

**Abstract**

*Quest for racial dominance, vagrant territorial invasion, pride and impunity on the part of political leadership led to the first and second World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) respectively. In the same way, political and religious chauvinism, ethnic cleansing, religious lordship have systematically undermined the peace and security of Nigeria, grossly affecting her development.<sup>2</sup> Unarguably, peace is the fulcrum on which development stands. Direct foreign investment and tourism cannot thrive in a country at war with itself or a country laden in chaos. Hence, no meaningful development can take place in an atmosphere of killings, terror attacks and insecurity. This study discusses the imperatives for global peace and the place of Nigeria within the scene.*

**Keywords:** Global peace, World wars, Nigeria, Imperatives

**1. Introduction**

Over the years, peace has remained a global imperative even as it has been elusive from generation to generation. The big question is, what is peace and security? Peace is a global concept that lends itself subject to wide range of definitions. Many scholars view 'Peace' as freedom from disturbance; tranquillity; or a state or period in which there is no war or ceasure of wars.<sup>3</sup> According to Steward, peace is when people are able to resolve their conflicts without violence and can work together to improve the quality of their lives.<sup>4</sup> In other words, peace is when everyone lives in harmony, safety, absence of fear or without threat of violence, and there is a system of fair and effective laws protecting peoples' rights and there exists complete absence of violence in a country or area.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, security is basically the condition of feeling safe or free from harm or danger or threat. It is the safety of man and his environment, and the preservation of core-values of a people.<sup>6</sup> Put more succinctly, security is the protection of a people, dwellings, organizations, community or country against threat such as crime or attacks from within or outside the countries.<sup>7</sup> According to UNDP,<sup>8</sup> 'human security' does not only mean protection of peoples' basic freedoms but also protection against different kinds of threat, to encompass the creation of appropriate structures to protect peoples' physical integrity and dignity, as well as their ability to make a living. To UNDP, Human security is the combination of threats associated with war, genocide, and the displacement of populations. It connotes freedom from violence and fear from any threat of, or potential violence. To these distinguished scholars, the absence of peace and high levels of insecurity makes development impossible; and absence of peace and security in the society imposes a heavy burden upon both economic and political activity. War, dominance and aggression have been part of humanity shortly after the stone ages. Outside the stone or prehistoric ages, which were characterised sedentism, 'Palaeolithic warlessness' ended after the appearance of *homo sapiens* some 315,000 years ago. Devastation and human dominance of another became humanity's lot at the occurrence of economic and social shifts associated with organized raiding of settlements in quest of conquests, dominance and establishment of empires.<sup>9</sup> Thus, there is no region of this world that has not experienced wars and some level of insecurity over the years.<sup>10</sup>

---

**\*By Chukwu Amari OMAKA, PhD, PhD, SAN, LLB (Nig), BL, LLM (Lagos), PhD (Enugu), PhD (Honolulu), FCIMC, FNISM, FCAI, MNBA, MAELN, MIBA, MNIM, MNIIA, MGAJE (USA), MILEA (USA/Canada), MCLEO (UK), Dip (Microsoft), PGD (Theology), Cert. CLE (Durban), Dip CLE (Valencia), CCLE (Delhi), UN & AU Fellow (International Law), UN-AMBP (UN Ambassador of Peace), Professor of Law, Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki.**

<sup>1</sup> Being a paper presented C. A. Omaka, SAN at the 2020 United Nations World Peace Day celebration organised by the UN-PEPOLAC at Awka capital city of Anambra State Nigeria, on 9<sup>th</sup> day of October 2020.

<sup>2</sup>Balami Dahiru Hassan, et al, op cit; Nkurayija, Jean de la Croix (2011) 'The Requirements for the African Continent's Development: Linking Peace, Governance, Economic Growth and Global Interdependence. Berlin,2011. University of New South Wales, www.antigrain.com Retrieved 5 August, 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Balami, D.H, Ahmed F. & Yusuf, A. B. 'The Imperative of Peace and Security for the Attainment of Inclusive Growth in Nigeria' European Journal of Research in Social Sciences. Vol. 4, No.2, 2016

<sup>4</sup> Steward, F. (2015) 'Development and Security' Centre for Research on inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE).

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of English*, Oxford University Press, 2003. Ed. Catherine Soanes, Angus Stevenson. ISBN 0-19-861347-4, ISBN 978-0-19-861347-3.

<sup>6</sup> Balami, Dahiru Hassan, et al, op cit.

<sup>7</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of English*, Oxford University Press, 2003. Ed. Catherine Soanes, Angus Stevenson. ISBN 0-19-861347-4, ISBN 978-0-19-861347-3.

<sup>8</sup>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), (1999) Discussion Paper, No. 142, www.unctad.org/en/pub/public Retrieved 4 September, 2020.

<sup>9</sup> Kelly, Raymond C. (2000). Warless Societies and the Origin of War. University of Michigan Press. ISBN 978-0472067381; Kelly, Raymond (October 2005). 'The evolution of lethal inter-group violence'. PNAS. 102 (43): 24–29. doi:10.1073/pnas.0505955102. PMC 1266108. PMID 16129826.'This period of Paleolithic warlessness, grounded in low population density, an appreciation of the benefits of positive relations with neighbors, and a healthy respect for their defensive capabilities, lasted until the cultural development of segmental forms of organization engendered the origin of war'

<sup>10</sup> Nkurayija, Jean de la Croix (2011) 'The Requirements for the African Continent's Development: Linking Peace, Governance, Economic Growth and Global Interdependence. Berlin, 2011. University of New South Wales, www.antigrain.com Retrieved 5 September, 2020.

## **2. Events that led to First and Second World Wars**

In modern history and contemporary civilisation, efforts had been at top gear to maintain global peace after the first and second world wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945. A succinct abstract of the causes of this global pandemonium had always been empire building and quest for dominance of one people against another. Let's look at the two world wars.

