

# An appraisal of the Nigerian defense policy and national security


*Evaluación de la política de defensa y la seguridad nacional en Nigeria*

**Abstract:** Defence policies encompass various state activities aimed at ensuring national security (NS), integrating international security and military decisions to protect sovereignty and interests. These policies guide when and how to engage national armed forces, with evolving strategies reflecting each nation's development and global context. Sun Tzu's view in *The Art of War* underscores the crucial role of defence, stressing its necessity for a state's survival. Major shifts in American defence strategy post-September 11 involved proactive measures against terrorism, aiming to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Similarly, China's National Defense Policy (NDP) highlights its adaptability to international political shifts. Defence policies thus structure a nation's NS approach, steering its armed forces to uphold sovereignty, economic goals, and global responsibilities. This study explores the link between defence policies and NS, assessing their challenges and impacts, particularly in the context of Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Defense Policy; Security; National Security.

**Resumen:** Las políticas de defensa se refieren a una variedad de actividades de un Estado para garantizar su seguridad nacional (SN), que incluyen las decisiones de seguridad internacional y uso militar para proteger la soberanía e intereses nacionales. Estas políticas orientan cuándo y cómo movilizar a las fuerzas armadas, con estrategias que evolucionan en función del desarrollo del país y del contexto global. Sun Tzu, en *El Arte de la Guerra*, señala la importancia esencial de la defensa para la supervivencia de un estado. Entre los cambios significativos en la estrategia de defensa estadounidense tras el 11 de septiembre se incluyeron medidas proactivas contra el terrorismo, con el objetivo de prevenir la proliferación de armas de destrucción masiva. Del mismo modo, la Política de Defensa Nacional (PDN) de China se adapta a los cambios de la política internacional. De esta manera, las políticas de defensa se articulan en el marco de la SN de un país, dirigiendo sus fuerzas armadas para garantizar la soberanía, objetivos económicos y responsabilidades globales. Este estudio analiza las relaciones entre las políticas de defensa y la SN, trazando sus retos e impactos, especialmente en el contexto de Nigeria.

**Palabras clave:** Política de Defensa; Seguridad; Seguridad Nacional.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The first fundamental responsibility and obligation of any state is to provide security for its citizens. This involves the relative absence of security challenges and harmful threats to their lives and properties. The importance and relevance of this to the survival, progress, and material development of any state is impossible to be overemphasized. Several states design and evolve policy frameworks that seek to harmonize their national interests with the available national resources, strategic environment, and real and perceived threats. The importance of this is that defense structures and policies provide the necessary guiding principles to national security (NS) priorities. The Nigerian National Defense Policy (NDP) 2006 is designed to ensure its NS by deterring external threats and aggression. While its primary concern is to avoid war through diplomacy and deterrence, the nation ensures that its Armed Forces can successfully defend Nigerian territory and its people. The Nigerian NDP 2006 further instructs that it is anchored on six interrelated principles of prevention, protection, deterrence, rapid force mobilization, force projection and co-operation with allies since its independence.

In line with the National Defense Strategy, embedded in the NDP, the Armed Forces of Nigerian (AFN) must be capable of credible deterrence, engage in low intensity conflicts and be able to protect the nation's sea lane of communication. The dominance for battle space in air defense zones and the immediate operational areas must also be achieved. From the above, it is possible to infer that the Nigerian NDP is grounded in conventional defense strategy. However, the Nigerian NDP has many fundamental flaws that inhibit its proper function. For instance, the policy has failed to properly articulate how Nigeria will attain its independent capacity for deterrence and its employment as a principle of national defense. It is unwise to assume that the existing military infrastructure provides sufficient deterrence against potential aggressors, especially in light of current threats. Without a strong and self-propelled national technological and industrial base, Nigeria is unable to develop enough military infrastructures as instruments of NDP. For a country that is unable to generate sufficient technological base to support modern military, it is pointless to talk of force projection, rapid mobilization, or even co-operation with allies on an equal basis. Thus, it is a matter of national emergency for policy makers and defense analysts to start exploring the possibilities of understanding and remedying these evident flaws in the Nigerian NDP.

It is against this, that this research seeks to answer the following questions:

- What is the relation between the NDP and NS in Nigeria?
- What are the challenges of the NDP on NS in Nigeria?
- How can the NDP enhance NS in Nigeria?

The main objective of this study is to identify the challenges and prospects of NDP on NS in Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

- Establish the relationship between the NDP and NS in Nigeria.
- Examine the existing provisions of the NDP that impact NS in Nigeria.
- Identify the challenges of the NDP on NS in Nigeria.
- Propose strategies to enhance the NDP and NS in Nigeria.

