PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATION FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

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ST. CLEMENTS UNIVERSITY

SEPTEMBER, 2005

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BEING A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D) IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND STRATEGIC STUDIES OF ST. CLEMENTS UNIVERSITY

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DECLARATION

I, Emmanuel K. Jekada, do hereby declare that, this dissertation is entirely my own composition. All references made to works of other persons have been duly acknowledged.

EMMANUEL .K. JEKADA

APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that this research project was carried out under strict supervision and has been approved for submission to the St. Clements University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations and Strategic Studies.

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Project Supervisor   **Academic Adviser**

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Administrator
St. Clements University

DEDICATION

To my wife, who gave me containment and life of hope.

To my children, who gave joy and meaning to life.

And to the memory of my late father and mother, who set the standard, I strived to reach.

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Finally, I wish to record my sincere gratitude to all who positively contributed to my success though, their names are not mentioned.

QUOTABLE QUOTE

"When a system, any system, fails to work, it is not that it is bad. It fails because those to implement it fail. All systems are but GOOD"

ABSTRACT

Readily available and easy to use, small arms and light weapons have been the primary or sole tool of violence in almost all conflict in every part of the globe. In the hand of irregular troops operating with scant respect of international and humanitarian law, these weapons have taken a heavy toll on human lives, with women and children accounting for nearly 80 percent of the causalities.

While not by themselves causing the conflict in which they are used, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons affect the intensity and duration of violence and encourages militancy rather than a peaceful resolution of unsettled differences. Perhaps most grievously, we see a vicious circle in which insecurity leads to a higher demand for weapons which itself bread still greater insecurity; and so on.

The researcher is of the opinion that there is a critical link between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the upsurge in ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. Nigeria's Fourth Republic has witnessed the upsurge of ethnic and communal conflicts in which small arms are the weapons of choice. The possible escalation of these conflicts fueled by the availability of small arms poses an immense threat to national security.

The study will identify measures for controlling the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, by adopting a multi-sectoral and comprehensive approach, encompassing a whole gamut of measure, both operative and normative which must be dealt with, both with the context of conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0   <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

The end of the Cold War generated worldwide optimism for international peace and security. A shift from superpower proxy conflicts in the Third World to socio-economic development appeared a viable project. However, actual events in recent years have disastrously shattered those expectations. In place of enhanced security, virulent internal conflicts accompanied by unprecedented civilian casualties and gross violations of human rights have emerged at an alarming rate. The local roots and causes of the conflicts are numerous and diverse. However, in nearly all of the conflicts, the diffusion of small arms, particularly from the industrialized nations to the developing world has played a decisive role in the escalation, intensification and resolution of these conflicts.

In the last decade, Liberia and Sierra Leone have been embroiled in protracted civil wars; Guinea-Bissau experienced a brief internecine conflict in the late 1990s. Casamance separatists have continued to battle the Senegalese as they have done for two decades, Cote d'Ivoire suffers insurrection, Tuareg problem has simmered in Mali and Niger, and Liberia and Guinea continue to accuse each other of launching cross-border raids

against their territories, in a conflict also involving Sierra Leone rebels. The ongoing Daffur crises in Sudan is also another clear case of diffusing small arms and light weapons.

Thus, in contrast to the conventional view inherited from the Cold War era, emerging violence attest to the role of weapons as stimulus to conflict and a harbinger of massive human rights violation and humanitarian crises. In many cases, the availability of weapons has engendered violent conflicts. Thanks to advancing globalisation and the new private order, the trafficking in light arms has made them a weapon of choice. Illicit arms transfer is not a particular country's problem nor does the spread of deadly weapons stop at national borders. Guns and small arms are no longer the preserves of militaries and police force but have fallen into the hands of ordinary criminals, terrorists, ethnic militias and death squads around the world.

Globalisation is becoming an ever-influential "architect" of the new international security agenda. Its impact on the evolution of the relations among states is contradictory. On the one hand, globalisation contributes to accelerated development of productive forces, scientific and technological progress and ever more intensive communication among states and people. On the other hand, it has facilitated the easy transportation of illegal arms

from one country to the other and has transformed a domestic law and order problem to a national and international security threat.

Globalisation results in the long term irreversible contraction in the domain of state authority. Coupled with liberalization, states have in effect lost control of markets as reflected in the development of parallel informal economics, the rise of grey and black markets and the inability of the states to prevent the flow of illicit arms because of the porous nature of most borders and the adoption of policies such as "free movements" of people in a particular region.

Evidence indicates that illegal arms transfers are easier in periods of political transition that are normally preceded by periods of violence. The state, then focuses it resources in areas of reconstruction and development only, leaving gaps for the illicit transfer of small arms by crime syndicates.

Nigeria's fourth Republic has witnessed the upsurge of communal conflicts. Years of pent-up anger suppressed by prolonged periods of military misrule found outlets as Nigeria joined the third democratic wave. It is not arms that cause these conflicts, but the ease with which these arms are available, leads to easy escalation of festering conflicts.

1.1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL PROBLEM

In Africa, the proliferation of small arms is increasing in proportion. The balances of small arms traded are the remnants of conflicts in Mozambique and Angola, as well as licensed weapons being stolen or lost. These small arms have played a major role in exacerbating crimes and armed violence. Africa is also a major transshipment point for the international trade, as well as a major producer of local arms. This phenomenon threatens the consolidation of democracy and security in the region, which is necessary for sustainable development.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

It was hoped that, at the end of the cold war, there will be a guaranteed world wide optimism for international peace and security. A shift from super power proxy conflicts in the third world to socio-economic development appeared a viable project.

It is disheartening to rediscover that, actual events in recent years have disastrously shattered those expectations. In place of enhanced security, virulent internal conflicts accompanied by unprecedented civilian casualties and gross violation of human rights have emerged at an alarming rate. The local roots and causes of conflicts are numerous and diverse.

However, in nearly all these conflicts, the diffusion of small arms has played a decisive role in the escalation, intensification and resolution of these conflicts.

In contrast to the conventional view inherited from the cold war era, emerging violence attest to the role of weapons as stimulus to conflicts and a harbinger of massive human rights violation and humanitarian crisis. in many cases, the availability of weapons has engendered violent conflicts, which otherwise may not have occurred.

Thanks to advancing globalisation and the new private order, the trafficking of small arms is cheap and robust. The accessibility of small arms has been made an issue of choice. Illicit arms transfer is not a particular country's problem, nor does the spread of deadly weapons stop at national borders. Guns and small arms are no longer the preserves of militias and police force but have fallen into the hands of ordinary criminals, terrorists, ethnic militias and death squads around the world.

What is noteworthy is that while leaders and nations, given the experience of two world wars had concentrated on placing restrictions on the sale and transfer of big and conventional weapons, small arms proliferation was tragically ignored. Even major research centres like Stockholm International and Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) of Stockholm have not undertaken any

major study on the spread of small arms. Most researchers over the past decades have focused on the transfer of conventional weapons like tanks, heavy artillery, aircraft, warships and missiles.

1.3   OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY
        In general terms, the research seeks to understand the nature and dynamics of small arms proliferation and ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. It also sought to explain in a comprehensive manner, the link between small arms and light weapons proliferation, and ethnic identity, and how the interaction with wider social, economic and political context has consequences for conflicts and violence. In specific terms, the objectives are as follows:

- To examine the nuances surrounding the concept of small arms and light weapons proliferation and seek a better understanding of their meanings;

- To examine the interconnection and multiple linkages between small arms and ethnic or community conflicts and violence.

- To identify and explain the role of small arms in the escalation of ethnic or community violence.

- To examine, the role of the state, sub-region and international organizations and how their mediations in ethnic violence and regulation is the spread of small arms in Africa.

- To examine the nature of threats, caused by the proliferation of small arms, why are they perceived as security threats.

- To contribute to the development of a policy framework, for the management of small arms, in a plural and diverse ethnic nation with the particular reference to ethnic conflict, as it threatens national and sub-regional security.

- To analyse the ways in which small arms proliferation are threats to national security.

1.4   RATIONAL OF THE STUDY

Small arms and light weapons are capable of aggravating ethnic conflict in Nigeria. This study shall therefore provide a conceptual framework that will address the problems of small arms and identify the gaps in the field of study.

This will also enhance assessment of the extent to which small arms can be identified as security threat, by outlining the scholarly work that has been on reconceptualising security, analysing the socio-economic consequences of these phenomena as well as the repercussions of organised crime.

Another rational of the study is that it will serve as a starting point for further research by other scholars who might be interested in this area of

study. Furthermore, it will not only add to the body of existing literature, but it will also explore fresh options to contain the spread of small arms and light weapons in the sub-region and Nigeria in particular.

Similarly, this study will also serve as a good source of information by Nigerian policy makers, constitutional lawyers, students of criminology and sociology including politicians and professionals in crises and conflict management. In addition, it could also be used to identify loopholes and adopt strategies to prevent the proliferation of small arms in the sub-region and Nigeria.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The scenario parroted in the foregoing suggests a massive resurgence of ethnic conflict as a result of the proliferation of small arms, with due consequence for not only state viability but also national security. Not unexpectedly, ethnic violence in Nigeria as in many parts of the world has attracted the attention of scholars of different ideological persuasions and academic pedigree, but without the issue and linkage of small arms proliferation. These include Marxist scholars, who for long ignored ethnicity and treated as epi-phenomena of class and economic relations. Thus, in recognition of what has been considered "a paradigm lost", scholars of

Marxian genre have undertaken the expansion of the conceptual and theoretical warehouse of political economy. Similar response has been witnessed from scholars, whose pioneering efforts resulted in interpreting the salience of this identity in terms of the prevalence of traditionalism and the absence of modernization. All this, points to the academic significance of the study of small arms proliferation and ethnic/community violence in Nigeria's complex regional formation.

Finally, the study has policy significance. Without doubt, there exists a major lacuna in the domain of public policy for the management of small arms proliferation and ethnic pluralism apart from the expectation the democratic governance has a saluting effect. However, for public policy to be effective, heuristic and enduring, it can only be anchored on a clear understanding of the causes of proliferation and the dimension of ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. The challenge is to specify which policies and remedial actions both in the short and long terms that can be put forward to address the threat to national security, caused by the spread of small arms and ethnic conflicts.

1.6   HYPOTHESES

To focus the study more sharply, the following hypotheses have been formulated for testing:

1.   The proliferation of small arms and light weapons engenders violent ethnic conflicts.

2.   Small arms and light weapons have escalated the intensity of inter-ethnic conflicts.

3.   There is a relationship between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and ethnic conflicts.

4.   The proliferation of small arms leads to increase in ethnic conflicts.

5.   The widespread availability of small arms leads to the prolongation of ethnic conflicts.

1.7   EXPECTED FINDINGS

The research is intended to highlight, how small arms and light weapons have exacerbated ethnic conflict in Nigeria. It will also provide a framework of controlling regimes, such as national policy, regional initiatives and internal processes.

In the main, policy options will be provided by the study, to government sub-regional bodies and international organisations, since the problems of small arms and light weapons, are not limited to any particular state.

The adoption of the multiple options that will be provided by this study will reduce and contain ethnic conflicts in which small arms and light weapons are the weapons of choice.

1.8 LIMITATIONS:

The most important limitation on this study was time and finance. The inability of the researcher to travel to various countries in the sub-region and interview major actors in the small arms and light weapons debate might have limited the inputs of some major actors. There was also the possibility that some of the publications consulted had inhered bias. However, an attempt was made to reduce the effect of this bias on the outcome of this study by consulting a wide spectrum of materials on the research project; and also authentication of most of the materials used was equally made. Inspite of all these limitations, a thorough study was undertaken, to enable future researchers to improve on.

1.9 DEFINATION OF TERMS

i.   Arms Control – Reduction in the quest of superiority in small arms/light weapons amongst ethnics group

ii.   Area Boys – Freelance that operates mostly around the commercial areas of Lagos Island. They served as foot soldiers for the wider causes of ethnic assertiveness.

iii.   Buyer's Markets – A place used by arms buyers to know the changes that have taken place in the international small arms market.

iv.   Cold War – An ideological war that was fought with propaganda and diplomacy between the capitalist western European countries led by America and Britain and the Communist countries led by Soviet-Union.

v.   Combatant – Locally trained militias, fighting for their ethnic cause.

vi   Crisis and Conflict Management – Strategies for controlling crisis and conflicts before the escalate into violence in which small arms and light weapons are used.

vii.   Channels – Arms selling/buyer routes that operate with government support even though in violation of official government policy. Most often, they are linked to such agencies like government intelligence agencies or private companies.

viii.   Disarmament – The act of reducing the size of small arms/light weapons among ethnic combatants.

ix.   Excessive weapons – Small arms/light weapons considered being beyond acceptable number. Although, it is also a relative term only in context of specific regions, sub-regions or state.

x.   Ethnic Conflict – Disagreement or clash between two cultures or ethnic groups.

xi.   Gray – Market Channels - Legal markets that carries out legal sales of small arms/light weapons through military assistance programs in which combat small arms and light weapons are disseminated through.

xii.   Gray – Market Transfer – Markets that entails the delivery of weapons from government stockpile to political entities and ethnic militias associated with military clan or party.

xiii.   Illegal Bunkering – Theft of crude oil.

xiv.   Light Weapons – All conventional munitions that can be carried by an individual combatant or by light vehicles.

xv.   Munitions – Military Weapons, ammunitions, and equipment.

xvi.   National Security Treat – Increase in crime wave, crisis and violent conflicts, which endanger people's lives and the safety of properties of a nation.

xvii.   National Insecurity – State of political instability in which the safety of lives is no longer guaranteed.

xviii. Odudua People Congress (OPC). An underground movement, trained in preparation for armed resistance, against the General Sani Abacha's regime.

xix.   Small arms – A category of light weapons which include automatic weapons, up to, and including 20mm submachine guns, riffles, carbines, handguns and hand placed landmines.

xx.   Stockpiles – Accumulation of large quantities of small arms/light weapons by ethnic combatants

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Reemergence of the Americo-Liberians'', Nigerian

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0   LITERATURE REVIEW

In the ten years leading up to 2004, much has been written on small arms and light weapons in southern Africa, containing both qualitative and quantitative data. These studies and analyses have been published by South African NGOs and research institutes such as the Institute for Security Studies, the South African Institute of International Affairs, Gun Free South Africa, and more recently, SaferAfrica.

The pioneering research and writing on small arms in the mid-1990s was predominantly conceptual in nature, seeking to give readers a framework for understanding the situation (Cock, 1995); Smith, Batchelor and Potgieter (1996); and Smith and Vines (1997). There were also a number of ground-breaking investigative reports by international human rights NGOs such as Human Rights Watch (1994, 1995 and 1999), which provided evidence of small arms smuggling.

More recent studies of small arms in the region have been country-specific, with South Africa being a main focus. The most insightful publications include Chetty (2000), which provided a variety of official data

on small arms related crimes in South Africa, as well as Hennop, Jefferson and McLean (2001). The research by Minnaar (2003) focuses on the illegal trafficking in small arms through South Africa's borders and ports of entry.

Research has been done on bilateral small arms initiatives between southern African states. Operations Rachel, the joint weapons collection and destruction initiatives between the police forces of South Africa and Mozambique, has been a popular topic of study (Chachiua, (1999) and Hennop (2003. Meek and Stott (2003) provide a comprehensive description and analysis of arms destruction programmes for state-owned redundant or confiscated weapons in Lesotho and South Africa.

A handful of South African studies focused on small arms-related legislation, such as Mckenzie (1999) and SaferWorld/SaferAfrica (2003). By the end of 2003 only Oosthysen (1996) had undertaken a regional study of small arms in southern Africa, but he had limited access to reliable information and did not provide a comparative analysis across the countries. The study by Nkiwane, Chachiua and Meek (1999) introduced useful information on small arms flow in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland, and the edited volume by Gamba (2000) considered broad small arms trends in Southern Africa, with a South African bias.

Experts have agreed that, "the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, rifles, handguns, machineguns grenades and bazookas – is just as harmful as the increasing number of so-called weapons of mass destruction. Of the 50 or so conflicts fought since the end of the Cold War, the vast majority of them have been fought predominantly with small arms"

In the current world environment in which the realities of globalization are literarily forcing the rapid break down of border lines, low-intensity conflicts in which small arms are critical, and widely used, are threatening the non-negotiable core value (national security) of especially developing countries of Africa and indeed the countries of the West African sub-region including Nigeria. The political, social and economic condition of the sub-region simply guarantee easy breakdown of order within the various countries, requiring arms for settlement since there is no culture for peace. Although there is virtually no visible traces of substantial production of small arms in the region, small arms are freely available and widely used. Fiske's observation makes the point clearly:

> *with a seemingly constant supply of*
> *smuggled arms at their disposal, groups as*
> *far afield as West Africa… have been able*
> *to prolong conflict, with disastrous effects*
> *on their immediate communities and*
> *beyond, gunrunners need war to keep them*
> *in business.*

The proliferation of small arms is thus a brisk business in the West African sub-region. It has become a serious matter of concern not just to all countries in the region but also to the international community. Dokubo provides a graphic picture of the perturbing effects of small arms generally and in West Africa in particular:

> *of the 500,000 people killed every year across the world, an estimated 300,000 of them are as a result of small arms. An estimated 50 percent of illicit weapons that proliferate in Africa are used in internal conflicts, armed robbery and drug trafficking. West Africa alone is reported to have an estimated eight million illicit weapons. Availability of small arms outside the formal security structures had contributed greatly in creating continuous cycle of violence and instability in which particularly women and children are brutalized.*

According to studies, over recent years, number of sources have cited figures that purport to document the proportion of civilians injured by small arms and light weapons in various conflicts. Many of these sources put the proportion at 80 to 90% of all people injured. It is important to note that these estimates are almost always provided with no indication of how they have been arrived at. Most commonly, a reference is given, which merely refers to an earlier reporting, quoting the same figure. Thus, in recent years, a large number of documents by non-governmental organizations, international organizations and even articles in the peer-reviewed medical literature have cited figures which are increasingly being used as 'evidence' by those concerned with weapons availability and misuse, but which are difficult, if not impossible, to substantiate.

The study by the International Red Cross further posits that 80 to 90% might conceivably be correct in some circumstances. Logic alone would suggest that conflicts which are predominantly based on religious, ethnic or cultural divisions or land segmentation system, do generate high levels of civilian casualties. However, these same conflict situations tend to be those without a sustained international presence and estimating the number of individuals killed or wounded, let alone determining their combat status, is either not done, or relegated to educated guesswork.

Thus, despite concern about civilian weapon injury, there are relatively few sources that provide original data, which directly address the issue. One such source is the International Commission of Red cross and Crescent (ICRC) surgical database, begun in 1991 to record information relating to the ICRC's surgical activities. An analysis of the first 17,086 people admitted for weapon injuries reported that 35% were female, males under 16, or males aged 50 and over. Clearly, this figure is a conservative indicator of the proportion of people injured by weapons who were probably non-combatants and who received care under the auspices of the ICRC. A study in Croatia used death certificates and employment records to examine the civilian proportion of conflict-related fatalities and found that civilians could at most have accounted for 64% of the 4,339 fatalities studied.

However, Naylor stated that irrespective of which proportion of civilian casualties is felt to be most valid, there are a number of points that should be borne in mind. First, all of the figures cited above suggest that civilian deaths and injuries in recent armed conflicts is high given the protection to which civilians are entitled to, under international humanitarian law. Secondly, there is evidence that the proportion has been increasing over the course of the twentieth century.

However, Christopher Louse, in his work ***The relationship between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons***, stated that the effects of globalization and societal disintegration have been greatly under-researched. The dearth of serious enquiries into this phenomenon is all the more significant because such weapons continue to be most commonly used in many of the violent civil and ethnic conflicts of the post-Cold War era. All of the 34 major armed conflicts, documented during 1993 by the *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), he* claimed they were being fought mainly with light weapons.

While it is obvious that there is a correlation between small arms and light weapons proliferation, societal violence and the general weakening of the social fabric, identifying the exact nature of this relationship in any one situation or universally is more problematic. In addition, too little is known

about the international trade in these weapons and the true extent of societal militarisation around the world.

Light weapon, he said, has been used as a generic term to describe all conventional munitions that can be carried by an individual combatant or by a light vehicle. This includes (small arms), bazookas, rocket propelled grenades, light anti-tank missiles, light mortars, shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles and hand placed landmines. *Small arms* he defines, a*s* a sub-category of this classification, defined by the United States Department of Defence as including automatic weapons, up to, and including 20mm. This includes sub-machine guns, rifles, carbines and handguns.

Louse reiterated that most light weapons do not require complex training or operational expertise, making them suitable for insurgents and irregular forces which lack the formal infrastructure of a professional army. Furthermore, the specification of small arms is important in terms of military and non-military demand and usage of light weaponry. While organized groups, normally described in terms of their military activity, will use the whole range of light weapons, criminal and other non-military requirements have traditionally involved only small arms. However, there is an increasing overlap between the two categories, as trends in availability in military and non-military material become more fluid.

Louse further reiterated that the international community's relative indifference to the control of such weapons has been due, in parts, to the concern generated by the continuing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and their delivery systems as well as major conventional weapons systems and technologies. By comparison, the worldwide transfer and sale of light weapons seems to have been judged as being peripheral to a stable international system. This is illustrated by the United Nations Arms Register, which lists certain types of major weapons systems under its transparency regime.

However, Ezell is of the opinion that international realm of states is increasingly being dominated by internal conflicts within sovereign territories, involving irregular as well as regular forces. In these types of conflicts, major weapons systems are of less significance than cheaper, more easily available and more numerous light weapons and small arms. Insurgent groups and paramilitary organizations have been able to utilize available light weaponry, much of which is based on technologies dating back to World War II, with devastating effect. Civilian and civilian societies have been the principal victims of these weapons.

He further stated that a number of factors emanating from the end of the Cold War has helped shape contemporary trends in the supply and

demand of light weapons. On the supply side, many of the stockpiles and weapons flow initiated by the superpowers have been released from controls which hitherto prevented unrestrained proliferation. The evidence from a number of case studies illustrates the difficulty of controlling the transfer and spread of light weapons and small arms, once they have entered the free-flowing, transient supply and demand markets of the international arms trade (This includes both the overt and covert trade in weapons).

For Smith and Sogramose, the availability of weapons has also been shaped by factors arising from the transformation of the international order and influenced by globalization. In the first place, the end of the Cold War created a glut in the arms industries of Europe and North America, resulting in a surplus of used but modern material for the world market. The pressure to sell and reduce this surplus and the expansion of black market opportunities has ensured high levels of light weapons deliveries across the world. With a drop in domestic military spending, privatized Russian firms, for example, have been under mounting pressure to increase their export sales. This has led to dubious or illegal transactions. In Western Europe too, traditional exporters such as Britain and Belgium continue to sanction the export of light weapons as part of government efforts to boost defence sales.

According to Krause, the covert trade in weapons involves three transfer systems: the black market, secret government-to-government deals and sponsorship of sub-state groups. This last category usually relies upon sympathetic support from a foreign government, although private assistance from arms dealers or altruistic interest groups are not uncommon. Estimates of the size of this trade range from $2 billion in a lean year to $10 billion in a profitable one. The principal factor in determining the nature of this cycle is, of course, the number of ongoing conflicts and political instabilities globally. The fluidity of the international market, the increased number of potential supplies and weakening controls on armament flows has assisted this process. As a result, with the greater potential to manipulate the market, opportunities are opening up for groups and actors previously denied access to advanced technologies.

Krause asserted that the availability and use of more sophisticated weapons has contributed to the erosion of state authority. This has become particularly evident in the escalation of crime. It is widely held that guns are not the root cause of crime, but rather, that, crime is rooted in inept structural forms which create or sustain human insecurity in its broad sense. It is clear that the proliferation of arms is, in part, a response to demand for personal security when normative social relations collapse or are seen to be on the brink of collapse. It is also evident that the widespread availability of arms accelerates and aggravates dysfunctional trends.

Krause claimed that in parts of West Africa too, the absence of functional and caring government has led to the spread of lawlessness and criminal violence. Some observers see such situations as being indicative of a growing international trend of failing states and rising criminal anarchy.

According to Martin van Creveld, "once the legal monopoly of armed force, long claimed by the state, is wrestled out of its hands, existing distinctions between war and crime will break down much as is already the case today in… Lebanon, Sri Lanka, El Salvador, Peru or Colombia." This points to situations where, as "small-scale violence multiplies at home and abroad, state armies will continue to shrink being gradually replaced by a booming private security business, and by urban mafias, especially in the former communist world, who may be better equipped than municipal police forces to grant physical protection to local inhabitants."

Klause is of the opinion that increases in societal violence or the perception of deteriorating security are leading to the bifurcation of societies. For example, security problems in some third world states have become so acute that the freedom of movement of individuals has become restricted. However for wealthy residents this "presented only nonessential problems – large houses became fortresses and private security firms became widely employed in both a private and a commercial capacity".

However, Rana in his work ***Small arms and intra-stability conflicts*** state that the supply of weapons to insurgent groups and other non-state actors has concerned many governments, since the Second World War. The most successful of these groups have controlled territories, and have a major supply of arms to empower their activities. The Palestine Liberation Organization's control of territory within Lebanon before the Israeli invasion in 1982 is a good example of the supplanting of state authority. The control of territory is especially important for weapons acquisition. According to Aaron Karp, "It provides a reliable source of income through taxation or extortion of local civilians. It makes large transfers of arms physically unmanageable." Similarly, in Jammu and Kashmir, the drive towards full-scale guerrilla warfare has been achieved, because of the qualitative and quantitative increase in weapons over the past two to three years. Dr. Chris Smith asserts:

> *Certainly, if the arms pipelines in Kashmir were to be cut or run dry, the militants would be quickly deprived of the resources they require to take on the Indian Union –New Delhi has now stationed over 400,000 troops in the area, making the valley or Kashmir the most militarized area in the world.*

Abdel-Fatau Musah, in his article: *The political economy of small arms* **stated that many societies are becoming increasingly militarized. Militarization includes the presence of heavily armed policemen or soldiers patrolling streets, military personnel occupying high government posts, military censorship, armed guards in schools and public buildings, armed checkpoints along roads and curfews. The most over consequence of societal militarization has been the realization of cultural militarism and the horizontal diffusion of weapons throughout communities.**

Widespread proliferation has often led to the acceptance of weapons as a normal part of life and violent conflict as an everyday occurrence. These developments have created widespread anxieties induced by perceived threats to personal security and consequent domestic arms races. The formation of ethnic militia groups, civilian defence groups and armed vigilante groups can be seen as both symptoms and causal factors in processes of societal militarization and weapons proliferation.

In a study conducted by the Canadian Foreign Ministry, it was claimed that the first cluster of effects are connected with conflict and insecurity, and capture both the direct costs of small arms and light weapons proliferation and use (deaths and injuries in conflicts), and the indirect costs (post-conflict insecurity, inter-communal tensions, etc.). Although the presence or proliferation of small arms and light weapons does not cause the conflicts that are evident around the world, they do contribute to their level

of violence and probably also make their resolution more difficult. They have been widely used in most of the small wars that are now raging. Similarly, the easy availability of arms reduces the incentives to find non-violent solutions to conflicts, and can breed a spiral of insecurity that mimics, on a lower level, inter-state arms races.

The study proffered that, the measures to treat the conflict and insecurity effects of small arms and light weapons use to concentrate mainly on post-conflict disarmament and arms control measures, in particular, to deal with surplus weapons following a peace accord or end of a war. To date, the record in post-conflict "micro-disarmament" is relatively poor, despite it having been attempted in many places, from Mozambique to El Salvador, Haiti and Somalia. Persistent tensions between conflicting parties ensure that weapons are seldom voluntary surrendered in large quantities, but often hidden for future contingencies. The tradition of leaving weapons behind after a conflict has also resulted in huge inflows of weapons into global stockpiles. One international initiative that seems urgent would be to ensure that the destruction of light weapons be treated as a crucial and high-priority component of future peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building mandates.

The issue of how to stem the human rights or humanitarian abuses that are associated with small arms and light weapons is one that has been taken up since the end of the Cold War by major human rights NGOs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. The latter has commissioned a series of papers on arms transfers to conflicts, in places such as Rwanda, Burundi and the Sudan. Most often the recommendations of such studies focus on two issues: the need for international embargoes on transfers to some or all combatants in particular conflicts, and the desirability of enhancing national and multilateral policies (including codes of conduct) to include respect for human rights as one criterion to be taken into consideration when making an arms export decision. One example of at least minimal success in this effort is the fact that the recent study paper approved by the Wassenaar Arrangement includes, as one of its suggested considerations, whether there is a "clearly identifiable risk that the weapons might be used for the violation and suppression of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

On a more local level, however, efforts to combat the use of small arms and light weapons to commit human rights abuses have concentrated on national regulation (including judicial processes for dealing with abuses), grassroots monitoring and reporting of human rights abuses and security

sector reform. The first two items are extensions of existing mechanisms and efforts to combat human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law, and only the last items (security sector reform) is particularly novel.

NGOs such as Oxfam have turned from development to conflict issues (with the launch of its "Cut Conflict" campaign in 1997) because of the perception that much of its work:

> *"is a direct response to the devastating consequences of armed conflicts which are fuelled by prolific and largely unregulated transfers of small arms. These transfers lead to the persistent violation of civilians' rights to protection from violence and their access to humanitarian assistance. They destroy the prospect for future sustainable development, and sometimes place the lives of Oxfam staff or those of its overseas partners at considerable risk."*

Thus Oxfam took up the issue of conflict and arms control in several forums, and commissioned a report on the involvement of Great Britain in the small arms and light weapons trade. The fact that this report emerged from a development NGO highlights that the various actors

addressing small arms and light weapons issues grasp the need to focus on "intervention points" that may be situated far along the chain of small arms and light weapons proliferation.

Aside from their role in armed conflicts, these weapons are being widely used to terrorize and control populations, to influence politics, and to gain a livelihood. In addition, in many places around the world desperate and impoverished people often turn to violent means to gain a foothold in society., the result being growing insecurity, a culture of violence, and (in extreme cases), the collapse of the state. As noted recently by the UN Secretary-General:

> *While not by themselves causing the conflicts in which they are used, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons affects the intensity and duration of violence and encourages militancy rather than a peaceful resolution of unsettled differences. Perhaps most grievously, we see a vicious circle in which insecurity leads to a higher demand for weapons, which itself breed still greater insecurity, and so on..*

In the light of the apparent success of the Ottawa Treaty (which banned the production, trade and use of anti-personnel landmines) non-governmental organizations (NGOs), analysts and some states appear eager to find ways to tackle the light

weapons problems. But the problem of small arms and light weapons is also one of the more difficult arms control and disarmament issues to address, for a wide variety of reasons.

Precisely because small arms and light weapons are so widespread, and because they have legitimate military and civilian uses, almost all our ideas about how to design, negotiate and implement control measures need to be rethought. As one analyst has written, "The tools and assumptions of traditional arms control and disarmament, focused as they are on nuclear and major conventional arms, and tailored to the needs and circumstances of Cold War protagonists in North America, Russia and Europe, have little relevance for dealing with the spread of small arms and the peculiar set of internal conflicts in which they are used to devastating effect."

However, whether or not small arms and light weapons represent priority (or even an important) issue for the international community, and what threat their proliferation poses, depends entirely on how one thinks about "threats to international security." According to the class Cold War regime for example, the goals of arms control were to reduce the risk of war, to reduce its destructiveness should war break out, and to redirect the resources devoted to armaments to other ends. On this logic, small arms and light weapons represent an almost-insignificant threat at the global level. The risk that interstate war will break out because of light weapons proliferation is virtually zero, the resources devoted to these arms (compared to major conventional weapons systems) are minimal, and on the scale of destructiveness, small arms and light weapons (with some high-tech exceptions) are of "relatively" low lethality (again, compared with other weapons).

But alongside, this is a set of security concerns that can be called "societal", or "human", and that focus on the security of communities or individuals within the state. A whole host of

these security concerns implicate small arms and light weapons, including such issues as human rights (security from state violence), minority protection (from communal violence or repression, criminality organized crime, extortion and random violence), terrorism (from domestic or international sources) and economic security (protection of property, extortion). These security concerns are often radically different from (or predatory state, development assistance versus military spending, and so forth).

It is easy to show that for contemporary policy-makers, "societal security" issues have come to rival inter-state security concerns. For example, some countries in Latin America are threatened by the drugs-arms nexus, in which the illicit traffic in armaments feeds the autonomous of drug lords, who have completely supplanted state authority in some areas. In other regions, the easy availability of weapons undermines efforts at post-conflict reconstruction and economic development, putting the efforts of the international community at risk. Still in others, rampant criminality (in slums and inner cities) threatens to destroy the social and community fabric, breeding a culture of violence that sooner or later poses insurmountable problems for pubic policy. In Soweto and other such slums, a gun is called a "blank cheque" – because its bearer can be paid on demand, any amount requested.

The global consequences of unchecked light weapons proliferation may be small, but the probability that these weapons will be used (and used against civilians) is much greater. According to some estimates, more than 80 percent of people killed in wars since 1990 have been civilians, almost all of whom died from small arms or light weapons. Put polemically, public and international support for the broad array of non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament efforts will be eroded unless these efforts are seen to address the real threats that people in different regions actually face. Traditional arms control and disarmament frameworks,

shaped as they have been by the Cold War and by "State-centric" national security criteria, are not particularly useful for addressing the threats to security in a world in which many sorts of actors besides states have increasingly easy access to an array of lethal weaponry.

According to Abdul-Fatau Musah, in Africa, the sources of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) proliferation are many and varied. While the thrust of international efforts to curb proliferation tend to concentrate on the manufacture and supply of new weapons, a major pipeline of SALW remains the stockpiles that were pumped into Africa in the 1970s and 1980s by the ex-Soviet Union, the USA and their allies to fan proxy interstate wars.

These leftover weapons Musah claimed, have found their way through clandestine networks involving rogue arms brokers, private military companies, shady airline companies and local smugglers to exacerbate on-going conflicts and facilitate the commencement of new ones in the continent. The break-up and deregulation of once state arms industries in eastern and central Europe has also led to the mushrooming of mini industries whose aggressive search for new markets in the developing world have made nonsense of existing export regimes.

Africa itself he continued, boasts of countries that are arms manufacturers – South Africa, Zimbabwe, Egypt, Morocco and Nigeria, among others, and countries that are doted with growing small arms cottage industries. Finally, small arms have found their way into civilian hands from official sources due to a combination of factors, including the breakdown of state structures, lax controls over national armouries and poor service conditions for security personnel.