### ***The First World War:***

According to the BBC account, on 4 August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany.<sup>11</sup> This war became known as The Great War because it was monumental, affected people all over the world and was the first of its kind. The two principal parties to the war were *the Triple Alliance* which includes Germany, Austria-Hungary and their allies; and *the Triple Entente* comprising of Great Britain, France and Russia. These countries, particularly, Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia had either forceful or diplomatic invasion of many countries all over the world, and the war was ignited to maintain supremacy by the then powers and keep their empires. In the cause of the war, colonies joined forces with their colonial masters and alliances were formed. And in such alliances, they agreed to protect each other, to the effect that if one was attacked, the others would defend them.<sup>12</sup> Demand for reprisal and empire alliances engendered by the killing of its leader, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, by a Serbian man who thought Serbia should control Bosnia instead of Austria, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, on 28 June 1914 and as a fallout: (i) *Russia* got involved because Russia had an alliance with Serbia, (ii) *Germany* then declared war on Russia because Germany had an alliance with Austria-Hungary, (iii) *Britain* declared war on Germany because of its invasion of neutral Belgium. Britain had agreements to protect both Belgium and France. As a matter of fact, this Great War, which began 1914 after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, catapulted into a war across Europe that lasted until 1918. This conflict of reprisal and supremacy which involved Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire (the Central Powers) fought against Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Romania, Japan and the United States (the Allied Powers) witnessed unprecedented carnage and destruction. According to History.com:<sup>13</sup>

The spark that ignited World War I was struck in Sarajevo, Bosnia, where Archduke Franz Ferdinand—heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire—was shot to death along with his wife, Sophie, by the Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip on June 28, 1914. Princip and other nationalists were struggling to end Austro-Hungarian rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina. The assassination of Franz Ferdinand set off a rapidly escalating chain of events: Austria-Hungary, like many countries around the world, blamed the Serbian government for the attack and hoped to use the incident as justification for settling the question of Serbian nationalism once and for all....Because mighty Russia supported Serbia, Austria-Hungary waited to declare war until its leaders received assurance from German leader Kaiser Wilhelm II that Germany would support their cause. Austro-Hungarian leaders feared that a Russian intervention would involve Russia's ally, France, and possibly Great Britain as well. On July 5, Kaiser Wilhelm secretly pledged his support, giving Austria-Hungary a so-called *carte blanche*, or 'blank check' assurance of Germany's backing in the case of war. The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary then sent an ultimatum to Serbia, with such harsh terms as to make it almost impossible to accept. Convinced that Austria-Hungary was readying for war, the Serbian government ordered the Serbian army to mobilize and appealed to Russia for assistance. On July 28, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, and the tenuous peace between Europe's great powers quickly collapsed. Within a week, Russia, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Serbia had lined up against Austria-Hungary and Germany, and World War I had begun.

At the end of the war, more than 16 million people (both soldiers and civilians) were killed and early built civilization destroyed.<sup>14</sup> Wiki has it that the causes of World War 1 remain controversial, but by and large, pride, humanity's acquisitiveness and quest for control and dominance remained major factors. World War 1 began in the Balkans in July 28, 1914 and ended on November 11, 1918, leaving about 17 million dead and approximately 20 million gravely injured.<sup>15</sup>

### ***The Second World War:***

Britannica has it that the Second World War otherwise known as 'World War II' remains one of the great watersheds of 20th-century geopolitical history. The war led to the extension of the Soviet Union's power to nations of Eastern Europe and enabled a communist movement to eventually achieve power in China. Ultimately, the war marked the decisive shift of power in the world away from the states of Western Europe and toward the United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>16</sup> What led to the war? In the wake of 1939 the German leader, dictator and Nazi Adolf Hitler decided to forcefully invade and occupy Poland. The Eastern Europe country (Poland) having had wind of the Nazi Hitler's motive, reached out to Britain and France and secured their guarantees of protection and military support should it be

---

<sup>11</sup> What were the causes of World War One? <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/topics/zqhyb9q/articles/znhrj6>. Visited September 29, 2020.

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/topics/zqhyb9q/articles/znhrj6>, *Ibid*.

<sup>13</sup> History: World War I. <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/world-war-i-history>, Visited September 30, 2020.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>15</sup> Causes of World War I. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Causes\\_of\\_World\\_War\\_I](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Causes_of_World_War_I), Visited October 1, 2020.

<sup>16</sup> John Graham Royde-Smith, *op cit*

attacked by Germany. Despite the Polish alliance with Britain and France, Hitler made up its mind to invade Poland. To achieve that, Germany decided to neutralize Russian power and the possibility of Soviet Union's (USSR) resistance to the planned invasion. Hitler surreptitiously negotiated with the Soviet Union from August 23 to 24, 1939, which gave rise to the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact in Moscow. In a clandestine protocol of the treaty, Germans and Soviet Union agreed that Poland should be divided between them as follows: the western part of Poland goes to Germany and the eastern part ceded the Soviets.<sup>17</sup> Having got wind of the signing of a formal treaty of mutual assistance between Great Britain and Poland on August 25, did not deter Hitler. He merely postponed the start of hostilities for a few days. He defied all diplomatic efforts of the western powers to restrain him from the invasion. The fiery German dictator on August 31, 1939 at 12:40 PM ordered that hostilities against Poland should commence exactly by 4:45 the next morning. Consequently, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on September 3, at 11:00 and the World War II had begun.<sup>18</sup>

The Allies, Great Britain, France, and Poland, had superior industrial resources, population, and military manpower, but the German Army, known as 'Wehrmacht', (despite being betrayed by USSR), because of its armament, training, doctrine, discipline, and fighting spirit, was the most efficient and effective fighting force for its size in the world. John Graham Royde-Smith stated that 'it was the qualitative superiority of the German infantry divisions and the number of their armoured divisions that made the difference in 1939. The firepower of a German infantry division far exceeded that of a French, British, or Polish divisions; Tested and well-trained in maneuvers, the German panzer divisions constituted a force with no equal in Europe'.<sup>19</sup> In the face of this reality and to crush the rising German military prowess, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China later joined the allied forces.

