

NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND THE CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL SECURITY

UkiyedeikimieUgo Moses (PhD)

Department of Social Studies

Isaac Jasper Boro College of EducationSagbama, Bayelsa State

ukiyeugo@gmail.com



ABSTRACT

Since 2009 when Boko Haram emerged as a religious sect in Borno State and rapidly spread to other states in the Northeast and beyond, the security of Nigeria has been heavily threatened as never before in recent history. Thousands of people have been killed in the spiralling conflict. Gun-wielding bandits have also emerged, wreaking havoc in many parts of the country even as kidnapping for ransom has become common in all parts of the country. Herder-farmer clashes resulting in several deaths are also a constant security challenge particularly in the North central and other parts of the country. Ethnic militias have also sprang-up in the South, making demands on the country and issuing threats of secession thereby causing fear and contributing to the state of general insecurity in the country. These multifarious security challenges have made life unsafe and living a constant nightmare in the country. Various findings and prescriptions to resolve these escalating security problems have defied practical solutions. This paper explores the use of foreign policy in tackling the security problems of the country. Classical liberalism was employed as the theoretical framework in this study. Secondary sources were relied upon as the source of data. Data were sourced from books, internet sources, journals and newspaper publications. Data collected were analysed and logical conclusions drawn. The development of an effective foreign policy and its application in securing international partnerships against terrorism and other security challenges of the country was recommended.

Key words: foreign policy, national security, security threats, terrorist groups, international community.



Introduction

Apart from the civil war years, Nigeria's national security has never been particularly challenged as it is in contemporary times. Domestic security challenges are the immediate and most pervasive source to national security. But these threats are not confined to internal sources alone. National security in Nigeria is also impacted by conflicts in the West African sub-region and by wars and general instability which characterises most African countries. Threats to national security also emanate from increasing internationalisation of terrorism and the growth of transnational crimes and terror groups whose activities impinge on security in Nigeria. The threats to Nigeria's national security are therefore multifaceted.

There are multiple internal sources of threat to

security in Nigeria. So far, the most devastating is religious threat as represented by Boko Haram which has since 2009 engaged the Nigerian state in a deadly and costly war to create an Islamic state in Nigeria (Okoroafor & Ukpabi, 2015). There are also other fundamentalist Islamic groups such as the Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWAP) and Ansaru that have operational bases in the country and launches frequent attacks on institutions of the state and the citizens. Large scale violent demonstrations of followers of Sheik Ibrahim El-Zakzaky and his Islamic Movement in Nigeria (aka Shiites) and the frequent clashes with security agencies resulting in heavy casualties is still another threat to national security and stability (Paquette, 2019). These are aside the frequent feuds between the two dominant religions - Islam

and Christianity - which has been a perennial source of national tension (Jatular & Onakuse, 2021).

Ethnicity and ethnic nationalism have also become grave concerns to national security in Nigeria in recent years (Jatular & Onakuse, 2021). Agitations against perceived marginalisation by groups leading to calls for secession, particularly by the Igbos of the South eastern region and to a lesser degree, the Yoruba of Western region has also become a national security issue. The formation of the Eastern Security Network (ESN); the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB); the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the agitations for Oduduwa Republic are all threats to national security (Alli, 2010).

Another serious national security threat is the emergence of gun wielding bandits in different parts of the country, particularly in the North. Incidents of kidnapping, abductions, large-scale destruction of lives and properties of Nigerians have become the trademark of these bandits, now officially acknowledged as terrorists (Ochojila, 2022). This has made living in some parts of the country a nightmare. Domestic national security threats are complicated by the menace of herder-farmer clashes particularly in the North central region (Centre for democracy & Development, n.d). Incidents of people hacked to death in their homes and farms have been common news in the country. The increasing threat of herders-farmers killings has necessitated the establishment of armed ethnic militias, regional and state/local government security outfits across the country. These developments also constitute huge security challenge to the nation.

