Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria

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Foreword

Of the many challenges facing the African continent, the quest for peace and security is undoubtedly the most pressing. Too many African countries are still trapped in a vicious cycle of conflict with its attendant consequences. That Africa is host to seven United Nations peace support operations and that the continent constitutes over 60 percent of the agenda of the UN Security Council, bear testimony to this reality. The African Union (AU) and its people are deeply concerned about the emerging trend of election-related conflicts and violence, the resurgence of coups d'état and other forms of unconstitutional change of government occurring on the continent, including the manipulation of constitutions and electoral laws in violation of constitutional provisions, as well as the Boko Haram wave of attacks in Nigeria.

The consequences of armed conflict on Africa's socio-economic development have been very glaring and research into the effects of armed conflict as well as other types of violence continue to establish the true extent of this interconnectedness. According to the *African Development Bank (AfDB) Report,* conflict leads to 'income loss, destruction of infrastructure, and human and financial capital flight – in addition, neighbouring countries also bear substantial costs through conflict spill-overs, pre-emptive defence expenditures, and catering for refugees' (AfDB, 2008). It is estimated that Africa has suffered a combined economic loss of around $300bn since 1990 to war and violent conflicts. It is also a truism that there can be no development without peace and security, and vice versa.

Over the past two decades, Africa has witnessed a number of long-term, severe and, in some cases, inter-related crises and violent conflicts. While interstate wars and anti-colonial liberation struggles which dominated the 1970s and 1980s are almost over (except in the Western Sahara), Africa has witnessed an upsurge of intra-state conflicts since the 1990s, and the 'Arab Spring' that rocked North Africa and the Middle East in the beginning of 2011 sent a strong message. The mass

proliferation of arms in the Sahel-Sahara belt in Africa following the Libyan uprising constitutes a major challenge for peace and security. Peace and security, stability and development cannot be taken for granted. Nigeria, the 'big brother' and power-house of West Africa understands this very well.

Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria provides an African perspective to the current issues of, and debates on peace, security and development in Africa, with particular reference to Nigeria. This interesting publication is the outcome of the conference, "Towards Sustainable Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria", organised by the Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP), during which scholars and practitioners addressed the issues from varied perspectives. Indeed, the conference was, and the publication is, an opportunity for theory (academics) and practice (practitioners) to share and blend viewpoints on peace and security. The rich and various articles explore the root-causes, the accelerators, triggers, and consequences of conflict and governance crises in Nigeria and Africa. It brings to the fore the key and current conflicts in the various geo-political zones of Nigeria, some African examples (Ghana) and Nigeria's strategic role in African and world peace. Moreover, the publication is an affirmation that Nigerians in particular and Africans in general have got what it takes to analyse and proffer solutions to their plight.

The relevance and importance of this publication cannot, therefore, be overemphasised. The World Bank's *World Development Report 2011 on Conflict, Security and Development* is also a demonstration of the international community's commitment to draw attention to the link between peace, security and development. The SPSP publication is coming at a time regional organisations such as the ECOWAS are intensifying their efforts at conflict prevention and peacebuilding/keeping. The AU, during the 'Year of Peace and Security' that was launched in 2010, vividly recognised that peace and security is also an academic endeavour and called on African academics, think-tanks and researchers to partner with the Commission to address the challenge of violent conflicts, and pave the way for sustainable development. It is, therefore, time for Africa to start using its own knowledge base in building what has been referred to as seeking African solutions to African

problems. The onus now lies on policy- and decision-makers ensure that the knowledge embodied in this book does not waste in the shelves. I, therefore, recommend this book to researchers, students of African studies, as well as policy makers.

A stable, secured, and peaceful Nigeria is a blessing to West Africa and Africa at large. By the same token, any threat to Nigeria's peace and security constitutes a serious menace to African peace and stability. Current futuristic studies including the *African Futures 2050* (Cilliers, Hughes and Moyer, 2011) all point to the fact that Africa will be epicentre of economic development in the next decades. Nigeria, as David Cameron confirmed during his visit to the country in 2011, will be on the driving seat of the African economic miracle. The natural and human resource capacity and the market force all make Nigeria the natural leader of Africa that must pull the rest of Africa towards the right path. No one can afford to thwart this envious dream. This book is a major contribution to unlocking the Nigerian and African dream towards sustainable peace, security and development.

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The editors are greatly indebted to so many people, for so many things. It took a lot of efforts, commitment and hard work for this publication to see the light of the day. Lessons learnt from the past helped in shaping the outcome of this book. And because an edited work of this nature is never an isolated work by one person. It is thus a collective effort of scholars and practitioners. We appreciate and fully acknowledge the efforts of those who contributed chapters to this publication. You all have been very wonderful for your prompt response to Call for Papers and submission of corrected versions.