All the facts show that racial dominance, pride, acquisition, invasion and quest for political dominance led to the Second World War (1939-1945) otherwise known as World War II. Just like the First World War, this conflict involved virtually all parts of the world. The main actors were the Axis powers made up of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and the Allies— Great Britain, France, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China. However, the devastation and fatalities were more gruesome and grier. It was still a fallout of an uneasy 20-year disputes left unsettled by World War I, which the *League of Nations* could not contain. The carnage was an estimated 60 million deaths – the bloodiest and largest war ever in history of mankind.<sup>20</sup>

### **3. The Search for Global Peace and the Formation of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation**

#### **League of Nations:**

**Principally, the League of Nations** was an organization for international cooperation founded on January 10, 1920 by the victorious allied powers at the end of World War I. In the climax of the World War I, the devastation of cities and monumental carnage was disturbing, world leaders led by Woodrow Wilson of the United States, commenced search for global peace and facilitate the growing public demand that some method be found to prevent the suffering and destruction which was occasioned by the seeming inescapable part of modern war. The force of this search was so great that within weeks after the opening of the January 1919 Paris Peace Conference a unanimous agreement was reached on the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations.<sup>21</sup> The League of Nations, mainly founded by Woodrow Wilson of the United States, was the first worldwide intergovernmental organisation whose principal mission was to maintain world peace. It was founded on 10 January 1920 following the Paris Peace Conference that ended the First World War, and ceased operations on 20 April 1946. Its headquarters was located in Geneva, Switzerland. It had English and French as its official languages. Germany was not an original member of the League of Nations when it was established in 1920. Germany joined in 1926 and remained a member until Adolf Hitler withdrew the country from the League in 1933. However, the League of Nations ceased its operation on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of April 1946 after official disband a day earlier. The primary purpose of the League of Nations was to achieve global peace and stop the occurrence of another world war, but it was not a complete success story as this mandate failed. Nevertheless, even though the League was not able to fulfil the aspirations of its founders, its creation was an event of decisive importance in the history of international relations, law and diplomacy.<sup>22</sup>

#### **Dumbarton Oaks Conference and the Birth of the United Nations:**

Like a pack of cards, the League of Nations collapsed as it failed to maintain global peace, even as the world witnessed another gory of more horrendous world war (1939-1945). On January 1, 1942, representatives of 26 nations at war with the Axis powers met in Washington to sign the Declaration that would give rise to the United Nations endorsing the Atlantic Charter, pledging to use their full resources against the Axis and agreeing not to make a separate peace. At the Quebec Conference in August 1943, Secretary of State Cordell Hull and British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden agreed to draft a declaration that included a call for a general international organization, based on the principle sovereign

---

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> League of Nations. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations>. Retrieved 24 September, 2020.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

equality of all nations.<sup>23</sup> However, the real journey towards establishment of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) began four years into the World War II. In the Dumbarton Oaks, representatives of United States, China, United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, met and formulated proposals for a world organization that became the basis for the United Nations. This meeting, popularly known as ‘Dumbarton Oaks Conference’ or more formally called ‘the Washington Conversations on International Peace and Security Organization’ held August 21–October 7, 1944), in the Dumbarton Oaks, a mansion in Georgetown, Washington, D.C. This meeting constituted the first major step taken to carry out paragraph 4 of an earlier decision reached in Moscow, known as ‘the Moscow Declaration of 1943’. The meeting heralded the birth of a post-second world war international organization to succeed the League of Nations.<sup>24</sup> Some of the delegates include: Sir Alexander Cadogan (British Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs); Andrei Gromyko (Soviet Ambassador to the United States); Wellington Koo (Chinese Ambassador to the United Kingdom); Edward Stettinius Jr (and U.S. Under-Secretary of State). The general chair of the conference was Edward Stettinius (U.S. Under-Secretary of State), while Cordell Hull (the U.S. Secretary of State) delivered the opening address. Prime in the agenda was on the proposals for the establishment of an organization to maintain peace and security in the world. In this meeting the new role of the Soviet Union within the emergent organization as canvassed by Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin was defined, even as USSR conceded to US position on Veto Powers as put forward by Franklin D. Roosevelt's clinging to the belief that veto powers would neutralize any danger from it.<sup>25</sup>

According to Wikipedia, the purposes of the new United Nations Organization contemplated would include:

1. To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems; and
4. To afford a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.<sup>26</sup>

The discussions also tabled which countries would be invited to join the United Nations and who would be invited to become members of the United Nations Security Council. It was canvassed on October 7, 1944 that the right of veto that would be given to permanent members of the Security Council. They recommended a General Assembly of all member states and a Security Council consisting of the Big Four plus six members chosen by the Assembly. Voting procedures and the veto power of permanent members of the Security Council were finalized at the Yalta Conference in 1945 when Roosevelt and Stalin agreed that the veto would not prevent discussions by the Security Council. Roosevelt agreed to General Assembly membership for Ukraine and Byelorussia while reserving the right, which was never exercised, to seek two more votes for the United States.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, at Yalta, a trusteeship system was proposed to take the place of the League of Nations mandate system.

Again, in 1945 (April-June), representatives of 50 nations met in San Francisco to complete the Charter of the United Nations. At the United Nations Conference on International Organization, also known as the San Francisco Conference, the Security Council veto powers were established and the text of the United Nations Charter was finalized.<sup>28</sup> In addition to the General Assembly of all member states and a Security Council of 5 permanent and 6 non-permanent members, the Charter provided for an 18-member Economic and Social Council, an International Court of Justice, a Trusteeship Council to oversee certain colonial territories, and a Secretariat under a Secretary General.<sup>29</sup> The Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 by the representatives of the 50 countries. Poland, which was not represented at the Conference, signed it later and became one of the original 51 Member States.<sup>30</sup> The United Nations formally came into existence on 24 October 1945, when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and by a majority of other signatories. United Nations Day is celebrated on 24 October each year.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the United Nations is an intergovernmental organization that aims to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation, and be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.

#### **4. Interrogating Nigerian Peace and Security Architecture: A Negative Trajectory**

As made clear in the background to global peace and security, there is absolutely no region of this world that has not experienced chaos, challenges and wars. However, while many countries especially in the industrialised world have

---

<sup>23</sup>Archive of the US Department of States. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwii/17604.htm>. Retrieved 4 September, 2020.

