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Nigerian SME Development and the Unfulfilled Economic Promises of the New Political Era (1999-2015)

By Munirat Yusuf-Habeeb & Yusuf Ibrahim

University of Abuja

Abstract- SMEs are globally acclaimed as viable drivers of economic prosperity of nations. However, despite successive Nigerian government regimes' supposed efforts to yield similar benefits, much result has not been recorded to justify huge resources expended so far. This paper takes an exploratory approach using empirical evidences to investigate the peculiarity of Nigerian SMEs' backseat status in driving the nation's economy. Related literature was reviewed to iterate the researcher's stance and broaden the views expressed. Findings revealed a plethora of policy summersault characterized by noble policies that have suffered poor implementation. Also, most SME owners set out to make a livelihood than to play significant economic role thus remaining peasant with little or no growth ambitions. Capitalization is another huge stumbling block which is compounded by reluctance of financial institutions to extend credit facilities to SMEs. The paper suggests wholesome government policy recap that offers short, medium and long term development strategies for SME performance and development. Financial institutions should be encouraged to design credit facilities that suit SMEs to offer revolving capitalization for them. Capacity building on basic business management and strategy should also be inculcated in SME owners to enhance performance of their ventures; if they knew better, they'd do better.

Keywords: *economic development, SME Performance, SME development.*

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Nigerian SME Development and the Unfulfilled Economic Promises of the New Political Era (1999-2015)

Munirat Yusuf-Habeeb [α] & Yusuf Ibrahim [σ]

Abstract- SMEs are globally acclaimed as viable drivers of economic prosperity of nations. However, despite successive Nigerian government regimes' supposed efforts to yield similar benefits, much result has not been recorded to justify huge resources expended so far. This paper takes an exploratory approach using empirical evidences to investigate the peculiarity of Nigerian SMEs' backseat status in driving the nation's economy. Related literature was reviewed to iterate the researcher's stance and broaden the views expressed. Findings revealed a plethora of policy summersault characterized by noble policies that have suffered poor implementation. Also, most SME owners set out to make a livelihood than to play significant economic role thus remaining peasant with little or no growth ambitions. Capitalization is another huge stumbling block which is compounded by reluctance of financial institutions to extend credit facilities to SMEs. The paper suggests wholesome government policy recap that offers short, medium and long term development strategies for SME performance and development. Financial institutions should be encouraged to design credit facilities that suit SMEs to offer revolving capitalization for them. Capacity building on basic business management and strategy should also be inculcated in SME owners to enhance performance of their ventures; if they knew better, they'd do better.

Keywords: economic development, SME Performance, SME development.

I. Background to the Study

Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was the first of the new democratic presidents to come into office in 1999 and he met an economy characterized with low SME development. To spark SME reforms, his government introduced some SME policies; 1. The establishment of a specialized agency for SME development called SMEDAN (the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Agency of Nigeria). 2. The reform of the nation's agriculture bank to make it SME friendly. 3. Central bank directives that banks should make funding SME friendly via the Small and Medium Enterprises Empowerment Scheme (SMEEIS); the first cogent Public Private Partnership on SME development that drew in commercial banks into the policy frameworks of government.

In the year 2007, Umaru Musa Yar'adua succeeded Obasanjo and introduced plans to bolster the activities of SMEs. The height of his plans was the injection of about 50 billion Naira into the SMEEIS. The plan was short lived as President Yar'adua died in office two years after his inauguration as president.

Dr. Goodluck Ebele Johnathan, vice-president to Umaru Musa Yar'adua, succeeded his boss as President in the year 2010. In his bid to develop SMEs, several development al programmes were introduced including the business grants programmes – Youth Enterprise With Innovation in Nigeria (YOUWIN- a pitching contest programme) and Youth Empowerment in Agriculture Programme (YEAP) and the 220 billion SME Fund that was managed by SMEDAN in 2013.

In the month of April 2015 Jonathan was voted out of office – General Muhammadu Buhari, a four time contestant in the presidential elections of Nigeria eventually defeated President Jonathan to become the fourth president of Nigeria since the country's return to the path of democracy in 1999. A key component of his projected policies (the Change mantra) is the development of SMEs in Nigeria. The new government of Buhari has begun the process of engaging SMEs. In the month of September 2015 the government announced plans to set up a Concessionary Funding Scheme for SMEs. This scheme will provide low cost loans to SMEs in a financially inclusive manner. The government also intends to align its focus on SMEs with those of the Nigerian financial institutions which have the capacity to provide credit to SMEs such as large commercial banks and micro-finance banks that have inbuilt financial inclusion services. These financial institutions are now giving favourable attention to SMEs. However as at the time of writing this paper, the nation has yet seen any coherent result or framework for SME development in Nigeria in spite of all the various initiatives by these four democratic governments. This reflects the position of this study that the SME sector in Nigeria is still underdeveloped and this has stunted real economic growth in the country– even though Nigeria is the biggest economy in Africa with a nominal GDP of over 10 trillionnaira ($500 Billion) - because the SME sector does not have the capacity to provide jobs. It is

