



When Will War For Peace Begin in Nigeria?

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Abstract. Nigeria since independence in 1960 has not witness an enduring peace as conflicts, crises, militancy and terrorism complicated the task of nation building. Many policies by past governments ranging from state and local creation and federal character policy as well as declaration of unlimited wars against hunger, poverty and indiscipline have not guaranteed lasting peace. The scenario informed the study to examine when war for peace will genuinely commence and the preconditions enduring peace. The paper was descriptive and made use of secondary sources of data inclusive of text books, journal, Internet materials and official documents from government circle. The study argued that there has been too much rhetoric on modalities for peace without the required political will. The study found that poor governance has made political religious and ethnicity thrives while corruption robs the citizenry of dividend of democracy. It recommended true federalism and genuine war against poverty and unemployment as well as massive infrastructural development as components of war for peace. In addition,

government should embark on early monitoring of conflicts, probe the remote causes and be fair and just in transforming conflicts. The study concluded that the war for peace is insurmountable given that the right institutional and attitudinal framework is judiciously put in place and executed.

Keywords: War for peace, conflict, poverty, true federalism and good governance

1. Introduction

The saying that if you want peace, be prepared for war is a popular statement but the war with respect to this study is that of war for peace. Enduring peace is elusive globally while the case of Africa is pathetic, hence the continent is often described as the theater of war. It is however sad that war for peace has found no bearing in Africa but wars of monumental destruction are being waged at regular interval. The War in the World (2016) revealed that there were sixty seven hotspots of conflict globally as at September 2016, out of which 29 were located in Africa as shown on table 1 below.

Table 1. Hotspots of Conflicts globally

Continent	No of conflicts	No of Militias/Terrorists Groups	Autonomous Groups seeking for independence
Africa	29	211	3
Asia	16	167	8
Europe	10	80	20
Middle East	7	237	12
Americas	6	26	-
Total	67	722	43

Source: Wars in the World (2016)

It could be inferred from table 1 above that no continent is free from ravaging conflicts globally but more than half of the fifty four nations in Africa are undergoing various challenges associated with violence and destructive conflicts. Albert (2005) demonstrated that of the

53 African nations between 1960-2005, 47 had tasted war and other form of direct violence. Table 2 in effect presents the hotspots of conflict in Africa in relation to the intensity of the conflicts.

Table 2: Hotspots in Africa

Country	NO. of conflicts	Nature of conflict
Nigeria	10	War against Islamist militants, militancy and other sectarian conflicts
Libya	29	Civil War
Egypt	9	War against Islamic militants of Islamic State branch
Central African Rep.	10	Armed clashes between Muslims and Christians
Mali	17	War between national army and rebel groups
Congo (DRC)	36	War against rebel forces
Somalia	13	War against al-Shabaab Islamic militants
Sudan	19	Prolonged conflict against rebel groups in Darfur
South Sudan	25	War with rebel groups
Total	169	

Source: Wars in the World (2016)

Of the countries with more than ten incidences of conflicts extracted from Wars in the World in Africa, the DRC had recorded thirty six incidences followed by Libya. The intensity of violent conflict in Egypt as an off shoot of unending revolution made it to fall into hotspots of conflict in Africa why Nigeria has not enjoyed enduring peace since independence in 1960.

Though Boko Haram alone has claimed more than 23, 000 lives since 2010, de Villiers, (2016) and Africacheck.org observed that “within January and February 2015 close to 8,300 people lost their lives due to direct violence in sub-Saharan Africa and just five countries, Nigeria, Cameroon, Sudan, Somalia and Niger” and this constituted about 90 per cent of these deaths. Nigeria recorded 4,600, Cameroon 930, Sudan 700 and Somalia 630 and Niger 500. The data extracted from IDMC (2014) as presented on table 3 reveal the number internally displaced persons.

Table 3. Figure of Internally Displaced Persons in Five Countries.

Countries	Internally Displaced Persons
Nigeria	3,300,000
Democratic Republic of Congo	2963700
Sudan	2426700
Somalia	1,100,000

South Sudan	1,000,000
Central African Republic	935,000

Source: IDMC (2014)

The avoidable death and traumatic experiences to which hapless people were subjected on account of war and conflicts in a continent blessed with very good climate and abundance of natural resources are worrisome. This motivated this study to raise the question of when the war for peace will begin in Africa and specially Nigeria by considering the nature of wars, why the failure to overcome the factors occasioning conflicts. A descriptive research was adopted for the paper while materials from secondary sources were used.