Musah estimates put the number of SALW in circulation worldwide at

500 million, seven million of which are guessed to be circulating in West

Africa alone with comparable figures in the Great Lakes conflict vortex. These weapons have helped regionalize and prolong wars in conflict clusters around the continent – from the Mano River Union in West Africa through the Great Lakes Region to the Greater Horn. The effects – a most insecure social environment, spiraling violence, the mounting death toll and floods of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) – constitute a major developmental and human rights challenge.

Where wars have officially come to an end, the presence of small arms makes sure that physical insecurity persists through banditry and violent settlement of scores. In the context of Africa, many countries could be described as nominally at peace. But even in these societies – South Africa, Nigeria, and Ghana – armed robbery is rampant and coercive, protection and vigilante justice are replacing the incapacitated state security rackets. As long as the small arms pipelines remain open, the prospects for peaceful conflict management, reigning in crime and promoting human rights will be greatly undermined. This has dire consequences for the process of democratization and fostering secure livelihoods.

The so-called Civil Wars, he claimed that are fuelled by SALW, are sickening in their uncivil execution. Firstly, easy access to global criminal networks, the diffusion of arms into the civilian domain became a key

facilitating power base by jumping on the bandwagon of legitimate internal grievances, appropriating these grievances and using them as a smokescreen for his personal gain. In the Mano River Union, the Great Lake Region and the Great horn, these warlords have created elaborate transnational criminal networks, with the help of which they carry out illegitimate exploitation of natural resources in part exchange for weapons and the hiring of mercenaries to prosecute personal wars. Secondly, the SALW-facilitated wars led and executed by people other than the military, in many instances child combatants. These civilians-turned combatants usually benefit from the very minimal, if any, combat training and are hardly aware of international human rights law. As a consequence, the civilians – women, the elderly and children – constitute legitimate targets during the war.

Furthermore, to these warlords and their armies of dispossessed combatants, war becomes an end in itself. In their minds, war becomes an opportunity for self-expression and the AK-47 or Uzi, the ultimate blank cheque for livelihood. Thus, attempts to end such wars at the negotiation table become an exercise in futility, a dialogue of the deaf. As was demonstrated in the numerous attempts to broker peace in Sierra Leone, Liberia, the DRC and Somalia, rebels often appear at negotiations when their backs are to the wall, drag the talks with unreasonable demands while using

the lull to rearm and regroup. The proliferation and diffusion of SALW often take on a life of their own, creating multiple centre of power and bring into play many more armed actors. SAWL are particularly prone to rights abuse, as they are easier to maintain, manipulate and carry, and are deadly.

West Africa's regional superpower, Nigeria continues to face serious challenges. Efforts at reform continue in 2005, but progress is slow and battle lines are already being drawn for the 2007 electoral contest to succeed President Obasanjo. Inter communal violence remains a serious concern. Since the end of military rule in 1999, fighting in several regions of the country has claimed thousands of lives. Plateau State in Central Nigeria has been particularly badly affected.

The oil-rich Niger Delta remains the scene of recurring violence between members of different ethnic groups competing for political and ethnic power, and between security and militia groups. This crisis has been aggravated by the theft of crude oil, known as 'illegal bunkering', and the availability of light weapons. Oil companies themselves have been affected by this crisis and at times have contributed to it. Hundreds of people have been killed and thousands displaced by this conflict, which has seen an increasing use of guns.

Nigeria's illicit light weapons trade can be traced back to the failure to execute a comprehensive arms collection programme after the 1967 –70 civil war. It has subsequently been fuelled by growing crime, endemic

corruption and ethno-religious conflicts. There have also been widespread leakages from government armouries.

In Nigeria the Firearms Act (1959) was the main legal instrument addressing the production, import and export of light weapons. This law was reviewed in 2001, partly because, of the 12,000 people arrested in relation to arms trafficking or illegal possession of weapons between 1990 and 1999, fewer than 50 were successfully prosecuted.

In July 2000, the federal government set up a twelve-member National Committee on the Proliferation and Illicit Trafficking in small and Light Weapons (NCPTAW) aimed at gathering information on the proliferation of illicit and trafficking in small arms and light weapons and recommending appropriate measures to deal with this challenge.

The NCPTAW has had limited impact. It has not published its findings although it did by July 2001 publicly destroy 428 rifles, 494 imported pistols, 287 locally made pistols and 48 Dane guns seized by security agencies. The exercise was repeated in July 2002 and in late 2004 there were particular efforts to reclaim and destroy weapons in the Niger Delta.

In 2004 President Obasanjo set up another Special Committee on disarmament. A Department for International Development (DFID) study

concluded that 'it is safe to say these strategies have no chance of working at all'.

The Niger Delta

The widespread availability of light weapons in the delta region of Nigeria is a particular challenge. The criminalization and political economy of conflicts in the region are establishing a basis for escalated, protracted and entrenched violence. Factors that contribute to the destabilization of the region include illegal oil bunkering, ready availability of weapons, endemic corruption, high youth unemployment and social disintegration. Combined, they contribute the resources, weapons and foot-soldiers for continued conflict.

Micro-level conflicts in the Niger Delta are part of a complex conflict system that is issue-based, ethnic and geographic in nature. Hundreds of criminal and politically motivated gangs have sprung up – many with eye-catching names such as Blood Suckers, Gentlemen's Club and the Royal House of Peace. Most of these are linked to well-known politicians. The Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force and the Niger Delta Vigilante Group have attracted international attention because of their public profile in 2004 and threats to disrupt the oil industry – threats sufficient to have an impact on world oil prices for a short period.

A key stimulant is illegal oil bunkering; that is, filling a ship with oil (also done with coal). Large-scale illegal oil bunkering has grown significantly over the last few years. According to the federal government, some 300,000 bbl/d are illegally freighted out of the country, but some estimate the true cost lies between US $1.5 billion and US $4 billion. The figure can fluctuate greatly depending on political efforts to deal with the practice.[22] Such illicit bunkering is fostered by the sense of poverty and inequality among youth in the delta: in a situation where many communities feel they do not legitimately benefit from the oil industry, it is easy for criminal groups to make illegal oil bunkering appeal. The delta provides these illicit networks with both a pool of unemployed youth and armed ethnic militias who know the terrain well. It is also characterized by a corrupt or ineffective law enforcement effort, coupled with a weak judicial process. The criminal networks also enjoy patronage from senior government officials and politicians, who use bunkering as a source of funds for political campaigning. These local groups are also linked into international network, both West African (from Sao Tome, Liberia, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire and the Gambia) and international (involving Moroccans, Venezuelans, Lebanese and French).

The bunkering groups have been carving out fiefdoms. They support lenient community leaders with cash and military protection and oppose or kill those who do not back them. They fuel the crisis in the delta by employing large numbers of unemployed young people, empowering them with money and guns. Fights over 'bunkering turf' result in a high level violence.

Although many scholars have described the various manifestations of the relationships between small arm and light weapons proliferation as a threat to national security, none however has explored the link to ethnic conflict that has flared up as a result of small arms and light weapons proliferation.

In the last few years especially since the beginning of the democratic project in 1999, Nigeria has been facing several disturbing dimensions of low-intensity crisis threatening its national security. The big issue in the matter however lies in the fact that in most of the crisis (ethno-communal and ethno-religious, political crisis, resource control agitation, economic sabotage and vandalism, cultism as well as armed banditry) small and light arms are freely used by 'combatants' or opponents, cultists bandits and all kinds of ethnic militias and political thugs. There seems to be a lacuna, which this study is about to explore.

SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPON

2.1   PROLIFERATION: AN OVERVIEW

After the end of the Cold War, many observers breathed a sigh of relief that the winding down of the bipolar ideological rivalry would finally curtail the widespread development and exchange of potentially lethal weapons systems. On the surface, the significantly reduced international demand for arms in the 1990s (as compared to the 1970s and 1980s) seems to have fulfilled their hope. Much to their chagrin, however, is that the proliferation of arms and light weapons, combined with the greater visibility of sub-national turmoil, has fostered, and intensified conflict in most regions of the world.

This increasing availability of arms involves a wide variety of weapons systems, from small arms to major high-tech munitions, and of suppliers and recipients, from loosely-organized private groups to powerful national governments. Equally important, the global arms transfer system has become more porous and complex, encompassing tensions and contradictions that substantially impede the formulation of effective national or international weapons policies.

While small arms proliferations have recently attracted increased attention, most writing on the subject continues to be theoretical and

descriptive, using either isolated case studies or highly-aggregated statistical analysis to depict changing patterns of proliferation. Although this orientation has generally been useful, much existing work seems motivated by a polemical desire to demonstrate conclusively that small arms proliferations are a curse for international security. Moreover, many seem determined to link the small arms issue to wider agenda about increasing or reducing defense budgets, to basic debates about the morality or immorality of the armaments, or to "guns-versus-butter" analyses about whether arms proliferations and trade drain resources that could be used for better purposes. Rare indeed are balanced and detached conceptual studies of the dynamics of the small arms proliferations allowed us to place the specific emerging post-Cold War realities in a broad illuminating explanatory context.

This chapter attempts to begin to fill this void by taking a rather iconoclastic theoretical look at the global arms transfer system. After a brief clarification of the issues, this chapter reviews and highlights the crucial relationship between small arms and light weapons proliferation and national instability.

Given the regency of the post-Cold War period and the inescapable sketchiness in available evidence on some of the most important aspects of small arms proliferations especially to non-governmental and small arms transactions this chapter's insights are quite tentative and are designed to crystallize controversies and to generate hypotheses rather than to convey definitive truths.

Much of this analysis centers on intentions and expectations of arms suppliers and recipients and the seeming inconsistencies between motives and effects. This focus inherently encompasses considerable ambiguity and imprecision. At least partly for this reason, the exposure here of small arms proliferations relies on logical deductive rather than empirical inductive analysis. This chapter reviews extensively the relevant small arms literature in the course of its investigation in order both to expose and to question these prevailing myths; while in the process it is difficult to avoid any reliance on polemical writings, this chapter makes every effort to balance the biases introduced by incorporating insights from the full political spectrum of viewpoints on this topic.

A broad historical overview of weapons proliferations reveals an endless ebb and flow in the pattern of their spread, varying substantially

across areas such as intensity of arms production, sophistication of weapons exchanged, level of international demand for small arms, and tightness of linkage to foreign policy objectives. Many analysts characterize the current era as a mixture of both continuity and change, while others feel that "a revolution has hit the small arms scourge" after the end of the Cold War; clearly one cannot view current trends either as a predictable extension of past behavior or as a totally-disconnected departure from what has come before. Regardless of perspective, the ongoing patterns in small arms proliferations are not simple to explain, let alone to monitor or manage.

2.1.1 Small Arms And Light Weapons Proliferation

Although the causes behind recent internal conflicts in different parts of the world ranging from Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka to Bosnia, Afghanistan and Tajikistan have varied, these conflicts have concentrated almost without exception in Third World countries and, the so-called "post-Soviet States". These countries, often referred to as the "weak States", are commonly plagued by severe domestic ethnic, linguistic, religious or economic divisions which make them susceptible to actual or potential internal conflicts.

The weapons used in internal conflicts by different parties-government forces, insurgent groups, private armies, militias and other non-State actors-have been mainly small arms and light weapons. The dominance of small arms as a tool of violence in internal conflicts is due to several specific characteristics which typify these kinds of weapons. Firstly, the low price and the technical plainness of small arms make them attractive to non-State actors lacking the financial resources and training needed to procure and operate more sophisticated heavy weapons. Secondly, small arms are easy to deliver and conceal and they do not require extensive maintenance capabilities. Thirdly, the popularity of small arms can be explained by tactical considerations, for in internal conflicts the killing and intimidation of people with an ethnic, religious, cultural or other kind of affinity with enemy fighters can be considered at least as important as defeating the enemy on the battlefield. Fourthly, from a combat point of view, small arms are highly effective. According to some estimates, about 4 million people have been killed in the conflicts of the 1990s. A large proportion of these deaths can be attributed to small arms.

The use of small arms in internal conflicts has caused tremendous human suffering, however. Some 50 per cent of wartime casualties caused by internal conflicts have been civilians, mostly women and children. These

humanitarian implications of small arms have recently brought the issue to the international agenda. The human suffering and atrocities caused by small arms have alerted the international community to the Importance of confronting the proliferation, accumulation and misuse of these kinds of weapons. However, it could also be argued that the growing international interest in small arms is due, to a large extent, to the lack of political will on the part of the international community to address the underlying causes of internal conflicts. By concentrating on the tools of violence instead of the causes of violence, by treating the small arms problem as an independent or a compartmentalized issue, the 'interested parties have hoped that within the prevailing political constraints at least some of the negative effects caused by internal conflicts could be avoided or controlled.

Yet small arms are not merely symptoms of violence; they are also factors that contribute to the intensity, duration and destructiveness of internal conflicts. The current debate on small arms has revived the old and contentious issue of whether the proliferation accumulation and easy availability of weapons should be viewed as a sufficient factor in triggering violent behaviour. It has been suggested that the role of small arms in instigating internal conflicts may sometimes be as important as role of other "permissive factors" or root causes of conflicts. However, it would probably

be analytically more accurate to include small arms as part of those sources of conflict that have been called the approximate causes" of internal conflicts. The difference between the two types of factors is that while the existence of permissive conditions makes and violence more likely, it is the proximate causes that transform potentially violent situations into full-scale confrontations. In other words, proximate factors are decisive in determining whether the threshold between non-violence and violence will be crossed.

In addition to playing a role in the initiation of internal conflicts, small arms have also had detrimental effects on ongoing conflicts and on post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction. The availability of small arms may prolong fighting, increase human and material loses, reduce willingness of conflicting parties to find negotiated solutions to their disagreements, prevent international and non-governmental organizations from engaging in conflict prevention as well as management and resolution efforts, cause serious problems for the countries surrounding the conflict area, and even trigger interstate violence within regions.

However, the small arms problem is not connected only with the wider problem of violent political disputes within state. Small arms are also the main tools of violence for criminals operating either on a national or transnational basis. The linkage between small arms and drug trafficking is a

good example: drug traffickers use small arms to protect their business interests and often supply weapons to other criminal elements and non-State actors. In many cases, parties involved in internal conflicts take part in narcotics trafficking because it may be the only way for them to finance the purchases of small arms and other types of military hardware. Similarly trafficking in other commodities and mineral resources, such as diamonds, is also used to sustain war fighting capabilities.

As a result, the militarization of crime becomes a threat not only to countries torn by internal conflict but also to countries that are free from instability but function as transit routes or final destinations for illegal drugs. Countries already troubled by major societal and economic problems are especially vulnerable to additional challenges posed by the influx of drugs and arms. The increase in crime, violence and corruption can become a formidable obstacle to national development and well- being.

Overall, thus, the multifaceted problem of small arms includes three discernible aspects: the strong connection between small arms and internal conflict, the linkage between small arms and crime, and finally, the relationship between small arms and hindered economic, social and political development.

While the worldwide proliferation and accumulation of small arms results from the demand for these weapons, so-called supply-side factors also play a central role in the global circulation of small arms. The term "buyer's market" has often been used to describe the changes that have taken place in the international small arms market since the end of the Cold War. It refers, primarily, to the fact that weapons have been more easily available because cuts in national defence budgets have forced small arms manufacturers to find alternative markets abroad. The term also implies that the buyers of small arms, whether government or non-state actors, have had increasing access to the stocks of weapons built up during the years of the Cold War and subsequently dumped on the world market. These changes in the patterns of small arms trade have coincided with growing quantities of supplies available through increasingly globalized black-market channels. Some argue that illegal or illicit transfers account for as much as 55 per cent of all small arms transfers.

Although arms transfers may be a highly lucrative business, such transfers are also being effected for political reasons. By supplying weapons, States hope to strengthen and maintain influence with allies or other arms recipient governments that are seen to serve their national interests. The political aspect of small arms transfers is particularly relevant in connection

with internal conflicts. Often, foreign governments try to influence the outcome of specific internal conflicts and consider small arms supplies as the most convenient or efficient way of interfering. As a rule, these transfers originate from countries surrounding the conflict area, and the recipients of weapons and ammunition include not only governments but, increasingly, non-State belligerents. Foreign parties may supply their arms in the form of government-to-government sales, grants or gifts. However, especially in the case of deliveries to non-State actors, arms may also be delivered covertly.

The tight linkage between internal conflict, foreign involvement and small arms has two dimensions. The accumulation, proliferation and use of small arms in the context of internal conflict are spurred, on the one hand, by the involvement of foreign governments and, on the other by the involvement of globally operating and highly networked arms suppliers. These suppliers include black-market dealers and non- State actors in other countries, operating out of the reach of national and international controls. Pushed by the forces of demand and supply, small arms-both the millions already in circulation from one conflict zone to another, and the new and more destructive ones still waiting to be transferred-are effectively finding their way to regions of Instability worldwide, with dire consequences.

2.2   **REGIONAL REALITIES**

Based on United Nations reports on its peace operations, commissions of inquiry and, most important, the three regional workshops conducted by the Panel, it became clear that there are effects and consequences unique to specific regions, sub-regions and States.

2.2.1   AFRICA

The African region is confronted with the challenges of both dealing with socio-economic reconstruction in post-conflict societies and containing various internal conflicts. The uncontrolled availability of small arms and light weapons is not only fuelling such conflicts but is also exacerbating violence and criminality. This undermines the State's ability to govern effectively, thereby threatening the stability and security necessary for socio-economic development. Porous borders, lack of resources and the absence of detailed and comprehensive data on the extent of this phenomenon are inhibiting the region's ability to effectively deal with the problem of proliferation.

Southern Africa is affected by the supply of small arms and light weapons left over from the conflicts in Mozambique and Angola, as well as

licensed weapons being stolen or lost. There is a concern among the States in the region that the availability of these weapons is a major factor in exacerbating crime and armed violence, thereby threatening the consolidation of democracy and security which is needed for sustainable development. The weapons of most concern are, among others, handguns, assault rifles and home-made weapons.

Central Africa is dominated by recent internal and ethnic violence and violations of the Security Council arms embargo. The major factor impeding the development of ways and means of dealing with accumulations of weapons in this sub-region is the collapse of the State's ability to govern and provide for its national security and the security of its citizens. This is compounded by the extreme levels of poverty in the subregion.

The weapons proliferating and available in West Africa are not newly produced but are left over from several civil wars of the recent past. This proliferation is enhanced by particularly long and unmanned borders. This destabilizing factor has forced some States in the sub-Saharan-region to ask for and receive United Nations assistance.

2.2.2   **NATURE**

While there is a growing recognition of problems associated with the proliferation, accumulation and use of small arms and light weapons, there are no globally agreed norms and standards to determine the excessive and destabilizing levels of this class of weapon.

A majority of the small arms and light weapons being used in conflicts dealt with by the United Nations are not newly produced. Those weapons which are newly produced come from many different countries, as illustrated in the data below on the production of assault rifles for the years 1945-1990:

TABLE 2.2.2   THE PRODUCTION OF ASSAULT RIFLES FOR THE YEAR 1945 - 1990

Name of **Assault riffle manufactured**	No. of countries **using the weapon**	No. of countries **manufacturing the weapon**	No. of weapons **(million)**
FN FAL family	94	15	5 – 7
AK family	78	14 +	35 - 50
M-16 family	67	7	8

The terms "excessive" and "destabilizing" are relative and exist only in the context of specific regions, sub-regions or States. The mere accumulation of weapons is not a sufficient criterion by which to define an accumulation of weapons as excessive or destabilizing, since large numbers of weapons that are under the strict and effective control of a responsible State do not necessarily lead to violence. Conversely, a small number of weapons can be destabilizing under certain conditions.

Accumulations of small arms and light weapons become excessive and destabilizing:

(a) When a State, whether a supplier or recipient, does not exercise restraint in the production, transfer and acquisition of such weapons beyond those needed for legitimate national and collective defence and internal security;

(b) When a State, whether a supplier or recipient, cannot exercise effective control to prevent the illegitimate acquisition, transfer, transit or circulation of such weapons;

(c) When the use of such weapons manifests itself in armed conflict, in crime, such as arms and drug trafficking, or other actions contrary to the norms of national or international law.

2.2.3 <u>CAUSES</u>

Accumulations of small arms and light weapons by themselves do not cause the conflicts in which they are used. They can, however, exacerbate and increase their lethality. These conflicts have underlying causes which arise from a number of accumulated and complex political, commercial, socio-economic, ethnic, cultural and ideological factors. Such conflicts will not be finally resolved without addressing the root causes.

There is no single cause for these accumulations and their subsequent transformation into instability and conflict. The variety of different causes is usefully categorized by demand and supply factors, although the distinction between both factors is not always clear-cut and there are gray areas in between. Accumulations are always a combination of both factors but the predominance of either demand or supply varies by sub-region and State, as well as by time period.

At the global level, internal conflicts have served to attract large numbers of small at and light weapons. In this context, one factor bearing on the availability, circulation and accumulation of these weapons in many areas of conflict is their earlier supply by cold war opponents. Foreign interference in areas of tension, or conflict by States which pursue strategic or specific regional interests, is still a feature of current realities. Also, alien domination or foreign occupation and violation of the right to self-determination of all peoples in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as other political and socio-economic inequalities have given rise to conflict.

Insurgency and terrorism remain as factors in the destabilizing use of small arms, light weapons or explosives. Other factors are drug trafficking and criminality. The link between terrorism and such weapons has been referred to by several international fora. When the State loses control over its security functions and fails to maintain the security of its citizens, the subsequent growth of armed violence, banditry and organized crime increases demand for weapons by citizens seeking to protect themselves and their property. The incomplete reintegration of former combatants into society after a conflict has en in combination with the inability of States to

provide governance and security, may lead to their participation in crime and armed violence.

In some States and sub-regions there is a culture of weapons whereby the possession of military-style weapons is a status symbol, a source of personal security, a means of subsistence, a sign of manliness and, in some cases, a symbol of ethnic and cultural identity. By itself, such a culture does not necessarily lead to a culture of violence in which the possession of these weapons connotes political power and a preference for the resolution of conflict by the use of arms. The transformation of a culture of weapons to a culture of violence, resulting in the increasing demand for weapons, most often occurs when a State cannot guarantee security to its citizens or control the illicit activities in which these weapons are utilized. The task of controlling or lowering the level of use of these weapons is made more difficult in a culture of weapons.

States have the right to export and import small arms and light weapons. The misuse of that right and the relatively recent awareness of the problems caused by the accumulation of small arms and light weapons have resulted in insufficient recognition being accorded to the need to better control the transfer of such weapons.

During the cold war, the increase in licensed production and transfer of technology led to a proliferation of legitimate producers of small arms and light weapons, mainly medium-sized and small enterprises, in an effort by States to become more independent in the production of weapons considered necessary to their security. This led to the search for export markets in order to dispose of surplus weapons. New production of small arms and light weapons has, however, declined owing to a reduction in national defence budgets.

Another factor to be considered is the large surplus of small arms and light weapons created by the reduction in armed forces in the post-cold-war period. While a significant portion of these weapons has been destroyed, an unknown number of them has found its way to internal armed conflicts from States that have ceased to exist or lost political control.

The problem of the accumulation of weapons is exacerbated by the fact that, during some conflicts, large quantities of weapons were distributed to citizens by Governments, in addition to being obtained from other sources, including illicit transfers. In several instances, self-defence units were formed by Governments and gun possession laws were liberalized. When the conflicts ended, the weapons remained in the hands of citizens and

were available for re-circulation within the society, in the region and even outside the region.

Several United Nations peacekeeping or post-conflict peace-building operations have resulted in the incomplete disarmament of former combatants owing to peace agreements or mandates which did not cover small arms and light weapons disarmament, or to shortfalls in the implementation of mandates because of inadequate operational guidance or resources. Thus, large numbers of surplus weapons became available in the conflict areas for criminal activities, re-circulation and illicit trafficking.

2.2.4   **<u>MODES OF TRANSFER</u>**

Much of the supply and acquisition of small arms and light weapons is legitimate trade which occurs among Governments or among legal entities authorized by Governments.

During the cold war and in the current period, States have secretly carried out transfers of small arms and light weapons. Such transfers are not necessarily illicit. Any transfer not approved by the competent authorities in

the recipient State could, however, be classified by that State as interference in its internal affairs and therefore illegal.

The supply of weapons to regions of tension and conflict is characterized by a lack of transparency that is due to the characteristics of small arms and light weapons which can be easily concealed during transport.

Networks operating internationally and other modes of transfer used for the illicit t of a variety of commodities are also used to transfer weapons. The techniques used involve smuggling, concealment, mislabeling and false documentation. To hide financial transactions use is made of coded bank accounts protected by the secrecy laws of some financial institutions. To transport weapons, various methods are used, such as ships with bogus registration and flags of convenience.

Illicit actors in this trade include certain groups in exile and private arms dealers, w motives may include political support of groups within a country, or drug trafficking and other criminal activities conducted for profit.

Several insurgent and armed groups are known to procure weapons and obtain financial support with the assistance of allied groups and

organizations based abroad which act as a front and which illicitly traffic in weapons, ammunition and explosives.

Criminal elements and groups engaged in armed internal conflict can also acquire small arms and light weapons by: an exchange between groups and among unauthorized persons; theft, robbery or loss of weapons in legal possession; and raids, ambushes and other hostile acts. Often, weapons resulting from legal transfers between Governments end up on the illegal market because of corrupt governmental officials.

2.2.5 ILLICIT TRADE IN WEAPONS

Illicit trafficking in weapons is understood to cover that international trade in conventional weapons, which is contrary to the laws of States and/or international law.

Illicit trafficking in such weapons plays a major role in the violence currently affecting some countries and regions, by supplying the instruments used to destabilize societies and Governments, encourage crime, and foster terrorism, drug trafficking, mercenary activities and the violation of human rights.

In some cases the illicit supply of small arms and light weapons has occurred because there is no adequate national system of controls on arms production, exports and imports, and because border and customs personnel are poorly trained or corrupt. The differences that exist between the legislation and enforcement mechanisms of States for the import and export of weapons, as well as the lack of cooperation in that area, facilitates the circulation and illicit transfer of small arms and light weapons. There is also no international convention or agreement that restricts such trade, or a body of rules by which a given transfer can be declared illegal under international law other than the arms embargoes adopted by the Security Council.

Accumulations of weapons by means of illicit trafficking are facilitated by a lack of coordination and cooperation among the States involved. In the case of both the re-circulation and supply of weapons from outside the region or sub-region, efforts to diminish the negative effects of such weapons are hampered by States that will not or cannot cooperate in such basic functions as sharing information regarding illicit trafficking in weapons and coordinating the cross-border seizure and collection of weapons.

2.2.6   **Small Arms And Light Weapons Proliferation In West Africa**

West Africa has over the last decade witnessed some of the most devastating armed conflicts in the world. The region today remains fragile with Cote d'Ivoire divided between rebels and government and Guinea-Bissau and Guinea on a number of international watch lists for further violence. These conflicts have been fuelled by a pool of young people frustrated by a lack of employment prospects and easy access to light weapons. Combating access to such weapons is important in any development efforts to support this fragile and troubled region.

There are eight million illicit small arms and light weapons in West Africa, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) A senior Nigerian official claims that Nigeria alone has one million of these. However, the real figure is probably much lower. An analysis of all weapons collected in recent years in the region through law enforcement operations, along with an assessment of new flows into the region, would indicate a much smaller total. The Geneva-based Small Arms Survey has also reassessed the situation, claiming that

> if rebel forces are armed roughly the same way as a typical soldier elsewhere in the world, with an average of l.2-2.25 small arms each, the total number of insurgent small arms in West Africa alone never reached the widely assumed seven to eight million. The widespread destruction, and the killing and flight of refugees, appear to have been caused by far fewer weapons in the hands of tens of thousands of fighters.

This is not to say that there is not a serious problem. The trend is of continued proliferation, assisted by significant imports of light weapons in recent years to the Mano River Union countries (Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia) and to Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria. The proliferation of arms in West Africa is assisted by plentiful supplies from current and past conflict zones, corrupt law enforcement and military personnel selling their weapons, and growing domestic artisan production from Senegal, Guinea, Ghana and Nigeria, which passes down established trade routes. The routes themselves have been in existence since before independence and were created to meet several needs, such as migration and the cross-border smuggling of minerals and cash crops. Artisan production of guns also has several hundred years of tradition behind it 1 some countries, such as Ghana. The effect is to create an informal regional economy straddling all the West African countries. Small arms trade also assists the expansion of transnational criminal networks.

Tackling transnational organized crime is high on the agenda for the UK's residency of the G8 industrialized nations and the European Union in 2005. 'he spread of light weapons by organized criminal groups is nowhere better lustrated than in West Africa. No country in the Economic Community of Vest African States (ECOWAS) region is exempt from this

deadly proliferation, and the need to stop it expanding further presents an urgent challenge.

2.3   ETHNICITY AND NATION BUILDING IN NIGERIA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The colonial state project in Nigeria has been aptly described as the making of a disaster. By all indications, the British did not have a state building project beyond the necessity of establishing domination over a territory, which would necessarily be a political entity. There was no strategy for political integration or political development. They understood the social cleavages of Nigeria and exploited it to rule. They were not interested in making Nigeria an economy, and they were ambivalent about making it a country. Eventually they drifted into wanting it to be a country, but without paying heed to the requirements for its survival and viability (Arnold 1973:306).

British colonial policies were not only deepening and institutionalizing social cleavages but also politicizing them in a manner that induced antagonism. By 1914 the North-South cleavage was so deep that the decision by Lord Lugard to amalgamate the two protectorates into a single political

entity was generally regarded as a serious mistake even among British officials. Some of them insisted that on the very day when Nigeria came into being, it was clearly a lost cause:

> The fundamental Nigerian crisis can best be dated from 1914. With greater forethought or imagination, the crisis might have been averted in 1885 or 1900, but after the decision of 1914 it became inevitable. Once the colonial office approved the philosophy of Lugard rather than that of his critics - Bell, Temple, and Moret who proposed small units, British administrative policies inevitably resulted in an ossification of regional separation. Growth of a common political consciousness could only have been achieved through lowering the barriers between ethnic groups (Kirk-Green 1970:112).

A programme of social engineering to break down barriers, build bridges across regions and nationalities and reduce tension might have averted the looming catastrophe. But this did not happen. On the contrary, the separate treatment of North and South continued with minor modifications, such as the removal of frontier controls. For instance, there was no Northern

representation in the legislative council, which had 4, elected and 7 to 10 appointed Africans until 1946 when the Richards Constitution was promulgated.

It was not until 1949 that Britain formally consulted Nigerians on rulership in the preparation for review of the unpopular Richards Constitution. Unfortunately, this could not avert Nigeria's demise.

The march to independence continued but in increasing tension and obsessive fear among elites about the implication of losing out in the contest of power. The politics of the decades before independence, 1950 - 1960 is best described as the politics of anxiety, anxiety about not being in control, about being subjected to arbitrary power. Henceforth, every issue, every event that had anything to do with the distribution of power, be it taxation, the allocation of resources, census figures, or the separation of power, was bitterly contested in an unrelenting Hobbesian struggle. Violent conflict did not always break out in each instance, but it did frequently enough and with varying ferocity and it was always endemic.

In October 1960, however Nigeria became independent with a federal system, designed by the colonial rulers, which from the beginning was at variance with the needs and aspirations of many of the minorities in the country. The Federal constitution that was drafted suffered from two fundamental and destabilising flaws. The first was the division of the country into three unequal regions, with the population and size of the northern region alone exceeding that of the two southern regions put together. The second flaw

involved the political and demographic domination of northern, western and eastern regions by the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo majority nationalities respectively, and the attendant marginalisation of the over 200 ethnic minorities that comprise approximately one-third of the population of each region (Okpu 1977:128).

In essence, the flawed tripartite federal structure transformed the country's multi-polar ethnic configuration, in which no single group constitutes a majority of the total national population, into a regional and ethnically skewed system, in which the regions were polarized into majority and minority ethnic blocs, while one region was big enough to dominate the federation. Although a commission was set up by the colonial administration to look into the fears of the minorities, and to proffer means of allaying such fears, its outcome was disappointing because many had hoped that it would recommend breaking up Nigeria into smaller states. Far from allaying the fears, the commission increased them. Although the minority populated Mid-Western region was carved out from the Yoruba West in 1963, the political aspirations of Nigeria's minorities for the security of their own regions or states were not given any real attention until the collapse of the First republic in January 1966.

The first thirteen years of military rule that followed the demise of the First Republic featured several historic and dramatic changes in the nature of

majority-minority relations. First, the suspension of civil democratic rule led to the ascendancy of a military-bureaucratic alliance in which ethnic minority elements were disproportionately represented. With the counter coup of July 29, 1966, the reins of power fell directly into the hands of Yakubu Gowon, an officer from the Angas tribe, an ethnic minority in the Middle Belt region of Nigeria, who relied heavily for political direction and policy advice on a group of versatile southern ethnic minority bureaucrats in the federal civil service among whom were Allison Ayida, P.C. Asiodu and Eme Ebong. Furthermore, Gowon's decision to divide the country into 12 states in May 1967 dramatically altered the configuration of the Federal Structure and the nature of minority-majority relations. By giving relative satisfaction to the long-standing ethnic minority demands for new states, Gowon's 12 state structure not only overturned the structural hegemony of the North, but also liberated many minority communities from the regional stranglehold of the majority groups and undermined local ethnic minority for the secessionist bid of the eastern region (Suberu 1991:499 - 522).

In addition, the phenomenal expansion during the early 70s in the volume and prices of Nigeria's crude oil led to a fundamental geo-political shift in the economic foundations of the Nigerian State. Henceforth, the pivot of the Nigerian political economy would cease to revolve around the

agricultural exports of the ethnic-majority sections. Rather, petroleum export revenue derived disproportionately from the southern minority states of Rivers, Bayelsa, Delta, Edo, Cross River and Akwa Ibom had become the linchpin of Nigeria's economy. This ethno-regional shift in the political economy of the Nigerian federation appeared to present the prospect of a more visible role for the ethnic minorities in the politics of the country.

However, post-civil war reforms in revenue allocation, and in the Federal-state structure, operated largely to undermine ethnic minority interests. Thus reflecting the unitarist and centralizing project of military rule, both the Gowon Administration (1966 - 1975) and the Murtala Muhammed-Obasanjo Government (1975 - 1979) progressively de-emphasized the long standing principle of allocation by regional derivation in the distribution of centrally collected revenues. Instead these revenues were distributed on the basis of population and inter-state equality of states. Consequently, whereas the old regions were the primary beneficiaries of commodity export revenues in the 50s and 60s, the new oil rich states were denied the export revenues derived from their territories by the centre. For instance, while in March 1969 50% of both off-shore and non-shore mining rents and royalties were allocated to the states from where they had been derived, by March 1979 only 20% of on-shore mining rents and royalties were allocated on a derivation basis. Indeed,

in the first final six months of the first Obasanjo government the derivation principle, was expunged from Nigeria's revenue sharing system in line with the recommendation of the Professor Ojetunji Aboyade Technical Committee on Revenue Allocation.