Author α: PhD, Associate Professor and Former Dean, Faculty of Management Sciences, University of Abuja, Abuja Nigeria.
e-mail: tobiyusuf55@gmail.com
Author σ: Consultant at Headwox Concepts, Phase 1, Gwagwalada, Abuja. e-mail: yusufibrahimayodele@yah

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instructive to note that rather than consolidate the gains achieved by preceding regimes, new regimes always sought self serving policies that conditionally truncated prior efforts. Despite each successive administrations noble policy directions, coherence and continuity coupled with institutionalized corruption and gross administrative mismanagement made it almost impossible for significant impact of these policies

II. Review of Related Literature

To create a perspective frame of reference that suite objectives of this presentation, the Strategic Enhancement Theory and the Stages Model of Business Growth are adopted.

The Small Businesses Enhancement Theory: Postulates the necessity for government intervention in the SME sector (it is inseparably synonymous with the term Strategic-Planning) for the sake of the strategic-enhancement of both the internal and external aspects of the business environments in which small businesses operate. It is a concept that has been severally proposed in the works of such authors as Obadan (2006), Mosk (2010), Iqbal (2015), Gray, (1997), Katuse (2015), Eze & Okpala (2013), Etuk et.al (2014), Cooke & Willis (1999),Obadan(1999), The Government of Sri-Lanka (2015), World Bank (2001), World Bank (2006), World Bank (2013), World Bank (2015).

Strategic-Enhancement is necessary for SME sector growth which will come after requisite macro-level strategy has been applied. As the Government of Montenegro points out in its Strategy-Publication: 'Strategy for the Development of SMEs -2011-2015', government must intervene in the SME sector by boosting the business environment with adequate inputs and incentives which optimize the process of business – such as providing incubators for small business and providing policies that aid access to finance. This boost is what lays the foundations for innovation and growth as is supported and corroborated by the works of Mosk, 2010; Iqbal, 2015; Gray, 1997).

The Stages of Business Growth Theory: Which is a model of business performance measurement that uses a biological-analogy which considers MSMEs to be the embryos of formidable and sustainable businesses of the future. This theory has its origins in the works of classical and notable economists like Marshall (1890),Penrose (1952), and (1959) and Rostow (1960). These authors applied an analogy of biological-growth to economic analysis. They influenced a plethora of business theorists who include the following: Collins et al. (1964), Buchele (1967), Downs (1967), Lippitt & Schmidt (1967) and Steinmetz (1969). These business theorists in turn influenced a huge plethora of SME theorists and researchers who applied the Stages of Growth model to the analysis of business performance. Their locus is that organically good businesses must begin from an embryonic small business stage.The theorists they influenced this line of thought include: Scott (1971), Greiner (1972), Kroeger (1974), Torbert (1974), Lyden (1975), McGuire (1976), Thompson (1976), Hosmer et al. (1977), Parks (1977a, 1977b), Gervais (1978), Katz & Kahn (1978), Adizes (1979), Kimberly (1979), Vozikis & Glueck (1980), Naoum (1981), Galbraith (1982), Perry (1982), Churchill & Lewis (1983), Quinn & Cameron (1983), Miller & Friesen (1984a, 1984b), Vargas (1984), Smith et al. (1985), Flamholtz (1986), Scott & Bruce (1987), Kazanjian (1988), Adizes (1989), Kazanjian & Drazin (1989), Hanks (1990a, 1990b), Kazanjian & Drazin (1990), Hanks et al. (1991), Dodge & Robbins (1992), Hanks & Chandler (1992), Terpstra & Olson (1993) and Dodge et al. (1994).

III. Empirical Review

The Nassarawa based study of SMEs in Nigeria by Kazeem et.al (2015) is a high point in the empiric-referential frame of the proposed study. This study (by Kazeem et.al) and those of Salau et.al(2015), which is also a Nassarawa based study of SMEs, bolsters this work in no small way. These two studies provided an empirical basis for the research stance been proposed for this study, particularly the view that weak government intervention hampers the growth of SMEs in Nigeria and consequently reduces their capacity to create jobs. Furthermore, these two empirical studies provide concrete quantitative data about government's engagement with SMEs in Nassarawa state. Their works toe the same line of empirical evidence as can be found in other works used in this study such as those of Etuk et.al (2014) and Eze&Okpala (2014); these works buttress those by Kazeem et.al (2015) and Salau et.al (2015).