2. Theoretical Framework

From war to peace particularly in a badly divided nation like Nigeria is a herculean task. Many theories like frustration aggression, needs, structural functionalism and chaotic theories might attempt to provide explanation for causative factors. This leaves a search for theories to overcome the identified factors. Transcend model propounded by Galtung (2010) connected causative factors of war and conflicts with ways of overcome them and that makes it ideal for this work. Transcend model according

to Galtung (2010) has contributed significantly into indebt analysis in peace and conflict studies as also found in Tanabe (2010:2), by connecting what happened before the conflict to conflict situation and the needed procedure to adopt to achieve peace. This position is further supported by Multi-Tracks Diplomacy based on the works of Notter (1996) and McDonald and Diamond (1996).

Emphasizing on the relationship before violence, Galtung (2000) adopted the use of conflict triangle consisting of behaviours, attitudes and contradictions. When attitude manifesting tolerance and understanding and the contradiction is manageable, the behavior will be non-violent. Contrary is the situation if attitudes manifest intolerance and contradiction is unmanageable. According to Nicolaidis, (2008.12) the formula for conflict is “Conflict = A (Attitudes) + (Behaviours) + C (Contradictions)”.

Before violent conflict, Galtung (2010) notes that there must be polarization and this could lead to some forms of aggression on account of blocked goals as analyzed in Anifowose (2006) based on initial works of Gurr et al (1939) among others. This is why Galtung notes that there is no conflict without its causative factors that could be identified. In the case of Nigeria, these might include colonial and neocolonial manipulation, ethnic nationalism, politics of exclusion, religious intolerance among others. Issues in conflicts construct their pillars while to maintain peace, the pillars must be kept as low as possible.

Transcend model therefore focuses on peace and sees peace by adopting peace approach as a relations between parties that could be transformed and not security approach. The security approach sees the other party as enemies that must be destroyed. Hence, governments often adopt security approach in stemming the tide of violence believing that with the stop of physical violence the crisis is over. They implement their own set agenda in an exclusive manner without taking the feelings of the conflicting parties into deeper consideration. The security approach in its application to conflicts in Nigeria manifested in military deployment to conflict zone to quell violence, set panels or commission of inquiry with funfair

and receive reports that may not be implemented in a celebrated manner. This leaves the situation dicey, while creating the impression that the violence is over but it is waiting for the slightest provocation for resurgence of violence (Bogoro, 2009)..

The peace approach is expected to produce security through emphatic and creative-nonviolence. In addition, Peace approach calls for transformation of relationship and not merely resolution which could not accomplish lasting peace. In addition, Alao and Nwogwgu (2015) noted that “the approach goes beyond the goals of the parties by creating a new reality while it does not view conflict as totally bad since it can positively enhance the quality of relationship when carefully managed and create a new opportunities”. The transcend approach therefore is an inclusive approach that get all the parties to the conflict involved in the peace process to reach an agreement through the mediators that will largely meet the aspiration of the two parties.

The model was criticized by Cox and Kay (2009), Bawer (2007) and Boulding (1997) that Galtung didn’t “produce a practical guide for managing conflict globally and that the scholarship exists to put a respectable face on Western self-loathing”. Others like Morris, Hoffman and Peachey (2009), Doyle and Sambanis (2006) and Krasner (2004) drew attention to the invaluable attributes of the model which led to international organizations adopting it to resolve conflict and in rendering assistance. The implication of this theory therefore is that if governments in Nigeria adopt peace approach to resolving conflict rather than security approach, there is hope of winning the war against violence.

3. Conceptual Review

3.1 Peace

Peace is often linked to an atmosphere of tranquility, harmony or security. It is intricately linked to a state of prosperity or well-being, hence most people are desirous of it but the path it takes to achieve might calls for personal sacrifice, tolerance and discipline. The action or inaction of individuals or groups is directly or indirectly related to the state of peace

experience. This explains why Oyesola (2005) in Albert (2005) sees peace (pas Romania) as the “absence of war” (absentia bellum) governed with the assumption of a set of binding obligation that are to be observed (pacta sunt servanda).