The state reorganization exercise implemented by the Muhammed-Obasanjo administration in April 1976 further underscored the growing subordination of ethnic minority to majority interest in the post-civil war period. While Gowon's 12 states structure had included at least six ethnic minority states, the new 19 state structures consisted of a total of 12 ethnic majority-dominated states and only seven minority-controlled states. Indeed, key ethnic minority-dominated statehood requests for New Cross River State, Port Harcourt and New Kaduna (Zaria) were overlooked in the 1976 exercise, while some of the homogeneous ethnic majority states were fragmented into two or more states. This bias in the state creation process underscored the growing official perception of state administrations primarily as avenues for administrative devolution and resource distribution to broad population groups, rather than simply an instrument of ethnic minority autonomy and security.

The return to civil rule in 1979 did little to enhance the fortunes of ethnic minority communities. To be sure the ethnic minorities did in a sense marginally benefited from

* - the establishment of an American style presidential system, which required the President to obtain appreciable electoral support in at least two-thirds of the states in the federation.

* the introduction of the `federal character' principles, which required broad ethnic or inter-state representation in the composition of key national bodies.

* the strategic role that was played by ethnic minority constituencies in the electoral victories of the then ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN); and

* the commitment of the Shehu Shagari Federal Administration to the partial restoration of the derivation principle in national revenue sharing (Suberu 1992:29 - 56).

During the Second Republic, however, several countervailing factors worked to abort the effective advancement of ethnic minority interests. These included the NPN's ethno-regionalist zoning policy (which largely reinforced the traditional predominance of the three major ethnic groups): the centrist revenue-sharing policy which prescribed revenue-sharing conflicts between

the Federal Government and the oil-rich opposition-controlled then Bendel State; the political fragmentations of the minorities; and the abrupt termination of the life of the Second Republic at the end of 1983.

2.4   SMALL ARMS, LIGHT WEAPONS AND ETHNIC CONFLICT:
THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

> The global triumph of democracy was to be the glorious climax of American century. But democracy may not be the system that will best serve the world - or even the one that will prevail in places that now consider themselves as bastions of freedom. (Kaplan, 1997:1).

West Africa's regional superpower, Nigeria, continues to face serious challenges. Efforts at reform continue in 2005 but progress is slow and battle lines are ready being drawn for the 2007 electoral contest to succeed. President Obasanjo. Inter-

communal violence remains a serious concern. Since the end of military rule in 1999, fighting in several regions of the country has claimed thousands of lives. Plateau State in central Nigeria has been particularly badly affected.

The oil-rich Niger Delta remains the scene of recurring violence between members of different ethnic groups competing for political and ethnic power and between security and militia groups. This crisis has been aggravated by the theft of crude oil, known as 'illegal bunkering'. And the availability of light weapons. Oil companies themselves have been affected by this crisis and at times have contributed to it. Hundreds of people have been killed and thousands displaced by this conflict, which has seen an increasing use of guns.

Nigeria's illicit light weapons trade can be traced back to the failure to execute a comprehensive arms collection programme after the 1967-70 civil war. It has subsequently been fuelled by growing crime, endemic corruption and ethno-religious conflicts.

There have also been widespread leakages from government armouries.

In Nigeria, the Firearms Act (1959) was the main legal instrument addressing the production, import and export of light weapons. This law was reviewed in 2001, partly because of the 12,000 people arrested in relation to arms trafficking or illegal possession of weapons between 1990 and 1999, fewer than 50 were successfully prosecuted.

In July 2000, the federal government set up a twelve-member National Committee on the Proliferation and Illicit Trafficking in Small and Light Weapons (NCPTAW) aimed at gathering information on the proliferation of illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons and recommending appropriate measures to deal with this challenge.

The NCPTAW has had limited impact. It has not published its findings although it did by July 2001 publicly destroy 428 rifles, 494 imported pistols, 287 locally made pistols and 48 Dane guns seized by security agencies. The exercise was repeated in July

2002 and in late 2004 there were particular efforts to reclaim and destroy weapons in the Niger Delta.

In 2004 President Obasanjo set up another Special Committee on disarmament. A Department for International Development (DFID) study concluded that 'it is safe to say these strategies have no chance of working at all.'

2.4.1　　The Niger Delta: Small Arms And Conflict

The widespread availability of light weapons in the Delta Region of Nigeria is a particular challenge. The criminalization and political economy of conflicts in the region are establishing a basis for escalated, protracted and entrenched violence. Factors that contribute to the destabilization of the region include illegal oil bunkering, ready availability of weapons, endemic corruption, high youth unemployment and social disintegration. Combined, they contribute the resources, weapons and foot-soldiers for continued conflict.

Micro-level conflicts in the Niger Delta are part of a complex conflict system that is issue-based, ethnic and geographic in nature. Hundreds of criminal and politically motivated gangs have sprung up – many with eye-catching names such as Blood Suckers, Gentlemen's Club and the Royal House of Peace. Most of these are linked to well-known politicians. The Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force and the Niger Delta Vigilante Group have attracted international attention because of their public profile in 2004 and threats to disrupt the oil industry – threats sufficient to have an impact on world oil prices for a short period.

A key stimulant is illegal oil bunkering has grown significantly over the last few years. According to the federal government, some 300,000 barrel/day are illegally freighted out of the country, but some estimate the true cost lies between US$1.5 billion and US$4 billion. The figure can fluctuate greatly depending on political efforts to deal with the practice.[5] Such illicit bunkering is fostered by the sense of poverty and inequality among youth in the delta: in a situation where many communities feel they

do not legitimately benefit from the oil industry, it is easy for criminal groups to make illegal oil bunkering appeal. The delta provides these illicit networks with both a pool of unemployed youth and armed ethnic militias who know the terrain well. It is also characterized by a corrupt or ineffective law enforcement effort, coupled with a weak judicial process. The criminal networks also enjoy patronage from senior government officials and politicians, who use bunkering as a source of funds for political campaigning. These local groups are also linked into international networks, both West Africa (from Sao Tome, Liberia, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire and The Gambia) and international (involving Moroccans, Venezuelans, Lebanese and French).

The hunkering groups have been carving out fiefdoms. They support lenient community leaders with cash and military protection and oppose or kill those who do not back them. They fuel the crisis in the delta by employing large numbers of unemployed young people, empowering them with money and guns. Fights over 'bunkering turf' result in a high level of violence.

Officially, the Nigerian government has taken the lead in regional efforts to deal with illicit weapons in West Africa. The federal government inaugurated the National Committee on the ECOWAS Moratorium on Small Arms and Light Weapons in 2001, and has taken a number of initiatives in 2003 and 2004 to draw attention to the domestic light weapons issue, including an awareness-raising campaign in local newspapers in favour of gun-free elections.

At a meeting on 1 October 2004 in Abuja with representatives of the federal government, the leaders of two of the main armed groups, the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force under Alhaji Mujahid Abubakar Asari Dokubo and the Niger Delta Vigilante Group led by Ateke Tom, agreed to disband and disarm. There followed further meetings in late 2004, and a disarmament process under which 1,000 guns were handed over, the majority of them AK-47s or SA Vz 58s. The condition of the weapons was poor, suggesting that the best weapons have been retained.

2.4.2   WEAPONS AND CRIMINAL CHARGES

In 2002 the Nigerian Customs Service reported that it has intercepted in the first six months of that year small arms and ammunition worth more than 4.3 Billion Naira (US$34.1 million). Much of this material was intercepted at the land border crossing into Benin, but some was taken from small boats and smaller amounts were also coming from Niger, Chad and Cameroon. This was a significant increase on past years and reflected an upsurge in activity in the run-up to general elections in 2003. Although some of these weapons were earmarked for political intimidation, many were destined for regular crime.

In North-Western Nigeria, easy movement of people and arms has created a growing security problem. There has been an increase in banditry, which has made major highways and isolated towns and villages unsafe. Car thieves are made up from demobilized ex-combatants from neighbouring countries. A few

have been captured by police following fighting by local herdsmen against local farming communities in some Plateau districts.

2.4.3 Weapons And Elections

One stimulant for the proliferation of light weapons in Nigeria is elections. In 2003 it became evident that the goals of political violence were shifting from traditional instruments – matches, clubs and knives – to small arms, such as locally fabricated and imported pistols, and a range of assault rifles. Among gangs (composed for the most part of unemployed youth) are used by politicians for both offensive and defensive purposes. In one of Nigeria's 36 States (Cross River State), the police recovered 54 guns in 2002, 16 in the possession of politicians and another eight from politically motivated murders. In Edo State, a gubernatorial aspirant (Lucky Imaseun) was arrested in possession of arms. In Bayelsa State, eleven people were killed in a shootout by politicians contesting councillorship elections. In Ondo State

police confirmed that a politician was stockpiling light weapons and, in search of his residence, found 13 single-barrel guns.

The Nigerian security forces are active in trying to uncover the source of illegal sales in the country. In August 2003 the police arrested the son of a prominent senator, whom the police believed to have been behind the importation of sophisticated arms used by armed robbers and feuding ethnic groups.

The police themselves are frequently involved in what is called 'gunpowder politics'. In 2003 a governor encouraged the production of pistols by a gang for his political campaign. When a police unit uncovered the factory and the individuals involved told the police about their patron, the detainees were ordered to be executed. The officers responsible for this were then arrested and themselves committed to trial for murder in a case that is constantly being postponed.

In the 2003 elections political agents visited a number of university and college campuses in a number of states and recruited youth support for politicians, handing out freshly made

weapons. They were paid to work around the town, brandishing these weapons and telling people they would be watching which way they voted.

The spread of illegal arms on to university and college campuses is dramatically illustrated by an incident at Bukuru, near Jos, the capital of Plateau State. In May 2002, a group of eight secondary school students at Government Technical College were arrested for possessing illegal arms. A police investigation revealed that they were final year mechanical engineering students and had used the college facilities for a number of years to manufacture rifles and guns. A new weapon brought to them would be dismantled, technical drawings made and assessed, sometimes in consultation with lecturers. One agreed, production would commence and the moulds smuggled out of the college at night. It was only when a student was wounded by testing a rifle that this initiative was exposed.

2.4.4   **The Weapons**

Although Nigeria has a manufacturing capacity for small arms through the Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria (DICON), the emphasis in recent years has been on importing weapons rather than domestic manufacture. Such domestic manufacture has been for the Nigerian military and police. The late military Head of State, General Sani Abacha spent US$17 million on imported rifles despite DICON having large numbers on its inventory. Nigeria sought to revive talks with a South African arms company about a joint venture agreement.

Many of the weapons illicitly in circulation in Nigeria have been imported. At a UN Small Arms Conference in 2001, the Nigeria minister of Defence confirmed that he believed that there were a million light weapons illicitly circulating in his country.

The last decade has seen a significant spread of modern weapons as well as the revival of manufacturing of more sophisticated local guns. Foreign weapons are generally imported second-hand and include AK-47, pump action shotguns and G3 and K2 rifles. The Niger Delta, especially Warri, is a major focal

point for weapons imports and these are then moved to important towns in the southeast. Lagos and smuggling from neighbouring states are also important.

As seen elsewhere in West Africa, designs in Nigerian metal workshops make allowances from imported ammunition. There is also a robust trade in diversion of weapons and particularly ammunition from the police and military.

Light weapons are widely available in the delta. According to community leaders in this region, many villages have small armouries of AK-47s. As elsewhere in West Africa, the preference is for industrially manufactured weapons and the cost of procuring these is high – an AK-47 with two magazines can sell for US$1,700. in Warri, an oil-rich town in the delta, youths have openly hawked pistols and automatic rifles (referred to by local dealers as 'pure water') for between US$200 and US$400. Pistols can be much cheaper. The high cost of purchasing an AK-47 in the delta suggests that there is a scarcity value. Some informants suggested that prices fall during escalation of conflicts, but the

volume of sales increases considerably. The same weapon is sold in Senegal or Cote d'Ivoire for US$300 by traders from Liberia.

Apart from the Niger Delta Volunteer Force, the other ethnic group that has acquired small arms and light weapons is the O'odua Peoples Congress (OPC).

Pant-up anger and frustration clamped down over years of repressive military rule once again found outlets as Nigeria's Fourth Republic got on tracks. There is nothing new about communal conflicts in Nigeria. The country's diverse groups have always lived somewhat uneasily together, and their has been terrible outbreaks of violence in the past, although the current tension does not remotely compares, for instance, with the situation in 1966, when ethnic programs helped sparked off the Nigerian civil war. But the recent upsurge in violence coming so early in President Obasanjo's tenure has provided a grueling examination of his government's ability to assert its authority, whilst not being seen to be favouring one group over another.

Like a Bulgarian bear at bay, tormented and cut to pieces by a thousand bloodhounds, the Nigerian state has borne the brunt of a dramatic upsurge of ethnic militias, particularly since the restoration of civil governance. The names are often as bloodcurdling as their stated mission

The number grows daily. Arguably, the most militant of these ethnic militias and the most potentially destabilizing is the fictionalized OPC, which is not only questioning the viability of the Nigerian state, but which has, in fact, taken over some of the functions of the state in its catchment area.

2.4.5   The Opc And The Yoruba Nation

The Yoruba are a linguistic community rather than a single ethnic unit. History, language and membership in the modern nation-state, however, have led to their identity as an ethnic group. Yorubaland takes in most of southwestern Nigeria and the people directly west of the Nigerian border in the independent country of Benin. In Nigeria along Yorubaland included 20 million to 30 million people in 1990 (i.e. about double the 1963 census figures).

Each of its sub-units was originally a small to medium size state whose major terms provided the name of the sub-grouping. Over time seven sub areas – Oyo, Kabba, Ekiti, Egba, Ife, Ondo, and Ijebu – became separate hegemonies that differentiated culturally and competed for dominance in Yorubaland. Early nineteenth century travellers noted that northern Oyo people had difficulty understanding the southern Ijebu, and these dialect differences remained in the 1990s. The language is that of the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo family, related to the Idoma and Igala of the Southern grouping of middle belt Chieftancies South of the Benue River. The population has expanded in a generally westerly and southerly direction and the past several centuries. In the twentieth century, this migration brought Yoruba into countries to the west and northwest as far as northern Ghana.

The Yoruba kingdoms were essentially unstable, even when defended by Portuguese guns and later by Calvary (in Ilorin and Kabba), because the central government had insufficient power constitutionally or militarily to stabilize the subordinate chiefs in the outlying centers. This fissiparous tendency has governed Yoruba contemporary history and has weakened traditional rulers and strengthened the hands of local chiefs and elected councils.

The OPC was formed in 1995 as an underground movement trained in preparation for armed resistance, against the Abacha regime. It made its first public outing in December 14, 1995 at the All Politician Meeting in Lagos, where its banner and hand bills exhorted the Yorubas to take their destiny into their own hands. (The Guardian 2000) largely seen as the self-determination mouth-piece of the Yoruba race, the OPC at inception had the agenda to liberate the Yoruba nation from the vestiges of oppression and suppression.

At its inception, the OPC had adequate structures such as Elders Council, The NEL that constituted its think-tanks, and the Esso. It also had a pseudo-guerrilla arm that had to undergo a systematic dismantling since the original plan that could herald a possible secession was over taken by the overwhelming desire of other zones to allow the South West present the presidential candidate for the 1999 election.

The OPC, according to his founder, Fredrick Faseun has embarked on a mission:

> *to rig the Yoruba race of miscreants and criminals*
>
> *whose activities have continued to tarnish the*
>
> *image of the race and also to protect the heritage*
>
> *of Oduduwa. (Guardian 2001).*

The bulk of the membership are the miscreant and the miscasts and out cast and the casual riff-raffs on the fringes of society – the "Area Boys". These freelance that operated mostly around the commercial areas of Lagos Island. They were born and bred in the "pressure cooker" slum and overcrowded accommodation of central Lagos, the ancestral home of the indigenous Yoruba population.

Although proud of their ties to the city, they resented their existence as they are forced to eke a living in the shadow of the high-rises modern commercial buildings that dominate the skyline. Down the road is the salubrious Ikoyi Island neighbourhood with its pristine colonial architecture with large garden from which they feel excluded. Also adjacent are the posh-homes on Victoria Island crowded with foreigners and non-Yoruba Nigerians. Although their resentment can be traced to inner-city deprivations, "Area Boys" have served as "foot soldiers" for the wider cause of ethnic assertiveness.

Its high profile is derived from the fact that its power base is in Lagos, Nigeria's business capital and by far the country's most ethnically integrated cosmopolitan city. To some, the organization main objective was ethnic jingoism, if not outright "ethnic cleansing". This filled the mood of the growing number of disaffected youth's flocking to join it. It terror gangs

brazenly decided to create "no-go" areas in the suburbs of Greater-Lagos,

beyond the reach of the underpaid and under-manned police. The targets of

their bullying were frequently non-Yorubas, confirming their ethnic

assertiveness.

2.4.6   12 June And The Birth Of The Opc

In Nigeria, the practice of ethnic politics has sustained the belief that each of the over 250 ethnic groups must struggle for its own share of national resources. These usually come in the form of recruitment to top positions in government and the distribution of government institutions and social services. At times, certain ethnic groups have threatened to secede from the federation in order to draw attention to their claim of a right to as greater share of the national cake. The birth of the OPC on 24 August 1994 was connected with a feeling of alienation, which many members of the Yoruba group had been experiencing since 1954, when they were sidelined from the mainstream of Nigerian politics. This feeling became acute with the annulment of the 12 June 1993 Presidential election worn by Chief M.K.O Abiola. The desire to resist further marginalization of the Yoruba inspired Dr. Fredrick Faseun to form the OPC. The clampdown on the Yoruba intelligentsia by the Abacha regime and the subsequent death of Chief Abiola in detention strengthened the case of the Yoruba for self-determination and attracted more and more of their kinsmen into the organization. By march 1999, the OPC had opened some 2,786 branches in different parts of Yoruba land, and vast numbers of people were claimed to have become members, with claims sometimes going as high as 3 million.

Membership of OPC is open to every Yoruba person, although each individual has to validate this by obtaining an application form sold for ₦150.00. Although members are issued with identity cards, they can also identify one another through sign language and the representations of certain wild animals or insects inscribed on their upper arm. During initiation, members are made to swear an oath that enjoins them to work for the progress of Yorubaland at all times and to keep the secrets of the Congress. The OPC adopted the effigy of Oduduwa, the progenitor of the Yoruba people, as its symbol. This effigy is printed on the tee-shirt commonly worn by OPC members. The motto of the Congress is *'Tiwa Ni'* which can be translated as 'It's own'. The slogan is *'Oodua ni mi tokan tokan, Oodua nimi tokan tara'*, meaning 'I am the personification of Oduduwa, body and soul'. The OPC anthem, which comments on the marginalization of the Yoruba and expresses their desire to chart a new course runs as follows:

Ile ya, ile ya o, Omo Oodua, ile ya

Ti a ko ba mo ibi a nre, nje ko ye ka pada sile

E jawo lapon ti o yo, ka lo gbomi ila kana

Ile ya, ile ya o, Omo Oodua ile ya.

Home beckons, children of Oduduwa

Heed the call for a return

If we do not know where we are going

Shouldn't we return home?

Leave the Apon soup that does not draw and

Go for okro

Home beckons, children of Oduduwa let's go home.

2.4.7　　　　　　Every Week, An Incident

The activities of the OPC began to generate serious concern in September 1998 when the Congress called for a boycott of the local government elections scheduled for December of that year. The OPC had no faith in the transition programme of the government headed by General Abdulsalami Abubakar, believing that a return to democracy should be preceded by the restructuring of the federation. This explains the persistence of the OPC's call for a Sovereign National Conference. The stand of the OPC on the election brought the members into direct confrontation with the police. This hostility has so far claimed the lives of over 200 policemen and many more members of the Congress.

The OPC was involved in the ethnic clash that occurred in Shagamu on 17 July 1999 in which small arms and light weapons were widely used. Shagamu is a major center for the kolanut trade in Yorubaland, and thus has attracted a sizeable number of Hausa settlers. The fighting which broke out there was precipitated by the death of a Hausa women who was said to have flouted the taboo restricting women from coming out of their homes during specific hours of the night during the annual Oro festival. The confrontation resulted in the death of about 50 people, while a reprisal attack in Kano on 22 July 1999 claimed over 100 lives. The governors of Ogun and Kano States held several meetings to reconcile the Hausa and Yoruba communities in their states before peace was restored.

This was followed by the event that actually brought the OPC under public scrutiny, namely, the clash of rival factions of dockworkers as the Apapa Port on 9 September 1999. Evidence indicates that the OPC intervened in support of the Yoruba faction to prevent the 'annexation' of the Lagos Port by the Ijaw faction that had recently won a trade union election in Port Harcourt. By the end of fight, 16 people had lost their lives in a gruesome manner. The violence eventually spilled over into neighbouring Ajegunle, inhabited by both Ijaw and Yoruba people. A curfew was imposed on the settlement for about a month before a truce was

established, after several meetings between the community leaders and the governor of Lagos State.

The dust had barely settled when the Ketu riot broke out on 26 November 1999. This was a battle for the control of the popular Mile 12 Market, which pitted Yoruba against Hausa. The OPC was drawn into the riot in which daggers and other lethal weapons were freely used. While an official statement put the death toll at 30, it is widely believed that the real figure was as high as 115. In desperation, the federal government ordered the police to shoot members of the OPC on sight. Some leaders of the north believed that the government response was not sufficient to guarantee the lives and property of northerners living in Yorubaland. Hence, the decision to form the Arewa People's Congress (APC) as a counter-force to the OPC. To make matter worse, it was reported that this rival congress would be launched in Ibadan, the heart of Yorubaland, on 27 December 1999. The rumour of this event prepared the ground for the swift reaction of the OPC to an accident involving a Hausa tanker-driver at the Ojo junction on 5 January, 2000. Here again, the level of destruction was alarming: 10 lives were lost and 30 houses burnt.

Coincidentally, the OPC's cleansing operation against suspected armed robbers in Lagos on that same day resulted in the death of 6 people

and the burning of 12 houses on Akala Street, Mushin. While the police strongly condemned the OPC, the residents of Akala hailed OPC members as liberators. The weight of public opinion compelled the Lagos State Governor to endorse the action of the OPC during this fact-finding mission to the area. The stand taken by the governor on the so-called 'Akala purge' has since gained him a reputation as a patron of the OPC.

Over the years, vigilante groups have emerged in communities and cities across the country. The most prominent ones include the Onitsha Market Amalgamated Traders' Association (OMATA) in Anambra State, the Bakassi Boys of Aba in Abia State, the OPC in the south-western states, the Operation Zaki-Zaki in most pasts of the north-east, and the Egbesu Boys of the Niger Delta. These groups were formed ostensibly to deal with the rising level of crime, which the police had failed to curb because it was 'ill-funded, understaffed, ill-equipped, ill-trained and ill-motivated'. The high level of unemployment and poverty that characterized the last years of military rule in Nigeria also led to as corresponding increase in violent crimes. The situation degenerated to a point such that the military administrators had to create a special task force, comprising members of the armed forces, to fight crime. The military personnel in these special units

returned to barracks when the nation returned to democracy, thus leaving the police in a worse situation than before.

A major crack in the group, however, appeared in 1999 when Gani Adams, a prominent member of the Esso broke off with the founder Faseun. Zealotry abhors moderation. As the OPC won many converts across the Yoruba nations, as its message became the opium of many Yoruba people, it was inevitable that moderate like Dr. Fredrick Faseun, the founding OPC president would be pushed aside to lead a tamed faction. Adams, the man no one thought could lead, leads another faction, regarded as more militant. After he seized the potent OPC machine from Faseun, Adams wasted no time in registering his group in the nation's consciousness.

Problems between the two men were caused by Adams' accusation that Faseun brought two expensive cars (a jeep and a Lexus) and two plots of land in Ejigbo, a Lagos suburb. He was further alleged to have collected $1.3 million from some foreign governments, N20 million from President Olusegun Obasanjo and N5 million each from Alhaji Akanni Okoya (Chairman, Eleganza Industries), Prince Sam Adedoyin and Alhaji Iyanda Folawiyo. (The News 01.2000).

Another fundamental cause of the division between the two revolutionaries was the issue of whether or not the Yoruba should participate

in the General Abdulsalami Abubakar transition programme, which gave birth to the present administration. While Faseun believed that Obasanjo, a Yoruba should be supported, Adams was of the opinion that the programme should be jettisoned completely.

In December 2000, an armed gang, later identified as members of the OPC by the police, engaged the security convoy protecting the Lagos State Governor, Chief Bola Tinubu, in a fierce gum battle in the small hours of the morning, a number of people, including a police man, was shot dead.

A skirmish in Ajegunle between Ijaws and Yorubas, a bloodbath in Mile 12, Ketu, attacks on police stations, an assault against robber in their turf in Mushin all exploits credited to OPC, have sent shivers down the spine of the central government in Abuja and leaders of the Hausa - Fulani people in northern Nigeria.

OPC militants continue to raise the stakes at will. A faction, the O'odua Liberation Movement felt sufficiently emboldened to issue an ultimatum to an independent radio state based in Lagos but heard widely in Nigeria and neighbouring countries, Ray Power 100.5. The station was instructed to cease relaying BBC, Hausa language programme.

The OPC phenomenon has become one of the most urgent ethnicity questions to challenge Nigeria's fledging democracy. There is today a

widespread, though unsubstantiated, accusation that the President is tacitly condoning the activities of his Yoruba kinsmen. One reason for this is the activities of certain prominent Yoruba leaders in publicly mediating between the earring OPC factions, this has aroused suspicion that there is more to the organization than mere rabble.

The President's critics points to what they allege is a reluctance to deal with OPC menace with the same ruthlessness he authorized in Odi, River State. Supporters of the President can point to his National Day broadcast in October 1, 1999 when he condemned ethnic militias in strong language and threatened government action to eradicate them. But that was before Odi.

Then again, Obasanjo's accusers may also be reminded of his "short on-sight" order to quell violent clashes between OPC cadre and Hausa traders that led to several deaths at the sprawling Mile 2 Market in a suburb of Lagos.

Yet as valid as these examples of Obasanjo's toughness may be, many Nigerians were outraged when it was reported that one of Obasanjo's most favoured minister, the late Bola Ige, the unabashedly argent Yoruba nationalist and former governor of Oyo state had attended a meeting seeking to reconcile the two factions of OPC militia, although the government in which he was serving as Minister of Justice had categorically described the OPC as an illegal ethnic army.

These developments surrounding the OPC's ascendancy as an overt ethnic militia and the behind – the scenes maneuverings by the Yoruba elites have consequently changed the equations in the widening resort to ethnic military in Nigeria.

The Hausas and Igbos have taken steps to not only counter the OPC but also to accumulate the small arms and light weapons for their defence in the face of what they believed is official tolerance of the Yoruba militia. The formation of the Arewa Peoples Congress (APC) by certain influential elements from Northern Nigeria is a direct consequence of that suspicion.

2.4.8   The North And The Arewa Peoples Congress

The Arewa Peoples Congress preceded the formation of the Northern Peoples Congress, the brainchild of the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sarduana of Sokoto, arguably the most powerful politician in the first republic who preached a "policy of North for Northerners."

However, on 13 December 1999, Sagir Mohammed a retired operative of the Directorate of Military Intelligence, became a rallying point when he launched the re-born Arewa Peoples Congress in Kano specifically to checkmate the militancy of the pan-Yoruba Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC) and the threat of terror by the newly formed Igbo peoples Congress (IPC).

After the launch of the APC, Mohammed started receiving solidarity messages from individuals across the Northern states. While some of them commended him for the non-violence posture of the APC, others out-rightly pressured him to raise an army to combat the OPC especially. He is believed to have acquiesced to this latter request, even though he denied that APC has started recruiting some retired or dismissed soldiers for training as a counter force to the OPC.

Mohammed, an intelligence officer is known to have made this calling to achieve his aim. To achieve his aim, that is balancing terror is Nigeria, he has formed a committee of Northern traditional rulers, retired judges and lawyers, retired senior members of the Armed Forces, the police, professionals, students leaders, market people, farmers and politicians. This body convened a series of meetings in Kaduna and Kano. It was at the meeting of 4th and 5th December held in the two northern cities that the men resolved to form the APC to among other things "carry out activities aimed at protecting and promoting the cultural, economic and political interests of the northern states and their peoples". (The News, January, 2000).

In its mission statement the APC clearly stated that:

1. That the organization is firmly committed to the preservation of the corporate entity known as Nigeria since 1 October, 1960 and in its present composition. This position is not negotiable;

2. The organization shall use all democratic and legal methods to achieve its objectives of ensuring the survival of one indivisible Nigeria.

3. The organization shall maintain offices in each of the states of the former Northern Nigeria.

4. The organization will carry out activities aimed at protecting and promoting the cultural, economic and political interests of the Northern states and their people.

5. The organization deplores the recent spate of sectarian killings in various parts of the Federation. While the organization has the fullest confidence in the law enforcement apparatus of the country, it will look at ways to protect Northerners from any such attacks and this in a swift and decisive manner. Self-defense being recognized as the interest right of the aggrieved. (The News, 10 January, 2000.)

At a press conference in Kano, the groups director of publicity, research and documentation, Asap Zadok, listed the doubt standard by the Federal government which he alleged were encouraging OPC violence against other Nigerians, especially those from the North. The APC, therefore, was formed in "direct response to the unacceptable and violent activities of the OPC against northern. (This Day: June, 2000). He warned that henceforth, the APC will respond promptly and appropriately to any attack on a Northerner by the OPC in the country.

Among those supporting the APC are such people as retired Brigadier – General Halilu Akilu, the urban and influential intelligence chief in the regime of former Ibrahim Babangida.

Mutual suspicious is rife. The Yorubas being reminded, in the kind of whispering campaign in which all parties are engaged, only last October Zadok told a news magazine interviewer that Lt. General Aliyu Mohammed Gusau, President Obasanjo's national security adviser is his mentor and Godfather. (Tell: 2000).

2.4.9   Implication For National Security

It is ironic but real that the post-colonial Africa is, in large measure, a threat to its survival. The argument is that, most of the post-colonial states in Africa are without any visible capacity to engender any kind of development with quite a number becoming "failed states". This is because, as further argued, the post-colonial African states are "deficient in managing the economy and natural environment and the nature of their performance has often given rise to divisions and conflicts resulting within some of them into popular resurrections and uprisings." We can cite the examples of Somalia, Zaire, Uganda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi.

This declining capacity of the post-colonial African states, including Nigeria has several implications to the national security of the states themselves. They are thus a threat to their survival. The declining capacity of these states in Africa for development is clearly seen in the record of their economic failure, lack of human development, poverty, illiteracy, debt burden etc.

Nigeria has recently emerged from a period of prolonged military misrule. And although democracy is a constitutional means of resolving conflicts, the expansion of the democratic space has released the cap on pent-up anger suppressed over the years of autocratic rule. The nation is currently trying to consolidate democracy after conducting a first civilian-to-civilian election.

However, the acrimony within the contesting tendencies is palpable. Localized conflicts have been sustained by massive socio-economic disparities and the emergence of emancipatory movements. These issues present a major obstacle to achieving long-term peace (with justice) and human security. Communal conflicts have been exacerbated and even intensified by the availability of small arms, which have provided the protagonists with the tools which enable them to resolve conflicts violently and improve their socio-economic position by engaging in criminal activities. Ironically, most of those small arms are residue of the ongoing conflicts in the sub-region, which as a result of uncompleted disarmament and weapons control programmes have consequently become a source of insecurity in Nigeria. Added to this problem, porous borders and weak governmental capacity have facilitated the trans-shipment of these weapons to Nigeria.

The advent of small arms and light weapons impacts on more than just individual well-being, they typically have the potential to challenge the very existence of the state. In a democratizing polity like Nigeria, where resources tend to be scarce and state capacity relatively weak, small arms provide ethnic warriors with the means and power in criminal activities, and in the process severely undermine the rule of law. Consequently, this leads to an increasing sense of insecurity as a result of lack of faith in the state's ability to provide personal protection.

2.5 TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS IMPACT ON THIRD WORLD SECURITY AND DEFENCE.

The international political system has developed so many centres. It has become essentially polycentric, to the extent that the super powers through nuclear threats, interventions and networks of C3 Systems (Command, Control and Communications) have continued to shape not only the direction of world affairs, but also the character of conflict, security and defence in the third world.

The nature and origin of economic and military dependence of Third World Countries are clearly stated in the writings and

pronouncements of their leaders on neocolonialism and further reflected in the operations of the transnational corporations. Also, it is reflected in the event and covert use by the great powers of economic warfare and the technical and intellectual know how of their military establishments.

Dependency and interdependency theory in international transactions, according to the protagonist, is believed to result in mutual benefit to all participants but the structure and operation of transnational corporations in present day world economy, prove the contrary. While interdependency thrives amongst advanced western nations, the dependent nature of third world economies have increased their vulnerability and/or sensitivity to the activities of the industrial powers.

Transnational corporations, as purveyors of the most advanced western capitalist technology have intensified the process of plunder marginalisation, social contradictions, and immiseration of the third world economies and industrial workers and peasant farmers, thus, creating and exacerbating the problems of security and defence in their host governments. Through the overt and covert activities of the TCNS the superpowers have been able to impose, consolidate and

perpetuate their military, political and economic supremacy over the developing states.

By virtue of third world position in the international economic analysis, the TWCs have played strategic roles in determining the affairs of these countries. The industrial powers have at different stages, imposed their foreign policies on third world countries. The media through which the western policies of economic and military hegemonies have persisted are Transnational Corporations. Acting as stooges to their home governments or vehicles of subversion TNCS have intervened, directly or indirectly, in the internal politics of their host countries thus undermining the sovereignty of these nations.

A case in point, the Chilean experience of 1977. The International Telegraph and Telephone (ITT) directly intruded into the internal policies of Chile by financing the attempts and final overthrow of the Marxist government of Salvado Allende. (Chima Onuoha, B. (1991).

