

In terms of ethics, the Nigerian Military is the most undisciplined group in the whole world. they lack internal cohesion and shared national objectives. As President Babangida revealed in a public lecture in 1984 “the unique role of the military in national defence and security calls for high standard of discipline for the accomplishment of its missions”

On the issue of economic capabilities, majority of those interviewed shared the same view. To them, as long as the economy remains import-oriented. Mono-cultural, the countries search for power in the global and regional arena will be an illusion. As noted by Lateff Aminu, a Research fellow of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, the defence size and budget have remained a source of problem for the armed forces.

According to some academics, the Nigerian economic base cannot be mobilized or deployed to enhance the capability of the state. The respondents were able to establish a link between economy and foreign policy. To them, economy forms the superstructure while foreign policy is the sub-structure since it is in the realms of politics. Another respondent pointed out that Nigeria is a rentier state' that is Teresa Turner. With that she means "importing what she cannot produce and producing what she cannot consume".

The degree of external dependence of the economy is very high. One respondent linked the issue of dependence as having a direct effect on the military industrial technology.

The structural weakness of the political system was viewed from different perspectives. To some respondents, the Babangida administration was a clog to the path of democracy. To others, they attributed the weak political structure to the political environment characterized by class the ethnic cleavages and the struggle for ultimate power at all cost.

Some respondents argued that the long romance of the military has tended to affect the political process vis-a-vis the issue of security is shrouded in the military secrecy.

To buttress the fact further, some respondents commented on the various attempts by the military to return the country to a democratic rule. They observed and commented that the hope of an authentic democratic transformation in Nigeria has since given way to disillusion and pessimism. Despite a plethora of officially recognised two political parties created by the Babangida administration, the government continued to teleguide the activities of the parties. Also the judicial system was widely perceived to have broken down entirely.

There was general insecurity which was a major impediment to the entire process of democratic rule, and the transitional institutions were unable to satisfy the democratic aspirations of the citizens.

Following the annulment of the Presidential election in 1993, there emerged pro-democracy movements calling for the restoration of democracy. In the view of some academics, the greatest impediment to democratization in Nigeria is the widespread insecurity which rendered meaningless, the formal exercise of political freedom. Thus, without the rule of law, democratization cannot take root, let alone make any real progress.

In the final analysis, the survival of Nigeria is paramount to every citizen, it is observed that insecurity arises as a result of the following – when the citizens cannot maintain a decent living, when there is high rate of inflation and weak military capability, to them considering Nigeria's enormous resources, the country can still play a leading role in Africa. They further identified the following as obstacles to the security of the state: Professional laxity, over-politicization of the armed forces, and lack of motivation to the members of the armed forces from the government in power. They further argued that there is fear of insecurity because no Nigeria is ready to die. The nation cannot raise an emergency army if the country is at war because of low morale of the citizens.

There is general dissatisfaction among the citizens and no matter the amount, the quantity and quality of arms acquired, there is insecurity because there is inter-play of external and internal factors which influence the foreign and defence policy.

The research findings have revealed that weak political. Military and economic capability endangers the security of a state and besides, non-democratic governance is a threat to the security of state. Therefore, we can accept the null hypothesis and reject the alternative hypothesis.

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CHAPTER FIVE

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has brought a lot of issues into focus and based on that, far-reaching recommendations are made:

- A. Role of science and technology: For military science, the policy frame is to develop a scientifically and technologically competent Armed Forces, The strategies for the implementation of the military science component of the national policy on science and technology are
- i. That all existing armed forces institutions should emphasize science and technology.
 - ii. Through the establishment of an institute of Armament Technology which is scientifically based.
 - iii. By strengthening the research and development (R &D) division of the Federal Ministry of Defence in conjunction with the Ministry of Science and Technology to provide attachment facilities to the existing armed forces institutions including Defence Industries.
 - iv. To pay attention to the use of micro-electronics and other advance forms of technology in military hardware.
 - v. Our National security management efforts should follow the path of greater national self-reliance with a primary capability for

operation in our own neighbourhood, that is, readiness for development on a self-reliant basis to provide a well measured Nigerian national response for possible future events in our own locality

B. Role of intelligence: Our first line of defence should be intelligence.

By this, we mean that intelligence systems must be harnessed and integrated. Border defence should be based on censors, communications network and major collecting centre preferably the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA). To this end, the radio monitoring system project should be reactivated. The same condition should hold for our defence and coastal systems. The truth is that today, Nigeria has the basis and facilities for a meaningful air defence system, what is lacking is integration.