On the other hand, Ibeanu cited in Best (2011:3) observes that defining peace as absence of war is “tautological and circular in logic” as there can be “peace” even where there is war particularly in a situation of structural or cultural violence. To underpin the meaning of peace, he observes that it would be wrong to classify a country experiencing pervasive structural violence as peaceful as what they enjoy at best could be described as “negative peace or graveyard peace”. This agrees with the position of Aquina in Wiberg (1988: 106) that “absence of war does not equate peace in the absence of justice”. Hence, Galtung notes that war is only one form of violence, which is physical, open and direct.

From philosophical perspective that took its root from Biblical and Islamic perspectives, it is seen as a gift of God subject to obedience to the injunctions (Sabine and Thorson 1973 and (Isaiah 32:17). Peace is therefore viewed as the absence of direct violence or war. Peace therefore carries with it the notion of equity, justice, fairness and freedom. The peace that is enduring in line with the Chinese perception has to do with harmony and order in the world and in social and personal organization as well as in nature. On the other hand, the Jew uses the term Shalom for peace. From political perspective, Miller (1968) views peace as a political condition that makes justice possible which is made possible by institutionalized political process, while according to Huntington (1968) the institutionalization means that the political structures acquire value and stability through tolerance, bargaining and negotiation.

The World Justice School of Thought Oyesola (2005) presents “peace” as “creative and constructive interpersonal and intergroup situation”. This notion canvasses the removal of all form of structural injustice that is perceived as the root causes of violence. They further advocated the regulation of large scale violence and improving world’s capacity to deal with problems of justice, welfare, pollution and ecology. With specific reference to Nigeria,

injustice is manifesting in all sphere of our national life, while the welfare of the citizenry is secondary in government agenda. This might have led Vice president Osinbajo to observe that more that 110 million are poor and the poverty rate stands at 70% based on 2016 National Bureau of Statistics (2015) release.

3.2 War/direct violence

War occurs when conflict could not be productively managed and it is allowed to assume violent dimension. Kegley and Blanton (2011: 231) define conflict as “discord, often arising in international relations over perceived incompatibilities”. Though they view conflict from international dimension, the discord could also emerge from interaction domestically. War, according to them (Kegley and Blanton) is “a condition arising with states (civil war) or between states (interstate war) when actors use violent means to destroy their opponents or coerce them into submission”. Cicero therefore views “war” as “a contention by force”. Clausewitz (1832) views "war as the “continuation of politics by other means”. In effect, the definition of war is a function of the perspective an individual chooses to view it but it must be acknowledged as the deadliest means of resolving conflict.

Nigeria was engaged in civil war between 1967 - 1970 and it could be rightly stated that it has not known enduring peace since then. Various form of direct violence experienced in Nigeria range from Boko Haram, herdsmen/indigene, crime, political violence, ethnic and religious intolerance that have significantly bastardized the image of the nation and had left millions of citizenry in abject poverty, health challenges and the belief that the government is incapable of restoring order. Corroborating the state of insecurity in Nigeria, the Nigeria Watch Project Fifth Report on violence (2015) noted that the Boko haram attacks and military operations accounted for about 50% of the total 17,024 death reported in 2015. The report of War in the World presented a higher figure and this explains the classification of Nigeria among the 65 hot spots of war in the world. On the other hand, the Movement against Fulani Occupation (2016) reported that the Herdsmen/indigene violence in Benue State alone caused 1252 death

between 2013 to July 2016. These figures are exclusive of other death occasioned by religious, ethnic and political violence.

The Nigeria Watch, Fifth Report on Violence in Nigeria (2015) revealed incidences of death on account of violence in Nigeria as tabulated between July 2006 and May 2015 as tabulated below on table 4.

Table 4: Death as a Result of Violence in Nigeria between July 2006 and May 2015

YEAR	NUMBER OF RECORDED DEATH
2006	4443
2007	6520
2008	6627
2009	6639
2010	5806
2011	6717
2012	7908
2013	12435
2014	22544
2015	17031

Source: The Nigeria Watch, Fifth Report on violence in Nigeria (2015)

A critical analysis of Table 4 revealed that death on account of violence has generally been on increase and a reflection of inability of government to curtail the ugly development. Hence, Galtung (2000) view violence as consisting of so many facets such as structural, cultural and direct. For the purpose of this paper direct violence is interchangeably used as war or violent conflicts. Regardless of the challenges associated with war and conflict, as Coser (1956) observed, it promotes social solidarity, creative thinking and communication. In addition, if these advantages are pursued sincerely, they can contribute positively to the resolution of disputes and the cultivation of cooperation.

