

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GLOBALISATION AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: NIGERIA IN FOCUS 2015-2020**

**OKONKWO, CLEMENT NWAFOR**  
Department of Political Science  
Madonna University, Okija, Nigeria.  
[nwaclemsoko@yahoo.com](mailto:nwaclemsoko@yahoo.com)  
+2348039713711

&

**SIMON CHUKASIONONIHU (PhD)**  
Political Science Department,  
Paul University, Awka.  
[csnihus@yahoo.com](mailto:csnihus@yahoo.com)  
+2348039295882

**Abstract**

*The study observed the heightened tempo of the Western capitalist economy in projecting the integration of the world economy into a global village. A process termed globalisation. However, we explored the impact of this globalisation on the Sub-Saharan Africa with major emphasis on Nigeria. We adopted documentary method of data collection and the data so collected were analysed through content analysis. Theoretically, we utilised political economy as the theoretical compass of the study, which maintained among others that economic condition of a society goes a long way in determining other aspect of their lives. Therefore, we discerned that the propelling force behind the projection of globalisation by the western capitalists is more or less economic interest which undermines the national security of the Sub-Saharan Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, hence, we recommend among others that the globalist vendors should put the national security of African at large and Nigeria in particular into consideration when peddling the necessary prerequisites for the integration unlike their prevailing strategies which negate the cultural and socio-economic reverence of the people in Nigeria. With this supposed response from the globalists, Nigerian security will be assured and this will help the country to contribute its quotas for the socio-economic unification movement proposed by the global apologists.*

**Key words:** Globalisation, Integration, National Security, Political Economy and Sub-Saharan Africa,

**1. Introduction**

Socio-political and economic dynamism have made the world to conceive and traverse through different international economic ideologies. These economic ideas range from Mercantilism, through Liberalism and Marxism to the present Globalism. Essentially, mercantilism appears to be the oldest form of international economic ideology which emphasized unlimited state protection of the internal economy. This structural guard invariably supposed to enhance the growth and development of domestic industries. Sequel to this economic parlance, the industries saturated the market with finished goods which led to intense competition over who will corner the market. By cornering the market, we mean expropriating the major shares and goodies of the domestic economy. This can be achieved when one sells cheaper than others which can be equally determined by three conditions: the first is to get cheaper raw materials, secondly, cheaper labour and finally patronizing markets.

Consequently, the idea of liberalism which groomed and projected capitalism was cultivated by the Western society in order to salvage the perceived economic contradictions engendered by the atavistic accumulations by the mercantilist states. Indeed, Ake (1981: p.19) illustrated the contradictions of capitalism thus:

...The contradictions of capitalism not only transformed it, they also transplanted it. The transplanting of capitalism arises from those contradictions which reduce the rate of profit and arrest the capitalization of surplus value. Confronted with these effects, it was inevitable that the capitalist, forever bent on profit maximization, would look for a new environment in which the process of accumulation could proceed apace. Capitalists turned to foreign lands attacked and subjugated them and integrated their economies to those Western Europe. Till date, the experience of Western imperialism, particularly colonization remains the most decisive event in the history of Africa.

In the same vein, liberal ideology was championed by Smith when he maintained among other things that it enhanced the growth of a nation. Similarly, Ricardo added that it encouraged the utilization of the principles of Comparative Cost Advantage (CCA) where a country will base her production on the dictates of the natural endowments. In another development, the Marxian scholars led by Karl Marx criticized capitalism which is a brainchild of liberalism on the ground that it survived by exploitation that led to the division of the society into two unequal classes of haves (bourgeoisies) and have nots (proletariats). These classes however engage on an endless struggle for supremacy. This is so because every man struggles to remain in a favourable position in social production and reproduction processes; those who are satisfied with the production system struggle to retain the system while those that are not satisfied struggle to alter the system (Okolie, 2011).

Marxian criticisms of capitalism which at the same time laid the foundation of socialism appeared to be the harbinger of the cold war (ideology war) between the capitalist and socialist countries. This ideological war ended with the fall of Berlin Wall in the early 90s. Sequel to this development, international economic institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and US Treasury Department in the early 90s arrived at a consensus that neoliberal policies were needed in less developed and emerging market economies. Their policy prescriptions however became known as Washington Consensus (Balaam & Veseth, 2005). Thus, the neoliberal policies advocated among others: economic deregulation, privatisation of government enterprises, low inflation, low government debt and an open domestic and international markets (Obiora & Okonkwo, 2014).