The University of Ibadan remains a place of possibilities. Starting from the Peace and Conflict Studies Programme and the Institute of African Studies, we like to thank you for the enthusiasm displayed, despite the challenges we faced. The Chief Host and Vice Chancellor, Professor Isaac F. Adewole of the University of Ibadan provided the enabling environment for the Society to conduct the conference. We thank you sir, the management staff and the University community.

We like to thank our keynote speaker, Dr. Hussaini Abdu and other special guests including Emmanuel Bombande, *fspsp*, Takwa Z. Suifon, *fspsp*, Lt. Gen. AB Dambazau, *fspsp*, Maj. Gen. Dalandi Ishaku Pennap, *fspsp* and Professor O.B.C. Nwolise who honoured our invitation to the conference. We also appreciate the support of Gerard Chouin, Owojori Kayode, and the other stakeholders.

The Board of Trustees, the National Working Committee and the entire membership of the Society provided wonderful support. Without you, the conference would not even have been put in place and proceedings would be less fulfilled. This publication is dedicated to sustainable peace, security and development in Nigeria. Thank you for being a part of the event and the process.

Political Corruption and National Security in Nigeria: The Imperatives of Transformational Leadership

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> Today, after one civil war, seven military regimes, and three butched attempts at building real democracy, there is one connecting factor in the failure of all attempts to govern Nigeria: Corruption. (Nuhu Ribadu, 2009)

INTRODUCTION

Almost all stakeholders in the Nigerian state, including those whose activities are repugnant to the well-being of the state, believe that the problem of political corruption is at the root of the prevalent state of insecurity of lives and property that obviously defines the Nigerian state. The issue of political corruption which, largely, is sustained by the hedonistic and materialistic culture that is driving the generality of the people and its negative implications become a matter of serious concern to social scholars because it impairs the capability of the state to promote its essence as an agent for social order. Put differently, political corruption undermines the legitimacy of the state and thus incapacitates the state from performing its primary responsibility, which

is, that of providing security for her citizens. Broadly speaking, corruption is an affront to national security. Mark Pyman reiterates this when he writes: "When asked the effect of corruption on national security those responsible for national security are all too well aware that corruption can completely invalidate security strategies".[1]

In modern state, national security is of important concern both to the generality of the people and the leadership. This is so because of the fact that the concept of national security encapsulates the collective goals, interests and aspirations of the people of a state. In fact, we can safely posit that the realisation of the essence of the state and, by extension, the promotion of the well-being of the generality of the people in a polity constitute the cardinal objective of national security. Unfortunately, the capability of the Nigerian state to maintain national security and promote socio-economic development of the generality of her citizens is being eroded at a very fast rate as a result of endemic corruption which "has seemingly acquired the status of a directing principle of Nigerian state policy"[2] Nuhu Ribadu, a former Executive Chairman, Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC, of Nigeria, in a paper presented at University of Oxford, confirms that 'grand corruption' is Nigeria's greatest problem when he writes: "between 1960 and 1999, Nigerian officials had stolen or wasted more than $440 billion that is six times the Marshall plan, the total sum needed to rebuild a devastated Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War. . ."[3] Transparency International (TI) in its latest ranking, in Corruption Perception Index, places Nigeria "as the sixth most corrupt country in the world".[4]

Without any doubt, political corruption has undermined the capability of the Nigerian state to promote the collective interest and advance the well-being of her people. Consequently, most Nigerians people have lost faith in the Nigerian nation and her capability to promote their interests. The implication of this is that individuals and groups deploy their energies and resources to undermine the system to satisfy and advance their personal or group interest rather than satisfying the common interest or public good. It is this commitment to personal and group interest at the expense of collective national interest that fuels and sustains the general state of insecurity in present-day Nigeria.

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Our contention here is that the abysmal failure of the state to meet the yearnings and aspirations of Nigerians which, theoretically and empirically, is a result of corruption, nurtured and developed, in the polity, a notion of 'particularised trust.' We maintain here that particularised trust is inimical to the promotion and maintenance of national security in Nigeria. The argument that is being advanced here is that political corruption fertilises the idea of 'particularised trust' which characteristically promotes antagonism, strive, conflict, violence and insecurity, especially in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria. It is noteworthy here that the fact of the dominance of particularised trust in the Nigerian state explains the 'zoning crisis' that is threatening the very fragile foundation of the Nigerian state.