The disturbances occasioned by agitations against marginalisation in the oil producing Niger Delta have remained unresolved (Newsom, 2011). Though militant activities, kidnappings, sabotage of oil industry infrastructure, killings and general lawlessness that characterised the region has abated in recent times, the region is still a potential source of security threat to the nation (Ikoh & Ukpong, 2013). This shows that virtually all parts of

the country are suffering one form of domestic security challenge or the other.

In addition to these internal security problems are security challenges that emanate from beyond the country's borders. Different threats to national security are presented by conflicts and wars in Africa and particularly, the West African sub-region (N'Diaye, n.d). These have created an atmosphere of instability in various countries with spill-over effects on Nigeria. The flow of small arms and light weapons from these conflict areas into Nigeria, the flow of refugees, drugs and human trafficking through the nations' porous borders are all threats to national security that haunts the nation. Nigeria is also susceptible to threats of international terrorism and other international crimes. The growing activities of terror groups in the Sahel region of Africa cannot be overlooked as a source of national threat (UN News, 2020). The Islamic State of Iran and the Leviant (ISIL), a fanatic Islamic group, is also spreading its tentacles with claims of affiliation to groups in Nigeria. In this age of globalisation, several other clandestine terror groups and cells could also be active in the country.

Therefore, in broad terms, the security threats confronting Nigeria are both domestic and foreign. In the midst of these daunting security challenges, how can the instrument of foreign policy be useful in combating the problem? An integrative approach to security with broad collaboration and collective efforts between Nigeria and other countries is what is needed (Dokubo (2010). In this age of globalisation, it is not possible for Nigeria to ensure its national security without an effective cooperation with its neighbours and the wider international community (Dokubo, 2010). This makes imperative the application of foreign policy.

This paper is structured as follows: the introduction is closely followed by conceptual clarification. An overview on national security and foreign policy is then presented. Nigeria's national security and relations with its immediate neighbours and national security and Nigeria's relations with Africa and the international community is considered and the paper ends with a conclusion.

Conceptual clarification

National security Holmes (2015) defined national security as “the safekeeping of the nation as a whole... the protection of the nation and its people from attack and other external dangers by maintaining armed forces and guarding state secrets”. This definition is limited in scope in that it did not quite capture internal or domestic threats to national security which is the major challenge in Nigeria.

The concept of national security is broad and multidimensional. The dominant conception of national security is military, but it has been broadened to include non-military components as well. Issues of cyber security, environmental security, energy security, food security, economic security and the concept of human security developed by the United Nations, which encompasses both military and non-military aspects and a lot more have become part of the concept of national security (Holmes, 2015). This paper adopts the military concept of national security and conceptualises national security into two broad aspects: individual and collective security of the citizens and the security of the Nigerian state (Dokubo, 2001). These two aspects of national security which have been under persistent attacks in recent times are the focus of this paper.

Consistent with this conception, national security is therefore the ability of the Nigerian state to prevent all forms of threat to the lives of the citizens and the survival of the nation as a corporate entity. This state-centred conception of security is for obvious reasons: It is the primary responsibility of any state to ensure the security of lives and property and the corporate existence of the country. Security of citizens is quite a broad concept that includes freedom from political oppression, scarcity, disease, crime, ethnic rivalry etc (Dokubo, 2001). Again, this paper will adopt a restrictive use of the concept to be able to properly grapple with the issues at stake. Therefore, human security will be limited to the prevention of violence and harm against the citizens through conflicts and wars.

Foreign Policy

Foreign policy does not learn itself to the same conception. Saliu (2013: p.133) provides three different conceptions of foreign policy. First, foreign policy is seen as “the calculated steps taken by a state which is intended to maximise the opportunities that are available outside its geographical boundaries, while at the same time, minimising the perils that abound”. It is still defined as “the deliberate and conscious decisions taken by a state in coping with its external environment” (Saliu, 2013: p.133). In its third strand, foreign policy is “the totality of actions or inactions on the part of a nation state aimed at exercising preferences at the level of international system” (Saliu, 2013: p.133). According to Ojo & Sesay (2002) foreign policy is nothing but the totality of a state's communication with its external environment. They explained that the communication and interaction with the outside world is necessary because nations need the cooperation and active assistance of other nations in the international community to achieve certain national objectives. This is consistent with the position of this paper that Nigeria can employ the instrument of foreign policy to seek support and assistance from the international community.

