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GEO-POLITICS

LECTURE NOTES FOR
SENIOR STAFF COURSE QUALIFYING EXAMINATION

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PART ONE:
NIGERIA AFFAIRS

NIGERIAN FOREIGN POLICY

INTRODUCTION

1. Any meaningful appreciation of the foreign policy of Nigeria must take into consideration her geo-political environment as this has imposed on the country certain obligations, responsibilities which reflect her foreign policy objectives. Nigeria was one of the 17 countries in Africa that obtained independence in 1960. Nigeria is a federal republic of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. N igeria has a total land mass of 924,000sq kms and estimated population of over 200 million people. Nigeria was not visible in the international arena immediately after independence, due toher weak socio-political and economic position. The Nigeria Civil War of 1967-1970 further delayed her full participation in international politics in the sixties. Immediately after the civil war, Nigeria took significant steps towards becoming a major player in regional and continental (African) affairs.

2. The guiding principle of Nigerian foreign policy is a reflection of her domestic pre-occupation and its perception of the international environment. Over the years, some guiding principles have informed Nigeria's foreign policy and the pursuit of her national interests both in her bilateral andmultilateral relations. Although there has been variation in style and

dynamism over the years, Nigeria's foreign policy considerations have remained fairly consistent.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to explain the following:

a. The thrust of Nigeria's African policy.
b. Guiding principles of foreign policy.
c. Factors that determine foreign policy.
d. Instruments for conducting foreign policy.

PRINCIPLES OF FOREIGN POLICY

4. Every action or inaction of a state actor in the international system is guided by a set of principles or rules regulating it. Although these principles vary from state tostate. According to scholars, principles are platform which a country's foreign policy is laid; even though it changes at times, most elements guiding it remains static. Some of these principles are stated below:

a. Upholding the sovereignty and integrity of the state.
b. Ensuring national security and defence.
c. Promoting national interest.

FACTORS THAT DETERMINE FOREIGN POLICY

5. Certain factors influence a state's foreign policy. The factors are broadly divided into 2; the internal and the external factors.

6. **Internal Factors.** Internal factors that determine foreign policy include the following:

a. Political structure of the country.
b. Structure of the economy.
c. Geo-political location of the country.
d. Character of political leadership.
e. Military factor.
f. Demographic factor.
g. Domestic political situation.

Others are national capability, public opinion and national ideology.

7. **External Factors**. The external factors are dynamics that influence a nation's foreign policy from the outside. Since foreign policy of nation-states are strictly to inter-relate with other nation states of the world, those external factors that affect/or are involved in the international relations must be considered or compromised for countries to relate well in the international political system. Due to advent of globalization, no country is considered completely unitary in decision making process. Factors like the international organizations, international laws and public opinions from various quarters of the international system and other states beliefs and reactions could pattern the foreign policy of a particular state.

INSTRUMENTS FOR CONDUCTING FOREIGN POLICY

8. The instruments for conducting foreign policy generally refers to the means or mechanism used by states in conducting their relations with other states. The following are instruments for conducting foreign policy:

9. **Diplomacy**. This is the conduct of inter-state relations by means of negotiations. Among the available instruments of conducting inter-state relations, diplomacy is the mostpeaceful and effective instrument for conducting foreign policy.

10. **Propaganda**.This refers to the manipulation and distortion of information in order to achieve ones' interest and defeat the interest of an opponent. It involves extensive useof mass media. This is an instrument of conducting foreign policy objectives of a state.

11. **Militarism**. This is a major weapon for conductinginter-state relations. It involves the use of force, terroristattack and military coercion in conducting foreign policy objectives of states. Since it is violent in nature, it is often used as a last resort when, for instance, diplomacy and other settlement of disputes failed.

12. **Economic Weapon**. This constitutes another instrument for conducting inter-state relations. Rather than resorting to war in order to resolve a conflict situation, certain

economic devices could be used. These include trade boycott, withdrawal of aids and most importantly economic sanctions.

13. **Cultural Instrument**. These are inter-cultural activities like sports, dance, music, and games. This is becoming increasingly useful in conducting inter-state relations. For example the All African Games, World Cup (Football), the Olympic Games as well as music concert and awards. However, this device is used to ascertain a level of both positive or negative acceptance of state foreign policy. For instance, Nigeria in 1996 boycotted the African NationsCup competition held in South Africa to protest that country's hard-line posture towards the killing of Saro Wiwa.

NIGERIAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

14. Every nation engages in some kind of relations with other nations, hence the need for that nation to have a clear vision of what she seeks to achieve in formulating her foreign policy. The aim of any country's foreign policy is nothing butto further or achieve the national interests of the state, to better the lots of its citizens and boost its standing in theworld scene.

15. Since independence, Nigeria's foreign policy has remained consistent with different leaders and administrations. Although there have been variations in style and dynamism over the years, Nigeria's foreign policy drive, since independence have centered on Africa.

16. The Balewa Regime of 1960-1966 laid the foundation for making of Africa the centerpiece of Nigerian foreign policy. He asserted, "We belong to Africa and Africa must claim first attention in our external affairs". The first of the litany of Nigeria's assertion of leadership role in Africa and Afro-centric foreign policy was in Congo.

17. A few months after Nigeria's independence in 1960, Nigeria contributed financially, materially and sent troops to quell the disturbances in the Katanga Province of the Congo. The troops stayed for 4 years there, from 1960-1964, maintaining peace in the region. Nigeria kept her troops in that mission, when countries like Yugoslavia, Indonesia, UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Morocco and Mali withdrew their troops. Nigeria was one of the 3 countries that responded positively tothe call by the then Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammerskjold, for the increase of troops to fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the countries named above.

18. It was argued that Balewa's administration was conservative and would not do much to actualize an aggressive foreign policy drive as it concerned liberation struggle. The administration was guarded and restrained in most of her foreign policy decisions in this area but contributed in peace keeping in conflict areas in the continent. Other features of Nigeria's foreign policy under the Balewa Administration were its membership of and commitment to regional and continental organizations. Nigeria at

independence became a member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations and Non-Aligned Movement.Balewa Administration played a prominent role in the establishment of Organization of African Unity (now African Union) in 1963.

19. The Aguiyi Ironsi Administration of 1966 witnessed no significant change from that of Balewa. The reasons were obvious; the regime was short lived as it lasted only for 6 months. The significant impact of the administration's foreign policy centered on her aggressive confrontation with the colonial and minority regimes in South Africa. The administration also closed down Portuguese mission in Lagos in line with the decision of OAU made in 1963. OAU made a policy not to allow Portuguese mission in member states as a result of Portugal's brutal colonial policy in Africa. The regime declared white South Africans and Portuguese prohibited immigrants in Nigeria. Ironsi openly criticized Western powers that were not opposed to colonialism and racism in the continent. The last 3 years of the 60s (1967-1970) was the period of Nigerian's civil war.

20. After the civil war, under Yakubu Gowon's regime, Nigeria renewed her commitment to African unity and the eradication of apartheid and colonialism in Africa. As a continuation of the country's commitment to her Afro-centric foreign policy posture, Gowon campaigned tirelessly for the formation of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975, provided assistance to some poorer

African countries, fully supported the activities of OAU, and contributed immensely to issues bordering on racism, border and economic underdevelopment in the continent. Gowon administration was criticized for recklessness in spending the oil money.

21. The regime of Murtala Mohammed (1975-1976) brought dynamism and activism to Nigeria's foreign policy. He set a panel under the chairmanship of Professor AbebayoAdedeji to redefine the country's foreign policy, and for the first time since independence, Nigeria's national interests wereclearly spelt out in our foreign policy objectives. Murtala's administration was fully committed to liberation and decolonization of Africa

22. The Murtala Mohammed administration's commitment to the liberation and decolonization of Africa was demonstrated by its patriotic management of the Angola crisis.Initially, the government of Murtala Mohammed had supported the opinion and view of OAU on Angola. OAU's viewwas to find ways of uniting the three liberation movements: Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA), the Frente Nacional de Libertugao de Angola (FNLA),and the Movimento Popular de Libertagao de Angola (MPLA)to form a government of national unity. H owever, when it became clear that the United States of America and South Africa, in particular, planned to install a puppet regime in Angola, Nigeria and other African countries with the support ofCuba and Soviet Union, resisted it. Murtala Mohammed gave

full recognition to the MPLA on the 25 November 1975, and provided material and diplomatic support for the liberation movement needed to give it an advantage in the Angola civil war. This action by Mohammed administration was the most daring and responsible foreign policy decision taken by any Nigerian government since independence. The government of Murtala Mohammed mobilized other OAU members torecognize the MPLA as the legitimate representative of the people of Angola which resulted in the recognition of Angola's membership of OAU in 1976. Murtala Mohammed was assassinated on 13 February 1976 and his administration's commitment to Africa's liberation and decolonization was sustained by his successor Olusegun Obasanjo.

23. During the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration of 1976-1979, Africa remained the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreignpolicy, the country remained committed to the total liberation of oppressed people both on the continent and in diaspora. Itwas during Obasanjo's administration that the report of the foreign policy review panel set during Mohammed era was released. The panel identified 5 objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy as follows:

a. The defense of our sovereignty and territorial integrity.

b. The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which facilitate the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the

same time fostering national self-reliance and rapid economic development.

c. The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and rest of the developing world.

d. The promotion and defense of justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the blackman.

e. The defense and promotion of world peace.

24. The administration pursued a strong policy on decolonization in Southern Africa (Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa). The Obasanjo regime adopted an open door- door policy for African exiles from Southern Africa, financed a number of manpower training programmes for people from Southern Africa who were nominated by different Liberation movements from the sub-region, and launched the Southern African Relief Fund in December 1976. Her physical distance from Southern Africa notwithstanding, her commitment to the liberation struggle earned her an honorary award of 'frontline state'.

25. As part of Obasanjo's Afro-centric policy, on the eve of the Lusaka Commonwealth Summit in 1979, the administration nationalized the British Petroleum Company, a move that spurred the Thatcher administration to organize theLancaster Summit, which resulted in the independence of Zimbabwe. Nigeria, in 1980, sent troops to maintain and restore tranquility in Chad. Out of the 6 countries that promised to send troops, at the request of the OAU, to Chad, only 3 countries –Nigeria, Senegal and Zaire, actually fulfilled

their promise, Obasanjo's regime was characterized by clear vision, well articulated policies and decisive actions.

26. Alhaji Shehu Shagari's administration (1979-1983) continued the original principle of Nigeria's foreign policy, making Africa the focal point of her foreign policy. The regime reiterated Nigeria's commitment to armed struggle to liberate Namibia and support liberation fighters on the continent. The government of Shehu Shagari took a hardliner position against the USA policy of 'constructive engagement' which tied the independence of Namibia from South Africa to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Nigeria sent more troops at the request of the OAU to Chad in 1982. Shagari administration gave a grant of $10 million to Zimbabwe to enable her acquire the Zimbabwe Herald from its white owner. However, the administration's commitment to decolonization and eradication of racism deteriorated due to deepening economic crisis the country faced. The economic crisis caused the administration to introduce austerity measures which drastically reduced aids to countries in the sub-region and or cut short or stopped completely monetary contributions to some liberation struggles in Africa.

27. The economic crisis resulted in the expulsion of illegal aliens in 1983. These illegal aliens were mostly from Republic of Benin, Togo and Ghana. The Shagari's expulsion of illegal aliens in Nigeria provoked spirited attacks and outright denunciation. This worsened the country's image and created hostility towards Nigeria. Nigeria's African policy during

Shagari administration hardly lived up to the standards set by previous governments. By the end of the administration, Nigeria had little or no respect left in the international community.

28. The Mohammadu Buhari/Tunde Idiagbon Administration (1983-1985) strived to restore the vibrancy of Nigeria's foreign policy, purposefulness and credibi lity it enjoyed during Mohammed/Obasanjo regime. The administration came up with the 'concentric circle'. These 3 concentric circles clearly put Nigeria's interest first, West Africasub-region second and then the rest of Africa and the world, third. Buhari's administration pursued both domestic and foreign policies with great commitment and vigor that was anchored by purposeful leadership. The administration accorded recognition to POLISARO Government of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) and aided her admission to the OAU despite opposition from some other African countries. In pursuit of her Afro-centric foreign policy, the administration paid the arrears of the country's contribution to the OAU Liberation Fund, which Shagari's government had failed to pay. The regime was condemned for high handedness.

29. Ibrahim Babangida's administration of 1985 -1993 inherited a well focused and directional foreign policy and retained the traditional commitment to eradication of apartheid and liberation of the whole of Africa fromcolonialism as well as the promotion of African unity. The administration played a leading role in the liberation struggle

and made financial contributions to the liberation movements. For instance, in 1989, the administration gave South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) US$1.5 million, and the African National Congress (ANC) US $1 million. The administration also played a prominent role in sub-regional peace and security, especially in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

30 In Liberia, Nigeria contributed 4,000 out of 6,000 troops sent to the troubled country and spent an estimated US $2 million in peacekeeping efforts in Liberia, and contributed 70 percent of the total number of troops in the Liberia peacekeeping mission. Nigeria played the role of prime mover on Liberia peace initiative while the more immediate neighbours who are more directly threatened, did not contribute as many. The administration initiated the formation of Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and was the major financier of the institution.

31. The regime, lifted boundary closures and restored free movement within ECOWAS countries; intervened in inter-African affairs and conflicts especially in West Africa – in the border between Mali and Burkina Faso and in the strained relationship between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The Babangida administration initiated the establishment of Nigeria's Technical Aids Corps (TAC) which provides highly trained Nigerian personnel (specialists) at little or no cost to needy African countries. The Babangida administration initiated the formation of the Lagos Forum of Medium Powers.

32. The Sani Abacha Administration (1993-1998) encountered the greatest opposition and hostility and hence was the reactive foreign policy. The administration faced oppositions from her membership of international organizations and was criticized for her violation of fundamental human rights. The hanging of Ken Saro Wiwa and 8 other activists from Ogoniland, despite international outcry and plea for clemency, further eroded what was left of Nigeria's image. With the increase in oppression and fragrant violation of fundamental human rights in the country came theincrease in the efforts of members of the international community to isolate Nigeria at major fora and to frustrate theAbacha administration. On 11 November 1995, the Commonwealth of Nations suspended Nigeria's membership. It was South Africa that moved the motion for Nigeria's suspension. Abacha accused South Africa of meddling in Nigeria's domestic affairs and was labeled stooge of Western powers by Abacha Administration. South Africa and host of others temporarily withdrew their diplomatic representatives from the country. In response to isolation from the West and its associates, Abacha shifted from the capitalist West to Eastern bloc. Nigeria withdrew from the 1996 African Cup of Nations being hosted by South Africa. Sani Abacha unexpectedly died and General Abdulsalam Abubakar became the Head of State.

33. Abdulsalam Abubakar (1998-1999) attempted to redeem the Nigeria's bartered image especially at the human rights front. He freed all political prisoners incarcerated by

Abacha, including General Olusegun Obasanjo. He also invited those who have been forced into exile to return and help to build the country. He had a transitional programme which was indicative of his willingness to hand over to a democratically elected government. In response, European Union and Commonwealth countries lifted the sanctions imposed on Nigeria.

34. Abdulsalam Abubakar Administration gave international observers unrestricted access to monitor the 1999 General Elections. His government specifically laid out the objectives and principles of Nigeria's foreign policy in Section 19 of 1999 Constitution. These foreign policy principles objectives are:

a. Promotion and protection of national interest.

b. Promotion of African integration and support for African Unity.

c. Promotion of international co-operation for the consolidations of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discriminations in all its manifestation.

d. Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as theseeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication.

e. Promotion of a just world economic order.

35. The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration (1999-2007) major point of the foreign policy drive was the aggressive campaign for debt relief. His administration strengthened and

diversified bilateral and multilateral relations with the outside world. Obasanjo Administrations made a shift from concentration of Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy to globally focused policy. He campaigned vigorously for poor nations of Africa, South America, the Caribbean and Asia to harmonize their efforts for a fairer deal from industrialized nations.

36. The Obasanjo Administration also pursued the affairs of her immediate neighbours and Africa as a whole with vigor and great commitment. He played a crucial role in transforming OAU into a more effective African Union (AU). Nigeria under Olusegun Obasanjo worked tirelessly for the creation of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). On conflict resolution and peace initiatives, Nigeria has been involved in an avalanche of peacekeeping missionsin Africa in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Sao Tome and Principeand the African Mission in Sudan (AMIS).

37. President Yar'adua administration (2007 – 2010) acknowledged that president Obasanjo's administration laid the foundation upon which Nigeria's future prosperity can be built. According to the President during this period, Nigerians reached a national consensus in at least 4 areas namely to deepen democracy and the rule of law; build an economy driven primarily by the private sector, not government; displayzero tolerance for corruption in all its forms, and finally, restructure and staff our government to ensure efficiency and good governance. He added that the goal of his administration

was to build on the greatest accomplishment of the past few years and relying on the seven-point agenda, concentrate on rebuilding our physical infrastructure and human capital in order to take our country forward, and accelerating economic and other reforms in a way that makes a concrete and visible difference to ordinary people.

38. Chief Ojo Maduekwe the former minister of foreignAffairs under, Yar'Adua administration fashioned a foreign policy thrust for Nigeria called "citizens Diplomacy" or "diplomacy of consequences". Citizen's d iplomacy according to Maduekwe entails defending the legitimate interests of Nigerians whenever and wherever such interests are under threat of outright jeopardy. Indeed, at the time it was enunciated, the policy seemed most propitious given the increasing harassment of Nigerians across the world. The new foreign policy as unfolded by the Yar'Adua administration is geared towards "protecting" the image and integrity of Nigeria and retaliates against countries that are hostile and brand Nigeria as "corrupt".

39. The foreign policy of the government was considered on how to benefits Nigeria and Nigerians in a form of branding Nigeria's self-esteem, and national unity were being under-mine whilst investors were prevented from coming to Nigeria. In other words, this foreign policy term diplomacy of consequences of the concept of reciprocity, that is to say, Nigeria would be nice to countries that are nice to her and if not there would be a cost. In a nutshell, citizens'

diplomacyrequires the government of Nigeria to be more consciously resort to the calculi of the basic needs, human rights and socio – economic welfare of the citizen in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagement with others.

40. President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua further understand the immediate foreign policy challenges facing Nigeria when he inaugurated a 6 member honorary presidential advisory council on international relations, heeded by the former common wealth Secretary – General and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chief Emeka Anyaoku in 2009. The President charged the council to lead the vanguard to reinvigorate Nigeria's foreign policy process in the light of the prevailing realities in today's increasing complex world.

41. President Yar'Adua desires that the foreign policy must support his administration's 7 - point agenda for the enhancement of accelerated social, economic educational and technological development and the entrenchment ofdemocracy and good governance. The Yar'Adua 7 – point agenda to transform Nigeria are: power and energy; food security and agriculture; wealth creation and employment; mass transportation; land reform; security; qualitative andfunctional education; the Niger Delta and disadvantaged groups.

42. The death of President Yar'Adua in 2010 usher ed in the Jonathan administration to first complete the remaining 2years left in the Yar'Adua 4 years mandate. However, after

contesting and wining the 2011 presidential election, Goodluck Jonathan was saddled with the responsibility to lead the nation. This afforded him the opportunity to formulate a foreign policy direction for the country. From the domestic policy of transformation agenda of the government, many where optimistic that a pragmatic and visionary foreign policy would emerge.

43. Goodluck administration embarked on a comprehensive review of the country's foreign policy. The government anchored its foreign policy direction on domestic interest. The government in its beat to re-launch Nigeria's foreign policy, ascertain the need for viable foreign policy options that include the task of building a sound domestic economic base. Their point of departure is credited to the betterment of the domestic demand.

44. The Jonathan administration played an important role in Nigeria foreign policy on regional democracy and diplomacy, strategic partnership and economy diplomacy and lastly Nigeria international image. The administration in it wisdom toposition Nigeria economy and benefits from the process globalization embark on the strategic partnership and economic diplomacy. Nigeria signed bilateral agreements with several countries in the areas of trade, technological cooperation ICT, education, culture/tourism etc.

45. Jonathan administration prominentlyexceled in multilateralism, relations through its economy diplomacy and

strategic partnership. For instance the Bi – National Commission (BNC) with the USA, Germany, Canada and South Africa countries to deepen the gains when the administration did made in trade and investment energy, security, agriculture, good governance health and education sectors. Specifically, the BNC with Germany, signed on 2 December 2011 covers the areas of power and energy, trade and investment, political consultation and education, immigration and cultural matters.

46. Furthermore, the BNC between Nyere and the US as part of the Jonathan administration economy diplomacy was injected with fresh confidence into the Nigeria economy to theextent that Nigeria has become a new destruction for US businesses and entrepreneurs. This had significantly increased Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from the US into fewer than 5working groups, designed to cover literally all aspects of US - Nigeria relations, including assistance in capacity building, technical support, funding, security collaboration and the environment. Several projects and investments were flowing into the country to create jobs for our youths.

47. A FDI inflow of US$54 million was been extended with Mexico to develop agriculture plantations for cultivations of pineapple and other crops for export to the European Union market. Nigeria had good relations with other emerging markets and huge economies such as China in the development of infrastructure and construction. China granteda soft loan of US$500 million for the construction of a light rail

in and around Abuja. It alsodonated a bed capacity hospital which was built in Abuja.

48. The Jonathan administration expectedly also enjoy recognition among country of nations, as it contributions, projects and leading role in ECOWAS, the AU, NEPAD the Common Wealth and the UN as well as in the area of conflict prevention and peacemaking through foreign policy thrust direction. Nigeria earns more respect in the international community despite lingering domestic challenges. The whole internal security challenges, did not affect the goodwill, friendship and partnership that Nigeria enjoy in the country of nations. Indeed the country received and continued to receive offers delegation and visitors for from all countries seeking to engage with the government to invest in Nigeria economy and exchange views on important issues of common interest and concerns.

49. The effort of the Jonathan administration to effectively change the perception of Nigeria international image was demonstrated in it alignment to strategically partner with other nations. While Nigeria's image problem is both a domestic and global concern, it is not necessarily the worst country in Africa or the world but it definitely parades a most unenviable image. The general perception and graphicportrayal these days is that of a country where corruption is rife and insecurity of life and prosperity is the defining characteristic, a country where nothing works and everythingis wrong.

50. In the pursuit of the African agenda which formed the basis for Africa being the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreignpolicy, Nigeria's major concerns in Africa are as follows:

a. Promotion of peace, prosperity, stability and development of Africa.

b. Development of goodwill and understanding between African countries despite the cultural, linguistic and economic barriers erected by erstwhile colonialism.

c. The discouragement of international intervention and presence in Africa.

d. The development of rapid socio-economic development of Africa through regional economic integration, the strengthening of sub-regional economic institutions and reduction of economic dependence on extra-continental powers.

e. The development of cultural cooperation as a means of strengthening political ties with all African countries.

f. Eradication of all terms of racial discrimination in Africa.

CONCLUSION

51. Every nation engages in some kind of relations with other nations, hence, the need for that nation to have clear vision of that she seeks to achieve in formulating her foreign policy.Nige ria's foreign policy between 1960 and 2015 had witnessed a beehive of activities.

52. The period above witnessed both successes and failures, as various administrations tackled the varieties of problems that rose in its relationship with other members of the international communities. Although, the countries diplomatic profile witnessed improvement as a result of the transition from military to civilian rule, much need to be done to improve on what we have now. Nigeria also made tremendous impact on the socio-economic integration of Africa.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. Explain the foreign policy thrust of Nigeria?
2. What are the guiding principles of foreign policy?
3. What were the determinants of Nigerian foreign policy?
4. Explain the instruments for conducting foreign policy?

NIGERIA JUDICIAL SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION

1. The judicial arm of government is responsible for interpreting the law of the land, while applying it in situations where they are necessary. This makes the role of the judiciar y a very critical one. The law of the land constitutes the basis upon which judgments are ruled, it is therefore fundamental that its interpretation and application be carried out with absolute alacrity and meticulousness.

2. The Nigeria judicial system comprises of the body of benchers and the bar itself. The body of benchers is the collection of the highest ranking legal practitioners in the country, which is headed by the Chief Justice of the Federation. It also has as its members, the respective chief judges of the States of the Federation and certain very reputable lawyers in the country, whereas the Bar is a body ofall the barristers in the country. These together constitute the Nigeria legal class. The Nigeria judicial system has come a long way, taking its origin from the colonial era. It was saddled with the responsibility of checking the activities of the executive and legislative arms of government.

3. The judiciary as a matter of fact, plays a very vital role in the development of the country considering the fact that it is the mechanism that oversees to the usage and management of power in the country. If the power is not checked, the bulk of the citizenry will have lots of troubles and

challenges to contend with. The judiciary operates independent of any external disturbances and functions with the constitutional power vested in its office.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

4. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to explain the following:

a. Sources of Nigeria law.
b. Categories of court.
c. Government court system in order of hierarchy.
d. Judicial independence.
e. Challenges of judicial independence.

SOURCES OF NIGERIAN LAW

5. The sources of the Nigeria Law can be derived from the following books of references:

a. Nigerian constitution.
b. Nigerian statutes (law)through its legislature.
c. English laws (ie common law, doctrines of equity etc).
d. Customary law (Islamic and sharia laws inclusive).
e. Judicial precedent. This is usually a judgment of a court of law cited as an authority for deciding a similar set of facts. It is typically binding.

CATEGORIES OF COURTS

6. The federal judicial power is exercised by the federal courts, which adjudicate in disputes entities in their inter-relationships with one another within or outside the country in accordance with the law. In that regards, the functions, powers and responsibilities of the various courts forming the federal judicature are discussed below:

a. **The Supreme Court**. This is the highest court in Nigeria. It is the last stop on all appeal matters. It consists of the Chief Justice of the Federation and such number of justices of the Supreme Court, not exceeding 21 as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.

b. **The Court of Appeal**. The court of appeal consists of the President and the justices of the Court of Appeal among which at least 3 must be learned in Islamic law and 3 in customary law. It has exclusive jurisdiction to hear and determine appeal from the Federal High Court, High Court of the Federal Capital Terri tory, State High Court, Sharia Court of Appeal, Customary Court of Appeal, National Industrial Court, a Court Martial or other tribunals prescribed by an act of the National Assembly.

c. **The Constitutional Court**. This court is made up of its President and law may prescribe such number of justices of the Constitutional Court (at least

20). It has original jurisdiction in respect of matters relating to the interpretation or enforcement of the constitution among other duties.

d. **The Federal High Court**. The court has exclusive jurisdiction in civil cases and matter relating to the revenue of the Governmentof the Federation such as taxation, customs and excise duties, banking, copyright, admiralty, citizenship etc.

e. **The High Court of the Federal Capital Territory**. It consists of a Judge and such number of Judges as may be prescribed by law. To all intents and purpose, it has the same unlimited jurisdiction as the state High Courts.

f. **Other Courts of the Federal Capital Territory**. In the Federal Capital Territ ory, there are the Sharia Court of Appeal and the Customary Court of Appeal. The Grand Khadi and Khadis preside over the Sharia Court while the President of the Customary Court and other Judges preside over the Customary Court of Appeal. The Sharia Court of Appeal exercises appellate and supervisory jurisdiction in civil proceedings on Islamic law. The Customary Court of Appeal exercise appellate and supervisory jurisdiction incivil proceedings on customary law.

g. **The High Court of a State**. In Nigeria, every state has its own High Court headed by a Chief

Judge and supported by such number of Judges as may be prescribed by the law of the State. The High Court has unlimited jurisdiction to hear and determine any civil and criminal proceedings under any law of the State.

h. **Other Courts of a State**. There is a Sharia Court of Appeal and a Customary Court of Appeal for any state that requires any of them. In addition to the above, there are Election Tribunals and an ElectionAppeal Tribunal in each State of the Federation.

NIGERIA'S COURT SYSTEM IN ORDER OF HIERARCHY

7. In line with the Nigerian constitution, the under listed are the order of seniority of the Nigerian Court systems:

a. The Supreme Court of Nigeria.
b. The Court of Appeals.
c. Federal High Courts and Courts of States.
d. Sharia Court of Appeals and Customary Court of Appeals
e. Magistrates and District Courts.
f. Customary, Area and Sharia Courts.
g. Court Marshals in the Armed Forces of Nigeria. The verdict of a well constituted Court Marshal, appealed in any of the appellate Court in Nigeria.

JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE

8. Judicial Independence can be defined as the total freedom of the judicial arm from the other two arms (Executive and Legislature) of government. The purpose ofthis is to ensure the entrenchment of democracy. Independence protects the judicial institution from Executive and Legislative. As such, it lies at the very heart of theseparation of powers. Thebasic principles onthe independenceof the judiciary as enshrined and adopted by the UN are as follows:

a. The independence of the Judiciary shall be guaranteed by the State and enshrined in the Constitution or the law of the country. It is the duty of all governmental and other institutions to respect and observe the independence of the Judiciary.

b. The judiciary shall decide matters before them impartially, on the basis of facts and in accordance with the law, without any restrictions, improper influences, inducements, pressures, threats or interferences, direct or indirect, from any quarter or for any reason.

c. The judiciary have jurisdiction over all issues of a judicial nature and shall have exclusive authority to decide whether an issue submitted for its decision is within its competence as defined by law.

d. There shall not be any inappropriate or unwarranted interference with the judicial process, nor shall judicial decisions by the court be subject to revision. The principle is without prejudice to judicial review or mitigation and commutation by competent authorities of sentences imposed by the judiciary, in accordance with the law.

e. Everyone shall have the right to be tried by ordinary courts or tribunals using established legal procedures. Tribunals that do not use the duly established procedures of the legal process shall not be created to displace the jurisdiction belonging to the ordinary courts or judicial tribunals.

f. The principle of the independence of thejudiciary entitles and requires the judiciary to ensure that judicial proceedings are conducted fairly and that the rights of the parties are respected.

g. It is the duty of each Member State to provide adequate resources to enable the judiciary to properly perform its functions.

CHALLENGES OF JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE

9. A primary indicator that corruption is spiralling out of control is a dysfunctional judicial system. Hence, the need for the rule of law is absolute. The weaknesses identified with the judicial set-up that can hamper its independence and ability to

perform its functions impartially are the methods of appointment, removal of judges, funding and general conditions of service of judicial officers and staff.

APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES

10. Persons selected for judicial office shall be individuals of integrity and ability with appropriate training or qualifications in law. Any method of judicial selection shall safeguard against judicial appointments for improper motives. In the selection of judges, there shall be no discrimination against a person on the grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or status, except that a requirement, that a candidate for judicial office must be a national of the country concerned, shall not be considered discriminatory.

11. The ways in which judges are appointed and subsequently promoted are crucial to their independence. They must not be seen as political appointees, but solely rather for their competence and political neutrality. The public must be confident that judges are chosen on merit and for their individual integrity and ability, not for partisanship. It should be noted that there are potential dangers in appointing the Judiciary exclusively by the Legislature, Executive or Judiciary itself.

12. The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is charged with the responsibility of appointing the Chief Judge

of Nigeria, Justices of the Supreme Court, and President of the Court of Appeal on the recommendations of the NationalJudicial Council subject to the confirmation of the Senate. Likewise, the appointment of the Chief Judge of the Federal High Court, the Chief Judge of the High Court of the Federal Capital Territory, the Grand K hadi of the Sharia Court ofAppeal of the Federal Capital Territory and the President ofthe Customary Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territoryshall be made by the President on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council subject to confirmation by the Senate.

13. The appointment of the Justices of the Court of Appeal, Judges of the Federal High Court, Judges of the High Court of the Federal Capital Territory, K hadis of the Sharia Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territory and the Judges of the Customary Court of Appeal of the Federal Capital Territory shall be made by the President on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council.

14. At the State level, the appointment of the Chief Judge of the State, the Grand Khadi of the Sharia court of Appeal and the President of the Customary Court of Appeal are made by the Governor of the State on the recommendations of the National Judicial Council subject to confirmation by the State House of Assembly. The Judges of the State High Court,Khadis of the Sharia Court of Appeal and the Judges of the Customary Court of Appeal are made by the Governor of the State on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council.

15. Besides the National Judicial Council, there is the Federal Judicial Service Commission charged with the duty of advising the National Judicial Council on nomination of persons for appointment as Federal judicial officers. The State Judicial Commission is also responsible for advising the National Judicial Council on nominations of persons for appointment as State Judicial Officers.

16. A noticeable shortcoming in the selection process is the absence of a State Judicial Council (that will be advised by the State Judicial Service Commission) which will be responsible for the recommendation of State Judicial Officers to the Governor for appointment on ratification by the State House of Assembly. Another profound deficiency in the selection process is the non advertisement of vacancies which obscures competitiveness in the appointment of judicial officers.

REMOVAL (SECURITY OF TENURE)

17. Security of tenure defines, and is necessary for judicial independence. Although this does not mean judicial officers should be able to act with impunity, it does imply that judicial officers should only have to consider the laws and facts related to a case. This impartiality is necessary to garner the faith of the public in the mechanisms of governance. Where the public believes that the impartiality of the court system is currently in question, their belief in the Rule of Law will be shattered. Therefore, it is important that disciplinary powers

be retained by the Judiciary to safeguard against ministerial influence and further strengthen judicial independence.

18. In Nigeria, the President on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council can remove a federal judicial officer. Likewise, the Governor of a state, on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council can remove a state judicial officer. However, the constitution also stipulates the conditions for which the appointment of a judicial officer may be terminated. This is to ensure no judicial officer is unduly sacked for performing the functions of his office.

19. The arrangements aforementioned by this academic paper in regards to the appointment and removal of judges leave much to be desired in terms of the guarantee of the individual independence of the judges. Both processes are basically left in the hands of the Executive and Legislature. In fact, this situation cannot guarantee independence and impartiality of the judiciary.

20. The Nigerian Judges need a more secure tenure because under the current arrangement, to remove a judicial officer, all that the President or Governor needs is an address supported by two-thirds majority of the Senate or State Houseof Assembly (as the case may be) praying that he be so removed for his failure to discharge the functions of his office, or for misconduct or contravention of the Code of Conduct.

CONCLUSION

21. It is an incontestable fact that the judiciary occupies a pre-eminent position in the administration of justice not only in Nigeria but in every sane society where there is respect for the rule of law as opposed to rule by brute force. It therefore follows that the independence of judiciary is necessary for the sustenance of the Rule of Law and Democracy.

22. The knowledge of the various sources of Laws in Nigeria is imperative. These include and not limited to various Acts of the parliament, the Armed Forces Act, other statute books and the most important being the Constitution. The protection and interpretations of laws in these various legal documents is an enormous responsibility of the judiciary.

23. The judiciary conducts its tasks through the various Courts, graduating from the customary Courts, high Courts to the appellate Courts up to the Supreme Court of Nigeria. The verdict of a well constituted Court Marshal in the Armed Forces can be appealed at the appellate Courts in Nigeria.

POWER SECTOR REFORM

INTRODUCTION

1. Following years of power stagnation, Nigeria embarks on comprehension reform programme. The Nigeria power reform is necessitated by the poor performance of the sector. The power sector reform is based on 2005 Electric Power Sector Reforms Act, Roadmap for Power Sector Reform 2010 and subsequently the 2013 Roadmap for Power Sector Reform. While the Act provide the legal backing for the reform, the roadmap served as instruments for fast tracking the proposed fundamental changes to the ownership, control and regulation of the sector as envisaged in the Act. It also ensures these are achieved and realized especially for the ultimate benefit of electricity users.

2. The Act focus on creating a regulatory agency that would serve as the umpire for ensuring effective enforcement and compliance with the rules of the game in the electricity sector. It emphasizes privatization of a previously government owned electricity company that has monopolized electricity generation, distribution and transmission for decades. The reform therefore seeks to improve energy independence and diversify energy sources towards cleaner energy such as solar,geothermal and wind. Consequently, the main objectives of the reform include highly ambitious targets for the powersector. It is projected that the power generation would reach 40000 megawatts by 2020.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to explain the following:

a. Goal of power sector reforms.
b. Aim of power sector reforms.
c. Objectives of power sector reforms.
d. Process of the power sector.
e. Roadmap for the power sector reform.
f. Achievements of the power sectors reforms.
g. Key challenges facing the power sector reforms.
h. Way forward for power sector reforms.

GOAL OF THE POWER SECTOR REFORM

4. The ultimate goal of the power sector Reform is:

'To increase efficiency, accessibility , reliability and affordability of quality electricity supply with a view to stimulating economic growth, development and transformation in the country."

