

The Imperatives of Nigeria's Economy as an Essential Element of Nigeria's Military Strategy and Commitment to Global Peace

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Abstract

This paper assesses the pivotal role of Nigeria's economy in furthering Nigeria's military obligations at regional, continental and global levels. Nigeria since independence has interceded in strategic conflict areas either through peacekeeping missions or peace support globally. These interventions are predicated upon Nigeria's robust economy. The economy enhances Nigeria's capacity to train its personnel, participate in global peace missions and purchase military hardware. Without a buoyant economic structure, no defence strategy can be carried out as the implementation of military strategies requires enormous resources. Relying on the examination of secondary sources, the paper established that there is a nexus between a robust economy as a determinant factor for waging and winning a war. Hence, effective and sustainable management of Nigeria's economy crystalizes into fashioning a robust national security strategy and in return further Nigeria's power projection in the global system.

Keywords: Nigeria, Economy, Military Defence, Strategy.

Introduction

The importance of a robust economy to Nigeria's defence strategy cannot be overemphasized. The economy plays a key role in shaping and reshaping military strategy direction in Nigeria, ranging from providing personal training, equipment, operational materials personal monthly salaries and building new military infrastructures and maintaining the existing ones.¹ Nigeria's economy over the years has been based on the export of raw materials, and wealth generated from the exportable mineral resources has been brought to bear in defence spending. With a buoyant economy, states devote substantial amounts of money to the purchase of new weapons and ammunition to bolster their defence to be able to respond to new threats to their territories and meet up with other military obligations in the international system. By economy, it implies Nigeria's use of its oil wealth to assert military influence at regional, continental and global levels. Clayton Chun explained the will-power of the economy in enhancing the state strategy thus:

modern conflict, from conventional warfare to diplomatic disputes, has increasingly involved economics in some form. Nations use economic tools to pursue objectives, seek economic resources as national goals, or as affected by economic events that influence their national security. Both state and non-state actors use economic power to wage power and influence events regionally and

¹ Clayton K. S Chun, Economics: "Key Element of National Power" In Boone J. (ed) *United States War College Guide to National Security Issues: Theory of War and Strategy, United States; Institute of Strategic Studies*, Vol.1(2010), 199-209

globally. Economic considerations range from simple access to resources like water or raw materials through transforming resources into finished products or services to providing financial security.²

In Africa, Nigeria is most blessed with mineral resources, population, land mass, culture, traditions, languages, gross domestic products and external trade etc. Nigeria also has in its possession military aircraft, tanks, artilleries and manpower and that stands Nigeria out in its defence capability. Nigeria readily comes in handy as a leading voice in articulating policy direction in Africa on issues affecting it because it possessed these valuable resources. These resources over time have enhanced Nigeria's military influence and prestige regionally, continentally and globally. Hence countries of the world seek the opinion of Nigeria in strategic military issues as it concerns West Africa and Africa in order not to curry the anger of Nigeria.

“Gun versus Butter” Explanations

The theoretical explanation of this paper is based on the “Gun Versus Butter” theory that was popularized by a German named, Reich Marshall Hermann Goering in 1893-1946. Reich Marshall Herman was a staunch supporter of Germany's excessive allocation of large chunks of its resources to the military buildup in the 1930s as exemplified in the question he posed during that period; “would you rather have butter or guns?... preparedness makes us powerful. Butter merely makes us fat”.³ Overtime gun versus butter hypothesis became regularly used by American writers during the cold war era raising the debate about whether more money should be channelled into defence rather than to social programs. The debate came at a period when America was involved in a nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union and the Vietnam War. President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned of military expenditures hindering future American economic growth that may affect future military spending with a direct impact on national security. In that same vein, President Kennedy raised fundamental “questions of how much defence spending was sufficient enough to ensure national security”⁴. A nation must prioritize how it allocates resources to different sectors of its national needs. “An excess of military spending can erode a nation's power if it occurs at the expense of a larger economy and reduces the national ability to invest in future economic growth”.⁵