Theoretical Framework

The neo-liberal theory of international relations is adopted as the framework of study in this paper. Neo-liberalism as a theory of international relations developed from liberalism in the 1970s. Liberalism is one of the dominant theories in international relations as a discipline. Neo-liberalism posits that cooperation between states in the international system is possible and that it is in the interest of states to foster cooperative relations. Keohane and Axelrod (1986) argued that it is in the interest of states in the international system to cooperate and observed that there is much cooperation in inter-state relations. Neo-liberalists note that states actually do cooperate in spite of the anarchical nature of the international system. Robert Keohane and Axelrod (1986) employed the prisoners' dilemma – the story of two prisoners – in explaining why states cooperate. For neo-liberalism, it is in the overall interest of states to cooperate as non-cooperation

is not in the interest of any party. This is why states must necessarily promote cooperative relations even though the environment is characterised by anarchy.

Neo-liberalism shares in the importance of international institutions in facilitating the promotion of international cooperation and in ensuring international security (Mingst, 1999). It is the contention of neo-realists that international cooperation can ensure security in the international system. Therefore security is one central reason why states cooperate.

National security and foreign policy in Nigeria: An overview

National security being the security of a nation's national territory and institutions is the overriding national interest of any nation (Eze, 2010). Beyond securing national territory, national security will be meaningless without the security of citizens. This is because there will be no nation to secure without citizens. The primary goal of foreign policy is therefore the security of the nation and its citizens. This interest is primary to all nations because it is only when a nation's national survival is not under severe threat that it can concentrate in the pursuit of other objectives in the international system.

At independence the defence of Nigeria's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence was a principal objective of foreign policy (Gambari, 2008). However, issues of national security were not serious engagements of Nigeria's foreign policy in the First Republic (1963-1966). Instead, foreign policy focus of the first republic was on African issues: decolonisation, security in Africa and African Unity (Gambari, 2008; Asobie, 2010). Economic growth was the only issue of domestic interest to which foreign policy was to focus on (Asobie, 2010) and the promotion of world peace was the fourth issue that completed the list of priority to Nigeria foreign policy.

The focus on African issues was sustained by subsequent administrations as security issues were not prominent in the domestic agenda of the

country (Adebajo, 2008). Understandably therefore, aside the promotion of domestic economic growth using foreign policy as a tool, Nigeria's foreign policy was centred on Africa. On this score, Jinadu (2005); Osuntokun (2005) and Asobie (2010) have noted that Nigeria's foreign policy has been characterised by continuity than change since independence.

The struggle for national survival in the Nigerian Civil War (1967 – 1970) pushed national security to the front burner of foreign policy. Efforts were made to focus on Nigeria's relations with its neighbours, relations with other African countries and with the international community in the outbreak of the civil war. This was one significant incident that made the country realise the importance of national security and the critical role of its neighbours as the first line of national defence (Fawole, 2003). The civil war informed a focused attention on national security even after the war (Fawole, 2003).

National security was again relegated to the background in foreign policy as the potential threat receded. In fact, section 19 of the 1979 Constitution which captures the objectives of Nigeria foreign policy merely reiterated the Afrocentric goals of the First Republic (African Unity and decolonisation in Africa) and international peace objectives (Eze, 2010). From the 1980s, there was a noticeable shift in policy with a focus on the realist conception of national security as primary to national interest and therefore foreign policy (Dokubo, 2010; Alli, 2012). The All-Nigerian Conference on Foreign Policy organised by the Babangida regime in 1986 attempted to broadly conceptualise national security as national interest (Eze, 2010). This is reflected in the birth of the concentric circles approach with national security as a primary focus (Gambari, 2008). There was however no commitment to this orientation by subsequent regimes (Fawole, 2012). This was the situation until terrorism and insurgent groups emerged as national threats. These threats compelled government to focus on foreign policy as part of the search for solutions to the escalating domestic

security challenges.