This study is beneficial to the Nigerian Federal Government, Ministry of Defense, and Armed Forces in policy formulation for NS. It is also expected to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on Nigerian NDP. This study will further serve as reference material for scholars and future analysts. This research covered 2000–2020. This period was chosen because Nigeria witnessed an increased threat on NS. This time frame also aims to address the most contemporary issues surrounding NDP and NS, making this study current and relevant. This study suffered limitations from inadequate knowledge and awareness of the content of the NDP by most interviewed people. The limitation was mitigated by personally contacting selected commanders in the field and using questionnaires and formal/informal interviews with relevant staff officers in the Defense Headquarters. Therefore, the aforementioned limitations failed to adversely affect the findings of this research.

## **2 LITERATURE REVIEW/CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE**

### **2.1 Defense Policy**

Defense policies have been defined by Alli as a “deliberate and obligatory plan of action to guide government decisions and achieve rational outcome on when and how to commit national armed forces” (Alli, 1994). This definition identifies NDP with the mechanism for the commitment of the armed forces. However, it fails to sufficiently address the purpose of the policy. According to Kazir, NDP is “the articulation of the military means for the protection of the cherished interest and values of a state” (Kazir, 1995). This definition explains the purpose of NDP but fails to enlist the determinant factors of NDP as required in this study. This called for the modification of this view. Chuter referred to NDP as a broad set of rules and guidelines for activities of the military in the pursuit of constitutional roles (Chuter, 2000). He further posited that it contains fundamental imperatives that involve the principal determinants of an NDP. These include domestic and foreign policies, envisaged size of the military, the budget, the procurement program, and overall policy objectives of a government. Chuter’s explanation addressed the parameters for articulating an NDP. This view provides a complementary explanation to the above definitions of an NDP.

Therefore, based on the foregoing explanation, this study understands the NDP as “a national plan for employment of its armed forces for the protection of national interest.” A defense policy that involves providing, developing, and using military resources to facilitate the protection and pursuit of the national interests of the state.

### **2.2 Security**

Williams P.D. (2008) equally submits that security is most commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherished values, especially those to the survival of a particular reference object. In line with the above, Imobighe states that security is associated with freedom from danger or threats to a nation’s ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest, and enhance the well-being of its people (Imobighe,

1990). Additionally, Ogaba opined that internal security could be seen as the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies that could undermine internal cohesion and the corporate existence of a country and its ability to maintain its vital institutions to promote its core values and sociopolitical and economic objectives and meet the legitimate aspirations of its people (Ogaba, 2010).

Therefore, it could be inferred that security, be it classical, state-centric, traditionalist, or non-traditionalist, involves protecting assets (including living and non-living resources) against loss or damage.

### 2.3 National Security

National security is a concept the military employ in the defense of a nation. This concept primarily refers to preserving the sovereignty and independence of nation-states. NS is closely related to, often equated, juxtaposed with, and, in fact, evolved from the idea of national interest. Lippman defined NS as the ability of a nation to maintain its core values, avoid war, and, if challenged, maintain its core values by victories in war (Lippman, 2006). His definition originated from traditional defense policies and is consistent with a realist notion of NS. It includes military actions of a state to ensure its total capacity to survive as a sovereign nation. As such, this definition is restrictive and, therefore, inapt for this study.

Wolfers avers that NS revolves around national interest and the basic values—such as food, shelter, safety, health, peace, and prosperity—that keep a community together and advance the quality and quantity of life available to individuals (Wolfers, 1952). However, his definition enumerated some attributes of NS but failed to consider military involvement and thus is unsuitable for the purpose of this study. On the other hand, the Cold War era concept of NS was based purely on military variables. In this vein, “any society that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortages, population explosion, low level of productivity and per capita income, low technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problem of unemployment, has a false sense of security” (Abifarin; Bello, 2017). McNamara further asserts that “Security is not military hardware, though it may include it. Security is not military force, though it may involve it. Security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it. Security is development. Without development, there can be no security.”

According to McGrew (1988), the security of a nation is predicated on two central pillars. On the one hand, it entails maintaining and protecting the socioeconomic order from internal and external threat. On the other hand, it entails promoting a preferred international order that minimizes the threat to core values and interests and to the domestic order. Therefore, the preoccupation with NS regarding this always creates an apprehension over security that tends to generate military activity regardless of the nature of threats.