<sup>24</sup>Dumbarton Oaks Conference, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dumbarton\\_Oaks\\_Conference](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dumbarton_Oaks_Conference). Retrieved 14 September, 2020.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> See [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dumbarton\\_Oaks\\_Conference](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dumbarton_Oaks_Conference). Retrieved 4 September, 2020.

<sup>27</sup> Archive of the US Department of States. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwii/17604.htm>

<sup>28</sup> Dumbarton Oaks Conference, *op cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Archive of the US Department of States, *op cit.*

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/index.html>. Retrieved 27 September, 2020.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

moved towards greater political, social and economic stability / cooperation, many African nations especially in sub-Saharan Africa remain a conundrum of instability.<sup>32</sup> The establishment of and the contribution of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) now the African Union (A.U) in line with the UN model, which has, over the years, been trying to foster peace and development in Africa since independence. In Nigeria today, the lot of what happened in Western and Eastern Europe that led to the first and second world wars is Nigeria's trajectory posing even more horrendous outcomes for the peace and unity of Nigeria. This led to the Nigeria-Biafra civil war (1967-1970). Sadly, this West African regional power seems not to have learnt any lessons from the vestiges of the civil war. The post-independence political crises, ethnic cleansing, religious crises have systematically undermined the peace and security of Nigeria, grossly affecting her development.<sup>33</sup> The need for peace and security cannot be overemphasised. This is because, the creation of a peaceful country with decreased risks of conflicts and ethnic instability is necessary for prosperity in all strata of the economy, including education, healthcare, social and economic welfare, rule of law as well as ethnic integration. Today, violence, non-judicial killings, murders, conflict, wars, coups, revolution, riots, ethnic cleansing, election violence, assassinations, abductions, terrorist attacks, discrimination are common places in Nigeria.<sup>34</sup> The same scenario that played out in Europe is taken a more dangerous dimension in Nigeria. One death led to the First World War. The quest for racial domination by Adolf Hitler's Germany led to Second World War. We already have more dangerous scenarios playing out even after the Nigeria 'first war'. We hope there would be no Nigerian 'second war'.

The high level of insecurity occasioned by militancy in the Niger-Delta, agitation for the Sovereign State of Biafra by IPOB/MASSOB in the South East, the terrorist activities of Fulani's herdsmen across the country, Boko Haram terrorist's activities in the North East, kidnapping in the South South and across the country, the agitation for Oduduwa Republic by OPC and similar pan Yoruba groups, religious riots and killings in Northern Nigeria, etc. Notably, of the aforementioned anti-social variables, religion and ethnic induced crises pose greater challenges in Nigeria. Apart from the Nigerian civil war of the late 1960s, the most catastrophic security challenge of Nigeria is the Boko Haram insurgency and nefarious activities of the Herdsmen. For over eight years, almost on a daily basis, it has been news of devastating killings, kidnapping, bomb blasts, suicide bombings, assassinations, abductions, lootings, robberies, torture and rapes, as well as the wanton destruction of properties, including attacks on schools, like the abduction of over 345 teenage girls in Chibok, Borno state of Nigeria in 2014,<sup>35</sup> and similar abduction of 110 schools girls in Dapchi by the same Boko Haram, on February 19 2018. All these necessitated the need more than ever before to interrogate the concept of governance and peace in Nigeria. This is because, unarguably, governance has a role to play in ensuring security and sustainable peace anywhere in the world. Thus, section 14(2)(b) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended regards security and welfare of the citizens as the principal ingredient of good governance in Nigeria.<sup>36</sup> Egugbo, captured it well when he said that 'it is expected that the President as well as all elected and appointed government officials should conduct the business of government in such a way that can bring about security and welfare of the citizenry'. According to him, the nature and pattern of governance to a very large extent would determine the existence of peace or otherwise. It is apt to state that good governance promotes peace while bad governance generates high level of insecurity and crisis.<sup>37</sup>

In the current Nigerian polity, there is high level of non-inclusiveness in governance. Nepotism, in appointments such as of service chiefs, heads of security agencies, principal officers of government, judges of the Supreme Court, heads of major parastatals such as NNPC, provision of infrastructure etc, where particular sections of the Nigerian nation such as the south-east are side-lined. So, the idea of 97% vs 5% should be over after election, all citizens and sectors should be carried along. There should be unity in diversity, as in the case in Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States, Canada, South Africa, etc.

#### **Unity in diversity: The Australian Example**

In a report of NSW Education 2015,<sup>38</sup> Australia has a unique history that has shaped the diversity of its peoples, their cultures and lifestyles today. Three major contributors to Australia's demographic make-up are a diverse Indigenous population, a British colonial past and extensive immigration from many different countries and cultures. Australia with a population of about 23.4 million is one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse populations in the world. NSW report has it that although the majority of the population are Australian born,

- More than 75% of Australians identified with an ancestry other than Australian as their first response to the 2016 Census question;

<sup>32</sup> Nkurayija, Jean de la Croix (2011) 'The Requirements for the African Continent's Development: Linking Peace, Governance, Economic Growth and Global Interdependence. Berlin, 2011. University of New South Wales, [www.antigrain.com](http://www.antigrain.com) Retrieved 25 August, 2020.

<sup>33</sup> Balami Dahiru Hassan, *et al, op cit*; Nkurayija, Jean de la Croix (2011) 'The Requirements for the African Continent's Development: Linking Peace, Governance, Economic Growth and Global Interdependence. Berlin,2011. University of New South Wales, [www.antigrain.com](http://www.antigrain.com) Retrieved 25 August, 2020.

<sup>34</sup> Balami Dahiru Hassan, *et al, op cit*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Egugbo, Chuks Cletus 'Governance and Sustainable Peace in Nigeria' African Research Review. *An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia Vol. 10(4), Serial No.43*, September, 2016: 41-55.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup>For more facts see, NSW: Australia's cultural diversity. <https://www.racismnoway.com.au/about-racism/australias-cultural-diversity/> Retrieved 30 September, 2020.

- About 3% of Australians identified as being Aboriginal, Torres Strait islander or both; and
- About 45% reported having at least one parent who has born overseas.