The nature of the problem

The national security challenges confronting African nations are mostly generated from the domestic environment (N'Diaye, n.d). In Nigeria, the challenges to national security are all home-grown problems of discontent with government policies, marginalisation, ethno-religious conflicts, banditry, kidnapping and other domestic crimes (Alli, 2012). This necessitates the need for a change in strategy in addressing national security threats. This is because the issues that generate domestic crises that snowball into national security threats are closely associated with governance failure and the failure of government policies. The problems of poverty, marginalisation, ethno-religious conflicts, herder-farmer conflicts and a lot other issues that generate tension in the country can be solved through good governance. Therefore, contemporary threats to national security are mostly dependent on good governance and government policies. Externally generated threats such as terrorism and cybercrime are common to most other nations. This makes the traditional concept of national security which focuses on potential external aggression on the state untenable.

Though, even as external aggression recedes, the necessity to employ arms is critical to deter internal insurrections and insurgencies which is the prevalent contemporary security threat in Nigeria. (Alli, 2012). But the resort to arms to put down uprisings will be reduced, if not completely eliminated, by the institution of good governance and policies that address the root causes of issues that constitutes threats to national security.

National security and Nigeria's relations: immediate neighbours.

According to Dokubo (2010: p. 25) "National security cannot be achieved by either individuals or states acting solely on their own". This explains the importance of neighbours in enhancing national security. Good national security is largely dependent on friendly neighbours. This was amply demonstrated by the support extended to the Federal Government by Nigeria's immediate

neighbours during the Civil War (Fawole, 2003). There is no gainsaying that the threat to national security would have been more difficult to deal with if Nigeria's neighbours had collaborated with the secessionists to sabotage the efforts of the Federal Government. This emphasises the point that a nation's first line of defence is its neighbours. As fixed geographical entities, neighbouring states are therefore an indispensable factor to national security.

In the concentric circles proposition of Nigeria's foreign policy, Ibrahim Gambari, former Foreign Affairs Minister (1984 - 1985), acknowledged this important fact when he made national security the innermost circle and first priority interest in the "circles of national interest" and noted that the objectives "are intricately tied to those of its immediate neighbours"(Gambari, 2008, P.70). This is of particular importance because, trans-border crimes and criminal activities of foreigners in Nigeria are mostly attributed to conflicts and wars, drought and general economic difficulties confronting our immediate neighbours (Alli, 2012). This makes the observation by Ogunsanwo (2012) so true when he said, "We cannot be an oasis of success, prosperity and happiness, if that is what we succeed in becoming, within a desert of deprivation, abject poverty and despair" (Ogunsanwo, 2012, P. 123). This raises certain fundamental questions: What is the state of Nigeria's relations with its neighbours? Do Nigeria's relations with its neighbours facilitate the enhancement of its national security in the face of escalating national security challenges? How can Nigeria harness these relations to boost national security? Answers to these and related issues are germane to finding solutions to the security challenges of the country.

In the face of mounting security problems in the country, there is the necessity for Nigeria to collaborate with its immediate neighbours to ensure security at their common borders in order to reinforce national security in their respective states (Katsina, 2011). As the first line of security, Nigeria's immediate neighbours have a critical role to play in stemming the tide of security challenges

in the country (Friedrich, 2011).

This is particularly relevant in the present age of trans-national crimes. As a result of the explosion of communication technology and the growing impact of globalisation coupled with the porosity of inter-state borders between Nigeria and its immediate neighbours, there is a flow of criminals and criminal activities across Nigeria's common borders with its neighbours (Peters, 2011). Consequently, human trafficking, trafficking in narcotics, smuggling, trans-border crimes, illegal immigrations and terrorism based in one country can move swiftly to neighbouring countries unhindered (Birai, 2011). This is exacerbated by two decades of wars in the West African sub-region, making it "the epicentre of many of Africa's conflicts and the world most unstable sub-regions" with grave implications on national security in Nigeria (Adebajo, 2008, p. 20).