For a developing economy like Nigeria, over allocation of resources to defence at the expense of education, health, agriculture and roads construction etc. signals serious investment that must be properly scrutinized by the parliament and the press, as too much investment in the military cannot guarantee national security because of negligence of other sectors. This is because too much investment in defence could hamper other developmental needs of the people thus creating unemployment and low purchasing power for the nation. The aftermath of this could be revolt which may threaten national security. Robert McNamara rightly observed that:

security is not military hardware, though it may include it. Security is not a military force though it may involve it. Security is not a traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. Security is development. without development, there can be no security. A developing nation that does not develop simply cannot remain secure. It cannot remain secure for intractable reasons that its citizenry cannot shed its human nature. If security implies anything, it implies

² ibid

³ Tom Wicker, “Guns or Butter”, New York Times, 1965. www.encyclopedia.com (accessed and retrieved, 24 April 2023)

⁴ Ibid 200

⁵ David Joblonsky, “National Power” in Boone Bartholomeus (ed.) *U.S. Army War College Guide to National: Theory of War and Strategy Vol.1*, (2010), P. 129

a minimal measure of order and stability. Without internal development of at least a minimal degree, order and stability are simply not possible⁶

Investment in military hardware must also go along with other sectors that require development. Nigeria spends a substantial amount of the nation's budget on defence every year. This is to the realization that strong-standing armed forces are imperative to the development and stability of the nation. Nigeria understood the concept of gun versus butter in balancing its budget yearly. In preparing the defence budget, the government overtime takes into consideration certain concerns to achieve optimum balance in the list of things it sets out to achieve in that fiscal year. The government ensures the internal and external stability of the economy as well as wealth and income distribution.⁷ Doing this enables the government to strike a balance in a way that other sectors are not left out of government consideration. War is not a tea party. It involves a lot of resources. Both human and material resources, tangible and intangible resources are aggregated by a nation into winning the war. War is costly; it requires a country's large chunk of resources. Countries that emphasized bolstering their defence forego some basic needs of their people such as the provision of health care facilities, education, employment, and construction of roads and channel their resources to defence. Towing this line of thought, Kennedy assert that:

If a country has "too much" defence, it is wasting its resources, and if it has "too little" it is insecure. The penalty for the former may be a lower standard of living for its citizens, and for the latter, it may be a loss of independence or unwanted interference in domestic affairs.⁸

X-Ray of Nigeria's Economy vis-a-vis Defence

When a nation is economically weak, its defence is weak. The weak state will be seen as a joke in the comity of nations. There is no respect and its position on international issues or decision-making will not be fully recognized. It is not usually consulted in international issues except in matters affecting the country directly. But when a country is highly fortified its roars have reverberating effects in the international arena. Its voice in domestic and international issues is sought after. It is not taken aback by international and domestic issues. Its sovereignty is highly respected without encroachment by other powers. Decisions are not dictated to them. It is not a situation of patron-client relationship as observed by C. O. Bassey⁹ that goes cap in hand begging for military equipment. Justifying the pivotal role the economy plays in international politics, Robert J. opined that:

The economy plays a crucial role in international politics because states coexist in anarchy. If a state is attacked, it has to defend itself with whatever means it can muster, because no authoritative agency can be called on to resolve disputes among states, leaders find it convenient, and oftentimes necessary to threaten the use of force or employ it. Though its importance varies from era to era, military power brings some order to international politics and helps make and enforce the rule of the game¹⁰.

However, the bolstering of defence depends largely on the capacity and the structure of the economy to receive shocks as many resources are going to be moved from the economy to the defence. In such a situation, Olanrawaju observed that "a nation's defence policy is

⁶ Robert S. McNamara, "Security in Contemporary World, Secretary of Defense before the American Society of News Paper" Editors Montreal, Canada May 18th 1966.

⁷ A.A. Aderinto, "Defence Budgeting and Management" in A.E. Ekoko and M.A. Vogt (eds.), *Nigerian Defence Policy: Issues and Problems*, (Jos: Malthouse Press Limited, 1990), p. 164

⁸ G. Kennedy, *The Economics of Defence* (London, Fabar and Fabar, 1975), p. 19.