On the other hand, the need for security of life and property of citizens in a polity cannot be overemphasized. Paradoxically, security has become a big issue in sub-Saharan Africa today. This phenomenon appears to have nexus with the globalization regime. The ugly trend manifests in various forms of carnage, brutality, pogroms and even genocide associated with incessant civil wars and other forms of violent conflicts on the continent. Between 1980 and 2000, the continent witnessed unprecedented violence of all sort, including civil wars, ethnic massacres and pogroms, religious violence and political oppression. These conflicts, as exemplified in Somalia, Cote d'Ivoire, Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Algeria, Sierra Leone, Angola, Congo (Brazzaville) and Liberia, have redirected the discussion of security to questions of physical survival. The collapse or near collapse of states has made physical safety the preeminent concern of most Africans. The states are no longer able to generate the fundamental necessities for the protection of life. Before the collapse of the states, security discourse in Africa had tended to shift from its state-centeredness with its attendant political and military consideration to other considerations that are remotely related to physical safety, especially the satisfaction of basic needs, the right to a sustainable environment, the protection of culture and religious identity and so on. Each of these has serious implications for the physical security of African citizens (Nnoli, 2006).

Be that as it may, this study interrogated the impact of the seemingly elixir of global political economic growth and development 'globalization' and the national security of Sub-Saharan African states with emphasis in Nigeria within the period of the study. However, the work is streamlined under the following

themes: introduction, clarification of concept of globalization and national security, theoretical nexus, globalization and national security in Sub-Sahara Africa, globalization and national security in Nigeria, conclusion and recommendations.

## **2. Concept of Globalization**

Globalization is a widespread concept with a considerable degree of ambiguity. This ambiguity does not mean that it remains unclear or ill defined; rather, it has been viewed from different perspectives and dimensions particularly in relation to different interests, subject areas and scope. Hence it has been difficult adopting a standard definition (Adesoji, 2006). According to Simpson & Weiner (1989), it was first used in 1959 in *The Economist* to refer to quotas of car imports. This inaugural usage was followed in 1962 by a prescient article in *The Spectator*, which referred to globalization as “a staggering concept.” Although no one at the time could have fathomed the global and local effects that it would engender, globalization grew slowly into a powerful term that has become a household word. Hotly contested and conveniently vague, globalisation has taken on many meanings, from the warm, fuzzy connotations of the global village, through the rule of transnational corporations, to neocolonialism (Sumner, 2008).

In a broader perspective, Ajekiigbe (2004) opines that globalization sits squarely at the interface between politics and the economy. According to him, its dominant form has come to be known by many names which include: corporate globalization, economic globalization, financial globalization, mature capitalism, neo-imperialism, neocolonialism, or globalization from above. Globalization is a phenomenon of capitalist expansion and accumulation. Certain characteristics distinguished it from other historical forms of capitalist expansion such as colonialism and neocolonialism. The first is the emergence of the transnational corporation as the major agent for the worldwide expansion of private capital and the capitalist market. It organizes increasingly integrated economic and financial activities across national borders and produces, sources and markets its raw materials and products worldwide in its unceasing quest for competitive advantage. The second is the emergence of financier and speculators who are independent of production and trade that they were designed to service in the first place (Nnoli, 2006).

From the foregoing, it could be seen that globalisation conjures up a picture of a borderless world. Although, it is a concept that means different things to different people across time and space, it essentially means the growing increase in interconnectedness and interdependence among the world's regions, nations, governments, business and institutions. It is a process, which engenders free flow of ideas, people, goods, services and capital thereby fostering integration of economies and societies. Nevertheless, the views of extant authorities in the existing literature are in exhaustive, therefore we suffice to leap to the concept of national security which needs to be clarified.

## **3.National Security Defined**

National security is the one of phrases in this discourse that need to be explicated. Therefore, this segment of the study has the onus of doing justice to it. To begin with, we shall understand security first before viewing it in the national context. Hence, Security is a state of relatively predictable environmental condition, which an individual or group of individuals may pursue its needs without deception or harm and without fear of such disturbance (Green, 1983: p.3). In the view of Scurua (1989), security is an ambiguous term which covers a number of things. Analytically, Haftendorn, (1991: p.3) argued that in the literature, ‘there is no one concept of security’ because all definitions of the concept have their root in different historical and philosophical context. To him, this means that security has objective and subjective levels of interpretation. At the objective level, security measures the absence of threat to life, liberty, property and core values, but at the subjective level, security measures the absence of fear, anxiety, tension or apprehension of being in danger of losing life, liberty, property, and core values.

Historically, national security as we understand and use it today has its roots in the situation in Europe before, during and immediately after the thirty-year war that ravaged the continent from 1618 to 1648. It was both

a religious war and a war of state building. Prior to it, most of Europe lived under feudalism. The dominant form of organisation of society was feudal. A feudal society was based on a hierarchical structure of social relations. Two parallel hierarchies existed in the same society, the sacred and temporal. The former consisted of the Pope at the apex with the cardinals, archbishops, bishops and priests below him in descending order. This structure was referred to as the sacred, clerical or ecclesiastical system. On the temporal side, the holy Roman Emperor occupied the apex of the hierarchy followed in descending order, by the monarch (prince), the greater nobles, the lesser nobles and the serfs. In between of course, were the artisans craft men, merchants and slaves. It is this temporal hierarchy that is identified with feudalism (Nnoli, 2006: p.19).