AIM OF POWER SECTOR REFORM

5. The Power Sector Reform is aimed at:

"Establishing a sustainable power sector and electricity market structure that iscompetitive and driven by private sector operates. It ultimately aims to provide a

lasting solution to the incessant power supply facing the country."

OBJECTIVES OF POWER SECTOR REFORMS

6. The objectives of the Power Sector Reform include:

a. To promote competition to facilitate more rapid provision of service throughout the country.

b. Create a new legal and regulatory environment for the sector that establishes a level playing field, encourage private investment and expertise to meet social goal.

c. Unbundle the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA).

d. Privatize the successors of NEPA and encourage them to undertake ambitious investment programme.

e. Provide for the formation of holding company and successive privately owned companies to take overthe functions, assets, liabilities and stalls of NEPA.

f. Establish the power sector regulatory agency to be known as Nigeria Electricity Regulatory Commission.

g. Reserve the procedure for licenses and tariffs for power generation, distribution system operation and electricity trading.

h. To meet the targets of producing 40,000 magawatts by 2020 through deliberate effort to scale up and maintain steady pace and timely implementation of the reform.

PROCESS OF THE POWER SECTOR REFORM

7. The power sector reform was planned in phases as follows:

a. **First Phase**.The first phase of the power sector Reform involves scheduled activities under taken to unbundling and privatization of the long lasting government owned monopoly power company,NEPA, which over see the affair of the power sector for so long.

b. **Second Phase**. The second phase involvesthe creation of an independent power sector regulation to ensure sanity in the market and carry out other standard regulatory functions that include consumer protection and global welfare maximization through effective regulation that will attract private domesticand foreign investors to the sector.

c. **Third Phase**. The third phase involves the incorporation of Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) successor generation and distribution companies so that they could take over both the assets and liabilities of the parent company.

d. **Fourth Phase**. The fourth phase activity was the creation of multipurpose entity that would havethe function of procuring for subsequent sale to the distribution company.

e. **Fifth Phase**. The final phase was establishment of the National Power Tr aining Institute of Nigeria (NAPTIN). The purpose of this institute was to bridge the observed human capital deficiency in the power sector through effective training of sector personnel.

ROADMAP FOR THE POWER SECTOR REFORM

8. In more specific terms, the Roadmap for the Power Sector Reform outlined specific tasks as follows:

a. Establishment of a bulk purchase/trade.

b. Strengthening the National Electrical Regulatory Commission (NERC).

c. Provision of Federal Government credit enhancement.

d. Operationalizing the Nigeria Electricity Liability ManagementCompany.

e. Strengthening the training institute, NAPTIN.

f. Strengthening technical and managerial capacity of theTransmission Company of Nigeria (TCN).

g. The sale of Nigeria generating companies to the privatesector.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE POWER SECTOR REFORMS

9. The following are the achievements of the power sectors reform:

a. Unlocking the power sector through the power sector reform has opened up the sector to a spectrum of activities that necessitate increased human and technical capacity.

b. The reform created opportunities in the production and maintenance of transformers, transmission line, maters, cables of acceptable quality and other facilities in the entire value chain of generation, transmission and distribution.

c. The reform targeted privatization of the sector. The aimed is to change the long standing framework where state owner NEPA and later PHCN as solely

responsible for electric power generation, distribution and transmission in the entire country.

d. Establishment of legal and institutional framework for effective delivery of the reform.

e. The power sector roadmap provides the barometer for the much expected improvement in the sector.

f. Another achievement of the power sector reform was to facilitate industrialization as energy productswere seen as critical inputs into the production process.

g. Another landmark achievement in theinstitutional framework of the power sector reform was the establishment of rural electrification agency to promote support and provide access to electricity in rural and semi urban areas of the country.

h. There is an increase in the number of operational grid connected to generation plant.

i. Establishment National Integrated Power Project for the purpose of fast tracking power initiative funded by public sector.

j. Additional gas company has also beenestablished to stimulate growth of natural gas utilization in domestic market, especially the power sector.

k. Also, the NAPTIN has been established to serve as a focal point for human resource development and workforce capacity building for power activities in the power sector value chain.

KEY CHALLENGES FACING THE POWER SECTOR REFORMS

10. The Power Sector Reform is fraught with challenges that tend to limit the pace of changes and realization of the intended benefits. Prominent among these challenges are:

a. **Poor Transmission Network**. The transmission segment of the power sector is the weakest link in the entire electricity value chain. The transmission lines are very old and weak. Hence, inadequate and poorly maintained transmission facilities and infrastructure affect power sector.

b. **Inadequate Funding**. Funding is one of the serious challenges facing the power sector. The paucity of fund seriously affected the power sector reform in many ways.

c. **Gas Supply**. Gas as a feed stock for power generation account for 50 percent of the total cost of producing power in Nigeria. This is significant considering that 80 percent of total electricity generation in Nigeria comes from gas. Hence shortage

supply of natural gas affects the power reform programme.

d. **Political Interference**. The issue of political interference is one of the challengesfacing the power sector reform. The political interference brings about the issue of bureaucracy associated with management of the sector. Unnecessary political interference can be counterproductive in the reform process.

e. **Corruption**. Corruption is one of the key reasons for the collapse of power sector in Nigeria. It isalso the main rationale that adduced for the reform of the power sector.

f. **Regulation, Institutional and Legal Framework**.There was inherent structural weakness in the institutional framework for power sector reform. These institutional weaknesses emanate from obvious gabs, overlap and interactive relationship among these institutions as provided for in their enabling law.

g. **Government Policies on Power Generation**. The Government policies on power generation and utilization have focused mainly on conventional energy sources with less focus on renewable energy.

h. **Excessive Involvement by Government**. The excessive involvement by government and over regulation of the sector by government for a very

long time had become an inhibitory factor in the power sector.

i. **Poor Public Advocacy**. Public advocacy witha view to raising public awareness on the relative benefit of renewable energy is highly limited. Hence limited focus on renewable energy.

j. **Investment and Financing Framework**. The investment and financing framework for renewable energy is getting weak in Nigeria even though it is cheaper to maintain as well as environmentally friendly.

p. **Political Will**. The greatest risk in the power sector reform is the lack of continuity and commitment resulting from the lack of political will.

k. **Inadequate Gas Infrastructure**.Inadequate gas infrastructure to power the completed power plant is also a major challenge.

l. **Policy Inconsistency**. A policy inconsistency by government is having a negative effect on the reform.

m. **Inadequate Investment**. There is inadequate investment in the electricity value chain.

n. **Weak Human Capacity**. There is the challenge of weak human capacity to manage the post electricity market.

o. **Huge Metering Gab**. The problem of huge

metering gab is still lingering.

WAY FORWARD

11. Thefollowing are suggested way forward for the power sector reform inNigeria:

a. The government needs to be more innovation in solving the lingering challenge of unstable gas supply to the power stations.

b. The need for capable and sufficient manpower development for the entire power sector value chain is absolutely necessary to push forward the reform agenda and manage post privatization challenges.

c. Electricity, hydro, mechanical engineer and other technical professional are required to drive the reform and post reform process.

d. The government should ensure that NAPTIN plays its role by providing it with the needed resources. Private sector players need to also complement government effort through NAPTIN by under taking training and capacity development initiative.

e. There is need to balance the current focus on supply solutions with demand management interventions that will reduce the pressure on demand.

f. There is need to push for production, distribution and dynamic efficiency in the power sector. This can be

achieved only through a well research, highly insightful as well as incisive evaluation, assessment andappraisal of the statuesque.

g. Political will and policy consistency are necessary to improve on the reform and attract more local and foreign investor. One of thess areas in which such political will can be demonstrated is in providing leadership by example in the management of the transmission segment of the power sector value chain.

h. The government should ensure sustain investments in the sector since the transmission company remains under its purview.

i. Given the history of government management of private business activities, conscious effort must bemade to ensure that the transmission company doesnot slip into the same state of NEPA and NITEL.

j. Proactive and determined effort must be geared towards investing in network expansion and completing on going transmission projects.

k. The government should focus on continuously evolving in effective institutional framework that guarantees sustainability of the reform efforts.

l. High priority needs to be given to the regulation, institutional and human capacity framework for managing post privatization challenges.

m. The overabundance of policy pronouncement, document, committee, commission and other framework for the power reform should be revived to suit and reflect current realities. This will continue to develop the power sector through laws and regulations.

n. There is need for increase investment in clean and renewable power generation to help the country achieve an optimal mix of energy sources, with emphasis on hydro and solar power source.

o. Evolving a cost effective tariff would result in win – win situation that will help attract necessary finance from existing and prospective investors.

p. Tackling the current spate of insecurity in terms of pipe line vandalism would also be of obvious inmoving forward of the power section reform.

CONCLUSION

12. The aim of the power sector reform is to establish a sustainable power sector and electricity market structure that iscompetitive and driven by private sector operates. It ultimately aims to provide a lasting solution to the incessant power supply facing the country. To achieve this aim, a roadmap was set out which was planned to achieve in phases. A lot have been achieved so far; however, the reform is faced with multiple challenges which need to be surmounted.

NORTH EAST DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

INTRODUCTION

1. The people of the Nigeria's North East (NE) Region have been known to be peaceful and enterprising as definedby the successes of the various empires that ruled the area. It is undoubtedly a fact, that the ongoing security challenges faced by the zone had a detrimental impact on the psychological state of individuals living in the region as well asthe economy of the region. The magnitude and scale of the destruction of lives and property that has befallen the regionis enormous.

2. The government and other stakeholders have made commendable efforts in their bid to address the security challenges in the region. However, these interventions have not achieved their stated objectives of restoring peace, stability and prosperity to the region. Hence, there exists a need to change the strategies and approach in order to createlasting peace within the region. The quest to fulfil the foregoing led to the establishment of North East Development Commission (NEDC).

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to understand the following:

a. Geography the NE region.

b. Objectives of sstablishing the NEDC.
c. Responsibilities of NEDC.
d. Approach and methodology of NEDC.
e. Scope of NEDC.
f. Funding of the Commission.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

4. The NE geo-political zone of Nigeria covers an area of 280,419 square kilometers of Nigeria total land area. It comprises 6 states; Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe,Taraba and Yobe. The Zone shares international borders with 3 countries; Republic of Cameron to the East, Republic of Chad to the NE and Niger Republic to the North. Although the zone has been a major contributor to national net food production, the National Bureau of Statistics 2010 showed that the North East of Nigeria has an average absolute poverty rate put at 69per cent, which is above the national average of 60.9 percent. This puts the Zone as having the highest rate of poverty in Nigeria.

5. The Zone which has historically been known for its peace and tranquillity has in recent years been facing serious security challenges. Since the activities of the Jama'atu Atilus- Sunnsh Lidda'Awati Wal Jihad, commonly called Boko Haram (BH) started with the first attack on a police station on Maiduguri on 26 July2009. The situation thereafter has degenerated into insurgency and terrorism. The group's activities are often characterized by incessant attacks in virtually all the states in the Zone and beyond. This hasresulted in the loss of many lives and

destruction of propertiesworth billions of naira. Further, degeneration of security in 2013, led to the declaration of the state of emergency in Adamawa, Borno and Yobe States.

OBJECTIVES OF ESTABLISHING NEDC

6. The objectives of establishing the NEDC by the Federal Government of Nigeria are as follows:

a. Facilitate relevant capacity building for youth and women.

b. Re-equip youth with basic skills in security and intelligence processes as a step toward neutralization of insurgency cells in the NE.

c. Strengthen community institutions/self-help structures and promote their synergy with public ones.

d. Design and execute programs of safe return and re-integration of refugees/Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) to their original homes.

e. General stabilization of the socioeconomic situation in communities affected by insurgency.

f. Encourage initiatives that will promote a long term economic recovery process.

g. General support for family head's legitimate engagement.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF NORTH EAST DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

7. The responsibilities of NEDC cover 2 major areas as follows:

a. The coordination of all efforts towards peace and socioeconomic empowerment of the region.

b. Interfacing with Civil-Military Cooperation Directorate (CMCD) established by the Office of the Chief of Defence staff and other such security initiatives in order to synchronize civil and military efforts in an integrated manner.

APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

8. The modes of operation of the commission will be unambiguous and transparent. The Commission's interventions will adopt a multi-track approach. It will comprise of 4 tracks designed to build on the gains made by the Nigerian Military and neighbouring allied forces. It will also help fosters the support of international partners. The 4 intervention tracks for the NEDC are political/governance, diplomatic, security/peace-building and social-economic tracks.

SCOPE OF NEDC

9. The scope of the Commission includes all activities that promote the economic growth and wellbeing of citizens through regional development. The Commission's intervention will largely focus on strategic priorities of the NE Zone, which include; security, infrastructure, educa tion and agriculture.These 4 sectors are the major areas of intervention for the NEDC.

10. The Commission's intervention will largely target communities affected by insurgency in the 6 states in the NE

geopolitical Zone. The needs of the IDPs camps in the zone as well as neighbouring states and countries will also be addressed by the Commission.

FUNDING OF THE NEDC

11. The funding of the NEDC is as follows:

a. Three per cent of the Federation Value Added Tax (VAT) for a period of 10 years.
b. Fifteen per cent of allocation to the States.
c. Fifty per cent deduction of the ecological fund due to the 6 NE States.
d. Royalties from mining operations.
e. Appropriation by the National Assembly

CONCLUSION

12. The NEDC is a creation of the FGN in the bid to salvage the areas following the wanton destructions by the activities of BH. The major areas for intervention of the NEDC are security, infrastructure, education and agriculture. The NEDC will be funded from the Federation VAT for a period of 10 years from 2016, 15 per cent allocation to the affected states for some 10years period and 50 per cent deduction of the ecological fundsdue to the 6 affected states. Additionally, royalties from mining operations and other appropriation from the NASSfrom time to time.

NATIONAL LIVESTOCK TRANSFORMATION PLAN

INTRODUCTION

1. Nigeria's National Livestock Transformation Plan (NLTP), launched in 2019, is a government initiative aimed at addressing challenges in livestock management, particularly the frequent conflicts between farmers and herders. The plan seeks to modernise the livestock sector by promoting ranching over open grazing, improving livestock health and productivity and providing support for the settlement of nomadic herders. It also emphasises private sector involvement, capacity building and the use of technology to enhance livestock production across the country.

2. The NLTP covers 22 states across all 6 geopolitical zones of Nigeria, including Adamawa, Benue, Borno, Ebonyi, Edo, Ekiti, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Ogun, Oyo, Plateau, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe and Zamfara. By focusing on infrastructure development and sustainable livestock farming practices, the plan aims to reduce conflict, boost productivity and create job opportunities, contributing to economic growth and improved food security

OBJECTIVES OF NLTP

3. The objectives of the NLTP initiatives are as follows:

   a. Address farmer-herder conflicts.
   b. Enhance livestock productivity.
   c. Improve human capital development.
   d. Promote economic development.
   e. Environmental sustainability.
   f. Social inclusiveness.
   g. Animal health and veterinary services.

KEY COMPONENTS

4. NLTP focuses on the following key components:

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a. Livestock breeding and reproduction.

b. Pasture development and management.

c. Ranching and grazing reserves.

d. Veterinary services and disease control.

e. Market development and access.

f. Human capital development (education, training).

g. Conflict resolution and peace-building.

IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

5. The NLTP is implemented through the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, state governments, local governments, private sector partnerships and international organisations such as the World Bank and the Food and Agricultural Organisation. It has a 10-year implementation timeline (2019-2028), broken in phases as follows:

a. **Phase 1 (2019-2022)**. Planning, sensitisation and infrastructure development.

b. **Phase 2 (2023 - 2025)**. Implementation and scaling.

c. **Phase 3 (2026 - 2028)**. Consolidation and sustainability.

IMPLEMENTATION PLANS FOR SPECIFIC ZONES/STATES

6. The implementation plan for specific states of the 6 geopolitical zones from the inception of the initiative are as follows:

a. **North-Central Zone**. The NLTP covers all 6 states in the north-central zone. In Benue State, the plan focuses on ranching, pasture development and conflict resolution, while livestock breeding, veterinary services and market development are areas of focus in Kogi State. Prioritising grazing reserves, pasture management and human capital development are areas of emphasis in Niger State. In Plateau State, the plan concentrated on ranching, conflict resolution and peacebuilding while it focused on developing grazing reserves, veterinary

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services and market access in Nasarawa State. The focus in Kwara State was on livestock breeding, pasture development and market development.

b. **NE Zone**. The plan was to prioritise ranching, conflict resolution and peace-building in Adamawa State. Emphasis was placed on livestock breeding, veterinary services, and market development in Borno State. Gombe State's plan focuses on grazing reserves, pasture management and human capital development. Concentrating on ranching, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding were the areas of focus in Taraba State, while the plan aims to develop grazing reserves, veterinary services and market access in Yobe State.

c. **NW Zone**. The plan in the NW Zone prioritises livestock breeding, pasture development and market development in Jigawa State. In Kaduna State, the emphasis was on ranching, conflict resolution and peacebuilding, while the focus was on grazing reserves, veterinary services and market access in Kano State. The plan concentrates on livestock breeding, pasture management and human capital development in Katsina State and developing grazing reserves, veterinary services and market development was the focus in Sokoto State.

d. **SE Zone**. Priority was placed on livestock breeding, pasture development, and market development in Ebonyi State, while emphasis was placed on ranching, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding in Enugu State.

e. **SS Zone**. The focus was on grazing reserves, veterinary services, and market access in Edo State, and livestock breeding, pasture management, and human capital development were the areas of focus in Delta State.

f. **SW Zone**. Prioritising livestock breeding, pasture development and market development while emphasising ranching, conflict resolution and peacebuilding in Oyo State.

FUNDING AND IMPLEMENTATION

7. The NLTP operates as a partnership between Nigeria's federal and state governments, with states leading in implementing the

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program. While the federal government provides overall policy direction, coordination and support, it is the individual states that drive the execution of the plan. This decentralised approach allows states to tailor the program to their needs and circumstances. Funding for the NLTP is designed to come from a mix of public resources, private sector investment and support from international partners, creating a collaborative financial framework to ensure the sustainability and success of the initiative.

8. One of the critical aspects of the NLTP is its respect for states' rights over land use and agricultural policies. Adoption of the plan by states is entirely voluntary, with the expectation that states will choose to implement it based on their local context. While several states have embraced the initiative, viewing it as an opportunity to modernise livestock farming and reduce conflict, others have been more hesitant. Concerns have been raised about land ownership issues, potential impacts on local communities, and the fear that ranching systems might disrupt traditional livelihoods. This divergence in responses highlights the need for continuous dialogue and adaptation to address the concerns of both state governments and local populations.

CONTROVERSIES AND CRITICISM

9. The following are some controversies and criticisms of the NLTP initiatives:

a. **Land Ownership and Use**. A key concern surrounding the NLTP is land ownership and use. Some states, particularly in southern Nigeria, have rejected the plan for fear that it could lead to land dispossession or disrupt existing traditional land-use patterns, potentially affecting local communities and farmers.

b. **Voluntary Participation**. The NLTP's voluntary nature means that not all states have chosen to adopt the program, resulting in varying levels of participation. This has led to inconsistencies in its implementation across the country, with some states fully embracing the initiative while others remain hesitant or resistant.

c. **Cultural Concerns**. Many pastoralists' nomadic

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lifestyles are a long-standing tradition deeply embedded in their cultural identity and way of life. As a result, some view the push towards ranching under the NLTP as an attempt to impose a drastic shift, raising concerns that it may undermine their cultural heritage and disrupt their traditional livelihood.

CONCLUSION

10. Nigeria's NLTP represents a comprehensive and strategic approach to addressing long-standing farmer-herder conflicts while improving livestock production. By promoting modernised ranching practices, the plan aims to shift away from traditional nomadic grazing, often leading to resource-based conflicts between pastoralists and farmers. Additionally, the NLTP seeks to enhance animal health through better veterinary services and livestock management, ensuring higher productivity and sustainability. At its core, the plan emphasises fostering peaceful coexistence between farmers and herders by reducing the competition over land and water resources, which are key drivers of the conflict.

11. The successful implementation of the NLTP will, however, require strong political will and effective coordination among the various stakeholders, including federal and state governments, local communities and the private sector. Critical to its success are substantial investments in infrastructure, such as the establishment of modern ranches and veterinary facilities, as well as training programs for farmers and herders to adopt new practices. Equally important is the need for transparency and dialogue to address concerns over land ownership and cultural preservation, particularly in states that are hesitant to adopt the program. Suppose these challenges are correctly managed and the plan is executed efficiently. In that case, the NLTP has the potential to drive economic growth, enhance food security and foster lasting peace across Nigeria's rural communities, ultimately transforming the livestock industry into a more profitable and stable sector.

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ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN NIGERIA

INTRODUCTION

1. The electoral process relates to the entire cycle ranging from the provision of voter's education to the dissolution of National Assembly. It is a process that encompasses the good intentions and undesirable outcome of election administration particularly in emerging democracies. The electoral process in Nigeria commences with the announcement of intention to conduct elections, till the election have been won or lost.

2. An electoral process is different from electoral system. The later translate the votes cast in a general election into seat won by parties and candidates. The electoral system is alsothe process or procedure by which citizens of a democratic country select through either direct or indirect votes of those who will represent them in the parliament and other position in the government. The purpose of this précis is to highlight the electoral process in Nigeria.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to explain the following:

a. Phases of electoral process.
b. Purpose of electoral process.
c. Factors that influence the delimitation of constituencies.

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d. Functions of electoral commission.
e. Causes of election malpractices.

PHASES OF ELECTORAL PROCESS

4. The phases of electoral process are as follows:

a. Delimitation of electoral boundary.
b. Registration of voters.
c. Notice of elections.
d. Nomination of candidates.
e. Election campaign.
f. Election and announcement of result and completion of tribunalsitting.
g. Participating of other organizations.
h. Resolution of electoral conflicts resulting from participationof other organizations, people or groups.

PURPOSE OF ELECTORAL PROCESS

5. The purpose of electoral process are as follows:

a. **Choosing of Representatives**. Election makes it possible for the citizens to choose those that will represent their interest in the government.
b. **Changing of Government**. Election as processes of changing government's in a country through peaceful means.
c. **Negate Unbearable Policies**. Election makesit possible for people to decide the type of policies that

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should be adopted by government choosing political parties with policies of their choice through the manifestoes they presentedto them during electioneering campaign.

d. **Foster Democracy**. Democracy that makes it possible for people to participate in the government of their country thrives or develop more through elections.

e. **Make Rulers Accountable**. Election makes it possible for the leaders to submit themselves to the electorate in order to renew their mandate to the people when they are in power.

f. **Used to Measures Public Opinion**.Electionsare used to measure public opinion on certain issues in a country.

g. **Education of Voters**. Electorate are educated more during election periods on their political right by political parties and electoral commission.

h. **Bestows Legitimacy**. Electionslegitimise the rule of any government representative in a country.

i. **Used to Test Popularity of a Ruler**.Elections are used as barometer for gauging the popularity of political leaders.

j. **Integration of Various Groups**.Various ethnic, religious and political group come together in order to win election.

k. **Use to Check Government Excesses**. Fear of being removed from power through election help to curtails dictational and tyrannical propensities of government

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in power.

l. **Encouragement of Healthy Competition**. Election encourages and promotes healthy political competition in a country.

m. **People are Placed on Equal Status**. People who are qualified for elections are given equal political opportunity to vote and be voted for.

CHARACTERISTICS OF AN ELECTORAL SYSTEM

6. The characteristics of electoral system are follows:

a. **Independent Body**. An independent as well as impartial electoral body should be in place.

b. **Constant Periodic Election**. There should be regular or periodic election as stipulated in the constitution.

c. **Constituencies**. It is important for the delimitation of the country into constituencies.

d. **Universal Adult Suffrage**. Qualified adult citizen should exercise their voting right.

e. **Voting Should be Conducted**. Voting should be done without fear of molestation, intimidation and victimization.

f. **Every Interest Group in the Society**.All interest group in the society should be represented in the legislature.

g. **Periodic Public Display of Voters List**.Periodic public display of voters list and regular review of voter's

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register.

h. **Independent Judiciary**. The judiciary should be capable of handling election cases and petitions.

i. **Counting of Votes**. This should be made public and with immediate release of results.

j. **Nomination of Candidate by Political Parties**. This should be done in a way that it will appeal to the generality of the people.

k. **Secret Ballot**. This method of election should be adopted.

l. **Political Education**. The people should be properly educated about their political right, election and about the political system.

m. **Material for Election**. Material for election, eg ballot boxes, ballot paper, ink pad, and poll ing booths should be adequately provided.

ELECTORAL CONSTITUENCY

7. An electoral constituency is simply an electoral district or an area from which one or more members or representatives are elected into political offices. The division ofa country into constituency is referred to as delimitation and it make for equitability in the allocation of parliamentary seats.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES

8. The factors influencing the delimitation of constituencies are as follows:

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a. Administrative convenience.
b. Population.
c. Minority interest.
d. Geographical factors/size.
e. Historical and cultural background.
f. Number of seats available.
g. Geographical contiguity.
h. Importance of the area.
i. Language.
j. Religious affiliation.
k. Custom, culture and tradition.

PROBLEMS AFFECTING DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES

9. The problems affecting delimitation of constituencies are as follows:

a. Inaccurate population census.
b. Inaccessible area.
c. Ethnicity factors.
d. Grouping together of different interest group.
e. Dearth of skilled manpower.
f. Absence of accurate population census.
g. Inadequate means of transportation and communication.
h. Religious difference.
i. Different historical background.
j. Poor town planning.
k. Spatial dispossession of people.

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ELECTORAL COMMISSION

10. An electoral commission is a body charged with the responsibility for organizing and conducting free and fair election in a country. The electoral commission is headed by an individual known as chairman. The commission which is the final authority in an election has legal and constitutional backing to carry out its function. The electoral commission in Nigeria is the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

FUNCTIONS OF ELECTORAL COMMISSION

11. The functions of electoral commission are as follows:

a. The electoral commission divides the countryinto constituencies.
b. It registers eligible voters for election.
c. It determines the type of voting to be adopted.
d. The commission build polling booths in all the constituencies.
e. It provides ballot boxes, papers and other election materials.
f. Display and revision of voters list are carried out by electoral commission.
g. The commission screen and register political parties.
h. Electoral commission appoints and train electoral officers.
i. It also screen and register eligible candidate for election.

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j. Electoral commission organises and conduct election in a country.

k. The commission enlighten and educate the electorate about the process of election.

l. It works in conjunction with the law enforcement agencies in order to provide adequate security for the voters when they are voting.

m. The commission carries out the function of counting the votes.

n. Election results are announced by the commission.

o. The commission disburse government financial grant to the political parties.

p. Electoral commission arranges for the auditing of the account of political parties.

MEASURES THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT TO ENSURE FREE AND FAIR ELECTION

12. The measures that should be taken by government to ensure free and fair election are as follows:

a. The country should be divided intoconstituencies on equal population basis to ensure equal representation.

b. A body to conduct the election known as electoral commission should be made independent and non partisan.

c. The electoral commission should make proper arrangement to compile names of eligible voters.

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d. Voters list should be publicly displayed for objections and complaints that may arise from voters.

e. Adequate security arrangement must be made to create a conducive atmosphere during polling day devoid of any form of harassment and intimidation.

f. All necessary election materials like ballot boxes, papers etc should be adequately supplied at the appropriate time to avoid problem of logistics.

g. Honesty people should be selected as officials of the electoral commission.

h. Electoral officials should be given adequate training.

i. Secret voting should be adopted.

j. Public accounting of votes at places the voting took place should be adopted.

k. Result of the election should be announced as soon as the counting is completed.

l. Certain persons like lunatics, underage person, criminal, bankrupts etc should not be allowed to vote.

m. Provision should be made for the challenge of election results in the court of law.

n. Double voting, impersonation and other election vices should be properly checked.

o. There should be adequate remuneration for election official.

p. The electoral commission should be adequately

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backed up with laws to enable it command respect and obedience from political parties and candidate which ensure free and fair election.

ELECTION MALPRACTICES

13. Election malpractices are the manifestation of all form of electoral misconduct, capable of derailing the electoral process. The electoral malpractices also include any act, omission or commission that attempt to or in essence circumvent the electoral process to favour a person candidate or party. It is any wrong doing affecting the electoral procedures, electorates and electoral material. This act is perpetrated by influential politicians, electoral officers, security agents as well as electorate in order to gain advantage over others especially when it comes to acquisition of politicalpowers through electoral process.

14. It is also one of the political immoral vices which occur in politics. It includes rigging of election and snatching of ballot boxes as well as political crises. The phenomenon has been part of Nigeria electoral process and political instability which the country has experienced in the past elections. The origin of the notable electoral malpractices in Nigeria began with the general elections heldin 1964. It was the first electionheld after the departure of the British.

FORMS OF ELECTORAL MALPRACTICES

15. The forms of electoral malpractices are as follows:

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a. The use of fake ballot papers.
b. Under age voting.
c. Bribery.
d. The uses of thugs.
e. Intimidation of voters
f. Rigging of election result.
g. Compilation of fictitious names.
h. Illegal compilation of separate voters list.
i. Illegal printing of voters' card.
j. Stuffing of ballot boxes.
k. Falsification of election result.
l. Deliberate refusal to supply election material to some area.
m. Inflation of figures.
n. Announcing result where no elections were held.
o. Unauthorised announcement of results.
p. Change of list of election officers.
q. Harassment of voters, candidates and election officers.
r. Partisanship by electoral officials.
s. Diversion of election materials.
t. Theft of ballot boxes.

HOW TO AVERT ELECTORAL MALPRACTICES

16. Electoral malpractices can be averted through the following:

a. The need for more political awareness and

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education to transform the people. Political awareness and education is needed to transform the people into democratic setting.

b. People should stand for their right against election malpractices and to have the capacity to demand for accountability.

c. Government should encourage political parties with national spread and discourage the formation of tribal parties where the winner takes it all for peace.

d. Implementation of strict penalty.

e. Improving transparency.

f. Establishing of electoral offences commission.

g. Religious leaders should imbibe moral codes on their faithful. They must encourage them to legally, peacefully and actively participate in the electoral process.

h. The need for government to address the issue of unemployment and to also engage them in skill acquisition programme to keep the youth focus.

i. Constitutional amendments to be made to enthrone accountability in elections and encourage political participation.

j. The need to fight for ideal democratic principle bearing in mind that Nigeria belongs to all of us.

k. The need to stop political thuggery, fatherism, bribery and intimidation of all sorts.

l. The INEC had to play its primary roles in making sure that election conducted in Nigeria should be conducted in peace and harmony by ensuring that all

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materials needed during the process of election are being distributed to their various constituencies in good time.

m. The need to check the vaulting ambition of some politician to acquire political power which they believe is gateway to economic power for them.

n. Election malpractices can also be curbed when the rules guiding election are obeyed.

CONCLUSION

17. Electioneering process is a complete process through which political office holders are produced. It involves a lot of preparation and execution of a designed process. The independence of the Electoral Commission is the key to success of the whole process. Similarly, the Electoral Commission is guided by set rules which must be strictlyfollowed. Nigeria has had different electoral bodies at different times by different governments. However, the challenges facing the whole process seems to be the same.

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ECONOMIC RECESSION

INTRODUCTION

1. Recessions generally occur when there is a widespread drop in spending. This may be triggered by various events, such as a financial crisis, an external trade shock, an adverse supply shock or the bursting of an economic bubble. Accordingto the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), a recession is defined as a significant decline in economic activity spread across the economy, lasting more than a few months, normally visible in real Gross Domestic Product (GDP), real income, employment, industrial production and wholesale-retail sales.

2. The GDP is the monetary value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period. In a recession, businesses cease to expand, the GDP diminishes for 2 consecutive quarters, the rate of unemployment rises and housing prices decline.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to explain the following:

a. The concept of recession.
b. Key indications of recession.
c. Factors responsible for economic recession.
d. Measures to end Nigeria economic recession.

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KEY POINTERS TO AN ECONOMY BEING IN RECESSION

4. The following are key pointers that an economy is in recession:

a. **GDP Decline**. Consecutive declines inquarterly real GDP below zero. For example, if the real GDP of Nigeria declined in first quarter of 2016 into the negative and also declines or remains in the negative territory in the second quarter; Nigeria is in a recession.

b. **Decline in Economic Activity Spread Across the Economy**. A Decline in economic activityspread across the economy in both the manufacturing and non-manufacturing sectors and lasting more than a few months. Production level, business activity, new orders, employment level and raw material inventories all decline at a faster rate.

c. **Decline in Income and Profits Reported by Businesses**. Another very good sign of a recession is when publicly quoted companies mostly declare a drop in their revenues or profits. In fact, most companies post massive losses during a recession.

d. **Dip in Government Revenue**. A dip in government revenue is also a very good sign that a country is sinking into recession. In Nigeria for example, we have seen government revenue dip so much that most states have to seek for a bailout toenable them pay

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for something as basic as salaries.

e. **Job Losses**. There are massive layoffs as most companies cut cost to remain afloat. Since consumer and government spending has dropped, businesses can no longer produce at same level and therefore cut back to remain in business. The National Bureau of Statistics revealed a few months ago that over 528,000 jobs were lost.

f. **Inflation Rate Drops or Gallops**. Developed countries who experience a recession also record low inflation numbers. This occurs because both consumer spending and production drop simultaneously. However, in developing economies like Nigeria, reverse is the case. This is because we mostly import, cost of goods and services sold locally increase forcing consumers to even spend less. In Nigeria, the drop in oil prices triggered capital outflows and then a loss in value of the naira. This meant imported goods and services recorded a hike in prices. Nigeria's inflation rate is currently the highest since 2005.

g. **Companies go Bust**. Another major sign of a recession is that companies in key sectors of the economy such as manufacturing, financial services and insurance typically go bankrupt. Industries that also rely heavily on government expenditure suffer from a recession.

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FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR ECONOMIC RECESSION

5. So many factors could be responsible for a recession in a nation's economy. Some of them are as follows:

a. **High Interest Rates**. High interest rates are a cause of recession because they limit liquidity, or the amount of money available to invest.

b. **Increased Inflation**. Inflation refers to a general rise in the prices of goods and services over a period of time. As inflation increases, the percentage of goods and services that can be purchased with the same amount of money decreases.

c. **Reduced Consumer Confidence**. Another factor that can cause a recession is reduced customer confidence. If consumers believe the economy is bad, they are less likely to spend money. Consumer confidence is psychological but can have a real impact on any economy.

d. **Reduced Real Wages**. Falling real wages means that a worker's paycheck is not keeping up with inflation. The worker might be making the same amount of money, but his purchasing power has been reduced.

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POSSIBLE ECONOMIC MEASURES TO END RECESSION IN NIGERIA

6. Some of the possible measures to end the present economic recession in Nigeria are as follows:

a. **Reduction in Tax Rate**. Government should reduce tax rates on individuals, small business and corporate by lowering tax rate by at least 10 percent points. Reducing tax will increase purchasing and attract foreign investment.

b. **EfficientGovernment Spending**. Mere increase in government spending will not solve the problem of recession. It is a strategic spending in the area with high multiplier effect such as agriculture and manufacturing sector that increase aggregate demand.

c. **Enhance Access to Credit**. Total consumer credit in Nigeria stands at less than US $10 billion in about US $500 billion economy. This corresponds to about 2 percent of her GDP. In other economies, consumer credit ranges from about 20 percent in USA to 50 percent of GDP in Brazil. Also, South Africa has a consumer spending to GDP ratio of 66 percent. Nigeria should aim for a consumer credit to GDP ratio of about 10 percent over the next 5 years. This would be the equivalent of injecting a stimulus of US $50 billion per year. Consumer access to credit will speed up theeconomy. However, the present interest rate is too

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high.

d. **Increased Expenditure on Skills**. This is one point that most African countries had always neglected, Nigeria inclusive. It is only skills that lead to production. Areas Nigerian government could invest in skill acquisition include IT, telecommunication, agro -allied, sports among others. Training shou ld be 80 percent practical. There is need for multiple competences, particularly among youths as a means to curb increasing global joblessness.

CONCLUSION

7. A recession is said to be a consecutive decline in quarterly real GDP (inflation adjusted) and a decline in activity across the economy, lasting longer up to 2 quarters. It is visible in industrial production, employment, real income and wholesale-retail trade. Most countries of the world have experienced recession at one time or the other and presently Nigeria is going through its own share of recession period.

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GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES

INTRODUCTION

1. The government economic policies of a nation describe government actions that are intended to influence the economy of the nation. Some examples of these actions include setting tax, rates setting interest rates and government expenditures. The government could influencethe economy through various means.