⁹ C. O. Bassey, "Defence Industrial Development; Challenges of DICON" in Celestine Oyom Bassey., Charles Dokubo(eds.), *Defence Policy of Nigeria: Capability and Context: A Reader*, (United States: Author House, 2011), p. 230.

¹⁰ Robert, J., "Strategies for the Use of Force", in R. J. Arts and K. N. Waltz (eds.) *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield publishers.199), p. 1.

influenced to a great extent by the development in the economy over time”¹¹. Sun Tzu summed it up:

War involves sound economic support; moving the army requires thousands of vehicles. These vehicles are loaded thousands of times. The army must carry huge supplies and arms. You need ten thousand acres of grains. This results in external and internal shortages. Any army consumes resources like an invader, it uses up glue and paint for wood. It requires armour for its vehicles.¹²

This implies a sound economy that is anchored on agriculture, industrialization and technological advancement, education and other sectors that holds promising future for the people and robust defence.

Nigerian economy before the discovery of oil in 1954 was largely agriculturally based. But the discovery of crude oil in commercial quantity dwarfed agriculture and other sectors that would have propelled Nigeria into a global giant. The economy was based on the export of raw materials, characterized by the transfer of Nigeria’s economic surplus abroad, the domination of Nigeria’s critical sectors by multi-national corporations and the subservient of Nigeria’s political freedom to that of her colonial masters¹³. The key paralysis was Nigeria’s over-dependence on crude oil export and importation of raw materials for the manufacturing sectors and developing agriculture.

Over time, the Nigerian economy witnessed modernization with different economic plans to boost the economy and put it on the right track, such as a plan for rehabilitation, reconciliation and reconstruction launched after the civil war¹⁴. This period witnessed the oil boom and propelled Nigeria’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to 15.63%. It also gave Nigeria the needed support to build refineries and petrochemical industries, machine tools and steel industries, automobile industries and other import-substituting industries.¹⁵ Later on, the growth rate slowed to 2.75% between 1975-1980, the period of Nigeria’s third economic plan.¹⁶ The situation continued with ‘Visions 2010 and 2020’, with various agendas such as National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies (NEEDS); “the seven-point agenda”¹⁷ all with the sole purpose of expanding the frontier of development and making Nigeria sufficient economically through a diversified approach. Thus, in 2013, Nigeria’s GDP was rebased from 270 billion dollars to 510 billion dollars. This was a result of the inclusion of other sectors such as telecommunications, movies and retail that were not taken into consideration.¹⁸

As the economies were planned, military expenditures were factored into the Government budget. Just as we had government increased military expenditures during the civil war years to 10.73%. Nyong Michael observed that military expenditure declined to 1.14% as of the time the military handed over power to a civilian regime of Shehu Shagari in

¹¹ S. A. Olanrenwaju., “The Nigerian Economy and National Defence” in A. E. Ekoko and M. A. Vogt (eds.) *Nigerian Defence Policy; issues and problems*, (Lagogs: Malthouse Press Limited, 1990), p. 34

¹²G. Gagliardi, *Sun Tzu’s: The Art of War: plus, strategy against Terror, Ancient Wisdom for Today’s War*, (China:Clear Bridge publishing 2004), p. 32

¹³ S. A. Olanrenwaju 34

¹⁴ S. Ibid p. 38

¹⁵Kassey Garba, “Industrialization, Economic Growth and Employment Generation in Nigeria: A Transformation Approach” in Celestin O. and Ndem N. (eds.), *Political economy of Global Formations: Nexus of Poverty and Underdevelopment Crisis in Core-periphery Relation*, (Lagos: Concept Publication Limited 2017), p. 873

¹⁶Ode Ojowo, “Programmes for Poverty Reduction and InclusiveDevelopment: A Comparative Perspective” in Celestin O. and Ndem N. (eds.), *Political Economy of Global Formations: Nexus of Poverty and Underdevelopment Crisis in Core-periphery Relation*: (Lagos: Concept Publication Limited 2017), pp. 770-772