Drawing from the foregoing, the amorphous and mystic nature of the concept of national security has made some nations of the world to adopt different strategies for the purpose of realising their cherished values which is described in Nnoli (2006: p.1) thus:

...on behalf of its Nazi, Germany sought to exterminate the Jews in the great holocaust of their time. In Rwanda, the Hutu embarked on genocide of Tutsis and moderate Hutus. The Serbs of Yugoslavia pursued a policy of ethnic cleansing of Albanians in Kosovo. The United States assisted reactionary forces in Chile to overthrow the elected socialist government of Salvador Allende. In 1972, thousands of people disappeared in Argentina and Chile. Saddam Hussein of Iraq used poisonous gases and chemicals to kill Iraqi citizens of Kurdish descent, massacred the Shiite population of his country, and used chemicals and biological agents against the Iranians during the Iran-Iraqi war. Stalin wasted thousands of lives in various gulags in the Soviet Union

The imports of the above actions are that the leaders of the nations of the world carried the actions in the name of protection of the national security. This is the reason why the concept of national security is conceived by scholar in different *perspectives*. However, national security has to do with the protection of socio-political and economic life of the citizens in a given state. Having established this, we shall migrate to the theoretical nexus of the study.

#### **4. Theoretical Nexus**

This study is anchored on political economy as the theoretical compass around which the study revolved. The proponents of the theory include: Engels (1975); Lenin, (1975); Marx, (1975); and supported by Ake (1981); Ihonvbere, (1985); Akpuru-Aja, 1998:17) and some other contributors. The propositions maintained among other things that the actions of an individual or state in the society are absolutely guided by economic reason. Hence, when one understands economic condition of a people, one has gone a long way in understanding the other aspect of their life such as political, religious, cultural and law.

Political economy as a theoretical framework is based on dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism gives primacy to material or economic conditions of society. It is premised on the belief that man is dominantly motivated by economic needs. Therefore, labour is the very essence of material existence. Hence, economic activity is man's primary concern (Ihonvbere, 1985). Essentially, the thrust of this premise is on how the understanding of a society's politics and culture depends primarily on the understanding of its economic structures as defined by the relations between employers of labour and the working class in the process of production (Akpuru-Aja, 1998: p.16). Also, Marx believed that every political system corresponds or reflects its kind of economic structure, hence he placed high premium on production base (substructure) in determining the politics, ideology and culture of a society (superstructure) (Engels, 1975: pp.16-18).

Moreover, from the point of view of economic determinism, one can better understand, (a) the nature of internal relation, (b) how society organises, manages and reproduces itself; (c) the causes of tension, conflicts or contradictions in any given society and (d) the bearing or directions of social change (Akpuru-Aja, 1998: p.17). In corroboration, Marx opined that the primary cause of tension or class antagonism in the society is chiefly defined by economic factors. If one understands the economic structure of a given society, the relations between the people in the production process, it is easier to understand its nature of politics, culture,

national security and ideological inclination. In other words, economic factor directly affects and influences the other structure of the society (superstructure) (Marx, 1975: pp.7-9; 47-49).

To expatiate further, Ake (1981: p.4) stressed thus: anyone who makes an empirical study of historical societies, including our contemporary society, will find the following among others:

- (1) Those from the economically privileged groups tend to be better educated, more cultured, to have higher social status, to be more successful professionally and politically. This means that economic inequality is extremely important, tending to reproduce itself endlessly in a series of other inequalities.
- (2) Those from the economically privileged tend to be more interested in preserving the existing social order; and those who are disadvantaged by the social order particularly its distribution of wealth, have a strong interest in changing the social order, particularly its distribution of wealth. In this way the economic structure sets the general trend of political interest and political alignments.

By a way of application, all the hitherto existed ideologies ranging from mercantilism, through liberalism and socialism to globalism in the world over were necessitated by the prevailing economic needs and interest of the relatively powerful states. The globalization agenda is a ploy devised by the developed capitalist states to expand their tentacles for economic exploitation of the less developed states. This is so because it will create unequal playing field of competition for the industrialized and non-industrialized economies. Axiomatically, the seemingly non-rationality of capitalism in the pursuit of economic needs made it naïve in considering the internal and domestic economic needs of the contesting states. Globalization as an economic ideology which was stimulated by economic need is fashioned to assemble the world on a competitive economic arena. This competitive scenario is invariably between unequal economic states: the industrialized and non-industrialized, high-technology low-technology, developed and underdeveloped. The unequal relationship in all ramifications suppresses the weak states thereby flouting their national security. By extension, the more the world economy is globalized, the more there exists unequal economic competition, the less national security in the Sub-Saharan Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.