2. Through economic policies, the government stabilizes the economy by helping to control interest rates and inflation. It works to help the employment rate by moving towards full employment. The government could also introduce other economic policies, which could help to stabilize the economy of a nation. Such policies as in the case of Nigeria are Treasury Single Account (TSA), Government Integrated Financial Management Information System (GIFMIS), Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS) and Electronic - Payment System (EPS).

INSTRUCTIONAL OBJECTIVES

3. After studying this lecture note, candidates would be able to explain the following:

a. Background of TSA, GIFMIS, IPPIS and EPS.
b. Definition of TSA, GIFMIS, IPPIS and EPS.

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c. Implementation of TSA, GIFMIS, IPPIS and EPS.

d. Identify the benefits of the various economic policies.

BACKGROUND OF TSA SYSTEM

4. The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) issued a circular in February 2015, diverting all deposit money banks to implement the Remita e-collection platform. The Remita e- collection is a technology platform deployed by the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) to deposit all government revenue to a consolidated account domiciled with the CBN. This marked the beginning of the full implementation of the TSA system in Nigeria.

5. Though Section 80(1) of the 1999 Constitution as Amended states "All revenues, or other moneys raised or received by the Federation (not being revenues or other moneys payable under this Constitution or any Act of the National Assembly into any other public fund of the Federation established for a specific purpose) shall be paid into and form one Consolidated Revenue Fund (CRF) of the Federation" successive governments have continued to operate multiple accounts for the collection and spending of government revenue in flagrant disregard to the provision of theconstitution within requires that all government revenues be remitted into a single account.

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DEFINITION OF TSA

6. TSA is a public accounting system under, which all government revenues, receipts and income are collected into one single account maintained by the country's Central Bank and all payments done through this account. The purpose is primarily to ensure accountability of government revenues, enhance transparency and avoid misapplication of public funds. The maintenance of a TSA will help to ensure proper cash management by eliminating idle funds usually left with different commercial banks and in a way enhance reconciliation of revenue collection and payment.

IMPLEMENTATION OF TSA

7. The CBN of Nigeria has opened a CRF account to receive all government revenue and effect payments through this account. All Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDA) are expected to remit their revenue collections to this account through the individual commercial banks who act as collection agents. This means that the money deposit banks will continue to maintain revenue collection accounts for MDA'sbut all monies collected by these banks will have to be remitted to the CRF accounts with the CBN at the end of each banking day. Different types of account could be maintained under the TSA arrangement and these may include interest accounts, transit accounts and correspondence accounts. These accounts are maintained for transaction purposes, for funds flowing in and out of the TSA.

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BENEFITS OF TSA

8. The TSA if implemented with the objective in mind has enormous benefits but in this module only a few of them will be highlighted:

a. **Allows Complete and Timely Informationon Government Cash Resources**. In countries with advanced payment and settlement systems and an Integrated Financial Management Information System (IFMIS) with adequate interfaces with the banking system, this information will be available in real time.

b. **Improves Appropriation Control**. The TSA ensures that the Ministry of Finance has full control over budget allocations, and strengthens the authority of the budget appropriation. When separate bank accounts are maintained, the result is often a fragmented system, where funds provided for budgetary appropriations are augmented by additional cash resources that become available through various creative, often extra budgetary measures.

c. **Improves Operational Control During Execution**. When the treasury has full information about cash resources, it can plan and implement budget execution in an efficient, transparent and reliable manner.

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d. **Enables Efficient Cash Management** . A TSA facilitates regular monitoring of government cash balances. It also enables higher quality cash turnout analysis to be undertaken.

e. **Reduces Bank Fees and Transaction Cost**. Reducing the numbers of bank accounts results in lower administrative cost for the government for maintaining these accounts, including the cost association with bank reconciliation, and reducesbanking fees.

f. **Facilitates Efficient Payment Mechanisms**.A TSA ensures that there is no ambiguity regarding the volume or the location of the government funds, and makes it possible to monitor payment mechanism precisely. It can result in substantially lower transaction costs because of economies of scale in processing payments.

g. **Improves Bank Reconciliation and Quality of Fiscal Data**. A TSA allows for effective reconciliation between the government accountingsystems and cash flow statements from the banking system. This reduces the risk of errors in reconciliation processes, and improves the timeliness and quality of the fiscal accounts.

h. **Lowers Liquidity Reserve Needs**. A TSA reduces the volatility of cash flows through the treasury, thus allowing it to maintain a lower cash

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reserves to meet unexpected fiscal volatility.

i. **Government Money is Secure**. Under theTSA, all funds of Federal Government are kept with the CBN, which is the Bankers' Bank and suffers no risk of bankruptcy. Government is assured that its funds are safe, unlike before when they were kept with commercial banks, where they were subject to loss as aresult of possible bankruptcy.

j. **Government Contractors have to Fulfiltheir Contracts in Time**. With e-payment which isintegral to TSA, supplies and contractors ofGovernment now get paid much faster than before and nobody has to wait for cheques to clear before getting out money. This way, contractors have no more excuses for late execution of contracts. This also reduces the corruption that goes with government contracts.

GOVERNMENT INTERGRATED FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SYSTEM

9. This is an information Technology based system for budget management and accounting that is beingimplemented by the FGN to improve public expenditure management processes, enhance greater accountability and transparency across MDAs. GIFIMs is designed to make use of modern information and communication technologies to help the Government of Nigerian to plan and use its financialresources more efficiently and effectively.

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PURPOSE OF GIFMIS

10. The purpose of introducing GIFMIS is to assist the FGN in improving the management, performance and outcomes of public financial management. The immediate purpose of this project is to enable an executable budget ie a budget which can be implemented as planned by addressing the criticalpublic financial management weaknesses including:

a. Failure to enact the budget before the start of the financial year.
b. The budget is based on redistrict forecasts of cash available.
c. Lack of effective cash management.
d. A lack of integration between different financial management functions and processes.

OBJECTIVES OF THE GIFMIS

11. The overall objective is to implement a computerised financial management information system for the FGN which is efficient, effective and user friendly and which will improve the following:

a. Increase the ability of FGN to undertake central control and monitoring of expenditure and receipts in the MDA.
b. Increase the ability to access information on financial and operation performance.
c. Increase internal controls to prevent and detect

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potential and actual fraud.

d. Increase the ability to access information on Government cash position and economic performance.

e. Improves medium term planning through a medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF).

f. provides the ability to understand the cost of groups of activities and tasks.

g. Increases the ability to demonstrate accountability and transparency to the public and cooperating partners.

SCOPE OF GIFMIS

12. The GIFMIS will be used to support the government in all aspects of budget preparation execution and management of government financial services. The system will cover all spending units financed from the government's budget, and will process and manage all expenditure transactions pertaining to these units. The financial management functions of the GIFMIS will cover the entire financial managementcycle.

GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF GIFMIS PROJECT

13. The governance structure details the origination arrangement adopted for the implementation of the GIFMIS. The governance structures indicate the different structural set ups, the composition of those different structures, and the relationship/links between the structures also indicate the issue escalation procedures for all projects related matters.The

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structure includes the following:

a. The Project Sponsor.
b. The Project Steering Committee.
c. The Project Monitoring Committee.
d. The Project Implementation Workgroups.
e. The Project Manager.
f. The Project Management Unit.
g. The Site Support teams.
h. The Implementation Consultative Group.

IMPACT OF GIFMIS ON THE GENERAL PUBLIC

14. GIFMIS implementation will enable the FGN process financial transactions faster and at a much lower cost. GIFMIS will also improve the reliability of management information. This will increase the speed at which decisions are taken and services delivered to the general public. It will also reduce opportunities for corruption and ensure safety of public resources.

FUNDING OF GIFMIS

15. GIFMIS is funded by a loan secured from the World Bank under the Economic Reform and Governance Project (ERGP) that was approved by the World Bank in December 2004 in line with the Federal Government's goal to significantly strengthen governance and accountability, reducecorruption and deliver services more effectively.

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INTEGRATED PAYROLL AND PERSONNEL INFORMATION SYSTEM

16. The IPPIS is a Public Financial Management (PFM) reform designed to improve the effectiveness of storage of personnel records and administration of monthly payroll of the federal public servants. The objectives of the IPPIS are to centralize database of civil servants, reduce ghost worker syndrome, minimise wastage of public funds and facilitateeasy storage, updating and retrieval of personnel records for administrative and pension purposes.

17. The benefits of the IPPIS are to ensure storage of records in the centralized personnel database, timely processing of staff emoluments on a monthly basis, prompt deduction and remittance to pension funds, cooperatives and other unions, monitoring of utilized funds derived from unpaid staff salaries among other things.

ELECTRONIC PAYMENT SYSTEM

18. The EPS was introduced in 2009 as a form of direct payment by MDAs without physical appearance at the bank. It covers all forms of payment from government funds, which NA intended to complement its advantages.

19. At the inception of the EPS, an alternative measure was taken by the NA through Nigerian Army Finance Corps to kick start the system. Units/formations were advised to open an operation account to access their funds from the military account, which is manual EPS.

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EPS AND INFRASTRUCTURE REQUIREMENTS

20. E - payment is a subset of e - governance which is the application of electronic means in the interaction between government, citizen and business. It is a form of direct payment by MDA without physical appearance at the bank. The EPS covers all forms of payment from government funds such as payment for contracts, taxes, consultancy, utilities and personnel emolument. The application of e- payment in theNA is therefore intended to compliment the advantages derivable by the FGN in optimizing the benefits of resource allocation.

21. The peculiarity of military operation requires the prompt disbursement of funds. Payment of operations, Ration Cash Allowance, Contingency, and Habit Allowances to personnel of the UN missions requires cash. Additionally, funds required for other intelligence and covert operations need to be paid in cash. Pursuant to this, liberty has been granted to the Armed Forces to operate its Operation Account through cash transaction, and this is still in operation till date.

BENEFITS OF THE EPS TO THE NIGERIAN ARMY

22. Thebenefits of e- payment to NA include the following:

a. Elimination of delays in payment process.

b. Simplification of payment process.

c. Easy tracking of payments to beneficiaries' accounts, thus assisting audit trail.

d. It will reduce cases of corruption, as there is no interaction between contractors and government officials

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who have roles to play in the payment for contracts.

e. It will assist corruption fighting agencies like Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), and Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission (ICPC) in cases of investigation.

f. More efficient use of Information Technology(IT).

g. Real time reporting to improve the quality of financial Report generated by NA formations and units.

CONCLUSION

23. The economic policies of government are designed to ultimately improve on the standard of living of the citizenry. The present democratic government in Nigeria under President Muhammadu Buhari has made profound success in blocking waste through fiscal discipline in the areas of TSA, GIFMIS, IPPIS and E- payment among others.

24. Financial reforms are government policies, which have been developed to promote a good sound system and effective management of public funds, though with some challenges. In addition to blocking wastes, the government now has full information and control over cash resources.Implicitly, it can plan and execute budgets more efficiently andtransparently.

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WAR AGAINST CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

INTRODUCTION

1. Corruption is the abuse or misuse of power or position of trust for personal or group benefit. It is the dishonest and illegal behavior exhibited especially by people in authority for their personal gain. The growing corruption in Nigeria can be traced to people holding power at the federal, state, and local government levels. Corruption is not limited to just people in government, but also carrird out by people in both private, public positions and even traditional rulers. Corruption is found in the award of contracts, promotion of staff, dispensation of justice, misuse of public offices or positions, embezzlement of public funds among others.

2. In Nigeria, corruption take the forms like bribery, fraud, nepotism, patronage, influence peddling, graft, and embezzlement. According to the perception index of Transparency International, Nigeria was ranked 136th out of the 175 countries in 2016. The purpose of this précis is to highlight the silent points on war against corruption in Nigeria.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to explain the following:

   a. Forms of corruption.

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b. Objectives of war against corruption in Nigeria.

c. Causes of corruption in Nigeria.

d. Key challenges militating against fighting corruption in Nigeria.

e. Ways of curbing the menace of corruption in Nigeria.

f. Lesson learnt from fighting corruption in Nigeria.

OBJECTIVES OF THE WAR AGAINST CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

4. The general objectives of war against corruption in Nigeria are as follows:

a. To promote and maintain high standard of professional ethics.

b. To promot the efficient, economic and effective use of resources.

c. Public administration be development-oriented.

d. Services should be provided impartially, fairly, equitably and without bias.

e. Public administration must be accountable.

f. Support the enactment of the necessary legislation to establish a legislative platform on which to anchor the war on corruption.

g. Vigorous enforcement of anti corruption laws through investigation of offences of corruption and economic crimes.

h. Identification and sealing of corruption loopholes

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through institution of effective public sector management controls.

i. National public education aimed at stigmatizing corruption and inducing behavioral change.

j. Recovery of corruptly acquired property.

k. Ensure that public administration is transparent and must be fostered by providing the public withtimely, accessible and accurate information.

FORMS OF CORRUPTION

5. Corruption comes in many forms including bribery, embezzlement,theft, fraud, blackmail, extortion, favoritism and nepotism.

a. **Bribery**.This is the act in which a person involves in giving gifts or money to another person in order to change his or her behaviors. An example of bribery is the act of giving monetary rewards to sporting officials to ensure a specific outcome of agame.

b. **Embezzlement**. Embezzlement is defined as the act by which a person uses his or her trustedposition to steal assets or money from another person or organization for personal gain. The most common form of embezzlement is the under reporting of income to government officials.

c. **Theft**. This is when a person selects assets or money to steal from a random person or organization. In

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theft, there are no previous trusting relationships between the 2 parties.

d. **Fraud**.Fraud is the act in which a person stealing another person's or organization's assets or money through deceitful actions for personal gain. An example of fraud is if a financial company guaranteed acustomer would receive a certain return on his or her stock investment and then does not deliver on that guarantee.

e. **Blackmail**.Blackmail is a crime where a person threatens to reveal damaging information about another person if a demand is unfulfilled. In blackmail, the threat made is legal even though the act may be humiliating.

f. **Extortion**. This is when a person tries toobtain assets or money by threatening a person. In extortion, the threat made is illegal.

g. **Favoritism.** Favoritism is defined as the act by which a person favors a group of people. An example of favoritism is the act of a manager giving more flexibility to specific employees to whom he or she favors.

h. **Nepotism**. Nepotismmeans to favor a relative regardless of his or her abilities.

CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

6. Some of the causes of corruption are discussed below:

a. **Weak Institutions**. A major cause of corruption

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is weak institutions. Corruption has a high propensity to thrive when legal and political institutions are weak. In most climes, there are so many incentives in the public sector, particular administrative and legal institutions that leave public officials with wide unrestricted authority and powers to create avenues forunjust enrichment or use the discretionary powers at their disposal to manipulate the system.

b. **Public Perception**. Corruption could thrive due to public perception. This happens in situations where societal culture does not see corruption as a crime or where the people do not have negative feelings towards corrupt officials. Instances abound where convicted individuals were offered chieftaincy titles by traditional rulers and politicians fingered in corruption are elected into the key offices.

c. **Greed**. It is because of greed that public office holders embezzle from the funds they are supposed to use for national development for their ownselfish needs. Where an individual diverts billions of naira, it is obviously for greed and not for an immediateneed.

d. **Poor Youth Empowerment**.Poor moral youth empowerment is a contributor to corruption. Internet fraud, sexual harassment by male CEOs, and other bad acts are because Nigerians lack understanding on the importance of youth empowerment. When parents and

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governments empower youths both financially and morally, the level of corruption among them will diminish.

e. **Poverty**. A person can take bribes to commit crime because he is poor. It is one of the reasons why the poor youths in the country collect bribes to work as thugs for politicians.

f. **Unemployment**.People are pushed into corrupt practice because of high unemployment. An unemployed citizen can indulge in corruption to make money and live better.

g. **Poor Remuneration/Incentive**. Poor remuneration to workers can push them to indulge in shape practices. Where the wages are too meagre to meet and immediate family demand of the worker, he is forced to cut corners to get additional money that will cover his financial gap.

CONSEQUENCES OF CORRUPTION

7. The consequences of corruption are universal even if there could be variations in the level of state and non-state responses to these consequences. Some of the identified consequences of corruption are discussed below:

a. **Promotes Poverty**. Corruption promotes poverty. A simple example could be made with the corruption in the management of pension funds in Nigeria. The theft of pensions means that retired

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Nigerians would not have access to their pensions as at when due. This means that those that have dependants to care for would be deprived of the needed funds.

b. **Creates Condition for Political Instability**. This is because unrestricted corruption makes the state an unlimited allocator of wealth to individuals and groups. This character of the state makes it possible for the politics of do-or-die to take root, with politicians struggling to out-compete one another sometimes in violent manner. It also widens the gap between the rich and the poor which pitches leaders against the followers as was witnessed during the "Arab Spring".

c. **Image Denting**. Corruption dents the image of a country abroad. People deal with caution when it has to do with people from the affected country.

d. **Promotes the Existence of Underground/Illegal Economy**. The possibility of bribes infiltrating the security systems have made it easy for underground economies in counterfeit, adulterated and substandard products, especially drugs. Though these underground economies worth billions of dollars, the government do not benefit from taxes nor are the people benefiting from the dangerous effects ofadulterated drugs.

e. **Social Costs**. Corruptions also have itssocial costs part from poverty. In any society, there arelaws and regulations to serve social objectives and to protect the public interest, such as building codes,

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environmental controls, traffic laws and prudential banking regulations. Violating these laws for economic gain through corrupt means can cause serious social harm. The frequent use of substandard materials and violation of building regulations have led to several buildings collapsing and killing innocent occupiers have become a recurrent decimal in Nigeria while large scale oil spills with catastrophic effects have continued in some part of the country.

f. **Corruption is Anti-development**.Corruption is anti development because it reduces the amount of funds available to be used for developmental purposes. Monies that should have been used to better education, health, infrastructure and other areas needed to improve the life of citizens, are stolen by a few. This eventually will lead to poorly delivered services in thosesectors of the economy.

g. **Poor Investment**. Investors are not usually attracted to counties where corruption thrives. Companies that would have invested in Nigeria areafraid because they do not know if the corrupt practice will ruin their industries in time.

SOME OF THE EFFORTS MADE AT CURBING CORRUPTION THROUGH ANTI CORRUPTION BODIES AND COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRIES

8. Some of the efforts made at curbing corruption include

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the following:

a. Series of commissions of inquiry set up by Gen Aguiyi Ironsi regime in 1966 to investigate the activities of some government parastatals and to probe the widespread corruption that characterised the public service sector of the deposed regime.

b. Assets Investigation Panel of 1975 by Gen Murtala administration.

c. The Belgore Commission of Inquiry established by Gen Murtala Mohammed in 1975 to investigate the Cement Armada.

d. Commissions of inquiry constituted by the Gen Murtala Mohammed regime which resulted in the immediate dismissal of several corrupt officials, many ofwho were in turn ordered to refund the money theyhad stolen.

e. The Corrupt Practices Decree of 1975 promulgated by the regime of Murtala/Obasanjo.

f. Trribunals of inquiry in 1984 by the Buhari regime to try corrupt officials of the Second Republic.

g. War against Indiscipline by Buhari/Idiagbon regime.

h. Tribunals of inquiry by Gen Buhari administration in 1983 to investigate state governors and commissioners of Shagari regime.

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i. The Code of Conduct Bureau established in 1979 by the Murtala/Obasanjo regime.

j. Babangida administration gave the Code of Conduct Bureau its legal mandate in 1989.

k. Advance Fee Fraud and Other Related Offences Decree of 1995 by the Abacha Regime which was later re-enacted as the Advanced Fee Fraud and Other Related Offences Act, 2006 by Chief Olusegun Obasanjo administration.

l. The Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act 2000 (Act 2000) which established ICPC.

m. The Money Laundering Act, 2004.

n. EFCC (establishment) Act, 2004.

o. The Procurement Act, 2007.

CHALLENGES FACING THE FIGHTING AGAINST CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

8. The key challenges militating against fighting against corruption in Nigeria include the following:

a. **Bad Leadership Precedents**. The political mentality in Nigeria presently is that politics is a means to wealth and that the end justifies the means. Indeed, the highest corruption in Nigeria is in the corridors of power as indicated by the number of state governors and

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local government chairmen that have so far been investigated.

b. **Ineffective Judial System**. The judicial system ought to be in the fore front in the fight against corruption. However, it has proved to be ineffective due to delays in handling corruption related offences. Cases drag for many years and eventually fizzle away. High profile corruption cases hardly get the desired conviction. This has not helped in serving as deterrenceto would be corrupt officials.

c. **Inadequate Funding of Law Enforcement and Anti-Corruption Agencies**. Inadequate funding of law enforcement and anti-corruption bodies is one of the challenges facing the fight against corruption in Nigeria. In an era of high technology crimes, corporate as well as bureaucratic corruption, it would be fatally erroneous to assume that one can fight a war of this magnitude without adequate funding.

d. **Absence of Comprehensive Database**. Nigerialacks a comprehensive databaseto provide vital information on its citizens. This cripplesinvestigation and even exchange of information withnational and foreign counterparts. Where properrecords showing vital information including criminal records are kept, it will be a major deterrent.

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e. **The Need for Reforms in the Public Sector**. The public sector contributes more than 70 percent of the corruption in Nigeria. Countries where corruption is the exception rather than the norm have achieved this by reforming their public institutions such as the civil service, the parliament and the judiciary. Reforms in these sectors will greatly reduce the challenges of combating corruption.

WAYS TO CURB THE MENACE OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

9. Some of the waysto curbing the menace of corruption in Nigeria are as follows:

a. **The Need For Holistic Reform of the Judicial System**. An effective judiciary will help in the fight against corruption. The present judicial systemneeds to be reformed for it serve this purpose. Establishment of special courts to handle corruptionrelated offences will help in speedy trials of corruption cases which will serve as deterrence.

b. **Self-Satisfaction**. Self-satisfaction in this context implies being content with what one has. When the leaders of Nigeria are satisfied with the salary they are paid and use them in the right way, the issue of embezzlement and money laundering will be history. Managers who are satisfied with what they are paid will not have time to indulge in corruption to make more

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money.

c. **Institution of Strong Anti-CorruptionGroup**.Creating strong anti-corruption institutions is another arsenal to win the fight against corruption. This group is to work independently withthe government to ensure transparency. Anyone who is caught in corrupt practice by the group should experience the consequences decided by the anti-corruption agency.

d. **Employment Generation**. The unemployed in the country find themselves involved in corruption mainly because they want to make money to meet the demand of the day. Governments and capable hands should endeavour to generate more jobs for citizens to get employed and paid in return. A busy mind may find it difficult to indulge in corruption because he is being paid adequately.

e. **Proper Government Funding of School**.Understanding the importance of skill acquisition will go a long way to propel them to developall the schools in Nigeria. When more attention is paid to the tertiary institutions in the country, it will produce graduates who are employable. Installation of the necessary machines needed in universities will help Nigerian graduates acquire skills and use them to generate income, even if no company employs them after graduation. Self-employment will make graduates

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more determined in the work they do and will prevent them from corruption like Internet scams, kidnapping and the rest.

f. **Treating All Citizens Equally**. Treating any offender in the country equally will help reduce corruption. Where minor corrupt cases get convictions within a short period and high profile corrupt cases drag for many years and fizzle away is not the best. Nobody is above the law and anyone who acts contraryto it should be given the punishment that he or she deserves.

g. **Value Re-orientation**. Corruption will continue to thrive as long as public perception towards it positive. A campaign of value change will play a vital role in imbibing the good cultural values in the people. The National Orientation Agency could be in the fore front in this regards.

CONCLUSION

11. Corruption has been part of the Nigerian society since for a very long time. Different government has used different method to fight corruption to no avail. Many factors could be said to be responsible for corruption in Nigeria as well as many challenges are facing the fight against corruption. Similarly, corruption is having devastating effects on Nigeria's drive to greatness.

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FINANCIAL CRIME BODIES: CODE OF CONDUCT BEREAU, INDEPENDENT CORRUPT PRACTICES AND OTHER RELATED OFFENCES COMMISSION AND ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRIMES COMMISSION

INTRODUCTION

1. It is a contrast or irony in Nigeria today, in spite of her oil and gas resources, she is still a poor country with 80 - 90 million Nigerians living in abject poverty. Nigeria has earned over $300 billion from oil exports since the mid70s but her current per capital income is about 20 percent less than the 1975 level.

2. A lot of critical public infrastructure is in decay. Unemployment and inflation rates are in the double digits. Corruption continues to pose a major challenge to good governance. The fight against other crimes has not faired any better. Efforts have been made at different times to fight this menace which includes the establishment of the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB), ICPC and EFCC.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would know the following:

a. The mandates of CCB, ICPC and EFCC.

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b. The functions of CCB, ICPC and EFCC.
c. Implications of financial and economic in Nigeria.
d. Relationship betweenICPC and EFCC.

CODE OF CONDUCT BUREAU

4. The CCB was established in Nigeria in 1979 during the Second Republic after 13 years of military rule by the founding fathers of the first post-military constitution. The 1979 Constitution provided a list of Codes of Conduct for public officers. The military administration of Murtala/Obasanjo inaugurated a Board before handing over power to the civilian government in July 1983, which could not make appreciable impact because of the inability of the National Assembly of the second republic to pass the enabling law. Several years later in 1989, the Bureau got its legal mandate under the Babangida regime. The Code of Conduct provision has since then maintained a permanence of some sort, in the fifth schedule of all constitutions.

MANDATE AND POWERS OF THE BUREAU

5. The CCB and Tribunal Act, Chapter 56 LFN 1990 gave the Bureau the mandate to establish and maintain a high standard of public morality in the conduct of government business and to ensure that the actions and behaviour of public officers conform to the highest standard of public morality and accountability. To implement the above mandate, Section 3, Part 1 of the Third Schedule to the 1999

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Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has provided an enabling legal environment for the Bureau to:

a. Receive declarations by public officers under Paragraph 11 of Part 1 of the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution.

b. Examine the declarations in accordance with the requirements of the Code of Conduct or any Law.

c. Retain custody of such declarations and make them available for inspection by any citizen of Nigeria on such terms and conditions as the National Assembly may prescribe.

d. Ensure compliance with and, where appropriate, enforce the provisions of the Code of Conduct or any law relating thereto.

e. Receive complaints about non-compliance with or breach of the provisions of the Code of Conduct or any law in relation thereto, investigate the complaints and, where appropriate, refer such mattersto the Code of Conduct Tribunal.

f. Appoint, promote, dismiss and exercise disciplinary control over the staff of the CCB in accordance with the provisions of an Act of the National Assembly enacted in that behalf.

g. Carry out such other functions as may be

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conferred upon it by the National Assembly.

PUBLIC OFFICERS FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE CODE OFCONDUCT

6. The following are regarded as public officers:

a. The President of the Federation.

b. The Vice President of the Federation.

c. President and Deputy President of the Senate, Speaker and Deputy.

d. Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Speakers and Deputy Speakers of Houses of Assembly of states, and all members and staff of legislative houses.

e. Governors and Deputy Governors of States.

f. Chief Justice of Nigeria, Justice of the Supreme Court, President and Justices of the Court of Appeal, all other judicial officers and all staff of law.

g. Attorney General of the Federation and Attorney General of each State.

h. Ministers of the Government of the Federation and commissioners of the government of the States.

i. Chief of Defence Staff, Chief of Army staff, Chief of Naval Staff, Chief of Air Staff and all members of the Armed Forces of theFederation.

j. Inspector General of Police, Deputy Inspector General of Police and all members of the Nigeria Police Force and other government security agencies established by law.

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k. Secretary to the Government of the Federation, Head of Civil Service, Permanent Secretaries, Director-General and all other persons in the civil service of the Federation or of the State.

l. Ambassadors, High Commissioners and other officers of Nigeria missions abroad.

m. Chairman, members and staff of the CCB and Code of Conduct Tribunal.

n. Chairman, members and staff of local government councils.

o. Chairman and members of the Boards or other governing bodies and staff of statutory corporations and of companies in which the Federal or State government has controlling shares.

p. All staff of universities, colleges and institutions owned and financed by the federal or state Government or Local government Councils.

q. Chairman, members and staff of permanent commissions or councils appointed of full time basis.

CODE OF CONDUCTETHICS OF WORK EXPECTED OF PUBLIC OFFICERS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

7. The Code of Conduct for public officers is spelt out in the 1999 constitution Fifth Schedule, Part 1 which is to establish and maintain a high standard of morality in the conduct of government business, and to ensure that the actions and behaviour of public officers conform to the higheststandards of public morality

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and accountability. It must be indicated here that all public officers should study existingrules and regulations governing government business.

8. Details of the code governing the conduct of public officers and for which a violation would amount to corruption is reproduced below:

a. A public officer shall not put himself in a position where his interest conflicts with his duties and responsibilities.

b. Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing paragraph a public officer shall not :

(1) Receive or be paid emoluments of any public office at the same time as he receive or is paid the emoluments of any other public office.

(2) Except when he is not employed in full time basis, engage or participate in the management or running of any private business,profession or trade; but nothing in this paragraph shall prevent a public officer from engaging in farming or participating in the management or running of any farm.

c. The President, Vice President, Governors, Deputy Governors, Ministers of the government of the Federation and Commissioners of the Government of States, members of the National Assembly and the Houses of Assembly of the States and such other public

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officers or persons, as the National Assembly may by law prescribe shall not maintain cooperate a bank account in any country outside Nigeria.

d. A public officer shall not, after his retirement from public service and while receiving pension from public funds, accept more than one remunerative position as Chairman, Director or employee of a company owned or controlled by the government or public authority or receive any other remuneration from public funds in addition to his pension and the emolument of such one remunerative position.

e. (1) Retired public officers who have held offices to which the paragraph applies are prohibited from service or employment in foreigncompanies or foreign enterprises.

(2) The paragraph applies to the Office of the President, Vice, President, and Chief Justice of Nigeria, Governor and Deputy Governor of a State.

f. (1) A public officer shall not ask for or accept any property or benefit of any kind for himself orany other person on account of anything done or omitted to be done by him in the discharge of his duties.

(2) For the purpose of Sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph the receipt by a public officer of

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any gifts or benefits from commercial firms, business enterprises or persons who have contracts with the government shall be presumed to have been received incontravention of the said sub-paragraph unless the contrary is proved.

(3) A public officer shall only accept personal gifts or benefit from relatives or personal friends to such extent and on such occasions as are recognised by custom; Provided that any gift or donation to public officer on any public or ceremonial occasions shall be treated as gifts to the appropriate institution represented by the public officer, and accordingly, the mere acceptance or receipt of any gifts may not be treated as a contravention of this provision.

g. The President, or Vice-President, Governor or Deputy Governor, Minister of the G overnment of the Federation or Commissioner of a State or any other public officer who holds office of Permanent Secretary/ Director General or head of any public corporation, university or other parastatal, organisation shall not accept:

(1) A loan, except from government or its agencies, bank, building society or other financial institution recognised by law.

(2) Any benefit of whatever nature from any

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ompany, contractor, or businessman, or the nominee or agent of such person: Provided that the head of public corporation or of a university or other parastatal organisation may, subject to the rules and regulations of the body, accept a loan from such body.

IDEAL BEHAVIOUR EXPECTED FROM A PUBLIC OFFICER

9. Below are some of the behaviours that public officers areencouraged to emulate:

a. **Discrimination**. A public officer is not expected to discriminate against any citizen on thegrounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnicor linguistic association. This is clearly stated in Nigeria constitution, which commits the state to the ideals national integration. As instruments of state policy, public officers are expected to set the highest examplesin pursuing these noble objectives.

b. **Discipline**. This is the hallmark of a responsible public officer. Strict adherence to the rules and regulations of the public service is a must for a civil/public servant. As a senior officer, it is imperative that an officer complies with the code of conduct and ensures that subordinates do the same.

c. **Loyalty**. Loyalty should be an integral part of

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the behaviour of a public officer. This implies faithfulness to the nation and the employer and supportive of the aims for which one is employed.

d. **Honesty and Transparency**. These should be cardinal principles for any individual holding public office, and should be demonstrated in conducting official duties and in dealing with members of the public. This means that the public officer should be conscientious on duty. All his actions must be clear and self-evident. Public officers should not demand or receive anything in return for performing official duties.

e. **Accountability**. A public officer should display responsible stewardship for all items, money, materials and men placed under his supervision. This implies that all government property entrusted with a Public officer should be properly accounted for through strict adherence to the civil service rules, financial regulations and all other circulars pertaining to thedisbursement, management and reporting on same.

f. **Respect for Constituted Authority**. A public officer should show unqualified respect for constituted authority and the country at large.

g. **Punctuality and Absenteeism**. A Public officer should endeavour to be punctual at his place of work. Public officers should also not absent themselves from work except on approval.

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h. **Good Conduct and Ethical Behaviour**. To ensure that public officers cultivate appropriate conduct and ethics in conduct of government business, the Bureau recommends the establishment of in Situ primary Code of Conduct committees in all the ministries, extra ministerial departments and agencies of government. All matters relating to breach of conduct and ethical behaviours within each specified establishment must be addressed within approved guidelines. Matters not satisfactorily resolved within theestablishment are to be reported to the CCB for appropriate action.

INDEPENDENT CORRUPT PRACTICES AND OTHER RELATED OFFENCES COMMISSION

10. The Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act 2000 (Act 2000) brought a fresh and decisive perspective to the fight against corruption in the form of a holistic approach encompassing enforcement, prevention and educational measures. It captures in a single document, a host of corrupt offences in their old and sophisticated guises. It sets up the ICPC with wide-ranging powers. The Act brings under its purview all Nigerians, in the private and public sectors andeven those public officers with constitutional immunity.

11. ICPC was inaugurated on 29 September 2000 by the former Nigerian President, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, GCFR. The Commission is at the hub of Nigeria's fight against corruption. In the order set out at section 6 of the Act 2000, the

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first duty of the Commission is to receive complaints, investigate and prosecute offenders. Other duties reviewing and modifying the systems and procedures of public bodies as well as education of the public and fostering their support in combating corruption.

MEMBERSHIP OF ICPC

12. As provided for in Section 3(3) of the Act 2000, the Commission consists of a Chairman and 12 members, 2 of whom represent each of the 6 geo-political zones of thecountry. The membership is drawn from the following categories of Nigerians as spelt out by the Act:

a. A retired police officer not below the rank of Commissioner of Police.
b. A legal practitioner with at least 10 years post-call experience.
c. A retired Judge of a superior court of record.
d. A retired public servant not below the rank of a Director.
e. A woman.
f. A youth not being less than 21 or more than 30 years of age at the timeof his or herappointment.
g. A chartered accountant.

DUTIES OF THE ICPC

13. Section 6 (a-f) of the ICPC Act 2000 sets out the duties

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of the Commission as paraphrased below:

a. To receive and investigate complaints from members of the public on allegations of corrupt practices and in appropriate cases, prosecute the offenders.

b. To examine the practices, systems and procedures of public bodies and where such systems aid corruption, to direct and supervise their review.

c. To instruct, advice and assist any officer, agency, or parastatal on ways by which fraud or corruption may be eliminated or minimized by them.

d. To advise heads of public bodies of any changes in practice, systems or procedures compatible with the effective discharge of the duties of public bodies to reduce the likelihood or incidence of bribery, corruption and related offences.

e. To educate the public on and against bribery, corruption and related offences.

f. To enlist and foster public support in combating corruption.

14. With respect to the prosecution of cases, the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act 2000 provides that every prosecution for offences under it shall be deemed to be done with the consent of the Attorney-General. Furthermore, it is provided that the Chief Judge of a State or the Federal

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Capital Territory shall designate a court or judge to hear and determine all cases arising under the Act. Presently, there are 2 such designated judges in each state of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRIMES COMMISSION

15. The EFCC was established by the EFCC Act of 2002. It is a designate Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) in Nigeria with the powers, to coordinate the various institutions involved in the fight against money laundering and enforcement of all laws dealing with economic and financial crimes in Nigeria. The commissions' broad statutory duties and responsibilities cover dealing with economic and financial crimes, as well as combating terrorism and terrorist tendencies.

FUNCTIONS OF EFCC

16. The mandate of the commission with respect of its functions of combating economic and financial crimes includes the following:

a. Investigating all financial crimes.

b. Coordinating and enforcing all economic and financial crime laws.

c. Identifying, tracing, freezing, confiscating or seizing proceeds derived from terrorist activities, economic or financial crimes.

d. Taking deliberate measures to prevent the commission of economic and financial crimes.