It is important to stress that the contemporary thinking about NS is that it is an all-inclusive concept that connotes the element of development in economy, society, the environment, food,

equality of life, and technological security. To highlight this point, Nwolise explains that security as an all-encompassing holistic concept implies that the territory must be secured by a network of armed forces (Nwolise, 2006). He posited that a democratic and patriotic government must guarantee the sovereignty of the state, which, in turn, receives protection from the military, the police, and the people themselves. He further posited that the people must not only be secured from external attacks but also from the devastating consequences of internal upheavals, unemployment, hunger, diseases, environmental degradation, and socioeconomic injustices. One of the greatest crises in Nigeria today stems from poverty. Accordingly, NS must include the capacity to provide citizens with conducive social, economic, and political conditions to happiness and relative prosperity. Thus, the tranquility and well-being of a society are necessary components of NS. However, it is advisable to view the national crisis in Nigeria in terms of contending groups, organizations, and individuals as the prime object of security. This dispenses with the narrow-minded conception of NS primarily from its military-strategic dimension, particularly in terms of defending its territory and sovereignty. It recognizes that the process of building a nation with its inherent contradictions constitute major NS threats. Air Chief Marshal Paul Dike (2010), in his analysis of NS in Nigeria, stated that Nigerian security is based on a holistic view that sees citizens as the primary beneficiaries of every security and developmental deliverable the state can offer. It, therefore, means that NS entails preserving the safety of Nigerians at home and abroad and of the sovereignty of the integrity of the country and its interests.

However, analyzing the new patterns of global security, Buzan acknowledges the distinction between individual and NS and suggested that NS in the 21st century will be dominated by hard and soft security sectors he classified as food security, economic security, social security, environmental security, and defense of nation from external aggression (Buzan, 1999). His definition highlights the importance of different security sectors, which were adopted for this study.

#### **2.4 The Nigerian Defense Policy and National Security**

The issue of an existing, concise, and codified defense policy is a highly debatable and controversial one in Nigeria. The furor over an articulate military policy stem, on the one hand, from a perspective that contends that the armed forces of Nigeria lacked a well-documented defense policy and firm posture in responding to threats of territorial violations from its neighbors (Alli, 1994). The analysis of Vogt posited the lack of clarity and understanding of the political factors that should dictate the nature of defense policies (Vogt, 1986). This has led to the pursuit of diverse and often contradictory policies by the various arms of the defense establishment. On the other hand lies the military perspective. It expounds that the acts of the AFN, the Nigerian Constitution on Foreign Policy, and the responsibility of government contain certain provisions that translated into the NDP.

To consolidate the NDP, military authorities created a document entitled the “National Defense Policy” in 2006. This document, based on an analysis of the Nigerian strategic environment, offered the government a short-term policy defense framework, which also analyzed the risks and challenges (national interests and threats) facing the AFN and the scenarios for the deployment of forces. It specified the objectives of that defense policy and the management and

organization of the armed forces. Furthermore, it highlighted the various aspects of resource support, such as defense infrastructure, research and development, defense budget, reform goals in the armed forces, among others. Moreover, the policy enumerated the importance of civil-military and media relations in peace and in times of war. According to the NDP, this particular aspect constitutes an overarching goal that not only emphasizes the consolidation of civil control over the military but also configures a characteristic of a truly democratic society.

## **2.5 Relationship Between Defense Policy and National Security**

Defense policies aim to actualize the NS policies of nations. This constitutes the roadmap by which nations choose to carry out their security agenda. On the other hand, according to Ogundana (2001), the armed forces constitute the instrument that place defense policies into effect. Essentially, they bring defense policies into fruition using military strategy. Military strategy, as a derivative of defense policies, relates to the employment of the armed forces in the execution of national policy by show of force, threat of force, or direct use of force. The military strategy of any nation occurs in its ability to link military power to political purposes and NS. The defense policy of a nation must be grounded upon a realistic assessment of the strategic environment in which it will operate. This assessment is necessary since the environment is both the source of opportunities a state may pursue as well as the threats to its NS. From this, the response of a nation will reflect the judgement of its government on what is necessary and possible in the pursuit of its national interests. As Clausewitz (1982) stated, a successful military strategy may be a means to an end but it is not an end in itself. History offers numerous examples in which victory on the battlefield fail to translate into long term peace, security, or tranquility. Therefore, a successful military strategy has a direct link on the NS and the defense policy of a country.

## **3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The literature on issues surrounding NS in Nigeria is vast. However, few studies focus on both the NDP and NS. In addition to reviewing the relevant literature, the methodology in this study includes a qualitative research based on interaction with stakeholders and resources from relevant persons in the defense sector. The analyzed data are shown in descriptive form. Collection was done both directly and indirectly from primary and secondary sources of data. Interviews were conducted with relevant persons and essential publications were searched. Data were presented as tables and qualitatively analyzed before logical conclusions were drawn from them. However, no interviewee was directly contacted. The next section will analyze the assessment of the defense policy and NS in Nigeria.

## **4 EXISTING PROVISION OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY THAT IMPACTED NATIONAL SECURITY**

This section examines the evolution and existing provisions of the NDP that have impacted NS. It will end with the challenges and prospects of NDP on NS in Nigeria.