The paper argues that the only way for restoring the diminishing faith of the people in the Nigerian state which, to a very extent undergirds the prevalent insecurity in the nation, is to tackle the hydra-headed monster of corruption. The herculean task of "founding" a new Nigeria devoid of corruption demands a transformational leadership – one that has the moral and intellectual capability to change the characters of the Nigerian state from one that oppresses her citizenry to one that promotes their well-being of her citizens. By transformational leadership, we mean a sort leadership that can earn the trust and loyalty of citizens through selflessness in terms of credibility and impactful performance. Such a leader, unarguably, would be able to galvanise the various groups that constitute the Nigerian state to share and be prepared to defend a common vision that is germane to the maintenance of national security.

It is only a transformational leadership, one that is committed to running a people-centered government, rather than a self-centred government, that can guarantee:

> human rights, ensure broad public participation in the affairs of the state, encourage equitable and judicious allocation and utilisation of public resources, minimise internal strife, create a sense of belonging in the people, and thus render the people mobilisable for national defence and security.[5]

A transformational leadership, we argue, is required to reinvent the Nigerian state to serve the common good and by so doing generate

'generalised trust'. It is not frivolous to say that this form of trust is currently scarce in the nation's body polity and is most crucial to the maintenance of national security, especially in a multi-ethnic society such as Nigeria.

Conceptual Framework

The concepts that are central to this paper are political corruption, national security, trust and transformational leadership. It is germane that we clearly, from the outset, define the perspectives from which these concepts will be used for the purpose of this paper.

Political Corruption

First and foremost, it must be pointed out that the body of literature on corruption is quite voluminous, obviously because of its presence in virtually all societies and its damaging effects on development which is the overriding goal of every human society. So, to that extent, many definitions of the concept corruption abound. Let us begin our exposition of the meaning of corruption by examining an all-encompassing definition provided by a sociologist, Onigu Otite. According to him:

> Corruption simply means the perversion of integrity or state of affairs through bribery, favour or moral depravity. When at least two parties have interacted to change the structure or processes of society or the behaviour of functionaries in order to produce dishonest, unfaithful or defile situations, we may say that corruption has taken place. Corruption involves the injection of additional but improper transactions aimed at changing the normal course of events and altering judgements and positions of trust. It consists in the 'doers' and 'receivers' use of informal, extra-legal and illegal acts to facilitate matters.[6]

An analysis of Otite's definition reveals that corruption is an instrument that is employed by those who may not deserve a thing to influence the judgement of those saddled with the responsibility of adjucating a matter or allocating values to tilt the scale of justice in their favour. To that extent, it is arguable that corruption represents a social process that has as its ultimate objective the promotion of unfairness and by implication breeds strive, mediocrity and conflict of the negative genre and disorderliness. It is an activity that is targeted at

compromising the integrity of a system and by so doing undermines the achievement of due process and accountability that promote trust and engender cooperation. This perhaps explains why Sen Amartya opines that "corruption or corrupt behaviour involves the violation of established rules for personal gain and profit".[7]

It must be pointed out that there are various forms of corruption. Dike identifies the following as forms and subdivisions of corruptions: "Electoral corruption, judicial corruption, religious corruption, academic corruption and political corruption".[8] Let us now attempt to delineate political corruption, which is the focus of this paper, from other forms of corruption listed above. Put differently, we need to know what political corruption is all about. Gwame Kyekye provides a very simple and illuminating definition of what political corruption is when he states that "political corruption is the illegal, unethical, and unauthorised exploitation of one's political or official position for personal gain or advantage".[9]

The inference that can be drawn from Kyekye's exposition is that political corruption is morally condemnable. This is because it culminates in the sacrificing of public good for personal gain. Hafiz Adisa reiterates this when he writes:

> Corruption and corrupt practices has to do with fraudulent activities especially the siphoning of public fund that is meant for the general populace for personal use.[10]

In a nutshell, political corruption means the use of political office or privilege for personal gain rather than for public good.

National Security

Unlike that of corruption, the concept of security is not easily defined. This is so because it is a concept with diverse ideological and intellectual perspectives and so no single definition is universally accepted. Yomi Akinyeye emphasises this when he writes:

> Security does not have a universally accepted definition as various scholars have defined it in various ways depending on their intellectual predilection and or ideological orientation.[11]

Thus, in the extant literature on security, there are two conceptions of the idea of security – 'military conception of security' and 'non-military conception of security, which is otherwise referred to as 'human security'.