Realising the importance of good neighbours to national security, Nigeria engages in the promotion of policies and programmes to cultivate their friendship (Omede, 2006). The post civil war cooperation on functional economic ventures and collaboration in solving common problems has been a prominent aspect of Nigeria's good neighbourliness policy. (Osuntokun, 2008). Except for its border dispute with Cameroon and other minor disagreements with her neighbours, Nigeria's relations with her immediate neighbours are essentially warm. The robust relations are demonstrated by the number of bilateral commissions on the development and exploitation of natural resources. For instance, there is the Nigeria-Niger Joint Commission for Cooperation (NNJCC); Nigeria-Chad Bilateral Commission; Nigeria-Equatorial Guinea Joint Commission and other commissions with broader membership involving its immediate neighbours in cooperative relationships. The Lake Chad Basin Commission which has been in existence since 1964 is a good example. Therefore, Nigeria has both bilateral and multilateral frameworks of cooperation with its immediate neighbours. It is instructive to note that the promotion of national security is an important part of some of these relationships. This is in

realisation of the importance of national security to the achievement of common goals. However, these provisions have been largely dormant for a number of reasons. First is the fears harboured by weaker and smaller neighbours over the encroachment of their national sovereignty. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states also tremendously hinders mutual cooperation on national security issues. Nigeria's bilateral relationships were also primarily motivated and driven by economic and commercial needs. In a period devoid of daunting security challenges, issues of national security were accorded marginal considerations. There was and still is the problem of capacity of member states to give effect to these security provisions in their bilateral agreements.

The activities of Boko Haram and other Islamic fundamentalist groups have facilitated closer security cooperation between Nigeria and its neighbours. The establishment of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF) involving Nigeria, Niger, Benin, Chad and Cameroun is a case in point (Husted & Blanchard, 2020). As an initiative of Nigeria, the MJTF leverages on its functional cooperation with its neighbours in the fight against Boko Haram. The task force has facilitated greater military cooperation and fostered understanding among the participating countries such that troops are allowed to fight insurgents across national borders (Crisis Group, 2020). This is an important innovation in inter-state relations in Africa which though acknowledges the importance of the principles of state sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, accepts to set aside these extant provisions in confronting common security threats.

National security and Nigeria's relations: wider Africa.

Though Nigeria also has bilateral and multilateral relationships with other African countries, its engagement with Africa are majorly through institutional frameworks. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) are the two significant

institutions through which Nigeria interacts with the West African sub-region and Africa in general. The question therefore is: Can Nigeria's membership in these institutions be harnessed to serve the interest of national security?

In 1999, in response to the emerging threats to security in the sub-region, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) established the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security (Alli, 2012). This was replaced in 2008 by the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF). The primary target of both mechanisms was the resolution of political conflicts which were a source of instability in the sub-region (Osagie, 2017). Both attempts therefore failed to address other potential sources of insecurity. This lacuna in the existing frameworks of ECOWAS made Alli (2012) to conclude that the sub-regional body has not developed a comprehensive security response to the domestic security challenges confronting her member states (Alli, 2012).

But the ECOWAS platform has been useful in fostering cooperation on national security issues. For instance, the government of President Muhammadu Buhari has leveraged on ECOWAS in enlisting the support of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in the fight against Boko Haram insurgency (Albuquerque & Tejpar, 2015). This is necessary because amongst Nigeria's immediate neighbours, only Benin Republic and Niger are members of ECOWAS; Chad and Cameroun belong to the Economic Community of Central African States. This demonstrates the problems in using the sub-regional platform in mobilising international and regional support in the promotion of national security.