3.3 Human Security

The human rights and developmental challenges after the Cold War directly and indirectly led to increasing concern about human security. According to Rugumamu, (2001:2) and Alao & Iyanda (2015), “national sovereignty will be meaningful to the extent that a nation deliberately meets basic minimum standards in good governance”. This can be measured in terms of ensuring the security of its citizens and

provision or creating a suitable environment for the provision of basic human needs thereby guaranteeing their general welfare. The traditional understanding of the concept “human security” focuses on state centric approach and emphasizing the importance of military empowerment to wade off possible danger thereby guaranteeing security.

The new understanding of the concept emerges with the UNDP Human Development Reports that observes that “Human security is not a concern with weapons – it is a concern with human life and dignity (UNDP, 1994:229). This moved the focus of human security to individuals as the heart of security concerns and identified the key components as economic, food, health, personal, community, environmental and political security. This also informed Skons (2007:243) to put up the argument that “If the ultimate objective of security is to save human beings from preventable premature death and disability, then the appropriate security policy would focus on prevention instruments and risk reduction strategies for their causes”.

The causes of human insecurity such as hunger, poverty diseases, war, unemployment, and environmental degradation among others are therefore regarded as threats. The prevention strategy in this instance cannot but include government deliberate and concerted effort to meet the basic needs of the citizenry while loopholes that encourage human insecurity are minimized or removed. Therefore, Alkire (2003:2) viewed human security as "safeguarding vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, without impeding long-term human fulfillment". In addition, Keizo (1998:12) notes that "... human beings should be able to lead lives of creativity, without having their survival threatened or their dignity impaired."

Human security does not and cannot therefore end in huge spending with military hard ware but in meeting the basic needs of the citizenry and enlarging human choices (Stewart, 2004). Conversely, insecurity cuts life short and thwarts the use of human potential.

The implication of human security on the commencement of war for peace is that if the basic human needs are met, the tendency of

curbing or minimizing prevailing direct violence will be higher. The paper argues like Miguel (2004) and Ciccone, (2008) that there is positive relationship between income and emergence of conflict. In the same sense, Collier and Hoeffler (2002) have observed that economic variables play significant role as a trigger factor for civil conflicts than political and social issues.

4. Why War, Conflict and Crisis in Nigeria?

A critical analysis of war, conflict or crisis in Nigeria has mostly been focused on the effect rather than factors responsible for it. Hence, analysts were fast at presenting the human and material casualties. The precipitants factors for wars and conflicts are often situated in internal issues and predicated upon socio-economic and political injustices arranged as well as perpetrated to keep one group at advantageous position and the other disadvantaged.

Many scholars such as Lehmann (2011), Shah, (2010), Hawkins (2008) and Schraaeder (2004: 57-69) attributed the precipitant factors to traces of wars and division existing among various entities in Nigeria before colonialism. Indeed, the colonial and neocolonial neo-colonial models of subversion blew these conflicts out of proportion. Lehmann (2011) noted that hardly could any conflict in Africa escape the subversive action of the colonialists and observed that the colonialist method was divide and rule by:

“... directing and co-opting local instruments, such as opposition parties, human rights organizations, an ongoing internal low intensity conflict, as well as expatriate communities, expatriates sponsored and with ties to i.e. the National Endowment for Democracy, and other Institutes, NGO’s and Organizations that are notorious for their involvement in subversions”.

The implication of this arrangement was that the colonialist didn’t create institutions that could mobilize the divided entities in Nigeria towards national integration but preferred to further sow seed of discord. This in effect make the post-colonial arrangement to be erected on faulty colonial foundation in every sphere of life and provided a channel for analyzing the multi-dimensional and protracted conflicts in Nigeria

such as Tiv/Jukun, Jos crisis, Zango/Kataf among others. While other scholars would argue that over fifty six years of independence should be enough to overcome the challenges of colonialism, but a faulty foundation could not sustain a beautiful structure.