##### **5. Globalization and National Security in Sub-Sahara Africa**

Without rigmorole or mincing words, globalization has a nexus with national security which this section of the study sees as its onus to unravel the linkage. For the purpose of achieving a balanced academic discourse, it is of necessity for us to recall that globalization has both positive and negative impacts on Africa. However, it is when the two impacts of globalization are put side by side that we can put up our position or better still, our findings. In the positive sense, globalization plays unmatched role in the African development processes. This contribution ranges from transportation to telecommunication. On the negative sense therefore, it has enormous instances which shall be illustrated below. To begin with, the features of globalization are captured by Nnoli, (2006: p. 87) are thus:

...the first is the emergence of the transnational corporation as the major agent for the worldwide expansion of private capital and the capitalist markets. The second is the emergence of financiers and speculators who are independent of production and trade that they were designed to service in the first place. The third and the last feature is the communication revolution that makes possible both the speedy and safe transportation of goods and money o all corners of the world, and an instantaneous all-day and all-night communication from one end of the world to another.

In order to promote the expansion of this capitalist market in Africa and elsewhere in the Third World countries, the international financial institution, supported by the advanced capitalist societies imposed a package of reform measures known as Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). This was applied indiscriminately without regard to local peculiarities; the SAP usually involved the downsizing of the state, withdrawal of the state from economic enterprises, elimination of all state subsidies, deregulation of the economy including external trade, currency devaluation, free flow of information, transparency in governmental process, policy predictability, public accountability and the rule of law, later, multiparty democracy was added to the list (Nnoli, 2006: p.88).

In various ways these attributes of globalization are sources of conflict and insecurity in Africa. First and foremost, globalization reinforces state violence, the cause of violent conflicts in Africa. Caught between domestic pressures to humanize the SAPs and the insistence of the IMF and World Bank to stay the course and demonstrate political will, the coded language for repressive capacity, the African states adopt a crisis management approach which have an overall authoritarian thrust. This is compounded by the very limited achievement of the economy, which is overshadowed by the adverse effect of SAP on the living conditions of many social categories. It is remarkable that most of the states regarded by the World Bank as strong adjusters have been quite *in* authoritarian in the implementation of their programme (Bangura, 1995; Olukoshi, 1995; Beckam, 1995 & Hutchful, 1995).

The experience of Tunisia over the adoption and implementation of principles of SAP is illustrative here. In Tunisia, the Bread Riot of 1983 shows the violent reaction of the people to the economic austerity imposed by the SAP. Following the imposition of this austerity, the country was characterised by growing confrontation between the Islamic fundamentalists and the government. Freedom of expression was destroyed, opposition was silenced, the Ligue Tunisienne de Defense Des Droits de L'Homme was marginalised in favour of a new pro-government, human right association and the trades unions were emasculated by government through the imposition of puppet leaders on them. Open struggle, clan rivalries and palace intrigues marked a political administration that emphasised unilateralism in policymaking (Nnoli, 2006: p.90). Subsequently, the government unilaterally reduced the subsidy on flour, semolina, pasta and bread. At the same time, it increased the price of bread by 10% and other commodities by 70% sequel to this development, violent uprising ensued. On 29 December, 1983 violent riot occurred in Douz and Sbeila, then on 30 December at Kabilia, El Hamma and Soul-el Ahad. On the same day, the riot reached Kasserine where five people died. The next to be affected were the mining town of Gafsa and the industrial centre of Gabs in the south of the country where riots raged on 1 and second January 1984 (Romdhane, 1995).

In the Angolan war for instance, Human Right Watch found that weapons used by the Angolan government originated from Russia, Balerus, Ukrain, Bulgaria, Brazil, China, Cuba, Czech Republic, Israel, Nigeria, North Korea, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland. On the side of UNITA they originated from Bulgaria, Racist Namibia, Racist South Africa, the USA and Congo-DRC. In Rwanda, those who perpetrated the genocide of 1994 obtained weapons from Belgium, Bulgaria, China, Egypt, France, Israel, Libya, Racist South Africa, and USA. The current RPF government of Rwanda has received arms from China and post-racist South Africa. In Burundi, weapons arrived from Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, China, France, Russia, South Africa, Turkmenistan and Ukraine (Hiltermann, 1998: p.122).

In another development, globalization has centralized and intensified external access to exploitation of Africa's resources while marginalizing and pauperizing the African people. A good example is the Lake Victorian fish fillet industry that supplies markets of European Union countries. This industry has liquidated artisanal fishing, criminalized this local fishing activity and spawned conflict between the people and the government in the zone. Other cases include the Tanzanite mines in Tanzania and the gold mines of Bulyankhulu in South Africa. The most negative impact of this exploitation of African resources by licit and illicit entrepreneurs is felt in the area of conflict and conflict prolongation. The Congo-DRC is clearly illustrative. By the end of 2002, the conflict in Congo-DRC had claimed nearly 3 million lives, displaced millions internally and created massive refugee movements across the central African region. Mining companies, illicit arms dealers, mercenaries, private armies, money launderers, robber barons and drug dealers combine in this search for resources in the country (Baregu, 2002: pp.18-20).