#### 4.1 Evolution of the National Defense Policy

In its history, Nigeria experienced an ad-hoc formulation of its defense policy. However, according to Adisa (1983), attempts (particularly in the late 1970s) aimed to formally lay down a policy framework governing the conduct of defense in Nigeria. On the basis of such a significant event, it would be pertinent to look briefly at the development and evolution of the Nigerian Defense Policy. Adisa further posited that, during the negotiation for Nigerian independence, the British were said to have predicated the granting of independence on the signing of a defense pact as means of providing a security shield over Nigeria. Thus, the Anglo-Nigeria Defense Pact was signed in 1958 with provisions to establish a British Military Base in Nigeria and to train officers of the AFN — as collaborated by a participant during a concluding seminar at the Nigerian War College (2007). As expected, the Pact failed to justify its existence and was abrogated in 1964 due to the domestic opposition to the neocolonial tone of the agreement.

During the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), the strength of the Armed Forces increased dramatically. This increase was easily sustained due to the oil boom of the period. However, the economic recession that immediately followed the war made it increasingly difficult for the government at the time to adequately meet the enormous demands and the need for a bloated Armed Forces. This reorganized, demobilized, and restructured the Force. Subsequently, a Nigerian NDP was required.

Based on Nigerian national interests, core values, and threat perception, a Defense Policy was drafted in 1979. As the Foreign Policy, it had three dimensional and interrelated focus: Nigerian, African, and World peace and security. Since then, a number of domestic developments have occurred, such as ethnic and religious agitation, criminal activities, poverty, civil unrest, and HIV/AIDS. Others refer to global subversive penetrations, such as border violations and the spillover effect of conflict from neighboring states, terrorism, and globalization, requiring a thorough review of its defense policy to accommodate such eventualities. The framework of the NDP, which had Africa as its center piece, has gradually shifted focus to the domestic, subregional, and global axes.

The existing NDP emanates from the Nigerian NS policy and focuses on preserving the safety of Nigerians at home and abroad and protecting its sovereignty and the integrity of its assets. The elaboration of this defense policy considered a number of factors, beginning with the hierarchy of policies, which usually translates into a national, foreign, security, and defense policies.

According to the Nigerian NDP (2006), the nation shall sustain a sufficient defense capability and express its intentions according to the prevailing circumstances to ensure that potential aggressors have no doubt of its willingness to use its Armed Forces and all its available weapons. The document further states that the policy would prioritize force modernization and development over the acquisition of basic deterrence capabilities. This evinces that deterrence and force projection configure the main elements and principles that underpin the Nigerian NDP.

### 4.2 Principles of the Nigerian Defense Policy

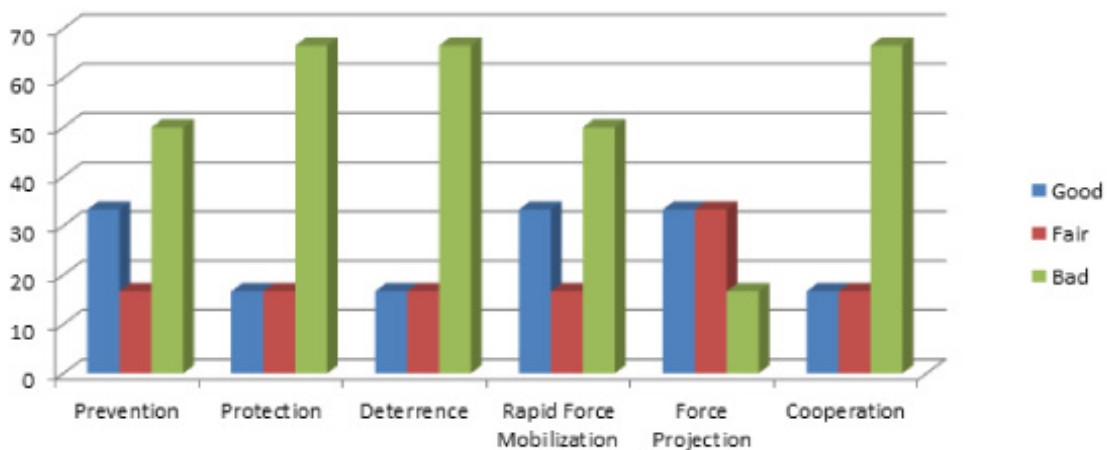
Since its independence, the Nigerian NDP is anchored on six interrelated principles of prevention, protection, deterrence, rapid force mobilization, force projection, and cooperation with allies. This study asked interviewees to rate how effectively these principles have been achieved, Table 1 and Figure 1 shows the results.

**Table 1. Effectiveness of the Principle of NDP**

Serial	Principles of NDP	Good	Frequency	Fair	Frequency	Bad	Frequency	Total
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
1.	Prevention	2	33.3	1	16.7	3	50	6
2.	Protection	1	16.7	1	16.7	4	66.6	6
3.	Deterrence	1	16.7	1	16.7	4	66.6	6
4.	Rapid Force Mobilization	2	33.3	1	16.7	3	50	6
5.	Force Projection	2	33.3	2	33.3	2	33.3	6
6.	Cooperation	1	16.7	1	16.7	4		6

Source: XXXX.