In addition, Mavalla and Adesina (2015) in Alao (2015) argued that between 1980 and 2000, the combination of three factors, politics, ethnicity and religion helped in developing the conflict into more frequent and complex clashes, especially since 1987. Many of such crises are the aborted 1993 presidential elections, pre and post-election violence in 2011, Bauchi, Kafancha, Kaduna, Zaria and Kano imbroglios. The rising violent transformation of ethno-religious identities in Nigeria has constituted a challenge to peaceful coexistence in Nigeria. Enloe (1973:3) was right to observe that of all the groups that man attaches himself, ethnic groups seem the most encompassing and enduring and followed by religion. The convergence of both for political gain contributed in no small way to prevalence of protracted conflicts. Bamigbose (2011) noted that Nigeria had witnessed not less than forty major civil disturbances closely connected to ethno-religious and communal clashes between 1999-2002 while Groupson-paul (2003: 24-27) observed that fifty three of such occurrences were recorded between May 1999 – May 2003. By implication, the number between 2003 to date could have tripled.

Oyeniyi (2011) attributed some of the violent conflict to boundary issue. Such boundary disputes included Offa/Erinle, Ife/Modakeke, Saare/Tsaragi and though right particularly with the context of colonial manipulation and as observed by Gausset Whyte and Birch-Thomsen, (2005:8) that the analysis:

“must go beyond Malthusian and Neo-Malthusian conceptions of population growth and increasing scarcity as the primary driver of land and other resource conflicts, and instead examine the “social, cultural and political construction of the territories through which competition occurs and livelihoods operate”.

This line of argument is right in the sense that the land space in Nigeria is not fully occupied while the resources are abundant, hence the need to focus on the structure of governance that

created a fertile ground for conflicts to germinate and fester and the role of ego in these instances. The inability to evolve an inclusive allocation of resources

Though Oyeniyi (2011) among others opined that most of the conflicts could be traced to economic development challenges, over politicization of every aspect of societal life, foreign intervention and militarization of civil populace, but this study argues that they were resultant effect of poor governance. It festers

because the institutional mechanisms to address such were weak or non existing, making crime to be a profitable business in the face of corrupt judiciary where criminals were rather not prosecuted or poorly done and some were of the opinion that they could escape punishment.

Ibeanu (1997) presents series of conflicts partly associated with poor governance in Nigeria's developmental strike as updated by the researcher as tabulated below on table 5.

Table 5 – Local Political and Ethnic Motivated Conflicts in Nigeria

STATE	COMMUNITIES	REASON	EFFECTS
Ondo	Oba Akoko/Oka in Akoko South L.G	Relocation of L.G HQ.	Social disorganization without turning violent.
Delta	Ijaw/Itsekiri	Relocation of HQ from Ogbaljoh to Ogidigda in Warri.	Claimed about 1000 lives and massive destruction of property.
Osun	Ife/Modakeke	Creation of Ife East L.G with HQ at Enuwa, close to Oni of Ife Palace	500 lives and destruction of over 100 houses
Kwara	Kaima / Baruten axis	Creation of Kaima L.G to comprise thickly populated Baruten axis with Kaima town as HQ	A case of non-violent civil disobedience, until the Government created Baruten L.G with HQ at Kosobosu.
Benue State,	Mbagwaza and Utange communities in Ushongo L.G.	L.G Election	The two communities nearly wiped off
Jos	Natives /Hausa	Political contest	Destruction/disruption of a community that was once regarded as the most peaceful city in Nigeria that claimed thousands of lives and led to massive migration to other areas.
Benue and Plateau	Tiv/Jukun	Colonial manipulation,	
Benue	Tiv and Jukun/Hausa in colonial period	Fight against oppression by colonial master arrogating more power to Hausa	Unending conflicts occasioning loss of lies and property
Nigeria	Ibos/Nigeria	Political contest revolving around identity politics	Massive destruction of lives and property
South/ South Nigeria	Niger/Delta crisis	Resource allocation	Destruction of Lives and properties and attack on Oil installations
South South Nigeria	The Avengers	Resource based conflict over identity issues	Attack on oil installations in the South South
South /East	IPOB	Identity issues	Disruption of socio- economic life in the region.
Kaduna	Zango/kataf	Identity issues over access to resources and power	Direct violence on many instances
Bauchi	Inter-ethnic conflict	Indigene/settler issues and political dominance	Loss of lives and properties
Nigeria	Fulani herdsmen versus the rest of Nigeria	Land for grazing	Many communities in Benue, Plateau, Adamawa, Kogi, Kwara, Oyo, Ekiti and Enugu states attacked and hundreds of lives lost.