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e. Coordinating preventive and regulatory measures, including introducing and maintaining investigative and control techniques on the prevention of economic and financial crimes.

f. Facilitating rapid exchange of scientific and technical information and conducting joint operations with collaborators aimed at eradicating economic and financial crimes.

g. Collaborating with government bodies within and outside Nigeria in carrying on functions analogous with those of the commission.

h. Supervising, controlling and coordinating all the responsibilities, functions and activities relating to on-going investigations and prosecution of all offences connected with or relating to economic and financial crimes in consultation with the Attorney General of the Federation.

17. In addition to those basic functions enumerated above, the commission has been bestowed with special powers that enable it enforce specific laws relating to economic andfinancial crimes, which include the following:

a. Investigating persons and/or properties of persons suspected of breaking the provisions of the EFCC Act, 2002.

b. Enforcement of the following specific laws:

(1) The Money Laundering Act 1975.

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(2) The Advanced Fee Fraud and other Fraud Related Offence Acts 1995.

(3) The Failed Banks (Recovery of Debts) and Financial Malpractices in Bank Act, 1994 as amended.

(4) The Bank and other Financial Institutions Act, 1991 as amended.

(5) The Miscellaneous Offences Act.

(6) Any other law or regulation relating to economic and financial crimes in Nigeria.

DEFINITION OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRIMES

18. Section 46 of the EFCC Act 2004 defines economic and financial crimes to mean the non-violent criminal and illicit activity carried out with the objective of earning wealth illegally either individually or in a group or in organized manner, thereby violating existing regulation governing economic activities of government and its administration. It also includes any form of fraud, narcotic drug trafficking, money laundering, embezzlement, bribery, looting and any form of corruption, malpractices, illegal arms deal, smuggling, human trafficking and child labour, illegal oil bunkering and illegal mining. Others are tax evasion, foreign exchange malpractice including counterfeiting currency, theft of intellectual property and piracy, open market abuse, dumping of toxic wastes and prohibited goods etc.

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IMPLICATIONS OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRIMES

19. The implication of economic and financial crimes on the nation's economy invariably involves a discussion of the above offences as spelt out in Section n 46 of EFCC Act 2004 (See definition on Economic and Financial Crimes above). We will treat briefly the following:

a. The oil and Gas sector.
b. The manufacturing fraud.

20. **The Oil and Gas Sector**. This sector is the biggest target for economic crime perpetrators. Billions of petrol dollars is being lost by the nation every day due to theactivities of illegal oil bunkerers, pipeline vandalization and saboteurs.

21. **The Manufacturing Sector**. Economic and financial crimes such as money laundering and trade malpractices arethe twin enemies of the manufacturing sector. In countries transiting to industrialization like Nigeria, the criminal influenceon the financial system could undermine the transition to industrial and technological revolution and subsequently keep the country under perpetual import slavery. Let us understudy money laundering and trade malpractice as the basic economic and financial crimes.

a. **Money Laundering**. Money laundering is a process by which criminals attempt to hide and disguise the true origin and ownership of the proceeds of their criminal activities thereby avoiding prosecution, conviction and confiscation for criminal funds. As a

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derivative, it flows from the following crimes among others,illegal arms sales, smuggling, activities of organized crime, including for example drug trafficking and prostitution rings, embezzlement, insider trading, bribery and corruption, fraud schemes. Funds acquired from thess goals that cannot be pushed through banks and other financial institutions by eluding financial regulators and law enforcement agencies around the world are laundered through trade malpractices such as massive importation of all kinds of goods like spare parts, pharmaceutical products, chemicals, automobile etc. The motive of importing the goods is not profit making but to legitimize the criminal proceeds. Invariably, the imported items are quickly sold at give away prices in Nigeria. The effect of money laundering through imports is to undermine the genuine efforts of local manufacturers who share, compete and operate insame business environment with the launderers. The imported goods which most of the times are produced at cheap cost and higher quality abroad unfairly compete with local goods, produced at perhaps high cost and lower quality in Nigeria. Therefore, pricescrash and massive losses resulting from large stock of unsold products occur, due to lack of patronage and eventual collapse of industries.

b. **Trade Malpractices**. Trade malpractices constitute a dent on Nigeria's image. They diminish the respect and the regard Nigeria commandsinternationally and contribute to the loss of confidence in the nation by

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foreign investors and internationaldevelopment partners. The nature of trade malpractices in Nigeria has multivariate dimensions. However, the following trade malpractices are prevalent:

(1) Direct copying of local brands by manufacturers.
(2) Importation of fake/counterfeit and substandard products.
(3) Diversion of trans-shipped goods.
(4) False declaration of goods.
(5) Recycling of CRI and custody Duty Receipts.
(6) Smuggling.

The overall consequences of the above trade malpractices have damaging effect on the industrial sector. Apart from excessive revenue losses to the nation, they contribute to low capacity utilization, unemployment, pressure on the naira and general mass poverty.

22. **Advanced Fee Fraud**. This indulgence by few Nigerians in advanced fee fraud (419) has destroyed the reputation and credibility of the country. This has made it difficult for majority of innocent Nigerians to transact business both locally and internationally. Nigeria and several reputable Nigerians suffer a number of damages including being treated as cheats and the erosion of trust in our domestic and international spheres. Apart from the humiliation suffered abroad, retaliatory measures are being taken against us by victims and their countries.

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23. **The Financial Sector**. Financial institution can be involved in financial crimes in three ways: as victims, as perpetrator, as an instrument. Under the first category , financial institutions can be subject to the different types of fraud including, for example, uni-representation of financial information, embezzlement, check and credit card fraud, securities fraud, insurance fraud and pension fraud. Under the second (less common) category, financial institutions can commit different types of fraud on others, including, for example, the sale of fraudulent financial products, self- dealings and misappropriation of client funds. In the third category are instances where financial institutions are used to keep or transfer funds, either wittingly or unwittingly, that are themselves the profits or proceeds of a crime, regardless of whether the crime is itself financial in nature. One of the most important examples of this third category is money laundering. Financial frauds have led to the collapse of many banks in the country. Frauds have equally led to the loss of confidence in our banks not only local but also the international business community.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ICPC AND EFCC

24. EFCC was established as a law enforcement agency to investigate financial crimes such as advanced fee fraud (419 fraud) and money laundering. While the ICPC targets corruption in the public sector, especially bribery, gratification,graft and abuse or misuse of office, the EFCC investigates people in all

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sectors who appear to be living above their means, and is empowered to investigate and prosecute moneylaundering and other financial crimes. The EFCC tracks illicit wealth accruing from abuse of office, especially attempts to integrate such wealth into the financial system. However,there are complains about duplication of the functions of ICPC by the EFCC, particularly overlap between the ICPC Anti- Corruption and Transparency Monitoring Units and the EFCC Anti-Corruption and Transparency Committee.

CONCLUSION

25. It must be emphasized that a nation does not changeits ideals to suite those who refuse to conform. On the contrary, it is those who refused to conform who must changetheir ways in order to meet the ideals of the nation. Good governance in turn is a product of honesty, integrity, observance of the rule of law,transparency and accountability. A corrupt free environment will boost investors' confidence as well as the image of the country abroad. Despite facing some challenges, CCB, ICPC and EFCC have helped in reducing the financial crimes in the country.

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BANDITRY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

INTRODUCTION

1. Banditry in Nigeria has its roots in various socio-economic and political factors. Traditionally, conflicts between farmers and herders over land use and water resources were common, especially in northern Nigeria. However, these disputes have escalated into full-blown criminality, particularly since the late 2000s, due to a combination of factors such as poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation and the proliferation of small arms.

2. Banditry refers to acts of armed robbery, kidnapping, cattle rustling and general violence perpetrated by groups or individuals, usually in rural or less-policed areas. In Nigeria, banditry has become a significant security issue, especially in the northwestern and northcentral regions. These criminal activities often involve heavily armed groups that terrorise communities, causing loss of lives, destruction of property, displacement of people and destabilisation of local economies.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE RISE OF BANDITRY

3. Several factors contribute to the rise of banditry in Nigeria. Some of the factors are discussed subsequently.

a. **Desertification and Climate Change**. The encroachment of the desert in northern Nigeria has severely diminished the availability of arable land and water resources, intensifying competition between farmers and herders for these scarce assets. As the climate continues to change, this competition has often escalated into violent confrontations, resulting in significant loss of life and property. In this volatile environment, some criminal elements have exploited the chaos, engaging in banditry and further exacerbating the conflict.

b. **Cattle Rustling**. Historically, cattle rustling has been a prevalent practice in some rural areas of Nigeria, rooted in traditional disputes over livestock ownership. However, this once-

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localized issue has become a more sophisticated and organised criminal activity. Today, bandits engage in large-scale cattle theft, using stolen livestock to finance a range of illegal operations, including the purchase of firearms and other weapons.

c. **Weak Law Enforcement**. Poor governance, widespread corruption and severely underfunded security services have fostered an environment in which bandits can operate with relative impunity. In many rural areas, the absence of effective law enforcement means that security forces are either lacking entirely or unable to respond adequately to criminal activities. This vacuum of authority enables bandits to thrive, further encouraging them to carry out their operations without fear of repercussions.

e. **Proliferation of Small Arms**. Nigeria's porous borders have significantly contributed to the influx of illegal firearms from conflict zones throughout West Africa, exacerbating security challenges within the country. These unregulated entry points allow arms traffickers to smuggle weapons easily, providing bandits with the firepower necessary to execute their criminal activities. As a result, the presence of these firearms has escalated the violence associated with banditry, making confrontations more lethal and threatening the safety of local communities.

f. **Collapse of Traditional Institutions**. Conventionally, traditional rulers and community leaders held significant authority in resolving conflicts and maintaining peace within their communities. They served as mediators, utilising their knowledge of local customs and relationships to foster dialogue and understanding among conflicting parties. However, as their influence has waned in recent years, a dangerous vacuum has emerged, allowing criminal elements to assert control without established leadership.

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CLASSIFICATION OF BANDITRY IN NIGERIA

4. Banditry in Nigeria can be classified based on the bandits' activities and their operation methods. Below are some of the classifications:

a. **Cattle Rustling**. Cattle rustling, frequently characterised by violent raids in villages, remains a prevalent form of banditry in northern Nigeria. This longstanding issue has deep roots in historical grievances and disputes over livestock, but it has intensified in recent years due to the emergence of heavily armed criminal groups. These gangs conduct organised attacks, often leaving devastation and instilling fear among local populations.

b. **Kidnapping for Ransom**. Kidnapping has emerged as one of the most lucrative forms of banditry in northern Nigeria, attracting criminal groups looking to exploit vulnerable individuals and communities. Bandits often operate in groups, targeting unsuspecting victims in rural areas or along major highways, where they can quickly carry out their abductions. Once they have taken hostages, these criminals demand substantial ransoms from families or communities, leveraging the desperation of those seeking to secure the safe return of their loved ones.

c. **Armed Robbery**. Bandits in northern Nigeria frequently engage in armed robbery, targeting travellers on highways and invading villages to steal money, valuables and food supplies. These armed groups operate in organised units, often using superior firepower to ambush unsuspecting individuals and vehicles on major roads. Highway robberies have become increasingly common, forcing many travellers to avoid specific routes and significantly impacting trade and mobility in affected areas.

d. **Village Raids**. Village raids have also been identified as a class of banditry. Bandits frequently launch attacks on entire communities, resulting in the destruction of homes, loss of life and widespread looting of property. These brutal assaults not only

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devastate the immediate surroundings but also leave survivors in a state of trauma and insecurity. The pervasive fear created by such violence disrupts daily life and undermines the social fabric of affected areas, making it increasingly difficult for communities to rebuild and recover.

e. **Extortion and Protection Rackets**. Another prevalent form of banditry in northern Nigeria involves extortion and protection rackets, where criminal groups prey on vulnerable communities. In many regions, bandits demand protection money from farmers and villagers, coercing them into paying for the assurance that they will not be attacked or robbed. This extortion creates a climate of fear, as those who refuse to comply often face violent reprisals, including assaults on their homes and livelihoods.

MEASURES OF COMBATING BANDITRY IN NIGERIA

5. Several measures could be adopted in combating banditry. Some of the measures adopted in Nigeria are as follows:

a. **Military Operations**. The Nigerian government has initiated several military operations aimed at combating banditry, particularly in the northwest and north-central regions, where the crisis has reached alarming levels. These operations typically involve strategically deploying troops to track down bandits, dismantle their networks and destroy their camps, disrupting their operations.

b. **Increased Policing and Security**. The government has made efforts to strengthen law enforcement by increasing the presence of police and security forces in rural areas, recognizing the need for enhanced protection against banditry. In addition to bolstering official security personnel, initiatives have been taken to equip local vigilante groups to support these efforts and fill gaps in community safety.

c. **Community Vigilante Groups**. In response to the increasing threat of banditry, many local communities have

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organised vigilante groups to safeguard themselves and their livelihoods. These groups are often armed and are crucial in monitoring their surroundings, providing early warnings of impending attacks. While they frequently collaborate with state security forces to bolster local defences, their operations can sometimes extend beyond legal boundaries, leading to concerns about vigilantism and human rights abuses.

d. **Addressing Root Causes**. Efforts have been initiated to tackle the underlying factors that fuel banditry, including poverty, unemployment and land disputes, which often create conditions ripe for criminal activities. Recognising the need for a multifaceted approach, government programs have been launched to promote economic development, enhance educational opportunities and improve social welfare for vulnerable populations.

e. **Control of Small Arms**. The Nigerian government has made concerted efforts to control the flow of small arms into the country, recognising the pivotal role that illegal weapons play in fuelling banditry and violence. To this end, it has implemented measures to tighten border security, enhancing surveillance and inspection processes at key entry points. Additionally, Nigeria has sought to strengthen cooperation with neighbouring countries to address the cross-border trafficking of illegal firearms collaboratively.

IMPACTS OF BANDITRY IN NIGERIA

6. There are several ways in which banditry has impacted Nigeria. Some of the impacts are discussed below:

a. **Economic Impacts**. Banditry has had a devastating impact on Nigeria's agricultural sector, with many farmers compelled to abandon their land out of fear of violent attacks. This departure from farming areas has disrupted traditional agricultural practices, leading to significant crop production and livestock rearing declines. As a result, the country is experiencing

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heightened food insecurity, with many households struggling to access sufficient and nutritious food.

b. **Displacement and Humanitarian Crisis**. Banditry has resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people in Nigeria's northern regions, forcing them to flee their homes in search of safety. This mass exodus has led to overcrowded Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps, where living conditions are often dire and humanitarian resources are severely strained.

c. **Insecurity and Instability**. Banditry has significantly contributed to widespread insecurity in Nigeria, eroding public trust in the government and its capacity to safeguard citizens. As fear and violence permeate daily life, many communities feel abandoned, leading to a growing sense of helplessness among the population. This pervasive insecurity has detrimental effects on investment, as potential investors are often deterred by the unstable environment and the risks associated with operating in affected regions.

d. **Social Fragmentation**. Banditry has intensified communal tensions and deepened divisions among various ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria, creating an atmosphere of mistrust and hatred. In many instances, bandits exploit these existing divisions to manipulate communities, inciting further violence and conflict for their gain. This manipulation perpetuates a cycle of retaliation and complicates efforts to achieve lasting peace and reconciliation. As communities become increasingly fragmented, the potential for collaborative solutions to address the root causes of violence diminishes, making it even more challenging to restore social cohesion and stability in affected areas.

e. **Loss of Lives and Property**. Frequent bandit attacks have led to the loss of thousands of lives, leaving behind a profound sense of grief and trauma within affected communities.

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The destruction of property during these violent incursions has devastated local economies, displacing families and disrupting livelihoods. Homes, farms and essential infrastructure have been reduced to rubble, further complicating recovery efforts and exacerbating the vulnerability of survivors.

CONCLUSION

7. Banditry continues to pose one of the most significant security challenges in Nigeria, particularly in the northern regions where the impact of violence is most acute. The Nigerian government has implemented various measures to curb this menace, but these efforts often fall short without a comprehensive strategy encompassing military, economic and social interventions. To effectively combat banditry, it is essential to focus on immediate security responses and foster long-term solutions that address the underlying factors contributing to this crisis.

8. Addressing root causes such as poverty, unemployment and weak law enforcement will be crucial for achieving lasting peace and stability in Nigeria. Enhancing economic opportunities through targeted development programs can provide alternatives to criminality while strengthening law enforcement can help restore trust in government institutions. Additionally, community engagement and support initiatives can empower local populations to take an active role in their security and development, ultimately contributing to a more cohesive society. By tackling these issues holistically, Nigeria can move toward a future where communities are resilient against the threat of banditry and can thrive in a safe and secure environment.

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PART TWO:

AFRICAN AFFAIRS

ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICANSTATES

INTRODUCTION

1. ECOWAS was establishedin 1975 by 15 member nations, who signed a treaty in Lagos, Nigeria, on 28 May, of the same year. The Community was later joined by a sixteenthmember, Cape Verde in 1976. In 2002, Mauritania left thecommunity, so membership is back to the original 15 members.

2. Currently, the member states include Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Togo, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Mali, Niger, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, SierraLeone and The Gambia. The Headquarters of the Communityis now at Abuja, having been previously headquartered in Lagos Nigeria.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to:
   a. Mention all the countries of ECOWAS.
   b. State and discuss the aim and objectives of ECOWAS.
   c. Mention and discuss the organs of ECOWAS.

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d. Discuss the 5 protocols of ECOWAS.

e. Discuss the major political and economic groupings in West Africa before the establishment of ECOWAS.

4. The countries in West African sub-region did not have the same colonial experience. Before independence Liberia was under the United State of America, Guinea Bissau was a Portuguese Colony, while Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra -Leone belonged to the British government. The other 10 states, Benin Republic, Guinea, Togo, Mali, Mauritania, Cameroon, Chad, Ivory Coast, Senegal and Niger were under Frenchcontrol. The differences and similarities of their colonial experiences influenced the major forms of groupings thatemerged before ECOWAS.

5. The same reason accounts for the differences in their currencies thus dividing the sub-region into different currency zones. The Francophone countries had their currency based on French Franc. Liberia was tied to the US dollar, while British colonies before emerging with their indigenous currencies, operated the British pound sterling. It is pertinent here to note that the zoning of the currencies in accordance with their colonial experience culminated in a situation where the Francophone states had many groupings among themselves. As for the other states that were in the minority, they did not participate much in such groupings.

6. The union "Monetair de I' Afrique de I' Quest" West

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Africa Monetary Union (UMAO) was formed in May 1962 by Benin republic, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Se negal and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso). The aim of this union was to bring these countries closer.In December 1970, Mali, Niger and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) formed the "Anforte de development integer du Liptako Gdurma" for the purpose of integrated development.

7. At a convention on 9 June 1959, Dahomey (Benin), Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania; Niger, Se negal and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) established a form of custom union known as "Union de I' Quest (West Africa Custom Union). The whole concept of ECOWAS is based on social and economic development of the citizens of the West African sub-region. Two bodies that played the important role of motivators in the formation of the concept of ECOWAS were:

a. The United Nation Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) or (ECA).
b. The East Africa Community (EAC).

8. At its Seventh Session in Nairobi, Kenya, February 1965, the UNECA recommended that member states of the commission should establish as soon as possible on sub-regional basis an inter-government machinery for harmonizing their Economic and social development. The ECA sponsored many conferences in a bid to ensure the success of these economic groupings especially in West Africa. However, it appeared that the only success achieved was the study of areas

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of cooperation by Nigeria and Guinea. Since the ECA achieved some form of success in integration process with the East African Community, the West African sub -region feltmotivated to adopt a positive disposition towards sub grouping.

9. In 1967, many West African countries signed an article of association for West African Economic countries in Accra. The following year, another conference was convened in Monrovia where a protocol that set up the West Africa Economic Grouping on paper was produced. In view of much talked about benefits of the above mentioned association, the Francophone States in 1972 met in Ivory Coast and launched their own version of a West African Economic Community(WAEC). The Countries were Mauritania, Mali, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger, and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso). Benin and Togo attended as observers. Many observers saw the establishment of the WAEC as the handi-work of France to forestall any integration of the Anglophone and Francophone countries of West Africa.

10. Wiser counsel prevailed on the minds of African leaders and in November 1976, many West African heads of state met to make the first decision of the organization in (Lome) Togo. There was a unanimous acceptance by all the 15 West African states of the principle of creating ECOWAS. This marked a significant milestone in the history of regional integration in West Africa.

11. A close analysis of the membership shows the Francophone countries in the majority 9 out of 15. They out-numbered the other countries put together. The other states

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comprised 4 Anglophone countries, one Portuguese and the other United States.

12. The establishment of the Community was mainly for economic and social reasons. However, the heterogeneous nature of the composition in terms of currencies and cultures make it glaring that its success will not be an easy task.

AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF ECOWAS

13. a. **Aim**. To promote economic co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the field of industry, transport, telecommunication, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, as well as monetary and financialindustries. In addition, to enhance social and cultural matters for the purposes of raising the standard of living of its peoples, increasing and maintainingeconomic stability, fostering close relationship amongits members and contribution to the progress and development of the African continent.

b. **Objectives**.

(1) To eliminate between member states, customs duties and other charges of equivalent effect in respect of the importation and exportation of goods.

(2) To abolish quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade among member states.

(3) To establish common custom tariff and a common Commercial policy towards their

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countries.

(4) To abolish between member states obstacles to free movement of persons, services capital.

(5) To harmonize agricultural policies and promote common projects in member states, notably in the field of marketing, research and agro industrial enterprises.

(6) To set up scheme for joint development of transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities as well as the evolution of a common policy in these fields.

(7) To harmonize economic and industrial policies and to eliminate disparities in the level of development of member states.

(8) To establish fund for co -operation, compensation and development.

(9) To carry out activities calculated furthering the aims of the community as the member states may jointly undertake.

c. **Protocols**. The heads of states of the Community also approved 5 protocols in addition to the original charter:

(1) Protocol relating to the definition of the concept of products originating from members states of ECOWAS.

(2) Protocol relating to re-exportation within the community of finished goods from third world

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countries.

(3) Protocol on the assessment of loss of revenue by member states.

(4) Protocol relating to the contribution by member states of the community.

(5) Protocol relating to the fund for co-operation, compensation and development.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF ECOWAS

14. The ECOWAS is guided by its fundamental principles in all its dealings with member states, citizens and other external bodies. These principles are enshrined in the Treaty of the Community, which is also the fundamental document bringing the members together. The guiding principles are as follows:

a. Equality and inter-dependence of member states.

b. Solidarity and collective self-reliance.

c. Inter-State co-operation, harmonisation ofpolicies and integration of programmes.

d. Non-aggression between member states.

e. Maintenance of regional peace, stability and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighbourliness.

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f. Peaceful settlement of disputes among Member States, active co-operation between neighbouring countries and promotion of a peaceful environment as a prerequisite for economic development.

g. Recognition promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

h. Accountability, economic and social justice and popular participation in development.

i. Recognition and observance of the rules and principles of the Community.

j. Promotion and consolidation of a democratic system of governance in each member state asenvisaged by the Declaration of Political Principles adopted in Abuja on 6 July1991.

k. Equitable and just distribution of the costs and benefits of economic co-operation and integration.

ORGANS OF ECOWAS

15. The main organs of ECOWAS are as discussed below:

a. **Authority of Heads of State and Government**. The highest body in ECOWAS is the authority of Heads of State and Government. The bodyis made up of the leader of each member state and it meets once a year. Where for any reason a Head of State is unable to attend the annual session, a representation is sent to play his exact role including

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the signing of documents. The Chairmanship of this body is help by the Head of States and Government in rotation.

b. **Council of Ministers**. This organ is next in hierarchy of authority to the assembly of Heads of State and Government. The council consists of two representatives from each member state. The Chairmanship is rotated among the countries.

c. **The ECOWAS Commission**. The ECOWAS Commission is the main engine room of all ECOWAS programmes, projects and activities. This ECOWAS administrative instrument was transformed from an Executive Secretariat into a Commission in 1997 in fulfillment of a decision to that effect taken the previous year in Niamey. The change of nomenclatureis not just for its sake. In their wisdom, the Heads of States and Governments came to terms with the fact that a Commission such as we now have, is the rightset up that can make ECOWAS better adapt to the international environment and bring about more equity,transparency and greater functionality in accordance with global best practices. In other words, theCommission is in a better position to support ECOWAS member states to build their capacities for programme implementation. Heads of State and Government have also endorsed institutional reforms covering all arms of ECOWAS. By implementing the transformation process

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faithfully, ECOWAS is repositioned to fulfill the mandate of its founding fathers and meet new challenges. Having taken the historic decision to transform the ECOWAS Secretariat into a Commission, ECOWAS is taking ownership of the grand objectives designed to improve the living conditions of the citizenry, ensure economic growth and create an environment conducive to development and meaningful integration.

d. **The Community Parliament**. TheCommunity Parliament belongs to the legislative branch. The Speaker of the Parliament chairs it. Below him is the Secretary General, who is responsible for the administrative functions of the institution. Taking this Institution as an example, the reorganization of the Commission was carried out to improve its efficiency. This works because of strong management support. The parliament has 115 seats, which representthe 15 member states. Each of them has at least 5 seats; the rest is shared in correspondence to the population as shown below:

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Serial	Member State	No of Parliament Seats
1.	Nigeria	35
2.	Ghana	8
3.	Cote d'Ivoire	7
4.	Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal	6 each
5.	Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Togo	5 each

e. **ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development**. The ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID) is the financial institution established by the 15 Member States. The Bank is an international financial institution with 2 funding windows to promote private sector activities and fund the development of the public sector. It is based in Lome, the Togolese Republic. Overall, EBID aims to contribute to the economic development of West Africa through the financing of ECOWAS projects and programs in particular, tho se related to transport, energy, telecommunications, industry, poverty alleviation, the environment and natural resources.

f. **The Community Court of Justice**. The Community Court of Justice was created pursuant to the provisions of Articles 6 and 15 of the Revised Treatyof the ECOWAS. Its organisational framework, functioning

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mechanism, powers, and procedureapplicable before it is set out in Protocol A/P1/7/91 of 6 July 1991, Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/01/05 of 19 January 2005, Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/06/06 of 14 June 2006, Regulation of 3 June 2002, and Supplementary Regulation C/REG.2/06/06 of 13 June 2006.The Court is composed of 7 independent judges who are persons of high moral character, appointed by the Authority of Heads of State of Government, from nationals of Member States, for a 4year term of office, upon recommendation of the Community JudicialCouncil. The Mandate of the Court is to ensure the observance of law and of the principles of equity and in the interpretation and application of the provisions of the Revised Treat y and all other subsidiary legal instruments adopted by Community.

g. **The Community Tribunal**. The treaty of provides for a Community Tribunal, whose composition and competence are determined by the Conference of Heads of State and Government. The Tribunal interprets the provisions of the treaty and settles disputes between member states that are referred to it.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS OF ECOWAS

16. **Fund for Co-operation, Compensation and Development**. The fund is expected to be used in thefollowing ways:

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a. In accordance with the provision of the treaty, if any member state of ECOWAS is affected by the application of the provision of the Community's treaty, it is entitled to compensation.

b. If any member state suffers losses as a result of enterprises embarked upon by the community, such member qualifies for compensation.

c. The fund should grant loans for feasibility studies, national or community research and general developmental activities.

d. It should encourage development projects in the less developed member states of the community.

e. It is to guarantee investment made in ECOWAS states especially where such are in the pursuance of the provision of the treaty on the Harmonization of Industrial Policies.

f. The fund is to reinforce the continuous mobilization of internal and external financial resources for the member's states and the community. The take-off capital of the fund was 50 million dollars out of which Nigeria contributed 16.4 million dollars (32.8%). The seat of the fund in accordance with the Lome agreement of 1976, is at Lome. It is administered by a Board of Directors who runs a 4year term in office renewable only once.

17. **Customs Union**. The Treaty prescribes a customs union phased over a 15year period. The idea behind this is not only for free trade between member states, but also a

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common external tariff. It is the aim of the ECOWAS trade liberation programme to remove all barriers be it; customs, monetary and social by the end of 1989. In the same projection, it tends to establish a single custom union by 1994.

18. **The ECOWAS Bank**. At its summit in 1984, the Heads of States and Government discussed and approved the need for an ECOWAS Bank. This bank will perform roles similar to those of the funds. The major differences between this andthe fund, however, will be in the area of fund ing. While the fund is sustained by the contributions of member states, ECOBANK will exist like any international commercial bank whose major interest would be to straighten and improve the economy of member states.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF ECOWAS

19. ECOWAS has so far succeeded in the following:

a. Promotion of intra-West African trade among member countries. This has contributed to economic growth in the sub-region.

b. The improvement of the road network in the sub-region. One major road project the ECOWAS canbe lauded for is the Abidjan-Lagos High Way starting from Elubo through Aflao to Lagos. It can also be congratulated for the Lagos-Nouakchott High way project.

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c. The elimination of Francophone-Anglophone divides by providing an official platform to discuss issues of the sub-region. This has helped to tone down the suspicion and lack of trust between the English and French speaking countries in West Africa.

d. Achievement of a direct telephone communication among member states of the community. Hitherto, direct communication among the various states was absent. Telephone connections were routed through Europe before connecting to another West African country.

e. Free Movement of goods and persons boosted with the adoption of the ECOWAS Biometric Identity Card to facilitate mobility and promote security in the region.

f. ECOWAS has largely achieved peace and security in the West African sub-region. The establishment of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group has helped to deploy troops to ensure peace in war ravaged areas of the sub-region.

g. The ECOWAS has achieved regularly organizing of its summits which were attended by Heads of member states. At these summits, the problems of the sub-region were tabled for discussions and solutions recommended.

h. The adoption of the Macroeconomic Convergence Report by the ECOWAS Convergence Council.

i. Establishment of the ECOWAS Monetary Institute

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(EMI).

j. Adoption of methodological guides for the harmonization of Public Finance Statistics, Government Financial Operations Tables (TOFE), External Trade Statistics, Balance of Payment (BOP) and International Investment Position (IIP).

k. Conclusion of the review of the Sahel Strategy document and its action plan to boost regional security.

l. Formulation of an ECOWAS Common Trade Policy (CTP) and ECOWAS Trade Development Strategy

m. Completion of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the signing by 13 member states.

n. Custom Union in the offing with the implementation of the Common Exernal Tariff by 8 member states.

o. Drafting of a Regional Border Management Manual for use in immigration/security training institutions.

p. Launching of the Ecolink project, which aims to transform and improve key operations within the ECOWAS Community.

q. The Systems, Applications & Products (SAP) component of Ecolink aims at improving the financial management systems and ensuring real-time

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information for effective decision-making in the Community Institutions.

r. Promotion of strategic products for food security and sovereignty including combating cross-border livestock disease.

s. Renewed efforts to enhance the environmental governance, general environmental protection, capacity building as well as sustainable resource management for development in the member states.

t. Re-award of the contract for the construction of the Sèmè-Kraké Joint Border Post (Benin-Nigeria).

u. Evaluation of tenders completed for the works, contract for final engineering designs for the rehabilitation of sections of the Enugu-Bemenda Road between Nigeria and Cameroon and the construction of a Joint Border Post (JBP) and a Border Bridge at Mfum Border.

v. Feasibility study for the extension of the West African Gas Pipeline Network concluded.

w. Development of Regional Power Market with the setting up of regulatory and economic environment.

x. Promotion of renewable energy and energy efficiency technologies and services.

y. An ECOWAS Directive on Energy Efficiency

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Buildings (EEB) aimed at promoting energy efficiency in buildings in ECOWAS Member States has been developed by the ECOWAS Centre for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency (ECREEE).

z. Establishment of a Regional Centre for Disease Control.

aa. Consolidating the implementation of the common market, Trade Liberalization Scheme (TLS) and the Protocol on Free Movement of persons, goods and services.

PROBLEMS OF ECOWAS

20. All ECOWAS states are producers of raw materials most of which are exported to more industrialized countries, where such are converted into manufactured product and re- exported to ECOWAS states. The problem associated with thisis that there is scarcely any room for intra community trade. The raw materials are sold out in exchange for manufactured products and since the manufactured goods produced outside the West African sub-region, ECOWAS member states arecompelled to trade with such countries.

21. This second problem is closely interwoven with the first. ECOWAS countries are consumers of manufactured goods most of which are not produced within the community. This imposes a situation where manufacturing countries can hold states within the community to ransom in terms of trade. In addition, the situation makes it difficult for the countries to trade with

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each other. If producers of some of the member states are manufactured goods, it would have encouraged intra community trade with raw materials and manufactured products being exchanged.

22. Being importer of manufactured products, the countries must have been realised much revenue from import tariffs.The abolition of this for member states as proposed in the treaty could cripple economic development in the states. This is especially true with countries that are still far behind in the areas of industrial development.

23. The current wave of economic recession affects all member states including the generous big brother Nigeria.The situation has turned most of the states into beggars, running cap-in-hand for help from nations that dictate their economic tempo.

24. There is great population imbalance among the states, for example Nigeria's population is more than that of all the other states put together. This creates suspicion in otherstates who are afraid of domination by Nigeria. They also dread that Nigeria stands to gain most from the union.

25. The fact that most members had different colonial back grounds is still affecting the community. The most notable here is the creation of unconvertible currency zones. Thisexplains why the Franco-phone countries found it easier to transact business with France or other French speaking member states.

26. There is the problem of member states and their various

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kinds of external links and alliances on political grounds. Since ECOWAS treaty concentrated only on socio- economic issues, one is not surprised to discover a member ofthe community transacting business with a nation easily sows seed of discord among the member states of the community.

27. It appears that nationals of some states have taken undue advantage of the clause of the treaty in respect of free movement. Due to drought, war, political instability and general economic recession, Nigeria for example has had to grapple with the chronic problem of illegal aliens from affectedmember states. The resultant effect of this influx is the weakening of Nigeria's economy. This created the problem of mass unemployment where millions of qualified Nigerians find themselves competing with illegal aliens for job placement. This is in addition to the hideous crimes these aliens commit.

28. At the moment, member states are guilty of not paying their contributions regularly. This has slowed down the pace of progress especially for the Commission.

CONCLUSION

29. The Community has laudable scheme if fully implemented will liberate the sub-region from economic dependence and enhance its march towards industrialization. These can only be achieved through total commitment and dedication of member states to the ideals of the community.

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SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

30. a. Mention the member states of ECOWAS.

b. Mention and discuss 2 political and 2 economic groupings in the West African sub-region before the establishment of ECOWAS.

c. Give the aim and 4 objectives of ECOWAS.

d. Mention 3 protocols of ECOWAS.

e. What are the main organs of ECOWAS?

f. Discuss briefly the special provisions of ECOWAS and ECOBANK.

g. List 15 achievements of ECOWAS.

h. Do you think there is feature for ECOWAS? Give reasons for your answers.

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THE AFRICAN UNION

INTRODUCTION

1. The end of the cold war and the collapse of the coordinate system of the East/West confrontation and the competition around the world in general, and in Africa, in particular brought tremendous changes to the international political system. In the evolving new world order, Africa literary became an orphan. It is because of this increasing unwillingness of the major powers to get involved in Africa's international affairs, freed from the dynamics of the political and ideological considerations and geo-strategic means of the Super Powers, Africa was left to its own devices. Therefore, when the whirlwind of globalization came, Africa became completely exposed with serious implications for its political stability and socio-economic development. It was within this circumstance that the need for a rethinking of the structure and charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) becameimperative.

2. The African Union (AU), coming as a successor to the OAU is ostensibly predicated on the need for Africa to face the challenges of globalization with a re-energised and revitalised supernatural organization. It has dawned on the architects of the Union that a politically and economically disunited and fragmented Africa would never be able to cope with such problems as wide spread poverty, increa sing unemployment and economic stagnation prevalent all over the continent. Against this background, one could say that the establishment

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of the AU is a welcome development in Africa.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to:

a. Understand the structure of AU.
b. Mention the objectives and principles of the AU.
c. Mention the achievements of the AU.
d. Explain the challenges facing the AU.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE AFRICAN UNION

4. The AU has 55 member countries from all over Africa. Morocco initially withdrew from the Union in 1985 after the disputed territory of Western Sahara but rejoined in 2017. Articles 5 to 22 of the Union's charter deals with the institutional machinery, which is structure of the organization. What is more significant, at this juncture, is that while OAU had 4 main organs, the AU has 10.

5. The organs of the AU are the definitive structure of the Union's objectives. These include:

a. The Assembly of the Union - Assembly of Heads of States and Government (The Political Project Managers).
b. The executive Council.

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c. The Pan-African Parliament (Democratic Control and Monitoring Organization).
d. The Court of Justice (Judicial and Arbitration body).
e. The Commission (Engine of the Union).
f. The Permanent Representatives Committee.
g. The Special Technical Committee.
h. The Economic, Social and Cultural Council.
i. The Financial Institutions.
j. A 15-Nation Peace and Security Council whichwill be advised by a three-man committee of wise people.

BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF AFRICAN UNION

6. AU came to replace its predecessor, OAU. The OAU was created in 1963 as the spirit of independence and Pan-Africanism swept across the continent. The Ghanaian leader, Kwame Nkrumah had dreamed for a strong union, akin to the United States, binding Africa's nations. However, this vision was raped by the policy of non interference in the internal affairs of member states which prevented it from resolving the many conflicts which have taken place on our continent.

7. The Leaders of the countries that make up the continent believed that OAU had not failed, it surely servedthe purpose for which the organization was formed. Most of African countries were under colonialism but today, they are free. The popular view is that without the OAU, there would have been no common front to confront the colonialist. Besides, OAU

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championed the battle against the obnoxious apartheid system. South Africans are indeed ever grateful for this. President Olusegun Obasanjo commented on the gains of the OAU when he said:

> *"It held Africa together. It has not absolutely eliminated Conflicts, but it has completely eliminated colonialism, racism and apartheid. To that extent, it has succeeded. Where OAU has stopped, AU will take over."*

8. The OAU lived up to the mandate of eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa and this was one major achievement it cannot but be credited with. However, the story of Africa has not only been a story of failed promises andfalse starts; it has been a narrative of woes and wars, disasters and diseases. Many African countries werefractionalized, with the difference of the ethnic groups exaggerated by arbitrary drawn borders. Coupled with the divide and rule system of colonialism, few people were groomed for the important duties of statecraft. In fact, many of the countries were either invariable or were disasters waiting to happen. Consequently, the disasters did happen as characterized by repression, instability, *coup-de-tat*, war, famine and misery.

9. The "incapabilities" of OAU, therefore is a reflection of the "cruel" environment within which it operated. OAU did not interfere in member states internal politics and focused instead on fighting apartheid in South Africa and the remnantsof British

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and Portuguese Colonialism. In 1980's, the African body pressurized the West to imposed sanctions on apartheid South Africa while devastating civil wars in Angola and Mozambique were virtually ignored. The OAU left the efforts to end the war in Sierra Leone to the regional ECOWAS.

10. OAU lacked the "necessary" powers as the establishing constitution emphasized the sovereignty of states which gave dictators opportunity to have a field day. The OAU did not stop dictators like Mobutu Sese Seko of the former Zaire from oppressing his people and looting the resources of his country. It was silent in 1984 as at least 500,000 people were killed in Rwanda's genocide. The body could not press seriously to halt conflicts in other boiling spots like the democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan.

11. It is on record that the OAU was hindered by theinternal conflict and self-serving heads of states without addressing the real issues. OAU being a product from these African leaders cannot be expected to have performed more than it did. Africa's problem was compounded by the nature ofits leadership. Those that were not misguided and corrupt were just plain inefficient and mere replacement for theircolonial masters. They were more interested in power and wealth than in the emancipation of their people. Furthermore, such leaders pursued bogus policies and grandiose projects and turned the states into personal estates.

12. It is therefore, a big relief when the OAU ceased to exist as the African head of States solemnly buried it. In the

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year 2000, an initiative among African states to transform the OAU into AU gained momentum. The AU was initially conceived by Libyan Leader Colonel Moamar Gadaffi, who proposed 2 years earlier than the continent needed to becomethe "United State of Africa". It was further agreed that the 53 African States intergovernmental organization. This resulted inthe ratification of the constitutive Act and its adoption at the 36th ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government in July 2001 in Lusaka, Zambia. The AU was formerly established in September, 2001 in Sirte, Libya.

REASONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AFICAN UNION

13. The establishment of the AU came like a thunder bolt to most African nationals. First of all, the AU was formed primarily to find solutions to Africa's unique problems such as unemployment and mass poverty that have become endemic in Africa. These could be drastically reduced on the platform of the AU. The AU is designed to provide an all pervading institutional framework for closer economic and political interaction among African countries.

14. There is the need for African countries to work together, now on economic basis. The OAU however, did not cover this. More favourable terms of trade, the need to move along the increasing interdependence among nations and the

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exigencies of rapid economic development in individual African states are all new challenges of globalization that are beyond the scope, resources and management capacity of the OAU. The logic of the argument therefore hinges on the urgent need to have a more powerful organization than can cope withthe challenges and problems that are thrown at Africa in the 21st Century.

OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES OF AFRICAN UNION

15. It was argued that the objectives of the AU would be similar to that of the OAU. That is, to promote unity, solidarity and international cooperation among the newly independent African States. Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the AU deals with the objectives of the AU. In Lome, Togo, the Constitutive Act was adopted, in terms of the Sirte declaration of September, 1999 and the 2000 Decision in Sirte, Libya. The Act became effective on May 26, 2001. The Act provides for mechanisms to address this change which stands between the people of Africa and their ability to defeat poverty, diseaseand ignorance.

16. The objectives of the AU are as follows:

a. To achieve greater unity; solidarity between the African countries and the people of Africa.

b. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member states.

c. Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent.

d. Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its people.

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e. Encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights.

f. Promote and protect human and people's right in accordance with the African Charter on Human and People's Right and other relevant human rights instruments.

g. Promote peace, security and stability of the continent.

h. Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.

i. Establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations.

j. Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African people.

k. Coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of theUnion.

l. Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology.

m. Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

n. Respect for the sanctity of human life, condemnation and rejection of impurity and political assassination, acts of terrorism and subversiveactivities.

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o. Condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of government.

17. Unlike OAU, the AU is for the changing of the continent towards aggressive economic development and enhancement of good governance. It is a departure from fight to end colonialism and apartheid rule to new empowerment. AU has the teeth to fight genocide, war crimes, bad governance and promote development of the stagnated African economic sector. In this pursuit, AU's charter approved a Peacekeeping Force, Central Bank, single market and currency and the Court of Justice.

18. Article 4 specifically states the principles on which the Union shall work. The principles include:

a. Sovereign equality and interdependence among member states of the Union.

b. Respect of bodies existing on achievements of independence.

c. Participation of African people in the activities of the Union.

d. Establishment of a common defence policy for the African Continent.

e. Peaceful resolution of conflicts among member states of the Union through such appropriate means as may be decided upon by the Assembly.

f. Prohibition of the use of force or threat to use of force among member states of the Union.

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g. Non-Interference by any member state in the internal affairs of another.

h. The right of the Union to intervene in a member state's affairs subject to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely; war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.

i. Peaceful coexistence of member states and their right to live in peace and security.

j. The right of member states to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security.

k. Promote self-reliance within the framework of the Union.

l. Promotion of gender equality.

m. Respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance.

n. Promotion of social justice to ensure balanced economic development.

19. The leaders also agreed on a peer review mechanism to facilitate good governance. Unlike what it was with the OAU, it means automatic loss of sovereignty. The review, an essential component of the economic recovery plan, is expected to audit or monitor any discrepancy and halt corruption.

IMPLEMENTATION OF AU'S OBJECTIVES

20. The strategy is to first build regional blocs in East, West, Central North and Southern Africa which will eventually merge into one big economy with a common African currency. The

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reason for this is because all African countries unlike Europe are countries at different levels of development. In fact, there is so much disparity in terms of productive base and living standards, hence the economic unity will take longer process than political unity which has actually taken off and implemented in the instances of Cote d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Comoro Island and Madagascar.

21. The AU will be closely linked with the New Partnership for African development, (NEPAD) the home grown plan which offers good governance and sound economic principles inreturn for increased foreign aid and trade opportunities. A very vital aspect of the AU is the NEPAD which is expected to usher in economic prosperity.

22. NEPAD is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm shared conviction that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and place all African countries, individually and collectively on the path ofsustainable growth and development. They also wish to be active participants in the world economic and political issues. Through NEPAD, Africans hope to extricate themselves from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a fast globalizing economy. This will make it possible for African states to pull their resources together and tackle their peculiar problems without relying heavily on the Western Powers.

23. NEPAD will among other things:

a. Seek better market access for African products.

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b. Seek increased private capital inflow into Africa, as an essential component of a sustainable long-term approach to filling the resources gap.
c. Strive for better health of the people.
d. Bridge education gap.
e. Promote Agriculture.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE OAU AND THE AU

24. Unlike OAU, the AU will eventually have a common parliament, Central bank and a Court of Justice like the European Union. AU has included all of the objectives of the OAU, aside from mentioning the eradication of colonialism which obviously is irrelevant now. With this, Africa is expected to witness improved economic and political integration. It envisages a Customs Union. Members will be compelled to remove barriers, open their markets and allow for free movement of goods and services. The AU has however, gone ahead to emphasis some of the essentials in Article 3 of the Constitutive Act. These include condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of government. That is, military rule is hence forth outlawed. Also, it is the right of the Union to intervene (upon the decision of the Assembly) in case of war, crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, limitation on the rule of non-interference in the internal affairs of all member states.

25. A few important provisions of AU Charter which were not in the OAU Charter are listed below:

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a. Article 17, 18: which created Pan African Parliament and the Court of Justice.

b. Article 19, 22: which created Central Bank and the Economic Social Security Council.

c. Article 23(2): which legalized the imposition of sanction on members that fail to comply with the decision and policies of the Union.

d. Article 30: which legalized the suspension of any government created through an unconstitutional means.

e. Article 33(2) The Supremacy Clause: which states that the provisions of the Act take precedence and supercede any inconsistent or contrary provision ofthe treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES OF AFICAN UNION

26. The reactions to the proposals and development of the last several months have been two-fold. On the positive side, people have said it has been wonderful so far owing to the fact that the African Union itself is a recommitment, a reaffirmation of something that started way back in the 50s from the Nkrumahs and others. With AU via NEPAD's quest for debt relief that eventually resulted in a victory and AU inter-Sudanese Peace Talks to resolve the conflict in the troubled western region of Dafur as examples, the organization could be said to be moving forward, considering that it is barely four years old. On the other hand, most observers of African Unity and trends towards integration havetalked about the problems AU is facing thus, concluding that the history has not been

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good.

27. NEPAD's relationship with external organizations, institutions and governments like G8 is an evidence of joint efforts for Africa's development and emancipation. As the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan asserted:

> *"That is what NEPAD is all about, An African model of development based on an investment-friendly climate… Africans need help from those who of late have been more successful or more fortunate than us."*

28. The AU is still made up of member countries of the former OAU who were not able to pay their annual dues. The media have pointed out that the AU's financing "remains up in the air, it is being treated as a paper tiger". Since the goal of more effective continental unity is widely shared, there is the widespread skepticism whether the AU will prove more effective than its predecessor. Some of its challenges are to ensure a fair balance of trade among countries with varied economic powers, minimum economic standard for entering the AU. In this case, how then will it affect poorer nations in African States? Can the AU afford to grant loans to poorer countries?

29. One other issue is the problem of integrating member-states and Africa as a whole. It may be exciting to take the African governments at their words and draw a comparison with the forces of Europe which favoured integration and led to the creation of the AU. In other words, it is obvious that the

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condition(s) for successful integration whether economic or political are lacking in Africa. Almost every African country has been struggling with their own internal problems, whether it is consolidating the state, economic problems or basic human rights. It is very difficult to look towards integration when countries are disintegrating at the local level.

30. There are still regional alliances that may hinder the goal of unity. A good example is the historical Casablanca and Monrovia groups. The radical group Casablanca bloc-led by late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, wanted strong union because of the belief that Africa could only survive as a single entityand the conservative group Monrovia bloc-led by lateHouphouet Boigny of Cote d'Iviore and Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria held the view that the newly independent states of Africa must first build individual strong nations before they cantalk of unity.

31. Still on the problem of integration, the biggest obstacle is that many African countries still conduct more trade with their former colonial masters than with each others. For instance, the Francophone countries like Senegal and theRepublic of Benin are practically still tied to France's apron strings.

32. Analysts have pointed out that another problem of the AU is the "top-down approach" in the deliberation of issues which have been condemned stressing that one lesson to learn from the European Union is that a union of this nature evolved from a lot of common interests. People have to acknowledge, and to recognize that there are some benefits from the Union; it doesn't have to be a normative theoretical thing.

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33. The establishment of NEPAD is a good case in point. NEPAD did not result from any participatory process and has therefore been criticized for its top-bottom origin and approach. This raises concern on the appropriateness of the programme to the particular concerns of the poor who make up a greater majority of the African populace and therefore raises the issue of commitment to participation. Only recently have NEPAD initiatives been widely known among the African populace and therefore it is feared that the absence of prior discussion and debate with citizens may influence the content and priority of the programme. This also is the source of the fear that assuming the future commitment of citizens to the vision may be problematic.

34. In addition, political stability is a gratification to join the AU so as to avoid destabilization of other countries. If all African states automatically become members, it means that like OAU, there will be no democratic or political stabilitystandard. War-torn states will destabilize others. Setting such standards may mean denying membership from many countries with well-defined democratic constitutions which may have undemocratic tendencies that will hinder their recognition as democratic countries within Africa. Out of the
35 countries classified in the low human development category, 28 are from Africa. A continent reputed to have the potential to feed the world population; million of Africans still die of hunger and malnutrition-related diseases. The social, economic and political crises ravaging the continent result in large number of world refugees while a sustainable percentage of people who

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live with HIV/AIDS is from the continent, not to talk of millions who still die from malaria, cholera and similar diseases.

THE AFRICAN UNION: WAY FORWARD

35. The challenges that AU faces can be categorised into 2; those that require immediate attention and those whose resolutions can be undertaken through long term process.

36. **Challenges Requiring Immediate Attention**.

a. **Coordinating the Fight Against Terrorism and Violent Extremism**. Terrorism and rising violent extremism are major obstacles to peace efforts, national integration, nation building, and the effective management of diversity throughout the continent. Terrorism and violent extremism continue to constrain the ability of Africans to live together peacefully and create the wealth that they need to fight poverty and improve their living conditions. Fighting terrorism in the continent requires a coordinated effort at both the regional and national levels.

b. **Pressing South Sudan Leaders for Peace**. South Sudan gained independence on 9 July 2011 and was immediately faced with a multiplicity of problems. In addition to the fact that the new government lacked the capacity to deliver necessary public goods and services to all citizens as well asmanage diversity problems effectively. The AU should hold the

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country's leaders accountable for meeting the commitments that they made in the peace agreement. Significant pressure must be put on these leaders bythe international community, including the Intergovernmental Authority on Development to act responsibly and form an inclusive government that would move the country forward in a peaceful andproductive manner.

c. **Ending the Crisis in Burundi**. President Pierre Nkurunziza's defied the Burundi's Constitution and seeked a third term in office; unleashed violent and destructive mobilizations that have killed more than 400 people and created a major humanitarian crisis in the region. AU need to provide institutional arrangements that foster inclusive economic growth, peaceful co-existence of each country's various subcultures, and enhance participatory and inclusive governance.

d. **The African Union and the Libyan Crisis**.

The events of the Arab Spring represented a new modality of regime change that the AU had never before encountered. This led to the capture of Tripolion 22 August 2011, the formation of National Transitional Council as well as the d eath of Libyan President MuammarGaddafi's. The AU needs to actively engage in other transformative activities on thecontinent, including those activities that fundamentally transform the critical domains (ie the political, administrative, and judicial

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foundations of the state).

e. **The African Union and the Sit-Tight Syndrome of African Leaders**. The post-independence politics of African countries has been dominated by the phenomenon of sit-tight African heads of state and government who had acceded to office by election or coup d'etat. Countries in which the sit-tight scenarios have played out in recent times and have led to forceful removal of their leaders include Libya, Egypt, Tunisia and Burkina Faso. Zimbabwe is one example of a country where its leader, President Robert Mugabe, has been in power since the Southern African country gained independence in 1980. The Gambian scenario where former President Yahya Jamehinsisted on holding on to power after losing to MrBarrow is another case of sit-tight. President PierreNkurunziza's decision to defy the constitution and seek a third term in office, unleashed violent and destructive mobilizations that have killed more than 400 people andcreated a major humanitarian crisis in the region. Therefore, the AU needs to find a way of addressing these challenges in the overall political and economic development of Africa.

37. **Challenges Requiring Long-Term Process**.

a. **Support Good Governance**. It is quite clear that countries such as Somalia, the Central African Republic, and South Sudan are in urgent need of institutional reforms to guarantee the rule of law, enhance the protection of human rights and advance inclusive economic growth. One long-term goal for the AU should be to galvanize grassroots support throughout

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the continent for institutional reforms to produce constitutions that cannot be easily manipulated by political elites (as occurred in Burundi and Burkina Faso) to prolong their stay in power.

b. **Create Institution for Improving the Livelihood of the Average Citizen**. Institutional arrangements that provide citizens with the ability to resolve conflicts, organize their private lives and engage in those activities that enhance their ability to maximize their values. This will also protect themselves fromabuse by state and non-state actors, as well as participate fully and effectively in governance, including being able to hold their governors accountable for their actions.

c. **Strengthen the African Court of Justice and Human Rights**. The Court of Justice in Africa needsto have the authority to actually serve as an effective legal instrument for the protection of human rights inall countries in the continent. This including dealing with crimes that are currently being referred to the International Criminal Court in Hague.

d. **Facilitate Economic Integration**. Currently, many African countries have economies that are relatively small and not very viable. Hence,theyare not capable of engaging in production processes that can effectively utilize and benefit from technological economies of scale. In fact, integration at the regional level, especially if supported by the AU can help small

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countries more effectively construct and maintain infrastructure such as roads and bridges, universities and research centres, and other projects that require large initial investments.

CONCLUSION

38. It is clear that all areas of development are critical for Africa. However, for the sake of prioritization, areas of infrastructure, information, technology, human resources development, agriculture and diversification of economy are the few areas to be met head-on by AU. However, at the end of the day, finance is really the determinant of the challenges. It is of critical importance that member states are active for the design and implementation of the AU. In this way, it will foster a sense of ownership and member states will be able toaddress those aspects of the day-to-day functions of the Union, which will streamline the implementation of decisions.

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CRISES IN SOUTH SUDAN

INTRODUCTION

1. The history of any geographical entity forms the basis of their existence. The geographical expression called South Sudan has come a long way in her search for identity and self actualization. To recount South Sudan evolution, there i s need to focus on those significant events that lead to present day Republic of South Sudan. Republic of South Sudan which separated from Sudan in 2011 was drawn into devastating new crises in the late 2013. This précis has therefore endeavoured to divide the South Sudan period into pre -independence South Sudan, independence South Sudan and post - independence South Sudan respectively. The purpose of this précis is to highlight the crises in South Sudan.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

2. After reading this lecture note, candidates would be able to explain the following:

a. Background into the South Sudan crisis.
b. Causes of South Sudan crises.
c. Attempted peace initiative /UN efforts.
d. Effects of South Sudan crisis.
e. Lesson learnt from South Sudan crisis.
f. Way forward for South Sudan crisis.

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PRE-INDEPENDENCE SOUTH SUDAN

3. The history of South Sudan comprises the history of the territory of present day South Sudan and the people inhabiting the region South Sudan seceded from Republic of Sudan in 2011. Geographically, South Sudan is not part of Sudan region. It does however include part of East Sudanese Savannah. Its inclusion in Sudan is due to southern expansion of the Ottoman Khedivate of Anglo Egyptian Sudan and the Republic of Sudan.

4. South Sudan is mostly inhabited by Nilo Sahara speaking people with Niger Congo speaking minority. Until about 1500 it was mostly controlled by speakers of Central Sudanic groups such as the Nilo, Mari, Bari, Shilik, Azande and Dinka who entered the South Sudan at various time. Geographically, barriers protected the Southerners from Islamic advance enabling them to retain their social, cultural heritage, political and religious institution. The Dinka people were especially secure in the marshland which protected them from outside interference and allow them to remain secure without large armed forces.

5. The Shilik, Bari and Azenda had more regular conflicts with neighbouring states. There were series of efforts and struggle in respect of control of the South Sudan area from 1821 – 1889 and beyond by Mohammed Ali of Egypt, Al Zubayr from Khartoum and Ismail Pasha from Egypt in 1947. The British joined the struggle to occupy the Southern part of Sudan to unify the Northern and Southern Sudan. Sudan eventually gained her independence in 1956.

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INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH SUDAN

6. In 1955, one year before Sudan achieved independence, the first civil war erupted. The war started with the aim of achieving representation and more regional autonomy. The war against the Anyanya r ebels of the South Sudan by Sudanese Government lasted for 17 years. The signing of Addis Ababa agreement in 1972 made the South Sudan an autonomous region in 1983. The then President of Sudan, Gaafar Nimeiry declared all Sudan an Islamic state under Sharia law. This declaration includes the non-Islamic majority in the Southern Region. The South Sudan Region wasabolished on 5 June 1983.

7. This ends the Addis Ababa agreement of 1972. In direct response to this, the Sudan People Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) was formed under the leadership of John Garrang and the second civil war erupted. Several factions split from the SPLA/M often along ethnic line. This war lasted for 22 years (ending in 2005) with the Southern Sudan suffering high casualty from the war as well as famine. In 2005, comprehensive peace agreement mediated by Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was signed in Nairobi and autonomous Government of South Sudan was formed. This agreement lasted until 2011 when the South Sudan declared independence through Independence Referendum.

8. The period from 9 -15 June 2011, people from South Sudan voted on whether they should breakaway from Sudan.

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The result of the referendum revealed that 98.83 per cent of the population voted for independence from Sudan. At the mid night of 9 July 2011, South Sudan became an independent country under the name Republic of South Sudan. On 14 July 2011 South Sudan became the 193th member state of the United Nations. On 28 July 2011 South Sudan joined theAfrican Union as its 54th member state. One major problem after the independence of South Sudan was in respect of sharing of the oil revenues. An estimated 75 per cent of the oilin both Sudan's is in the South Sudan. This present amazing economic potential for the South Sudan.

POST-INDEPENDENT SOUTH SUDAN

9. In addition to the closest scrutiny by Pan African Community together with relevant international actors, a referendum in line with the comprehensive peace agreement peacefully delivered the newest nation on 9 July 2011. The hopes and the wish of the international community for South Sudan were far from what the world is now witnessing. The current crises in South Sudan amount to a failure of international community and the AU to ensure that the state develops into a democratic stable state.

10. Borne out of post independent political indulgence and absence of any credible and meaningful reforms, it was not surprising that the crisis in the SPLA/M erupted at the top of the echelon of political power. By December 2015, an armed confrontation erupted at the centre of the Sudanese

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Government Authority, the President's Palace in Juba. A confrontation between army officers loyal to President Salva Kiir and disgruntled soldiers backing his former Vice Rick Manchar that has begun to deteriorate into civil war.

BACKGROUND INTO THE SOUTH SUDAN CRISIS

11. South Sudan emerged in 2011 as the world newest country and one of its least developed after almost 40 years of war between the Sudan Government and the Southern insurgents. More than 2.5 million people were killed in the civil war and some 4.5 million were displaced. South Sudan was devastated by the crisis. The conflict hindered the development of basic infrastructure, human capital and formalcivil institution. Massive and chronic humanitarian needs persisted after independence despite abundant materialresources including oil fields from which Sudan had generated 75 per cent of its oil production until separation.

12. High level state corruption also slowed post war recovery and development. In December 2013, political tensions among key South Sudanese leaders erupted thattriggered the crisis though not based on ethnic identity, but over lapped with persisting ethnic and political grievances. This sparked armed clashes and target ethnic killing in the capital Juba and beyond. President Salva Kiir accused his vice Mr Rick Manchar of plotting a coup, which Manchar continue to deny. Hundreds of civilian died in resulting attacks reported targeting Manchar's ethnic group, the Nuer in Juba in the first day of the crisis. Hence,

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revenge attacks by Nuer against Kiir ethnic group the Dinka followed immediately.

13. This resulted in retaliatory violence which spread immediately. Manchar with the support of several senior Nuer military commanders subsequently declared a rebellion. The conflict between the government forces and the militia loyal to President Salva Kiir and forces aligned with Manchar triggered mass displacement. This compounded the country's pre-existing needs and developmental challenges. The fight continued for 20 months while regional mediators made halting process in peace negotiations under the auspices of the East African Regional entity IGAD. The warring parties periodically recommitted themselves to a June 2014 cessation of hostilities deals which they reportedly violated. In May2014, they agreed to form a transitional government. However, they failed to agree on its compositions and responsibilities. After missing multiple deadlines set byregional leaders to a deal under a threat of international sanctions including proposed arms embargo, the warring parties reached an agreement in August 2015. Kiir signed the deal more than a week after Manchar. Kiir signed the dealwith reservation, calling the agreement divisive and an attack on South Sudan sovereignty. While both sides publicly committed to implementing the peace agreement, progress stalled. After repeated violations, a new Transitional Government of National Unity was formed in late April 2016, 6months behind schedule.

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CAUSES OF SOUTH SUDAN CRISES

14. The immediate and remote causes of South Sudan crisis are as follows:

a. **Remote Causes**.

(1) President Kiir employing state power for illegal purpose for silencing dissent within the ruling party.

(2) Easily exploitable ethnic matters are being employed for potential gains and dominance within the parties.

(3) Thousands were reportedly killed and tens of thousands displaced along ethnic lines.

(4) Failure to manage the tensions by all the factions within SPLA/M.

(5) In July 2012, in what the public considered as autocratic an unconstitutional move, President Kiir dismissed the entire cabinet and some state governors elected by the public. Manchar, the Vice P resident was one of those dismissed.

(6) Attacks on government targets and installations.

(7) Government decision to respond by deploying its National Armed Forces and mobilizing local militia always took the violence to unprecedented levels.

(8) There was the issue of difficulties in

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implementing power sharing.

(9) Sharing of oil revenues between the 2 Sudans.

(10) The region of Abiyel still remains disputed and a separate referendum is due to behold in Abiyel on whether they want join Northor South Sudan.

(11) Failure to resolve the political difference between the SPLA/M top leaders in particular rapidly translates violence conflict with ethicized characteristic.

(12) The issue of power sharing arrangement within the ruling party.

(13) President Kiir claimed an attempted coup against the government. He arrested several former minister and official of SPLA/M who were dismissed from the cabinet. This resulted into crisis that erupted at the top echelon of thepower.

(14) The root causes of the crisis lay in a lack willingness to democratise and low levels of delivery of basic services to the public.

(15) Pre existing ethnic and political grievances that sparked ethnic killing in Juba and beyond.

b. **Immediate Causes**.

(1) South Sudan has most of the discovered oil

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field and other material resources in the region.

(2) Sudan is expected to receive a cut of oil exchange for allowing South Sudan oil to pass through Sudanese pipeline that transport the oil to Port Sudan.

(3) Conflict among the Southern tribes.

(4) Competition over resources.

(5) Many see violence as the only path to political relevance.

(6) Marginalisation along tribal lines.

(7) High level stale corruption also lower post war recovery and development.

(8) Neglect by the government.

ATTEMPTED PEACE INITIATIVES AND UN EFFORTS

15. The attempted peace initiatives and UN efforts in resolving the South Sudan crisis are as follows:

a. In August 2015, the international community welcomed peace agreement signed by warring parties.

b. The formation of Transitional Government of National Unity in late April 2016 following the cease fire agreement.

c. The IGAD led talk peace initiative following the 2014 cessation of hostilities. The IGAD mediation strategy focused on deploying force to create condition for peace negotiations.

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d. The United Nation Mission in the Sudan was mandated to facilitate contact with the parties concerned and to prepare for the introduction of an envisaged UN support operation.

e. The AU mandated talks on the conflict in the AU led international political efforts to seek a resolution to the crisis in the South Sudan.

f. Establishment of UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) by the Security Council on 9 July 2011. The UNMISS was mandated to enable South Sudan to govern effectively and democratically establish good relations with its neighbours.

g. The UN Security Council Resolution 1990 of 27 June 2011 also established the UN interim SecurityForce for Abiyel (UNISFA). The operation monitored theflash point border between North and South Sudan as well as authorized to use force in protecting civiliansand humanitarian workers in Abiyel.

h. Another giant effort by IGAD agreement to resolved the crisis in South Sudan in Addis Ababa inMay 2014.

i. UN Security Council 2046 called for immediate halt to fight between Sudan and South Sudan as well as resumption of negotiations.

j. The Beijing's engagement after outbreak of

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fighting in 2013 which involves diplomatic efforts to support and promote a negotiated end to the fighting.

k. Uganda engagement with China and other countries neighbouring South Sudan. These efforts gave the region diplomatic aspect to China diplomacy over the conflict.

l. In September 2015, a series of AU mediation talks began in Nigeria, between representatives of the Sudanese government and the 2 major rebel groups.

EFFECTS OF SOUTH SUDAN CRISES

16. The effects of South Sudan crisis are as follows:

a. **Social Effects**.

(1) Massive brain drain as many graduatesare heading abroad due to lack of jobs and the general frustration of daily life in South Sudan.

(2) Civilians have been routinely targeted in the conflict.

(3) Warring parties have been accused of crimes against humanity.

(4) The war and the resulting humanitarian crisis have displaced more than 2.7 million people.

(5) Over one million Sudanese have fled as refugees in neighbouring countries.

(6) Over 40 per cent of the population are facing life threatening hunger.

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(7) Sexual assault.

(8) The crisis is capable of discouraging donor governments to support recovery and development efforts. Without robust donor engagement, South Sudan crisis appear set to worsen.

(9) Issue of food security.

(10) Acute humanitarian crisis.

(11) Millions of Sudanese remain in urgent need of aid.

(12) The conflict led to the death of thousands.

(13) Wide spread diseases.

(14) Looting of properties.

(15) Poor development of infrastructure.

(16) Poor human capital and formal civil institution.

(17) Chronic humanitarian need.

b. **Political Effects**.

(1) As a result of the ongoing crisis, the structure of the South Sudan will continue to be drawn on tribal line.

(2) Political instability.

(3) The crisis put the status of the unity government and the peace agreement in question.

(4) The South Sudan Government has been reluctant to accept the UN Peace Keeping Forces, viewing the deploying as possible threat to

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sovereignty.

(5) Mismanage from international community on the status of the peace agreement and the legitimacy of the Transitional Government of National Unity following President Kiir replacing of Manchar of opposition representative in the Government still complicated the way forward.

(6) The struggle for power drawn South Sudan into a devastating crisis.

(7) The issue of power sharing still not stable.

(8) The cycle of terror in South Sudan threaten the peace of the region.

c. **Economic Effects**.

(1) The crisis led to South Sudan shuttingdown its oil production.

(2) The crisis prevents South Sudan from transporting her crude.

(3) The shut down in crude oil production caused heavy inflation to Sudan and South Sudan.

(4) The crisis gave rise to devaluation of the Sudanese pound.

(5) Loss of oil revenue.

(6) Over 200,000 people are sheltering at the UN peace keeping base in the country.

(7) The conflicts spur a sharp increase in food prices.

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(8) The IMF warns that without economics reform and political reconciliation, the economy will further deteriorate and the government may be unable to meet key obligations.

(9) Donor agencies concern about state of corruption is high, in that senior officials have directed state assets to fuel the crisis and for their own benefits.

(10) The USA which plays a key role in supporting South Sudan independence has long been its leading donor and key diplomatic actor. It also made major investment in South Sudan. Many of these gains have now been reversed because of the crisis.

(11) Food and fuel prices have skyrocketedwith an ever rising cost of living.

(12) It is clear during the negotiation that the issue of securing the oil field is one of the main objectives of President Kiir and former Vice President Manchar. This is because crude oil is the key revenue generation of the state.

(13) The crisis hinders growth and development of South Sudan.

LESSON LEARNT FROM SOUTH SUDAN CRISIS

17. Some of thelessons from the South Sudan crisis are as follows:

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a. The East African Countries has led the efforts to deployed additional UN peace keeping to Juba with the immediate aim of providing a secure environment in the capital. It is hoped that the forces presence may create condition more conducive for broader stabilization efforts.

b. The efforts of some NGO's in coordinating emergency food distribution and provision of fuel and other income support to the people displaced by the crisis as well as rehabilitating damage water system to improve access to clean water was timely. This effort of supplying life saving essentials to the families of desperate needs was commendable.

c. The crisis in the South Sudan is the possibility of another state failure. This is because the current crisis amount to the failure of the international communities and AU to ensure that the new state develops into a democratic and stable state.

d. The present crisis shows that 2 centres of power exist in South Sudan, regardless of the outcome of any negotiations. As a result, the structure of the South Sudanese state will continue to be drawn on tribal lines.

e. In light of the most recent negotiations, it is clear that the warring faction two main objectives are the oil field and securing military presence on the ground. Tackling these 2 issues could reduce the crisis to the

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arest minimum.

f. The crisis revealed that slow implementation of the peace agreement will ensure the protection of civilian sites remain necessary for years to come. It is imperative that stakeholders need to improve coordination and continue existence of protection of civilian sites as well as eventual facilitation of safe and voluntary returns of IDPs.

g. Sacrifices have been made by UN personnel to defend protection of civilian sites from external threat and offered numerous humanitarian assistance inside the sites.

h. The UN and humanitarian agencies have come together and assisted over 200,000 individuals within the protected of civilian sites. This giant effort enables them to settle down within a short period of time.

i. The escalating crisis proves that secession is not a panacea for peace and democracy.

j. One vital lesson from South Sudan crisis peace process is that AU should know that mediation is science requiring good knowledge of history, culture, politics and familiarity with human psychology. There isneed to lay emphasis on acquiring impeccable knowledge of the issue in the conflict and the nature ofthe parties involves.

k. The crisis also revealed that without professional

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support, it took considerable long time to get good grasp of South Sudan social structure, the issues and the players involves in the conflicts.

WAY FORWARD FOR SOUTH SUDAN CRISIS

18. The way forward for South Sudan crisss are as follows:

a. Externally, the IGAD countries, Uganda in particular should stop viewing Khartoum as enemy.There is no need to highlight the importance of cooperation between the 2 Sudans for ensuring stabilityon both sides of the borders. The IGAD needs to develop a new mind set, one that welcome Khartoum as a legitimate member in the region.

b. Internally, there is need to call for power sharing in South Sudan to acknowledge the will of the majority in both party and the state.

c. There will be need for South Sudan Government to stop obstruction of peace process and to stick consistently to commitment to create an enabling environment for delivery of humanitarian assistance and civilian protection.

d. The need to urgently restore and maintain stability in Juba in other for an inclusive political process.

e. The need to support the IGAD and regional protection force to deploy as part of UNMISS to further help provide free and safe movement throughout the capital so as for political actors to engage without fear of

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intimidation.

f. There will be need to demilitarize Juba to reduce tension. This is necessary as no political process can take place as long as Juba the nation capital is home tolarge number of armed men and heavy weaponry that are aligned with specific political actors.

g. The peace agreement called for SPLA/M forces to redeploy outside Juba. Elements of Government Control National Security Service must be firmly under civil control and monitored closely so that they do not contribute to instability.

h. Any informal militia outside of the formal chain of command in and around Juba must be disarmed.

i. The UN Security Council in authorization of renewal of the UNMISS mandate should coordinate the force to be station in Juba.

j. The South Sudan must look beyond the most immediate security needs and government ahead to creation of a professional South Sudan National Army.

k. There is need for the Government of South Sudan to end the security sector reform and ensure disarmament and control of informal armed elements outside the formal military chain of command. Thiswould help to further stabilize the security situation.

l. Once the security situation stabilizes, there will be need to organized all parties conference toreconstruct the ongoing power sharing provision of the peace agreement.

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m. For the purpose of power sharing, thosecurrently in power must be willing to effectively share control of the state and the resources.

n. There will be need for AU to establish hybrid court for South Sudan as well as providing key prosecutors and other staff for smooth running of the court.

o. There will be need for the UN and international community to provide the necessary assistance to the hybrid court in other for the court to support justice and accountability.

CONCLUSION

19. The newest African state took off with some challenges which it is still battling with. For South Sudan to make any meaningful developmental progress, all lingering issues surrounding it crises must be address. Stakeholders would need to put aside their differences for peace to return.

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PART THREE: WORLD AFFAIRS

THE UNITED NATIONS

INTRODUCTION

1. The United Nations grew out of the ashes of a major conflict. Therefore, it has as its primary objective, the maintenance of international peace and security. This message is clearly conveyed in the UN Charter which states the determination of its signatories to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. In addition to this primary aim, the United Nations seeks to promote global economic and social development, human rights and the establishment of conditions under which justice and respectfor international law could be maintained. The United Nations also takes effective collective measures for the prevention andremoval of threats to peace and the suppression of acts of aggression in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. The United Nation adjudicates in the settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace, to develop equal rights and self determination, to cooperate in the solution of international economic, cultural and humanitarian problems, and to act as acentre for harmonizing the action of nations in the attainment of common goals.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

2. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to:

a. Explain the evolution of the UNO.