The military conception of security, according to Handreder and Buel, represents "the protection of a nation against all types of external aggression, espionage, hostile reconnaissance, sabotage, subversion, annoyance and other inimical influences."[12] For Handreder and Buel, the goal of security is achieved when a nation's territorial integrity and sovereignty are guaranteed. The point of emphasis here is that militaristic conception of security sees security in purely narrow military terms. T.A. Imobighe expresses this when he posits that "security implies the build-up of a formidable military defence to protect the territorial integrity of the state from both internal and external violations."[13]

Following the end of the Cold War and the collapse of Soviet Union, the focus on the militaristic conception of security in intellectual discourse and in the conduct of global affairs changed. A new conception of security, one that is all-encompassing in terms of human welfare and sustainable eco-system, was advanced. Imobiche reiterates this when he states:

> With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the militaristic conception of security has come under increasing questioning. Following this development, and the global concern for poverty eradication ad protection of the environment, some neo-realist scholars have expanded the definition of security to include economic and ecological issues. To this group of scholars, security means protection not only from military threats, but also from economic vulnerability, ecological threats and natural disasters.[14]

This conception of security can be said to be all-encompassing, people-centred and inclusive. "Security in this broad sense connotes freedom from, or elimination of threat not only to the physical existence of the state, but also to its ability for self protection and development and the enhancement of the general well-being of all the people".[15] This conception of security, aptly called "human security' advances human protection and promotion of human needs in all its ramifications. It has as its focus the satisfaction and preservation of humanity.

Having discussed the concept of security both from the militaristic and non-militaristic perspectives, it must be emphasised that central to any conception of security is the idea of 'threat'. In other words, whether the focus is on 'physical security' or on 'human security', the absence of threat or its presence defines the whole idea of security. McLaurin emphasises the centrality of the idea of threat to any conception of security when he argues that "security is a concept devoid of some operational meaning in the absence of some identification of threats".[16]

By threat, we mean anything that constitutes a danger or an obstacle to the accomplishment of a purpose or goal. To that extent, a state is said to be secure and safe when it is protected or insulated from threat of any sort and insecure and unsafe when there is threat of any sort. Arnold Wolfers underscores this when he argues that "security in an objective sense means an absence of threat to acquired values such as territorial sovereignty and independence, socio-economic interests and political tranditions.[17] Yomi Akinyeye expresses this more sharply when he states that "each type of security is directed towards a certain type of threat".[18]

With an insight into the whole idea of security, let us point out that there are various types of security. They are: social security, economic security, psychological security, job security, regime security and national security, to mention but a few. It must be noted that the forms of security identified herein can be categorised, within the context of a state, as sub-sets of national security. This, of course, brings us to the very important question: what is national security? What exactly are we talking about when we employ the phrase, national security, in our discourse?

First and foremost, it must be noted that the importance of national security to the worth of a nation-state cannot be over emphasised. In fact, national security defines the health of a nation within the comity of nations. It is a concept that is essentially meaningful within the context of the state system. It is a concept that is examined in the light of the presence or absence of threat to a nation's collective interest. Broadly, national security represents absence of threats in the socio-economic, political, ecological, cultural and religious life of a nation and absence of threats to a nation's territorial integrity and her cherished

values. The emphasis here is that national security is more than physical protection of a state's sovereignty and her territorial integrity.

In the light of the above, national security may be simply referred to as absence of threats to a nation's territorial integrity, sovereignty and capability to realise the accomplishment of the essence of the state which, primarily is the promotion of the collective well-being of the generality of her people. Phillip Ujomu expresses this position when he argues that national security "is the concern for national survival, national self defense, the preservation of a government's sovereignty or even the focus on the realisation of peace and progress of society".[19]

In this paper, national security is construed to mean the protection of national interest, preservation of national survival and promotion of the collective aspiration of the people to live decently and peacefully within a state. This conception, it must be noted, emphasises peaceful co-existence and general well-being of the various groups and individuals in a state rather than on the security of the regime in power which, is often what those in power substitute for national security.

Trust

Trust is not easily defined. It is a concept that has attracted the attention of quite a large number of scholars among which are Barber (1983); Baler (1986); Seligman (1997); Fukuyama (2001); Newton (2001), Yamigishi and Yamigishi, (1994), to mention but a few.