About 19% of overseas born Australians were born in non-English speaking countries, and in all, Australians come from over 200 birthplaces, especially England, New Zealand and China. They speak over 200 languages. In addition, over 64,800 people are said to be speaking more than 50 indigenous languages, including Australian creoles. Outside English, other common languages spoken in Australia are Chinese, Arabic, Vietnamese and Italian. In terms of religion, Australia is quite diverse. Christianity is the main religion with about 52% adherents. Other major religions represented in Australia today include Islam (3%), Hinduism (2%), Buddhism (2%), and Judaism (-1%). Almost 8,100 Australians practice Aboriginal traditional religions, and about 30% reported having no religion. With these diversities in race, religion, language and culture, Australia remains one of the most peaceful, unified and progressive nation in the world.<sup>39</sup> Similar to Australia, Nigeria has over 371 ethnic nationalities<sup>40</sup> and 525 native *languages*,<sup>41</sup> major of which are Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo, but unlike Australia, Nigeria has not made conscious effort in unifying her people. Ethnic and religious sentiments hold sway; and the rich cultural and ethnic diversity of Nigeria has never been exploited by Nigerian leaders over the years except in the field of sports, especially football which ignites nationalistic spirit in all Nigerians. Never in Nigerian history have the citizens lost as much hope in the Nigerian project than now. These can be seen in the type of caricature headlines and cartoons that characterised Nigeria's 60<sup>th</sup> independence celebration a few days ago. As we speak, there are self-determination agitations here and there; Igbos are agitating for Sovereign State of Biafra; Yoruba are clamouring for freedom, seeking Oduduwa Republic; the middle beltters want to go, and some part of Nigeria like Adamawa have allegedly been included in map of a new Anglophone Southern Cameroun state (known as the Federal Republic of Ambazonia, declared in 2017).

All these agitations are a result of lack of peace, intimidation, marginalisation, ethnic cleansing, engendered by bad leadership. Aja summed it up as hydra-headed monster orchestrated by clannish leadership. In his exact words, 'sustainable peace includes good governance', conversely without good leadership they cannot be peace.<sup>42</sup> According to Ibeanu, 'peace is a political condition that makes justice possible.'<sup>43</sup> Essentially, therefore, correlation exists between governance and peace. When the political governance is conducted in such a way that the citizens are not only carried along but also allowed to actively participate, it makes them to have sense of belonging and inclusiveness.<sup>44</sup> To the erudite author, to create peace, politics must be mediated by stable structures and secular culture.<sup>45</sup> Nigeria being a secular state, the norms of true federalism and secularity as contained in the Constitution must be respected. The norms of true federalism and socio-cultural diversity must be respected, if the balkanisation of Nigeria is to be arrested. The clock is ticking!

### **Peace and Inclusive Growth**

Apart from political engineering, Boko haram is a product of relegation of education to the background and a product of years of neglect of the youth especially in Northern Nigeria. The same accounts for Herdsmen killings and mayhem going on around the country; the same neglect of a people propelled the birth of militancy in the Niger Delta. Most of kingpins of ethnic militia are using the neglected youth in venting their grievances on the Nigerian polity, denying Nigerian of the much-desired peace. That's why the global peace of Nigeria is lowly rated as Nigeria has been classified as the 3<sup>rd</sup> most terrorised country in the world, by the World Terror Index from 2016 till date out of 138 countries facing terror attacks.<sup>46</sup> This has made Nigeria Peace Index cause for concern, as can be deduced from Nigeria's rating in Global Peace Index (GPI). The Global Terrorism Index (GTI) table below is disturbing.<sup>47</sup>

#### **GTI Ranks & Scores, 2019 Report**

1	Afghanistan	9.603	0.212
2	Iraq	9.241	-0.505
3	Nigeria	8.587	-0.063
4	Syria	8.006	-0.309

---

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Full list of all 371 tribes in Nigeria, states where they originate. Read more at: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/05/full-list-of-all-371-tribes-in-nigeria-states-where-they-originate/> Retrieved 4 September, 2020.

<sup>41</sup> Languages of Nigeria. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages\\_of\\_Nigeria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Nigeria). Retrieved 4 October, 2020.

<sup>42</sup> Aja, A.A. (2007). *Basic concepts, issues and strategies of peace and conflict resolution: Nigeria – African conflict case studies*. Enugu: Kenny and Brothers Enterprise. (Nig.)

<sup>43</sup> Ibeanu, O. (2006). Conceptualizing peace. In Best, S.G. (ed.) *Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.

<sup>44</sup> Egugbo, Chuks Cletus 'Governance and Sustainable Peace in Nigeria' African Research Review. *An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia Vol. 10(4), Serial No.43*, 7 September, 2020: 41-55

<sup>45</sup> Ibeanu, O. (2006), *op cit*

<sup>46</sup> See Global Terrorism Index, 2019 report; Global Terrorism Index Report 2016. <https://www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf>

<sup>47</sup> Courtesy GLOBAL TERRORISM INDEX 2019 | 87. Retrieved 4 October, 2020.

5	Pakistan	7.889	-0.292
6	Somalia	7.800	-0.220
7	India	7.518	-0.050
8	Yemen	7.259	-0.275
9	Philippines	7.137	-0.044
10	DR Congo	7.039	-0.016

For the records, to gauge peacefulness, the Global Peace Index (GPI) investigates the extent to which countries are involved in on-going domestic and international conflicts; while the Global Terrorism Index (GTI) rates countries' position in terror attacks in the community of nations. The higher the position of any country in GTI the less peaceful the country is. Sadly, Nigeria is among the top three most terrorised nations world-wide. According to Balami Dahiru Hassan, *et al*

GPI is an attempt to measure the relative position of nation's and region's peacefulness. It is a product of the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) and developed in consultation with an international panel of peace experts from peace institutes and think tanks with data collected and collated by the Economist Intelligence Unit. The index gauges global peace using three broad themes: the level of safety and security in society, the extent of domestic and international conflict, and the degree of militarization. Factors are both internal such as levels of violence and crime within the country, and external such as military expedition and wars. It also seeks to evaluate the level of harmony and discord within a nation.<sup>48</sup>