**Figure 1. Bar Chart showing the Effectiveness of the NDP Principles**



Source: Researcher's Interviews, 2023.



The above shows that the Nigerian NDP has failed to perform credibly. According to Steve Okechukwu, a Security Consultant, NS has also suffered due to this poor performance. Thus, analysis of NS concerns itself with the way and manner nations plan, make, and evaluate their decisions and policies that aim to maximize their relative ability to ensure the survival and continuity of their vital interests. In Nigeria, the choice of conventional defense strategy no doubt is informed by its historical experience and less by any conscious effort from policymakers to develop a strong defense strategy for NS. The Nigerian geostrategic location and its own view of national interest are equally responsible for such choices. Located in a region of comparatively more fragile countries regarding human and financial resources, Nigeria would be unable to define its national interests beyond these considerations. According to Chris Oyewole, Security Consultant, “since independence, successive Nigerian leaders have emphasized 2 principles as the fundamental tenets of the country’s policy. One is Afrocentrism and the other is good neighborliness.”

In line with this thinking, Nigeria theoretically and practically limits its defense policy to military preparedness as the tangible vital element of NS and defense. Oyewole further opined that the Nigerian strategy for national defense is “to avoid war through diplomacy and deterrence; the nation will ensure that the Armed Forces possess the capability to successfully defend Nigerian territory and people.” This forms the bulk of the Nigerian ultimate strategy of defense and security in general.

#### 4.3 Some of the Content of the Nigerian Defense Policy

The Nigerian defense policy has the following content. This includes its objectives, geostrategic environment, peace support operation (PSO), technology, defense budget, and civil-military relations. The DP has also addressed the security concern of Nigeria in a fast-changing global security environment.

**Defense Policy Objectives.** The overall objectives of the Defense Policy refer to protecting Nigerian national interests under the supremacy of its Constitution. Thus, specific defense objectives were set to secure Nigerian national interests. The NDP (2006) has the following objectives: the Protection of Nigerian sovereignty, citizens, values, culture interests, resources, and territory against external threats; the promotion of defense, as well as strategic advice and information to the government; the promotion of security consciousness among Nigerians; and responses to request for aid to the civil authority.

Other objectives include participating in disaster management and humanitarian relief operations both at home and abroad, aiding government agencies in achieving national goals, protecting Nigerians wherever they may reside, ensuring security and stability in the West African sub-region with collective security, participating in bi-lateral and multi-lateral operations, and contributing to international peace and security.

**Geostrategic Environment.** The geostrategic environment has been categorized into two broad aspects: domestic and external environment. In domestic environment, the economy, defense spending, and other domestic issues feature prominently, whereas the external environment encompasses global and regional factors.

**Domestic Environment.** The large Nigerian population constitutes a high military power potential, providing an immense opportunity for rapid mobilization in time of crisis. However, according to Gbor JWT (2010), its population mixture (with more than 350 ethnic groups) has often been a source of conflict. The Nigerian case also involves the additional perception of marginalization, injustice, and inequitable distribution of resources. This has snowballed into the rise of ethnic organizations, such as the Oodua Peoples Congress, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta, Arewa People's Congress, Boko Haram, among others. These domestic developments, tend to act as a catalyst to instability and have thus become the dominant threats to be factored into the NDP.

**External Environment.** The resultant effect of the end of the Cold War enthroned a paradigm shift within the domestic and external environments. Some of the effects of these developments include the integration and fragmentation within the international system, globalization, and the revolution in information and communications technology (ICT). Others include shifts in the nature of crises from inter to intra-state, with attendant humanitarian conditions, ascendancy of non-state actors in global affairs, pluralism, awareness, and other democratic values. According to Gbor JWT (2010), the growth of transnational crimes such as small arms proliferation, drugs, human trafficking, and terrorism, and the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS configure other factors. These developments have impacted nations to varying degrees. The most evident manifestations of these global developments in the domestic environment include ethnic and religious agitations, poverty, criminal activities, large crude oil bunkering, civil unrest, and HIV/AIDS. Others include terrorism, the spillover of financial and economic crimes from conflicts in neighboring states, and globalization.

**Peace Support Operation.** The AFN has been involved in many PSOs around the world for over 30 years and has performed creditably well during those operations. According to Lawal ([2---?]), the Nigerian participation in PSOs as articulated in its NDP expresses its will and ability to provide security resources and show solidarity for collective international security. It also provides the necessary exposure to the Armed Forces working in cooperation with forces from other nations. It is important to note that, while the commitment of the AFN in the execution of its constitutional role is increasing, no corresponding improvement in the operational efficiency of its force has occurred. This is largely due to the deplorable state of its equipment and inadequate funding as a result of other competing factors in the national economy.