It must be noted that 'trust' is essentially a sociological concept that expresses the relationship that exists between individual and others in a social structure. It is a relational concept. Trust basically expresses an individual's belief in another to act or do things that would promote the interest of the one exercising positive belief in the other. Kenneth Newton emphasises this when he states: "trust is defined here as the actor's belief that, at worst, others will not knowingly or willingly do him harm, and at best, that they will act in his interest".[20]

Trust is fundamental to the working of human society. In fact, we can safely argue that without the presence of a measure of trust, human society cannot function. The existence of the state, which serves as agent of social control, is based on the whole idea of trust. Kenneth Newton reiterates this when he writes: trust . . . is a necessary condition

of social integration, economic efficiency, and democratic stability".[21] For Eric M. Uslander, "trust plays a key role in creating a vibrant community . . . when people trust each other, they are more likely to take an active role in their community."[22] Perhaps, this explains Kenneth Newton's view that "trust makes it possible to maintain peaceful and stable relations that are the basis for collective behaviour and productive cooperations".[23]

In discussing the concept of trust, two categories of trust have been identified. Francis Fukuyama distinguishes between what he calls 'narrow radius of trust' and wider or 'larger radius of trust', while Yamigishi and Yamigishi distinguish between what they call 'particularised trust' and 'generalised trust'. It is noteworthy that what Francis Fukuyama calls 'narrow radius of trust' is similar to what Yamigishi and Yamigishi call 'particularised trust' and what Francis Fukuyama labels as 'wider or larger radius of trust' could be likened to Yamigishi and Yamigishi's "generalised trust".

Having clarified this, let us quickly point out that for the purpose of this paper, we are adopting Yamigishi and Yamigishi's typology of trust-particularised and generalised trust — to drive home the thrust of this paper. Thus, it becomes imperative further clarify what Yamigishi and Yamigishi mean by 'particularised trust' and 'generalised trust'.

According to Yamigishi and Yamigishi, 'particularised trust' refers to "trust within a group or family or when we trust only people we know."[24] This kind of trust, it must be emphasised, encourages people to think and act in terms of 'we' and 'they'. Particularised trust facilitates cooperation between only people who are acquinted with one another — family members and kin — while people that are outside our group, family and kin are treated with suspicion and distrust. Francis Fukuyama reiterates this when he states that "particularised trust" promotes in-group solidarity but reduces the ability of group members to cooperate with outsiders, and often imposes negative externalities on the later.[25]

While 'generalised trust', on the other hand, depicts trust that goes beyond our kin and in-groups to a wide range of people especially those whom we are acquinted with and who are different from us. This kind of trust does not exhibit the 'we' versus 'them' dichotomy that defines 'particularised trust'. It facilitates cooperation and participation

in societal affairs among the various groups and individuals that constitute a social structure or society. This perhaps explains why Yamigishi and Yamigishi opine that generalised trust 'makes people more wiling to take part in the communities and to endorse moral commitments".[26] Generalised trust is an imperative if people in multi-ethnic societies were to work together for common good.

Transformational Leadership

The place of leadership, whatever its genre in human society cannot be over emphasised. Leadership constitutes a critical element of any human society's political life. In fact, it defines it. It is essential in all human activity be it social, economic, cultural, religious or political. Albert reiterates this when he states that "leadership is one of the fundamental currents of the human experience most especially when viewed as a process through which groups, organisations and societies attempt to achieve common goals."[27]

The discourse on leadership is meaningful only when examined along with the reality of followership. In other words, you cannot discuss the idea of leadership, with all seriousness, in isolation of the concept of followership. Bennis exposes the leadership-followership matrix in his attempt to define the concept of leadership when he submits that leadership is "the process by which an agent induces a subordinate to behave in a desired manner".[28] To that extent, the leadership must command respect in their sphere of influence otherwise it would be difficult for them to move the followership to do things necessary for the accomplishment of collective goals. Essentially, the term leadership evokes "the ability to define problems, assess options, make decisions and implement then in a way that is conducive to achieving the desired results".[29] This perhaps explains why Albert opines that leadership creates visions, which they work with followers to realise".[30]

Given the above, we can therefore say that leadership represents the driving force', with the cooperation of the followership, that brings into effect or realisation the set goals, decisions and aspirations of an orgnisation, group or even a nation. Consequently, the character of the leadership determines, to a very large extent, the level of success or otherwise of an organisation, group and a nation. The question that

looms large now is: what is transformational leadership?