In Nigeria, it is widely speculated that the American government transferred huge sums of dollars through Radio Communications Ltd in support of M.K.O. Abiola's presidential campaign in 1993. Furthermore, the transnational oil corporations operating in Nigeria have contributed significantly to the economic and environmental

degradation of the country. For instance, "Shell Petroleum" the largest oil company in Nigeria, was seriously accused of large scale environmental pollution through oil spillage in the host town of Ogoni in Rivers State. This problem triggered off crisis that eventually led to loss of lives and threats to the internal security of Nigeria as a nation. (See: "Genesis of the Ogoni crisis". This Day Newspapers, December, 1995). The oil spillage resulted in the destruction of farm products, deaths of acquatic animals and lack of drinking water. All these were big threats to food and health security.

Another case of study in the role of TNCS as threats to the security and defence of third world is the Grenadian episode. In 1979, Cuba acting as Soviet intermediary reached an agreement with Grenada to build a modem airport in the "Point Salines" area of South Grenada. Before the month was out, a pilot team of Cuban multinational engineering firm had arrived to begin the project. The following March, the Cuban Merchantship, Pyaya large arrived Grenada with heavy construction equipment and 636 construction workers including military intelligence officers. Referring to the construction workers, Fidel Castro stated at his October 26, 1983 press conference that "of course, as workers, like all workers in Cuba, they (Construction

workers) have received military training". (Fidel Castro, Press Conference in Havana, October 26 1983).

Unknown to the Grenadian government, the Cuban motivation for engaging its engineering company in the airport project was purely for intelligence and "strategic location". According to Selwyn Strachan, a Grenadian-Minister, Cuba and USSR would eventually use the new airport to supply troops in Africa and also as a vital route for oil transport (See; "Grenada: A preliminary Report" United States Information Agency, Washington D.C. December 1983, P.18).

The point been stressed here is that, Cuba as Soviet intermediary flooded Grenada with intelligence officers (from the Soviet KGB) under the guise of construction workers employed by the Multinational Engineering Company handling the "Post Salines" airport project.

By October 19, 1983, this Cuban and KGB Military intelligence masterminded the murder and overthrow of Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop including three cabinet ministers and other leaders. The Prime Minster's visit to the United States in June, 1982 had led to

speculation that Grenada might adopt a more moderate course and abandon the hard stance of Cuban/USSR policies.

Consequent upon the murder of the Prime Minister, there were internal power struggles and disintegration of the government. On the 25th October, 1983, a combined forces of America and Six-English speaking Carribbean countries invaded Grenada to ensure the safety of about one thousand U.S citizens and to restore order in Grenada.

In the final analysis, it is the dependent nature of Grenada's economy and lack of industrial and military technology that warranted it to involve Cuba and Soviet multinational firm in its affairs. Unfortunately, this resulted in the distabilisation of its security and defence arrangements. Such is the dilemma of third world or developing nations regarding the operations of TNCS.

Transnational Corporations are the vehicles, agents and indeed the media through which antiquated and hazardous industrial military products are transferred including light weapons to the third world countries. Even while talks on arms control and nuclear non-proliferation are in process, the western nations through their agents (TNCS) have been dumping both nuclear waste and light weapons, encouraging the acquisition of nuclear capabilities among third world

nations. For instance, while pursuing their economic interest, TNCS as agents of western neocolonialism have exposed the entire African region to risks not only of nuclear explosion, light weapons going into wrong hands, creating insecurity and unrest in terms of communal conflicts.

By the end of 1977, South Africa had acquired the technical capability to make nuclear weapons and necessary means to deliver them. This not only shattered the raison d'etre of the "African de-nuclearization declaration" but also greatly exposed the entire continent to further insecurity.

South Africa's nuclear option was facilitated by her complex relations with western powers: Britain, Canada, France, Netherland, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, United States as well as Israel, whose transnational corporations operations had invested heavily in Uranium exploration in Namibia and South Africa. Thus forming the so-called "Contact Group" on which great hopes were then pinned for Namibia's independence (Nweke Aforka. G. (1984) P. 68).

Records show that "Rossing" one of the world's biggest Uranium mines, with a planned output of 5,000 tones of Uranium oxide a year is located in Namibia (Frank Barnaby, UN, South Africa's plan and

capacity in the Nuclear Field, Doc. No. A/35/402). It could be asserted that the nuclear capacity conspiracy in South Africa was made so feasible due to collusion to exploit Namibia, the South Africa's hostage, by western Transnational Corporations like the German STEAG INC. However, the climax was reached when western Germany transnational agency transferred legal rights to the "jet-nozzle system" to UCOR (South Africa's Uranium Enrichment Corporation). Now, the question is not whether South Africa possesses nuclear capacity, but the implications of this capability to African peace, security and defence.

2.5.1 LIGHT WEAPONS AND PEACE-KEEPING IN AFRICA: THE ECOWAS INITIATIVE.

No matter the perspective one views the contemporary African continent, one is forced to see nothing but problems and conflicts. The crisis situation no doubt, seems to be multiplying at an alarming proportion of 6:2 when compared with the solutions available to

remedy the situation (Esomba, 1997:56). This crisis has continued since the imperial powers of Europe were compelled to grant either summary or blanket independence to their African dependent territories, and of course, not all territories got their independence on a platter of gold, some won theirs through militant agitation and nationalist struggles.

The granting of political independence did not however, institute instant socio-economic and political freedom for the new African States. African States found it a Herculean task determining and fashioning their own destiny in strictly African territorial, security and trade terms. A theory and practice known as neocolonialism seems to have complicated matters for these neophyte independent states. (Esomba 1997:56). According to Esomba.

> *Neo-colonialism seems to have*
>
> *Imprinted itself unto Africa's*
>
> *National leadership structures,*
>
> *Politico-economic systems;*
>
> *And even appears to be*
>
> *Fostering tribal and clan rivalry*
>
> *Indeed, some think that neo-colonialism,*

in all its manifold forms

could be the real culprit for the fatheromless, bottomless

problem-source which has seemed

to defy attempt at solutions,

and which holds Africa in a near-helpless

hostage – like position.

African countries are plagued with various crisis such as ethnic/tribal rivalry or dominion; national economic mismanagement; life presidents' syndrome, massive electoral malpractice, religions conflicts and thunggery. These plagues are been accelerated by incessant proliferation and distribution of light arms and weapons. The list is endless and endemic. The potential result of these seemingly intractable problems is political instability in most (if not all) African countries. Thus, at various times, effort were made to establish continental based organisations to ensure the protection of territorial integrity of member African States, and to stem the proliferation of light weapons, hence the stability of their political economy. In this vein, the organisation of African Unity (Now AU) was formed in 1963 and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in 1975.

The presence and influence of these organisations notwithstanding, problems and conflicts still persist in Africa. The OAU was particularly indicted for failing in this direction. As rightly observed by Esomba, the OAU does seem from its inception to have been working and walking backwards from its intended purpose: African Union.

The ECOWAS which was originally intended to accelerate macroeconomic development of the West African Sub-region made an incursion into containing sub-regional conflicts in Africa. It's peace-keeping outfit "ECOMOG" is Africa's pride and contribution to the growing global peace agenda.

2.5.2 **Strategies for Maintaining Peace in an Area infested with Light Weapons**.

The UN Charter stipulates two basic strategies for maintaining international peace and security. The first is the use of collective measures of coercion to prevent or suppress breach of peace. Peace enforcement falls under this category. This entails the use of organised force or contigents based on the member states consent. As such, the success or failure of such an operation is largely determined

by the collective will or desire of member states to contribute troops, finance and logistics towards the resolution of the conflict. The essence of this strategy is to prevent conflict situations from deteriorating and to achieve a stabilization of relations between parties in conflict, which will permit renewed efforts at peaceful settlement (Goodrich and Simons, 1955:15)

The second, is the use of peaceful methods of settlement or adjustment (Goodrich, Hambro and Simon: 1969:302-311). This involves all activities towards peace-making and peace keeping. It also involves the use of such tools like negotiation, mediation and conciliation in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Peace-keeping is not embarked upon just to direct the course of events in a state by the use of force. It is rather undertaken to help execute decisions already taken. In other words, peace-keeping underscores efforts to observe, report and assist in the settlement of minor differences and perform local police functions and in general to do those things that are thought to contribute to the ultimate goal of peaceful settlement or adjustment. (Goodrich and Simons; 1955;15) peace-keeping abhors the use of force in maintaining peace.

In performing its task of ensuring the observance of peace in a light weapon infested area, some of the underlisted basic principles are followed:

- The first guiding principle concerns the issue of competence to authorise or raise a peace-keeping force. The ECOMOG peace-keeping force was created by a resolution of Heads of States of Member Countries of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), amidst reactions that it was an infringement on the collective will of Liberians to decide their internal problem. (In communal conflicts here in Nigeria, because of the proliferation of light weapons, militias are found everywhere, fully armed and prepared to go to war, who amongst the communities has the competence to raise militia to fight against another ethnic group). This negates the laid down principles OAU (presently AU) which seeks to maintain

(a) The sovereign equality of all member states

(b) Non-interference in the internal affairs of states;

(c) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence.

Considering the above objectives of OAU (presently AU), one would be tempted to question the legitimacy or otherwise, the competence of ECOWAS Heads of State to authorise a peace keeping mission in Liberia (just like the case here in Nigeria, where politician would buy these light weapons and give to their thugs to embarrass, harass and even maime their opponents. What right do they have to form militia? Now, because of the proliferation of light arms through some of these ways, the militias have gone out of hands in other states. They have become hired assassins, highway armed rubbers and are in some cases hired to fight other ethnic groups or clans. One can easily see what is happening in Benue State of Nigeria in recent times.)

Another important principle of peace-keeping borders on the consent of the parties involved. This requires that the country in which peace-keeping forces are expected to be present and perform their functions must give its consent.

According to Goodrich, in the absence of agreements under Article 43 of the UN Charter, the security council does not have authority to order the use of military forces of member states. The theory of peace-keeping operations is that the recommendations made by the UN security council is an invitation to member states to agree to an

participate in and operation which the security council finds necessary and desirable.

This rule is also applicable to the entrance of forces into the territory of the host state and to the contribution of forces by member states. (A case in point here), what happened between Taraba and Benue States in 2001). But however, it is important to note that the UN General Assembly has the power to recommend the use of force and consent by the parties concerned is implied.

Another guiding principle of peace-keeping in an area infested by light weapons worth mentioning is, this requires every peace-keeping force to adopt a posture of neutrality and non involvement in so far as political conflicts between interested parties are concerned. This does not however mean neutrality insofar as attitude towards the basic principles and purposes of the Charter is concerned. Peace-keeping force should not be used for the purpose of influencing in any way the balance of force between the warring parties in a conflict. In summarizing the principles that had guided the United Nations Emergency Force operations, the Secretary General emphasized the requirement that:

Force should not be used in any

Way to influence the political

Situation and that it should

Refrain from interference in

Domestic affairs (Goodrich, 1969)

It must be noted, however, that strict compliance to this principle may constitute a serious constraint or hardship in dealing with a condition of internal disorder and that its strict application may have a negative result from what is desired.

A colorary to the principle of neutrality is that, the members of peace-keeping force should not be allowed to use weapons except in self-defence. In the case of ECOMOG, this principle can not be said to have strictly applied as ECOMOG began as a peace-monitoring force, then because a peace-keeping force and later, a peace enforcement. In each of these metamorphosis, arms and ammunitions were used to contain the crisis. In the Congo crisis, the principles could not also be said to have applied because, at a later stage, resolutions of the UN Security Council permitted the use of force for the purposes other than self-defence by specifically authorising that force might be used if necessary to prevent civil war and to apprehend foreign mercenaries.

All these trouble shooting areas, after the wars left unaccounted for, light weapons into the hands of the participants who now must have sold them or maintain them to cause havoc.

2.5.3 The Use of Small Arms and Light Weapons and Succession to Power.

Post-independence politics in Africa at large and Nigeria in particular, has been politics of crisis. the continent of Africa is littered with one political problem or the other. Most of these political problems arise or centre around the transfer of power. Africa and indeed African countries are yet to evolve a culture of peaceful transfer of power from one regime to another. This situation has caused great concern to followers of events in Africa, members of the academia and members of the international community.

The backwardness of the African countries is sometimes attributed to the character of African politics. A continent that is bedeviled with political crises, instability, proliferation of small and light weapons with which fellow brothers and sisters are killed simply because of their interest in politics, it is argued, dissipates enormous resources

that would otherwise have been used for national development towards prosecuting wars and other crises or settlings disputes.

The emergent political leadership of some of the new states of post-independent Africa has shown a disappointing incapacity to manage the affairs of the states or countries bequeathed to them by the colonial masters. The citizens of the emergent states as well as the former colonial masters both feel thoroughly embarrassed and disappointed by the turn of events in some of these African countries. The former, because of unfulfilled expectations and dashed hopes and the latter, because of the inability of those they handed over the states, to murture them to maturity through an acceptable and stable procedure of regime change.

Politics in post-colonial Africa, its process, its form and indeed its character is an admixture of modemism and traditionalism. For this reason it is not uncommon to observe the existence of traditional institutions alongside modem institutions in the politics of some of these states. For example, in some countries like South Africa, Uganda, even Ghana, one still finds vestiges of kingdoms, while in Nigeria.

- the Emirate System of Northern Nigeria

- the Obaship Institution of Western Nigeria and

- the Ezeship traditional institution of Eastern Nigeria still thrive in the face of modem democratic institutions.

Nigerian politics is characterized by crisis, civil strife or civil unrest, the proliferation, and use of light weapons and small arms to settle communal scores. It is one crises or the other, all having their roots in the quest for political power.

Further to this, African and in particular Nigeria politics is also characterised by ethnic sentiment or what could be referred to as ethno-national sentiment. This means that the political choices are largely based on premodial criteria. The ethnicization of politics and the appropriation of national or public resources for the pursuit of ethnic projects or agenda which the occupation of public office gives access to, have made political contests a do-or-die affair. This tradition of politics in Nigeria according to the late Professor Claude Ake (1995:26) "puts an unusually high premium on political power". He further points out that in such a situation, political competition assumes the character of warfare. And "Because power is overvalued the struggle for it is very intense and prone to lawlessness. In this type of politics, violence is endemic" (Ibid). Hence, the use of proliferated

weapons to pursue/and or fight and leave no stone unturned to retain the position in Nigerian politics.

That is one of the reasons why the African countries are today littered with one crisis or the other. An examination of these crises will virtually reveal that they are not only associated with the struggle for power but are indeed, crises of succession.

This state of affairs partly has its roots in colonialism. The colonial regime was an authoritarian regime in the first place. thus, as Nnoli (1986:129) would point out, "Although the colonial power practise democracy at home, it was forced by the need to hold down a conquered people to use undemocratic methods in administering the colonised people". This culture of authoritarianism has perhaps filtered or been imbibed by the new African leadership. It is likely that the attempt to bequeath a culture of democracy at the twilight of the colonial regime, did not succeed as could be observed from the several political problems Africa is confronted with.

One of the greatest problems facing Nigeria in particular and Africa at large, is the peaceful regime change. Most of the political crises that Nigeria and Africa faces or is bugged down with is clearly and certainly arise from the inability of these countries to transit

peacefully from one regime to another. Only very few African countries appear to have established a tradition of a peaceful regime change. Some of these countries include Tanzania, Zambia, Ivory Coast, to mention but few, have successfully evolved a culture of peaceful transition to power. One of the reasons being that the occupation of public office has come to be seen as the easiest means of wealth. Thus, public office is appropriated for self, immediate relations and the ethnic group or origin of the office holder (see Richard Joseph, 1999). These incumbents use all sorts of means to perpetuate themselves in these offices, including procuring small arms and light weapons, which they distribute to their thugs who indiscriminately use them to ridicule others. Infact, in most of Africa, the acquisition of power and the occupation of public office have ceased to be an opportunity to serve but have rather become an opportunity for self enrichment. It was widely reported that the recently ousted president of former Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko, could not draw a difference between his personal resources and that of the state to the extent that he was alleged to have made himself richer than the country he ruled.

Succession to power in Africa is characterised by a number of factors which have impeded the political and economic development of the countries and most importantly, have hindered the development of the culture of succession to power and hence continued use of proliferated small arms and light weapons to intimidate, humiliate and force people and impose them, unelected persons.

- The desire of the incumbent to Hold unto Power – In Nigeria, those who are currently in power are usually reluctant to relinquish power even when it becomes clear that they are no longer popular. In the face of unpopularity and mass discontent, such regimes have had the tendency to quickly resort to oppression, using the coercive apparatus of the state to unleash terror and intimidate society, particularly the opposition. Public office becomes personalised as the ambition of its occupant is usually to remain for life. The examples of Gen. Sanni Abacha, Ibrahim Babangida and Olusegun Obasanjo easily come to mind. Under these regimes those perceived as opponents were dealt with either by imprisonment, assassination through state terrorism and sometime outright disqualification from contesting elections.

- The unreliability of the Electoral process. In countries with matured political cultures, elections are the easiest and acceptable means to change a government and indeed the only civilised method of changing a government. In addition, elections are the means through which those who aspire to power seek to be voted to such position of power. It is infact, the only democratic platform of power succession. Unfortunately, however, the electoral process in Nigeria is fraught with corruption, rigging, thuggery and the use of proliferated light weapons to intimidate the electorates. Sometimes, the verdict of the free and fair elections is not respected. These have been "cases in which relatively free elections have been allowed to take place, but when the results are displeasing to the authorities, are simply nullified by state power." (Nigeria 1993). In this way, elections seem to have been reduced to a meaningless Charade in African. It has largely become a process for the revalidation of the terms of office of the incumbents. Thus, in Nigeria, the incumbent rarely looses an election. The result of this is a lessening in the political significance of elections, "and a fall in popular interest

of what had become, in most Nigerian States, less of a struggle for power and more of a theatrical display (Ibid). The political elites who came to power through the electoral process of decolonization, came to treat the same process with disdain thereafter. Today the only instrument of regime change and/or succession to power in Nigeria has been bastardized in such a way that elections have become a Charade. It is no longer a reliable and trusted means of succession to power in Nigeria.

- Political Violence – political violence is a common feature of Nigerian politics. This is because, much premium is placed on political power. consequently, the competition for it is intense and prone to violence. The political crisis of the first Republic in Nigeria which led to the first coup was the outcome of violent political activities in the west itself as a result of power struggle between Awolowo and Akintola.

- Ethnicity – succession to power in Nigeria is also characterized by ethnicity. The contest for power is ethnically based. Success or failure in elections depends on one's ethnic origin such that candidates from populous ethnic groups are usually almost certain of wining in an election. Under this condition, party

programmes which should have been the basic of electoral choices, are given little consideration.

Ethnic politics is a devise by Nigerian leaders to sustain themselves in power. In a situation where winning power guarantees access to wealth and other benefits, ethnic sentiment is whipped up thereby dividing the population along primordial lines. Reflecting on this, Professor Ake (1995:25) observed that:

> *The nationalist movement in most*
>
> *African countries was a coalition of*
>
> *disparate groups united by their*
>
> *common grievances. It was typically*
>
> *a network of nationalities, ethnic*
>
> *groups, religions organisations,*
>
> *syncretistic movements, secondary*
>
> *organisations and professional*
>
> *interest groups. As the prospects*
>
> *of independence improved, their*
>
> *solidarity grew weaker, for*
>
> *increasingly, their attention*
>
> *turned from the colonial*

regime to one another.

The shifts of attention to one another based on ethnicity, compounded and still retards Africa's progress. The competition for political power among the leaders began to dominate political life. Thus, when independence was finally achieved, "the centrifugal tendencies were strong enough in many African countries to threaten not only the transition to independence, but also, the political viability of the state in these countries.

-       Military Coup De'tat – peaceful succession to power in Nigeria is also hindered by frequent Military Coup. Because of the inability of Nigerian leaders to play politics according to democratic principles, devoid of crises, the Military has had to interfere in Nigerian politics by seizing power through coups. As a result, military regime has become common feature of Nigeria politics and marks a truncation of democratic culture as well as indictment of the political class.

2.5.4   Conceptual Clarifications

(i) Peace-keeping: The concept peace-keeping is used to describe a special form of United Nations activity. According to Goodrich (1974:138), it came into vogue with the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in the middle East in 1956. The term has been generally used to describe this and subsequent operations such as the United Nations observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL), the United Nations Operations in the Congo (ONUC) and the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICTP). These operations as Goodrich noted, have been differentiated from enforcement action by the fact that military forces are used solely on the basis of consent of all parties involved, and not for coercive purposes, though the Congo experience has tended to blur this distinction in the minds of some observers. Peace-keeping, however, is distinguished from peaceful settlement, though they definitely envisage such settlement, are intended to prepare the way for it, and may be accompanied by efforts in that direction, as in the case of Cyprus (Ibid).

According to Aja (1996:57) "Peace keeping has to do with the deployment of military – police personnel as well as administrative

personnel in areas of tension to act as a buffer between two combatant forces. Peace-keeping is aimed at the creation of deterrence posture capable of compelling the combatant forces into peaceful approach to settlement."

(ii) Peace-making – peace-making takes the form of preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution. The UN Security Council plays the role of mediator in conflicts involving member states. The UN Security Council collects and analyses warning signals and intelligence and data capable of promoting peaceful settlement of disputes (Ibid). As earlier noted, the UN Security Council play a mediator role and therefore does not impose conditions for settlement on the warning, parties, instead, it helps them to appreciate the merits of peaceful settlement.

(iii) Peace-Enforcement – This concept is a sort of peace-keeping but with military implications. It involves the actual use of force or instruments of coercion. Peace enforcement is interventionist in nature and practice. As Aja (Ibid) rightly observed: "It seeks to promote peace by promoting the use of force when peaceful means fails". According to him, "the

aftermath of the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait in August, 1990 was the passing of a 12 unconditional resolutions by the UN demanding Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. Thus, Iraqi refusal to adhere to UN resolutions resulted into the use of force to ensure complete withdrawal from Kuwait". The point being made here is that peace enforcement, unlike peace keeping approves the use of force in the resolution of conflicts or to effect compliance to the resolutions.

2.6   MANAGING INSECURITY

(a)   Unlimited Self-Defense – The first approach to security relies on countries arming themselves as best they can to deter or repel aggressors. Each country is responsible for its own defense. Countries may also form alliances based on mutual self-interest; and countries and alliances maneuver within balance-of-power scenarios. The unlimited self-defense strategy has generally governed world politics throughout history, especially during the last five centuries of the state-stated international system.

This approach rests on several assumptions about human kind and politics held by results. At heart, realist are skeptics. They are apt to believe that humans have an inherent element of greed and aggressiveness that promotes violence. Realists are also prone to believing that states encompass and project the human foibles, including violence, of their citizens. All of this makes the international system, from the realists' perspective, a place of danger where each state must fend for itself or face the perils of domination or destruction by other states. One analyst, for example, uses Darwinian terminology to describe political history as a process of "natural selection of viable actors and agendas". In what they see as an irreversibly imperfect and perilous world, the vallying cry for realists is "peace through strength" (Liska, 1990:228).

(b) **Limited Self-Defense** – A second approach to achieving security is to limit the numbers and types of weapons that countries posses. This approach, commonly called ARMS CONTROL, aims at lessening military (especially offensive) capabilities and lessening the damage even if war begins. Additionally, arms control advocates believe that the decline in

the number and power of weapons systems will ease political

tension, thereby making further arms agreements possible.

Table 2.6.1.   **FOUR   APPROACHES   TO   MANAGING**

SECURITY.

Security Approach	Sources of Insecurity	World Political System	Armaments Strategy	Primary Peace-keeping mechanism	Standard
Unlimited Self-Defense	Many, probably interest in humans	State based; national interest and rivalries fear	Have many and all types to guard against threats	Armed states deterrence, alliances balance of power	Peace through strength
Limited self-defences	Many, perhaps inherent, but	State-based, limited cooperative	Limit amount and types to reduce	Armed states, defense capabilities lack	Peace through limited

	weapons intensity	based on mutual interest.	capabilities damage, tension	of offensive international peace keeping force	offensive ability.
International Security	Anarchical world system, lack of law or common security mecha-nisms	International political integration, regional or world government	Trb. Weapons and authority to international force	International peace keeping/peace keeping force	Peace through law and universal collective defense
Abolition of War	Weapons; personal and national greed and insecurity	Various options from pacifistic states to libertarian global village model	Eliminate weapons	Lack of ability lack of fear individual and collective pacifism	Peace through being peaceful.

Concept Source: Rapoport (1992).

(c) **Arms Control Strategies** – within the general arms control approach, there are two somewhat different strategies. One of these is arms limitations. This means, preventing an increase in the quantities

and types of weapons that you and others possess. The second arms control strategy is arms reductions. This means reducing quantities and types of weapons that you and others already possess. Ultimately, arms reductions might achieve disarmament. That possibility is, however, distinct from mere arms control.

Limited Self-defense is something of a middle ground among the approaches to security. Realists and idealist may both be found among the limited self-defense advocates, although at least some in both groups consider arms control a mixed blessing. Such realists are suspicious of arms control because it involves giving-up some defense options, and it involves other perils that we discuss later. Nevertheless, most realists are willing to concede that the huge arsenals of weapons that countries possess are dangerous. These realists are, therefore, willing to admit that there can be merit in carefully negotiated, truly verifiable arms accords. Idealist welcome limits and reductions of arms, but many of them consider arms control to be but a preliminary step on the road to the idealist' true goal: international security forces or an unarmed global village.

There are a variety of ways to limit or reduce arms. Unilateral policy decisions, sometime also called informal arms control, are one

method. The winding down of the cold war, followed by its end, occasioned a series of important unilateral arms announcements. All the declared nuclear powers except China and France are, for example, observing a self-imposed moratorium on testing. The Soviet Union was the first to announce self-restraint in October 1991, and Russia's President, Boris N. Yeltsin, has renewed that pledge. The Americans and British also followed suit. The French, although originally agreeing t this moratorium resumed testing in the South Pacific in September 1995. The French test programme set up global protests, however, and even a majority of the French people opposed the tests. In addition to opprobrium, the French also suffered financial consequences.

For example, the export of Baujolais and other French Wines plummeted as many people boycotted French products in protest.

- Bilateral or Multilateral negotiations and agreements are a far more common method of achieving arms control. Some of the most significant arms agreements in the past three decades have been bilateral agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union/FSRS. Other arms accords were reached through

multilateral negotiations and agreements involving may countries.

2.6.2 **Barriers To Arms Control**.

It is much easier to envision how arms controls can be applied than to put them in place. The barriers to arms control can be split up into three categories: security barriers, technological barriers, and domestic political barriers.

2.6.3. **Security Barriers**

Perhaps, the most formidable barrier to arms control is thrown up by security concerns. Those who hold to the realist school of thought have strong doubts about whether countries can maintain adequate security if they disarm totally or substantially. Realists are cautious about the current political scene and cautions about the claimed contributions of arms control.

There are few, even among realists, who do not welcome many of the changes that the end of the cold war has engendered. The easing of tension among the one time superpower blocs has already resulted in such new arms control agreements as the CFE Treaty and the START

1 and START II Treaties. In constant dollars global military spending is down almost 20% from its peak in the late 1980s.

Yet realists are not persuaded that the end of the cold war necessarily means that national security systems can or should be dismantled substantially. One concern is that, the relaxation of tensions between the two military superpowers and their parent and former allies in Europe can not be confidently predicted to continue.

Russia has been severally weakened, and the fighting ability of its conventional forces is highly suspect. Yet Moscow's nuclear force remains awesome. "They can do nothing much in Moscow, but they can wipe out New York", says Russian defense correspondence Pavel Felgengauer of Russia's leaders. (Hartford, 1993).

Moreover, the severe economic and social turmoil that continues to beset Russia leads observers to worry about the country's future political stability and direction.

Two possibilities about Russia's internal situation worry outsiders. One possibility is that Boris Yeltsin could be replaced by the resurgent communist party, by right wind ultranationalists, or by a coalition of the two, perhaps in concert with the military. The second possibility is that to preserve his power, Yeltsin might continue to

move toward that right and soon abandon democracy altogether and institute an authoritarian government that would rely on the military and other agencies of violence for control. It is interesting to note that what no one speculated during the Chechen crisis was that Yeltsin might be driven to become more Liberal and democratic, or that he might be removed in favour of more liberal and democratic leaders.

Realists are concerned about more than just the future of Russia. The escalation of arms outside the arena of the former East-West confrontation is a second cause for caution. China is another country that gives realists particular pause. While other military budgets were dropping, China's grew 20% between 1991 and 1992. China's nuclear force, as noted earlier, continues to grow and to be refined by testing to deliver nuclear weapons almost anywhere in the world with ICBMS and SLBMs. There are also a number of unsettling developments in China's conventional capability. The country has reportedly purchased 72 advanced SU-27 warplanes, the license to build 300 Mila-31 interceptors, and 300 SA-10 surface-to air missiles (SAMs) from Russia, China has also developed in-flight refueling capability for its warplanes, giving them greater operational range.

It is also important to realise that the significant nuclear powers are not the only countries to have national security concerns that inhibit arms control. This issue has also promoted proliferation and resistance to arms reduction among the LDCs. Much of the Muslim world has, for instance, traditionally viewed Israel as both hostile and a nuclear threat. Reflecting that perception, Iran's Vice president, Sayed Ataollah Mohajerani, declared that "since Israel continues to posses nuclear weapons, we the Muslims, must cooperate to produce an atomic bomb, regardless of UN attempts to prevent proliferation (Time, December, 16, 1991 p 47).

Realists also have doubts about arms control because they are skeptical of many of the arguments that idealists make to support reducing or eliminating arms. Realists doubt that reducing arms will increase security, that arms races occur, and that arms talks represent progress. If you listen to arms control advocates, you will find that, many take it as a given that the world will be more secure if arms are reduced or eliminated. Beyond the obvious assumption that with fewer arms, less damage is possible. A key tenet of arms control philosophy is that fewer arms promote less tension on the world stage. Realists reject this view, and there is some evidence to support their

case. Addressing this point, a recent study found that US-USSR "arms control agreements did not result in any subsequent reduction in the level of tension (Koubi, 1993:148).

Realists are also skeptical about another important claim made by arms control advocates: that arms set off a race by creating fear in other countries; this causes them to but more arms, which in turn causes you to buy more arms and so on in a weapons acquisition spiral that eventually may lead to war. Idealist, by contrast, are apt to agree with Homer's observation in the Odyssey (Circa 700 B.C) that "The blade itself incites to violence". This is represented by Theory A in figure 2.6.2ai. The logic of arms races seems obvious, and, indeed, there is some evidence that, in some specific cases, it is true. But empirical research has not confirmed the arms race model as an overall phenomenon (Travis, 1994; Looney, 1991). Instead, technological changes, bureaucratic pressures, domestic politics, economic trends, and other factors join the international arms competition to explain the level of arms expenditures (Beenstock, 1993; Jordan, 1993). The general state of relations between two powers also affects arms spending as does the overall international political climate.

There is little doubt that arms both create a possibility of war and sometimes help torment the hostility and anxiety that are fertile ground for war. But, again, the relationship is complex. Arms may instead be amassed because of war-producing tension. From this perspective, many decision makers and some social scientists argue that weapons are necessary for survival in a predatory world. A classic tenet of real politic is that humans do not fight because they have arms, they have arms because they fight. If wars occur because humans are violence – prone, or if even some humans and countries are aggressive, then arms are necessary. This logic suspects that disarmament might create instability or tempt aggressors, thus actually increasing the likelihood of war. If this line of reasoning is correct, then both arms and war may be the result of tension, as can be seen in Theory B of figure 2.6.3.

Realists, it should be added, do not accept war as unavoidable or even eschew arms controls completely. Instead, realists argue that since tension causes arms, it is both a waste of efforts and potentially dangerous to address the level of arms before making progress on easing political tensions. Thus, realists say, political settlements should be achieved before arms reductions (Gray, 1992).

It is probably evident, then that, the controversy about whether to address arms control or political divisions is something of a chicken-and-egg debate, which should come first? The most probable answer lies in a combination of these theories. What we can say, then, is that tension, arms, and violent conflict are interrelated. No one would deny that arms races are dangerous and that they might sometime lead to war, but there is also no good evidence that arms directly and consistently cause wars. Instead, arms, tension, and wars all promote one another as represented in Theory C of figure 2.6.3.

THREE THEORIES ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARMS, TENSION, AND WAR.

THEORY A   **THEORY B**   **THEORY C**

ARMS→TENSION→WAR

TENSION → ARMS / WAR
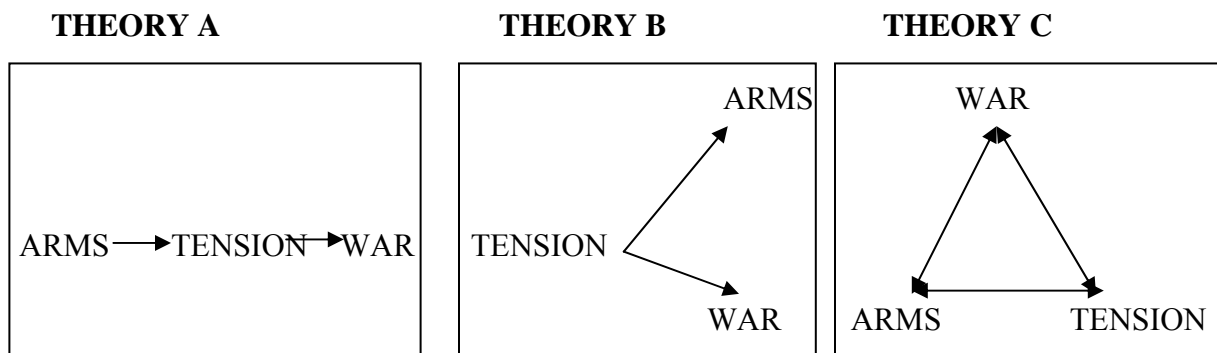
WAR / ARMS / TENSION

Theory A fits the idealists view of the causal relationship between arms, tension, and use. Theory B approximates the realist view.

Theory C suggests that there is a complex causal interrelationship between arms, tension, and war, in which each of the three factors affects the other two.

2.6.4.   Technical Barrier

The complexity of weapons creates many technical barriers to arms control. Two that are particularly important are how to compare weapons systems and difficulties of verification.

How to compare weapons systems – This problem is essentially one of comparing apples and oranges. Technologically, a missile is not just a missile/ how for example, do one compare Russia's SS – 25 missile with US Minuteman III missiles, which will be each side's main ICBM force under the START II Treat?. The SS-25 for example, is road mobile and therefore hard to target; the minuteman III is silo – based and more vulnerable. But the US D-5 SLBMS and their submarines are superior to both offensive capability and invulnerability to Russian SS-N-23 SLBMS and their submarine platforms. The point is that numbers alone mean little in arms negotiations, particularly of the nuclear variety. The result is that negotiations are extremely difficult, and agreements are subject to

domestic political attack by opponents who mislead the public by pointing out numerical "inequities" without accounting for offsetting technological factors.