From the report of the GTI, above it is clear that Nigeria is not a peaceful country but a highly terrorised nation. The report of the Global Peace Index (GPI) finally draws the conclusion that low crime rates, minimal incidences of terrorist acts and violent demonstrations, harmonious relations with neighbouring countries, and stable political scene and a small proportion of the population being internally displaced or refugees can equate with peacefulness.<sup>49</sup> Due to non-inclusiveness in galvanising the capacity of the diversity of Nigerians, including the youth, unfortunately, these decimals do not favour Nigeria. Sadly too, these terror indices negatively affect the nation's economy. It should be noted that a nation, that has no peace, whose youths are wasted in restiveness and gangsterism for over a long period of time, such as Nigeria, it will have its national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) negatively affected. GDP is measured as a percent increase in real Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which is GDP adjusted for inflation.<sup>50</sup>

## 5. Causes and effects of Lack of Peace and Insecurity

### Causes:

In a study conducted by Egugbo<sup>51</sup> some other factors that lead to lack of peace were identified. They include, but not limited to the following:

**Religious Intolerance:** Due to the security of Nigeria with multiple regions, principal of which are Christianity, Islam and African traditional religion, citizens are guaranteed Sections 38 and 39(1) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria freedom of religion and expression. Yet this basic human right is breached in some parts of the country. Consequently, most crises that erupt every now and then is as result of religious intolerance.

**Nepotism and Ethnic Marginalization:** The marginalization of some ethnic components of Nigeria, which is a country with multi-ethnic and multi-religious diversity, in defiance of the Federal Character principle provided by section 14(3) of the 1999 Constitution, is an open call of crises and agitations. In Nigeria today, apart from statutory ministerial allocations due to each state, the present federal government has been accused of favouring the North, and leaving out the South East in its principal appointments, leaves much to be desired. It has been argued that the heightened IPOB agitations by the people of South East for the Sovereign State of Biafra are not unconnected with the present lopsided appointments in Nigeria since 2015.

**Lack of Transparency and Accountability:** When politicians conduct public administration and governance based on their whims and caprices without recourse to the input of those who voted for them, there is bound to be crises.

**Non-respect for the Rule of Law:** A society not regulated by law is prone to confusion, crisis and possible collapse.

**Electoral Fraud:** When electoral processes are subverted and elections are lost and won in courts, people are bound to react, sometimes violently.

<sup>48</sup> Balami Dahiru Hassan, *et al*, *op cit*

<sup>49</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) (2012) [www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content](http://www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content) Retrieved 25 August, 2015

<sup>50</sup> Global Peace Index (GPI), (2012) Global Peace Ranking. Institute for Economic and Peace (IEP), Retrieved from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia 5 August, 2020.

<sup>51</sup> Egugbo, Chuks Cletus 'Governance and Sustainable Peace in Nigeria' *African Research Review. An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia Vol. 10(4), Serial No.43*, 7 September, 20120: 41-55

*Unemployment:* The National Bureau of Statistics has it that the population of unemployed Nigerians increased by 518,000 to over 1.45million between December 2015 and March 31, 2016,<sup>52</sup> and much more today. Again, when the youths are unemployed, it's an invitation to thuggery, insurgency, restiveness and other forms of criminality

*Mismanagement of Public Fund:* Corruption and mismanagement of public fund has become a parameter of describing public office holders in Nigeria. Accumulated denials of basic public welfare and facilities are constant causes of crisis in Nigeria. The recent NDDC probe is a current case in Nigeria within the pick of covid-19 pandemic.

In addition to the above, Balami *et al*, identified then following factors as determinants of lack of peace and insecurity in any polity:<sup>53</sup>

- ❖ Poverty, hunger and disease
- ❖ Youth unemployment and lack of economic opportunities
- ❖ Exclusion of part of population in development processes- the popular 97% and 5% syndrome.
- ❖ Gender marginalisation
- ❖ Religion
- ❖ Tribalism and ethnicity
- ❖ Human rights violation, injustice, lawlessness and impunity
- ❖ Quality of leadership, Bad governance and corruption
- ❖ Defective democracy (without democratic principles)
- ❖ Thuggery, small arms and light weapons proliferation
- ❖ Environmental degradation, deterioration of natural resource base
- ❖ Competition for natural resources for domestic and industrial use, e.g. river water disputes, disputes over fishing, grazing and land rights.<sup>54</sup>

### **Effects**

Insecurity and breach of peace are likely to or indeed affect legitimate social and economic activities in various ways. These include - destruction of built and natural infrastructure, destruction of power, communication and other public facilities and installations, destruction of lives and properties, impairment in capacity of people to add value to economy, unemployment, environmental destruction, disruption of school attendance (like the case of the Chibok girls), reduction in manpower development, discouragement of Foreign Direct Investment. Consequently, funds meant for human capital development are deployed to the rehabilitation and renovation of public facilities (and private properties), as well as amnesty programs.<sup>55</sup> In addition, lack of peace is a threat to food security and disrupts farming activities, destroys forest and wildlife, leads to the killing of farmers and livestock and results in astronomical rise in prices of agricultural products, goods and services. At the international levels, facts show that 1.5 billion people live in countries affected by conflict and fragility. With the exception of Brazil, China and India, 47 per cent of these people are in developing nations, which includes Nigeria. Other negative effects of insecurity include – directing national treasury to the military and purchase of weapons and ammunitions which could amount to average of 2.8 per cent to 5 per cent of GDP; reduction of average growth rate for countries affected by civil insurrection, and unprecedented capital flight from about 9 per cent to 20 per cent. Thus, peace is the first condition of successful development, and the wealth of conflict affected states cannot be increased unless in the atmosphere of peace.<sup>56</sup>