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b. Enumerate the purposes and principles of the UNO.

c. Discuss the functions of the organs of the UNO.

EVOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

3. The UN was founded as a successor to the League of Nations, which was widely considered to be ineffective in its role as an international governing body, as it had been unable to prevent World War II. The term "United Nations was first used by Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the 1942 Declaration by United Nations, which the United the allied countries of WW II under the Atlantic charter, and soon became a term widely used to refer to them. Declarations signed at wartime Allied Conference in 1943 espoused the idea of the UN, and 1944, representatives of the major Allied powers met to elaborate on the plans at the Dumbarton Oaks conference. Those and later talks outlined the organization's proposed purposes, membership, organs and ideas in regards to peace, security and cooperation.

PURPOSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

4. The purpose of the United Nations is summed up in Paragraph 1 of the Article of the UN charter as follows:

> *"To maintain international peace and security and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and the removal of*

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the threats to peace and bring about the peaceful means of justice and international law, adjustments of settlement of international disputes or situation which might lead to a breakdown of peace".

5. Hence, the purpose of the UNO can be summed up as follows:

a. To maintain international peace and security and to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression.

b. To develop friendly relations am ong nations on the basis of mutual respect, sovereignty, equality and self determination of all peoples.

c. To achieve international cooperation in solving international

problem of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting andencouraging respect for fundamental human rights and discrimination.

d. To be the centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

PRINCIPLES OF THE UNO

6. The essential principles of UN were to guide its operations. These principles are contained in Articles of the Charter of the United Nations as follows:

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a. Sovereignty and equality of all nations.

b. Settlement of international disputes peacefully.

c. Members shall retrain from the use of force or threats of its use to violate the territorial integrity or political independence of other member states.

d. There would be no United Nations Interventions in domestic jurisdiction.

e. The members are to fulfil their obligations that are assumed under the charter in good faith.

THE 3 MAJOR GOALS OF THE UNO

7. The UN has 3 major goals as stated below:

a. That the UN is dedicated to the building of conditions that will allow for peaceful and friendly relations among people. This is to be realized through the increased recognition of the dignity and worth of human beings. To this end, the UN is attempting to raise the world standard of living and to fight hunger, diseases, and literacy in all corners of the world.

b. The UN seeks to provide formal machinery for the adjustment of international tensions when the normal processes of diplomacy prove ineffective.

c. The UN is dedicated to the establishment of a programme of collective security under which all its members must come to the support of any member victimized by aggression.

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8. On 25 April 1945, the UN conference on international organizations began in San Francisco, attended by 50 governments and a number of non-governmental organizations involved in drafting the charter of the United Nations. The UN officially came into existence on 24 October1945 upon ratification of the Charter by the 5 permanent members of the Security Councils, France, the Republic of China, the Soviet Union (now Russia), the United States, Great Britain and by a majority of the other 46 signatories. The first meeting of the General Assembly with 51 nations represented, and the Security Council took place in West Minister Hall in London in January 1946.

ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

9. The organization is divided into 5 administrative bodies primarily:

a. The General Assembly which is the main deliberative assembly.

b. The Security Council which decides certain resolutions for peace and security.

c. The Economic and Social Council.

d. The Secretariat.

e. The International Court of Justice.

f. The Trusteeship Council.

10. Additional bodies deal with governance of all other UN system Agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF).

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The UN's most visible public figure is the Secretary – General. The organization is financed from assessed and voluntary contributions from its member states, and has 6 official languages namely Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russiaand Spanish.

11. **The General Assembly**. The General Assembly is the main deliberative assembly of the United Nations. Composed of all the United Nations member states, the assembly meets in regular yearly sessions under a President elected fromamong member states over a two-week period. At the start of each session, all members have the opportunity to address the assembly. Traditionally the Secretary General makes the first statement, followed by the President of the assembly. The first session was convened on 10 January1946 in the West Minster Central Hall at London and in attendance were representatives of 51 nations. When the General Assembly votes on important questions a two-third majority of those present and voting is required. Examples of important questions include: recommendation on peace and security, election of members to organs, administration, suspension, and expulsion of members, and budgetary matters. All other questions are decided by majority vote. Each member country has one vote.Apart from approval of budgetary matters, resolutions are not binding on members. The assembly may make recommendations on any matters within the scope of the UN except matters of peace and security that are under Security Council's consideration. Conceivably the one state, one vote power structure could enable states comprising just 8 percent of the world population

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to pass a resolution by a two-third vote. However, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which a recommendation by member states constituting just 8 percentof the world's population would be adhered to by the remaining 92 percent of the population, should they object.

12. **The Security Council**. The Security Council is charged with maintaining peace and security among countries. While other organs of the UN can only make recommendations to member governments, the Security Council has the power to make binding decisions that member governments have agreed to carry out under the terms of the Charter Article 2. The decisions of the council are known as United NationSecurity Council Resolutions.The Security Council is made up of 15 member states, consisting of 5permanent members; China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the US and 10 non-permanent members. The 5 permanent members hold veto power over substantive but not procedural resolutions allowing a permanent member to block adoption but not to block the debate of a resolution unacceptable to it. The 10 temporary seats are held for two-year terms with member states voted in by the General Assembly on a regional basis. The presidency of the Security Council is rotated alphabeticallyeach month.

13. **The Secretariat**. The UN secretariat is headed by the Secretary – General assisted by a staff of international civil servants worldwide. It provides studies, information, and facilitates needed by the United Nations bodies for meetings. It

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also carries out tasks as directed by the UN Security Council, the UN General Assembly, the UN Economic and Social Council and other bodies. The United Nations charter provides that the staff be chosen by application of the highest standards of efficiency competence and integrity, with due regard for the importance of recruiting on wide geographical basis. The Charter provides that the staff shall not seek or receive instructionfrom any authority other than the UN. Each UN member country is enjoined to respect the international character of the secretariat and not seek to influence its staff. The Secretary General alone is responsible for staff selection.The Secretary-General's duties include helping resolve international disputes, administering peacekeeping operations, organizing international conferences, gathering information on the implementation of security council decisions, and consulting with member governments regarding various initiatives. Key secretariat offices in this area include the Office of the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary – General who acts as de facto spokesman and leader of the UN. Franklin D Roosevelt described the position of the Secretary-General as a "World moderator" while the UN Charter defined it as the organizations "Chief Administrative Officer". The Charter also states that the Secretary-General can bring to the Security Council's attention "any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security" giving the position greater scope for action on the world stage.

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The position has evolved into a dual role of an administrator of the UN organization and a diplomat and moderator addressing disputes between member states and finding consensus to global issues. The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly, after being recom mendedby the Security Council. The selection can be vetoed by any member of the Security Council and the General Assembly can theoretically override the Security Council recommendation if amajority vote is not achieved, although this has not happened so far. There are no specific criteria for the post, but over the years it has become accepted that the post shall be held for one to 2 terms of 5 years each that the post shall be appointed based on geographical rotation, and that the Secretary-General shall not originate from one of the 5 permanent Security Council member states.

Secretaries – General of the United Nations.

Serial	**Name**	**Country**	**Took office**	**Left office**	**Remarks**
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1.	Trygve Lie	Norway	2 Feb 46	10 Nov 52	Resigned
2.	Dag Hammarsk Jold	Sweden	10 Apr53	18 Sep 61	Died while in office
3.	U Thant	Burma	30 Nov61	1 Jan 72	First Secretary General from Asia

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(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
4.	Kurt Waldhem	Austria	1 Jan 72	1 Jan 82	
5.	Javir Perez de Cueller	Peru	1 Jan 82	1 Jan 92	First Secretary General South America
6.	Boutros Boutros Ghali	Egypt	1 Jan 92	1 Jan 97	First Secretary General from Africa
7.	Kofi Anan	Ghana	1 Jan 97	1 Jan 07	
8.	Ban Ki – Moon	South Korean	1 Jan 07	31 Dec 16	
9.	António Guterres	Portugal	1 Jan 17	Incumbent	

14. **The International Court of Justice**. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) located in the Hague, Netherland is the primary judicial organ of the UN. Established in 1945 by the UN's charter, the court began work in 1946 as the successor to the permanent court of international justice. The status of the ICJ, similar to that of itspredecessor, is the constituting and regulating court. It is based in the peace palace in the Hague Netherlands, sharing the building with The Hague Academy of International Law, a private centre for the study of international law. Several of the courts current judges are either alumni or former faculty members of the Academy. Its purpose is to adjudicate

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disputes among states. The court has heard cases related to war crimes, illegal states interference and ethnic cleansing among others and continues to hear cases. A related court, the International Criminal Court (ICC), began operating in 2002 through international discussions initiated by the General Assembly. It is the first permanent international court charged with trying those who commit the most serious crimes under international law, including war crimes and genocide. The ICC is functionally independent of the UN in terms of personnel and finances, but some meetings of theICC governing body, the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statutes, are held at the UN. There is a "relationship agreement" between the ICC and the UN that governs how the 2 institutions regard each other legally.

15. **The Economic and Social Council**. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) assists the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development. ECOSOC has 54 members all of whom are elected by the General Assembly for a 3year term. The President is elected for a one-year term and chosen amongst the small or middle powers represented on ECOSOC. ECOSOCmeets once a year in July for a 4week session. Since 1998, it has held another meeting each April with finance ministers heading key committees of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Viewed separately from the specialization bodies it coordinates ECOSOC's functions including information gathering, advising member nations and making recommendations. In addition, ECOSOC is well-positioned to

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provide policy coherence and coordinate theoverlapping functions of the UN's subsidiary bodies and it is in these roles that it is most active.

16. **The Trusteeship Council**. The Trusteeship Council was expected to take charge of the non-self governing territories, and to enable it perform these functions, it was given specific powers. The Trusteeship Council has jurisdictionover the former mandates of the League of Nations over territories taken over from Japan and Italy at the end of WorldWar II and over any other territory which as a state may voluntarily confide to its case. The Trusteeship Council also receives reports from the administrators of trust territories, makes annual inspections of their conditions and receivescomplaints and petitions from the indigenous inhabitants. The UN because of its mandates under Article 1 Sections 2 and 55 of the Charter relating to the self determination of people and freedom for all has supported their aspiration for freedom and self government with the achievement of statehood for its territories, the Trusteeship Council is quietly working its way out of existence.

CONCLUSION

17. The UN is an international organization whose stated aims are to facilitate cooperation in international law, international security economic development social progress human rights and achieving world peace. The UN was founded in 1945 after World War II to replace the League of Nations,

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to stop wars between countries and to provide a platform for dialogue.From its headquarters on international territory inNew York City, the UN and its specialized agencies decides on substantive and administrative issues in regular meetings held throughout the year.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

18. a. Write briefly on any the organs of the United Nations

b. Why was the United Nations established?

c. Narrate briefly the evolution of the United Nations.

d. Security Council Assembly is the highest organ of the United Nations. Discuss.

e. Mention the main goals of the UN.

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TERRORISM

INTRODUCTION

1. Terrorism has become a major danger to humanity and the maintenance of nations' sovereignty. It undermines the foundation of society and is fast developing its techniques for the destruction of lives and property. It is negatinginternational peace and security as well as threatening the survival and sovereignty of independent states.

2. Terrorists generally send ideological o r religious messages by intimidating the general public through the choice of their targets, which are often symbolic or representative of the targeted nation. Terrorists attempt to create a high profile impact on the public of their targeted enemy or enemies with their acts of violence, despite the limited material resources that are usually at their disposal. In doing so, they hope to demonstrate various points, such that the targeted government(s) cannot protect its (their) owncitizens, or that by assassinating a special victim they can teach the general public a lesson about espousing view points or policies antithetical to their own.

TRAINING OBJECTIVE

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates will be able to:

a. Define terrorism.

b. Give a background history of terrorism.

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c. Discuss the type of terrorism.

d. Identify and discuss the major classifications of terrorism.

e. Identification of people prone to becoming terrorists and make your justifications.

f. Discuss the Implications of terrorism.

g. List and discuss the various manifestations of terrorism.

h. Discuss measures of combating terrorism.

DEFINITION

4. Defining terrorism has become so polemical and subjective an undertaking as to resemble an art rather than a science. Most attempts to arrive at a workable definition have ended to revolve around three interrelated factors; namely the terrorists (or persons being termed terrorist) motives, identity and methods.

5. Terrorism could be defined as "the use of force or violence against persons or property in violation of the criminal laws of nations for purposes of intimidation, coercion or ransom" or as the "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended toinfluence an audience". A more graphic definition describes terrorism as "the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage."

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6. Most definitions of terrorism have common elements, which includes; the systemic use of physical violence, either actual or threatened, against non combatants to create a climate of fear to cause some religious, political or socialchange.

BACKGROUND HISTORY OF TERRORISM

7. Although the word terrorism first appeared in the "Reign of Terror" during the French Revolution, its activities date back to the first century. Terrorism dates back to the firstcentury (48AD) when Zealots, a Jewish sect, fought against Roman occupation of what is now Israel. In the twelfth century Iran, a group of Shiite Muslims committed terroristacts against religious and political leaders of Sunni Islam. Through the eighteenth century, most terrorist movements were based on religious beliefs.

8. During the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, terrorist movements continued to be politically based. In the 1930s Germany's Adolf Hitler, Italy's Benito Mussolini and the Soviet Union's Joseph Stalin, all used terrorism to discourage opposition to their governments.

9. In the United States of America, during the late 1800 and early 1900 the Ku Klux Klan advocated violence to terrorize blacks and their sympathizers. From 1978 to 1995, the anarchist and terrorist known as the 'Unabomber', using homemade bombs mailed or planted, killed 3 people andwounded 23 other environmentalists and those opposed to the

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effects of industrialization and technology, targeting university professors, computer professionals and corporate executives.

10. The US support of Israel resulted in several acts of terrorism against Americans by Palestinian radicals or supporters including the 1983 attack by Shiite Muslim suicide bombers on the US Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon and on the US Marine Barracks in Beirut, killing nearly 300, mostly Americans. In 1988 a bomb destroyed Pan American flight 103 over Scotland, killing 259 including 189 Americans,2 Libyan terrorists were later charged with the act.

11. In the late 1980's the Animal Liberation Front used arson to terrorize in Davis, California; Tucson, Arizona; and Lubbock, Texas. In 1990, the popular party used arson and bombed Puerto Rico. Islamic radical used a crude bomb made from agricultural fertilizer in 1993 to attack World Trade Centre in New York which killed nearly one thousand people with an estimated damage of 600million dollars. This blatant foreign-sponsored terrorism was viewed with alarm and disbelief, yet because the towers still stood, Americans wenton with life with a suppressed sense of invulnerability, and the fear of terrorism faded rapidly.

12. In 1995 a 4,800pound truck bomb exploded in front of Alfred P. Murrah, Federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 and injuring 500. Not only was this the deadliest terrorist attack the US.In 1996, another truck bomb destroyed a barrack housing American Military personnel in Dhahran, Saudi

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Arabia, killing 19 Service men. In 1998, 2 US embassies in East Africa were bombed killing morethan 200 people, including 12 Americans. In October 2000, 17 sailors died when2 suicide bombers attacked the USS Cole while it was refuelingin the Yemeni Port of Eden. Thencame 11 September2001, theworst terrorist attack in the history of terrorism, when terrorists hijacked 4 commercial airliners. Two of the planes were crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Centerin New York, leaving 4,815 people missing and 417 confirmed dead including the 157 passengers aboard Flight 11 andFlight 175.An hour later, Flig ht 77 crashed into the Pentagon leaving189 dead, including everyone on board. The 4th flight,(Flight 93) presumably heading towards the White House or US Capitol building crashed into a rural area in Pennsylvania, killing 44 aboard.

TYPES OF TERRORISM

13. Just as there are different types of terror, so do we have different types of terrorism based on different variables. For example, in terms of the objectives of terrorism, one can talk of political terrorism and criminal terrorism. Terrorism can also be organized or unorganized. Using the source of the terrorist action, there can be state terrorism, group terrorism, or individual terrorism. On the scale of special scope, therecan be domestic or international terrorism. There is also repressive terrorism, revolutionary terrorism and sub revolutionary terrorism. Some of these types of terrorism need to be

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elaborated upon.

a. **Political Terrorism**. Political terrorism is geared towards the achievement of political objectives; and could be carried out by either a government, (those in power), the opposition (those aspiring to be inpower), a liberation movement or terrorist body.

b. **Criminal Terrorism**. Criminal terrorism is regarded as "the systematic use of acts of terror for objectives of private material gains. This type of terrorism is often carried out by an individual or a few individuals, and is geared towards personal enrichment or satisfaction, with no gains for the masses or people, and no bearings with the struggle for reforms, social justice, and human rights in the society.

c. **Repressive Terrorism**. The repressor here may be the state, its rulers, agents or a part or faction; and the repression may be directed against the whole population or a selected group or part of it. e.g state terror, police terror, colonial terror (where the state uses the army as a terror tool), prison terror, slave terror, ideological terror and counter insurgency terror. All these are forms of repressive terrorism.

d. **Revolutionary Terrorism**. Revolutionary terrorism is defined as the resort to systematic tactics of terrorist violence with the objective of bringing about political revolution. The features of revolutionary

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terrorism include:

(1) Collective rather than individual action.

(2) Existence of a guiding revolutionary ideology or programme.

(3) Existence of leaders who mobilize for terrorist activities.

(4) Creation of alternative institutional structures to those of government.

(5) Acquisition and use of weapons.

(6) Acquisition of competence in terrorist methods and skills.

(7) Secrecy of operational plans.

(8) Some degree of population support.

e. **Sub Revolutionary Terrorism**.

Sub-revolutionary terrorism is employed for political motives other than the pursuit of revolutions or governmental repression. Examples are attempts to force a government to introduce a greatly policy, law or programme; revenge or punishment or warning against specific officials; waging terror in a feud with rivalgroups or retaliation against invasion of land or cultural interference.

f. **State Terrorism**. A state can terrorize its citizen or other states. Typical examples are the terrorization of Africans in South Africa in the days of apartheid; and the American invasion of Panama by theUS. During which Panama defense was humiliated and the head of state,

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President Noriega was captured by the US, tried in the court and jailed 40 years in a foreign land by a foreign government, which claims to be champion of democracy in the world.

CLASSIFICATIONS OF TERRORISM

15. There are 2 broad classifications of terrorism:

a. **Domestic Terrorism**. This involves groups or individuals who operate without foreign direction. They are entirely within and target elements of the home government or citizens. They represent extreme right or left wing and special interest beliefs. They are also anti-government, anti-taxation policies etc. whoengage in survivalist training to perpetuate a nationand its cause.

b. **International Terrorism**. International terrorism is foreign based or directed by countries or groups outside one's country. Inter national terrorism is divided into 3 categories. The first threat is foreign statesponsors of international terrorism using terrorism as a tool of foreign policy. The second threat is formalized terrorist groups such as ISIS. The third threat comes from loosely affiliated international radical extremists who have a variety of identities.

MANIFESTATIONS OF TERRORISM

16. Some of these manifestations include:

a. Bombing and laying of mines at strategic places.

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b. Arrests, kidnapping and detentions.
c. Beating and torture.
d. Murder and assassination.
e. Arson.
f. Sabotage of installations.
g. Mysterious phone calls.
h. Intimidation.
i. Hijacking and piracy.
j. Bank raids and other forms of armed robbery.
k. Bio-chemical warfare.
l. Suicide bombing.

MEASURES IN COMBATING TERRORISM

17. Some of the measures adopted in combating terrorism include:

a. Good intelligence network is crucial to nip (criminal) terrorism in the bud. Such intelligence network must be well coordinated between the police, military and other units.

b. Positive social programmes and social reforms relevant at any time in the history of society need to be carried out without waiting for revolutionary terrorism to move onto the scene to force government hands. This early action of voluntary government reforms will isolate terrorists from the population.

c. Security of premises, installations, airports and airlines must be ensured applying electronic searches.

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d. Punishment of convicted terrorists to serve as deterrent to others.

e. In case of international terrorism, the relevant treaty provisions should be followed.

f. The police and military need to establishspecialist anti-terrorist squads. The military squad will be unleashed against any terrorist group that is heavily armed and ready to shoot and kill.

g. Governments and the society need to alwaysstudy each phenomenon of terrorism and apply appropriate solution. Prevention it is said, is better thancure.

h. Research on known terrorists and terrorist groups leading to computerized data banks on them are important.

i. Intensive propaganda, public enlightenment and education are useful instruments against criminal terrorists, and other terrorists that do not pursue collective goals of society. These will tune the public for vigilance against unknown faces and strange movements and objects around them.

j. There is need for a national anti-terrorist policy formulation to guide citizens, government and security agencies in this matter, eg in Israel, there is the policy of no deals with terrorists who are seen by law as criminals. Such policy promotes internationalcooperation against terrorists.

k. The rule of law must be enthroned in society, and no individual or group of individuals must be allowed

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to be above the laws of the land.

l. Legal sanctions must be in force and whoever violates the laws of the land should pay the price.

m. The judiciary must, with the support of the people, preserve fundamental rights and freedoms and protect society against arbitrary rule, police brutality (terror) and martial terror.

n. Terrorists must not, in any way, be allowed to wage battle against popular governments, nor must criminal terrorist be allowed to wage war against society in pursuit of their selfish private ends. For this purpose, both the police and the armed forces need to be trained and equipped accordingly especially where terrorists apply guerrilla tactics. Government need to develop the culture of never giving in to terrorists.

WHO BECOMES A TERRORIST AND WHY

18. Individuals who become terrorists often are the unemployed, socially alienated individuals who have dropped out of society, youths with little education may join a terrorist group out of boredom. Some individuals may be motivated mainly by a desire to use their special skills, such as bomb making. The more educated youths may be motivated by genuine political or religious convictions. Usually, disenchanted youths (educated or uneducated) engage in occasional protests and dissidence. Potential terrorist group membersoften start out as sympathizers of the group. Recruits often come from support organizations such as prisoners or student activists. Often violent encounters with police or other security agents motivate already socially alienated individuals to join a terrorist group.

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IMPLICATIONS OF TERRORISM

19. Terrorism can also lead to break down of law andorder, and discourage invest ors, both foreign and domestic. Inthis way, development and national productivity become threatened. Since national leaders will always do their best to ensure the security of the nation, terrorism can stimulate the diversion of funds from socio-economic development to defense and security tending. The country's international image can also be adversely affected by terrorist activities, and this in turn affects tourism and expected national revenue from it. Terrorism also weakens government resolve and ability to govern effectively, and retards its momentum of developmental and administrative efficiency. Terrorism hasgreat implications for national security. Apart from the killing of citizens and destruction of life and property, terrorism can subvert defense and security agencies' operations and this puts a nation at great danger. Again, it can demoralize security forces, and a nation to have demoralized security forces is a bad omen for national security.

CONCLUSION

20. It is necessary to state that every nation or society must study and understand the terrorist so that his activities could be predicted and controlled. Terrorists are generally organized and well-funded, skilled in military tactics; andweapon manipulation; and are dedicated to their assignment. They may be angry or frustrated over one form of injustice or the other or want to change the political system by force. It must also be added that under-developed and other oppressed and exploited nations of the world must start doing their homework against what is called advanced

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international terrorism as manifested by the 'misuse' of military strategy by imperial world powers. The bombing of Sudan and Pakistan byUS in 2000 on the excuse of their backing terrorist without transparent evidence was terrorizing and 'uncalled-for' as the nuclear bombing of Japan's Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. This view is strengthened the more by the fact that Pakistan, whose air space was violated in the year 2000 bombing, is today an ally of USA in its war against terrorism in Afghanistan. Afghanistan in turn was an ally of the USA in the days of the cold war against the USSR. In short, in defense of Afghanistan, the USA imposed sanctions against the USSR in 1980 for invading Afghanistan in 1979. The point must be made clear that, most of those people called terrorists today, including Osama bin Laden were all allies of the USA in war against communist Soviet Union.

21. Many of the training camps being bombed in Afghanistan 'in the name' of terrorist training camps were established in days of battle against the USSR by Afghan Mujahedeens with US support, including trainings by the CIA. The long standing terrorist experience of Israel and the recent most horrifying terrorist attack against the USA, the September 11 attack on New York WTC and the Pentagon outstandingly demonstrate that terrorism is really a deadly threat against democracy, human libe rty, sustainable development, good governance, personal and material prosperity, as well as national security in the 21 st century and beyond.

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SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

22. Attempt the following:

a. Define terrorism.
b. Give a brief history of terrorism.
c. Discuss the types of terrorism.
d. Enumerate and discuss the major classifications of terrorism.
e. Identify the categories of people prone to becoming terrorists and make your justifications.
f. Discuss the Implications of terrorism.
g. List and discuss the various manifestations of terrorism.
h. Discuss measures of combating terrorism.

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ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

1. Global industrialization especially in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries placed the profound demand for energy sources to drive the industrial engines. This necessity made oil a centre stage in global politics. First was the dominance of oil with the 7 sisters; Exxon, Texaco, Royal Dutch/Shell, Mobil, Gulf, British Petroleum and the Standard Oil of California. They engaged in oil explorations globally and controlled the flow of oil revenues as they paid royalties to the Countries where the oil was explored.

2. The reserve control of the oil by the 7 sisters was perceived as unfair by theoil producing nations, who had minimum or no influence over the oil politics. This feeling soon led to discussions by the notable oil producing countries over how to wrestle control of the oil from the 7 sisters. Soon the discussions culminated into the formation of the global body known as Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1960.

3. Nonetheless, OPEC continues to witness interferences from the non-OPEC Oil producers who sometimes feel threatened that OPEC is manipulating the Oil politics to their advantage. One typical example was way back in 1973, when Arab Countries in OPEC planned to use the Oil as a political

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tool especially against Israel prior to the Yom Kippor war of 1973 between the Arabs and Israelis. Instead the non- OPEC nations flooded the oil market with their oil to counter the benefit envisaged by the Arabs in OPEC. These intrigues continue till date.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

4. At the end of this lecture note, candidates would be able to:

a. Give a history of OPEC.
b. Understand the mission of OPEC.
c. Know to objectives/principles of OPEC.
d. Organisation of OPEC.
e. Challenges of OPEC.
f. Achievements of OPEC.
g. Understand Nigeria in OPEC.
h. OPEC and politics of oil.

BACKGROUND HISTORY OF OPEC

5. The OPEC is an inter-governmental organization of 13 nations, founded in 1960 in Baghdad by the first 5 members which are Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. Nigeria joined the OPEC in 1971. The headquarters of this organization is in Vienna the capital of Austria. As at 2015, the 13 countries accounted for an estimated 42 per cent of global oil production and 73 per cent of the world's "proven" oil resolves, giving OPEC a major influence on global oil prices

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that were previously determined by American dominated multinational oil companies.

6. The Organization is also a significant provider of information about the international oil market. As at December 2016, OPEC members are Algeria, Angola, Ecuador, Gabon, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Venezuela. Two -thirds of OPEC's oil production and reserves are in its 6 Middle Eastern countries that surround the oil rich Persian Gulf.

7. The formation of OPEC marked a turning point toward national sovereignty over natural resources and OPECdecisions have come to play a prominent role in the global oil market and international relations. The effect can be particularly strong when wars or civil disorders lead to extended interruptions in supply. In the 1970's, restriction s in oil production led to dramatic rise in oil prices and OPEC revenue and wealth, with long – lasting and far reachingconsequences for the global economy. In the 1980's the organization started setting production targets for its member nations; oil prices increase, most recently from the organization 2008 and 2016 to trim oversupply. The influence of OPEC on international trade periodically challenged by the expansion of non-OPEC energy sources, and by the recurring temptation for individual OPEC countries to exceed production ceiling and pursue conflicting self interests.

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OPEC MISSION

8. The mission of OPEC is "to coordinate and unify the petroleum policies of its member countries and ensure the stabilization of oil markets in order to secure an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consumers, a steady income to producers and a fair return on capital for those investing in the petroleum industry."

OBJECTIVES OF OPEC

9. The main objectives of OPEC, which were adopted at the first conference held in Baghdad in 1960 and recorded in the OPEC statute are:

a. Coordination and unification policies of member states on oil.

b. Determining the most effective means of individual and collective protection of interests of the parties.

c. Explore means of ensuring price stability on the world markets and preventing sudden and adverse fluctuations.

d. Providing sustainable income –producing countries oil, effective supply countries consumers.

e. Equitable distribution of income from investments in the oil industry.

f. Environmental protection.

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ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF OPEC

10. The decision of OPEC implemented using special apparatus and structure. Its structure was determined by the charter adopted at the second conference of OPEC in 1961 and consists of organs such as:

a. **Conference**. The supreme body, meets twice a year in Vienna. It brings together the delegations of participating countries (chairman, minister or oil or energy, advisers and observers). The conference determines the main policies of OPEC, ways and means of their practical implementation and decide upon the reports and recommendations submitted by the Governing Council, and on budget. OPEC Secretary General chairs the conference, which typically attracts not only the press but also leading figures in the global oil market. All decisions and resolutions of theconference unanimously adopted, each country has onevote. The decisions of OPEC are binding after ratification by the respective member's states.

b. **Board of Governors**. This is the executive body that takes decisions at the conferences, prepares the annual budget, approve the report of the Secretary, determine the agenda of the conference and shall appoint the Deputy Secretary – General, and approves the proposed secretariat of heads of departments.

c. **Secretariat**. The Secretariat is headed by

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Secretary General who performs ongoing work under the guidance of the Governing Council. The Secretariat shall comprise a research department, department information, OPEC News Agency and Economic Commission.

PROBLEMS/CHALLENGES OF OPEC

11. The challenges of OPEC are numerous but for the purpose of this study a few of them shall be enumerated as follows:

a. Challenge of supplying consumers, from both the rich, developed and the poor, develo ping nations of the world, with the importance of the oil they need and when they need it.

b. One major challenge which extends beyond the issue of who actually produces the oil, to the issue of oil's share in the world mix.

c. The need for exhausted reserves to be replaced, as at when necessary, in addition to increasing production capacity to meet the actual growth in demand.

d. The desirability of oil producing nations to always have sufficient spare capacity available to cope with sudden, unexpected shortages in supply in the interests of maintaining market stability for the benefit of all concerned.

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e. Financing the producers' ability to meet expected future oil demand and investment.

f. Market stability, both now and in the future.

g. The need to raise the level of cooperation also constitutes a very real challenge for OPEC and of course all other parties involved in oil actives.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF OPEC

12. OPEC was formed in September 1960 and since its formation much has changes in the oil industry and the world at large. The major achievement will be discussed as follows:

a. **Secure and Steady Supply of Oil**. Since its formation OPEC has attached great importance to the responsibilities it attributes to the provision of a frontline energy source, namely working to ensure a stable, secure, well merged oil sector. The very first resolution of the organization aims to achieve stable oil price, "with a view to eliminating harmful and unnecessary fluctuations" a steady income for producing nations; an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consuming nations; and a fair return on their capital to investors.

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b. **Existence of the Organisation**. When OPEC was set up, there were some who predicted that the organisation would not last long. Fifty-Seven years on, however, that initial small group of developing countries has evolved into a group of 13 that is respected far and wide as an established part of the international energy community. It has survived and it has prospered.

c. **Sustainable Development**. The organisation, since its early beginning has placed a high priority on easing the plight of impoverished nations, in particular by helping them pursue the goals of sustainable development. At the first OPEC summit in 1975, the sovereigns and heads of state of member countries, in a solemn Declaration, reaffirmed "the natural solidarity which united their countries with the other developing countries in their struggle to overcome under – development". This has also entailed the establishment of many effective bilateral and multilateral aid institutions, including the OPEC Special Fund, now OPEC Fund for International Development(OFID), whichwas a direct result of the first summit. The fund had directed its resources to where have the greatest impact on the lives of the poor, such as primary health care, basic education, water supply and sanitation, transport and agriculture, and rural development, while allowing the key decisions to be made by the beneficiary governments and the people themselves. It

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constantly strives to work more closely with its recipient countries, fellow development agencies and other partners, to ensure that its assistance continues to be well targeted, effective and timely.

d. **OPEC and the Environment**.The oil industry through human ingenuity and technological development has a long history of successfully improving the environmental – focused developments. This includes investing billings of dollars over the past decades in flared – gas recovery projects. In the Gulf region, where many member countries are located, the very busy sea lanes are highly vulnerable to pollution, with the unregulated dumping of waste materials a common problem. However, the countries in the region have been exceptionally proactive in rising to thesechallenges in line with international and regional connections and agreements. The organization also recognizes the realities of global climate change and supports comprehensive, fair and realistic efforts toreduce the environmental impacts of global energy use.

e. **Encouraging Dialogue and Cooperation**. OPEC war formed around the premise of cooperation, with a commitment to safeguard the interest of its member countries and to ensure order and aid stability in the international oil market. This has been reaffirmed repeatedly in its declarations, statements, decisions and actions since its inception.

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This cooperation has since grown stronger as the organization has become an established and respected members of the global energy community. Other oil producing developing nations have joined, extending the organization's reach to North Africa, West and Southwest Africa and the organization has reached out to other industry stakeholders to help achieve its longstanding objectives focused on market order and stability.

f. **Strengthening of National Oil Companies**. When OPEC was formed, many of its National Oil Companies (NOC's) formed in the years after, the world oil industry was very different to that of today. Outside the self contained former Soviet Union, it wasdominated by the multinational oil companies, which controlled the quality of oil extracted, managed how much was sold and to whom, and determined the price. Host governments were paid small royalties, in contrastto the large profit made by the multinationals of that time. However, the voices of those host countries and their NOC's have grown louder as they pushed forward the inalienable right of all countries to exercise permanent sovereignty over their natural resources in the interest of their national development. OPEC has helped provide a platform that has enabled its NOC's toflourish; by affording them a stronger global presence, not only in the oil industry, but in global trade and environmental negotiations, particularly by enabling the pooling of

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knowledge, resources and intellect.

NIGERIA IN OPEC

13. Nigeria became a member of OPEC on 12 July 1971 after series of deliberations and consultations as to the essence of being a member of the organization. Nigeria is the twelfth largest crude oil producer in the world and eight in OPEC, contributing about 3 per cent of the global crude oil production, which makes it the largest crude oil producer in Africa but in some cases losses the first spot to Angola due to restiveness in the Niger Delta region. It is also the ninthcountry in terms of gas reserves in the world, making it the largest gas reserve in Africa. It also contributes about 8 per cent of the global Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) supply.

CONCLUSION

14. The increased global industrialization necessitated the demand for more energy to drive the heavy turbines and engines. This high demand on oil placed it at the centre stage of global politics till date. The agitation mostly by oil producing nations to regulate both the explorations and benefits of the oil culminated into the formation of OPEC in 1960. The formation of OPEC hascontributed in many ways including the building of petrochemical industries by OPEC members. OPEC has 5 major organs. The organization is face with both internal and external challenges, ranging from disloyalty of member nations to OPEC policies, lack of recognition by some of the

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consuming nations and interferences from non- OPECnations.

15. Nigeria became a member of OPEC in 1971 and it has made significant benefits on the nation. It was the catalyst in the building of the country's refineries, most of which are not producing at the moment. Notwithstanding, Nigeria has benefited from the various protective policies of OPEC for its member states against several external interferences.In the overall, OPEC has been more blessing to its member states. In spite of the many internal and external problems, OPEC member states have gained from the organization, including the survival form the occasional restrictions imposed by the industrialized nations.

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RUSSIA-UKRAINIAN WAR

INTRODUCTION

1. The Russia-Ukraine war, which escalated into a full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022, has dramatically reshaped the geopolitical landscape of Europe and beyond. Its origins trace back to 2014 when Russia annexed Crimea and supported separatist movements in eastern Ukraine, marking the beginning of a protracted conflict that has resulted in significant loss of life and widespread destruction. The current war has become Europe's most critical military confrontation since World War II, reflecting the tensions between Russia and Ukraine and the broader struggle for influence between Russia and Western powers.

2. This conflict has profound implications for global security, economic stability, and humanitarian conditions. It has prompted unprecedented responses from NATO and the European Union, including military support for Ukraine and sanctions against Russia, which have had ripple effects on the global economy.

BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

3. The roots of the Russia-Ukraine conflict are deeply embedded in historical, political and cultural ties between the two nations. Ukraine was a vital part of the Soviet Union until its dissolution in 1991. Following its independence, Ukraine sought closer integration with Western Europe to strengthen political and economic ties with the European Union (EU) and NATO. This shift toward the West alarmed Russia, which has traditionally viewed Ukraine as part of its sphere of influence. The tensions escalated significantly in 2014 when Russia annexed Crimea, a strategically important region with a predominantly Russian-speaking population. Concurrently, pro-Russian separatists in the eastern Ukrainian regions of Donetsk and Luhansk, collectively known as the Donbas, declared independence, further straining relations between Russia and Ukraine.