C. Our weapon and other equipment acquisition, policy should start to take serious cognisance of military evolution in the continent. It is now clear that African battle fields of this century shall not be technologically intensive. We should procure equipment that can be maintained with our own indigenous technology. The type of bombs and arms used by the Biafrans during the civil war should be studied and developed.

D. The Nigerian Army, Navy, and Air Force should formulate and adopt a combat doctrine or doctrine that are mutually supportive. Reinforcive complimentary, practical, achievable and ending.

E. That since stability is central to any nation's security, government should create conducive atmosphere for political and economic stability which would enhance the desire for togetherness. That the government should be aware that the greatest threat to her security is internally generated. As such, the socio-political activities of the nation should be stabilized so as to prevent foreign elements from exploring the situation.

5.2 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The linkage between Nigerian Security and the military situation within our immediate strategic environment is obvious and logical today and as ever. No nation can afford to remain indifferent to developments that could threaten her existence. In this regard, Nigerian Army defence posture should be designed to take care of emerging realities in our sub-region. The Nigeria Army as vital organ of national security and territorial defence.

However, the central focus of thesis is the survival of Nigeria, that which is the only vital national security interests as it operates within the world system. The survival instinct therefore, provides the development of a new thinking in Nigeria's relationship with the world system based on its spheres of action and influence. This new thinking is to give reality to the economic diplomatic initiative. The study reviewed the aims and objectives of Nigeria defence policy. However, some of these policies

become sources of threats to other nations' interest. They viewed Nigeria's leading role in the sub-region and the region as a desire to dominate the political and economic process. The study also reviewed Nigeria's national security strategies and provided an insight into the level of understanding of what national security is.

The research study has revealed that dynamic defence system is a means of enhancing the national military power in order to achieve the objectives of foreign policy. It has been established that the issue of national security and defence is a product of interrelated experience. Internal conflict disorder arising from socio-political and economic setting and the prevailing international system. Consequently, the research has proved that threats to the national survival is closely associated with the intrinsic problems of national integration and nation-building.

It has equally been revealed that the drive for democratization is a major concern of both the developed and the developing countries of the world. Therefore, it stands to reason that there is a linkage between democracy and foreign policy. It has been established, however, that democratic governance has become a source of pressure from security of the state. Thus, internal conflict and perceived threats or actual military aggression from external sources have constituted real impediments to the maintenance of national sovereignty, peace and stability.

The research study admitted from the beginning that Nigeria's domestic political processes and defence policies are largely conditioned by the post-colonial situations. The structural imbalance in the federation is as source of ethnic-rivalry and animosity. The capability of the state to act in order to achieve its purpose in a plural society depends largely on the degree of autonomy and the pattern of class formation. Thus, an autonomous state is necessarily a strong state, able to resist strong societal pressures as the research study has revealed. Again, the study exposes the degree of factionalisation and negative effect of patrimonialism as a disturbing factor to the survival of Nigeria state. It is an established fact, that military governance often results to conflict between political activities and military profession.

In reviewing some literatures, it has been realised that power is the central thesis in political discourse. The realist view of power political reflect the Nigeria foreign and defence policy. In the realist paradigm, it is believed that a country should pursue only those policy objectives which its power can sustain.

Extensive review of the literature on national security was made. Military strategy like Macdonald Walter Lippmann. Robert Osgood, Mangold, Hans Morgenthua who represented the views of the realist theoretician have given an insight on what the concept of National security is. The

view of Nigerian authors on military strategy are in line with the views shared by the traditional military strategies.

The study has revealed that there is no line of demarcation between the concept of national security and internal security. So they are used interchangeably. It is established that internal security is paramount as well as to the wellbeing of its citizens. Threats to life and property of citizens who invariably are weak, innocent and peace-loving, are indirectly a challenge to the authority of the state which is by agreement the sole agency for maintenance of law and order, which is one of the factors that constitute threats to internal security.

Conclusion

I may not have exhausted all i have in mind: I am equally aware that the recommendations made here must have been made elsewhere by some other scholars, but i am convinced that if properly studied and implemented, it will go a long way in making Nigeria to take their proper place in the comity of nations. The national security issue should be viewed with all seriousness by the military and the bureaucratic set up.

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