Verification Difficulties – A second technical barriers to arms control involves the complexities of verification. Countries suspect that others will cheat. A favorite phrase of Ronald Reagon's was 'trust, but verify". Particularly, in recent years, there have been great advances in verification procedures and technologies. The most important recent procedural advance is increased on-site inspection (OSI). Countries are increasingly willing to allow others to inspect their facilities. As such OSI has become part of most of the more recent arms control agreements.

Yet, agreement on OSI are still difficult because of the remaining influence of sovereignty and because of each country's suspicion that others will use their inspectors to spy on it. National Technical Means (NTM) of verification using satellites, Setsmic measuring devices, and other equipment have also advanced rapidly.

The important question about verification in the arms control process, then, is not whether or not you can be absolutely sure. You cannot. The issue is which is more dangerous

(1) coming to an agreement when there is at least some chance that the other side might be able to cheat or

(2) failing to agree and living in a world of unrestrained and increasing nuclear weapons growth? Sometimes, the answer is numbers 2. That was the choice, for instance, of the top US intelligence and Military officials during 1994 senate hearings on ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). R. James Woolsey, then director of the CIA, admitted that, "The chemical weapons problem is so difficult from an intelligence perspective that I cannot state that we have high confidence in our ability to detect non-compliance, especially on a small scale." Nevertheless, both Woolsey and General John. M. Shalikaslivili, chairman of the joint Chiefs of Staff, endorsed the CWC. The argued that even without absolute verification, it was better than the prospects of a world building chemical weapons without restraint. Therefore, the general said, "from a military perspective, (the CWC is) . . . clearly in our national interest.

2.6.5   Domestic Barriers

There are, in addition to security and technical issues, a variety of domestic factors that are barriers to arms control. We can examine the domestic issues in two ways; national pride and the political support for arms spending.

-        National Pride – The Book of Proverbs tells us that, "pride goeth before destruction", and this statement is as applicable to modem arms acquisitions as it was in biblical times. Whether we are dealing with conventional or nuclear arms, national pride is a primary drive behind their acquisition. For many countries, arms represents a tangible symbol of sovereign equality. For example, Pakistan's nuclear project is partly the result of nationalistic and Pan-Islamic Pride. As a Pakistani official said, "The Christian, Jewish, and Hindu civilization have (the bomb) ……….Only the Islamic civilization (is) without it" (Dunn, 1982:45)

-        Political support for Arms spending – The large arms manufactures are conspicuously powerful political forces in domestic politics, but it would be wrong to focus on them alone. They are

supported by the millions of workers they employ. The top 100 arms corporations alone employ approximately 7million workers. The corporations and workers are supported, in turn, by their communities and by their legislators who represent those communities. In this way, arms control becomes entangled in the electoral process. Liberal members of the U.S. Congress may favour the concept of reduced arms spending, but they are apt to oppose cuts that affect the plants and workers in their electoral districts. Representative Sam Gejdenson of connection is one of the must liberal Democrats in Congress and no friend of defense spending. Yet he has fought hard and successfully to protect the multibillion-dollar seawalf submarine, which is produced in his district by the Electric Boat shipyard at Groton, from attempts to cut it from the defense budget.

Additionally, there are often bureaucratic elements in alliance with the defense industry. Many countries have politically powerful military bureaucracies that resist armament reductions. The growth of China's defense budget has, in part, resulted from the efforts of President Jiang Zemin to strengthen his position with the military prior to the anticipated maneuvering for power that will occur when the aged and ailing Deng Xiaoping dies. This and the fact that the military is a

relatively cohesive organization is a less – than – fully – stable society make the demands for the generals for increased military spending hard to resist. Even in stable democracies, such as the United States, where the military is subordinate to civilian authority, the uniformed services are still a powerful element with strong ties to interest groups and legislators.

2.6.6 Arms Control: Changing The Status Quo Or Defending It.

To understand arms control record, you can

(i) Examine the agreements that have been signed to find out what

has been accomplished in recent years, or

(ii) Focus on the operation goal of the arms control process. To avoid confusion over the host of acronyms used by the actors on the arms control stage, we will first define a few of those arms, particularly as they are used as titles for arms control agreements. This is by no means an exhaustive list of arms control agreement, but it seeks to highlight some of most

significant ones and also those that illustrate the multiple goals of arms control as discussed below.

The Alphabet Soup of Arms Control – LTB – Limited Test Ban. (123 Signatories). This 1963 treaty bans nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space, or underwater. It was the first significant arms control agreement signed by both superpowers during the cold war. After the US and Soviets came so close to war in the 1962 Cuban Missile Crises, Momentum for arms control developed. The LTB and the Hotline Agreement, establishing a direct communication link between the White House and the Kremlin, were outgrowths of this momentum.

NPT – Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty – (163 Signatories). Originally signed in 1968, the NPT has been reviewed every five years by the signatories. It aims to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons technology to non nuclear weapon states, but allows for the peaceful spread of nuclear technology, if international safeguards are allowed within a state. The NPT in 1995 was made a permanent treaty, no longer subject to periodic review.

SALT I – Strategic Arms limitation Treaty 1. (U.S. – Soviet Treaty) signed by Presidents Nixon and Brezhner in 1971, SALT I was the first

strategic nuclear weapons treaty signed by the Superpowers. It comprised the Antiballistic Missile Treaty (ABM), limiting each country to only anti-missile sites, and the Interim Agreement, limiting the number of strategic nuclear launchers that each side could possess.

SALT II – Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II, (U.S. – Soviet Treaty) signed by Presidents Carter and Brezhner in 1979, SALT II placed further limits on launching systems and also was the first attempt to limit the number of warheads that each Missile could carry. SALT II was never approved by the Senate consideration when the Soviets Invaded Afghanistan in December 1979. Nevertheless, the United States observed the SALT II limit until 1984.

INF – The intermediate – Range Nuclear Force Treaty. (US- Soviet Treaty) This was the first arms control result of the new political atmosphere ushered in with Soviet President Gorbachev and was signed in 1987. The INF Treaty eliminated an entire class of nuclear delivery vehicles, those missile with an intermediate range of between 500 and 5500 kilometres (approximately 300 to 3,300 miles). It was important because, for the first time, the nuclear weapons arsenals of the two superpowers actually declined.

CFE – The Conventional Force in Europe Treaty (20 signatories in 1990, 30 signatories in 1992 protocol). After 17 years of wrangling between the countries of NATO and the Soviet – Led Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), warming East-West relations and domestic pressure to reduce defense spending facilitated the conclusion of the CFE Treaty. The CFE Treaty's cuts in the conventional weaponry in the region include reductions of 8,766 artillery tubes, 18051 tanks 19251 other armored vehicles, 225 combat helicopters, and 2,317 fixed-wing combat aircraft. The dissolution to the USSR has created some difficulties. CFE has been resigned by all its old signatories and the regions new countries. Still, problems continue, and Russia deployed some troops and weapons in November 1995 in violation of the CFE.

START I - The Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty: (US – Soviet/ Russian Treaty). Under the START I Treaty, the United States and the FSRS collectively agreed to make cuts, including a limit of 1,600 delivery vehicles and 6,000 strategic explosive nuclear devices each. There are also limits on how many warheads may be carried by land – based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMS) or sea – launched ballistic missile (SLBMS) deployed aboard submarines.

- START II – The Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty (U.S. Russia Treaty) The most recent nuclear weapons agreement was initiated by a June 1992 joint understanding signed by Presidents Yeltsin and Bush, followed by a formal agreement signed in January 1993. The two leaders agreed to cut drastically their nuclear forces to 3500 (for the United States) and 2997 (for Russia) warheads and bombs each by the year 2003. The two sides agreed to eliminate multiple warhead (MIRV, multiple independent reentry vehicle) ICBMS.

- CWC – Chemical Weapons Convention (157 Signatories). The countries signed the CWC pledge to eliminate all chemical weapons by the year 2005 and to submit to vigorous inspection. The signatories also agree "never under any circumstance" to develop, produce, stockpile, or use chemical weapons. The transfer of chemical weapons to another country is also prohibited, as it any activity that assists or encourages another country to acquire such weapons. Some 157 countries soon signed the treaty, which went into force on January 1, 1995.

  - MTCR – Missile Technology Control Regime. (25 signatories). This informal 1987 agreement aims to restrain long – range missile

proliferation by prohibiting the export of ballistic missile and related technology.

2.6.7   Operational Goals of Arms Control.

Each of these arms control treaties attempts to manage international insecurity in different ways. The operational goals of arms control are categorised in the following ways;

(i)   numerical restrictions

(ii)   research and development restrictions

(iii)   development restrictions

(iv)   categorical restrictions

(v)   limits on weapons or technology transfer and

(vi)   production restrictions

Some arms control agreements serve only one of these goal; others have multiple limits on existing weapons, or on weapons that might be developed, is the most common approach to arms control. This approach specifies the number or capacity of weapons and/or troops that each side may posses. Both the SALT I and SALT II treaties relied heavily on numerical limits to cap future expansion rather than to reduce existing levels. Now, the START I and II and CFE Treaties

have taken the same approach to reducing strategic nuclear and conventional forces.

Research and Development Restrictions – A second method of limiting arms involves a sort of military birth control that ensures that weapons systems never begin their gestation period of research and development (R & D), which includes testing. The advantage of this approach is that, it stops a specific area of arms building before it starts. Once R & D begins, there is a pressure on other countries to build counter balancing systems. Moreover, R & D initiates an arms acquisition momentum that is hard to stop because, the military, defense industries, defense workers, defense – dependent communities, and the legislators who represent them all acquire a political and economic stake in the continuation of the weapons system.

The ABM Treaty constrains the ability of either superpowers to perform R & D in the areas of ballistic missile defense (BMD). Recently, some Republican in congress have proposed the development of a theater high attitude area defense (THAAD) system that would go beyond what was banned in the ABM treaty.

Development Restrictions – A third way of controlling arms involves total or geographic limits on the operational placement of weapons. The deployment of military weapons in Antartica is, for example, banned totally. The CFE Treaty restricts the deployment of conventional weapons in Europe. The greatest drawback to deployment restrictions is that, one country may be endangered if another violates the agreement. If one side chose to introduce or redeploy arms rapidly into an area, it would create an explosive atmosphere as its armed opponents rushed to reposition their defenses to meet the threat.

Categorical Restrictions – A fourth approach to arms control involves limiting or eliminating certain types of weapons. The INF Treaty eliminated an entire class of weapons intermediate – range nuclear missiles. The START II Treaty will erase MIRVed ICBMS from the nuclear arsenals.

- Limits on the International transfer of weapons or Technology – Arms limits can also be accomplished through unilateral or negotiated limits on buying, selling or giving weapons (or the technology to create weapons) to other countries. By this method, producers pledge not to transfer certain arms; non-producers

pledge not to receive them or build them. The term non-proliferation commonly refers to the practice of nuclear capable countries withholding nuclear weapons, material or technology from non-nuclear capable countries. It also means that non-nuclear capable countries should or will not acquire nuclear weapons. In a broader sense, nonproliferation refers to the expansion of weapons capability at any level (nuclear, biological and chemical, and conventional), especially though foreign help. The NPT, the MTCR, and the CWC all serve this arms control goal.

- Production Restrictions – A last goal of arms control seeks to limit the production of weapons by signatories to particular treaties. In a very real way, nearly all arms control agreements serve this goal. Even agreements such as SALT 1, which was faulted for only limiting nuclear weapons rather than reducing them, also had the positive economic effect of not directing more resources to the military sector of the economy and the positive military effect of not allowing greater numbers of launchers to be built to deliver nuclear weapons.

2.6.8 International Security.

The first security approach (unlimited self-defense) that we reviewed earlier, has dominated security-seeking throughout most of history. The second approach (limited self – defence) has gained momentum in this century, especially in the last few decades. This more recent way of seeking security will be the subject of continued dispute and negotiation during the balance of this century and most probably into the next. There is a third approach to security that has begun to receive some attention among political leaders. International security. It is an idea that involves radical changes in the way we conceptualise and organise for nation security.

2.6.9 National and International Security

Some observers believe that the way to achieve greater security is to move toward attitudes and organisations that parallel domestic political systems. Two aspects of such systems deserve note here. One is the way they define security responsibility, and how that differs from the way current national security is defined. The other is how we organise for national security domestically and internationally.

- Security – The conduct of domestic security is through collective security techniques. Essentially, this means, we have a collective responsibility for the state security. Those who violate the law are not seen as just attacking their immediate victims, they are considered to be attacking the fabric of society. That is why governments, not individuals, prosecute criminal violations. Our definition of security on the international stage differs greatly. Remarking on the fighting in the Balkans in late 1992, the US Secretary of State rejected intervention on the grounds that, "Until the Bosnians, Serbs and Croats, decide to stop killing each other, there is nothing the outside world can do" (New York Times, October 1, 1992 p. A3; The speaker was Lawrence S. Eagleburger).

Think about how you would have reacted if the U.S. President had said something like that about the Los Angeles riots that occurred after four policemen were acquitted on charges of beating suspect Rodney Kniz. Imagine Bush saying, "Until the whites, Blacks, Latins, and Asians stop killing each other, there is nothing we can do". The point is that responsibility for security is a matter of definition, not nature, and thus can change. Global security standards are, however, moving slowly closer towards domestic standards. President Clinton

made that clear when, in November 1995, he asked the American public to support his plan to send U.S. troops to Bosnia. "As the cold war gives way to the global village". Clinton told his viewers, American must realise that "problems that start beyond our borders can quickly become problems within them". He also raised parallels between events in Nazi Germany and the Balkans by describing images of "skeletal prisoners caged behind barbed-wire fences, women and girls raped as a tool of war, (and) defenceless men and boys shot down in the mass graves". Clinton acknowledged that, "we cannot stop all war for all time. But he said, we can stop some wars. We cannot save all women and children. But we can save many of them. We cannot do everything. But we must do what we can do." Soon 20,000 US troops were on the way to Bosnia to join some 40,000 other soldiers from more than 25 countries in a demonstration that collective security has become part of international, as well as of domestic, security. "It is the right thing to do." The president assured Americans (New York Times, November 28, 1995 P. A14, as in (*International politics on the world stage; Brief Edition, John, T. Rouvle and Mark A. Boyer, (1996:320)}* A poll taken immediately

after the President's address showed that a plurality of Americans (46 percent agreed, with 40 percent disagreeing and 14percent undecided) - Organising Security – On the world scene, security is organised through national alliance self-defense. Countries are primarily responsible for defending themselves in a system that is organised on the basis of state sovereignty. This makes for a horizontal world power structure, that is, one in which there is no authority to which states must answer. Organising for international security would emphasize international organisations and de-emphasize national defense forces. For example, the UN operates in part on the theory of collective security, and in Korea, in the 1950s, and in the Persian Gulf in the 1990s, it took actions that were at least partly connected to this theory. The UN also includes a growing – but still limited – peacekeeping role, which has been discussed earlier. This, in world affairs, the national state is the primary security organisation; collective peace forces play only a monitor role. Domestically, we still have the right to defend ourselves against immediate threats, but most security is provided by collective forces such as the police. Again, the point is that how you construct a security organisation is a matter of choice, not nature, and thus can change.

2.6.10   Disarmament.

The most sweeping approach to arms control is to disarm. The principal argument in favour of disarmament is, as noted, the idea that, without weapons, people will not fight. This rests in part on sheer inability. General and Complete Disarmament (GCD) might be accomplished either through unilateral disarmament or through multilateral negotiated disarmament.

In the case of unilateral disarmament, a country would dismantle its arms. Its safety, in theory, would be secured by its non-threatening posture, which would prevent aggression, and its example would lead other countries to disarm also. Unilateral disarmament draws heavily on the idea of pacifism, or a moral resolute refusal to fight. The unilateral approach also relies on the belief that, it is arms that cause tension rather than vice versa.

Negotiated disarmament between two or more countries is a more limited approach. Advocates of this oath share the unilateralists' convictions about the danger of war. They are less likely to be true pacifists, however, and they believe one-sided disarmament would expose the peace pioneer to unacceptable risk.

The GCD approach has few strong advocates among today's political leaders. even those who do subscribed to the ideal also search for intermediate arms limitation steps. Still, the quest goes on. The UN Disarmament Committee has called for GCD, and the 'ideal" is often a valuable standard by which to judge the merits of the "real".

2.6.11   Pacifism

The second war avoidance approach, pacifism relies on individuals. As such, it very much fits in with the idea that people count and that you can affect world politics if you try. In like other approaches to security, pacifism is a bottom-up approach that focuses on what people do rather than a top-down approach that stresses government action.

Pacifism begins with the belief that is wrong to kill. Leo Tolstoy, the Russian novelist and pacifist, told the Swedish Peace Conference in 1909 that, "The truth is so simple, so clear, so evident that its only necessary to speak it out completely for its full significance to be irresistible". That, truth Tolstoy went on, "lies in what was said thousands of years ago in four words: "Thou shall not kill".

Beyond this starting point, pacifists have varying, sometimes divergent, approaches (Cromartie, 1991) One review of pacifism identifies three types of pacifists; Universal pacifists, who oppose all violence; private pacifists, who oppose personal violence but who would support as a last resort the use of police or military force to counter criminals or aggressors, and anti-war pacifists, who oppose political violence but would use violence as a last resort for personal self-defence.

The obvious argument against pacifism is that, it is likely to get one killed or conquered. Those who support pacifism make several counter-contentions. One is that, there is a history of pacifism being effective. Francis Beer (1990:16) points out that "non-violence is as old as the history of religious leaders and movements. Traditions embodied by Buddha and Christ have inspired (such) successful modern political movements and leaders; according to Beer, as "The Indian struggle for Independence under the leadership of (Mohandas. K) Gandhi (in India) and the struggle of the American blacks for greater equality under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr".

Pacifists, especially antiwar pacifists, would also make a moral case against the massive, collective violence that is war. They would also

make a moral case against the loss. This view, pacifists would argue, has become infinitely more compelling in the nuclear age. Consider the description of Nagasiki filed by the first reporter who flew over the city after a U.S bomber dropped an atomic bomb, killing at least 60,000 people. "Burned blasted, and scarred", the reporter wrote, "Nagasaki looked like a city of death". It was a scene, he continued of "destruction of a sort never before imagined by a man and therefore is almost indescribable. The area where the bomb hit is absolutely flat and only the markings of the building foundations provide a clue as to what may have been in the area before the energy of the universe was turned loose" (Lackey, 1989:112). Pacifists contend that, even by the standards of just war conduct (jus in bello) adopted by non pacifists, any nuclear attack would be unconscionable.

A final point about pacifism is that it is not an irrelevant exercise in idealist philosophy (Ackerman & Kruegler, 1993). There are some countries, such as Japan, where at least limited pacifism represents a reasonably strong political force (Motofumi, 1991).

Moreover, in a changing world, public opinion, economic measures, and other non violent instruments may create what one analyst calls, "Civilian-based defense" (Sharp, 1990). Indeed, there are efforts such

as the program on Non violent Sanctions in conflict and defense at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs that are working to show that "tolerated as necessary to fill out the full spectrum of alternatives, with nonviolent means given serious considerations only for use in non-critical situation", (Bond, 1992:2). Instead, advocates of this approach believe that the success of Gandhi, King, and others demonstrate that proactive techniques, including non violent protect and persuasion, non-cooperation, and nonviolent intervention (Such as sit-ins), can be successful.

It is true that pacifists are unlikely to be able to reverse world conflict by themselves. They are a tiny minority everywhere. Instead, pacifism may be part of a series of actions that Beer (1990:18) calls "peace creation". This, he writes, "implies demilitarization at International, domestic, and individual levels". Beer's observation addresses the theory discussed earlier that personal, national, and international violence are interconnected. His point is that, to put an end to violence at any level, we must put an end to violence at all levels. Beer goes on to point out that his approach does not exclude other methods of reducing the frequency and impact of violence. He writes that "the short term and the long-term, the practical and the visionary are not

always at odds, "Indeed, Beer concludes that, "short-term practical considerations are necessary for us to navigate the shoals and narrows of our present-day world; but a longer-range vision proves a more stable direction for policy". It is an attempt worth contemplating (As in John. T. Rourke & Mark .A. Boyer – International politics on the world stage (Brief Edition) pp. 323-325).

2.7 PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: INTERNAL SECURITY THREATS TO THE NATION.

Internal threats to a nation are a product of the dynamics nature of the society. Hence most of the internal treats to Nigeria are real. Some of them are also very potent, and it is worth nothing here that, the potent factors tend to threaten the very corporate existence of Nigeria as a nation. These can be categorised as political, economic and social threats.

2.7.1 Political Unrest

Political unrest has been the bane of the nation's problem since independence. The military for a very long time did not allow democracy to mature through its frequent incursion into the political life of the country. Thus, retarded co-ordinated development and social integration of the polity. Furthermore, at various times the military incursion into Nigeria's politics shook the very foundation of the unity of the nation by the actions and pronouncements of the people of the different ethnic groups in the country. As a matter of fact, the Nigerian military, which is supposed to ensure stability, has also been an agent of destabilization and therefore a national threat.

Political unrest has been a recurring feature of the military domination of Nigerian political arena for the greater part of the country's self-rule. Political unrest pose threat to the achievement of the ideals of nationhood in Nigeria as policies, interests and objectives changed with each new military takeover. Hence each military regime justified itself by condemning the previous one thus, destroying any previous political foundation. Political unrest has equally been a threat to internal security of the nation. This is so because, it could be exploited internally by political manipulators, subversionists, ethnic fanatics, saboteurs etc. Political threat is generated by bitter and vicious inter-

play by inter-party rivalries, in an attempt to neutralize an opposing political interest. Some political leaders and politicians do not hesitate to do what could have destabilizing effect of the polity. Insatiable lust for political opponent merely for the purpose of satisfying the insatiable ego, is a threat to the interest and Nigeria's national objectives.

In cases where the military handed power to civilians, it was same vicious group of politicians who instigated and sponsored military coup de'tat that overthrow the democratically elected civilian government. The motive was just to spite their political opponents. Julian Roebuck and Stanley Webber in their analysis of political unrest termed military intervention in politics, as "political crime". They were of the opinion that, the typology of political crime is linked to the political and economic structure of the society. They further stated that, offenders are members of groups or organisations that constantly attempt to improve or to maintain their relative positions with regards to other groups or organisations".

Often in the Nigerian context those most guilty of political crime could be regarded as belonging to the traditional ruling class who block the path to modernization and liberal exchange of ideas. They

remain hostile to reforms and irresponsive and self-conceited toward genuine welfare. Political unrest makes it much easier for outside interference with disastrous consequences.

Bulama in his analysis of the causes of political unrest in Nigeria has noted that, the wholesale importation of an alien political structure that is not relevant and appropriate to Nigeria's cultural environment is responsible for the failure of Nigeria's socio-political transformation efforts. The alien political structures do not allow for the participation of the majority of the people in the governance of the state. Thus, authoritarianism, repression and alienation replace the democratic virtues of consensus, dialogue, respect or plurality of ideas and interests, which have been destroyed. Under such a political set up, decisions taken do not usually reflect the wishes and aspirations of the majority of Nigerians.

Consequently, the level of political participation of Nigerians during the previous dictatorial military regime was very low. Legitimacy of government was achieved through the use of coercive instruments of the state. National interest of the country was replaced by the selfish interest of a tiny ruling chique who controlled the social, political, economic and the coercive instruments such as the police and the

army which is usually at variance with the interest of the majority of the citizens.

Maximal states according to Bulama, are usually unable to meet the political, economic and social aspirations of their citizens. The inability of successive governments in Nigeria to rule the country based on the principles of justice and equity in the sharing of the nations resources, coupled with suppression and use of brutal force to silence dissension has often led to disturbances in Nigeria.

Professor Claude Eke, in his contribution to political unrest in Nigeria has identified the overvaluation of political power and the intense power struggle in Nigeria as factors responsible for the country's failure at democratisation. Mr. Eke further stressed that, the struggle for political power in Nigeria has become very intensive and competitive because, possession of political power in Nigeria means possession of everything including government and its coercive institutions. He continued by stating that, "political power is so important that capturing it means direct control to wealth including other people's properties and liberties. And those who lost power or fail in the power struggle are in grave danger of losing everything including their lives, properties and personal safety". The situation,

Professor Eke concluded, "has resulted in the militarization of the political process, the consequences of which is political unrest which no doubt constitutes one of the major threats to Nigeria's national security at the moment." Reprisal, killing, arson, wanton destruction during any political demonstration has always been very devastating and colossal due to unabeted availability of small arms which are been used to perpetrate these dastardly acts.

Thus, fears of election in Nigeria have always been dreadful because of the unavoidable blood bath that follows after most elections. Sometimes, political thugs and hoodlums are used to cause confusion on election days and most politicians and innocent Nigerians have at one time or the other, fallen victims in the hands of political thugs or hoodlums in Nigeria.

2.7.2 **Marginalization by Major Ethnic Groups.**

In the power tussle to control the central government, the power calculus of the Nigerian polity, the fallout effect has been the increasing crises of marginalization and fear of domination which is common but not limited to the minority groups.

During the struggle to takeover the mantle of political power from the colonial masters in the immediate post independence years, the three major regional groupings, Northern, Western, Eastern and later Mid-Western Regions fouht against one another. And complaints and accusations of marginalization and fear of domination became common and since then has been a source of political conflicts in the Nation.

The shrew political struggle for political power and poison for political manipulation by the three major ethnic groups, which dominated the former three regions, translated into greater privilege positions for the politicians of the major ethnic groups.

The Scenario sparked off agitation of increased political leverage by the minority ethnic groups. Thus complaints of marginalization and fear of domination has remained a threat to the corporate existence of Nigeria. The reaction any posture of the seniority groups in Nigeria that constitute a major national security threat comes in different forms. Hence it is not always ethno-geographically based. For example, in a Newspaper headline story titled, "Nigeria Republic". Aliyu Adamu, a one time member of Niger State House of Assembly expressed fear over Nigerian Government non-provision of social

amenities and the threat of sessession by the people of Nigerian border towns of Beneba, Kabba and Kibra in Niger State to identify with neighbouring Benin Republic.

2.7.3 Economic Threat

Economic threat to the internal security of Nigeria refers to anything or person that constitute a source of danger to Nigeria's economic development and hamper the country from solving some of the economic problems. Consequently, the standard of living of Nigerians and their confidence in the government to promote economic and social development through the provision of infrastructure and welfare or social service will diminish. Economic threats manifest in various forms, these include the followings:- Economic or Resource Mismanagement, smuggling and unemployment.

2.7.4 Economic Mismanagement

Economic mismanagement refers to the wastage of a nations human and material resources. National economic and resource management leading to the attainment of national goals is the objective of Nigeria. Nigeria's resources, scarce relative to its needs, resource mismanagement has for long characterised Nigeria's existence and corruption at all levels. Hence there has been high rate of inefficiency, discriminatory economic polities and foreign domination of vital sectors of the nation's economy.

Project are embarked upon as avenues to accumulate personal wealth than for the benefit of the larger society. For example, during the second republic, the regime embarked upon irresponsible public projects, the importation of grains and the introduction of import licensing system meant to produce avenues for contract awards, kick backs and public fraud for party loyalists. This situation has led to high rate of unemployment. People became disillusioned and infact alienated. Consequently, there was a general feeling of resentment towards issues that required national resources to be managed. The economy is therefore not managed efficiently and judiciously to avoid public uprising and violent demonstration against government policies that are capable of constituting security threat to the nation.

Agricultural production was the main source of Nigeria's foreign exchange in the mid 60s, but with the oil boom, of the 1970s, there marked a sharp decline in agricultural production and the decrease has affected the nation's quest for industrialisation due to lack of raw materials and food, all being in short supply. Food insecurity is a danger to any nation and should be seen as one of the major national security threats to Nigeria at the moment, unless something is urgently done to reverse the situation.

2.7.5   **Unemployment**

The problem of unemployment is a new phenomenon. Prior to the mid 1980s, Nigerians with good educational and or vocational skills could get good jobs without much efforts, but the opposite is now the case. The current trend of high rate of unemployment in Nigeria has been caused by several factors, some of which include; poor planning and implementation of policies by successive government which led to a retarded industrial development. A few youths that were employed were thereafter retrenched in the pretence of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the Babangida administration in the 80s in Nigeria.

The unemployed youths became disillusioned and became prey to dubious and corrupt politicians who hire most of them to serve as political thugs and paid agents for subversive economic and political activities. In the context of unemployment, these youths pose a serious threat to national security of the Nation now and even in the near future. Unemployment has also led to increase in crime waves e.g. armed robbery, highway robbery, assassinations, and other social vices in Nigeria e.g. rapes and prostitution and drunkenness etc, which promote criminal tendencies and subsequent criminal acts which constitute threats to lives and properties in Nigeria. And as long as unemployment is not addressed and proliferation of small arms continue in Nigeria unabetted, the internal security of the nation will continue to be threatened.

2.7.6 Smuggling

The illegal export and import of goods and services into Nigeria or any other country is referred to as smuggling. This is usually done with the aim of avoiding the payment of custom duties for personal benefits and in order to bring into the country contrabands, in violation of existing laws. The major items smuggled into Nigeria

include food, medicines, petroleum products, hard drugs, textiles, automobiles, chemicals and recently arms and ammunations.

While smuggling of other goods may deprive the government of Nigeria the revenue, the most serious threat to national security in the smuggling activities is the importation of expired and fake drugs, narcotic drugs and arms and ammunations.

Terrorists and other subversive elements could collaborate with unpatriotic Nigerians and use smuggled arms and ammunations to carry out their nefarious activities in Nigeria. The indiscriminate bombing of strategic places, either, Airports, Prestigious Hotels, Markets and Military installations during the Late General Sani Abacha, constituted national security threat, and the recent bomb blast in Lagos which killed hundreds of Nigerians, no doubt justifies the fact that, illegal possession of arms and careless use of arms constitutes major national security threat. This is because, when arms and ammunations are wrongly used, lives are destroyed and those that survive are under tension and insecurity.

2.7.7   Socio-Cultural Threats

The socio-cultural attributes of a people portray general acceptable moods or behaviours of that community. Thus, an ethnic group with people that practice the same religion for instance, tend to relate with one another more effectively and peacefully, in other words, the uncompromising negative attitudes of people of diverse socio-cultural backgrounds such as in Nigeria tend to exhibit abnormal or antisocial behaviour which are characterised by hatred, malice, prejudice and religious bigotry.

Socio-cultural difference amongst the different ethnic groups in the nation has been observed by many scholars as being the cause of most of the civil and political unrest, religious intolerance and ethnic crisis including communal clashes in the nation. The rampant occurrences of crisis emanating from socio-cultural differences in Nigeria constitutes national threats to the nation's security. The scope of socio-cultural threats to the nation's security could be discussed under the following parameters, viz; Religious intolerance, Ethnicity and influx of aliens and communal / Border clashes.

(i)   Religious Intolerance – Religious intolerance refers to the unwillingness by some members of a particular faith to live with and tolerate others with a different faith. Nigeria is a multi-religious

nation, and consists of mainly Christians and Muslims, with a comparatively few followers of other religious beliefs. The country has witnessed an unprecedented upsurge in the spate of religious violence in the past. This has been attributed to religious intolerance.

A very deadly form of religious rivalry is the highly military form intra-religious clashes. The case that readily comes to mind is the Maitatsine religious crusade of the early 1980s. The crusade conducted by suicide-minded religious fanatics of the Islamic faith was a form of Jihad to purify Islam. The spate of terror threat and intimidation and subsequent national destruction that ensured between the fanatics and law-abiding citizens in Kano State in 1980, Bulunkutu in Maiduguri 1981 and Yola, in Adamawa State was before then, unknown in Nigeria. Since the Maitatsine religious riots in 1980s, sectarian tension has been on the increase in the country. The series of religions conflicts that occurred between Muslims and Christians starting from 1980 to date, have caused regrettable destruction of Nigerian lives and properties. The bitter experience of terror, carriage, arson and the burning of houses and properties worth millions of Naira that occurred in places like Kaduna, Zaria,

Kafanchan, Kano, Sokoto, Yola, Bauchi, Borno and Jos are still fresh in the memories of most Nigerians.

The opposing point of view holds that, if things get to the stage where a state in Nigeria can declare a religious status as a Christian or Islamic theoretic state, then the future of Nigeria is doomed and the threat of religious violence and intolerance shall continue.

The bottom line of the argument of the causes of religious intolerance in Nigeria is that, Christianization or Islamisation of state instrument in a multi-ethnic and multi religious federation like Nigeria has become more political than constitutional, thus, the politisation of religion has spill over effects which adds flame to other areas of ethnic tension within the already turbulent polity the country now faces.

In modern state, secular norms as the framework of rules rather than divine injunctions should form the foundation of the political community. But the adoption of religious laws in some states of the federation should be seen as a threat to the legitimacy of the state it serves the interest of only those who belong to the ruling religion or rather the ruling within the religious groups.

Writing under the caption, "Secularism and Nigeria's Survival", Jibril Ibrahim argued that in multi-religious states, the adoption of any set of religious laws is always perceived as dangerous not only to the survival of adherents or other minority faith, but also to those within the same faith who might have a religious tendency different from the group in control of state power. Experience has shown that, religious fanatics and other unscrupulous wealthy and influential citizens have often resorted to fanning the amber of religious sentiments to cause disaffection among the religious groups in the country. Thus, instigating one religious group to take-up arms against another. In the long-run, many Nigerians and even innocent foreigners are killed, properties destroyed and houses, markets and places of worship burnt. Besides, the use of sophisticated dangerous small and light arms during most of the religions riots in the country are causes of major concern to the nation's internal security threat.

Commenting on the issue of religious crisis in Nigeria, Dr. Gambari, has observed that, most of the religions disturbances that Nigeria has experienced are no more than an expression of social discontent by the Nigerian masses. He stressed that, there is more of economic dimension to the religions crises which have been characterized by

looting and attacks on those who were perceived to be responsible for the general economic decline of the nation. Dr. Gambari further argued that, "there is nothing religions about looting of the proceeds from sales of alcohol in a proprietors beer parlour."

Those who uphold economic reasons as being responsible for the religions crisis in the country argued that, most of the religions crises in the country were experienced in the 80s when the realities 'of the Nigerian economy began to decline. The act however, remains that, irrespective of the true nature of the spate of provocative religious crisis in the country, religious intolerance poses a serious and unacceptable threat to Nigeria's internal security.