4. In the years leading up to the 2022 invasion, Ukraine's aspirations for closer ties with the EU and NATO intensified. This was met with increasing hostility from Russia, which perceived NATO’s expansion eastward as a direct threat to its national security. In late 2021 and early 2022, Russia amassed a large number of troops along the Ukrainian

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border, escalating fears of an imminent invasion. Diplomacy efforts to de-escalate the situation failed, as both sides remained firm in their positions. Russia demanded guarantees that Ukraine would never join NATO, while Ukraine insisted on its sovereign right to pursue alliances that align with its interests.

5. On February 24, 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, claiming it needed to "demilitarise and denazify" the country. The Kremlin argued that its actions were aimed at protecting Russian-speaking populations in Ukraine and countering what it described as NATO's encroachment on Russian territory. The invasion has led to widespread devastation, a humanitarian crisis and significant international backlash, with many countries imposing sanctions on Russia and providing military and humanitarian support to Ukraine

PARTIES INVOLVED AND THEIR LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT

6. Several parties are involved in the war in Ukraine. Some of the parties are discussed below:

a. **Ukraine**. The government of Ukraine, led by President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, is fighting to maintain its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Ukrainian military, supported by volunteer battalions, civilians and international allies, has resisted the Russian invasion. The Donetsk People's Republic and Luhansk People's Republic are also part of the parties involved in the war in Ukraine.

b. **Russia**. The Russian government, led by President Vladimir Putin, justifies its military actions as a defence of Russian-speaking populations and a necessary measure to prevent NATO's influence from spreading further east. Russia has deployed regular military forces and paramilitary groups like the Wagner Group in Ukraine.

c. **Foreign Involvement**. Western allies, especially the US, have been one of Ukraine's strongest backers, providing billions of dollars in military and humanitarian aid, including weapons systems, intelligence and diplomatic support. The US also imposed severe economic sanctions on Russia. The EU has also played a central role in supporting Ukraine diplomatically,

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financially and militarily. European countries, especially Poland and the Baltic states have accepted millions of Ukrainian refugees and supplied Ukraine with weapons.

d. **Other International Actors**. The UK has been a critical supporter of Ukraine, sending significant military aid, imposing sanctions on Russia and providing training to Ukrainian troops.

e. **China**. China has maintained a neutral stance, calling for peace but not condemning Russia. It has avoided openly supporting Russia to avoid economic repercussions from the West, although it has maintained close diplomatic and trade relations with Moscow.

f. **Turkey**. Turkey, a NATO member, has taken a complex approach to the Ukraine war. It has provided significant military support to Ukraine by supplying advanced combat drones like the Bayraktar TB2, which have bolstered Ukraine's defense capabilities against Russian forces. At the same time, Turkey has sought to maintain its diplomatic relations with Russia due to their economic ties, particularly in energy and trade, while also collaborating on regional conflicts such as those in Syria and Libya.

EFFECT ON THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

7. The war in Ukraine has unleashed widespread economic consequences that have reverberated across the globe, significantly impacting various markets and industries. Below are some key effects of the conflict on the global economy:

a. **Energy Crisis**. As one of the largest exporters of oil and natural gas, Russia plays a critical role in the global energy market. The ongoing war, coupled with sweeping Western sanctions targeting Russia's energy sector, has severely disrupted these markets, leading to significant price increases for oil and gas worldwide. In Europe, where many countries historically depended on Russian gas to meet their energy needs, the crisis has been particularly acute.

b. **Food Security** Ukraine and Russia are major

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global suppliers of essential commodities, including wheat, corn, sunflower oil and fertilizers. The war has severely disrupted agricultural activities, from planting and harvesting to exporting these critical products, leading to significant food shortages and skyrocketing prices. The United Nations and other international organizations have raised alarms about the potential for famines in vulnerable regions, emphasizing that the conflict could exacerbate existing food insecurity and create a humanitarian crisis for millions.

c. **Supply Chain Disruptions**. The conflict has further strained global supply chains already burdened by the COVID-19 pandemic. Key industries, including automotive, electronics and manufacturing, have faced significant challenges due to shortages of raw materials, such as semiconductors and steel, as well as increased transportation costs. The war has also highlighted the vulnerabilities of global supply chains, prompting companies to re-evaluate their sourcing strategies and seek greater resilience.

d. **Inflation and Recession Fears**. The dual shocks of rising energy and food prices driven by the war have fuelled inflationary pressures worldwide. Central banks, including the U.S. Federal Reserve and the European Central Bank, have responded by raising interest rates to combat inflation, which has sparked fears of a potential global recession. Economists warn that as borrowing costs increase, consumer spending and business investments may decline, potentially leading to economic stagnation.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE WAR

8. The war in Ukraine has profound implications that could reshape regional dynamics and the global geopolitical landscape. Below are some key consequences:

a. **Geopolitical Shifts**. The invasion of Ukraine has revitalized NATO, marking a significant turning point in European security policy. In response to perceived threats from Russia, member states have committed to increasing their defense

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spending, with several countries meeting or exceeding the NATO target of 2 per cent of GDP. This heightened sense of urgency has also prompted traditionally neutral countries like Finland and Sweden to apply for NATO membership, a move that underscores a collective re-evaluation of security needs in the face of aggression.

b. **Global Realignments**. As the war unfolds, nations across the globe are reassessing their geopolitical alliances. Countries in the Global South, particularly non-aligned nations, are carefully balancing their relationships with both Russia and Western powers. For instance, India continues to import Russian energy and arms while refraining from condemning the invasion, exemplifying a pragmatic approach to its foreign policy that seeks to protect its national interests amid global tensions.

c. **Refugee Crisis**. The war has triggered one of the most significant refugee crises in Europe since World War II, with millions of Ukrainians fleeing to neighbouring countries such as Poland, Romania and Germany. Estimates suggest that over 8 million Ukrainians have been displaced, with many seeking safety in EU member states. This massive influx has strained the resources of host nations, prompting governments and NGOs to mobilize humanitarian aid.

d. **Casualties and Displacement**. The human cost of the war has been staggering, with tens of thousands of people, including civilians, killed since the conflict began. The UN estimates that millions more have been displaced internally, leading to a humanitarian crisis within Ukraine itself. Entire cities, particularly in the eastern regions like Mariupol and Kharkiv, have been ravaged by Russian bombardments, resulting in extensive infrastructure damage and significant loss of life.

e. **Risk of Escalation**. The ongoing conflict has escalated fears of a broader war involving nuclear powers, mainly as Russia has issued threats regarding the potential use of atomic weapons. This alarming rhetoric has raised concerns within the international community about the possibility of a broader European conflict that could spiral out of control.

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f. **Arms Race**. In reaction to the conflict, countries worldwide significantly increase their military expenditures, leading to concerns about a new arms race, especially in Europe. Nations that once pursued disarmament now focus on modernising their military capabilities, expanding their arsenals and enhancing readiness.

g. **New Trade Partnerships**. In light of the war, European nations are actively working to reduce their dependence on Russian energy and resources. This shift is prompting countries to form new trade relationships with alternative suppliers, including the United States and various Middle Eastern and African nations. The crisis accelerates the transition toward renewable energy sources as nations invest in green technologies to ensure energy security and sustainability.

CONCLUSION

9. The war in Ukraine is deeply rooted in historical, political and cultural ties, stemming from Ukraine's post-Soviet aspirations to align more closely with the West. The invasion in 2022 marked a significant turning point, leading to heightened tensions between Russia and Ukraine and involving various international actors. Ukraine's struggle to maintain sovereignty is met with fierce resistance, while global powers have rallied to support Ukraine, reflecting broader implications for international security and alliances in the region.

10. The conflict has also triggered profound economic consequences, including an energy crisis and disruptions in global food supply chains. Rising prices and inflation have particularly impacted Europe, which is heavily reliant on Russian gas. Additionally, the humanitarian crisis, characterized by mass displacement and casualties, underscores the urgent need for a coordinated international response. As nations navigate these challenges, the potential for a reshaped geopolitical landscape and new trade partnerships emerges, highlighting the critical importance of diplomacy in seeking a resolution to the conflict.

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FACTS ON CRYPTOCURRENCY

INTRODUCTION

1. Cryptocurrency refers to digital or virtual currencies secured by cryptography, making them highly secure and difficult to counterfeit or double-spend. These currencies operate on decentralised networks, typically using blockchain technology, which ensures transparency and immutability of transactions. Bitcoin, launched in 2009, is the most well-known cryptocurrency and has paved the way for many others like Ethereum, Litecoin and Ripple. The appeal of cryptocurrencies lies in their decentralised nature, allowing users to bypass traditional financial institutions and conduct peer-to-peer transactions securely.

2. In Nigeria, cryptocurrencies have surged in recent years, mainly due to economic challenges, including high inflation, currency instability and limited access to foreign currencies. With the Naira frequently losing value, many Nigerians have turned to cryptocurrencies as a store of value and a hedge against inflation. Additionally, the rise of remittances and difficulties in accessing foreign exchange through conventional means have made digital currencies an attractive alternative.

FACTORS DRIVING THE RISE OF CRYPTOCURRENCY IN NIGERIA

3. Nigeria is one of the largest cryptocurrency markets in Africa and globally, it ranks among the top countries for crypto adoption. The rapid rise of crypto in Nigeria has been driven by factors such as:

a. **Foreign Exchange Shortages**. Limited access to foreign currency, coupled with strict Foreign Exchange (Forex) controls, has made it difficult for many Nigerians to obtain foreign currencies through traditional banking channels. As a result, many have turned to cryptocurrencies as a viable alternative for cross-border transactions, allowing them to bypass these restrictions and access global financial markets more easily

b. **Inflation and Currency Devaluation**. The value of the Nigerian Naira has been highly volatile, with inflation

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consistently eroding the currency's purchasing power. As a result, many Nigerians have sought alternatives to preserve their savings. As a result, cryptocurrencies have become increasingly popular, as many view them as a hedge against currency depreciation and a means to safeguard their wealth from local economic instability.

c. **Youth Engagement with Technology**. Nigeria's tech-savvy youth population, characterised by a strong familiarity with digital technologies and financial innovation, has played a significant role in the rise of cryptocurrency usage. Coupled with high smartphone penetration and access to various digital tools, this demographic is increasingly leveraging cryptocurrencies for investments, remittances and online transactions, driving the growth of a vibrant digital economy.

d. **Diaspora Remittances**. Cryptocurrency technology has made remittances from the diaspora easy. Many Nigerians living abroad prefer cryptocurrencies as a convenient alternative for sending home remittances. This method can often be cheaper and faster than traditional remittance channels, allowing families to receive funds more quickly and with lower fees, which is especially crucial in an economy where every Naira counts.

EFFECTS OF CRYPTOCURRENCY ON NIGERIA'S FOREX MARKET

4. The effects of cryptocurrency on Nigeria's forex are numerous. Some of the effects are discussed below:

a. **Evasion of Forex Controls**. Cryptocurrencies allow Nigerians to bypass the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) strict foreign exchange controls, allowing them greater flexibility in managing their financial transactions. This has led to a significant increase in peer-to-peer trading on platforms like Paxful and Binance, where users can exchange cryptocurrencies for fiat currencies without relying on official banking channels. As a result, these platforms have become famous avenues for individuals seeking to navigate currency restrictions and access funds more freely

b. **Reduced Demand for Naira**. The demand for the Naira has drastically reduced as more transactions are conducted in Bitcoin and other cryptocurrencies, reflecting a significant shift

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in how people engage with financial systems. This decline in demand for the local currency can negatively impact its value, exacerbating inflation and reducing purchasing power for everyday Nigerians. Furthermore, the increasing reliance on cryptocurrencies for transactions can put additional pressure on the country's foreign exchange reserves as fewer people seek to convert their funds into Naira for traditional use.

c. **Lower Transaction Costs**. Many Nigerians in the diaspora increasingly use cryptocurrencies to send remittances home, effectively bypassing traditional money transfer services that often impose high fees and unfavourable exchange rates. This shift allows them to save on costs and provides a faster and more efficient way to transfer funds to family and friends. As a result, this trend can significantly impact Nigeria's official remittance figures, as more money flows through cryptocurrency networks rather than the formal banking system, potentially distorting economic data and affecting financial planning and policy.

EFFECTS OF CRYPTOCURRENCY ON NIGERIA'S ECONOMY

5. The use of cryptocurrency has both positive and negative effects on the Nigerian economy. Some of these effects are discussed below:

a. **Positive Economic Effects**.

(1) **Financial Inclusion**. Cryptocurrencies have opened access to financial services for many Nigerians who have historically lacked confidence in the country's banking system, which has been marred by corruption and inefficiency. This trend is particularly pronounced in areas with greater exposure to blockchain technology, where residents are more familiar with the benefits of decentralised financial systems. As a result, these communities are increasingly adopting cryptocurrencies as a reliable alternative for transactions, savings and investments, thereby promoting financial inclusion and empowerment.

(2) **Entrepreneurship**. The rise of blockchain and

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cryptocurrency-related businesses has opened up new avenues for entrepreneurship in Nigeria, fostering a vibrant start-up ecosystem. This burgeoning sector has generated job opportunities and stimulated technological innovation as entrepreneurs explore creative solutions to meet the demands of the growing digital economy.

(3) **Investment Opportunities**. Cryptocurrency technology has unveiled numerous investment opportunities for Nigerians, allowing them to explore a range of digital assets beyond traditional financial instruments. By incorporating cryptocurrencies into their investment strategies, individuals can diversify their portfolios and mitigate risks associated with local currency fluctuations

b. **Negative Economic Effects**.

(1) **Regulatory Challenges**. Regulatory challenges have emerged in Nigeria following the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) decision in 2021 to ban banks from facilitating cryptocurrency transactions, citing concerns over financial stability, money laundering and the potential for illicit activities. This ban has led to the rise of decentralised peer-to-peer trading platforms, which enable users to exchange cryptocurrencies without the oversight of traditional financial institutions. Consequently, these developments have made it increasingly difficult for regulators to track and control the flow of funds within the cryptocurrency ecosystem, complicating efforts to enforce compliance and ensure transparency.

(2) **Potential for Scams**. Potential scams have increased in Nigeria's cryptocurrency landscape, taking advantage of the lack of regulatory oversight and the rapid growth of digital currencies. Fraudulent schemes, ranging from Ponzi schemes to fake investment platforms, often target unsuspecting individuals, exploiting their desire for quick financial gains in an

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unregulated environment. The absence of consumer protection measures in the crypto space further exacerbates the risks for investors, leaving them vulnerable to losses and undermining confidence in legitimate cryptocurrency initiatives.

WAYS OF ACCESSING CRYPTOCURRENCY IN NIGERIA

11. **Crypto Exchanges**. Cryptocurrency exchanges like Binance, Luno and Quidax were popular among Nigerians for buying and selling digital currencies with the Naira before the CBN's 2021 ban on crypto transactions. Following the ban, many users have shifted their focus to peer-to-peer transactions on these platforms, allowing them to continue trading cryptocurrencies without relying on traditional banking channels. This transition highlights the adaptability of Nigerian investors, who are finding innovative ways to engage in the crypto market despite regulatory challenges.

12. **Peer-to-Peer Platforms**. Nigerians are increasingly turning to peer-to-peer platforms to trade cryptocurrency assets directly, circumventing traditional banking systems. Platforms such as Binance peer-to-peer, Paxful, and Remitano have gained popularity, allowing users to buy and sell cryptocurrencies seamlessly using local bank transfers or mobile payment methods. This shift provides greater flexibility for traders and facilitates broader access to digital currencies in the face of regulatory constraints.

13. **Crypto Wallets**. Nigerians can store their cryptocurrencies in digital wallets, categorised into 2 main types: hot wallets and cold wallets. Hot wallets, such as Trust Wallet, provide online storage and easy access to digital assets, making them convenient for frequent transactions and trading. In contrast, cold wallets, like hardware wallets, offer offline storage, providing an added layer of security against hacks and online threats, which is particularly appealing for those looking to safeguard their investments for the long term.

14. **Mining**. Although cryptocurrency mining is less common in Nigeria due to its energy-intensive nature, some individuals are still actively involved in this activity. Mining involves validating transactions on the blockchain, and in return, miners earn cryptocurrency rewards,

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which can be an attractive prospect for those looking to increase their digital assets. Despite the challenges posed by high energy costs and infrastructure limitations, a niche community of miners continues to pursue this opportunity, contributing to the overall growth of the cryptocurrency ecosystem in the country.

CONCLUSION

15. Cryptocurrency has profoundly transformed Nigeria's financial landscape, presenting opportunities and challenges for its citizens and the economy. As an alternative to traditional banking systems, cryptocurrencies offer enhanced financial inclusion for millions who conventional financial institutions have underserved. They provide individuals with tools to protect their wealth against the persistent volatility of the Naira, allowing for greater autonomy in managing personal finances.

16. The evolving relationship between Nigeria's government and the cryptocurrency sector will play a crucial role in shaping the future of digital currencies in the country. Policymakers face the challenge of balancing the need for regulation to protect consumers and maintain financial stability while fostering an environment encouraging innovation and investment in the digital economy. As the government navigates these complexities, the outcome will significantly influence how cryptocurrencies integrate into Nigeria's financial system, impacting everything from individual savings to broader economic growth and development.

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COVID 19 PANDEMIC IN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

1. COVID 19 is the name given to the infectious disease tagged Corona Virus disease that was first reported in December 2019. It spread like wildfire to all parts over the world. This is why it was addressed as a pandemic by the World Health Organisation (WHO). In January 2020, WHO in its effort at monitoring and controlling the spread of the disease. established Incident Management Support Team (IMST) at three levels, namely, Geneva, regional headquartersand at each country. The virus had spread to countries in Europe from its source in China. The United States of America,Italy, Germany, Spain and Britain recorded high rate of infections and deaths. The pace of the infection across the world showed that there was no country immune from the deadly disease.

2. The outbreak of Covid 19 disease originated in Wuhan, Hubei province, China. There are controversies on the origin of the new virus. A source claimed that the virus emanated from an experiment performed by a military formation in China. Another source, reported that there was a marketwhere wild animals were sold for consumption and that there was an animal infected with virus. The virus was transmittedto those that consumed the carcass. The virus later spread among the people in the region. The original cause of the virus is an important subject of study, but, it is not as important as the management and control of the pandemic. Precautionary measures are the most important issue that the WHO was concerned with. This is to check the spread of this

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virus that has taken its toll on the lives and economy of countries in the world.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this lecture note, candidates will be able to explain the:

a. Causes and symptoms of Covid19.
b. Response to Covid19 in Africa.
c. The trend of Covid 19 in Africa.
d. Prevention and control.
e. The effect of Covid 19 on Africa.

CAUSES AND SYMPTOMS COVID-19

4. The Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in their research were able to identify and classify the novel Corona Virus through a throat swab from a patient. The virus was discovered to be transmitted in droplets which are emitted from the infected person's mouth, nose or watery eyes. The virus is responsible for respiratory tract infection, called Sever Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) or Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS). Patients could suffer severe symptoms like pulmonary edema, pneumonia and organ failure that could lead to death.

5. Many other symptoms of coronavirus include nasal congestion, loss of smell or taste, sore throat, conjunctivitis, vomiting or nausea, joint and muscle pain, headache, skin rash, dizziness and diarrhea. Some other ones are depression, reduced consciousness, sleep disorder and anxiety. Complications in an infected person could lead to brain inflammation, stroke or nerve damage.

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RESPONSE TO COVID 19 IN AFRICA

6. The African Union (AU) reacted to the first case of confirmed Covid 19 infection reported in Africa, which was reported on the 14th February 2020. Public health physical and media platforms were created among member states and the regional committees in order to combat the spread of this dreaded disease. By the month of May 2020, the 54 countries had reports of cases of the infection. President Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa who was the chairperson of the African Union had set up a four-man envoy to canvas for support for African countries on the economic downturn that the pandemic would have on countries in the continent.

7. In 2017, the Africa Centre for Disease Control (Africa CDC) was established and this made it easy for the AU to easily collaborate with the WHO. This agency served as a catalyst for aiding Covid 19 testing. They were able to design action plan for testing 10 million individuals within the period of 6 months.

8. The most vulnerable population were at the centre of the impact of Covid 19 in Africa. Africa Covid 19 Response Fund was established by Africa CDC in collaboration with public-private Afro Champion Initiative. They raised about 400million dollars to sustain health care response and provided socio-economic assistance for cushioning the effect of thepandemic on the poor.

9. The Africa CDC and the member states' CDC enforced lockdown and quarantines, as well as border closure to contain the spread of the virus. The lockdown involved the restriction of inter and intra-city movements. Households wereadvised to limit interaction with one another. Seaports,

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airports and land borders were also closed. Households, cities and countries were isolated from one another. Those individuals suspected to be infected were isolated, tested,quarantined and treated. Man-hours were lost as a result of the lockdown. There were calls for remote work. Some employers and their employees on essential duties worked in their homes and working hours were also reduced. Factories and service industries suffered losses, which led to economic recession, not only in the continent, but also, all over the world.

10. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) supported the African Influencers of Development Initiative (AIDE) to rally round the medical professionals, logistics and finances to help in the management and control of the pandemic, as well as cushion the effects on households and small and medium enterprise. Volunteers in the technology sector developed and produced equipment for contact tracing, data collection and also conducted awareness campaign geared towards the prevention and control of the virus.

11. There were collaborations on trade support and supply chain, through digitalization by pension fund leaders, African sovereign wealth in healthcare and agriculture. The African Union, Africa CDC, WHO and World Food Programme (WFP) were on hand to deliver medical equipment and supplies in their concerted effort against the pandemic.

THE TREND OF COVID 19 IN AFRICA

12. Africa has experienced four waves of Covid-19 Disease variants. The first wave had wild SARS-COV-2 Virus in which the Case Fatality Ratio (CFR), (times tagged proportion of infected people who died from Covid 19) was 25 per cent.

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During the Beta wave, it was 2.7 per cent (which was an increase in the rate of fatality). The third wave was Delta variant. It was 2.4 per cent. However, the fourth wave is 0.8 per cent. In this wave, there is reduction in hospitalization and death. This is fueled by Omicronn variant.

13. The cumulative cases of Covid-19 in Africa exceeded 10 million. The vaccination rate is 10 per cent of Africa's population. The fourth variant has spread to 30 African countries. Southern Africa has 14 per cent decline in infection. East and Central Africa experienced drop. In North Africa, there is 12.1 per cent increase. There is a rise in number of cases in Ghana, Senegal, Cabo Verde and Nigeria which are countries in West Africa.

PREVENTION AND CONTROL

14. The use of face mask and washing of hands with soap and water or alcohol-based hand sanitizers are ways of controlling the transmission of the virus, using herd immunity. Controlling the number of people gathered at a close range in a room or hall, coughing or sneezing into the elbow, the use of disposable tissues for covering the mouth while coughing or sneezing and disposing them into a trash can are also ways of preventing and controlling infection. Vaccination against infection is another effective method of preventing the spread of this disease. There are starter doses and booster jabs ofthe vaccine available to people for the purpose of prevention.

15. The approval of vaccines has now helped in containing the disease. There are limited restrictions in interactions of people across cities countries and continents. Before the vaccine was approved testing capacity of each country also helped in determining the rate of infection and the variants

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that were in each country. This helped health workers to diagnose quickly the variant and severity of conditions ofthose infected for effective treatment.

EFFECT OF COVID-19 ON AFRICA

16. Progress in formal education sector in countries in Africa was impeded due to low level of compliance with the use of information and communication technology tools for teaching and learning. Academic activities were brought to a standstill. All levels of education were affected, thereby serving as impediment to research and development efforts. However, r emote learning was encouraged through teleconferencing and social media platforms.

17. In addition, the pandemic affected people's means of livelihood adversely. It threw those that were dependent on daily earnings for survival into hunger and starvation. These set of people included, those involved in buying and selling in local markets, craftsmen and artisans. Other groups that were adversely affected are small-scale agriculture and agro-allied producers and small-scale enterprise employees whose work place have been closed down, due to the lockdown. Many of these people could not earn enough to save for the rainy day, as such they had challenges feeding their families. They needed survival intervention fund and palliatives in order to meet up with their daily obligations.

18. In contrast to the conditions of the people who were self-employed, those in the civil/public or military and paramilitary services were earning their monthly wages, even in the face of dwindling government revenue. There were complaints that those on the payroll of the government were not significant in the population, as such the government of

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countries in Africa were advised to set aside some amount of money for the purchase of palliative in form of staple food items. The governments responded by giving small grants and food items to micro-small-scale businesses, artisans, craftsmen and farmers as palliative measures during the lockdown.

CONCLUSION

19. Covid 19, as a highly infectious respiratory disease was of pandemic proportion. It was initially tagged Corona Virus Disease, when it was first reported in December 2019. It spread to all parts of the world. The high rate of infections and deaths as a result of the disease all over the world made governments to make effort to control its spread. Africa in particular was able to manage and control its spread. However, the disease had its toll on the economic and social wellbeing of people in Africa.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

20. Attempt the following:
    a. Identify and discuss the causes and symptoms of Covid-19 disease.
    b. Explain the trend of Covid 19 spread in Africa.
    c. What are the ways of managing and controlling the spread of Covid-19?
    d. What are the effects of Covid-19 on the socio-economy life in Africa?

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AFGHANISTAN AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF COALITION FORCES

INTRODUCTION

1. The United States of America led coalition troops that went to Afghanistan after the September 11 2001 attack in the United States, had a mission of regime change. The Taliban government was deposed and the Al-Qaeda network hosted by them were weakened. The United States and her allies had a relief and the conviction that their country and that of their allies were safe from attacks by Al-Qaeda. However, two decades later the Taliban recaptured Kabul in a campaign on August 15, 2021. Ashraf Ghani, the President of Afghanistan Islamic Republic went on exile on the eve of the Taliban recapture of Kabul.

2. During the tenure of President Donald Trump in United States, arrangement was concluded on a withdrawal deal with the Taliban. This was in February 2020. 31st May, was fixed as the date for withdrawal. The withdrawal arrangement was to be reciprocated (by the Taliban) in form of assurance that the Taliban would not associate with terrorist grou ps again. President Joe Biden who succeeded President Donald Trump extended the date of the withdrawal to 31st August, 2021. However, there was an outcry that some troops would have been left behind to continue the facilitation of progressive peace agreement. They argued that the risk involved in the total withdrawal of troops was more expensive than leaving troops behind. There were fears of reescalation of terrorist groups and enhancement of their capabilities, should the Taliban return to government. Thi s contention gave defence

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and security analysts, practitioners and policy-makers a knot to crack.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of the training candidates should be able to explain the following.

a. The nature of the wars in Afghanistan
b. Taliban's emergence
c. Coalition forces intervention and withdrawal
d. Implication of coalition troops' withdrawal

THE BACKGROUND OF AFGHANISTAN

4. Afghanistan is a landlocked country in South Central Asia. It has 2670 km of border with Pakistan in its east and southern parts. Tajikistan (1,357 km) Uzbekistan (144km) and Iran(921 km) are borders it in the north. China has a land border of 91 km with it, in the north east. The country is about 650,2230 square kilometers. The highest point is Noshaq (7,492 km), while its lowest point is Amu Darya River basin at Khamyab. which is (258 km). It is multi-ethnic in nature. The country is situated along trade routes that connect Southern and Eastern Asia with Europe and the Middle East. These routes make the country susceptible to competition by ancientimperial powers and modern great powers. The relief of the country comprises of desert and mountains which serve as favorable ground for war campaigns. The nearest coast to thiscountry is about 480 km away, along the Arabian Sea in the south. The population of the country as at 2021 was 33,413,000.

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5. The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan before the takeover of the Taliban in 2021 had two legislative chambers. The boundaries of the country were established in the rivalry between Tsarist Russia and imperial Britain in the late 19th century. Commercial influence and political ideology were responsible for the game of invention and colonial influence.

6. The defunct Soviet Union invaded the country between 1979 and 1989. Subsequently Afghan Communist Regime imposed its rule against Islamic insurgent from 1989 to 1992. The Mujahideen group had a short rule and the Taliban took over and established a theocratic state from 1996 to 2001.The United States led a coalition to depose Mullah MohammedOmar in 2001. The aftermath of the September 11 attack on four targets in the United States made the intelligence community to trace the plane hijackers to activities of Osama bin Laden who was in hiding in Afghanistan. When the United State achieved its aim of regime change, it tried to perfect thevision of entrenching a democratically elected government. In fulfilling this mandate, the anti-Taliban forces (in Afghanistan) had agreements with the United States to have a new constitution that would usher in a democratically elected government and Hamid Kharzai emerged as the democraticallyelected president.

THE TALIBAN'S EMERGENCE

7. The word Taliban has its roots in Arabic word, which is talib, meaning someone who seeks for knowledge. The Taliban as a group emerged in Afghanistan political leadershipin northern Pakistan, when the Soviet Union troops withdrew from the country. The movement was a conglomeration of students from religious oriented schools that had generous

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sponsorship from Saudi Arabia. They proclaimed the Sunni Islam theology, exegesis and Jurisprudence. They promised to restore peace, security and harmony, as against the in-fighting between groups of Mujahideen who were in government after the exit of Russian troops. In 1998 the Tal iban had in their control 90% of territories in Afghanistan, thus, defeating the Mujahideen that resisted the Soviet troops. The Taliban reputation was high and the people respected their sense of morals and love for the people at the initial period. They were able to tackle corruption, lawlessness and created secure and safe environment for commercial activities to flourish throughout the country.

8. Prior to the Taliban control they had struggled to extend their influence in September 1995 to capture Herat and a yearlater Kabul, the capital city. The overwhelmed President Burhanuddin Rabbani's government thereby uprooting the influence of the founding fathers of Mujahideen. Their strugglewas appreciated at the onset. But, as time went by the citizens started noticing their weakness in the use of iron fistin handling citizens.

9. The Taliban had to face international outrage and condemnation when they started implementing their interpretation of Sharia law through public execution of convicted adulterers, murderers and amputation of those convicted of theft. Men were mandated to keep beard and women were made to cover their whole body, while in the public space. They banned television broadcast, cinema and music. Human rights activist and International Non- Governmental Organisations (NGOs) accused them of abuse ofhuman rights of citizens.

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10. When the Taliban took over power, it was Pakistan, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia that recognised their government and they were the last to cut off diplomatic ties with them. after their fall due to American led invasion. These countries cut off diplomatic relationship with Afghan government, after the fall of the Mullah Muhammad Umar led administration was sacked and he went on exile.

11. For the benefit of hind sight, the foreign policy of the United States towards Afghanistan changed when the allege mastermind of September 11, attack (Osama bin Laden) was eliminated by the American forces in Pakistan. They (the US government) felt that their mission in Afghanistan had been accomplished as such they were supposed to withdraw from the country (Afghanistan).

12. The Taliban took refuge in Pakistan, according to reports. They at one point, almost distabilized the northwest of Pakistan. One of their prominent attacks that called for international outcry was their attack on Malala Yousafzai (a schoolgirl) in Mingora, her hometown. An assailant shot at herwith a gun. The Taliban also took refuge in a city called Quetta Shura, but the Pakistani government denied it. It was from their base in Pakistan that they were launching attack on North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) base camp Bastion. The even raided the base.

13. The United States in its move to withdraw its troop from Afghanistan made effort at signing peace accord. The peace accord between the United States and Taliban was signed in February 2020. This made the Taliban to change their tactics away from military outpost of the coalition forces attack to targets in the city, towards the civilians. They targeted judges,

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women in the Afghanistan government, journalist and human rights activities.

14. The declaration by The United States' President on the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan strengthened the Taliban in their campaign to recapture more cities. Within 10 days of the withdrawal of American forces, the Taliban took over the reins of power in Kabul on 15th August, 2021. Many citizens fled as the Taliban forces advance.

15. MAJOR DECISIONS OF THE COALITION IN AFGHANISTAN

Activity	Date
Operation Enduring Freedom	October 2001
United Nations' Authorised International Security Assistance Force	December 2001
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) assume ISAF command	August 2003
ISAF mandate was strengthened	June 2006
Counter-insurgency Operation commenced	2009
Three-year transition timetable for Afghan-led Security Operations began	2011 to 2014
United Kingdom rounded up its Combat operation	October 2014
The withdrawal of ISAF and Combat operation	December 2014
The Afghan forces took over security responsibilities by NATO support mission	1st January 2015
The Taliban and the United States agreed on peace accord	` February 2020
Withdrawal plan by the United States was	April 2021

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announced	
Withdrawal of coalition forces	1st may 2021

THE SPILL OVER EFFECT OF COALITION FORCES WITHDRAWAL AND TALIBAN RETURN

16. The major implication of the America led coalition forces withdrawal is the challenge of human right abuse. The Taliban were accused of human rights abuses while in government in the past. There were allegations that they interpreted the Sharia in accordance with their own strict doctrines. The doctrines were not in consonance with the United Nations Convention on Human Rights. The rights being abused by the Taliban are right to life, freedom of speech and freedom of movement. The Taliban denied both men and women these right. In addition, women are confined to their home underthe present Taliban strict interpretation of Sharia Law.

17. The America led Coalition forces withdrawal has also led to the challenges of insecurity in the region. The Taliban are linked to terrorist groups due to their activities in Pakistan and Afghanistan. They have groups that have sustained attacks on the coalition forces and those in the regimes before their takeover. Their attitude and style could not be different, within a short-while of their takeover. Groups that share the same ideology with them could use the country as safe corridor for terrorist activities. Their takeover is having spillover effect on security and stability in the region.

18. There was outcry on humanitarian crisis during the takeover by the Taliban. Most international NGOs were scared of the military campaign by the Taliban before their recapture of Kabul, as such those fleeing the war torn areas were no

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longer getting the humanitarian interventions being rendered by these NGOs. At present, humanitarian NGOs are very few in the present day Afghanistan, even in the wake of humanitarian crisis created by the war the Taliban.

19. Citizens of Afghanistan and foreigners were fleeing the country (Afghanistan) as a result of the America led coalition forces withdrawal and the eventual recapture of Kabul by the Taliban. The neighboring countries had to allow them seek refuge in their countries. The number of refugees became explosive, as such, beyond the carrying capacity of the neighbours. The challenge of managing the refugees got to a crisis proportion. The region now has refugee crisis. This is another spillover effect of the Taliban return

20. Retribution on the part of the Taliban is another major implication of the withdrawal of the America led coalition forces and the eventual recapture of Kabul by the Taliban. Those in the Deposed government of President Ashraf Ghani were the target for elimination by the Taliban forces. The Taliban knew their adversaries and were all out to hunt them down for their role in collaboration with foreign forces that wagged war against them. Some of these set of people were seen in the Kabul Airport, just before final withdrawal of the coalition forces and the advancement of the Taliban. Some people, out of desperation to leave Kabul on the final flight before the Taliban recapture of Kabul stood on top of the airplane before it took off and they fell down and died. They preferred to die than face the torture of the Taliban soldiers.

CONCLUSION

21. The United States of America led troops that went to Afghanistan after the September 11 2001 was able to accomplish its objective of regime change, incapacitated Al-Qaeda from further attacking the United States and her allies

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and the assassinated the allege mastermind of the September 11 attack on the United States. They were able to control the pace of terrorism as at then. They realised they should not be spending so much time and funds any longer, as such made their plan to pull out. However, the two decades spent in Afghanistan did not prevent the Taliban from the recapture of Kabul in a campaign on August 15 2021.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

22. Attempt the following:
    a. Discuss the background of Afghanistan crisis.
    b. Explain how Taliban emerged.
    c. Discuss the phases in Coalition forcesintervention and withdrawal.
    d. Explain the consequences of coalition forces withdrawal.

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GREAT POWERS COMPETITION; US - CHINA TRADE WAR

INTRODUCTION

1. Great powers competition refers to the geopolitical rivalry among the world's most influential nations for dominance in various spheres, including economics, military and technology. In the twenty-first century, the escalating rivalry between the United States and China stands out, particularly regarding their trade relations, which serve as a lens to understand this dynamic. As both nations assert their influence globally, their interdependence and competition complexities come to the forefront.

2. The US-China trade relationship reflects broader economic rivalry and national security themes. As the two largest economies, their interactions significantly impact global markets and supply chains. Rising tensions over tariffs, trade imbalances and intellectual property rights have led to a trade war that highlights more profound ideological differences. This ongoing competition has far-reaching implications for global economic governance and international relations, emphasising the importance of understanding their evolving relationship.