First and foremost, it must be pointed from the outset that transformational leadership is a form of leadership whose overriding goal is to effect change in multi-dimensional ways with a view to achieving the stated objectives or goals of the group or the nation. This may involve change in the governance process, change in the socio-economic context and change in the attitude of both the leadership and the followership, for the realisation of the societal goals. Albert posits that transformational leadership "requires that leaders transform followers in such a way that both would work together towards attaining a desired course of attitudinal and physical change suggested by leaders".[31]

The defining feature of this form of leadership is its commitment to change. This perhaps explains why it is usually the form of leadership prescribes for a society whose defining principles are repugnant to the accomplishment of the desired goals and aspirations of the society. Moreover, a transformational leadership is one that is committed to the satisfaction of the well-being of the generality of the people, rather than to the satisfaction of personal interest and desires. "What drives the individual in this process of transformation leadership is not what they stand to gain personally, but rather what the entire society stands to benefit from a collective course of action".[32]

Furthermore, transformational leadership is one where the commitment of the leadership to the goals of the society is reinforced or strengthened by trust and loyalty on the part of the followership. In transformational leadership, the much needed trust that is enjoyed by the leadership from the followership is earned as a result of the leadership's credibility and performance. Put differently, leaders earn trust of people because they exhibit strong values and were able to satisfy the yearnings of the generality of the people by their performance in office.

Transformational leadership is one that thrives where the leaders have the charisma, moral strength and intellectual capability not only to provide their people with a national vision and purpose but to also galvanise the efforts of the people towards, and to sustain their enthusiasm in, the pursuit of the society's objectives.

By transformational leadership therefore, we mean one that is dynamic, strong- both in intellect and morals – dedicated, self-confident, creators of great and laudable ideas, can inspire their people to harness their innate potentials, free from corruption and totally committed to the well-being of the people, rather than to self.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION, TRUST AND NIGERIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

The objective of this segment of the paper is to expose the effects of political corruption on the Nigerian state in general and on the nation's security situation in particular. Specifically, an overview of the effects of political corruption in Nigeria will be discussed with particular emphasis on how corruption engenders lack of faith in the Nigerian state and promotes mistrust among the various groups that constitute the Nigerian state, lawlessness, violent conflict, and general insecurity in the nation.

Political corruption has grown to become a hydra-headed monster in Nigeria. In his analysis of levels of corruption Chinazo Bertrand states that Nigeria's corruption is at the "sixth level – Demon Degree Corruption."[33] Chinazo Bertrand Okeomah sheds more light on the level of corruption in Nigeria when he writes "Nigeria's corruption is deep. It is very deep. It is also very pervasive and has spread everywhere. There may just be very few cells in the body anatomy called Nigeria where the cancer of corruption has not yet metastasised to".[34]

The point we are making is that corruption in Nigeria is at its apogee. Olu-Owolabi is perhaps reacting to this worrisome level of corruption in Nigeria when he states "the problem has become so complex and hydra-headed that many have come to the conclusion that the human quest for good governance and the good life will consistently elude Nigeria if the hydra-headed monster of corruption is not addressed".[35] Basil bemoanes the effect of corruption on Nigeria's quest for development when he submits that Nigeria is one of the world's most endowed nations with abundant human and natural resources. There is practically every vital mineral deposits in all the states of the federation. Yet it remains under-developed because of the menace of corruption".[36]

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From the foregoing, we can see that corruption has done monumental damage to the Nigerian state. Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria's former president, succinctly expresses this when he states that "our national life has been overtaken by confusion, greed, corruption in high and low places, selfishness, pervasive lawlessness and cynicism".[37] The truth of the matter is that the effect of corruption on the Nigerian state and her people is myriad. Political corruption has had devastating effects on the Nigerian state so much so that it can barely perform the role of a modern state. It is at the root of the deplorable socio-economic condition of the generality of the Nigerian people.

We need to recall that the objective of this paper is to expose the nexus between Nigeria's culture of corruption and the prevalent state of insecurity in the nation and how this can be remedied. In bringing the core of this paper to sharper focus, Mark Pyman's analysis of the implications of political corruption will be employed to drive home the relationship between Nigeria's culture of corruption and the nation's parlous state of security. For Pyman[38] political corruption leads to a waste of scarce resources, impacts on operational effectiveness, reduces public trust in the state and can completely invalidate security strategies.

Through political corruption, the Nigerian state has lost enormous resources that could have been challenged to development. The fact of the matter is that corruption diverts scarce public resources into private hands. Nuhu Ribadu, former chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, EFCC, an anti-graft agency in Nigeria, emphasises this when he states that in that ". . . we had a leader General Sani Abacha, it was believed that he took for himself $5-6 billion . . ."[39] Global Financial Integrity, a United States based agency, underscores this when it states that "$130 billion was illegally taken out of Nigeria between 2000 and 2008".[40]

Following Pyman's assertion/remark/point that corruption impacts on operational effectiveness, the Nigerian state can be said to be an absolute representation of how corruption impacts negatively on operational effectiveness of state institutions and agencies. Today, it is virtually impossible to come across any state institutions and agencies that are effective in terms of service delivery and fulfilling statutory functions. It is also disheartening that the main reason for the

ineffectiveness of these institutions is the problem of corruption. The police, customs, immigration service, state security service, SSS, civil service, to mention just a few, are mere shadows of what they should be. In fact, the deplorable state of the nation's security today is a result of the failure of these institutions to perform their statutory functions. If the police, for instance, were to be effective, the Nigerian state, would not be in the parlous state of security.