More so, prolonged insurgency in the Horn of Africa has inevitably multiplied the number of people skilled in the use of arms, destabilised societies, led to the breakdown of the rule of law, disrupted lives and escalated violence and insecurity in urban and rural areas. Rural violence takes the form of banditry and cattle rustling in the Rift Valley province of Kenya and the Karamojong region in Uganda. In sedentary communities, insurgent activities affect agriculture the mainstay of most economies in the region. In the Northern Uganda, insurgency has rendered production difficult. These developments have resulted in the steady fragmentation of the institutional basis of state power in many parts of the Horn of Africa. Similarly, a panel of government

expert appointed by the UN Secretary-General identified uncontrolled availability of small arms and light weapons as both a causal and exacerbated factor in Africa's conflicts. According to the panel, the weapons contribute to fueling conflicts but also exacerbating violence and criminality (Fayemi, 1998: p.91). Empirically, the table below demonstrates the insecurity issues engendered by globalization in Sub-Saharan Africa, the causes and the implication.

**Table 1: Insecurity Issues in Sub-Saharan Africa as a Result of Globalization, Causes and Implications**

S/N	COUNTRIES	YEAR	INSECURITY ISSUE	CAUSES	IMPLICATIONS
1	Tunisia	1984	Destruction of freedom of expression and reduction of opposition	SAP austerity measure by the government	Death of five persons and prohibition of gathering of more than three persons
2	Somalia	1987	Insecurity of the state	SAP downsizing of the state	Emergence of cultural identity like ethnicity
3	Ghana	1989	Failure of state-led enterprises	SAP downsizing of the state	Mass exodus from urban to rural agricultural area
4	South Africa	1990	Intensification of conflict in the area	Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)	Intensification of conflict in the area as a result of wars
5	Rwanda	1990	Politics of exclusion inherited during colonial era	SAP currency devaluation	Escalation of wars
6	Sierra Leone	1998	Affliction by conflict	Small Arms and Light Weapon (SALW) trading	Recruitment of children and youths into fighting
7	Congo-DRC	2000	Child abuse by keeping the children soldiers under the influence of drug	Drug trafficking	Killing, raping, maiming, stealing and burning of property
8	Angola	2002	Escalation and prolonging of conflict	Circulation of 7million weapons	Hindrance on economic, political and social development
9	Kenya	2002	Prolonged insurgency	Heavy amount of weapons in the hands of cattle rustlers	Breakdown of rule of law and order
10	Tanzania	2002	Conflict prolongation	Removal of the people from mining activity	Exploitation of resources

**Source: compiled from Nnoli (2006). National Security in Africa: A Radical Perspective.**

Decipherable from the table 1 above is that, though the ten countries illustrated on the table *are* more or less serves as pilot study. The table demonstrated the years of the incidence, the insecurity issues, the causes and the implications on the citizen/state. From the table we observed that there are lots of insecurity issues in Sub-Saharan Africa as a result of collapsing the world into a global village such as: In 1984, Tunisia had insecurity issue which was destruction of freedom of expression and reduction of opposition caused by SAP austerity measure; as a result, it degenerated to death of five persons and prohibition of gathering of more than three persons in the country, Somalia in 1987 experienced the same fate when the state became insecure as a result of SAP downsizing of the state, this issue caused emergence of cultural identity like ethnicity in the state, in 1989, Ghana recorded failed state enterprises, which was also caused by the SAP state downsizing, as a result, the country experienced mass exodus from urban to rural agricultural area. In 1990, proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in South Africa brought about intensification of conflict in the area which caused plunder and pillage in the country. Similar scenarios were experienced in Rwanda in 1990, Sierra Leone 1998, Congo DRC 2000, Angola 2002, Kenya 2002 and Tanzania 2002.

## **6. Globalization and National Security in Nigeria**

The preceding section of the study disclosed the impact of globalization in Africa in general, while this segment shall scrutinize the nexus between globalization and national security with special emphasis on Nigeria. With the emergence of neo-liberal economy, sequel to the Washington Consensus of early 90s, Nigeria has experienced a plethora of negative results which invariably culminated in national insecurity. This is evident in the circumstances surrounding the introduction and implementation of SAP in Nigeria. It is worthy to note that Nigerians from all works of life rejected the developmental packages of SAP with its conditionalities but only succumbed due to the structural and strategic pressures mounted on the citizens by the then military government.