At the continental level, the African Union established the Peace and Security Council (PSC) in 2002 as a mechanism for the management and resolution of conflicts (Alli, 2012). This mechanism was meant to function through sub-regional economic blocs with similar structures to facilitate

the realisation of its objectives (Alli, 2012). However, like ECOWAS, the PSC was structured to respond to political crises in member states to the neglect of other threats to national security. In other words, the Peace and Security Council framework was not intended to respond to domestic security concerns of member states except they develop into crisis. It is however noteworthy that even in crisis situations, the Peace and Security Council lack the capacity to delve into complex and large scale crisis, such as the activities of Boko Haram. The PSC is therefore constrained both by limitations in capacity and the nature of threats. This partly explains why the PSC works through the Multinational Joint Task Force (MJTF) in combating the activities of Boko Haram (Crisis Group, 2020).

But as restrictive and limited as these provisions are, both platforms of the sub-regional and the continental organisations can be a rallying point for mobilising international support and in the fight against terrorism and transnational crimes in Nigeria. This explains the need to use foreign policy in the mobilisation of international support for national security objectives. So, though the AU and ECOWAS do not have comprehensive protocols that are useful to the needs of national security, they are still necessary platforms through which international support could be enlisted to boost national security in Nigeria.

National security and Nigeria's relations: International dimension

In a globalised world, national security is increasingly being challenged by threats from the external environment such as terrorism and transnational crimes. This makes the role of international partnerships very crucial. Just as national security problems are exacerbated by influences from the external environment, so do domestic security challenges impact the international community.

Globalisation and information technology (the internet) which facilitates linkages between terrorist groups and clandestine networks have become a security challenge to the international

community. The activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria have amply demonstrated this intricate but mutually reinforcing relationship. Boko Haram started in Nigeria which is its operational base but its tentacles and activities have gone beyond the borders of the country to pose ominous threats to Nigeria's neighbours as well as the international community (Husted & Blanchard, 2020).

Boko Haram's alleged affiliation to ISIS and al Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM) indicate the transnational nature of terrorism and the need for international cooperation in combating the scourge (Husted & Blanchard, 2020). In the 21st Century, terrorism and international crimes are shared threats to the national security of all nations. This makes the place of foreign policy indispensable in establishing networks of cooperation against these common threats. The international community have long acknowledged this trend and international efforts are being mobilised and collaborations are established and reinforced against the menace of terrorism and other transnational crimes. A good foreign policy will be a useful tool in these efforts aimed at confronting common threats to national security and the security of the international community.

Conclusion

The primary role of foreign policy is to serve the national interest of a country. The most important issue of national interest to Nigeria in the 21st Century is national security. Nigeria foreign policy can therefore be employed in the service of this national objective in diverse ways. As a tool, Nigeria foreign policy can leverage on the country's bilateral and multilateral relationships to boost national security. Nigeria can utilise these platforms to enhance its security. It is the primary task of Nigeria's foreign policy to initiate policies that will boost the country's foreign policy. Nigeria's foreign policy can be employed in searching for international partners to boost national security, particularly in the northern region of the country. International partnerships are indispensable in confronting the security problems in the northern region of the country. This will be useful in the area of expertise, logistics,

intelligence sharing and other spheres of cooperation. The threat of Boko Haram and other terrorist groups in the North can only be brought to an end through collaboration with international partners and the international community. Since 9/11, the international community has developed mechanisms to counter increasing acts of terrorism globally. The several networks against terrorism can be explored and useful and meaningful relationships established to further the goals of domestic security against terrorism.

Foreign policy is a useful instrument in establishing linkages of co-operation for the purpose of national security. Security should be made an important component of Nigeria's international engagements in an age of increasing security challenges at home. This cannot be sufficiently emphasised as foreign policy is meant to serve domestic objectives and the most pressing domestic need is national security.

The success of international collaboration in the fight against Boko Haram is dependent on the effectiveness of the country's foreign policy. The designation of Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation by the United States is expected to boost international support in the fight against terrorism in the country (Husted & Blanchard, 2020). However, international cooperation and solidarity can hardly be effective with the repeated expressions of concern by the United States over human rights violations in Nigeria's fight against insurgency (Husted & Blanchard, 2020).