¹⁷Musa, U. “Discourse on state politics and Economy in Nigeria” In Celestin O. and Ndem N.(eds) p. 499

¹⁸David, J. “National Power” In Boone J. (ed.) *United States War College Guide to National Security Issues: Vol. 1 Theory of War and Strategy, United States (Institute of Strategic Studies, 2010)*, p. 128

1979.¹⁹ The rise in expenditures during the civil war years equally witnessed enormous investment in the Defence Industrial Corporation of Nigeria which was established in 1965 to produce arms and ammunition and other military hardware. This was perhaps to produce affordable arms and fill in the gaps in areas where Nigeria could not get arms from some of the industrialized nations at that time. The end of the civil war saw a decline in military spending and the neglect of the military-industrial complex which is core to Nigeria's strategic defence formation. However, in 1980, it rose from 1.14% to 1.57% and reduced to 0.87% when the military government of Buhari struck and took over the government. Since then, military expenditures have been on the decline even in the face of enormous revenue derived from the sales of petroleum resources until the Boko Haram conflict that have seen Nigeria spend billions of dollars against the insurgent in the North East of the country.

Natural Resources and Nigeria's Defence Strategies

The availability of Natural resources in large quantities sures up the economy, and it is a source of pride and enhances national power. Governments of various countries in the world pay significant attention to resource security especially as it relates to the supply of oil and gas. The significance of these resources has over time gingered most global and non-global powers to deploy military power to either have access or to protect it, and it remains central to foreign policy and national security strategies of nations and states. The significance of these resources necessitates the Western intervention in the Persian Gulf War in 1991 and Iraqi invasion in 2003, and other brewing conflicts such as the South China Sea and the Falkland Islands²⁰.

To this end, David Clayton observed that "a large number of natural resources are essential for a modern nation to wage war, to operate an industrial base, and reward other international actors through aids and trade, either in industrial products or in raw materials themselves."²¹ These resources could be water, land, crude oil, coal etc. Oil and gas have over time proved to be strategic in military strategy. The oil proved to be a source of energy since the First World War and has become important to the military both in war and peacetime. Most defence mechanized weapons and vehicles are driven by oil. The importance of possessing oil was observed by Clemenceau during the First World War as "one drop of oil" is worth one drop of blood of our soldiers"²². Little wonder nations go to war to keep the flow of oil to avoid its disruptions.

Nigeria is blessed with abundant natural resources such as crude oil and gas, uranium, coal and limestones etc. These natural resources have contributed immensely to strengthening the economy of Nigeria and by extension Nigerian military. Oil remains 80% of Nigeria's revenue and 90% of its export.²³ Its budgetary expenditures and military obligations are hinged on the sales of crude oil and gas. The stoppage of resources like gas and crude oil could make nations go to war because of its implication for the economy and national security. Apart from the money used in funding recurrent expenditures in the military, Nigerian defence relies so much on the finished product of petroleum to operate its heavy-duty machines, such as helicopters, gunships, anti-missile tanks, main tanks, main battle tanks, reconnaissance vehicles, armoured personnel carriers and other utility vehicles etc. used in the theatre of operations and offices. This is why the military considered the volatility of the region producing this product as a threat to national security. The military has an enormous interest in the region that produces these natural resources and is actively

¹⁹ Michael Nyong, "Defense Spending, Savings and Economic Development in Nigeria" in Celestine Bassey Oyom. and Charles Quarker Dokubo, (eds.), *Defence Policy of Nigeria: Capability and Context*, 2011, pp 210-225.

²⁰ David Lai, "Asian-Pacific: A Strategic Assessment" (U.S. Army War College Press, 2013), pp. 1-80

²¹ Clayton K.S Chun, pp. 199-201

Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1948), p.84.