Source: Ibeanu (1997), Updated by Alao, D.O (2016)

It is essential to note as tabulated above that the boundary of political, ethnic and religious conflict is nebulous as one could easily metamorphose into the other. Where ever there is convergence of these three elements, the loss in terms of human and material resources could not but be monumental like in Kaduna, Kano and Zango/Kataf conflicts. Osinubi & Osinubi (2006), Irobi (2005) and Nnoli (1978.11) add that religion and ethnicity are often deployed for psychological safety and as a weapon for manipulation by the state particularly when good governance is deficient. Osaghae (1998) therefore note that these factors were adopted as political behavior in Nigeria to achieve group interest at the expense of national integration.

In addition, concentrating on ethno-religious and political violence might not convey sufficient insight as the socio and economics environment in which they are situated. For instance, the crude oil from the Niger Delta region contributed more than 80 per cent to the gross domestic product. Ogege (2011) and Ekpo (2004) among others alluded to wide spread criminal neglect, marginalization and environmental degradation of the region that eventually culminated in youth adopting violent means to direct the attention of the government to the challenges. Nwogwugwu, Alao, and Egwuonwu (2012) further demonstrated that the effect of the restiveness led Hell Petroleum Company to retrench 3,500 workers in September 2007 while Indorama Petrochemical Company shut down with about 3000 youth becoming jobless. The jobless hands to a large extent particularly youth would always be ready made vanguards for prosecuting violence.

Leadership (2014) reported that “the number of poor Nigerian has remained 58 million, more than half of which live in the North East and North West”. Based on 2016 report by the Vice president Osinbajo, the figure is put at more than 110 million while poverty rate stood at 70% based on 2016 National Bureau of Statistics (2015). In effect, the nature of socio-economic and political system encourage violence as significant majority of poor were wallowing in poverty in the face of extreme minority lavishly living in opulence.

Stemming from above is the poor governance in the midst of abundance of resources leading to

extreme poverty and disgruntlement across the country. The socio-economic system that gave birth to violence was often sustained by war economy. For instance with specific reference to Boko Haram, Ajani (2014) noted that the group got over \$70million between 2006 and 2011 for its insurgent activities in Nigeria, quoting retired Major Chris Moghalu of the United States of America’s military. A breakdown of this huge amount according Ezigbo (2014), Stewart and Wroughton (2014) and Ogundipe (2012) could be traced to its links with Al-Qaeda through which readymade revenue without much struggle came in through the porous financial and security network effortlessly from groups in Saudi Arabia and the UK. War economy, with respect to government circle, the study found that a total sum of N19.53 trillion was allocated for defense from 2011-2014. As a tip in the ice bag, The Guardian (2015) quoting the reports of the Federal Government Investigation reports on Arms Deal noted that:

“513 contracts awarded at \$8,356,525,184.32; N2, 189,265,724,404.55 and €54,000.00, fifty-three (53) were failed contracts amounting to \$2,378,939,066.27 and N13, 729,342,329.87 respectively. The report further noted that payments to the tune of N3, 850,000,000.00 (Three Billion, Eight Hundred and Fifty Million Naira) were made to a single company without documented evidence of contractual agreements or fulfillment of tax obligations to the Federal Government of Nigeria.

The on-going EFCC interrogation of Dasuki, revealed that he gave \$2 Billion to the big wigs in the PDP, National Working Committee and members of the kitchen cabinet of President Jonathan to pacify them. Such personalities included Governor, Bafarawa who admitted receiving N4.6 billions for spiritual purposes. Peter Odili, N100 Million, Dopesi N2.1Billion, Yaguda took N3.2 billion, Olabode George and Falae got N100 Million each. This above led” Umeagbalasi. & Ijeoma (2014) to conclude that “the country’s insecurity is deliberately being sustained by relevant public security managers, who have become “merchants of death” by living far above their statutory incomes or earnings”.

The spate of corruption and poor governance have led to systemic failure whereby no identifiable structure such as Security, Executive, Legislature and Judiciary among others could be adjudged as failure in terms of performing their statutory functions. Hence, crime and violence became profitable and when the police and judiciary could easily be compromised, seasons criminals go unpunished while the minors receive huge jail terms. Crime and violence may continue to reign supreme as long as the institutional mechanism to checkmate such remain weak or none existing.