The lack of adequate budgetary allocation for the AFN portends great challenges for effective planning, equipment maintenance, among others; imperative for a transformation process. Therefore, a National Policy on PSO is required to address the AFN's level of commitment and fund utilization, to obtain reimbursement, and to participate with other governmental agencies in PSOs.

**Technology.** The capacity of a country to produce military hardware offers a measure of the level of its military technology. Over the years, advancement in technology has played a growing influence in the development of weapon platforms. In the AFN, technological applications have been synonymous with the history of individual services. Military equipment, systems, and platforms

have been acquired from diverse foreign vendors, whereas others have been locally produced or assembled. The Nigerian government knows of this apparent weakness in its defense posture despite the establishment of the Defence Industries Incorporation of Nigeria (DICON) in 1963 to research and produce military hardware for the AFN. Thus, technology as provision of NDP has failed to greatly impact NS in Nigeria.

Although, according to the Reviewed National Integrated Infrastructure Master Plan (2020), the federal government of Nigeria has taken a deliberate step to revamp DICON so it may manufacture great military needs. Such effort is yet to be observed. Similarly, Okogun et al. state that the investment in development and utilization of ICT capacity and capability has yielded significant economic development, but the same cannot be said about its impact on the NS in Nigeria. The Nigerian National Policy for Information Technology has provided strategic guidelines for the development and use of ICT in AFN since 2001. Despite these provisions, a defense ICT is yet to be promulgated to jointly articulate this ICT policy for the services. The lack of human capacity building, poor policy implementation, and lack of industrial basis and political will configure some of the problems against the provision of NDP for technological development. However, the NDP has provided technology through various military establishments and technological developments. Thus, DICON could be enhanced to produce military hardware for the AFN.

**Defense Budget.** A contentious provision of the NDP involves funding. It is very possible to actualize the provision of the NDP if the government adequately funds the AFN to the standard required to achieve the NDP. the NDP stated that efforts should be made to modernize and upgrade military equipment to creditably enable the discharged military forces their constitutional duties at home and abroad. This requires an appropriate level of funding for the force. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2023), global military expenditure increased by 3.7% in real terms in 2022. However, the peculiar circumstances of a country will ultimately determine the percentage it will adopt and the need to reprofessionalize its military.

Presently, the increase in Defense budget in Nigeria follows the insecurity in some of its regions, especially the Northeast, in which the military is highly engaged in fighting insurgency. Prior to 2010, the defense GDP was 1.06% — 0.63554% in 2022, according to the World Bank. This is considered inadequate when compared to countries such as the USA, India, and Brazil, which show 3.5, 2.4, and 1.1%, respectively, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2023). Additionally, it is inadequate considering the numerous threats it faces, evincing the need for adequate funding of the AFN to enable it to acquire the required capabilities to be effective and efficient in achieving its constitutional role and NDP objectives.

**Security.** Ensuring security for Nigeria currently means, above all, keeping the consequences of crises and conflicts at bay and taking an active part in their prevention and containment. To ensure its security, assert its sovereignty, and show its willingness to defend itself, Nigeria is prepared to use the complete spectrum of its national policy

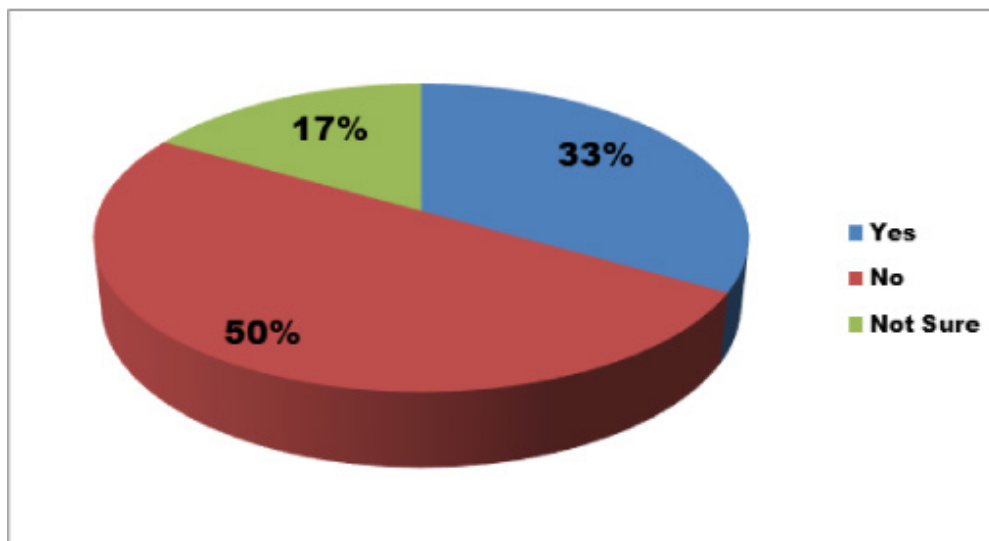
instruments, including its armed forces. Military operations have far-reaching political consequences. Each individual case must have a clear answer to the question of whether Nigerian interests require and justify an operation and what the consequences of non-action would be. Nigerians can be certain that the available national forces, assets, and capabilities will be used to deliver fast and effective help in aid to civil authority. This research asked all respondents if the NDP adequately guaranteed the security of the Nigerian people. Table 2 and Figure 2 depict their responses.