²³ Civil Liberty Organization, *Blood, Trial, Repression and Resistance in Niger Delta* (Lagos: CLO 2002), p.1.

involved to keep peace in the Niger Delta region and to ensure an uninterrupted flow of oil so that the country can meet its military and international obligations²⁴

Other resources necessary for military strategy is the possession of uranium, coal and iron. The availability of these natural resources can boost industrialization and the military-industrial complex. The Democratic Republic of Congo possesses a large amount of uranium but cannot turn it into significant military use. The availability of these gifts of nature can turn a hitherto weak nation into a powerful one if such a nation can effectively harness them for better use through industrialization. Thus, Jared explained that “empires with steel weapons were able to conquer or exterminate tribes with weapons of stones and woods”²⁵. A country’s industrial capacity determines its economic progress and the influence it exudes in the international arena. Morgenthau observed that “a country’s industrial base signifies its status as a great power in modern times”²⁶. The possession of these natural resources can propel a country to global prominence as was witnessed in Europe during the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution saw Europe export its technology of warfare to other parts of the world like the western hemisphere, Africa, and the Far East. The invention of fifteen and Nineteen centuries of infantry firearms and artilleries added impetus and changed the narratives of warfare where feudal lords and independent cities had believed in the use of castles and cavalry to prosecute wars.²⁷

Furthermore, the concept of success and victory in modern wars is concomitant to the nature of investment in military science and technology. A strong industrial base that harped on the production of defence equipment in war and peacetime is very necessary for a given country. The victory of modern wars is anchored on the nation’s industrial capacities to produce modern weapons such as quality highways, railroads, trucks, ships, aeroplanes, tanks and other equipment like mosquito nets, automatic rifles, oxygen masks and communication gadgets without compromising their qualities²⁸. A good example of great powers is the United States and the modern-day Russia. Ali Mazuri posits that “the United States is the world’s most powerful nation who is ahead of its rivalry, in military might; it is ten times ahead of ten countries put together. Economically, it is central to the world’s economy. In science and technology, American researchers continue to win a disproportionate share of the relevant Nobel Peace prizes.”²⁹ The United States possess enormous human and material resources that made them the most powerful nation on the surface of the earth, and any discussion about military and economic strategy must always refer to the United States. Thus, the Economist of London posits that:

In any comparison of the potential resources of Great powers the United States, even before Hitler’s war, far outstripped every other nation in the World in material strength, scale of industrialization, weight of resources in a standard of living, and by every index of output and consumption. And the war, which all but double the American national income while it either ruined or severely weakened every other great power, has enormously increased the scale upon which the United States now towers above its fellows. Like mice in the cage of an elephant, they follow with apprehension the movement of a mammoth. What chance would they stand if it were to begin to throw its weight about, they who are in some danger even if it only decides to sit down? There is, indeed, one question analysts

²⁴ Akak, Ekanem Etim and Aboh, James Ajang, “Security Management in Democratic Society: A Panacea for Resolving Armed Conflict in the Niger Delta of Nigeria” *International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, Vol.02, Issue 01. www.journal-ijah.org. (2018), P.17.

²⁵ Diamond J., *Guns, Germs, and Steel: A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 Years*, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1997), P.16.

²⁶ Han Morgenthau 1948, p. 87.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 89.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 87

²⁹ Ali M., *Islam Between Globalization and Counterterrorism*, (United States: James Curry Ltd, 2006), p. xviii.

of power need not spend time asking about the strength of the United States if raw material resources, industrial capacity, scientific knowledge, productive know-how, and skilled labour are the ingredients of power. If these alone were the ingredients of power, then the United States could take on the rest of the world single-handedly³⁰.

How Nigeria's Economic Endowment Further Nigeria's Commitment to Global Peace

In the African region, Nigeria has the potential to maintain peace in the continent because of its leadership anchored on Nigeria's viable economic endowment just like the United States. Nigeria has committed this endowment to the stabilization of the African continent. Its natural endowment made a production of military hardware and mobilization of armed forces at standby disposition such that at any point in time they are called upon, they are readily available. Although no nation is self-sufficient, in Africa, Nigeria stands out as a country blessed with human capital and natural resources. Nigeria exports military influence in Africa because of its endowment with natural and human resources. These natural and human resources have translated into having a strong military judging from its participation in various peacekeeping operations in Africa. It is this realization of her endowments that Nigeria assumed a natural role in the early 1960s to rid the African continent of all traces of colonialism³¹. Nigeria believed true African independence would lead to a stable and prosperous continent. This engineered Nigeria to spearhead the formation of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) in 1963 now the African Union (A.U.) in 2001, the Lake Chad Basin in 1964 and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975, Nigeria-Benin and Nigeria-Niger as part of her strategic initiatives to exploit common resources for economic development and institutional framework for managing relations in the continent³².