REFERENCES

- Adebajo, A. (2008). Hegemony on a shoestring: Nigeria's post-cold war foreign policy. In A. Adebajo & A.R. Mustapha. (Ed.). *Gulliver's troubles: Nigeria's foreign policy after the cold war*. University of KwaZulu-Natal press.
- Akindele, R.A. & Akinterinwa, B. A. (2011). Cross-border security, cooperation and integration: Focus on Nigeria's immediate neighbours in the North-West zone. The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

- Albuquerque, A. L. & Tejpar, J. (2015). *Challenges to peace and security in West Africa: The role of ECOWAS*. https://www.foi.se/download/18.7fd35d7f166c56ebe0bb38f/1542369060258/Challenges-to-Peace-and-Security-in-West-Africa_FOI-Memo-5382.pdf.
- Alli, W.O. (2010). The changing environment of Nigeria's foreign policy. In O.C. Eze (Ed). *Beyond fifty years of Nigeria's foreign policy: Issues, challenges and prospects*. Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- Alli, W.O. (2012). The role of Nigeria in regional security policy. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Peace and security series. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/nigeria/10253.pdf>.
- Asobie, A. (2010). Fifty years of Nigeria foreign policy: An overview. In O.C. Eze (Ed.). *Beyond fifty years of Nigeria's foreign policy: Issues, challenges and prospects*. Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- Axelrod, R. & Keohane, R.O. (1986). Achieving cooperation under anarchy: strategies and institutions. In K. Oye.(Ed). *Cooperation under anarchy*. Princeton University Press.
- Birai, U.M. (2011). Political crisis and wars in Nigeria's North East neighbours: Implications for internal security. In B.E. Ate & B.A. Akinterinwa (Ed.). *Cross-border armed banditry in the North East: Issues in national security and Nigeria's relations with its immediate neighbours*. The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- Centre for democracy and development (n.d). Farmer- herder conflict in Northern Nigeria: Trends, dynamics and gender perspectives. <https://media.africaportal.org/documents/Farmer-Herder-Conflict-in-Northern-Nigeria-Trends-Dynamics-and-Gender-Perspectives-2.pdf>
- Crisis Group (2020, July 7). *What role of the multinational task force in fighting Boko Haram?* <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/291-what-role-multinational-joint-task-force-fighting-boko-haram>
- Dokubo, C. Q. (2001). African security in the next millennium. In R. A. Akindele, &, B. E. Ate. (Ed.). *Beyond conflict resolution: Managing African security in the 21st Century*. Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- Dokubo, C. (2010). Nigeria's foreign policy in a changing environment. In Eze (Ed.). *Beyond fifty years of Nigeria's foreign policy: Issues, challenges and prospects*. Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- Eze, O.C. (2010). Interrogating Nigeria's national interest. In Eze(Ed.) *Beyond fifty years of Nigeria's foreign policy: Issues, challenges and prospects*. Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.
- Fawole, W.A. (2003). Nigeria's external relations and foreign policy under military rule (1966-1999). Obafemi Awolowo University Press.
- Fawole, W.A. (2012). Nigerian foreign policy: The search for a new paradigm. In T.A. Imobighe & W. O. Alli. (Ed.) *Perspectives on Nigeria's national politics and external relations: Essays in honour of Professor Bolaji Akinyemi*. University Press.
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (2011). Reflections on Nigeria's foreign policy. Vol. 1.
- Gambari, I. A. (2008). From Balewa to Obasanjo: The theory and practice of Nigeria's foreign policy. In A. Adebajo & A.R Mustapha.(Ed.).*Gulliver's troubles: Nigeria's foreign policy after the cold war*. University of KwaZulu-Natal press.
- Holmes, K.R. (2015). *What is national security?*<https://www.heritage.org/sites/default/files/2019->

[10/2015_IndexOfUSMilitaryStrength_What%20Is%20National%20Security.pdf](#)

Husted, T. F. & Blanchard, L.P. (2020). Nigeria: Current issues and U.S policy. <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/row/RL33964.pdf>

Ikoh, M.U. & Ukpong, E.A (2013, September). Niger Delta crisis: Taming the violence beyond amnesty. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. 3 (17). http://www.ijhssnet.com/journals/Vol_3_No_17_September_2013/16.pdf

Jatular, V. & Onakuse, S. (2021). Radical Islam and insurgency in Northern Nigeria: Tensions and challenges. *M D P I*. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12100888>. 12, (888).