5. War for Peace in Nigeria

Nigeria is replete of war against many things ranging from corruption, indiscipline, militancy, Armed robbery and Ebola among others. Except for war against Ebola that was fought and won with a precision, most others remain a mere rhetorical analysis. With specific reference to war for peace, no nation will readily admit that concerted efforts were not in place to curb protracted conflicts, but the prevalence of violent conflicts is a manifestation that most, if not all, approaches and remedies adopted were cosmetic and symptomatic in nature rather than addressing the remote, catalytic and immediate causes of such sorry state of affairs.

The study argues that to commence the war for peace, it has to be fought at least from two major perspectives. First, is the preventive war for peace in relatively peaceful societies and second, the transformation of conflict in violent zones.

5.1 Preventive war for peace in relatively peaceful societies

In security parlance, regardless of the prevailing peaceful coexistence, it is often describe as relatively peaceful. Chaotic theory of conflict explains no society is completely free from seeds of discord that may generate unexpected violence. War for peace calls for eternal vigilance particularly in security monitoring referred to as early warning signal of potential outbreak of violence or breach of peace as demonstrated in Best, Nwolise, and Albert (2005). The identification of warning must be backed up with immediate appropriate response

rather than waiting for it to assume violent dimension.

Previous experiences have revealed that the weak government response to potential outbreak of violence by glaringly disregarding early warning signal as demonstrated by Mavalla (2015), Polit (2008), Akpuru-Aja, (2007) and Alex (2004) in respect of Jos, Zango/Kataf, Kaduna, Tiv/Jukun, Nasarawa, Offa/Erinle and Ife/ Modakeke were responsible for explosive situation. This careless posture might find explanation in Galtung (2010) that government intervention in conflict situation was not on account of institutionalizing a regime of lasting peace but the need to curb violence.

War for peace can be fought with greater assurance of winning if there is social justice in a situation where significant majority of the citizenry perceive government actions and inactions as fair and just. This, as rightly noted by Alao (2012), Galtung (2010), Adekanye (2009) and Albert (2005) revolves around inclusive arrangement in sharing the commonwealth without compromising needs. The belief that one section of the nation or society as the case may be is taking more than necessary share of the national wealth bred discontentment. This has manifested in the President Buari meeting with the representatives of the Niger Delta Region of November 1, 2016 where the representatives of the region advocated for fair share of the common wealth while there were allegation of disproportionate allocation of oil well in favour of Northerners.

Human being is at the heart of security provisioning as demonstrated in the UNDP (1994) Reports. In effect, war for peace must be fought with citizen effective mobilization to see peace as non- negotiable. This calls for citizenship education by drawing out elements that unites the nation rather than divisive elements. This education should be multi-dimensional covering schools right from cradle and entire member of civil society. Though the Civil Society groups have their own challenges but could be mobilized for peace education. For instance, Polit (2008:54) noted that since September 1, 2001, the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), Community Action for

Popular Participation (CAPP) and Christian Foundation for Social Justice and Equity personally called the State Police Commissioner's attention and the Government authorities to what they perceived as imminent threats to peace, but unfortunately, the authorities failed to respond. These groups in addition to other governmental channels and traditional platforms could be mobilize for effective peace education so also the churches and Mosques. This is particularly important as observed by Volkan cited in Yuksel, (2006) that the real concerns of neighbouring communities in protracted conflict are of the contaminated with psychological issues of their inner world and they are ill framed. To demystify the wrong perception require civic education.

The war for peace could not be effectively fought and won without addressing the issues associated with hunger, poverty and unemployment. Governments must increasing and honestly invest in socio economic programmes that could be catalyst for development. Nigerians were noted to be hard working and the inducement required was that of creating a suitable environment for this to be achieved. Indeed, investment in agriculture could be the best way of solving the problem of unemployment particularly if backed up with industrialization as demonstrated in Alao (2010). This will provide employment, food for local consumption and surplus processed industrial products for exportation thereby generating foreign earning.

Furthermore to sustain prevailing relative peace, government must evolve as advocated by Adekanye (2007:46), 'consociational arrangement' in allocation of resources to take care of prevailing exclusive arrangement. This was practiced in Ife/Modakeke conflict and was able to institutionalize relative peace. When fairness and justice is seen to be in existence, it has the tendency to minimize discontentment.

In effect the war for peace must address the causative factors to prevent outbreak of new violence and peace by peaceful means often referred to as peace approach and to maintain relative peace in locations without violence.