**Table 2. Has the NDP ensured security in Nigeria?**

<b>Serial</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>	<b>Remark</b>
<b>(a)</b>	<b>(b)</b>	<b>(c)</b>	<b>(d)</b>	<b>(e)</b>
1.	Yes	2	33	
2.	No	3	50	
3.	Unsure	1	17	
4.	Total	6	100	

Source: XXXX.

**Figure 2. Pie Chart showing if the NDP has ensured security in Nigeria.**



Source: Research Survey, 2023.

Responsibility for the protection of its citizens exceeds the borders of Nigeria. According to Patrick Bassey (Senior Lecturer in Defense Policy and National Security), “in case of imminent danger abroad, it must be possible to rescue and evacuate Nigerians in the best possible way by the employment of Nigerian forces alone.” The traditional distinction between external and internal security has become ever less important in the light of current risks and threats. Today, safeguarding Nigeria interests is only possible by a involving the entire government. Therefore, Nigeria needs a national, comprehensive, and coordinated defense policy that includes political and diplomatic initiatives, an economic development policy, and police and military measures. A comprehensive national approach to security can only be ensured if all competent national institutions and forces in Nigeria take up their responsibilities and capabilities laid down in the constitution. To achieve this, the goal-oriented interaction of the foreign service, development aid, police, armed forces, civil protection, disaster control, and the intelligence service must be enhanced at all levels.

## 5 CHALLENGES OF DEFENSE POLICY ON NATIONAL SECURITY

Having examined the various defense policy provisions that impact national security, it becomes imperative to discuss its challenges, which include insecurity and poor technological development, human capacity building, and resource allocation, to mention a few. This following section highlight the aforementioned challenges.

**Insecurity.** The emerging insecurity in the domestic and external environment has become volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous, resulting in asymmetric and subversive threats from the influx of criminal elements from neighboring states owing to instability and the emergence of ethnicity- and ethnic-related conflicts in the country, which challenge the promotion of national cohesion, integration, and security. The current insecurity in Nigeria arises from the influx of foreign/criminal elements across its borders, foreign interference, and unemployed youths, fostering instability and resulting into dominant threats. Addressing the situation will require focusing on reviewing the NDP to transform the AFN and address the domestic issues that threaten Nigerian vital interests and NS. Therefore, an enduring strategy must be elaborated to counter the challenges of insecurity within and in the immediate environs of Nigeria.

**Poor Technological Development.** The AFN falls short in the development and use of technological capacity and capability. Eze states that Nigeria rank among the countries with the lowest national defense capability in the world. This owes to the inadequate infrastructural and technological requirement that render countries independent. Moreover, countries with a powerful economy and industrial and technological basis support their defense infrastructure, structuring their armed forces and arms industries with well-built defense capabilities. It is impossible to refute that Nigeria shows the absence of strong and self-supporting industrial and technological capacity, challenging its NDP. Therefore, Nigeria must develop the required technological base that will drive its NDP.

**Poor Human Capacity Building.** Mmanti Umoh (2022) states that “without the right succession planning put to play in human resources, we build for the future without a future.” Manpower development is a human factor that directly affects productivity,

an activity that requires a long time. Note that nations with good manpower development and maintenance measures can assure the continuity of their agendas even in the face of extreme danger and confusion. Moreover, the sudden urge of vibrant men and women to leave the country to other, western climates greatly results in severe ‘Brain Drain.’ This not only robs a country of trained professionals that can handle its affairs in the future, but it also leaves a vacuum that cannot be filled by those available within most economic sectors. Thus, Nigeria must create measures to train and retain skilled manpower.

**Poor Resource Allocation.** A well-funded defense promotes credible and robust armed forces with the requisite strength and capabilities to meet national objectives. As with Brazil, the current trend of inadequate resources allocation to the defense sector is rather worrisome. Without adequate resource support, the NDP would be unable to drive the AFN toward its assigned constitutional roles. Less money directed to defense sectors would equally mean that many scheduled activities will be shelved unless special or supplementary appropriations are made available. These further increases security problems within Nigeria and for the AFN, forcing its Ministry of Defense (MOD) to lobby lawmakers on ensuring the defense sector receives adequate funding.