Following the official announcement of the SAP in 1986 Nigeria witnessed a series of violent protests and uprising. The protest was against increase in the price of petroleum products as a result of the decrease in

the subsidy on these products which featured significantly in the resistance to the programme of SAP. Attempts by the regime to reduce the subsidy in 1987 could not materialize in the face of widespread opposition. Such an increase in April 1988, two months after NLC had been dissolved, led to nation-wide protests, which paralysed the major urban centres for several days. In the face of the unprecedented protests, the government was forced to back down. It was only in 1989 that the government was able to increase the price through a two-tier price structure for private and commercial vehicle users (Nnoli, 2006: p.90). Unprecedented insecurity loomed in Nigeria in the federal government's bid to accommodate the multinational oil companies. Indeed, Ogoni incidence appears to be illustrative. The government encouraged violent conflicts between the Ogoni and their neighbours, which they blamed on the Ogoni and used as a pretext for repressing them. For example, between July 1993 and April 1994 there were at least three violent conflicts between the Ogoni and their neighbours, involving the destruction of many villages, loss of lives and the creation of displaced persons. These were the Ogoni-Andoni violence in July 1993, Ogoni-Okrika in December 1993, and Ogoni-Ndoki in April 1994. In each case the security forces blamed the Ogoni. At the same time, the security forces embarked on extra-judicial killing, floggings torturing, raping, looting and extorting the Ogoni. For instance, when in April 1993 the Ogoni people protested the laying of a pipeline from Rumuepke to Boniini what is now known as the Wilbros affair, the security forces shot and killed eleven Ogonis, including a woman. Major U. Braimah whose men committed the crime claimed that his troops were carrying out order by the federal government (Ibeanu, 1997: p.19).

In another development, similar resistance was observed in Ijaw, the largest ethnic group in delta. The Ijaw dominated Bayelsa state, one of the main petroleum-producing states in the country. Among the consequences of the insecurity as a result of globalization is what has been known as first and second Egbesu wars. The first Egbesu war followed the unrest and detention of an Ijaw youth leader by the state governor for allegedly distributing seditious documents. In reaction, a group of Ijaw youths belonging to an Ijaw cult stormed the governor's house in the state capital, Yenogoa, disarmed the soldiers on guard and released their leader. The second Egbesu war however, started when military men confronted Ijaw youths that were participating in a cultural festival in Yenogoa. In the ensuing violence which lasted for over one week, many Ijaw youths lost their lives in Yenogoa and Kaiama, property worth millions of naira was destroyed, and scores of people were displaced (Ibeanu, 1999: p.14).

In the agricultural sector, a similar dynamic was produced by the activities of foreign enterprises and companies. The situations on the Mambilla plateau and in TingnoWaduku in Northern Nigeria are illustrative. As a result of the raw materials crisis of the mid-1980s in Nigeria, government mounted a campaign to attract agro-business multinationals and other corporate bodies to invest in agriculture. The government offered a variety of concessions to agro-business corporations. On the Mambilla Plateau, foreign companies undertook a massive acquisition of very fertile land. They did so through negotiations with government. The people were not consulted. Lever Brothers and the Savannah Sugar Company each acquired 2,000 hectares of land. Such massive acquisition of land accentuated the chronic problem of land insecurity, which had been facing the Mambilla peasants (Egwu, 1998: p.81).

Focusing on the period under investigation 2015 and 2020, the illustrated issues repeated itself endlessly through the period under study. For instance, the multinational oil companies that were allowed to have Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigerian littoral zone, as a result of globalization unleashed untold insecurity in the area and Nigeria at large. This insecurity is conspicuously observed in the areas of environment. As a result of the operations of these multinational oil companies the inhabitants experience pollution of all kinds such as air, water and soil that were caused by oil spillage and gas flaring. Air pollution causes health hazard, while the water pollution destroys the aquatic lives that serve as reliable source of drinking water and fishing in the area, the soil pollution on the other hand reduces the agricultural yield because of the loss of soil nutrient.



Politically, Nigerian government appears to be stooge in the global world. This is so because globalization has made Nigeria to depend on the industrialized states of the world for virtually all the internal political issues, because it is he who pays the piper that dictates the tune. The dependence of Nigeria on economic dictates of the Western world spreads its tentacles to the political issues. To ratify the dominance and correspondingly dictates of the developed economy under the auspices of globalization, Nigerian government with the aid of free movement of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) fortifies her military gadgets to suppress the agitations of the inhabitants over the debilitating impact of the oil exploration on the land.

In response to this structural suppression, the Niger Delta formed group that still made use of the ammunitions for the purpose of resisting the pressure from the government. Hence, the whole scenario portrays and shows a manifestation of unprecedented insecurity in Nigeria. In retaliation, the militant groups resorted to blatant vandalization of the oil installations (pipelines). Furthermore, the policy of Jonathan administration on removal of fuel subsidy is a clear incidence of political interference engendered by globalization. As a result of the partial removal of the subsidy, the masses are suffering from untold hardship. Presently, a litre of petrol is sold at the cost of #165.00 as against subsidized price of #87.00. This increment affected not only transportation but also all the essential commodities in Nigerian markets. The devaluation of Nigerian currency in the global monetary system inflicted Nigeria with the same national insecurity. The table below illustrates the incidence of national insecurities that are the harbinger of globalization in Nigeria.