2.7.8   Ethnicity

Ethnicity refers to a group of people whose unity rest on linguistic, religion and or cultural ties. Similarly, tribalism refers to a tendency or behaviour of a person indicating a preference for people with identical language or care values. These terms are often used interchangeably to indicate discrimination against people of the same country on the bases of language spoken. In that regard, Nigeria is

multiethnic a nation with different cultural values. The citizens tend to display loyalty to their respective ethnic groups rather than national cohesion or interest. This scenario has grave consequences on Nigeria's national unity. For instance, the execution of the January and July 1966 coups were guided by ethnic sentiments. The death of many prominent Nigerians during the execution of the coups and the feud that followed were some of the immediate causes of the Nigerian civil war (1967 – 1970). State creation, which were meant to foster national unity. Cohesion and a sense of belonging have had limited success in that, most Nigerians now find it difficult to live in states other than theirs because of the upsurge in the spate of ethnic and religious violence in most parts of the country. The rampant cases of violence associated with ethnicity in the country is no doubt a major national security threat. Hence Nigerians are not free during religion crisis to move about in their country. This trend is dangerous for the peace and unity of the nation. The situation whereby Hausa – Fulani cannot live peacefully in the Southern or Eastern parts of the country because of tribal differences pose a great danger to the nation's internal security

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2.7.9 Communal / Border Clashes.

The inter – communal disturbances resulting from boundary adjustments have taken frightening dimensions of recent. The conflicts usually arise from vague and poorly demarcated inter or intra state boundaries, instances of inter – state boundary disputes took place between the following: -

a.   Akwa Ibom and Abia States at Obioma

b.   Cross River and Benue States at Obudu

c.   Cross River and Akwa Ibom at Itu bridge

d.   Cross River and Enugu States at Ogoja.

Intra – state disputes have also occurred in different parts of this nation. Some of them include the dispute between the Jukum and Tiv communities in Taraba State, Ijaw and Itsekiri in Delta State, and of recent, Modakeke and Ife Communal clashes in Osun State. These communal conflict pose a significant national security threat, because of the sophisticated small and light weapons used during most of the clashes, the result which is loss of lives and property. Most of these activities are carried out with ease simply because of the proliferation, distribution and indiscriminate use of arms.

2.7.10   Influx of Aliens.

The influx of aliens into Nigeria witnessed a tremendous increase in 1970s. This was due to the oil boom and healthy economic conditions which created job opportunities.

The problem of aliens was further aggravated by the porous nature of Nigeria's borders, the effect of draught and political unrest in some neighbouring countries particularly, Niger and Chad Republics. Illegal immigrants are a source of serious threat to Nigeria's internal security. The presence of immigrants has also worsen the unemployment situation of the nation, and put a strain on public utilities including welfare services. The immigrants are very easy to be manipulated by politicians and people with questionable and unpatriotic characters who may intend to carry out some nefarious activities against the nation. These aliens have always been associated with social ills like violence, armed robbery and religious riots, that have brought sorrow to most families in this nation.

2.8 PROBLEMS OF INTERNAL SECURITY INSTRUMENT

The use of a defective internal security management doctrines has no doubt played a major role in the apparent weakness in Nigeria's internal security management to promptly dictate and control or check violence that threatens the security of lives and properties in the nation. The inept, in- efficient and inability of the security agents / agencies have been attributed to some factors. Some of the problems associated with the services of Nigeria's security agents such as the army, police, customs, immigration and the state security service include: -

(i) Lack of Equipment / Poor Logistics – Lack of relevant and adequate equipment, necessary for the execution of the assigned duties of the security agents in Nigeria, is an important factor, responsible for their dismal performance. This problem has been compounded by the poor nature of infrastructural facilities in the nation, to enhance the dictation of crimes. Poor road network in the rural areas, indigenous technological base, have all contributed to impinge on the efficiency of the national security forces to faithfully protect the lives and properties of Nigerians and to ensure peace and unity in the nation.

(ii) Manpower- The problem of manpower is not in terms of number, but also in terms of skills and the right orientation. This too is a factor

militating against the effective performance of Nigeria's security agents to maintain peace, stability and unity of the nation.

(iii) Corruption- The seemingly intractable problem of corruption has also been identified as a factor responsible for the poor performance of the security agents to protect lives and property as their major assignment. Most members of the security agencies are ready to compromise their responsibility and duties in order to satisfy their selfish ends. For instance, a policeman to collect N500 and allow a truck to pass and go scot-free, ever if that truck has been loaded with arms and ammunitions, into the country, which could be used by saboteurs to perpetrate their dastardly and nefarious activities which could endanger lives and properties in the nation.

(iv) Revenue Allocation- Revenue allocation has remained a very sensitive issue that needs to be handed with outmost care. A case in point is, the intractable and dynamic nature where several commissions have been set up to devices a generally acceptable revenue allocation /sharing formulae amongst the three tiers of government, the derivation formulae too has been determined and all other issues assumed to have been put in place, but because the revenue allocation of a thing has been politicized, it poses a threat to Nigeria's internal security. Too bad! It is

the revenue derivation principle that has been responsible for the current civil unrest in the Niger Delta area of the nation. The south-south delegates who were sent to the National confab decided to back out of the confab because their demand for at worst 25% derivation was not attended to positively. This is a serious threat to national unity, peace and internal security of Nigeria.

(v) Armed Robbery.

Armed robbery has recently assumed a greater source of concern to all levels of governments in Nigeria. The menace of armed robbery and banditry has recently contributed immensely to the problem of insecurity of lives and properties in the nation. Despite the substantial budgetary allocation to security agencies and the funding of various anti-robbery Squards; their operations at federal state and local government levels, the menace of armed robbery has continued unabated and obviously constitutes a threat to the generality of the citizenry of the nation. (Who knows, the allocation made, were they really utilized for that purpose? For the Inspector General of the Nigeria Police Force to have been accused of fraudulently stealing N14billion Naira discovered in his bank accounts). Nigerians these days sleep with only are eye closed and it is no longer easy to travel between one town

to another because of fear of the attacks of armed robbers on our high ways.

(vi) High level of poverty and corruption –one of the greatest dangers to Nigeria internal security stem from the difficulty the country has in practicing capitalist economy, that is, to invest the wealth they might have obtained as per their genuine. Source of wealth from national resources, may be just to invest part in unenviable projects. All they do is to steal the money and Wisk it a way to foreign banks. This is a serious threat to the unity, peace and security of the nation.

2.9   FORMULATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY.

To develop a viable response to a national security crisis, a basic requirement is to have a well co-ordinated and solid national security strategy. Each country must therefore formulate an enduring and flexible but workable strategy to support the nation's interest. However, it is important to understand nations pursue national security policies on the basis of their interest, values, and traditions. Therefore, to respond correctly to a crisis situation, policy makers, the masses and the leader of the nation must understand what the nations interests are, how the

crisis affects or threatens them and the degree to which they are threatened (AVU G.F. Abdul: 2005)

Once the initial assessment is done, the instrument of national power must be defined and the most effective application of these instruments determined. They can be employed in various combinations; in order to protect, defend and further the nations interest. Combinations are selected on the basis of several factors, such as nature of crisis, and the resources available. After a combination is selected, specific actions must be decided upon and incorporated into the national security strategy. National security strategy is about matching of ends and means, and the appropriate balancing of costs and risks. The theory of strategy is quite simple but it often appears unduly complex as a result of confusion over terminology and definitions and the underlying assumptions and premises. Consequently, strategy and democracy have never enjoyed an easy relationship. This aspect of the study is designed to provide basic understanding of the process of formulating a national security strategy even in the face of ardent proliferation of small arms, which are causing security treat to the nation. The study of strategy is expected to also include contemplation of the present. Any experience in the filed of human relationships applies to the past, but strategy must

make a comprehensive effort to predict the future. There are four steps in this process: understanding national interests, assessing the intensity of national interest, identifying the instruments of national power and executing a national strategy. These must be analysed and considered into the design of national security strategy.

- Strategy is the art and science of developing and using political, economic, informational and military forces as necessary during peace and war, (AVM. G.F Abdul. 2005) to afford the maximum support to policies. It is derived from accumulation of knowledge that is gained primarily from the study and analysis of experience. It is of the mind, a network of faith and knowledge, reinforced by experience, which states the pattern for the utilization of men, equipment and tactics. It is fundamental to sound judgement. Strategy, at its simplest level, is all about getting what you want and keeping what you have. Strategy is one of the most important tools of politics, and even in peacetime political calculations, must to a great extent, be based on strategy, what Carl Von Clausewitz, one of the greatest philosophers of war said of friction in war applies to strategy. "It is very simple, but the simplest thing is

difficult, the difficulties accumulate and end by producing a kind of friction that is inconceivable, unless one has experienced war."

2.9.1 **Propositions About Strategy and National Interest.**

There is a perfect correlation between strategy and national interests. Hence, the military and political masters need to recognize that strategy and national interest are often intertwined. National interest is therefore defined as "the country's perceived needs and aspirations in relation to other sovereign states constituting the external environment." Loosely interpreted, they cover those requirements essential to the survival and well-being of a nation; those set of values, which are influenced by a variety of factors, referred to as determinants. They are the desires of any state, such as survival, economic well-being and enduring national values. Other considerations may include;

- National interest can be economically driven that is, emphasis is on trade

- National interest is also the drive for power and survival - emphasis is on military preparedness and resource accumulation

- National interests are never completely selfish or selfless – one most determine degree of realism /idealism to understand national interest.

- The national elements of power are the resources used to promote or advance national interests.

2.9.2 The Basic National Interest of Nigeria.

The Nigeria's national interest can be placed into four broad categories:

- The defence of the country – this refers to the protection of territory, citizens and institutions from foreign threats. It may involve threats which come from conventional and nuclear weapons biological or chemical agents. It remains a primary interest because, of its critical link with survival. If your surrounding neighbour – hood is plagued by crime and violence, then it becomes safer to freedom to remain inside. The feeling that you have the freedom to go for a walk or do outside activities safely is lost.

- Economic Prosperity – This is based on promotion of domestic economy, of Nigeria's trade and investment and protection of Nigerian economic and financial interest abroad. It aims not

only to further the standards of living of Nigerians but also to protect the population from poverty. Ignoring national economic interests ultimately has effects on families and individuals.

- Favourable world order – is contingent on the development of a peaceful international environment – one in which international disputes are resolved by diplomacy and not by war or threats of war. It is desirable as it ensures a sense of co-operation between countries, fosters trade, travels and communications. Co-operation is crucial in reducing political tensions, facilitating commerce and leading to a general feeling of safety in the world environment.

- The promotion of values – refers to the furthering of a set of ideals, within the international community, that Nigeria holds to be universally valid. It includes the spread of democracy and the advancement of human rights.

2.9.3   National Interests.

The process of defining national interests begins with grand visions, such as whether, and how much, a nation should involve itself in

world affairs, or stay out of it for its own goal. (1bid). Condoleezza Rice (U.S. secretary of state and former U.S. National Security Adviser to President Bush), wrote in his book, "Promoting the National Interests," "if priorities and intent are not clear, they cannot be criticised. But there is a high price to pay for this approach." National interests are the foundations of foreign policy and each nation has its own interests. Depending to a large extent, on such primary orientations as realism or idealism, the definition of national interests can vary widely. Some may claim that geography "our detached and distant situations" plays the most important role in determining national interests. Others believe that a nation must do what its values and ideals tell it to do; follow its "moral duties." Evaluating the intensity of national interests is critical to the development of effective strategy. Strategy; in terms of resources utilized and actions taken should reflect the intensity of our interests. Individual world situations are not limited to one level of intensity: they can have varying effects on multiple national interests.

There are four levels of intensity, namely, *Survival Interests* – In this case, the survival of the nation is absolutely at stake; *Vital Interests* – Here, the survival of the country is not an issue. But there are issues at

stake which are so critical to the national well-being that the country is willing to go to war to defend them. For example, vacating the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was a vital interest for the US as was the prevention of further ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. This was why the United States went to war over both issues and most U.S leaders, including the congress, decided to go along. *Major Interests* – in this case, the president and the nation's interests are involved in a major way, but not enough to warrant going to war. The country is willing to use diplomacy, may be even economic boycotts or sanctions, but not military force. In West Africa for instance, the sanctions placed on the Republic of Togo by ECOWAS shortly after the demise of President Eyadema readily comes to mind. *Peripheral Interests* – the country perceives no serious effect on its well-being as a whole, though the situation may be dangerous for the country's citizens and business abroad (Ibid).

2.9.4 Strategy and Instruments of National Power

It is agreed that, power consists of various instruments employed to achieve one's purposes, aims and goals; it is often exercised through influence or intimidation. National power is simply what the nation

uses to achieve its purposes and goals in the international arena. They include amongst others.

(i)   Political – This involves diplomacy, agreements (Bilateral and Multilateral), the number of one's allies, temporary coalitions and long term alliances or coalitions, (NATO, EU, AU, ECOWAS, League of Nations and Organisations for Security and Cooperation, etc)

(ii)   Information – This encompasses information technology, public affairs, intelligence collection and psychological warfare. Some of it involves the larger battle for world public opinion, the manipulation of the national and international media and the ability to withhold damaging and unfavourable information, including intelligence information. This can also encompass covert action, usually undertaken by intelligence agencies to influence opinion or events. The media are a powerful force in shaping the public agenda, and journalists are influential political actors. The media act as great filtering and leveling instruments, strategic information planning, credible messages, public opinion surveys and media analyses, interagency co-ordination are critical elements in effective national security

communications. The real-time reporting will fundamentally alter the strategic decision-making cycles. Because information technology are neutral tools that can be used for helpful and harmful purposes, it is important to understand how information strategies can be used to influence outcomes. An understanding of news cycles, media relations, and how information networks function is essential.

(iii) Economic – This is based on trade, economic aid, status, sanctions (extending or withholding it), and embargoes. It includes the national economy, industrial base, national resources and standard of living (Ibid)

(iv) Military – It is manifested in many ways, nearly all of which stop short of actual use. This is because, when a nation must resort to the use of military force, it is an admission that other instruments of power (information, political, economic) have not been effective, although they may continue to be employed. Instruments of military power include physical presence (e.g. moving military assets towards a trouble spot), establishment of bases abroad, military exercise, threats, military assistance and war.

(v)   Will – This is the most difficult to measure or quantify and often overlooked, yet it remains a critical instrument in determining the level of national power. A will can be defined as the strength of a nation, in terms of its resolve, to see difficult situations through to a favourable conclusion. It is the ability of the nation's leaders to make hard choices, often ones that may be politically unpopular and still command a loyal following. Leaders who have demonstrated this ability in the past include Churchhill, Roosevett and Abraham Lincoln. Will also involves ability of a nation's leader to rally the population behind him. Political Will serves as a multiplier of political power. The five instruments may be expressed as an equation:

NP = [(P) + (I) + (E) + (M)] x W

or

NP = W [P + I + E + M]

Where NP stands for National Power

P for Political

I for Information

E for Economic

M for Military

W for Political will (the multiplier).

It is imperative to recognise that the instruments of national power are not uniformly applied in each situation. In the pursuit of most national interests, Perhaps, only two or three of these instruments of national power will be employed, with the emphasis placed on the one expected to produce the desired result. Although, virtually all countries have political, information, economic and military instruments at their disposal, the ones most frequently or heavily employed tend to reflect the country's strengths. For example, countries endowed with natural resources, such as oil, but which are not as military or technologically developed are more likely to use political and economic tools to achieve their ends. This occurred during the 1973 oil crisis, when oil-producing countries in OPEC (a political instrument) imposed an embargo (an economic instrument) to force more developed countries to bargain (Ibid).

2.10   COMBATING THE PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS

One of the dominant features of the global community in the 1990s has been the violent breakdown of civil society in dozens of countries throughout the world. From the socialist states of the former Soviet bloc to Africa and Asia, we have witnessed the outbreak of ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic and other forms of communal strife and the melting away of social norms and government structures that would otherwise contain the violence. Adding to the disorder, in many instances, has been a significant upsurge in armed banditry and criminal violence.

The importance of this "failed state syndrome" during this decade can hardly be overstated. The very nature of conflict has been transformed—from traditional combat between nation-states to inter-communal conflict within states. Such strife typically involves a wide variety of actors, including governments, rebel movements, armed political militias, ethnic and religious groups, tribes and clans, expatriate and Diaspora groups, criminal gangs and mercenaries. Common distinguishing characteristics of this type of intra-state conflict include multiple warring parties, blurred lines of conflict, greater involvement of civilians, and the fact that the conflict itself is not fought on traditional battlegrounds but in local communities;

indeed, within society itself. Also characteristic of these conflicts is the presence among the warring parties of irregular and paramilitary forces with little or no formal military training and few compunctions about violating the rules of war. All too often, it is children and teenagers who are recruited or forced into these organizations and then made to kill, loot and rampage.

Another defining characteristic of such conflict is the fact that widespread death and suffering result not from the major conventional weapons traditionally associated with war—tanks, aircraft and warships, for example—but from small arms and light weapons. The global proliferation of assault rifles, machine guns, mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and other "man-portable" weapons has increased both the frequency and intensity of modern conflict and greatly complicated the task of restoring peace. Such weapons are readily obtainable on international markets, both legal and illicit, and are easily mastered by untrained and unprofessional soldiers, even children. Of the 49 major conflicts that have broken out since 1990, light weapons were the only arms used in 46; only one conflict (the 1991 Gulf War) was dominated by heavy weapons.

Since 1990, these conflicts have resulted in the deaths of more than 4 million people and have produced 20 million refugees and 24 million displaced persons. The resources of the international community are being overwhelmed by bitter conflicts, large-scale refugee movements and even genocide. In response to these disasters, the international community has spent tens of billions of dollars on emergency relief, refugee care and resettlement, peacekeeping, and direct military intervention. For the United Nations alone, the annual cost of humanitarian assistance and relief for war victims has increased ten-fold, from about $300 million a year in the 1980s to $3 billion a year in the mid-1990s.

In recent years, attention has come to focus on the ways in which the increased availability of low-cost small arms and light weapons contributes to the likelihood, intensity and duration of armed conflict. Although these conflicts often possess deep and complex roots, it is evident that the widespread availability of modern light weapons has emboldened belligerents to pursue their objectives on the battlefield, rather than at the bargaining table.

An analysis of contemporary warfare also reveals that such conflict overwhelmingly takes place in the world's poorest countries. In the 1990s, 30 of the 60 least-developed countries in the world have experienced conflict directly, while another 12 have had to support large refugee populations from neighboring countries in conflict. This correlation between conflict and poverty helps explain why these conflicts are generally fought with relatively inexpensive small arms and light weapons. It also explains why the victims of these conflicts are so dependent on assistance from the international community.

2.10.1 ADVANTAGES OF LIGHT WEAPONS

In recent conflicts, more people have been killed by small arms and light weapons than by major weapons systems. The distinguishing features of these weapons that make them so suitable to contemporary intra-state conflicts include:

Low Cost and Wide Availability. Because the production of small arms and light weapons requires little in the way of sophisticated technology, and because these weapons are manufactured for military,

police and civilian use, there are plentiful suppliers around the world. In addition, the existence of many tens of millions of such weapons—whether newly produced, given away by downsizing militaries or recycled from conflict to conflict—leads to bargain-basement prices in many areas around the world.

Lethality. The increasing sophistication and lethality of rapid-fire assault rifles, automatic pistols and submachine guns and their diffusion to non-state actors has given such groups a firepower that often matches or exceeds that of national police or constabulary forces. With such weapons capable of firing up to 300 rounds a minute, a single individual can pose a tremendous threat to society. The incorporation of new technology into shoulder-fired rockets, mortars and light anti-tank weapons has only increased the firepower that warring factions bring to bear in civil conflicts.

Simplicity and Durability. Small arms are easy to use and maintain, require little maintenance or logistical support and remain operational for many years. Such weapons require little training to use effectively, which greatly increases their use in conflicts involving untrained combatants and children.

Portability and Concealability. Small arms and light weapons can be carried by an individual soldier or light vehicle, are easily transported or smuggled to areas of conflict, and can be concealed in shipments of legitimate cargo.

Military, Police and Civilian Uses. Unlike major conventional weapons, which are most often procured solely by national military forces, small arms and light weapons cross the dividing line separating military and police forces from the civilian population. Depending on the gun control laws of a particular country, citizens are permitted to own anything from pistols and sporting guns to fully automatic rifles. In many countries, moreover, there has been a dramatic increase in the number and size of private militias and security firms which, in many cases, are equipped with military-type weapons.

All of these characteristics of light weapons have made them particularly attractive to the sort of paramilitary and irregular forces that have played such a prominent role in recent conflicts. These forces have limited financial and technical means, lack professional military training, and often must operate in remote and inaccessible

areas—all conditions that favor the use of small arms and light weapons. At the same time, many states have increased their purchases of these weapons for use in counterinsurgency campaigns against ethnic and political groups and to suppress domestic opposition movements.

2.10.2 A GLOBAL DIFFUSION OF SMALL ARMS

For many years, the global trade in major conventional weapons has been well documented. By comparison, the global trade in small arms and light weapons has proved much more difficult to track. Few national governments publish statistics on the sale or transfer of light weapons or release information about the sales activities of private companies. Moreover, much of the trade—perhaps 25 percent—is carried on through illicit and black-market channels of one sort or another.

In the absence of uniform statistics on the trade in light weapons, researchers must rely on anecdotal information and what little fragmentary data is available from government and trade sources. Fairly reliable estimates of the global trade in such weapons range

from $5 billion to $7 billion a year, with some estimates running as high as $10 billion a year. And while official statistics indicate that the trade in major weapons systems has fallen sharply with the end of the Cold War, many analysts believe that global transfers of light weapons have increased during this period.

The global spread of small arms and light weapons has been facilitated by the emergence in many states, including a dozen or more developing countries, of a domestic capacity for the manufacture of such weapons. Whereas the fabrication of major weapons systems is highly concentrated, with only a dozen or so states capable of producing modern tanks, planes and warships, some 50 nations now manufacture light weapons and/or ammunition of various types. The production of modern assault rifles, for example, occurs in many of the industrialized nations as well as in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Mexico, North Korea, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan and Turkey. Many of these countries produce arms for export as well as domestic use, greatly adding to the number of sources from which a potential belligerent can obtain weapons of war.

The large number of production sites contributes not only to the expansion of national arsenals, but to the spread of arms within societies via theft, bribery and corruption. The multiplicity of trade channels leads to the diffusion of light weapons within societies—extending not only to governments and state-owned entities but also to private armies and militias, insurgent groups, criminal organizations and other non-state actors. Accordingly, any analysis of the trade in light weapons must take into account both the sharp increase in the number of producers and suppliers and how their weapons are being transferred to an ever-expanding array of states and non-state actors in every region of the world.

The following list of legal, illegal and covert methods by which small arms and light weapons are sold, transferred and exchanged underscores the complexity of the problem:

- Grants or gifts by governments to allied governments abroad;

- Sales by governments to client governments abroad;

- Commercial sales by private firms to governments and private dealers in other countries;

- Technology transfers associated with domestic arms production in the developing nations;

- Covert transfers by governments to friendly insurgent and separatist groups in other countries;

- Gifts by governments to armed militias and paramilitary organizations linked to the ruling party or the dominant ethnic group;

- Black-market sales to the governments of "pariah" countries and to insurgent and separatist forces;

- Theft of government and privately owned arms by insurgent, criminal and separatist forces; and

- Exchanges between insurgent and criminal organizations, whether for profit or in pursuit of common political objectives.

  - Although it is impossible to discuss each of these methods in detail, it is useful to look briefly at the major channels.

Legal Channels. Currently, there are over 300 manufacturers of light weapons and related equipment in 50 countries around the world, a 25 percent increase in the last decade alone. Until the end of World War II, the major producers of these weapons were the industrialized nations. In recent decades, however, these established producers have been joined by China, Israel, South Africa and many developing countries. Estimates of some common models produced by these countries in the past few decades show the enormity of the problem: 5 million to 7 million Belgian FAL assault rifles produced in 15 countries; 35 million to 50 million Soviet/Russian AK assault rifles manufactured by Soviet/Russian factories and licensees; 7 million German Heckler & Koch G3 assault rifles made in 18 countries; 8 million U.S. M-16 rifles produced in seven countries; and 6 million Chinese-made AK-type assault rifles.

These numbers, as alarming as they are, do not include the millions of surplus arms that have been sold or given away as the world's major military powers have reduced their forces and/or found themselves with excess production capacity following the end of the Cold War. Because small arms and light weapons have few moving parts and are extremely durable, even weapons that are 10- to 20-years old are often

fully operational and as effective as newly produced weapons. Accordingly, countries such as the United States, Russia and Germany (especially with the dismantling of the East German army) have been able to sell or transfer millions of light weapons to their allies and clients abroad.

Covert and 'Gray-Market' Channels. In addition to legal sales and military assistance programs, small arms and light weapons are disseminated through covert and "gray-market" channels (that is, channels that operate with government support even though in violation of official government policy), most often by government intelligence agencies or private companies linked to such agencies. During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the CIA helped to supply some 3 million AK-47 assault rifles (mainly Chinese and Egyptian models) to rebel *mujahideen*; thousands of these weapons have since turned up in fighting in Kashmir and elsewhere in South Asia, and as far away as Southeast Asia and the Middle East. In addition, the United States and the Soviet Union supplied arms to rebel groups in Central America and sent massive amounts of weapons to various factions in Angola and Mozambique.

Since the end of the Cold War, Washington and Moscow have discontinued many of these activities. But it is widely believed that military commanders and managers of military factories in Russia and some of the other newly independent states of the former Soviet Union have engaged in large-scale covert sales of weapons to clients in neighboring states and beyond. Government officials in other states have also been accused of smuggling arms to allied groups in other countries, whether for profit or to advance particular political or religious objectives. Officials in Zaire, for instance, reportedly bought large quantities of weapons on the international market and sold them to UNITA forces in Angola for profits running into the hundreds of millions of dollars—most of which is believed to have wound up in the overseas bank accounts of former President Mobutu Seso Seko and his associates.

Another form of gray-market transfers entails the delivery of weapons from government stockpiles to political entities and ethnic militias associated with the ruling clan or party. Prior to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, for example, the Hutu-dominated government distributed small arms and machetes to government-linked militias. Once the killing began, the Rwandan military sought to crush any organized

Tutsi resistance while the militias slaughtered unarmed Tutsis and moderate Hutus. A similar pattern was evident in Haiti in the early 1990s, when the ruling military junta organized and armed the Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti (FRAPH) to suppress popular support for ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Illicit and Black-Market Channels. The third major category of light weapons transfers includes illegal sales through black-market channels, the supply of arms in defiance of international embargoes and other legal sanctions, and the theft of arms from government stocks or private citizens. In recent years, there has been a striking growth in the operations of black-market dealers to satisfy the needs of non-state actors in ethnic and internal conflicts. Because such actors are normally barred from purchases on the legal munitions market, they must acquire their weaponry from illicit sources. The growing number of UN arms embargoes has also produced an increased demand for black-market arms. Although it is impossible to estimate the value or scale of all such transactions, some estimates place 1993 black market sales to the belligerents in Bosnia alone at $2 billion or more.

The black-market trade has been facilitated by the existence of vast stockpiles of surplus arms in the states of the former Soviet bloc—arms which in many cases are guarded by near-destitute soldiers and officers who are all too eager to conspire in their theft by black-market dealers or to enter the illicit trade themselves. Moreover, there are strong linkages between the illegal narcotics trade and black-market arms trafficking. These underground networks have developed sophisticated methods for the procurement, transportation and sale of small arms and light weapons, at times with the connivance of governments or corrupt public officials.

Finally, theft of weapons from military and police warehouses is a major problem in countries afflicted by civil war or insurgent violence. As civil strife spread across Albania in the spring of 1997, thousands of weapons were looted from military depots by insurgents, criminals and civilians. These weapons not only increased the levels of armed violence in Albania, but reportedly were also being smuggled across the border into the Serbian province of Kosovo, where 2 million ethnic Albanians pose an irredentist challenge to Serbian authority. In South Africa and Colombia, stolen weapons

contribute to a culture of violence and criminality that undermines the stability of the state and the cohesion of society.

2.10.3   The Need For Policy Initiatives

Clearly, the unchecked flow of small arms and light weapons to areas of conflict represents a significant threat to world peace and security. While it cannot be said that such weapons are a *primary* cause of conflict, their worldwide availability, low cost and ease of operation make it relatively easy for potential belligerents of all kinds to initiate and sustain deadly conflict. Accordingly, policy-makers have begun to highlight the need for new international controls in this area. In a January 1998 message to the UN Conference on Disarmament, Secretary-General Kofi Annan said, "With regard to conventional weapons, there is a growing awareness among member-states of the urgent need to adopt measures to reduce the transfer of small arms and light weapons. It is now incumbent on all of us to translate this shared awareness into decisive action."

Interest in the trade in light weapons has also been spurred by a growing number of national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), many of which played a key role in the

international campaign to ban landmines. Along with UN officials and leaders of interested governments, these groups have led the search for new policy prescriptions.

2.10.4   International Efforts

In line with the increased attention being focused by the international community on the dangers posed by small arms and light weapons, the United Nations has been engaged in a wide variety of activities to both publicize the problem and initiate steps toward policy controls. The two major efforts undertaken so far by the United Nations are the study conducted by the Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms in 1996 and 1997, which analyzed the types of weapons used in contemporary conflicts and the nature and causes of their excessive accumulation, and the parallel study of member-states' firearm regulations conducted by the UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in the same two-year period.

Operationally, the United Nations has sought to monitor the effectiveness of various international embargoes on the transfer of weaponry into areas of conflict. In 1996, a UN International Commission of Inquiry on Rwanda investigated the implementation of

the UN arms embargo on Rwanda, paying particular attention to specific allegations of embargo violations. In their report, members of the commission noted that "[we] could not fail to note the absence of an effective, proactive mechanism to monitor or implement the arms embargo the Security Council had imposed on Rwanda." Elsewhere in Africa, the United Nations has supported Mali's path-breaking efforts to collect and destroy firearms internally and to promote a regional moratorium on the trade in small arms and light weapons.

Other international organizations are also becoming involved in the light weapons issue, particularly as it relates to issues of economic and human development. The World Bank is devoting resources to issues of post-conflict reconstruction, particularly in regard to the demobilization of combatants and their reintegration into civil society. Also, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), through its task force on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation, is putting greater emphasis on the need for "timely prevention measures" (such as limiting arms flows in areas of potential conflict) in order to forestall armed violence.

2.10.5 Regional Efforts

Particularly in Africa and the Americas, national governments and regional organizations are devising a variety of measures to better regulate the legal trade in light weapons and to combat illicit weapons trafficking. In November 1997, the Organization of American States (OAS) signed a convention on the illicit weapons trade that calls for standardization of national firearms regulations and increased law enforcement and customs cooperation to prevent illicit weapons flows within the Western Hemisphere. The OAS has also developed model regulations that focus on the linkages between the narcotics trade and weapons smuggling. Within the Caribbean sub-region, moreover, Jamaica has proposed that similar efforts be undertaken by the 14-member Caribbean Community.

Elsewhere, West African governments are working with the United Nations to assess the regional implications of light weapons diffusion and to craft a regional moratorium on the import, export and manufacture of such arms. In Central Africa, the United Nations has established a trust fund with which to remove small arms and light weapons from the region. Similarly, the Southern Africa Development

Community has recommended the establishment of a regional database on stolen firearms and the implementation of multilateral police operations to recover such weapons.

Among European countries, there are increased pressures for controlling both legal and illegal shipments of weapons, particularly to countries experiencing civil strife and human rights abuses. In June 1997, the European Union (EU) agreed to a Programme for Preventing and Combating Illicit Trafficking in Conventional Arms. In June 1998, the EU formally adopted a "code of conduct" on arms transfers with the goal of preventing such transfers to areas of conflict and internal repression. While useful steps, both measures will require political will in constraining arms transfers and dedicated resources to help affected countries monitor arms shipments and remove excess weaponry.

2.10.6   National Efforts

Because so much of the light weapons trade takes place illegally, the role of national governments in tightening and enforcing export regulations will be very important. Under pressure from Mexico, the United States has cracked down on illicit gun trafficking on the U.S.-

Mexican border and has agreed to stronger export controls in the context of the OAS convention signed last November. Similar efforts are underway in a number of other states, including Colombia, South Africa and EU states.

In many communities, municipal authorities and NGOs have begun grass roots campaigns to remove small arms from circulation at the local level, and to pressure their national governments to take the light weapons problem more seriously. In South Africa, such initiatives involve bringing various ethnic and tribal groups together to deal with the "culture of violence" plaguing that country. In countries like Britain and Australia that have experienced horrific massacres carried out by automatic weapons—notably the killings in Dunblane, Scotland, and Port Arthur, Tasmania, national groups have come together to lobby for more restrictive gun control laws. Elsewhere, NGOs and grass roots organizations have put the spotlight on their own governments' responsibility for supplying weapons to areas of conflict and persistent human rights abuse.

2.10.7 What Is To Be Done?

From all that has been learned about the international trade in small arms and light weapons, it is evident that no single set of policy initiatives will suffice to deal with this problem. Unlike the relative simplicity of the landmines issue—where the international community could focus on one particular weapon (anti-personnel landmines) and seek its elimination as a weapon of war—the effort to control the diffusion of light weapons will demand a host of initiatives, extending from the international arena to regional, national and local levels. National governments especially will have to go beyond their support for cracking down on the illegal trade in light weapons and examine their own role in the current legal weapons trade. The following initiatives represent a rough menu of the sort of steps that will be needed to subject light weapons transfers to greater international scrutiny and to reduce the flow of such munitions to areas of conflict.

Establish International Norms. The first, and perhaps most important, step is to adopt international norms against the uncontrolled and destabilizing transfer of small arms and light weapons to areas of tension and conflict. Although deference must be made to the traditional right of sovereign states to arm themselves, it must be made clear that this right has natural limits and does not

extend to the acquisition of arms for the purpose of engaging in genocide or the suppression of opposition political or religious movements. It must become axiomatic, moreover, that the right to acquire arms for self-defense entails an obligation to maintain such weapons under effective government control at all times and to preclude their diversion to illicit purposes.

While it may take some time to clarify and win support for such norms, the basic groundwork has been provided by the UN Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms. In its 1997 report, the panel concludes: "The excessive and destabilizing accumulation and transfer of small arms and light weapons is closely related to the increased incidence of internal conflicts and high levels of crime and violence," and is, therefore, "an issue of legitimate concern for the international community." With this in mind, the report calls on UN member-states to "exercise restraint" with respect to the transfer of such weapons and to take all necessary steps to prevent the diversion of government arms supplies into illegitimate hands.