Jinadu, L.A. (2005). The philosophical foundations and fundamental principles of Nigeria's foreign policy. In U.J. Ogwu(Ed.) *New horizons for Nigeria in World affairs*. Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

Katsina, A.M. (2011). Boko Haram, Nigeria and sub-regional security. *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*. 37(3). Nigerian Institute of International Affairs

Mingst, K. (1999). Essentials of International relations. W.W Norton & Company. Wikipedia. *Multinational Joint Task Force*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multinational_Joint_Task_Force#:~:text=The%20Multinational%20Joint%20Task%20Force,to%20the%20Boko%20Haram%20insurgency.

N'Diaye, B. (n.d). Conflicts and crisis in West Africa: Internal and international dimensions. <https://codesria.org/IMG/pdf/2-7.pdf>

Newsom, C. (2011, June). Conflict in the Niger Delta: More than a local affair (Special Report). https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/Conflict_Niger_Delta.pdf

Ochojila, A. (2022). January, 5). FG declares bandits as terrorists. The Guardian (Online news). <https://guardian.ng/news/fg-declares-bandits-as-terrorists/>

Ojo, O. & Sesay, A. (2002). Concepts in international relations. Obafemi Awolowo University Press.

Okoroafor, C.U. & Ukpabi, M.C. (2015). Boko Haram insurgency and national security in Nigeria. *International Journal of development and management review*. 10 (1). <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ijdmr/article/view/120986>

Ogunsanwo, A. (2012). Challenges and prospects of Nigeria's foreign policy in the 21st Century. In T.A. Imobighe & W. O. Alli (Ed.). *Perspectives on Nigeria's national politics and external relations: Essays in honour of Professor Bolaji Akinyemi*. University Press.

Omede, J.A. (2006). Nigeria's relations with her neighbours. *Stud. Tribels Tribals*, 4 (1),7–17. <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.729.5264&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Osagie, O. S., Musa, A. A. & Kingsley, U. (2017). Analysis of ECOWAS institutional framework for conflict management. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mjss-2017-0051>. 8 (6). <http://archive.sciendo.com/MJSS/mjss.2017.8.issue-6/mjss-2017-0051/mjss-2017-0051.pdf>

Osuntokun, A. (2008). Gulliver and the Lilliputians: Nigeria and her neighbours. In A. Adebajo & A.R Mustapha.(Ed.). *Gulliver's troubles: Nigeria's foreign policy after the cold war*. University of KwaZulu-Natal press.

Paquette, D. (2019, July 23). Why Shiite muslim protesters and Nigeria's security forces keep clashing. *The Washington post*.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/afri-ca/journalist-police-officer-protesters-die-as-shiite-muslim-group-clashes-with-police-in-nigerias-capital/2019/07/23/e0b2e08e-ad4b-11e9-9411-a608f9d0c2d3_story.html

Peters, J. (2011). The nature of security consideration in Nigeria's North-West zone. In R. A. Akindele & B.A. Akinterinwa (Ed.). *Cross-border security, cooperation and integration: Focus on Nigeria's immediate neighbours in the North-West zone*. The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

Saliu, H. A. (2013). Foreign Policy. In H. A. Saliu & F.A. Aremu (Ed.). *Introduction to International Relations*. College Press and Publishers.

U.N News. (2020, January 2). 'Unprecedented terrorist violence' in West Africa, Sahel region.

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/01/1054981>

U.S Department of Justice. *Future of domestic and international terrorism: The FBI perspective*. <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/future-domestic-and-international-terrorism-fbi-perspective>.

Vanguard (2019, July 23). Who are the IMN Shiite protesters marching in Nigeria? Online News. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/07/who-are-the-imn-shiite-protesters-marching-in-nigeria/> Wikipedia, National Security.