## 6 PROSPECTS OF THE NDP ON NS

Having discussed some of the challenges to the NDP and how it affects NS, it is important to articulate possible solutions to some of these challenges.

**Re-Evaluation of the Security Architecture.** The emerging security situation in the domestic and external environments—which can best be described as volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous—offers serious risk and uncertainties for Nigeria. This poses a major challenge for the Nigerian NDP in ensuring NS as many of its current threats lie outside its defense policy. Equally, excluding NS and defense from the economic and industrial framework would amount to an operational disaster. Nigeria has the potential to be among the league of developed nations in the global scene but, to achieve this, it must critically re-evaluate its strategic environment, assess security threats to it, and properly articulate strategies on how it plans to use its available resources to achieve its domestic and international interests and objectives. Hence, the MOD could cause the Nigerian Defense Headquarters (DHQ), in collaboration with other security agencies, to develop a potential that would more effectively and efficiently contain possible threats, which would, in turn, address one of the challenges to Nigerian NDP. Thus, the MOD must cause the DHQ, in collaboration with other security agencies, to re-evaluate its principle of deterrence toward adopting a more effective approach to national defense and guarantee its NS.

**Fast Technological Development.** Regarding the need of technological advancement, the MOD, in liaison with the respective ministries, could conduct a science and technology survey to determine the available capacity in identified critical and sensitive areas. This could identify and develop a fast and high-level technical manpower program for selected personnel and institutions. Relatedly, the MOD could

further collaborate with the respective hardware manufacturing associations to identify private sector establishments with the necessary capabilities and propose a private-public partnership that would provide the necessary platforms for fabrication of needed hardware in the short term. Combining both options would enable a fast tracking of its technological base and a lasting re-engineering measure for its military industrial complex prospects. To this end, collaborations between the MOD and respective government agencies would ensure a smooth take of the military industrial complex. Additionally, the Nigerian government could maintain a collaborative effort with technologically advanced friendly countries in seeking access to technology and new processes with options of 'technological knowledge transfer' that would yield great dividends. Thus, the MOD must, in liaison with the respective ministries and friendly nations, facilitate a renewed take-off of the military industrial complex to alleviate the current technological backwardness of its technological sector and ensure NS.

**Increased Funding.** The ability of the AFN and its respective security architecture to contain possible threats would, to a reasonable extent, depend on appropriate funding. To the ordinary person on the street, security means safety or protection from harm and danger. Fage (1999) observed that a nation must be economically buoyant to achieve the objective of NS. He also adds that the training of manpower, procurement of armament, combat mission logistic operations, etc. are functionally predicated on national economic buoyancy. An economically buoyant nation can confidently exercise its national power. Tedheke, corroborating this view, asserts that economic power must be viewed as the ultimate source of national power. It constitutes the basis of the grand strategy of nation, the basis on which military strategy stands. Thus, the MOD must lobby the Nigerian national assembly to increase funding for the defense sector to achieve the NDP objectives for NS.

## 7 CONCLUSION

This study sought to establish the link between the NDP and NS in Nigeria. It began with the primary aim of examining the existing provisions of the NDP that impact NS in Nigeria. The course of this research extensively discussed concepts, especially of the NDP, security, and NS. It also reviewed the available relevant literature. This study established that the existing NDP emanates from the Nigerian NDS, which focuses on preserving the safety of Nigerians at home and abroad and protects the sovereignty of the country and the integrity of its assets. This study also established that the choice of conventional defense strategy is informed by the historical experience of a nation and less by any conscious effort from policymakers to develop a strong defense strategy for NS. This study also found that since its independence, the Nigerian NDP has only focused on two broad principles: Afrocentrism and good neighborliness.

This research found that some elements of the NDP affect its NS, such as the NDP objectives, geostrategic environment, PSO, technology, and defense budget. It further highlighted some of the challenges from the NDP to NS regarding insecurity and poor technological development, human capacity building, and resource allocation, to mention a few. However, this study offers prospects to solve these challenges, including the need for the

MOD to cause the DHQ, in collaboration with other security agencies, to re-evaluate the principle of deterrence toward the adoption of a more effective approach to national defense. Other solutions include the need for the MOD, in liaison with the respective ministries as well as friendly nation establishments, to facilitate the renewed take-off of the military industrial complex to alleviate its current technological backwardness and the lobbying of the national assembly to increase funding for the defense sector to achieve the objectives the NDP has set for NS.

## **8 RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Based on the findings of this study, this research recommends that the MOD should:
- Cause the DHQ, in collaboration with other security agencies, to re-evaluate its principle of deterrence and propose the adoption of a more effective approach to national defense.
- The DHQ, in liaison with the respective ministries as well as friendly nation establishments, facilitate the renewed take-off of the military industrial complex to alleviate its current technological backwardness.
- Lobby the national assembly to increase funding for the defense sector.



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