Moreover, Pyman identifies reduction in public trust in the state as one of the effects of corruption. This also has been clearly demonstrated in the Nigerian state. The truth of the matter is that the culture of corruption in Nigerian has contributed immensely to the deplorable socio-economic conditions of the generality of the Nigerian people. Corruption undermines the capacity of the Nigerian state to deliver and thus the trust of the Nigerian people in the Nigeria state got eroded. The generality of the Nigerian people do no longer see the Nigerian state as a vehicle through which their dreams and aspirations can be realised. Therefore, the preponderance of particularised trust in the nation's body polity.

As a result of the erosion of the trust of the people in the Nigerian state, there is an aggression on the part of every individual and group to control the nations resources and convert to personal use. Naturally, when people have this kind of orientation and mind-set the propensity to pursue activities that are inimical to collective interests is usually very high. In fact, peoples' activities under such a situation are geared towards undermining the state structure and institutions to satisfy personal or group interest. Consequently, the citizens, rather than promote national security, undermine national security. At the root of many of the violent conflict that had bedeviled the Nigerian state is lack of public trust in the Nigerian state. The loyalty public support and obedience to state laws required to put the nation on the path of stability, social progress, and maintain national security are in barely given by the people. Victor reiterates this when the writer: "corruption . . . literally undermines effective governance, endangers democracy and erodes the social and moral fabric of nation".[41]

Furthermore, Mark Pyman's postulation that corruption can completely invalidate security strategies is very instructive, especially

in the nation's clime where enormous resources invested on the security sector has not yielded the expected results.

Having examined on a general perspective using Pyman's postulation to capture the effect of corruption on the Nigerian state, we would proceed to bring into fore the damage done to Nigeria's national security. Towards this end, an overview of the state of security in the Nigerian state will be instructive. In contemporary Nigeria, an air of insecurity envelopes everywhere. The nation is in a state of anomie. The *TELL*, in a publication, exposes the insecurity (physical) that defines the Nigerian state:

> In the past few weeks armed robbers had stormed many towns in the South-West and robbed many commercial banks with no regard for life and property. Life has become worthless in both South-eastern and South-southern parts of Nigeria where murderers, armed robbers and kidnappers rule like imperial kings . . . Even in the northern part of Nigeria where the wave of kidnapping and hired killings is not rampart, living has continually slipped to the Hobbesian state of nature where life is brutish, nasty and short. In some state in the North, ethno-religious violence has claimed thousands of lives and destroyed property worth millions of naira.[42]

It must be noted that this fearful and worrisome report about happenings in Nigeria was even confirmed by government functionaries and institutions. According to a report in July, 2009 by Ibrahim Yakubu Lame, former Minister for Police Affairs, a whopping 512 kidnapping cases were recorded between January 2008 and June 2009, with states in the South-east toping the inglorious table. Out of this staggering figure, no fewer than 30 persons were said to have lost their lives in the process. In its 2008 report, the National Bureau of Statistics, (NBS,) said armed robbery cases were more pronounced in seven states in the country . . .[43]

In the area of socio-economic security, the Nigerian state has failed woefully to alleviate the poverty of the people. Less than 10 percent of the population have access to good drinkable water, over 70 percent of the population can barely feed themselves, teeming population of the youth are unemployed, only very few have access to qualitative health care. All these explain why the Nigerian youth are prepared to do just

anything to get out of the country to western nations of the world while the bulk of those around are consciously engaged in activities targeted at undermining the nation's security for personal gain.

There is a consensus among social scholars and all people interested in the Nigerian state that the major reason why this state of undevelopment persists is because of the problem of corruption. From the above, we can observe that Nigerians are victims of the culture of corruption of the political leadership. Little wonder, the bulk of the Nigerian people are disenchanted and have lost faith in the Nigerian state. This lack of faith in the Nigerian state is undoubtedly the most damaging of the effects of corruption to Nigeria's national security. The centrality of public trust to the national survival and security of any nation, whether developed or underdeveloped, cannot be over emphasised. In fact, trust is the foundation of any state. Once public trust is eroded, the binding force of the state is gone.