In addition to the formation of organizations in the continent, Nigeria made concrete steps by identifying with African liberation struggles and participating in peacekeeping or peace support operations in the continent and around the world including the supply of its well-trained personnel. It takes a lot of economic resources to train personnel of the armed forces let alone the contingent that Nigeria has been sending every time for peacekeeping operations. Most times the personnel do not return alive. It estimated that Nigeria lost about 7 of its personnel in Somalia and 703 for ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone³³. These interventions include the Democratic Republic of Congo as UN Peace Keeping Operation 1960-1964, the UN-Angola Verification Mission 1985-1997, UN Transition Assistance in Namibia 1989-1990, the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda 1990-1995, UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara 1991. Nigeria also led the role in restoring peace in war-torn Sierra Leone and Liberia through ECOWAS Monitoring Team between 1990-1999, and to Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire from 2002-2004 as well as Darfur region in Sudan. Nigeria supported the ECOWAS position and contributed to restoring civilian administration in Mali in 2012. This is a testament to Nigeria's avowed position to restore peace in Africa³⁴. At the global level, Nigeria participated in the United Nations

³⁰ Han Morgenthau, p.88

³¹ Julie, G. Sanda, "Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin Commission" in Bola, A Akinterinwa (ed.), *Nigeria's National Interests in a Globalized World: Further Reflections on the Constructive and Beneficial Concentricism: Nigeria's National Interests Beyond Nigeria*, (Ibadan: Bolytag International Publishers, 2007), P.112.

³² *ibid*

³³ Nuhu Bamalli, "Redefining Nigeria's Interest and Commitment in the Peace Support Operations" in Bola A. Akinterinwa (ed.) *Nigeria's National Interests in a Globalized World: Further Reflections and Constructive and Beneficial and Constructivism: Ngeria's National Interest Beyond Nigeria*, Ibadan: Bolytag International Publishers, 2007.98

³⁴ *ibid*.84

peacekeeping operation in Congo in 1960-1964, the United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF) 1962-1983, the United Nations Indian-Pakistan observer mission (UNIPOM) 1965-1966, United Nations interim force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) 1978-1983 and United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observers Group (UNIIMOG), 1985-1991³⁵.

In monetary terms, Nigeria has also committed to maintaining peace and stability in Africa and the world as Nigeria committed to payment of its dues to all international organizations it subscribed to. These dues are sometimes used for peace support operations. Nigeria also gave relief materials amounted to several million naira to Niger to ameliorate the suffering besetting them as a result of drought in 1979, pioneered the Relief Fund for South Africa (SARF) where Nigerians made donations to the tune of \$20 million and also donated arms to fight the apartheid regime in South Africa³⁶. Nigeria further gave \$20 million in financial donations and military support to the Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA) against the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), presented a cheque of \$250,000 to the liberation forces of Rhodesia in 1979 in furtherance of its commitment to free Africa from the shackles of colonialism³⁷.

In 1982, Nigeria “underwrites a total sum of 80 million dollars in the peacekeeping operation in Chad”. This was money promised by the United States and the United Kingdom for the operation but failed to redeem their pledge³⁸. Further N800 billion (USD 8 billion) was committed in the Liberian conflict between 1990-1997 in the ‘Operation Restore Liberty and (USD 1 million) per day in Sierra Leone.’³⁹. In addition to the financial support, Nigeria also gave training to the Liberian and Sierra Leonean military and police to enable them to take charge of maintaining internal peace in the case of the police and protecting her territorial borders for the militaries and paid workers' salaries on behalf of Benin republic government who had face economic hardship and unable to meet up and that pushed workers to embarked on strike⁴⁰.