Iqbal (2015) gives a quantitative and comprehensive account of SME growth in South-East Asia (the region of the Asian Tigers of the 1980s and 1990s), the Indian sub-continent and the rest of the world. He also explains the coherent frameworks by which governments in South-East Asia and the Indian sub-continent developed SMEs. He suggests that since there was an absence of advantageous natural resources such as oil in most of these countries, these governments were compelled to make SME development a resounding success. Iqbal (2015) also gives us a historical account of SMEs and their contribution to the global economy since the time of medieval-antiquity. He then goes on to provide an empirically based typology of SME definitions that emanates from official, professional, academic and institutional perspectives on SMEs from all over the world.

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Corporation (2010) attributes a 99 percent SME domination in Japan to favourable government policies that dates back to the pre-war period of the country's economic history. The Japanese SME model is included in this study as an example of how governments ought to engage SMEs. This account by The Economist (2015) is validated by the works of Mosk (2010) and Obadan & Agba (2003).

Effudoh(2015) in his Seminal work: 'The Economic Development of Nigeria- From 1914 to 2014(2015)' provides us with concrete, updated and extensive facts about economics in Nigeria, which is germane to our studies. His work also has a historical depth that is an extension to another earlier seminal work by Ekundare (1973: An Economic History of Nigeria- 1860 to 1960). Ekundare's work takes us further back into the pre-colonial era when the conquest for Nigeria begun and the arrival of the white man and western capitalism on the shores of Nigeria. Their works have a corroborative validity to those of Afolabi (1993), Kemp (1989), Ajao (1999), Wraith (1967) and Achebe (1984).

The following authors (stated below) also provided further and extensive empirical grounding to the work, with relevant data as to small business operation in Nigeria and the Globe, the impact of Globalization on SMEs in developing countries – Nigeria not excluded and the impact of government intervention on SME growth worldwide. These authors are as follows: Achebe, 1984; Aremu,2011; Aina, 2006; Adubi, 2002; Bradley et.al, 2003; Cooke, 2004; Eniola & Ektebang, 2014; 2015; Harvie et.al 2010; Liedholm & Mead,1987; Nzelibe , 1981; Ogwuma, 1995; Prieto & Revilla, 2006; Schubert, 1987).

In addition to these works, more valid and sound empirical data obtained from Wikipedia, TradingEconomics, and The National Bureau for Statistics (Nigeria), the CIA World Fact Book and the British Institute for Safety and Health corroborate the salient issues addressed by this research. Also highly authoritative research data from such multinational institutions as the UNDP, IBRD, IFC, OECD and the EU gives a solid empirical grounding to this study that makes the factuality of claims and assertions thorough, comprehensive and definite.

IV. Research Methodology

This research applies the use of deduction from secondary sources of information that are thoroughly composed works about the SME sector in Nigeria. This method is justified by the fact that these works have been accepted and published in reputable foreign and local Journals and Reviews. In addition to that other forms of literature were consulted to give the work more depth. These include works from Global Information sites and News sites. This research also uses a fluid synthesis of these works to arrive at conclusions and positions, the rationale for that being the intention of achieving brevity without interlarding the work with unnecessary detail.

V. Summary of Major Findings

The materials used in this study – which have been stated in the review section, used empirical and quantitative approaches to give these unanimous findings stated here below.

These findings are as follows:

1. Over 70 percent of the SMEs in Nigeria are in the informal sector.
2. Because most Nigerian SMEs are in the informal sector, there is an information-gap between government and most Nigerian SMEs. The Nigerian informal sector being a highly neglected sector.
3. This information-gap which is being caused by the dearth of public data on informal sector SMEs exposes most Nigerian SMEs to certain weaknesses.
4. These weaknesses are as follows – a. the inability to gain access to credit for business b. the inability to gain access to business incubation programmes c. the inability to gain access to many business competencies that exceed the SMEs' ability to acquire –such as tax advisory, legal registration, business management advice etc.
5. The overwhelming cause for this situation above has to do with weak institutional frameworks in the country that have the responsibility to develop the SME sector. Multiple SME initiatives and agencies exist and they have not bridged the information gap by going out of their institutional comfort zones to meet these SMEs directly.

VI. Conclusion

Government is a continuum and should begin to formulate long term policies and strategies that genuinely prioritize SMEs development. There is an imperative need to overhaul the institutional frameworks for the development of SMEs in Nigeria such that strategic efforts are concerted towards breeding economically vibrant SMEs that propel the nation towards economic prosperity, assures equitable distribution of wealth, eradicates poverty and empowers the citizenry.