By trust in the context of this paper, we mean 'generalised trust' rather than 'particularised trust'. The need to promote generalised trust in the Nigerian nation becomes imperative in view of the fact that the preponderance of particularised trust in the Nigerian nation has been one of the forces sustaining the culture of corruption in the country. The Nigerian state as it were is on the verge of disintegration as a result of violent crises and general insecurity largely caused by the failure of the state to engender the much-needed loyalty and trust of the generality of her people. This despondent state of affairs, it must be pointed out, was created and sustained by grand corruption in the management of the nation's public affairs which, has not only weakened but has almost eroded the capability of the state to perform statutory functions understood "as the obligations for the citizens welfare and security".[44]

From the foregoing, it is imperative that concerted efforts be made to address the menace of corruption and, by so doing, deploy the resources that would have been looted by corrupt public officers to developmental purposes. The point that is being made is that a considerable reduction in the level of corruption would facilitate improved social and economic conditions of the generality of the people. This, we submit, is critical to the maintenance of national security.

Political Corruption and National Security in Nigeria:
The Imperatives of Transformational Leadership

Our argument in this paper is that 'generalised trust' can only evolve through the activities of a transformational leadership, a form of leadership that is committed to the promotion of 'common good' rather than personal gain. This form of leadership would characteristically engender trust in the system and thus encourage people to want to act in the interest of the public rather than self. The presence of generalised trust (social capital) in a multi-ethnic society, like Nigeria, is critical to the functioning and stability of the polity. Solomon what underscores the importance of trust to the working of a society when he argues "there can be no cooperation, no community, no conversation . . . Without trust . . ."[45] when there is a preponderance of generalised trust in a society, the collective aspirations and goals of the society are easily realizable and national survival which is central to the maintenance of national security is enhanced. Trust facilitates building a social consensus for achievement of collective vision and maintenance of national security.

The point that is being emphasised here is that Nigeria's quest for stable and secure nation can be achieved with a transformational leadership. When a transformational leadership is in place, corruption becomes an exception rather than the rule and consequently individuals and groups within the Nigerian state are driven "not by what they stand to gain personally, but rather what the entire society stands to benefits from collective course of action".[46] Once common interest rather than personal interest becomes the driving force of the generality of the Nigerian people, the quest for progress and development is easily realisable.

CONCLUSION

In concluding the present exercise, we need to re-emphasise the thrust of the paper that the menace of political corruption must be addressed if Nigeria is to achieve national security, since we have argued that there is a symbiotic relationship between corruption and national security. Our position is that a transformational form of leadership is better placed to carry out the necessary change in every facet of the nation's life required to put the nation on the path of progress and

development. The importance of a transformational leadership to the Nigerian state is emphasised by Idowu Akinlotan when he states: "Nigeria now desperately needs a transformational leadership to restructure the country, halt the dangerous lunch towards centrifugalism, and make living together among all groups, and religious bodies possible and even enjoyable".[47] This genre of leadership, we argue, would free Nigeria from the virus of corruption and inspire Nigerians to be committed to common good that is germane to the maintenance of national security.

ENDNOTES

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The Nigerian federation is a mischief, suffering from exploitation by the political class, who use terms like nation-building, national unity, integration and harmonious relationships as excuse for sustaining and consolidating coexistence.
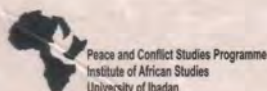
Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria provides an African perspective to the current issues of, and debates on peace, security and development in Africa, with particular reference to Nigeria. This interesting publication is the outcome of the conference, "Towards Sustainable Peace, Security and Development in Nigeria", organised by the Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP), during which scholars and practitioners addressed the issues from varied perspectives. Indeed, the conference was, and the publication is, an opportunity for theory (academics) and practice (practitioners) to share and blend viewpoints on peace and security. The rich and various articles explore the root-causes, the accelerators, triggers, and consequences of conflict and governance crises in Nigeria and Africa. It brings to the fore the key and current conflicts in the various geo-political zones of Nigeria, some African examples (Ghana) and Nigeria's strategic role in African and world peace. Moreover, the publication is an affirmation that Nigerians in particular and Africans in general have got what it takes to analyse and proffer solutions to their plight.

This book is coming at a time regional organisations such as the ECOWAS are intensifying their efforts at conflict prevention and peacebuilding/ keeping. The AU, during the 'Year of Peace and Security' that was launched in 2010, vividly recognised that peace and security is also an academic endeavour and called on African academics, think-tanks and researchers to partner with the Commission to address the challenge of violent conflicts, and pave the way for sustainable development. It is, therefore, time for Africa to start using its own knowledge base in building what has been referred to as seeking African solutions to African problems.

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