In addition, the press is required to undergo training in handling sensitive information that has the tendency to exuberate violence. Though

our press is a reflection of our religious, ethnic and political divide, if need be it could be regulated in such a way that the publications will not compromise peace and stability in Nigeria while it must not be done to compromise press freedom.

5.2 The Transformation of conflict in violent zones

In order to deal with the on-going violent conflicts, the underlisted steps might be instructive.

Protracted and deep rooted conflicts cannot be easily resolved but transformed. The transformation in line with Galtung (2010) involve a closer examination of what went wrong, parties involved, goals of the parties and how through compromise truce could be achieved. In doing this, parties goals must be addressed and not government set agenda which to a large extent may favour only one of the parties or none.

In addition, government's neutrality is inevitable in transformation of conflicts in Nigeria. Evidences abound that government often directly or indirectly became a party to conflict as found in Zango/Kataf among others. In Zango/Kataf violence, the government was alleged to have developed more than official interest in the conflict and this manifested the jailing of retired Major General Zamani Lekwot, a Sango- Kataf leader, without a similar treatment for the Hausa/Fulani leaders. This had the tendency of increasing the magnitude of conflicts in Nigeria and the preference of conflicting parties to engage in greater violence in future conflicts as a retaliatory measure.

The government must shift from pacification of conflicting parties to conciliatory moves. With the setting of Commission of Inquiry after military quelling of violence and report submitted, and followed with compensations paid to victims of violence, government often wrongly assumed that violence is over. In addition, the report of the committee or commission often died with the celebration that went with it as no further action might be taken due to vested interest as also observed by Bogoro (2009).

In addition, the government should review its policies towards payment of cash as

compensations as huge sum of compensation after each of the direct violence could be an invitation to further violence believing that government will always come to their assistance.

Furthermore, the sum paid as compensation could be partly deployed to procurement of arms and ammunition in anticipation of resurgence of direct violence. Compensation could be made through provision of good and consumable item. For boundary dispute, governments particularly the States should be guided by the provision of the 1999 Constitution. For instance, Alao (2012) demonstrated the way Kwara State government was not consistent in his policy on resolving Saare/Tsaragi conflict as extraneous forces and factors influenced policy direction. This was further manifested in respect of government's view as contained in the Gazette No. 7, Vol. 43, section 8 (111) by assigning disputed territories to the two communities which didn't meet the aspirations of either forgetting that inter-local government boundary adjustment is the duty of the National boundary Commission. The statements need be reminded that the creation of Local Government and its adjoining boundaries was a matter guided by the 1999 Constitution.

Also, agents of conflict must be prosecuted in line with the law without undue political intervention. Though it was recognized that most of the agents of conflicts could have served as thugs to highly placed personalities during elections but government must be seen to be above all. In addition, this will serve as deterrent to others

Lastly, to make the war for peace meaningful, the governments must develop a strong political will to confront the issues of conflict without fear or favour in an inclusive manner. In addition, previous relevant recommendation for peace must be implemented in line with Roosevelt (1944) position that "Peace, like war, can succeed only where there is a will to enforce it and where there is available power to enforce it". The danger of not fighting the war for peace is succinctly presented by Kennedy (1961) that "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind "

6. Conclusion

The war for peace is inevitable while government and citizenry must see it as such. The task is enormous but not insurmountable as there is no substitute for an enduring peace in a nation desirous of socio-economic transformation and political stability. The study concludes that this feat cannot be achieved by accident or chance but a deliberate and sustained effort by government and citizenry to overcome threats to human security. Therefore, efforts must be directed to sustain peace in areas enjoying relative peace in Nigeria. In addition, inclusive governance based on consociational arrangement must be adopted in governance specifically in allocation of resources. Also, government must demonstrate political will to redress previous injustices and in addressing on-going conflicts, the causes must be addressed rather than symptoms. Failure to do this, the "Almangiri" beggars in North will likely be the Boko Harm of tomorrow, while the hope for development frustrated in the South South and South East will make Nigeria ungovernable. The previous suffering and injury could be healed if there is fairness and justice. This can enable Nigerians to embrace, in the word of Ali Mazrui in Albert (2005), "A short memory of hate" which William (2005) noted to include demonstrating love, forgiveness, forgetting the past and magnanimity as these are symbols of African jurisprudence. To this end, as Maiese (2003) observed, the conflicting parties across political, ethnic and religious divides must appreciate and embrace those characteristics they have in common and project them into the future relations than divisive elements.

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