**Table 2: Evidence of National Insecurity Caused by Multinational Oil Companies in Nigeria between 2015 and 2020**

S/N	COMPANY	LOCATION	LAND ACQUIRED	CROP TYPE
1	NNPC	Benue, Gombe, Jigawa and Kebbi	200 square kilometers	Sugarcane
2	NNPC	Edo, Anambra and Ondo	20,000 ha	Cassava and Sugarcane
3	NNPC	Nigeria	20,000	Palm oil plantation
4	NNPC	Ebenebe and Ugbenu communities in Awka	15,000	Integrated cassava plantation and Ethanol plant
5	NNPC / Kogi state government	Okulese in Ose L.G.A Ondo state	500	Cassava ethanol project
6	NNPC/Kogi state government /International Trans oil corporation of U.S.A	Odogwu, Ibaji L.G.A Kogi state	31,000	Ultra-modern sugarfactory for the production of ethanol agro- fuel
7	Viscount Energy China	Nigeria		Sugarcane plantation
8	Kwara Casplex Limited	Nigeria	30,000 ha	Cassava
9	NNPC	Nigeria	11,000 ha	Cassava
11	NNPC	Nigeria	10,000ha	Cassava

12	Global Biofeuls Limited	Nigeria	30,000ha	Sweet Sorghumfarm
13	Jatropha Farmers development foundation	Nigeria	5,000ha	Jatropha
14	Future Energy LTD	Nigeria	9,369	Jatropha
15	Environ Friendly EnergyLTD	Nigeria	10,000	Jatropha
16	Wilmar Nigeria Limited	Nigeria	5,561	Oil palm

**Source: Friends of the Earth Africa and Europe Report (2020) with update by author**

Table 2 above demonstrated how the multinational and oil companies forcefully occupied large hectares of land in Nigeria for agricultural purposes. Decipherable from the table is that some multinational oil companies such as NNPC, Global Biofuel, Jethropha Farmers Development Foundation, Viscount Energy China, Future Energy Limited, Environ Friendly Energy and Wilmar Nigeria Limited have occupied some hectares of land for agricultural activities thereby denying the original owners of the portions of the land complete access to it. This act resulted in insecurity of land and also extended to life because the owners of the lands are incessantly at war with the government and the oil companies.

### **7. Conclusion**

Eventually, globalization has come to stay but its negative effect cannot be overestimated. Essentially, we interrogated globalization and national security in Nigeria and realized that it engendered insecurity in many aspects such as economic, political and social. In the economic side, globalization enhanced the penetration of the multinational oil companies in Nigeria for oil exploration. Sequel to this, the government endorsed their operation without considering the negative effect of same on the indigenous people. Hence, the inhabitants are in deep-rooted arm struggle with the government and the multinational oil companies. Also, the availability of the Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) used in the struggle is as a result of the same globalization which projected the free movement of goods and services which includes the arms and ammunitions.

Nigerian political terrain is awash with global sentiments and ideologies that are at variance with domestic socio-economic formation. The practical example of this is neoliberal projection of privatization and commercialization regime. It was in response to this that Jonathan administration removed fuel subsidy so as to enhance individual and foreign investments. Consequently, this immersed the masses in bottomless pit of untold hardship and economic squalor. To escape from this debilitating condition, the solutions are proffered under the recommendations.

### **8. Recommendations**

From the study, we found out that globalization has affected national security in Nigeria negatively. To avert from the anomaly, we suggested the following:

1. The globalization vendor should consider the domestic environment of the receiving countries before the forceful projection of the ideology. In as much as they are interested in satisfying their economic needs, it should not be to the detriment of the host states;
2. The Nigerian government should understand the principles of globalization before accepting or subscribing to the global agenda. Like the issue of privatization and commercialization. They are geared towards divestment of the government from the economy and it is evidently clear that no nation can develop and secure her nationals without elements of mercantilism;

3. The multinational oil companies should fulfill their own part of the bargain in their areas of operation. The multinational companies always reneged from their terms of operation which include avoidance of oil spillage and gas flaring as well as development of the areas. It is in response to this negligence that made the people resort to militant activities with arms and ammunitions that were made available by the same globalization regime.

The recommendations, if followed judiciously shall go a long way in enhancing protection of lives and property of Nigerian citizens in the global world. The issue of other aspects of national security in Nigeria shall be ameliorated.