### **6. Conclusion and Recommendations**

From the facts buttressed at the first part of this paper, quest for racial dominance, vagrant territorial invasion, pride and impunity on the part of political leadership led to the first and second World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), respectively. In both wars, virtually all parts of the world witnessed the gruesomeness of the belligerency. Although the devastation and fatalities of the World War I was more that of World War II, it was still a fallout of an uneasy 20-year disputes left unsettled by World War I, which led to the formation of the *League of Nations*, that orchestrated the birth of the United Nations Organisation and its pursuit of global peace. In Nigeria today, the same scenario that led to Nigerian civil war that claimed about 5 million lives is playing out today, and it appears that our leaders are paying deaf ears to the foreboding drums. The political and religious chauvinism, ethnic cleansing, religious lordship has systematically undermined the peace and security of Nigeria, grossly affecting her development.<sup>57</sup> Unarguably, peace is the fulcrum on which development stands. Direct foreign investment and tourism cannot thrive in a country at war with itself or a country laden in chaos. In the same vein, no meaningful development can take place in an atmosphere of killings, terror attacks and insecurity. While the gap between the rich and the poor has widened due to corruption, the

---

<sup>52</sup> Daily Sun, May 25, 2016, p.15

<sup>53</sup> Balami Dahiru Hassan, *et al*, *op cit*

<sup>54</sup> United Nations Conference on Trade And Development (UNCTAD), (1999) Discussion Paper, No. 142, [www.unctad.org/en/pub/public](http://www.unctad.org/en/pub/public) Retrieved 4 September, 2020 .

<sup>55</sup> Etekepe, A. (2012) Peace and development in Nigeria: The amnesty experience in Niger Delta of Nigeria.

<sup>56</sup>United Nations, (2013) *A New Global Partnership: Eradicate Poverty and Transform Economies Through Sustainable Development*. New York; Balami Dahiru Hassan, *et al*, *op cit*

<sup>57</sup>Balami Dahiru Hassan, *et al*, *op cit*; Nkurayija, Jean de la Croix (2011) 'The Requirements for the African Continent's Development: Linking Peace, Governance, Economic Growth and Global Interdependence. Berlin,2011. University of New South Wales, [www.antigrain.com](http://www.antigrain.com) Retrieved 5 August, 2020.



neglected masses who are denied employment, or whose take-home cannot take them home, or who are denied legitimate means of livelihood engage in nefarious activities to be able to survive, which negatively affects Nigeria peace index. The rise in ethnic militia and regional security outfits such as *Amotekun*,<sup>58</sup> is the climax of the loss of confidence in the security and peace architecture of the Nigerian nation drifting towards failure. Little wonder, in a recent rating of Nigeria in the gauge of international Failed States Index (FSI), Nigeria ranked 15 out of 177 Nations.<sup>59</sup> In the absence of peace, fear reigns supreme, foreign investors are scared way and it weakens local investments. This ugly trend portends grave danger to the country; but with peace and security, where no section is marginalised and there is a true sense of national integration, as conceived by the forbearers of Nigeria such as Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Sir Ahmed Bello and Chief Anthony Enahoro, Dr Akanu Ibiam, *et al*, it would engender the diversification of the economy; create a sense of belonging to all and sundry; enable the entire citizenry to see the need to contribute their quota towards National Development, and possibly halt the imminent balkanisation of the Nigerian nation. Absence of peace and security has adversely affected the growth of the Nigerian economy, particularly the activities of terrorists in the North; militants in the Niger Delta and self-determination in the South East and South West. Therefore, peace and security are an essential ingredient for inclusive growth and a guarantee for sustainability of the livelihood of the poor.<sup>60</sup> There is therefore need to rejig the Nigerian nation, follow the constitutional provision of national character<sup>61</sup> in all spheres our national life and urgent need for the reform of a country's security sector if development programmes of a country are to progress.<sup>62</sup> The following measures may be helpful:

There should be all-inclusive governance. These include political, social, ethnic, religious, gender and sundry inclusiveness. The leadership should have a deliberate political will to harness and respect the heterogenous nature of the Nigerian state and imbibe pure nationalism culture in governance, just like the Australian example. After elections, party and tribe should no longer matter- The leader should indeed adopt the Buharian doctrine of 'I belong to everybody and I belong to nobody' indeed, and not just in words. The leadership must give strict adherence to the principles of *Federal Character*: It is a popular saying that there is unity in diversity. Tribal and sectional divides should be used positively. A situation where most principal officers of government comes from one region or one religion in a multi-religious and multi-tribal nation like Nigeria should be done away with if Nigeria must enjoy relative peace. That is why the draughts-men of the Nigerian Constitution gave the doctrine of federal character prominence in the 1999 CFRN. For the records, Section 14(3) of the 1999 Constitution as amended advocates that 'the composition of government of the federation or any of its agencies, and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or in any of its agencies'. I advocate the full implementation of this provision in making appointments at the federal, state and local governments levels. With that, there would not be any need for feeling of marginalization and desperate quest for self-determination.

There is need for budget for and maintain mineral producing communities. 'For the scripture saith, thou shalt *not muzzle the ox* that treadeth out the corn. And, the labourer is worthy of his reward.'<sup>63</sup> A situation where oil and mineral producing areas of the Niger Delta are grossly neglected smacks of nothing but a direct invitation to anarchy and chaos. History and experience have shown that it is not just sufficient to establish NDDC and such agencies who only receive grants and drain the allocations to personal coffers for their self-aggrandizement. Recent facts have shown that such agencies are not just avenues for thievery and high spate corruption, but also conduits for embezzlement unlimited. So, I advocate direct maintenance of mineral producing communities by the presidency and multinational consortiums that should have direct relationship with the communities. A percentage of the accruing revenue should be retained and or used for direct plough-back to the people and infrastructure of the communities to stop militancy and chaos in the region. In addition, the foreign exchange derived from the extractive industry should be efficiently managed for the security and welfare of the people, which is the main essence of governance.<sup>64</sup> When resources are prudently managed, those in

<sup>58</sup>Western Nigeria Security Network a.k.a. *Amotekun*, is a security outfit based in all the six states of the South Western, Nigeria, responsible for curbing insecurity in the region. On Thursday, January 9, 2020, Governors of Nigeria's six southwest states of Ogun, Osun, Oyo, Ekiti, Ondo and Lagos, launched the western Nigeria security network called 'Operation Amotekun' in Ibadan, the Oyo State capital. See <https://www.pulse.ng/news/local/operation-amotekun-7-things-to-know-about-southwests-security-force/jpd0wz1>

<sup>59</sup>Failed States Index. <https://www.proshareng.com/news/Nigeria%20Economy/Failed-States-Index--Nigeria-Ranked-15-out-of-177-Nations/7135>, visited October 6, 2020.