Furthermore, in 1987, the regime of Ibrahim Babangida established Technical Aid Corps Scheme (TACS). The conception idea of the program was to give ample opportunities to young Nigerians who are qualified in their chosen careers to share their expert knowledge with the benefiting African countries. Temitope asserts that the program has made a positive impact and has engineered peace and progress in the continent⁴¹. In the same vein, Nigeria funded the construction of the Liberian section of the Trans-African Highway and write off \$30 million Liberian debt, supplied electricity to the Niger Republic through the Kanji Dam Hydropower generation to the tune of 30,000 kilowatts, and donated 12,000 tons of petroleum product to the Benin republic government⁴².

In supporting democracy in Africa, Nigeria has supported peaceful transitions of power and spoke against military coups in Africa. In 2007, President Olusegun Obasanjo waded into the military coup that overthrew the Equatorial Guinean president and called for the restoration of the president and threatened military fiat against coup plotters in Sao Tome and Principe unless the civilian government was restored in 2003⁴³. Recently, Nigeria took a

³⁵ Akak, Ekanem Etim “Nigerian Military and Modern wars in the Age of Globalization,” *International Journal of Humanitatis Theorticus*, Vol.6, Issue 2, (2022), PP. 225-226.

³⁶ Temitope, P. Ola, “Nigeria’s Assistance to African States: What are the Benefits”, *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, Vol.6. www.isdsnet.com/ijds (accessed and retrieved, 26th April 2023), 59-61

³⁷ Ibid 61

³⁸ Ibid 96

³⁹ Bassey E. Ate, “The ECOMOG Concept: Enhancing Regional Capacity for Conflict and Security Management in the 21st Century” in R.A. Akindele and Bassey E. Ate (eds.), *Beyond Conflict Resolution: Managing African Security in the 21st Century*, (Ibadan: Vintage Publishers Ltd, 2001), P.111.

⁴⁰ Temitope Ola, 61

⁴¹ ibid, 62

⁴² Ibid, 61

⁴³ Ibid, 60

stand and sanctioned 19 individuals who impeded the course of democracy in Guinea Bissau. In a thank-you visit to the state house by Guinea Bissau, the president appreciated the administration of President Mohammadu Buhari thus: “Thank you for standing by us in these 20 years of instability. you have assisted us with our elections. You have assisted in stabilizing Guinea Bissau. I assure you that your support for democracy in this country and the entire subregion is much appreciated by the people, who as you have seen troop to greet you”⁴⁴.

Nigeria’s Rich Economy and Lack of Investment in Military Industrial Development

Nigeria as a nation is endowed with arable farmland so rich for agriculture and an enormous amount of petroleum and gas deposits with other numerous resources that are unquantifiable. The petroleum reserve deposit is estimated to be 16 and 22 billion barrels while the gas is estimated at 104.7 cubic feet (bcf) of proven natural gas reserve⁴⁵. Between 1958 to 2016, Nigeria is estimated to have derived 96.212 trillion from the sales of crude oil and gas⁴⁶. Despite these humongous earnings, Nigeria as a country has not invested much in the military-industrial complex. Investment in the military-industrial complex is a sure way to have strong military defence and a signpost to being a symbol of great power among nations of the world. Perhaps, the long stay of the military in power, fear of military coups and the realization of the sweetness in controlling the levers of government other than their constitutional roles in Nigeria may have discouraged the military from investing in its very own institution, in terms of training and logistics “a strategy by the military men in power to secure their hold on power.”⁴⁷ This situation has brought set back to the military when they were confronted with new security challenges that threatened the unity and sovereignty of the country.