## References

- Adesoji, A.A. (2006). Globalization of the media and the challenges of democratisation in Nigeria. *NEBULA*, 3(4), 38-50.
- Aja-Akpuru, A. (1998). *Fundamentals of modern political economy and internationaleconomicrelations...changing with time*. Owerri: Data Globe Nigeria.
- Ajekiigbe, J. (2004). Effects of globalization and universal banking in Nigeria. *The Guardian (Lagos)*, 7 July 27&3.
- Ake, C. (1981). *Political economy of Africa*. Nigeria: Longman Nigeria PLC.
- Balaam, D. & Veseth, M. (2005). *Introduction to international political economy*. New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc.
- Bangura, Y. (1995). Perspective on the politics of structural adjustment, in formalised and political change in Africa. In T. Mkandawire & A. Olukoshi (eds). *Between liberation and oppression: the politics of structural adjustment in Africa* Dakar CODESRIA.
- Baregu, M. (2002). The clones of Mr. Kurtz: violence, war and plunder in the DRC. *African Journal of Political Science*, 7(2), 11-38.
- Becham, B. (1995). The politics of labour and adjustment: the experience of Nigerian Labour Congress. In T. Mkandawire & A. Olukoshi (eds). *Between liberation and oppression: the politics of structural adjustment in Africa* Dakar CODESRIA.
- Egwu, S. (1998). Structural adjustment and rural ethnicity in Nigeria. Uppsala: *the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*, 3(4), 5-22.
- Engels, F. (1951). *Origin of the family, private property and the state*. Moscow: Foreign Language Publishing House.
- Fayemi, J. (1998). The future of militarization and civil military relations in West Africa: challenges and prospects for democratic consolidation. *Journal of African Political Science*, 3(1), 82-103.
- Friends of the Earth Africa and Europe Report (2015). The Scale and impact of land grabbing for agro fuels. Retrieved on 21/02/2014 from [www.feoeurope.org/.../foeeafrika-up-for-grabs](http://www.feoeurope.org/.../foeeafrika-up-for-grabs)
- Green, G. (1981), *Introduction to Security*. (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed) Boston: Butterworth Publisher Inc.
- Haftendorn, H. (1991). The Security Puzzle: Theory Building and Discipline Building in International Security. *International Studies Quarterly*, 5<sup>th</sup> March.
- Hiltermann, J. (1998). Stemming the flow of arms into Africa: how African NGOs can make a difference. *African Journal of Political Science*, 3(1), 119-128.
- Hutchful, E. (2000). Understanding the African security crisis. In A. Fatau & J. K. Fayemi, (eds). *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma* London Pluto 210-232.
- Ibeanu, O. (1997). Oil conflict and security in rural Nigeria: issues in the Ogoni crisis. *AAPS Occasional paper series 1(2)*.
- Ibeanu, O. (1999). Communal conflict and population displacement in Nigeria: An exploratory analysis. In O. Nnoli (ed). *Communal conflict and population displacement in Nigeria*. Enugu: PACREP.
- Ihonvbere, J. (1985). *The political economy of crisis and underdevelopment in Africa: Selectworks of Claude Ake*. Lagos: JAD Publisher.
- Lenin, V. (1923). *The State and Revolution*. New York: International Publishers.
- Marx, K. (1970). *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Moscow: Novosti Press

- Narula, S. (2003). Globalisation: India's experience for the African continent. *DPMF Occasional Paper, No. 7*, Development Policy Management Forum, Addis Ababa
- Nnoli, O. (1997). The military, civil society and democracy in Africa. In *the proceedings of the first DPMF annual conference on democracy, civil society and governance*. Addis Ababa December, 1-4.
- Nnoli, O. (1998). Globalisation and democracy in Africa. *Paper presented at the United Nations University Regional Workshop on Democracy in Africa*. Dakar Senegal.
- Nnoli, O. (2006). *National security in Africa: A radical perspective*. Enugu Nigeria: SNAAP Press LTD.
- Obiora, A. C. & Okonkwo, C. N. (2014). Elites and public policy process in Nigeria: a study of the privatisation programme. *ANSU Journal of Integrated Knowledge* 3(1), 185-206.
- Okolie, A. (2011). African States, Idiologisation of Development and Recycling of Poverty. *Paper Presented at the Fourth European Conference* Organised by Nordic Institute, Sweden, June, 15-18
- Romdhane, M. (1998). The politics of structural adjustment: the case of Tunisia. In T. Mkandawire & A. Olukoshi (eds). *Between liberation and oppression: the politics of structural adjustment in Africa* Dakar CODESRIA.
- Scurua, G. (1989). *Peace for Indian and Pacific Oceans*. New Delhi: Allied Publisher Ltd.
- Simpson, J. A., & Weiner, E. S. C. (1989). *Oxford English Dictionary (2nd ed)*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.
- Sumner, J. (2005). *Sustainability and the civil commons: rural communities in the age of globalization*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.