Clearly, much work is needed to strengthen these norms and to promote their acceptance by governments. As in the worldwide

campaign against landmines, the media can focus public attention on the dangers posed by such weapons, especially to civilians and children. The issue is admittedly complicated by the fact that, unlike anti-personnel landmines, national governments and military and police forces can demonstrate a far greater legitimate need for light weapons for purposes of self-defense and national security. Nonetheless, the frequency with which such weapons are used against civilians and children points to a humanitarian aspect of small arms that is quite similar to that of landmines.

International norms could also be developed along the lines of the Geneva Conventions, where states-parties would be prohibited from supplying light weapons to any government, group or entity that does not have the resources to treat its wounded or those of the enemy, or has not trained its own personnel in the laws of war. In addition, public sentiment could be mobilized to support constraints on the inhumane or indiscriminate effects of light weapons, in the same way that blinding laser weapons have been banned by the recently adopted protocol to the 1980 Convention on Conventional Weapons (CCW).

Increase International Transparency. At present, efforts to monitor and control the diffusion of small arms and light weapons are hampered by a lack of detailed information on the production, sale and transfer of such munitions. Few governments provide detailed data on imports and exports of light weapons, and the UN Conventional Arms Register covers major weapons only. To ensure effective international oversight of the legal trade in light weapons, efforts at increased transparency must be made at the national, regional and international level. National governments should be required to publish detailed annual tallies of weapons imports and exports, while regional arms registers covering light weapons should also be encouraged. Finally, at the international level, the UN arms register should be gradually extended to cover all types of munitions, including small arms and light weapons.

Enhanced international transparency is also necessary to curb the illicit trade in light weapons. In the absence of an effective transparency regime, it is relatively easy for illicit dealers to conceal their operations; as information on legal trade becomes more widely available, it will become more difficult to do this. Increased

transparency will also facilitate joint efforts by law enforcement agencies to identify, track and apprehend black-market dealers.

Increase State Accountability. In the current international milieu, control over the import and export of small arms and light weapons rests with national governments; thus, efforts to better regulate the trade in such munitions will be most effective at the national level.

Increased governmental accountability is needed in two key areas: first, the establishment of effective oversight over all military-type firearms found within the national territory, so as to prevent their diversion to criminal elements and black-market dealers; and second, strict controls over the import and export of such weapons, so as to preclude their use for any purpose other than legitimate self-defense as sanctioned by the UN Charter.

Efforts to accomplish the first of these objectives should be guided by the draft proposals of the UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice. Particularly effective measures would include a licensing system for manufacturers and gun owners, more effective identification systems to track firearms, more effective record keeping of firearms, and safe-storage measures. An additional measure called

for is the promotion of amnesty and weapons turn-in programs that encourage citizens to surrender illegal, unsafe, unwanted and excess weapons. (An Australian buy-back effort, for example, took in more than 600,000 firearms, Governments around the world should be encouraged to incorporate such measures into their national laws and regulations; those states that fail to do so should be barred from receiving arms from those states that do adopt such legislation.

Similarly, efforts to better control the import and export of small arms and light weapons should be guided by the recommendations found in the report of the UN Panel of Governmental Experts on Small Arms. These include the collection and destruction of weapons once conflict has ended; the destruction of surplus weapons no longer needed by a country's military or police forces (as opposed to selling or giving them away); and the exercise of restraint in exporting military and police weapons from one country to another.

States should also be encouraged to adopt a code of conduct for arms transfers such as those being considered at the regional (EU) and international levels. Such codes would bar the sale or transfer of small arms and light weapons to any state that is ruled by a military

dictatorship, that fails to respect the human rights of its citizens, that violates UN arms embargoes, or that cannot ensure the security of the weapons already in its possession.

2.10.8 Regional And International Efforts.

While priority should be given to the development of effective controls at the national level, efforts should also be made to establish systems of oversight and control at the regional and international levels. Action at the regional level is particularly important because light weapons are often circulated by regional networks of illicit dealers, insurgents and permissive government agencies. Moreover, experience suggests that it may be easier to mobilize political support for control systems at the regional level than at the international level.

At the regional level, policy initiatives could include agreements for the strengthening of import and export regulations, tougher enforcement of laws against illicit trafficking and joint operations against black-market dealers. The OAS effort is one means of fostering increased cooperation between national customs services

and law enforcement agencies on a regional basis. Other such efforts could be greatly facilitated by countries like the United States and Japan, which could provide the requisite technologies for computer databases of suspected illicit weapons traffickers. In southern Africa, national governments and intelligence agencies are sharing information and mounting joint operations to uncover and destroy large caches of weapons left over from previous conflicts.

The Mali moratorium on the manufacture, sale and import of small arms and light weapons is another initiative that can begin to reduce the easy availability of such weapons. As one of the more successful multilateral attempts to control the flow of light weapons both prior to and following periods of civil tension, the Mali initiative might provide a model for other regions. In West Africa, for example, the experiences of Liberia and Sierra Leone demonstrated how even relatively modest numbers of light weapons inflicted horrific casualties on civilians caught in sectarian strife.

Other regional approaches include the establishment of regional codes of conduct on arms exports similar to that of the EU. Given the particularly troublesome black- market weapons activity in Eastern

Europe and the former Soviet Union, the OECD or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) should consider adopting codes of conduct. Additionally, economic incentive plans could be devised that would facilitate the closure of excess production capacity in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. For example, Western countries could buy surplus small arms and light weapons from these states and destroy them, much as the United States is purchasing excess Russian nuclear weapons material.

At the international level, emphasis should be placed on the adoption of measures needed to strengthen the implementation of weapons embargoes agreed to by the United Nations and associated bodies. While such embargoes may never be entirely leak-proof, evidence has shown that even a modest number of international observers at airfields, seaports and other points of entry for weapons to an area of conflict can make a difference. When supplemented by stricter national export controls, embargoes can make it far more difficult to deliver significant quantities of modern weapons to areas of conflict.

The major arms-supplying countries should also establish a mechanism (possibly as part of the Wassenaar Arrangement for

conventional arms control) for consultation on arms flows to areas of current and potential conflict, along with provisions for the imposition of a moratorium on weapons transfers to any state or region deemed to be at risk of ethnic slaughter, state failure or genocide. International inspectors should be sent to the region to ensure compliance with these measures and to suggest any other actions that might be taken to reduce the flow of arms.

2.10.9   Reducing Surplus Weapons.

Addressing the problem of surplus weaponry generated by decades of Cold War competition is especially important because many states— particularly former Eastern bloc countries—are eager to sell arms for hard currency with few or no questions asked. Because export controls on surplus arms are generally less strict than those for newly manufactured weapons, black-market dealers find it easier to obtain and sell surplus arms than newly made weapons. The problem of surplus arms is especially acute in areas just recovering from armed conflict, where impoverished ex-combatants may try to sell their

weapons for cash rather than turn them over to UN peace-keepers or other designated authorities.

Measures to reduce global stockpiles of surplus munitions—a critical component of any international effort to constrain the flow of light weapons—can take several forms. States that can afford to do so should agree to destroy the surplus arms and ammunition in their possession and to take all the necessary steps to prevent the leakage of weaponry from government depots and warehouses. An early precedent was set by the Dutch Ministry of Defense, which announced in January 1998 that it would destroy most of its surplus small arms, including 115,000 Uzi submachine guns, FAL assault rifles, Garand rifles, Browning pistols and M-1 carbines.

For their parts, the United States and Russia should agree to cooperate in locating and reclaiming (or buying back) weapons given by them to insurgent groups during the Cold War. In many regions, these weapons are now being used to fuel internal power struggles and criminal violence. Taking these weapons out of circulation would close one of the most deadly chapters of the Cold War and help promote international peace and security in the current era.

2.10.10 Post-Conflict Measures

A high priority should be placed on efforts to remove the large quantities of small arms and light weapons that often remain in-country once a particular conflict has ended. Too often, the availability of such weapons facilitates either a renewal of the conflict (as in Angola) or a destabilization of efforts to build a peaceful civil society (as in South Africa). The limited success of disarmament programs in countries like El Salvador, where the country suffers from an appalling rate of criminal violence despite the collection of tens of thousands of weapons, points up the complexity and difficulty of such efforts. Above all, decisions to disarm warring factions and remove light weapons from areas of conflict must be implemented uniformly and comprehensively.

Moreover, in many countries around the world the possession of arms is deeply embedded in society, so that arms collection efforts may prove futile or not be politically feasible. In such cases, and more generally as well, the primary emphasis should be on economic

development and social reconstruction so that ex-combatants and non-combatants have viable options in the civilian economy.

Recent initiatives on the part of the World Bank and a number of development and humanitarian NGOs to better integrate economic assistance programs with demobilization, destruction of weapons and conflict prevention strategies are a useful step in this direction.

2.10.11   International Capacity-Building

Ultimately, any regime to control global trafficking in small arms and light weapons will only be as effective as the weakest links in the system. As long as black-market dealers enjoy safe havens in which they can operate with impunity, it will be difficult or impossible to enforce tougher international standards on the light weapons trade. It is therefore essential that the stronger participants in the system assist the weaker elements to establish effective and reliable mechanisms for the oversight of the arms market.

As part of such efforts, technology should be developed and deployed internationally to help track the flow of small arms and light weapons, identify illicit sources of supply, and improve law enforcement and customs prosecution of illegal suppliers and traders. In addition to developing computer databases and communications systems that can facilitate international cooperation on the light weapons trade, several other technical initiatives have been proposed for helping to increase the transparency of light weapons flows. One such initiative being developed by OAS members is more effective marking and registration of weapons, both at the point of manufacture and when such weapons are legally exported. Such marking will make it easier for law enforcement and intelligence officials to trace the supply routes of weapons originally acquired legally which then entered the black market.

Other proposals exist for the tagging of ammunition and explosives, and studies on their feasibility are being carried out by the Canadian government and the United Nations. While some of these technical solutions may prove difficult and expensive to implement, the international community has at least begun the process of thoroughly evaluating them.

2.10.12   An Imperative To Act

By the middle of 1998, there was increased international momentum for taking more decisive action to prevent the continuing global diffusion of small arms and light weapons. In addition to ongoing efforts on the part of the United Nations and regional organizations like the OAS, national governments—including Norway, Canada, Belgium, Mexico, Colombia, South Africa and Japan—had signalled their interest in devoting substantial political and economic resources to deal with the problem. In July 1998, the Norwegian government hosted a meeting of 21 countries, including the United States, that issued a call for stronger measures to deal with both the illicit and legal trade in light weapons.

The Clinton administration has indicated its willingness to be fully involved in international efforts to dampen the light weapons trade. In August, the administration released a list of the comprehensive initiatives the U.S. government is pursuing—through the United Nations, the OAS and at the national level—to support global efforts for combating the threat posed by unrestrained trade in light weapons.

Most of these efforts were aimed at the illicit trade in arms, though some focused on legal sales.

Clearly, the U.S. and other governments, especially those responsible for the majority of light weapons production and supply, need to do more. At the moment, most countries, including the United States, are putting greater emphasis on the illicit light weapons trade. Yet, it is the continued supply of large amounts of small arms and light weapons, through legal channels, to governments and non-state actors, that is most worrisome. All too often, supplier states continue to give away or sell at a discount hundreds of thousands of surplus light weapons that end up in the wrong hands.

In some cases, such as Somalia, these weapons are then used against U.S. peace-keeping forces that are sent to restore civil order. In other cases, such as Bosnia, Liberia and Sierra Leone, the United States and the international community will spend billions of dollars in peace-keeping and economic reconstruction when a more restrictive policy on light weapons transfers might have prevented or diminished the intensity of civil conflict in these countries.

As the international community is beginning to recognize, the humanitarian and development benefits of cutting the link between light weapons availability and civil conflict would be substantial. For the United States, the economic benefits of the light weapons trade are exceedingly minor compared to the ultimate costs of having to rescue "failed states," provide for millions of refugees, and reconstruct societies torn apart by genocide and ethnic strife. The savings inherent in preventing or greatly limiting conflict in even one Rwanda, Bosnia or Liberia would greatly outweigh the minimal political and economic benefits of being an indiscriminate light weapons supplier.

In sum, increased attention to the lethal effects of easily available small arms and light weapons on the part of humanitarian relief agencies, national governments, international organizations and the media is translating into a greater public appreciation of the need to better control the production, supply and diffusion of these weapons.

Admittedly, the problem is incredibly complex and policies to control and regulate these weapons will not come easily. Nonetheless, the scale of death and injury caused by light weapons is such that the international community must continue to search for effective means

of controlling and reducing the lethal commerce of small arms and
light weapons around the world.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1   INTRODUCTION.

Research methodology is defined as the overall strategy employed by a researcher in collecting and analyzing data with a view of finding solution to the identified problem.

The chapter therefore focuses on method of data analysis, justification or reliability of data instruments or tools used, research population of five states; and sampling procedure employed. Statistical techniques employed in analysing the data.

3.2 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION/JUSTIFICATION OF DATA

This is a survey research aimed at studying the proliferation of small Arms, and Ethnic conflicts and their consequences on National security, with a special reference to Warri, Kaduna, Benue State and Lagos State.

In order to combine the beauty of thoroughfulness and validity of findings of the study, a blend of both primary source (personal

interview and questionnaire) and secondary source through periodical journals and other various publications had been resorted to.

To collect data for the study, a set of 25 item questionnaires supplemented by oral interview were used to get information from the respondents as the place of case study.

The sample was randomly selected and copies of the questionnaire were made to be completed and returned for analysis after thoroughly going through them.

Although there was no prearranged method of administration but the researcher distributed the questionnaires by hand to the respondents to ensure the highest degree or percentage of return of the completed questionnaires and eventually the entire completed questionnaires were returned.

3.3   RELIABILITY OF DATA

The 25 item questionnaire was drawn to reflect the various hypotheses formulated for the study. The entire hypotheses were stated in their null form. Few copies of the drawn questionnaires were circulated among the professionals in research, execution and some others were circulated among colleagues for criticisms, comments and corrections.

This method was resorted to in order to expunge vagueness and misinterpretation in the entire instrument constructed. The various item questionnaires would form part of the ongoing study under Appendix one.

The corrected version of the instrument was however forwarded to the researcher's supervisor for his own perusal and vetting before it was used. The accepted copies were administered by hand to the respondents and the entire copies were duly responded to and returned.

3.4 RESEARCH POPULATION, SAMPLE SIZE AND PROCEDURE

The population of this study were made up of those who participated in ECOMOG and United Nations peace keeping operations and policy makers in Lagos on one part, and opinion leaders and policy makers at Warri, Jos, Benue and Kaduna on the other part, and all number of 200 respondents. The sample was true representation of the places of case study. The sample was selected in such a manner that every element of the population had an equal chance of being selected for the study. The secondary data comprised of processed government

views, reports from publications in the national dailies, articles in magazines, journals and internet.

The sampling procedure was precisely random, because every element of the population as inferred from above had an equal chance of being selected.

3.5 JUSTIFICATION FOR INSTRUMENTS USED, SAMPLE SELECTION PROCEDURE, AND JUSTIFIATION FOR USING A PARTICULAR SAMPLE.

The data collected for this study were drawn through two primary sources i.e. personal interview and the use of questionnaires. The instrument was constructed in such a manner that the entire elements would have full understanding of the phraseology employed in constructing the instrument.

The instrument, the researcher means is constructed in a simple straight forward English Language to enhance better understanding on the part of the respondents. That is to say that the instrument was constructed in a way that the minds of the respondents were not left wandering the meaning of the individual English words employed in asking questions.

The instrument was aimed at gathering information relating to proliferation of small arms and Ethnic conflict in Nigeria and their consequences on the national security.

Although, of the sampled population of 200 participants in peace keeping, 60% or 120 were opinion leaders and policy makers drawn from Warri, Kaduna and Jos. This development implies that of the entire population, 60% or 120 were men and women who are opinion leaders and policy makers, at Warri, Kaduna Jos.

In furtherance, it justifies the random selection procedure, employed in the study execution. The decision to select up to 200 was employed in order to have entire relevant people.

3.6   STATISTICAL TECHNIQUE USED IN ANALYSING THE DATA.

The instrument used for the study has four optional responses which acted as indices for their individual degree of feelings about the questions being asked. The questions vary from one to another as can be seen below:

(i)   Strongly Agreed denoted (SA)

(ii)   Agreed denoted (A)

(iii)   Strongly disagreed denoted (SDA)

(iv)   Disagreed denoted (DA)

The statistical technique that would be employed in analyzing the data is chisquare test of goodness of fit and consequently a contingency table would be employed in order to determine the expected frequency. The formulae are as stated below:-

(a) $X^2 = \sum \dfrac{(fo\text{-}fe)^2}{fe}$

(b) $Fe = \dfrac{CT \times RT}{GT}$

(c) $(C\text{-}1)(R\text{-}1) = df$

EXPLANATION OF THE FORMULAE

X^2 =   chisquare

$\sum$ =   summation

Fo   =   observed frequency

Fe   =   expected frequency

K   =   Number of calls

CT   =   column total

RT   =   Row total

GT   =   Grand total

C   =   column (number of columns)

I   =   constant

R   =   Row (number of rows)

The hypothesis testing shall be done at 5% level of significance and this in other words connotes that the researcher's report is at 95% confidence interval, meaning that he (the researcher) is 95% sure of all his reports.

It should be noted that chisquare simply means a non- parametric but a mathematical process of determining the degree of disparity between two sets of variables commonly referred as observed and expected frequencies. Based on the above definition, it can be established that chisquare takes cognition of the existence of disparity and always determines the extents or degree of the disparity.

Decision Rules

In Chisquare test of goodness of fit, when the computed value of chisquare is less than the critical value at a given level of significance, the null hypothesis is said to be accepted and the alternate hypothesis rejected. On the other hand, when the computed values is equal to or greater than the critical value, the null hypothesis is said to be rejected and alternate hypothesis accepted.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4.1   PRESENTATION & ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter presents a general description of the data and the results of the statistical analysis of the data. The data are presented in order in which the hypothesis have been presented and analyzed, based on the findings extracted from the questionnaires. Each table is followed by the opinions of the respondents. All the various hypotheses are stated in their null form and tested at 5% level of significance. The statistical technique employed for the testing of the hypotheses has been stated in chapter 3.6 above.

Part of the questionnaire, BIODATA i.e. personal data shall be presented in percentages, histogram, degrees and bar charts.

The source of the above mentioned data has been highlighted in chapter 3.2 paragraph one.

4.1.1 TABLE ONE

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENT BY SEX

SEX	NUMBER OF PERSON	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS.
Male	130	65%
Female	70	35%
Total	200	100%

The above result shows that 130 respondents or 65% of the sampled population were men whereas 70 respondents were females. The number of the female also demonstrates the female participation in the various facets of life and also Nigeria policy making.

This further reveals that, unlike before, when women were afraid going for organization recruitment. The above table can also be represented by a histograph.

HISTOGRAM
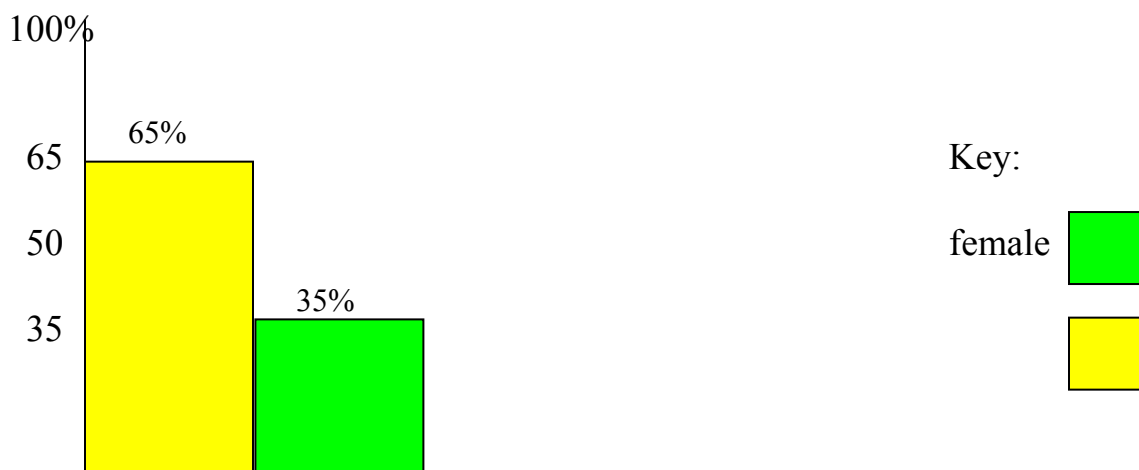
male

25

0   Male   female

Pie Chart

126^0

234^0
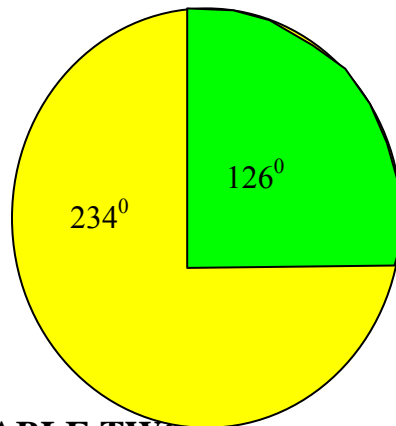
Key:

Female: ▢

Male: ▢

4.1.2 TABLE TWO

PERCENTAGE DESTRIBUTION OF AGE GROUP

AGE GROUP	NUMBERS OF RESPONDENTS	DEGREE OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS
Under 30 yrs	50	90	25
31yrs-35yrs	70	126	35
36yrs-40yrs	40	72	20
40yrs & Above	40	72	20
Total	200	360	100

The above table indicates that the majority of the respondents sampled for this study at the places of case study in Nigeria, fall in between the second age bracket i.e. between 31-35yrs. This group of respondents numbered 70 and represents 35% or 126% of the entire population. This however shows that the organizations- The various organizations recruit younger personnel who grow and make a career which is one of the most organizations policies about recruitment.

A bar chart can be used to represent the age group as can be seen below.
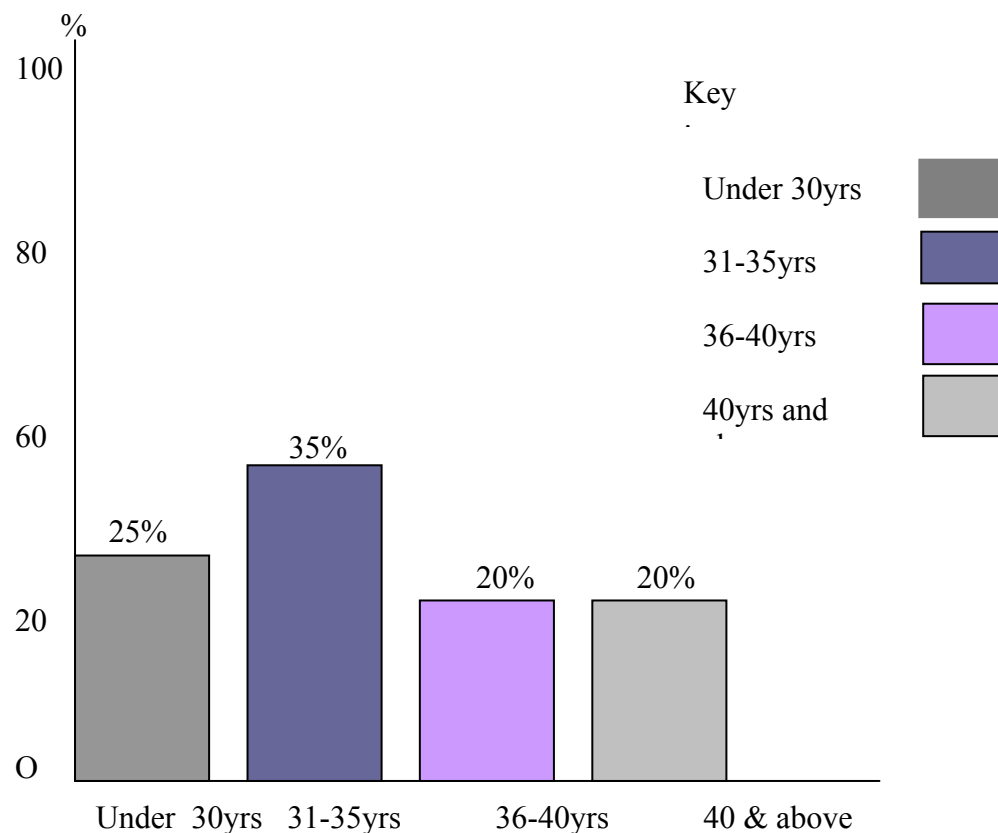
TAB

4.1.3   TABLE THREE

CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY MARITAL STATUS

MARITAL STATUS	NUMBERS OF RESPONDENTS	CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS	DEGREE OF RESPONDENTS
Single	60	60	30%	108^0
Married	120	180	60%	216^0
Divorced	16	196	8%	28.8^0
Widowe d	4	200	2%	7.2^0
Total	200	200	100%	360^0

The above table reveals that the places of case study- Jos, Warri, Kaduna and Lagos, the majority of the sampled population were married people. The table reveals that of the 200 sampled respondents, 120 or 60% were married whereas 60 or 30% of the same population were single. The divorced and widowed numbered 20 or 10% of the population. The data are also represented in a pie chart below.

PIE CHART
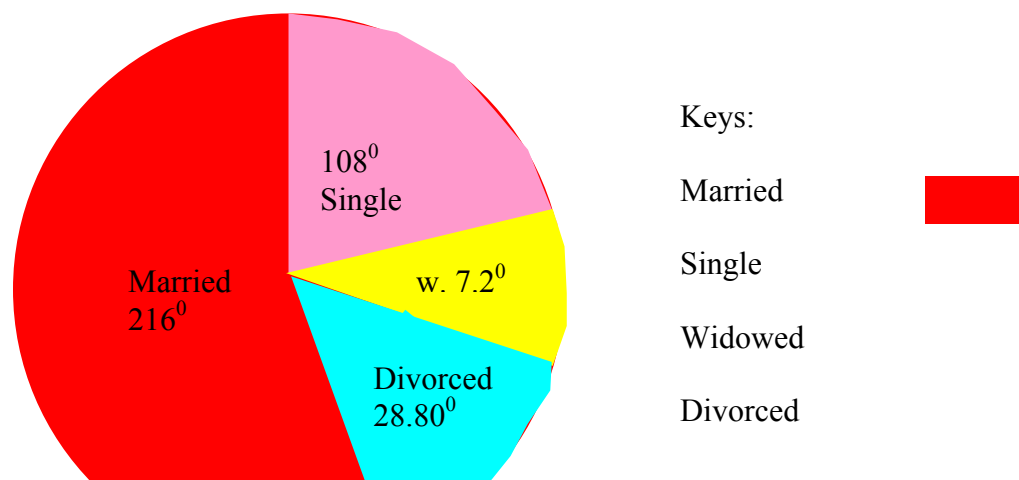
4.1.4 TABLE FOUR

CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS BY SOCIETAL STATUS

Status	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Cumulative frequency
Policy makers & Soldiers	80	40	40
Opinion Leaders	120	60	100
Total	200	100	100

The table above shows that of 200 sampled population 80 or 40%

were soldiers and policy makers in Lagos and on the other hand, of

the same sampled population 120 or 60% were Opinion Leaders and policy makers in other States of Nigeria.

Histogram

Key

Opinion Leaders/ policy makers	
Participators in Peace keeping Operation/policy makers	
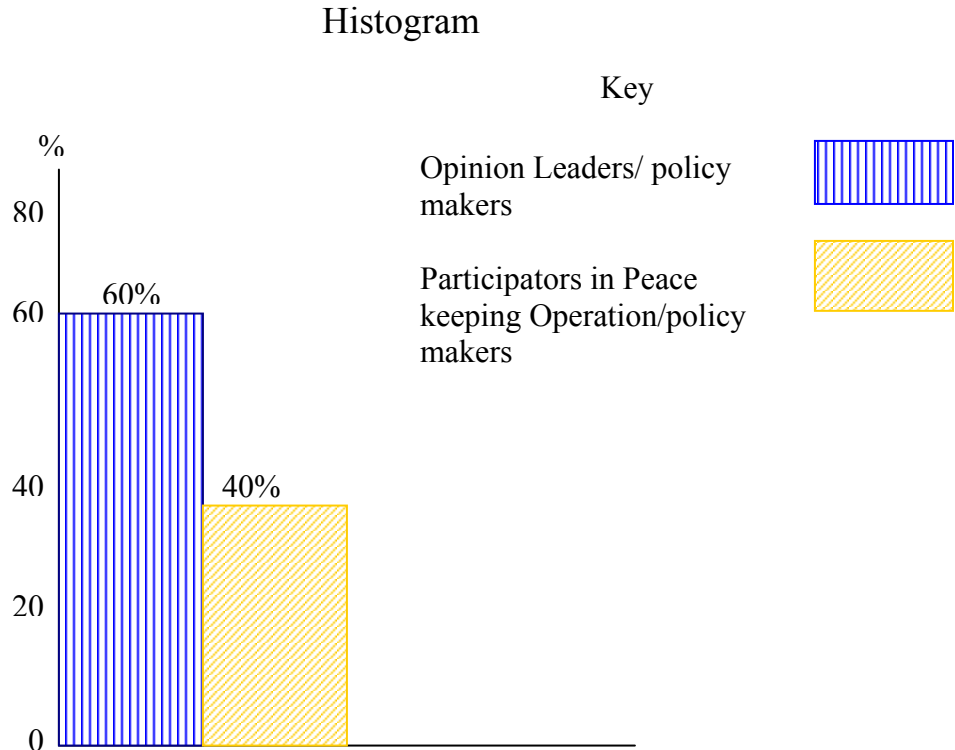
4.2 HYPOTHESES TESTING AND RESULTS

In this hypotheses testing, the participants in Peace keeping operation resident in Lagos would form one part of the population, and opinion leaders/ policy makers at Warri, Kaduna and Jos would form the other part of the population.

This decision is embarked upon because the opinion leaders/ policy makers that were drawn from various states constituted 60% of the sampled population where as the participants in peace keeping and policy makers in Lagos constituted 40% of the same population.

In view of the stratified nature of the sampled population, a contingency table would be constructed for the purpose of determining the expected frequency. The data of the optional responses from the entire respondents are thus considered to be observed frequency.

The details of the computational format of the expected frequency were highlighted in chapter three of this study under 3.6 paragraph two. All the various hypotheses would be stated in their null forms and would be tested at 5% level of significance.

The computed value would be stated and in the chapter five of the study, focus would be made on the discussion of the results of the hypotheses testing and also the results of the data presentation.

Each analysis would be followed by the computation of the expected frequency at the end of which the Chi-square probability distribution table would be shown.

4.2.1 <u>CONTINGENCY TABLE FIVE</u>

$H_0.1$ <u>THE PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS ENGENDERS VIOLENT ETHNIC CONFLICTS</u>

Respondents	SA	A	SDA	DA	TOTAL
Participators in/Policy makers	16	24	17	23	80
Opinion leaders/ Policy makers	42	18	31	29	120
Total	58	42	48	52	200

COMPUTATION OF EXPECTED VALUE (FREQUENCY)

$$\frac{CT \times RT}{GT} = fe$$

= 1. $\dfrac{58 \times 80}{200}$ = 23.2

2. $\dfrac{42 \times 80}{200}$ = 16.8

3. $\dfrac{48 \times 80}{200}$ = 19.2

4. $\dfrac{52 \times 80}{200}$ = 20.80

5. $\dfrac{58 \times 120}{200}$ = 34.8

6. $\underline{42 \times 120}$ = 25.2

    200

7. $\underline{48 \times 120}$ = 28.8

    200

8. $\underline{52 \times 120}$ = 31.2

    200

4.2.2   <u>**TABLE SIX**</u>   **CHI-SQUARE**
                PROBABILITY DISTRIBUTION TABLE

$X^2 = \Sigma \dfrac{(\text{fo-fe})^2}{\text{fe}}$

Fo	Fe	Fo-fe	$(\text{fo-fe})^2$	$\dfrac{(\text{fo-fe})^2}{\text{fe}}$
16	23.2	-7.2	51.84	$\dfrac{51.84}{23.2}$ =2.34
24	16.8	+7.2	51.84	$\dfrac{51.84}{16.8}$ =3.1
17	19.2	-2.2	4.84	$\dfrac{4.84}{19.2}$ =0.25
23	20.8	+2.2	4.84	$\dfrac{4.84}{20.8}$ =0.23

42	42	34.8	+7.2	$\dfrac{51.84}{34.8}$ =1.49
18	18	25.2	-7.2	$\dfrac{51.84}{25.2}$ =2.05
31	31	28.8	+2.2	$\dfrac{4.84}{28.8}$ =0.17
29	29	31.2	-2.2	$\dfrac{4.84}{31.2}$ =0.16
			0	9.79

Result X^2_c (9.79)< $X^2_{0.05}$(12.592)

Chi-square probability distribution table with five degrees of freedom, tested at 5% level of significance, showing the areas of rejection and acceptance region.

+ 12.592
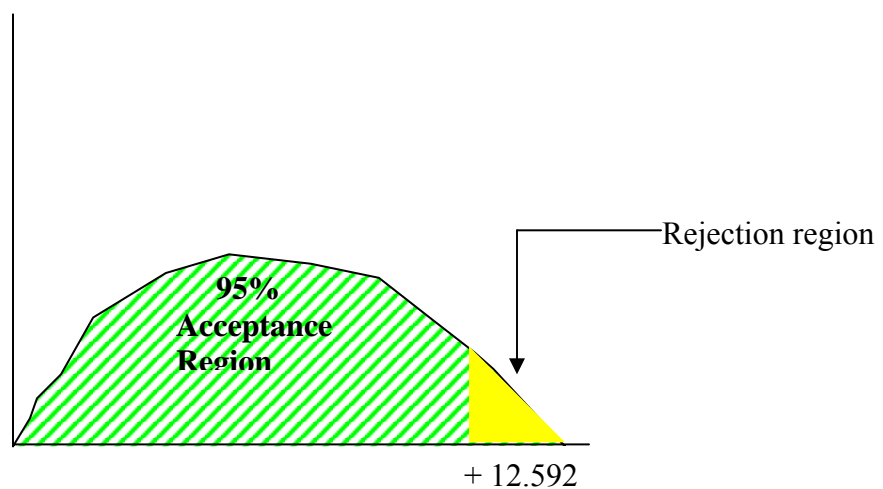
4.2.3 **CONTINGENCY TABLE SEVEN**

SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS HAVE ESCALATED

THE INTENSITY OF INTERETHNIC CONFLICTS.