<sup>60</sup> BALAMI Dahiru Hassan, *et al*, *op cit*

<sup>61</sup> Section 14(3) of the 1999 Constitution provides: 'The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few State or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies.' This provision has been grossly neglected by the federal government in the current administration in Nigeria.

<sup>62</sup> United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN), (2013). *An Action Agenda for Sustainable Development*, www.unsdsn.org Retrieved 5 June 2020.

<sup>63</sup> 1Tim 5:18

<sup>64</sup>See Niger Delta › Constitutional Matters, [www.waado.org](http://www.waado.org) › Chapter Two of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria, provides that under section 13 that it shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this Constitution. And section 14(2)(b) provides that i (b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government: a (b) the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government: thus, it is

government would make more positive impact on the lives of the citizens; and when people are gainfully employed and salaries paid as and when due, it would greatly minimise crime and distortion of national peace.<sup>65</sup>

There should be accountability and transparency in leadership. Transparency and leadership breeds trust and when there is trust, violence would be brought to the barest minimum. In addition to formal means of reporting in leadership, transparency and accountability to the people through quarterly town hall meetings are essential ingredients of good governance which is a panacea for peace. Free and fair elections must only be hallmarks of selecting new leaders, in the model of the traditional Igbo society where everyone had a say in determining who does what. Most importantly, conduct of all-inclusive and credible direct intra party primaries is the first step in the conduct of free, fair, and credible elections. This is a panacea for peace, why the current ‘anointing’ of persons who are ‘loyal’ to present office holders is the root cause of grumblings by the people, leading to upheavals and crisis. In addition, elections won only in the courts as evident in this country today leave much to be desired.<sup>66</sup> There should be respect for Nigeria’s secularity and religious tolerance. A secular state recognizes freedom of conscience, faith and religion. It treats all its citizens equally regardless of religion, and avoids preferential treatment for citizens based on their religious beliefs, affiliation or lack of either over those with other profiles.<sup>67</sup> Nigeria is predominantly made of Christians, Muslims and sundry African and oriental religions. A situation where some adherents take up arms and attempt to compel others to abandon their religious beliefs or impose their religion on others should not be tolerated<sup>68</sup>, as it offends the fundamental rights provision of the Constitution which is the principal law of the land.

There should be respect for the Constitution and the rule of law. In line with recommendations made above, all citizens are equal before the law. Court orders must be obeyed and not vagrantly flouted by the government and public office holders. Thus, actions of the people, no matter how highly placed, including change of government must be by due process of the law. There is need for international protection for indigenous people under internal siege: In accordance with the principle of customary international law, novel international legal regime of the rights and status of indigenous peoples has emerged in direct response to the concerted efforts and demands of ethnic minorities and indigenous communities regarding their survival as a people; and their right to self-determination. This doctrine is enjoying virtually universal support.<sup>69</sup> However, we advocate direct international intervention (by the UN) when there is concrete evidence of suppression of a people by any other group within a polity such as Nigeria.<sup>70</sup>

---

the *duty* and *responsibility* of all organs of *government*, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this *Constitution*.

<sup>65</sup> Egugbo, Chuks Cletus ‘Governance and Sustainable Peace in Nigeria’ *African Research Review. An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia Vol. 10(4), Serial No.43*, September, 2016: 41-55

<sup>66</sup> See especially the impasse and public outcry raised by upturning the mandate of the people in most bizarre manner by the Supreme Court of Nigeria in the Imo State gubernatorial elections in the first quarter of 2020, dethroning Emeka Ihedioha and enthroning Hope Uzodinma. In the result of the election published by INEC The Ihedioha polled 114, 676 while the Uzodinma polled 96,458, taking a distant 4<sup>th</sup> position, and yet he was declared the winner by the apex court. A total of 70 candidates representing various political parties took part in the election. See Premium Times: <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/.../372652-why-supreme-court-sacked-ihedioha-declared-apcs-uzodinma-winner-imo.html>, Retrieved 7 October 2020.

<sup>67</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secular\\_state#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secular_state#):

<sup>68</sup> See the Leah Shuaibu case. In February 19 2018, 110 schoolgirls were abducted in Dapchi by Boko Haram heinous group. However, while government was able to secure the release of most of them, five died as a result of the ordeal they went through. Leah Shuaibu is still being held by the Jihadist, purportedly for refusing to denounce her Christian faith. Leah Shuaibu was one of the Dapchi girls by Boko Haram. Others converted to Islam forcefully, but she refused to renounce her Christian faith, and up till today, her whereabouts is not known because her jihadist captors have not released her after two years and counting as at when this paper is written (9/10/2020), and after six years of the 350 Chibok girls abduction. See Save the Child - Nigeria | ReliefWeb <https://reliefweb.int/report/nigeria/save-child>, Retrieved 8 October 2020. See also The Guardian ‘Boko Haram kept one Dapchi girl who refused to deny her Christianity’ Schoolgirl Leah Shuaibu would not renounce her faith despite friends begging her to pretend to accept Islam. See <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/24/boko-haram-kept-one-dapchi-nigeria-girl-who-refused-to-deny-her-christianity>. Retrieved 9 October 2020.

<sup>69</sup> Siegfried Wiessner ‘The Cultural Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Achievements and Continuing Challenges’ *European Journal of International Law*, Volume 22, Issue 1, February 2011, Pages 121–140, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chr007>

<sup>70</sup> See Wiessner above who opined that related key guarantees include indigenous peoples’ rights to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights (Article 18) and states’ obligations to ‘consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned’ to obtain their ‘free, prior and informed consent’ to legislative and administrative decisions which ‘may affect them’ (Articles 19, 32(2)). There are also rights to the improvement of their social and economic conditions (Articles 17, 21, 22, and 24); rights to development (Article 23) and international cooperation (Articles 36, 39, 41, and 42); treaty rights (Article 37); as well as certain rights to redress and reparations (e.g., Articles 8(2), 28).