BACKGROUND TO US-CHINA RELATIONS

3. The relationship between the United States and China has evolved significantly since the late 20th century, marked by a transition from hostility to engagement and now to a complex rivalry. Diplomatic relations were officially normalised in 1979, a pivotal moment that opened the door to increased trade and cooperation. This development coincided with China’s economic reforms under Deng Xiaoping, which prioritised market-oriented policies and foreign investment. These reforms led to rapid industrialisation, positioning China as a central global manufacturing hub.

4. Over the past few decades, China has ascended to become the second-largest economy in the world, posing a direct challenge to US economic hegemony. The growth of China’s economy has been fuelled by a unique blend of state-led capitalism, significant exports and technological advancements. However, this rise has not been without tension. The US has expressed concerns over various issues, including

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unfair trade practices, intellectual property theft and state subsidies that distort competition. As a result, the economic partnership has increasingly been viewed through the lens of competition, raising questions about the sustainability of their trade relationship.

5. Recognizing the shifting dynamics and China's growing influence on the global stage, the United States has sought to rebalance its strategic interests towards Asia. The "Pivot to Asia" strategy, initiated during President Barack Obama's administration, was designed to enhance US diplomatic, economic and military presence in the Asia-Pacific region. This strategy aimed to counterbalance China's rise and included increased military cooperation with regional allies, participation in trade agreements such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and greater engagement in multilateral institutions. However, with the withdrawal from the TPP and rising protectionist sentiments, the effectiveness of this strategy has come under scrutiny.

KEY AREAS OF US-CHINA TRADE RELATIONS

6. US-China trade relations encompass several vital areas that significantly impact the global economy, reflecting both cooperation and competition between the two nations. These areas are briefly discussed below:

a. **Trade Imbalance**. For many years, the US has maintained a significant trade deficit with China, meaning the US imports more from China than it exports. This trade imbalance, amounting to hundreds of billions of dollars, has been a significant source of tension. US policymakers criticise China for unfair trade practices, including currency manipulation and market restrictions on US companies.

b. **Manufacturing and Supply Chains**. China is a global manufacturing hub, producing goods ranging from electronics to textiles. Many US companies have outsourced manufacturing to China due to its lower labour costs and efficient supply chains. However, this has made the US heavily dependent on Chinese goods, a dependency that became particularly evident during the COVID-19 pandemic.

c. **Technology and Innovation**. One of the most

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contentious areas of US-China trade relations is technology. The US accuses China of committing intellectual property theft and forcing technology transfers from US companies operating in China. Chinese firms like Huawei and ZTE have also been accused of posing national security threats due to their alleged ties to the Chinese government. The US has responded by restricting access to American technology and imposing sanctions on Chinese tech companies.

d. **Tariffs and Trade War**. Under President Donald Trump, tensions escalated into a full-blown trade war. In 2018, the US imposed tariffs on billions of dollars' worth of Chinese goods, accusing China of unfair trade practices, intellectual property theft and subsidies to state-owned enterprises. China retaliated against US goods by tariffs, affecting the agriculture, manufacturing, and electronics industries. The trade war resulted in a Phase One trade deal in 2020, which aimed to reduce tariffs and address some US concerns, though many issues remained unresolved.

e. **Financial Decoupling**. There is increasing talk of economic decoupling between the US and China, with both countries seeking to reduce their dependence on each other. The US has tightened regulations on Chinese companies listed on American stock exchanges and has pressured allies to reduce their reliance on Chinese technology. On the other hand, China has sought to build domestic capabilities in key sectors like semiconductors and artificial intelligence to become less reliant on the US and Western countries.

STRATEGIC AND GEOPOLITICAL DIMENSIONS

7. US-China relations' strategic and geopolitical dimensions are crucial in shaping global power dynamics and influencing international policies. Several vital aspects highlight the complexities of this relationship:

a. **Belt and Road Initiative**. China's Belt and Road Initiative is an ambitious infrastructure and investment program to strengthen trade and economic links across Asia, Europe and Africa. The United States perceives the BRI as a strategy by China

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to expand its geopolitical influence by creating economic dependencies in participating countries. This concern has raised alarms about China's intentions to reshape the global order and assert its dominance on the world stage.

b. **Indo-Pacific Strategy**. In response to China's growing assertiveness, the United States has focused on enhancing alliances and partnerships throughout the Indo-Pacific region. Key alliances, such as the Quad, which comprises the US, Japan, Australia, and India, aim to counterbalance China's influence, particularly in critical areas like maritime security and vital trade routes.

c. **Taiwan and South China Sea**. The geopolitical tensions between the US and China extend beyond economic competition. The US has actively supported Taiwan and other regional allies, including Japan and the Philippines, in resisting China's territorial claims in the South China Sea. This region is essential not only as a significant trade route but also as a potential flashpoint in US-China relations, with both nations conducting military exercises and enhancing their military presence in the area, thereby escalating tensions.

d. **Technology and AI Race**. The competition between the US and China also encompasses advancements in cutting-edge technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI), 5G networks and quantum computing. Both nations view leadership in these areas as critical to securing economic and military advantages. In response, the US has implemented measures to limit China's access to advanced semiconductor technologies, while China is making significant investments to achieve self-reliance in technological innovation, aiming to solidify its competitive edge.

EFFECT ON GLOBAL ECONOMY

8. The effects of the US-China trade war are numerous. Some are discussed below:

a. **Impact on Emerging Markets**. Emerging economies in regions such as Asia, Africa and Latin America are in a precarious position amid US-China rivalry. While these nations benefit from Chinese investments, mainly through initiatives like

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the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), they risk alienating the US if they align too closely with China. Many countries strive to navigate this delicate balance, fostering positive relations with both superpowers while safeguarding their economic interests.

b. **Financial Markets and Investment**. The ongoing competition has introduced uncertainty into global financial markets. US sanctions on Chinese companies and trade restrictions have resulted in stock market volatility and commodity price fluctuations. Additionally, the potential decoupling of the US and Chinese economies raises the prospect of competing financial systems. China actively promotes its digital yuan as an alternative to the US dollar in global trade. This shift could reshape the landscape of international finance and trade.

c. **Innovation and Technology Supply Chains**. Restrictions on technology transfers and sanctions against Chinese tech firms have led to the fragmentation of global technology supply chains. Companies in the US, Europe and Japan are re-evaluating their partnerships with Chinese enterprises, particularly in critical sectors such as semiconductors, software and telecommunications. This situation raises concerns about technological fragmentation and the potential for increased costs and inefficiencies in global supply chains.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE US-CHINA TRADE RELATIONS

9. The trade rivalry between the United States and China is not merely an economic dispute but a broader global leadership contest. This competition has significant implications for the international order, outlined as follows:

a. **Global Leadership Competition**. The trade conflict underscores a fundamental struggle for global influence. The United States aims to preserve its status as the world's dominant power, while China seeks to reshape global institutions to reflect its rising stature. This contest is particularly evident in international organisations, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations, where both powers vie for control and influence over global norms and regulations.

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b. **Impact on Multilateralism**. The US-China trade dispute has revealed vulnerabilities within the multilateral trading system. Although both nations remain part of organisations like the WTO, they have increasingly turned to bilateral or regional trade agreements to advance their respective interests. This trend could undermine the efficacy of global trade governance, leading to a fragmented and less cohesive world trade system that may favour larger economies over smaller nations.

c. **Environmental and Technological Decoupling**. As the 2 countries compete for technological supremacy, there is a risk of diverging global standards for emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence and clean energy. For instance, the US and its allies may establish one set of standards for technologies like 5G, while China and its partners adopt contrasting frameworks. This technological decoupling may impede international collaboration on crucial global challenges, including climate change and cybersecurity.

d. **Long-term Strategic Competition**. The rivalry between the US and China is poised to evolve into a prolonged strategic contest. Both nations are preparing for a future characterised by competition not only in trade but also in military, technological and ideological domains. This enduring competition will influence the global balance of power for decades, shaping global governance, economic development and security dynamics.

CONCLUSION

10. The evolving relationship between the United States and China has transitioned from cooperation to rivalry, marked by significant economic, political and strategic dimensions. The normalisation of diplomatic relations in 1979 set the stage for a complex interplay of trade and investment, making China a central player in the global economy. However, as China's economic power surges, tensions have also arisen over trade imbalances, technological competition, and geopolitical ambitions. This competition reshapes bilateral ties and redefines the

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global financial landscape, affecting emerging markets and international supply chains.

11. The implications of the US-China trade rivalry extend far beyond their borders, influencing global governance and international stability. As both nations strive for leadership on the world stage, they are challenging existing multilateral frameworks and introducing fragmentation into the global trading system. This strategic competition poses risks of technological decoupling and conflicting standards, potentially hindering collaborative efforts to tackle pressing global issues such as climate change and cybersecurity. Consequently, the US-China relationship will remain a pivotal factor in determining the future trajectory of international relations and global economic stability.

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THE MIDDLE EAST CRISES

INTRODUCTION

1. The Middle East has long been marked by persistent political, social and military instability, shaped by a complex interplay of conflicts, authoritarian governance, sectarian strife and external interventions. Its strategic significance, underscored by vast oil reserves and critical geopolitical positioning, has rendered the area a focal point for global powers seeking influence and control. This intricate web of instability affects the nations within the region and reverberates across the globe.

2. The consequences of instability in the Middle East are far-reaching, impacting global security, economies and humanitarian conditions. Economic repercussions are felt through fluctuating oil prices and disrupted trade routes, while the region's crises have given rise to significant refugee flows and humanitarian emergencies. Furthermore, the spread of terrorism and extremist ideologies has further complicated efforts for peace and stability, posing a challenge to both regional and international security. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for addressing the ongoing challenges faced by the Middle East and the global community.

BACKGROUND TO MIDDLE EAST INSTABILITY

3. The Middle East was primarily shaped by the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), a secret arrangement between Britain and France during World War I to divide Ottoman territories. The borders drawn by colonial powers often ignored ethnic, tribal and sectarian divisions, contributing to future tensions. After World War II, as colonial powers withdrew, many Middle Eastern nations gained independence but were left with weak governance structures, making them vulnerable to internal conflicts and external manipulation.

4. The establishment of Israel in 1948 led to a series of wars with neighbouring Arab countries, as well as the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This has been one of the central sources of instability in the region. The 6-Day War (1967), the Yom Kippur War (1973), and subsequent peace agreements like the Camp David Accords (1978) reshaped the region's political dynamics. Still, tensions between Israel and its neighbours persist to this day, with the Palestinian question

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remaining unresolved.

5. During the Cold War, the Middle East became a theatre for US-Soviet rivalry. The US and the Soviet Union backed different regimes and groups, further destabilising the region. The Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) and the Soviet-Afghan War (1979–1989) exemplify how superpower competition fuelled conflicts in the Middle East.

6. Many Middle Eastern countries, such as Iraq under Saddam Hussein, Libya under Muammar Gaddafi and Syria under the Assad family, were ruled by authoritarian leaders who maintained power through repression, often fuelling internal unrest and exacerbating sectarian divisions. The Syrian conflict has also been a drive for conflict in the region. Sectarianism, particularly between Sunni and Shia Muslims, has been a major primary driver. This division is most prominently seen in the rivalry between Saudi Arabia (Sunni-majority) and Iran (Shia-majority), which manifests through proxy wars in countries like Yemen, Syria and Iraq.

7. The US invasion of Iraq (2003), aimed at toppling Saddam Hussein and eliminating weapons of mass destruction (which were never found), led to the destabilisation of Iraq, the rise of insurgent groups and eventually the formation of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). Additionally, the Afghanistan War (2001–2021), initiated after the 9/11 attacks to dismantle the Taliban and al-Qaeda, led to 2 decades of instability in Afghanistan, with the Taliban ultimately regaining control in 2021.

8. Beginning in 2010, a series of pro-democracy uprisings known as the Arab Spring spread across the Middle East and North Africa. While some countries, like Tunisia, saw significant political change, many others, such as Syria and Libya, descended into civil wars or experienced crackdowns on protesters, leading to further instability.

IMPLICATIONS OF MIDDLE EAST INSTABILITY

9. The Middle East instability has several implications. Some of the implications are discussed below:

a. **Humanitarian Crisis**. The instability has created one of the worst humanitarian crises in modern history. The Syrian Civil War alone has displaced over 12 million people, with many fleeing

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to neighbouring countries like Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey or attempting dangerous journeys to Europe. Similarly, the Yemen conflict has left millions on the brink of famine, with widespread disease outbreaks such as cholera. Refugee flows from the Middle East have overwhelmed host countries and contributed to political and social tensions, particularly in Europe, where the influx of refugees has influenced political discourse and elections.

b. **Terrorism and Extremism**. The power vacuums created by conflicts in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen have allowed extremist groups like ISIS, al-Qaeda and local affiliates to flourish. These groups have carried out attacks both within the region and globally, spreading instability far beyond the Middle East. The spread of extremist ideologies has also fuelled home-grown terrorism in Western countries, with individuals inspired by groups like ISIS carrying out attacks in Europe, the US and elsewhere.

c. **Nuclear Proliferation Concerns**. Iran's nuclear programme is a significant source of instability and a major concern for global security. The 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), or the Iran nuclear deal, aimed to prevent Iran from developing atomic weapons, but the US withdrawal from the agreement in 2018 under President Donald Trump has led to renewed tensions and fears of nuclear proliferation in the region. Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states have expressed concerns that Iran's nuclear ambitions could lead to an arms race in the Middle East.

d. **Energy Security**. The Middle East is home to many of the world's oil and natural gas reserves, making its stability crucial for global energy markets. Instability in the region can lead to disruptions in oil production and transportation, contributing to volatility in global energy prices. Events like the 2019 attack on Saudi oil facilities and the threat of closures of strategic waterways like the Strait of Hormuz highlight the risks to global energy security stemming from regional conflicts.

e. **Economic Impact**. Instability in the Middle East directly and indirectly affects the global economy. Rising energy prices due to conflicts can trigger inflation and slow economic

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growth worldwide. Additionally, countries hosting large numbers of refugees, such as Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey, face significant financial burdens, while countries in Europe have seen social services strained by refugee inflows.

f. **Global Military Involvement**. Many global powers, including the United States, Russia, France and the United Kingdom, have military forces or conduct operations in the Middle East. US involvement has been particularly extensive, with military bases across the region and interventions in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Libya. Russian involvement, particularly in Syria, has significantly altered the dynamics of the Syrian Civil War and restored Russia's influence in the region. The presence of multiple foreign militaries raises the risk of great power conflict, particularly in crowded theatres like Syria.

CONCLUSION

10. The ongoing instability in the Middle East results from complex historical, political and socio-economic factors, including colonial legacies, authoritarian governance and deep-rooted sectarian divisions. This volatility has led to conflicts such as the Israeli-Palestinian struggle, civil wars in Syria and Libya and the war in Yemen, resulting in significant humanitarian crises and massive displacement. The rise of extremist groups further complicates efforts for peace, with implications for both regional and global security.

11. As global powers pursue their interests in the region, the effects of this instability are profound, impacting humanitarian efforts, energy security and economic stability. The humanitarian toll is staggering, with millions in need of assistance, while concerns over nuclear proliferation and terrorism pose ongoing threats. Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive solutions that tackle the root causes of instability and foster a more secure and peaceful future for the Middle East.

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CLIMATE CHANGE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

INTRODUCTION

1. Climate change encompasses the long-term alterations in temperature, precipitation, wind patterns, and other elements of the Earth's climate system. Primarily driven by human activities such as the burning of fossil fuels, coal, oil, and gas and widespread deforestation, these changes have significant implications for the planet's ecosystems and human societies.

2. The combustion of these fossil fuels releases Greenhouse Gases (GHGs) like Carbon Dioxide (CO2), Methane (CH4), and Nitrogen Oxide (N2O) into the atmosphere. These gases trap heat in the Earth's atmosphere through the greenhouse effect, resulting in global warming and contributing to extreme weather events, rising sea levels, and shifts in agricultural productivity. Understanding these processes is critical for addressing the ongoing impacts of climate change and developing effective mitigation strategies.

CAUSES OF CLIMATE CHANGE

3. The key drivers of climate change can be attributed to several interconnected human activities that significantly contribute to the accumulation of GHGs in the atmosphere. Below are some causes of climate change:

a. **Burning of Fossil Fuels**. The combustion of fossil fuels for energy production, transportation, and industrial processes is the largest source of CO2 emissions. As economies industrialised, reliance on coal, oil, and natural gas intensified, leading to a dramatic increase in GHG concentrations, which are primarily responsible for global warming.

b. **Deforestation**. Forests serve as vital carbon sinks, absorbing substantial amounts of CO2 from the atmosphere. However, deforestation, particularly in critical ecosystems like the Amazon rainforest, releases vast quantities of CO2 and diminishes the Earth's capacity to absorb greenhouse gases. This not only exacerbates climate change but also threatens biodiversity.

c. **Agriculture**. Agriculture plays a significant role in

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climate change through CH4 emissions from livestock, particularly cows and sheep and N2O emissions from fertilizer use. Additionally, intensive farming practices can lead to land degradation and deforestation.

d. **Industrial Processes**. Various industrial activities, including cement production, steel manufacturing and chemical processes, contribute substantially to GHG emissions. These industries are responsible for a significant share of anthropogenic emissions, underscoring the need for sustainable practices in manufacturing.

e. **Waste Management**. Landfills generate CH4 as organic materials decompose, mainly when not managed properly. Moreover, the rising issue of plastic pollution contributes to greenhouse gas emissions and contributes to significant environmental degradation, highlighting the urgent need for better waste management strategies.

EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

4. The impacts of climate change are widespread and multifaceted, posing significant threats to the environment, human health and global stability. Some of the effects are enumerated below:

a. **Rising Global Temperatures**. The Earth's average temperature has increased by approximately 1.1°C since the late 19th century, with the most significant warming occurring in recent decades. This rise in temperature leads to more frequent and severe heatwaves, which can devastate human health, agriculture and natural ecosystems.

b. **Melting Ice and Rising Sea Levels**. The accelerated melting of polar ice caps and glaciers is contributing to rising sea levels, threatening coastal communities with flooding and erosion. Small island nations and cities like Venice and Miami are particularly vulnerable to these changes, facing the imminent risk of submersion and loss of habitat.

c. **Extreme Weather Events**. Climate change is linked to an increase in the frequency and intensity of extreme weather events such as hurricanes, typhoons, droughts, floods and

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wildfires. These disasters not only cause immense destruction to ecosystems and infrastructure but also result in the loss of human lives and livelihoods.

d. **Ocean Acidification**. As oceans absorb approximately 25% of CO2 emissions, they are experiencing acidification, which adversely affects marine ecosystems, particularly coral reefs. This process disrupts the food chain and threatens species that rely on these habitats for survival.

e. **Biodiversity Loss**. Climate change accelerates the loss of biodiversity by altering ecosystems and disrupting species migration patterns. Many species are pushed toward extinction as their habitats change more rapidly than they can adapt, resulting in decreased genetic diversity and ecosystem resilience.

f. **Impact on Agriculture and Food Security**. Fluctuations in temperature and precipitation patterns directly affect crop yields, leading to potential food shortages. Regions reliant on rain-fed agriculture, particularly in developing countries, are especially susceptible to these changes, heightening the risk of hunger and malnutrition.

g. **Health Impacts**. Rising temperatures increase heat-related illnesses and the spread of vector-borne diseases such as malaria and dengue fever. Additionally, worsening air quality exacerbates respiratory conditions, posing significant health risks to vulnerable populations.

INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE AGREEMENTS

5. Several international agreements have been established to address climate change and promote global cooperation in mitigating its impacts:

a. **United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change**. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The UNFCCC was adopted in 1992 at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. It provides the foundation for international efforts to combat climate change and sets out the basic framework for negotiating more specific agreements to reduce GHG emissions.

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b. **Kyoto Protocol (1997)**. The Kyoto Protocol was the first legally binding international treaty to reduce GHG emissions. Developed countries committed to reducing their emissions, while specific targets did not bind developing countries. However, its effectiveness could have been improved due to the withdrawal of major emitters like the United States.

c. **Paris Agreement (2015)**. The Paris Agreement is the most significant international treaty on climate change to date. Its central aim is to limit global warming to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels, with efforts to restrict it to 1.5°C. Under the agreement, countries submit Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), which outline their climate actions and targets. The Paris Agreement operates on a system of transparency and review, but there are no legally binding penalties for failing to meet targets.

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES AT THE GLOBAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS

6. Several policies have been put in place to regulate climate change. These policies were enacted both at national and international levels. Some of these policies are discussed below:

a. **Carbon Pricing**. Carbon pricing is a market-based strategy to reduce GHG emissions by putting a price on carbon. It includes carbon taxes, where companies pay for each ton of CO2 they emit and cap-and-trade systems, where governments set emission limits and allow businesses to buy and sell allowances for emissions. Countries like Sweden, Canada and Germany have implemented carbon taxes, while regions like the European Union have adopted cap-and-trade systems (the EU Emissions Trading System).

b. **Renewable Energy Policies**. Governments are incentivising the shift to renewable energy sources like solar, wind and hydropower. Policies include subsidies, tax credits, and renewable energy targets. Countries like Germany and Denmark are pioneers in renewable energy integration. The falling cost of renewables, especially solar and wind power, has made them competitive with fossil fuels, accelerating their

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adoption worldwide.

c. **Green New Deal**. The Green New Deal refers to a set of policies aimed at addressing climate change while creating jobs and reducing inequality. It has been proposed in various forms, most notably in the United States, where advocates propose massive investments in green infrastructure, renewable energy and energy efficiency while phasing out fossil fuels.

d. **Regulation of Emissions**. Countries are adopting emission standards for vehicles, industries and power plants. For instance, the European Union has stringent CO2 emission limits for cars, aiming to phase out internal combustion engines in the coming decades. Many countries also set net-zero targets, pledging to eliminate or offset their carbon emissions by a specified date. For example, the United Kingdom aims for net-zero emissions by 2050 and China has set a target for 2060.

e. **Environmental Conservation Policies**. Conservation policies are critical to protecting biodiversity and mitigating climate change. Initiatives like reforestation, habitat protection and the creation of marine protected areas help preserve natural ecosystems and enhance their ability to sequester carbon. Programs like the Bonn Challenge aim to restore 350 million hectares of deforested and degraded land by 2030.

CHALLENGES IN ADDRESSING CLIMATE CHANGE

7. There are several challenges encountered in attempting to address the effects of climate change. These include the following:

a. **Political and Economic Barriers**. Despite widespread scientific consensus, climate change policies often face opposition from fossil fuel industries, political lobbies, and governments that prioritise economic growth over environmental protection. Many countries, particularly developing nations, argue that they must continue using fossil fuels to alleviate poverty and achieve financial growth, raising questions about fairness and responsibility in climate action.

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b. **International Cooperation**. Although climate change is a global problem, differing national interests often hamper international cooperation. Wealthier countries have historically contributed the most to GHG emissions, but poorer countries, which are the most vulnerable to climate impacts, usually lack the resources to adapt. The principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" emphasises that developed nations should take the lead in reducing emissions while providing financial and technical support to developing countries.

c. **Financial Constraints**. Transitioning to a low-carbon economy requires significant investment in renewable energy, infrastructure and adaptation measures. The Green Climate Fund (GCF), established under the UNFCCC, aims to mobilise $100 billion annually by 2020 to support developing countries' climate efforts. However, this goal has not yet been fully met.

d. **Technological Limitations**. Although renewable energy technologies have made tremendous progress, there are still challenges related to energy storage, grid integration and scalability. Developing technologies like Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) are promising but not widely implemented.

e. **Adaptation and Mitigation**. Adaptation involves preparing for the impacts of climate change, such as building resilient infrastructure, developing drought-resistant crops and managing water resources. However, many countries, particularly in the Global South, lack the resources to adapt effectively. Mitigation involves reducing or preventing GHG emissions, such as transitioning to renewable energy, improving energy efficiency and reforestation. Balancing adaptation and mitigation efforts is a significant challenge, as both require considerable resources and political will.

CONCLUSION

8. The causes and effects of climate change present a complex web of challenges that humanity must address urgently. Human activities, such as burning fossil fuels, deforestation, industrial processes and unsustainable agricultural practices, have significantly contributed to the

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accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. These emissions have many consequences, including rising global temperatures, extreme weather events, melting ice caps and biodiversity loss. The far-reaching impacts threaten ecosystems, human health, food security and overall global stability, underscoring the urgent need for practical solutions.

9. International cooperation through agreements like the Paris Agreement and national policies promoting renewable energy and carbon pricing are essential to combat climate change effectively. However, political resistance, financial constraints and the need for technological advancements complicate these efforts. To make meaningful progress, fostering collaboration among nations, prioritising sustainable practices and investing in innovative solutions that balance mitigation and adaptation strategies is crucial. Only through collective action can we hope to mitigate the adverse effects of climate change and secure a sustainable future for generations to come.

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CYBERSECURITY AND INFORMATION WARFARE

INTRODUCTION

1. Cybersecurity is safeguarding systems, networks and programs from digital threats, which have become increasingly prevalent in today's interconnected world. Cyberattacks are designed to compromise digital assets by accessing, altering, or destroying sensitive information, disrupting services, or extorting users. Protecting against these attacks requires a comprehensive approach involving a combination of technologies, processes and best practices to defend against potential vulnerabilities.

2. As the scope and sophistication of cyberattacks continue to evolve, cybersecurity has become a critical field that spans various sectors, from government and finance to healthcare and defence. Responding to these threats, cybersecurity measures are constantly being developed and refined to protect digital infrastructure, data, and user privacy. This paper will explore the common types of cyber threats and critical concepts in cybersecurity designed to prevent or mitigate such attacks.

TYPES OF CYBERSECURITY THREATS

3. In today's digital landscape, various cybersecurity threats pose significant risks to systems and networks. Some of the most common threats include:

a. **Malware**. Malware is a term for malicious software that includes viruses, worms, Trojans and ransomware. These types of software infiltrate systems, often without user knowledge, to cause damage, steal data, or disrupt normal operations. Malware can enter a system through infected files, email attachments, or unsafe websites and may corrupt files, steal sensitive information, or encrypt data for ransom (as seen in ransomware attacks).

b. **Phishing**. Phishing is a form of social engineering where attackers deceive users into revealing personal information such as passwords, credit card details, or social security numbers. This is typically done through fake emails or websites designed

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to appear legitimate. For instance, an attacker might send an email pretending to be from a trusted bank, requesting the user to input sensitive information on a fraudulent website.

c. **Denial of Service (DoS) and Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) Attacks**. DoS and DDoS attacks aim to overwhelm a network, service, or website by flooding it with excessive traffic, rendering it unavailable to legitimate users. While a DoS attack originates from a single source, a DDoS attack involves multiple sources (often compromised systems) targeting the same victim, making stopping more difficult. These attacks can cause significant downtime and financial loss to businesses.

d. **Man-in-the-Middle (MitM) Attacks**. In a Man-in-the-Middle (MitM) attack, an attacker secretly intercepts and potentially alters communication between two parties, such as between a user and a website. The attacker can steal sensitive information or manipulate the data being exchanged. For example, an attacker could intercept login credentials sent from a user's device to a website during an insecure connection.

e. **SQL Injection**. SQL injection occurs when an attacker inserts malicious code into a query sent to a database. It typically exploits vulnerable web applications to gain unauthorised access to the database, allowing the attacker to view, manipulate, or delete data. This is particularly dangerous for websites that store sensitive user information, such as financial data or personal details.

KEY CONCEPTS IN CYBERSECURITY

4. Several preventive measures and technologies are essential to defend against the diverse array of cybersecurity threats. These key concepts include the following:

a. **Encryption**. Encryption is the process of converting data into a coded format that is unreadable to unauthorised users. Only those with the correct decryption key can access the original information when data is encrypted. Encryption is widely used to protect sensitive data, such as financial transactions or confidential communication, ensuring that the information

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remains secure even if intercepted.

b. **Firewall**. A firewall is a security system that monitors and controls incoming and outgoing network traffic. It is a barrier between a trusted internal network and untrusted external networks (such as the Internet). By establishing predetermined security rules, a firewall can block or allow traffic based on its assessment of potential risks, helping to prevent unauthorised access or cyberattacks.

c. **Antivirus/Anti-malware**. Antivirus and anti-malware software are essential tools for detecting, preventing and removing harmful programs from systems. These tools scan for known malware and viruses, identifying suspicious files and processes. Regular updates are necessary to ensure the software remains effective against newly developed threats, helping users protect their systems from infections.

d. **Two-Factor Authentication**. Two-factor authentication adds an extra layer of security to user accounts by requiring two verification forms. Typically, this involves something the user knows (like a password) and something the user has (like a code sent to their phone). Even if a password is compromised, the second factor provides an additional safeguard, making it much harder for unauthorised users to gain access to an account.

TYPES OF CYBERSECURITY

5. Cybersecurity is categorised based on the point of application of the security measures. Some of these measures are discussed below:

a. **Network Security.** Network security involves protecting networks' infrastructure and data integrity by preventing unauthorised access and cyberattacks. This is achieved through firewalls, encryption and intrusion detection systems to monitor and control network traffic. A robust network security system ensures that sensitive data is safeguarded while maintaining uninterrupted access for legitimate users.

b. **Application Security**. Application security ensures that software is designed and maintained with robust defenses against threats. This involves detecting and remediating vulnerabilities in

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both the development and deployment phases. Secure coding practices, regular software updates, and security testing are key to reducing the risk of application-based attacks like SQL injections or malware infections.

c. **Information Security**. Information security focuses on protecting data's confidentiality, integrity and availability, whether stored on devices or transmitted over networks. Encryption, access controls and proper data management protocols are vital to preventing unauthorised access and data breaches. Protecting sensitive information helps organisations comply with privacy regulations and avoid the financial and reputational damage caused by breaches.

d. **Cloud Security**. Cloud security refers to the policies, technologies, and controls that protect data, applications, and services hosted in the cloud. Since cloud environments are accessible over the Internet, they face unique vulnerabilities that require secure configurations, encryption, and regular monitoring. Adequate cloud security ensures that sensitive data is not compromised, even in distributed environments.

e. **Endpoint Security**. Endpoint security focuses on securing individual devices such as computers, mobile phones and other hardware that connect to a network. As endpoints are often the first line of attack, protecting them from malware, phishing and other threats is crucial. Endpoint security measures include antivirus software, encryption and device monitoring, ensuring that each device connected to a network is secure.

MAJOR CYBERATTACKS AND DATA BREACHES

6. Several major cyberattacks have caused widespread disruption and data loss. Some major cyberattacks are discussed below:

a. **WannaCry Ransomware Attack (2017)**. The WannaCry attack exploited a vulnerability in Microsoft Windows, affecting over 230,000 computers in 150 countries. The ransomware encrypted files on infected computers, demanding

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payment for decryption. The attack crippled businesses, hospitals and government agencies globally, highlighting the severe impact of ransomware.

b. **SolarWinds Hack (2020)**. The SolarWinds hack was a sophisticated supply chain attack in which hackers inserted malicious code into widely-used IT management software. This breach, attributed to a Russian hacking group, infiltrated thousands of organisations, including US government agencies, compromising sensitive data. The attack demonstrated the risks associated with third-party software vulnerabilities.

c. **Equifax Data Breach (2017)**. One of the most severe breaches in history, the Equifax hack exposed the personal information of over 145 million individuals, including social security numbers, addresses and financial records. The breach occurred due to a failure to patch a known vulnerability, leading to significant legal and economic repercussions for the company. The breach also underscored the critical importance of timely software updates.

d. **Yahoo Data Breaches (2013-2014)**. Yahoo suffered two massive data breaches that exposed the personal data of all 3 billion user accounts. These breaches compromised email addresses, passwords and security questions, causing long-term damage to the company's reputation. The Yahoo breach remains one of the largest in history, highlighting the risks of weak password management and inadequate security protocols.

CYBERSECURITY BEST PRACTICES

7. Organizations and individuals can implement the following cybersecurity best practices to safeguard against cyberattacks:

a. **Regular Software Updates**. Keeping operating systems, software and applications up to date is crucial in preventing cyberattacks that exploit known vulnerabilities. Developers frequently release patches to fix security flaws, and

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failure to update them can expose systems to threats. Regular updates ensure that devices are fortified against newly discovered weaknesses.

b. **Strong Passwords**. Complex passwords that combine letters, numbers, and special characters are essential for account security. Passwords should be changed periodically and used sparingly across different platforms. Implementing multi-factor authentication (MFA) further enhances security by requiring users to verify their identity with multiple credentials.

c. **Data Backups**. Regularly backing up critical data ensures that in the event of a cyberattack, such as ransomware, data can be recovered without paying a ransom or losing important information. Backups should be stored in secure, offline locations, separate from the central system, to protect against malware targeting backup files. This practice minimises downtime and ensures business continuity.

INFORMATION WARFARE

8. Information Warfare (IW) refers to the strategic use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to gain an advantage over adversaries. It encompasses various techniques for manipulating, corrupting, or disrupting communication systems, data, and public perception to achieve tactical or strategic goals.

TYPES OF INFORMATION WARFARE

9. State and non-state actors use several types of IW. Some of the most notable include:

a. **Cyber Warfare**. Cyber warfare involves targeting critical infrastructure, government networks, or military systems through cyberattacks. The goal is to disrupt a nation's ability to function, causing widespread chaos and potentially impacting national security.

b. **Psychological Operations (PSYOPS)**. PSYOPS are strategies for influencing target audiences' beliefs, emotions, and behaviours. These tactics often aim to undermine the morale of enemy forces or sway the opinions of civilian populations and political leaders.

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c. **Disinformation and Propaganda**. This type of warfare involves intentionally spreading false or misleading information to manipulate public opinion. Disinformation campaigns can create confusion, division and distrust within a society, often leading to political destabilisation.

d. **Electronic Warfare (EW)**. EW refers to using the electromagnetic spectrum to disrupt or intercept enemy communications. Jamming, eavesdropping and manipulating signals are common tactics used to hinder the enemy's operational capabilities.

e. **Hacktivism**. Hacktivism is hacking techniques to advance a political or social cause. Hacktivists may leak sensitive information, deface websites, or turn off services to draw attention to their agenda.

HIGH-PROFILE EXAMPLES OF INFORMATION WARFARE

10. Several high-profile incidents illustrate the global reach and impact of IW. Some of the incidents are as follows:

a. **Russia's 2016 US Election Interference**. Russian operatives used social media platforms to spread divisive content, hacked political organisations and leaked sensitive information to influence the 2016 US presidential election, raising awareness of IW's potential to disrupt democratic processes.

b. **Stuxnet (2010)**. A sophisticated cyber weapon developed by the US and Israel to sabotage Iran's nuclear program. Stuxnet targeted the country's uranium enrichment facilities, delaying their atomic development and demonstrating how cyber warfare can damage critical infrastructure.

c. **Ukraine Cyberattacks (2015-2016)**. Attributed to Russian actors, these cyberattacks targeted Ukraine's power grid, telecommunications and financial systems, causing widespread blackouts and service disruptions. This attack highlighted the vulnerabilities of critical infrastructure in modern IW.

IMPACTS OF INFORMATION WARFARE

11. Information warfare can impact societies, governments and

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economies. Some of the effects are discussed below:

a. **Political Destabilization**. IW can undermine trust in democratic institutions, manipulate elections, and fuel social unrest. By influencing political processes, adversaries can weaken a nation's internal stability.

b. **Economic Losses**. Cyberattacks targeting financial institutions, intellectual property and infrastructure can result in severe economic damage. These attacks disrupt industries, slow down productivity and require costly recovery efforts.

c **Erosion of Public Trust**. The spread of fake news and misinformation erodes the public's trust in media, governments, and other institutions. As a result, citizens may become more sceptical of official sources and more vulnerable to disinformation.

d. **National Security Threats**. Cyberattacks on critical infrastructure, such as power grids, water supplies, and healthcare systems, can devastate national security. They can also paralyse essential services, endangering public safety and national defense.

CONCLUSION

12. The evolving landscape of cybersecurity and information warfare highlights their interconnectedness, posing significant challenges and opportunities for governments, organisations and individuals. As cyber threats become increasingly frequent and sophisticated, a proactive cybersecurity approach that employs cutting-edge technologies and best practices is essential. Awareness and preparedness can mitigate risks, protecting critical infrastructure and sensitive data while preserving national security. Additionally, as information warfare exploits digital platforms for disinformation, robust countermeasures are necessary to safeguard democratic processes and societal trust.

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