Respondents	SA	A	SDA	DA	TOTAL
Participators in/Policy makers	21	19	29	11	80
Opinion leaders/ Policy makers	21	39	40	20	120
Total	42	58	69	31	200

COMPUTATION OF EXPECTED VALUE

$$\frac{CT \times RT}{GT} = fe$$

1. $\dfrac{42 \times 80}{200}$ = 16.8

2. $\dfrac{58 \times 80}{200}$ = 23.2

3. 69 x 80 = 27.6

$$\overline{200}$$

4. $\dfrac{31 \times 80}{200}$ = 12.4

5. $\dfrac{42 \times 120}{200}$ = 25.2

6. $\dfrac{58 \times 120}{200}$ = 34.8

7. $\dfrac{69 \times 120}{200}$ = 41.4

8. $\dfrac{31 \times 120}{200}$ = 18.6

4.2.4 <u>TABLE EIGHT</u>   COMPUTATION OF EXPECTED VALUE

$$\sum X^2 = \dfrac{(fo\text{-}fe)^2}{Fe}$$

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo-Fe)^2$	$(Fo-Fe)^2/Fe$
21	16.8	+4.2	17.64	17.64/16.8 = 1.05
19	23.2	-4.2	17.64	17.64/23.2 = 0.76
29	27.6	+1.4	1.96	1.96/23.2 = 0.07
11	12.4	-1.4	1.96	1.96/ 12.4 =0.16
21	25.2	-4.2	17.64	17.64/25.2 = 0.70
39	34.8	+4.2	17.64	17.64/34.8 = 0.50
40	41.4	-1.4	1.96	1.96/41.4 = 0.05
20	18.6	+1.4	1.96	1.96/18.6 = 0.11
			0	3.4

RESULT: $X^2_{c\ 0.05}$ (3.4) { X^2 (12.592)

Chisquare probability distribution table of 5 degrees of freedom, tested at 5% level of significance, showing the areas of rejection and acceptance region.

95%

Rejection region

+ 12.592
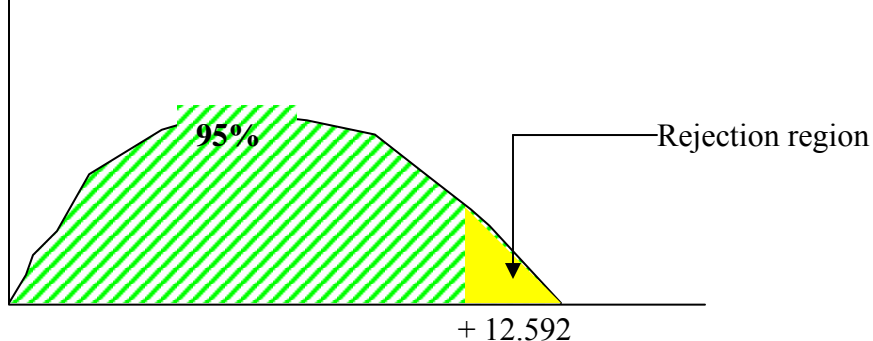
4.2.5 CONTIGENCY TABLE NINE

HO3 **THERE IS A POSITIVE CO-RELATION BETWEEN THE PROLIFERATION   OF   SMALL   ARMS   AND   LIGHT WEAPONS AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS.**

RESPONDENT	SA	A	SDA	DA	TOTAL
Participators in peace keeping/ opinion leaders	17	23	28	12	80
Opinion leaders and policy makers	40	20	23	37	120
Total	57	43	51	49	200

COMPUTATION OF THE EXPECTED VALUE

$\dfrac{\text{CT X RT}}{\text{GT}}$ = fe

1. $\dfrac{57 \times 80}{200}$ = 22.80

2. $\dfrac{43 \times 80}{200}$ = 17.20

3. $\underline{51 \times 80}$ = 20.40

200

4. $\underline{49 \text{ x } 80}$ =   19.60

    200

5. $\underline{57 \text{ A x } 120}$ =   34.20

     200

6. $\underline{43 \text{ x } 120}$ =   25.80

     200

7. $\underline{51 \text{ x } 120}$ =   30.60

     200

8. $\underline{49 \text{ x } 120}$ =   29.40

     200

4.2.6 <u>TABLE TEN</u>   COMPUTATION OF EXPECTED

VALUE

X^2 = $\sum \dfrac{(fo\text{-}fe)^2}{Fe}$

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo-Fe)^2$	$(Fo-Fe)^2/Fe$
17	22.80	-5.80	27.04	27.04/22.80 = 1.19
23	17.20	+5.80	27.04	27.04/17.20 = 1.60
28	20.40	+7.60	57.76	57.76/19.60 =2.90
12	19.60	-7.60	57.76	57.76/19.60 =2.90
40	34.20	+ 5.80	27.04	27.04/34.20 = 0.80
20	25.80	-5.80	27.04	27.04/25.80 = 1.05
23	30.60	-7.60	57.76	57.76/30.60 = 1.90
37	29.40	+7.60	57.76	57.76/29.40 = 1.96
			0	14.2

RESULT: X^2_c (3.4) $< X^2_{0.05}$ (12.592)

Chisquare probability distribution table of 5 degree of freedom, tested at 5% level of significance showing the areas

95%

Rejection region

+ 12.592

4.2.7
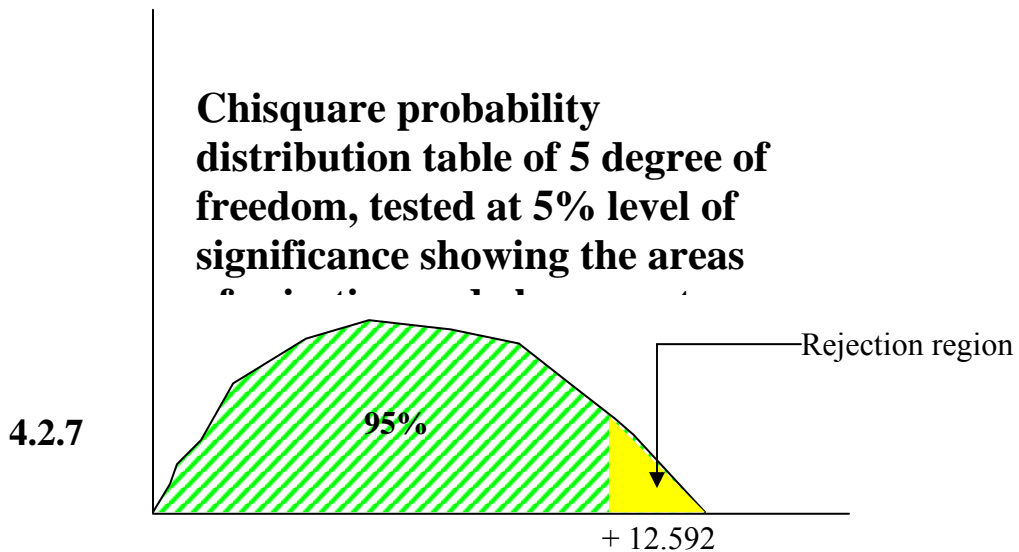
CONTINGENCY TABLE ELEVEN

H O 4.   **THE PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS LEADS TO**

INCREASE IN ETHNIC CONFLICTS

RESPONDENT	SA	A	SDA	DA	TOTAL
Participators in peace keeping/ opinion leaders	17	23	24	16	80
Opinion leaders and policy makers	40	20	29	31	120
Total	57	43	53	47	200

COMPUTATION OF EXPECTED FREQUENCY.

CT x RT   =fe

  GT

1.   57 x 80   = 22.80

        200

2.   57 x 80   = 17.20

200

3. $\underline{53 \times 80}$ = 21.20
   200

4. $\underline{47 \times 120}$ = 18.80
   200

5. $\underline{57 \times 120}$ = 34.20
   200

6. $\underline{43 \times 120}$ = 25.80
   200

7. $\underline{53 \times 120}$ = 31.80
   200

8. $\underline{47 \times 120}$ = 28.20
   200

4.2.8 <u>TABLE TWELVE:</u> COMPUTATION OF EXPECTED FREQUENCY

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo-Fe)^2$	$(Fo-Fe)^2/Fe$
17	22.80	- .8	33.64	33.64/22.80 = 1.46
23	17.20	+ 5.8	33.64	33.64/17.20 = 1.96
24	21.20	+ 2.8	7.84	7.84/21.20 = 0.37
16	18.80	- 2.8	7.84	7.84/18.80 = 0.42
40	34.20	+ 5.8	33.64	33.64/34.20 = 0.98
20	25.80	- 5.8	33.64	33.64/25.80 = 1.30
29	31.80	- 2.8	7.84	7.84/31.80 = 0.25
31	28.20	+ 2.8	7.84	7.84/28.20 = 0.29
		0		7.03

Result $\quad X_c^2(7.03) < X_{0.05}^2 \quad (12.592)$

Chisquare probability distribution table of 5 degree of freedom, tested at 5% level of significance showing the areas of rejection and also acceptance

95%

Rejection region

+ 12.592
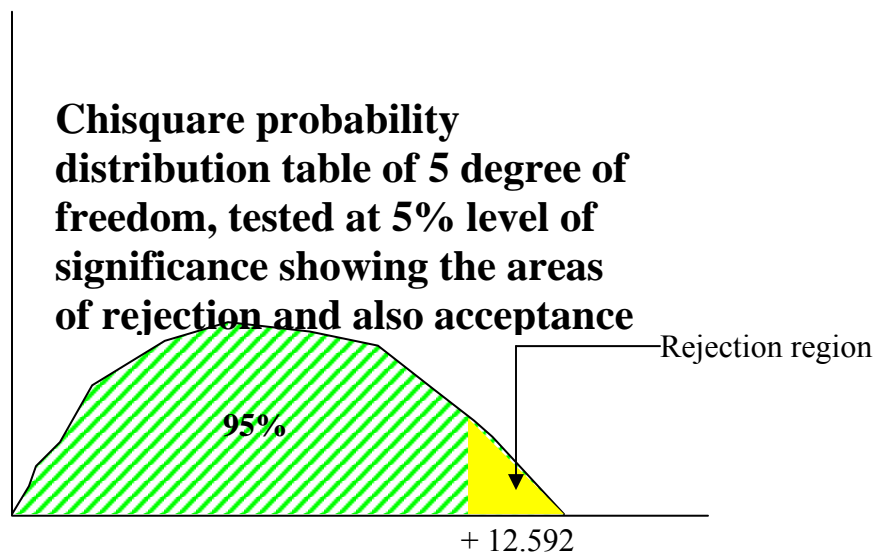
4.2.9 TABLE THIRTEEN: CONTINGENCY TABLE

$H_O 5$: **THE WIDESPREAD AVAILABILITY OF SMALL ARMS**

LEADS TO PROLONGATION OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS

Respondent	SA	A	SDA	DA	TOTAL
Participators & policy makers	26	14	17	23	80
Opinion leaders/policy makers	29	31	18	42	120
Total	55	45	35	65	200

COMPUTATION OF EXPECTED FREQUENCY

CT x RT   =   fe

  GT

1.   55 x 80   =   22

                 200

2.   44 x 80   =   18

$$\frac{200}{}$$

3       $\dfrac{35 \ \text{x} \ 80}{200}$ =   40

4       $\dfrac{65 \ \text{x} \ 80}{200}$ =   26

5       $\dfrac{55 \ \text{x} \ 120}{200}$ =   33

6       $\dfrac{45 \ \text{x} \ 120}{200}$ =   27

7       $\dfrac{35 \ \text{x} \ 120}{200}$ =   2

8       $\dfrac{65 \ \text{x} \ 120}{200}$ =   39

4.2.10   **TABLE FOURTEEN: COMPUTITION OF EXPECTED FREQUENCY**

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo\text{-}Fe)^2$	$(Fo\text{-}Fe)^2/Fe$
26	22	+ 4	16	16/22 = 0.046
14	18	- 4	16	16/18 = 0.89
17	14	+ 3	9	9/17 = 0.53
23	26	- 3	9	9/23 = 0.39
29	33	- 4	16	16/29 = 0.55
31	27	+ 4	16	16/31 = 0.52
18	21	- 3	9	9/18 = 0.50
42	39	+ 3	9	9/42 = 0.21
		0		3.63

Result $=$ X^2_c $(3.63) < X^2_{0.05}$ (12.592)

Chisquare probability distribution table of 5 degree of freedom, tested at 5% level of significance showing the areas of rejection and also acceptance region.

95%

Rejection region

+ 12.592
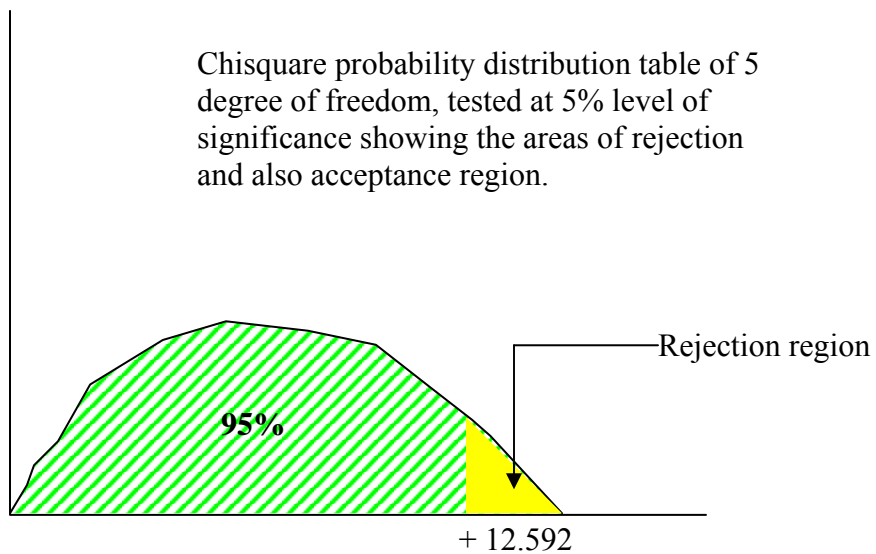
4.2.11   TABLE FIFTEEN   COMPUTATION OF RESULT- 5^0 OF SIGNIFICANCE

Fo	Fe	Fo-Fe	$(Fo-Fe)^2$	$(Fo-Fe)^2/Fe$
18	22.40	- 4.4	19.36	19.36/22.40 = .86
22	17.60	+ 4.4	19.36	19.36/17.60 = 1.10
26	20.80	+ 5.2	27.04	27.04/20.80 = 1.30
14	19.20	- 5.2	27.04	27.04/19.20 = 1.30
38	33.60	+ 4.4	19.36	19.36/33.60 = 0.58
22	26.40	- 4.4	19.36	19.36/26.40 = 0.73
26	31.20	- 5.2	27.04	27.04/31.20 = 0.87
34	28.80	+ 5.2	27.04	27.04/28.80 = 0.94
		0		7.79

Result $= X^2_C$ $(7.79) <$ $X^2_{0.05}$ (12.592)

Chi-square probability distribution table of 5 degree of freedom, tested at 5% level of significance showing the areas of rejection and also acceptance region.

95%

Rejection region

+ 12.592
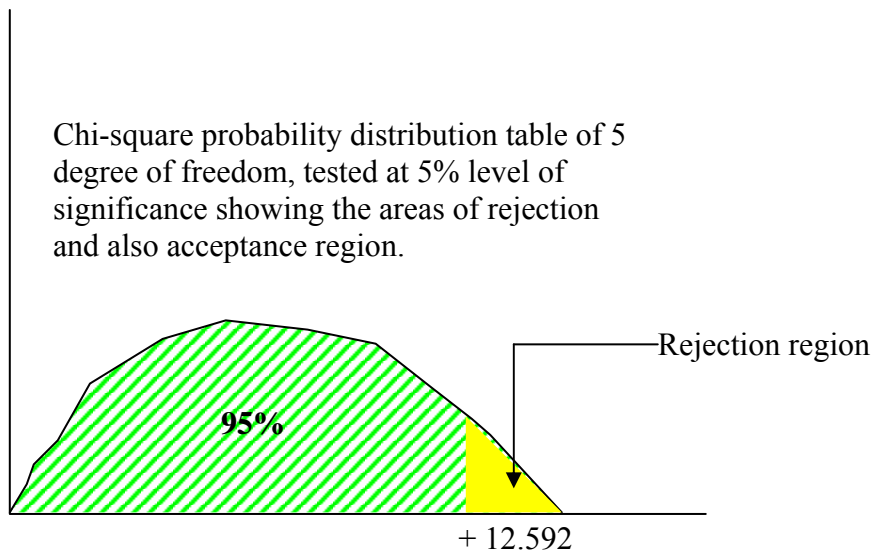
In Chisquare test of goodness of fit, the decision rule is that when the computed value is less than the table value at a given level of significance, the null hypothesis is accepted, but when the computed value is equal to or greater than the table value, the null hypothesis is rejected and alternative hypothesis accepted.

The degrees of freedom is determined by multiplying the variance s in the number of cells on the row of the contingency table minus 2 and the number of cells of the column of the same contingency table minus 1 and subtracting the result from the number of cells in the chisquare table. Thus $K - (C-1)(R-1)$ = degree of freedom. $8 - (2-1)(4-1) = 5df$.

Hypothesis refers to probabilistic statement, conjectural statement or tentative statement.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5.0   DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1   INTRODUCTION

The chapter is aimed at discussing the results of the hypotheses testing in the preceding chapter i.e. chapter four.

A total of five hypotheses are tested in the preceding chapter and only the results are given and these results are the results of data presentations and the responses of the respondents who were orally interviewed would be focused on.

Furthermore, this chapter examines the consistency of the present findings with the existing knowledge and views and whether they are different, in what ways, and why are they different.

5.2   DISCUSSION OF RESULTS OF DATA PRESENTATION

In table one of chapter four, percentage distribution of respondents was made. A total of two hundred respondents made up of soldiers that participated in peace keeping operations, opinion leaders and policy makers at Jos, Kaduna an   ri were presented.

The table indicates that 130 respondents were male and this number constituted 65% of the sampled population whereas 70 or 35% of the sampled population were female.

The result also reveals the degree of female participation in policy making in their different organizations.

It should be noted that some of these respondents were female soldiers and this indicates that females of these days are so brave to join the military (army, navy and air force) compared with females of the past who were restricted to house works and farming.

The result of the presentation also was presented in a pie chart and it reveals that male members of the sampled population constituted 234^0 (degrees) and their female counter parts 126^0 (degrees).

In table two of chapter four a focus was made on percentage distribution of the respondents by age group. The table shows that the majority of the respondents sampled for the study at Warri, Kaduna State, 149 battalion Ojo and Jos, fall in between second age bracket i.e. between 31-35 years of age. This group numbered seventy and they represent 355^0 of the entire sample population.

This however further connotes that the various organizations at the places of case study in Nigeria employ/recruit younger ones who grow up and make careers in their various organizations and this is one of

the out standing aspects of various organizations/policies about recruitment.

Next to the above group were those who fall in between the age brackets of 30 years and below. They numbered 50 or they constitute 25% of the entire sample respondents.

The table three reveals that of the entire sampled respondents at Lagos, Warri, Delta State, Kaduna and Jos, the married respondents numbered 120 or 60.50% whereas the single respondents numbered 60 0r 30%.

The table four presents the respondents by societal status. The table further reveals that of the sampled population 80 or 40% were made up of soldiers that participated at ECOMOG and United Nations Peace Keeping Operations and policy makers in Lagos. These soldier were sampled at 149 Battalion whereas other respondents were drawn from other parts of Lagos. However it was further discovered from oral interviews, that most of the respondents were indigenes of Delta State.

120 or 60% of the entire sampled population were made up of policy makers who are residents and indigenes of Jos, Delta State and Kaduna State.

The table five focused on the computation of the chisquare. The value of the chisquare test is 9.79, whereas, the table value of chisquare critical value and the implication is that, the null hypothesis that the proliferation of small arms and weapons engenders violent ethnic conflicts is accepted. The decision is taken on the bedrock of the fact that, when the computed value of chisquare is less than the chisquare table value at given level of significance, the null hypothesis is accepted on the other way round when the critical value of the chisquare tested at a given level of significance is equal to or less than the computed value i.e, the alternative hypothesis is taken.

The second hypothesis that small arms and high weapons have escalated the intensity of inter ethnic conflicts was tested and the computed. The value 3.4 fall within the acceptance region because the computer value is far less than the table value at 5% level of significance which is12.592.

This result and the responses from the respondents at Jos, Kaduna and Delta State are consistent with the already established belief that small arms and light weapons, intensify inter-ethnic conflicts in their respective states in the recent times.

The result of the test of the third hypothesis X^2_c (14.20) > $X_{0.05}$ (12.592) i.e. the computed value of chisquare is greater than the table value at 5% level of significance. This connotes the hypothesis that there is a positive correlation between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and ethnic conflict and it is not accepted.

When comparative scrutiny between the responses from some of the opinion leaders (respondents) at Jos and Warri on one part and the result of the hypothesis was done, it was discovered that, availability of small arms and light weapons can not result to ethnic conflict without any cause. Based on the premise of the information derived from the said opinion leaders, that ethnic conflicts are often politically motivated. Some other opinion leaders held the view that most often than not, ethnic conflict is the last option when the marginalized are not heard and considered, probably as a result of lapses from the concerned government.

It is therefore up held in this research work that in as much as the result is not consistent with the existing belief there is no positive correlation between proliferation of small arms and light weapons and ethnic conflict.

The fourth probabilistic statement is that proliferation of small arms and light weapons lead to increase in ethnic conflicts was tested and the computed value of 7.03 is far less than the table value of 0.05 and level of significance 12.592 and therefore the hypothesis was accepted.

This result however, would have been baseless but was substantiated

by the opinion of some of the policy makers in Lagos as well as the opinions of some of the soldiers at 149 Battalion of the Nigeria Army Ojo, Lagos who participated in ECOMOG and United Nation Peace Keeping Operations in Liberia and Sierra-Leone who, similarly held the opinion that unavailability of small arm and light weapons enables peace keeping operators to achieve their goal earlier than when there is proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

This opinion can further be substantiated by the fact that in Liberia in 1989 and precisely on the 24th day of December, Charles Taylor, an insurgent leader, invaded the country with just 100 irregular soldiers who were fully armed with AK47 riffles and succeeded within some months in seizing the mineral and timber resources, from which sales he later acquired other heavier weapons.

The fifth hypothesis testing was executed and the computed value 3.36 which is far less than the table value at 5% level of significance,

and this means that it fails within the acceptance region and this means that the tentative statement that the widespread availability of small arms and light weapons leads to prolongation of communal conflicts is accepted.

However, the acceptance of this probabilistic statement enjoys the opinion of the policy makers who were interviewed at Jos and who held tenaciously to their opinion that prolongation of any ethnic or communal violence or conflict is always as a result of availability of arms and light weapons.

They further upheld that in all the recent conflicts in Sierra-Leone, Liberia and at Zango Kataf, Kaduna State, the diffusion of small arms had played a decisive role in the escalation, intensification and resolution of these conflicts.

Other questions that were answered by the respondents include the major sources of small arms and light weapons and whether there is any interconnection between the government functionaries and proliferation of small arms and light weapons and majority of the respondents were those who have participated in ECOMOG and United Nations Peace keeping operations at Liberia and Sierra-Leone held the view that:

(i)   The genesis of today's glut of small arms can be traced to cold war era. That both superpowers pushed arms into various parts of the World in pursuit of their materials and self centered goals, while, the Soviet leaders justified supply of weapons to Communist Movement as " material supports to comrades engaged in overthrowing various exploitative regimes" and establishing the rule of the proletariats, (workers).

The U.S, as they further stated did the same in the name of containing and combating the red menace.

This group of respondents further stated that even after the end of cold war, these pipelines have remained opened. The group in furtherance gave Africa as an example, channel down the eastern seaboard.

Another respondent at Jos to whom a similar question was thrown, quoted a writer as saying that "It is believed that approximately 1.5 million AK 47 riffles were unaccounted for at Mozambique alone". Another source of small arms and light weapons, is the contributory role played by private security agencies and private armies who generate huge demand for small arms. Other sources that were identified by the respondents include poor handling of weapons by Nigerian Police or the sale of recovered arms and weapons by law

enforcement agent to unauthorized people; the reminant of arms used in communal conflicts such as those of Liberia and Sierra-Leone.

N.B. It should be noted that the researcher tested the various hypothesis at 5% level of significance, and thus have 95% confidence of all the above results.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. SUMMARY

This dissertation is aimed at studying "PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY".

Respondents were made up of policy makers, opinion leaders, those who had participated in ECOMOG and United Nations Peace keeping operations at Liberia, Sierra-Leone etc. These respondents were however drawn from Warri, Delta State, Kaduna State, Jos and 149 Battalion of the Nigeria Army, Ojo, Lagos.

A total of five hypotheses were formulated for the study and the entire hypotheses were stated in their null forms and were tested at 5% level of significance or at 95% confidence interval using Chi-square test of goodness of fit. However, because of the stratified nature of the sampled population, contingency tables were constructed for the computation of expected frequency, while all the data gathered from the respondents were considered though the observed frequencies.

Tables one to four of this dissertation focused on percentage distribution of the respondents by sex; percentage distribution of the respondents by age group; classification of respondents by material status; and finally classification of the respondents by societal status.

The statistical tools employed for representation include: Histograms, single bar charts and pie charts. The instrument for data collection is questionnaire. The data presentation, analysis and discussion gave the following results:-

- That the proliferation of small arms and light weapons engenders violent ethnic conflicts.

- That small arms and light weapons have escalated the intensity of inter ethnic conflicts.

- That there is no positive correlation between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and ethnic conflicts.

- That the proliferation of small arms leads to increase in ethnic conflicts

- That the widespread availability of small arms leads to the prolongation of ethnic conflicts

- That in nearly all the preceding conflicts, the diffusion of small arms had played a decisive role in the escalation; intensification and the difficulty in resolving these conflicts.

6.2   CONCLUSION

Small Arms and Light Weapons had never been considered strategic to global security as have weapons of mass destruction, and they have never been subjected to any systematic and traceable transfer regime. This was the case until the end of the Cold War, when asymmetric warfare in the world's weaker states, terrorism, drug trafficking, and banditry threatened to tear states apart.

There is no doubt that the accumulation of small arms and their diffusion into society are both causal and symptomatic of the erosion of governance. The opportunity cost of arms accumulation is the promotion of sustainable security, based on the provision of basic needs and rights. Finding a common solution to the SAWL pandemic, however, is not easy, given the specific status of this category of weapons.

SAWL may facilitate and exacerbate conflicts and promote banditry, but they do not cause them. Quite unlike the

successful campaign to ban anti-personnel landmines, which are almost unanimously acknowledged as inhumane, it is practically impossible to ban the production and transfer of SAWL.

They perform legitimate functions in the governance process and are widely used by the rural community in hunting to supplement the usually starch-based diet in the sub-region. Besides, discourse about SAWL invariably touches on state security and national sovereignty. Consequently, in the end, only governments can make and implement agreements on arms transfers. With this in mind, it is imperative that the growing anti-proliferation campaign adopts strategies that are capable of producing results without alienating governments – a delicate balancing act, indeed.

Whatever tactics are adopted, however, the objectives should two-fold. First, the operators of the SAWL pipelines into the sub-region – cash-strapped rogue exporting states mainly from Eastern and Central Europe, clandestine Western suppliers, brokers, and private military entrepreneurs – as well as the recyclers and trans-shippers within the sub-region itself must be exposed and sanctioned. Second, there is a need to combine weapons elimination from society with effective measures to diffuse societal tensions. Demand for SAWL must also be diffused, in a manner that goes beyond tokenism and rhetoric.

In West Africa, civil society has taken the lead and has invariably incorporated conflicts resolution and micro-disarmament programs into their activities. Their advocacy work has brought to the fore the horrendous consequences of SALW proliferation and jolted policy makers into action. The Nigerian disarmament commission alluded to in the opening paragraph takes its mandate from the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Importation,

Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons, adopted by 16 West African states in October 1998. Among its goals are a voluntary freeze on arms trade in the sub-region and the elimination of existing illegal stocks from society. The agreement calls for the creation of national commissions drawn from state, security and civil society structures to oversee disarmament within individual member states. Some governments have usurped their commissions and incorporated them into the corrupt and inept state bureaucracies. Citing the instability in Casamance, the Senegalese government has limited the role of NGOS' working on SAWL to only that of consultants from the outside. With operations to remove weapons from society thus dominated by states, the SAWL is being inadequately addressed. This is the reality, despite financial and technical support from a specialized UN agency established in Mali to help achieve the goals of the Moratorium. To achieve a decisive breakthrough, different levels of pressure need to be applied to policy-makers and others involved in disarmament and development efforts.

Often, the UN's demobilization, disarmament and reintegration programs that accompanied peace accords starts off without any clear-cut strategies. Reintegration is not fully implemented, leading to the remobilization of already demobilized combatants for new offensives and

banditry. More importantly, missions to eliminate weapons from society usually have no clue about the sources and numbers of weapons in the conflict zone. Thousands of weapons have been collected and destroyed in West Africa by different agencies; the statistics are silent, however, on how many weapons remain in illegal hands.

Many foreign governments and international agencies involved in aiding conflict-prevention incorporate security sector reform in their dealings with societies in conflict, and for good reason. The enduring image of the military in the conscience of ordinary people in West Africa is one of brutality and impunity. The police service is perceived as corrupt and incompetent. Due to years of military and authoritarian rule, society has developed a militarized psyche that makes violence the means of choice in settling disputes. Initiatives in security sector restructuring and civil-military relations should aim to reverse these trends. Training of security personnel must emphasize adherence to human rights and responsible use of weapons while de-emphasizing the supply of weapons – an ever-present component in bilateral security sector reform agreements. This, in addition to improvements in the conditions of service within the security sector, will go a long way to clean up the image of the armed forces.

Ultimately, however, the preconditions for sustainable security remain the production and equitable distribution of public goods. Many of the current leaders in West Africa who parade as democratically elected rulers can hardly claim genuine democratic credentials. If anything, the electorate chased or *voted out* the old dilators, and the current leaders benefited by default. The regimes of today – just like their counterparts before them – are more powerful than the state. Left on their own, these governments will not deliver on the essential elements of governance. To reinvigorate the state, it is imperative that much of the development assistance to countries in the sub-region is channeled towards building the capacity – and particularly the financial independence – of critical voices and their organizations. This will enable such organizations to play the role of the non-partisan independence watchdog on policy makers. That, ultimately, is the precondition for achieving disarmament, sustainable security and development.

6.3   RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that:

Existing Structures of border control should be enhanced

- **Prioritizing small arms as a security issue.** It was realized early on that, in order for further action to be undertaken, it was necessary for countries to recognize the issue of small arms proliferation as being relevant to their own, and regional, security concerns.

- **Region to region exchanges**. Realizing the importance of greater awareness of current and past initiatives in other regions in Africa.

- There is the need to utilize INTERPOL sub-regional offices to share information

- Improving resources for data gathering and dissemination.

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6.5   APPENDIX ONE

<div align="right">

Department of International
Relations and Strategic Studies,
Faculty of Arts,
St. Clement University.

</div>

Dear Respondents,

**<u>QUESTIONNAIRE ON PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND
ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA; "IMPLICATIONS FOR
NATIONAL SECURITY".</u>**

I am a Doctorate Degree Student of St. Clement University, presently
**carrying out a research work on the above mentioned topic in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Award of the
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) in International Relations and
Strategic Studies, by St. Clement University.**

The questionnaire being presented for your completion is purely for an academic research purpose and it's designed to gather information relating to the aforementioned subject, from policy makers and participants in ECOMOG and United Nations Peace operations.

Please bear in mind that your responses to the questions being asked will in no way have any negative implication, since the investigation is merely for academic research work for the attainment of standard requirement.

May I therefore implore with due respect that you kindly and sincerely answer the questions below, and please, be informed that the success of this research work is largely depending on your willingness to answer the questions and return the completed questionnaire.

Yours sincerely,

Emmanuel Kabirat Jekada

REG NO E14905

Please tick as it applies to you

1.   Sex ☐   Male ☐   Female ☐

2.   State which profession you belong

Military ☐   Police ☐   Other Security Agents ☐ Civilian ☐

3.   Please state the category you belong to in your organization.

Management Staff ☐   Senior Staff ☐

Senior/Junior Officer ☐   Other rank/File ☐

4.   State your academic / Professional qualifications

WASC   ☐   NIIA ☐

NCE/ND   ☐   NWC ☐

HND/1ST DEGREE   ☐   mni ☐

OTHERS   ☐   PAC ☐

MASTERS   ☐   CAN ☐

DOCTORATE DEGREE ☐   JNI ☐

5.   State your age in years

Below 30years ☐ 31-35years ☐

36-40years ☐ 41years and above ☐

6. Marital Status:

Married ☐ Single ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed ☐

7. Your duration of service in your Organisation.

Probational Period ☐ 1-10years ☐ 11-20years ☐

21-30years ☐ 31-35years ☐ Retired ☐

8. Have you participated in any of the United Nation's Peace Keeping

Operation? Yes ☐ No ☐

9. If your answer to the question above is yes, how many times have you

participated?

Once ☐ Two times ☐ More than two times ☐

10. Have you participated in the policy making of your Organisation?

Yes ☐   No ☐

11. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons engenders violent ethnic conflicts

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

12. Proliferation of these weapons largely depends on the existing causes of ethnic conflicts

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

13. Several ethnic conflicts have been politically motivated

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

14. Marginalisation of certain ethnic groups in most cases cause ethnic conflicts hence proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

15. Small arms and light weapons have caused the escalation and the intensity of interethnic conflicts

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

16. Will you please list the major sources of small arms and light weapons you know

         (i)…………………………………

         (ii)…………………………………

         (iii)………………………………..

         (iv)………………………………..

17. Do you think that those in government have hands in the proliferation of small arms

Yes ☐   No ☐

18. There is a positive correlation between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and ethnic conflicts.

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

19. Do the Retired Generals use their influences to escalate the intensity of interethnic conflicts?

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

20. There is a positive correlation between lapses on the part of government and proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

21. The military, police and other security agents play active roles in proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

22. Proliferation of arms and light weapons leads to increase in communal conflicts.

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

23. Selfish politicians are partially responsible for increased communal conflicts.

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

24. The widespread availability of small arms and weapons leads to the elongation of communal conflicts.

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐

25. Participants in Peace Keeping operations are the major source of arms and small weapons proliferation.

Strongly agreed ☐   Agreed ☐

Strongly disagreed ☐   Disagreed ☐