The Nigerian military was accused of human rights violations and denied essential weapons by Western nations to quell the rebellion in the country. This denial occurred during Nigerian- Biafran war that lasted for 30 months. Nigerian military during this time relied on the goodwill of the Soviet Union and Egypt to prosecute the war.⁴⁸ A similar fate ensued during the ECOMOG Operation in Sierra Leone in 1997-2000. The sanction imposed on Nigeria by NATO during Abacha’s regime for the killing of Ken Saro Wiwa crippled the operational capacity of the ECOMOG Force and it could not defend its territories⁴⁹. In 1993-1998, an arms embargo was placed on Nigeria. The provocative behaviours of the West in denying access to the less developed nations to arms in times of conflict pushed countries like Brazil, South Africa and Israel to develop their defence capabilities. Nigeria recently suffered another denial from the United States for the supply of vital military hardware to prosecute the war against Boko Haram insurgents. They denied the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan access to weapons of precision on account of human rights violations. Nigeria went to Israel and Brazil, United States bluntly blocked Nigeria from getting the weapons that would have ended the Boko Haram war. This deadly group has murdered more than 200,000 souls in the countries around Lake Chad, over 2,000,000 have been made refugees, 2.4 million are internally displaced and 7 million people required urgent humanitarian assistance since its violent campaign in 2009⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ Press Release, President Buhari Vows the Defence of Democracy in Africa, December 7, 2022, www.statehouse.gov.ng (accessed and retrieved 26, April 2023).

⁴⁵ Civil Liberties Organization, Blood Trial, Repression and Resistance, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Clifford, N. 96 Trillion Oil Revenue: How Nigeria short-changed Oil Producing Are <https://www.vanguardngr.com>, (access and retrieved 21/8/ 2016)

⁴⁷ Moses Metumara Duruji, Sunday Idowu, *et al*, “Military Budget, War Against Boko Haram Insurgency, and Its Implication on Nigerian Politics and Economy”

⁴⁸ Sunday Ochoche, The Military as an Institution for Peace and Stability in *Africa in The African Union and the Challenges of Cooperation and Integration*, (Ibandan: Spectrum Books Ltd, 2002), p. 172.

⁴⁹ Celestine Bassey, Defence Policy of Nigeria: Capability and Context, p. 230.

⁵⁰ Tukur Yusuf Buratai.277

Irritated by the situation, the Nigerian government berated the United States through Nigeria's ambassador, Adebowale Adefuye. Adefuye complained in the Council of foreign relations in Washington that; "United States support for the fight against Boko Haram had been inadequate, including its refusal to grant Nigeria's request to purchase lethal weapons that could be used to attempt to defeat insurgents"⁵¹. They based their non-refusal on the spurious allegation of human rights abuse by the Nigerian military. Nigeria over time has found itself in a mess like this but had not learned any lesson. Right from independence in 1960, Nigeria had continuously budgeted huge amounts of money for defence, but these monies so budgeted have not adequately addressed Nigeria's defence needs. A case in point is the six billion dollars annually budgeted for defence but the military is still struggling to contain the ravaging Boko Haram group.

Conclusion

It is safe to submit that Nigeria's economy plays an important role in beefing up the defence that crystallizes into Nigeria's contributions to international peace. The economy in this context refers to the trading of finished goods or the exportation of raw materials. The Nigerian economy is raw materials based, and exploitation of these resources has increased Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product and enhanced its finance of large military spending that resulted in the acquisition of new aircraft, tanks and other weapons to energize the national security. The economy symbolizes Nigeria's long-term element of national power. The aggregation of these resources and other statecraft further Nigeria's strategic interest in subregional, regional, and global affairs. Acquisition and deployment of this long-term element of power in conjunction with military power has helped stabilized crises situations in Africa and confers prestige on Nigeria in the comity of nations and in the long run further the nation's vital interests. Nigeria is committed to peace in the African region. A peaceful translates to a peaceful Nigeria. It is the realization of this that Nigeria defines its engagements with other nations through a spiderweb of Nigeria's national interest. Thus, the innermost national interest represents Nigeria's security, independence and prosperity as tied to Nigeria's immediate neighbours, seconded by Nigeria's relations to her West African neighbours, thirdly by her relations and commitment to other African states and finally her commitment to global peace through engagement with international organizations.⁵² This is achieved through the aggregation and deployment of Nigeria's economic resources.

⁵¹ The Economist Intelligent Unit, Nigeria Criticizes US for Refusing Arms Sale, [country.eiu.com >article>country=nig](https://country.eiu.com/article/country=nig)

⁵² Julie G Sanda, p. 113.