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Realpolitik Behind Humanitarian Interventions in Africa

By Henok Teka
Ambo University

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Realpolitik Behind Humanitarian Interventions in Africa

Henok Teka

Abstract- The UN has assumed significant number of humanitarian interventions worldwide since the end of the cold war. However, the motives behind humanitarian interventions are debated in the scholarship of international relations; specially between realism and liberalism. Since 2005, referenceshave been made to the norm of R2P in UN interventions, which are presumed to be a pragmatic move towards pursuing humanitarian interest in defending civilians from casualty. This paper aims to analyze whether the council member states have shifted from pursuing realpolitik (national interest) to purely humanitarian intentionusing case studies of humanitarian interventions in African conflicts in the periods before and after the adoption of R2P. The paper argues that though there are limited humanitarian outcomes because of interventions, especiallyafter the adoption of R2P, yet the Council members' national interest remains the main determinant of interventions in Africa.

I. Introduction

The charter of the UN (chapter VII) provides a primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security to the Security Council (dubbed "the Council" hereafter). In fulfilling this responsibility, the Council can adopt a range of measures including the establishment of a UN peacekeeping operations. In practice, during and in the post-cold war, the Council has been criticized for its failure to maintain peace in various states, such as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Somalia, which calls into question the legitimacy and limitations of UN military interventions. In addition, there exist lack of consistency in its measures. For instance, the Council adopted 124 resolutions on former Yugoslavia, while in Africa it was limited to 10 on Sierra Leone, 7 on DRC and 4 on Burundi.[1]Proponents of realpolitik argue that such failures and inconsistencies are hinged onthe national interests of the Council members.

However, in the year 2005, the UN adopted the principle of the "Responsibility to Protect (R2P)" into its vernaculario undermine the national interests of the council members during conflict tragedies. The responsibility to protect stresses that if a state fails to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crime against humanity, the international community has the right to intervene militarily as a last resort. Few studies like Oliver and Chusi (2009) show that the commitment and interest of the states in mobilizing their troops and securing peace has been limited in Africa, such as in Sudan. They alsoemphasize the marginalization of Africa in the Council's priority by asserting the existence of disproportional engagement in critical conflicts.[2]

By taking case studies of humanitarian intervention in African conflicts in the period before and after the adoption of R2P, the present paper tries to examine whether the Council has shifted from pursuingrealpolitik (national interest) to purely humanitarian intent. The paper argues that though there are limited humanitarian outcomes because of interventions, especially after the adoption of R2P, yet the Council members' national interest remains the main determinant of intervention in Africa.

II. Justification for Humanitarian Intervention: IR Theoretical Perspective

Realism and Liberalism Debate

Available literature on the motives behind humanitarian intervention suggests the existence of mixed interest. Specifically, in international relations field, the motives of state intervention have been debated among the proponents of *realpolitik* (realists) and advocates of international law and treaties based on ethical and moral principles (liberals).

The classical realists (such as Carr and Mearsheimer) stresses the innate human desires to dominate one-another and infer this view to states. One of the core assumption of the realist theory is that states pursue selfish interest. Realists believe that states would act according to their own needs and increase their own well-being than act selflessly and share benefits with another state. In such pursuits, states usually demand for superiority in every area including self-preservation, military security, economic prosperity, and dominance over other states.

National interest and international order, according to realists, are always superior to ethics and morality. For realists, the moral impulse to assist those in humanitarian crises is subordinate to state's national

Author: Ambo University. e-mail: henokteka87@yahoo.com

[1] Virgil Hawkins, "*Stealth Conflicts; How the World's Worst Violence Is Ignored"* (cited in Ashgate, October 2008) https://stealthconflicts.wordpress.com/2008/12/30/new-world-maps/

[2] Oliver and Chusi. 2009. *Intervention in African conflicts by the united nations security Council,*

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interest.[3]Realists assert that states action is governed by their desires to maximize economic, political and military security (or "national interest"). The *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy* summarizes the realist argument on humanitarian intervention as; "If all states' actions are, in fact, motivated by self-interest, then state actions motivated solely or primarily by humanitarian considerations are not possible or morally justifiable".[4]

Misha Seay (2007) argue that realists are cynical about intervention since it is inevitable to abuse.[5] Among the classical realists, Hans Morgenthau (1948) argues that political realism "maintains that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states".[6] He also argues that 'morals', 'rights' and 'values' can't be universal rather they differ in different states or environments; hence it is impossible to conclude that a particular humanitarian intervention is just. He is of the idea that humanitarian intervention rests on controversial commitments that may lead to conflict between states with different understanding of it.[7]Tucker (1975) mentioned that economic interests such as the protection of oil supply is behind American intervention.[8]

Neoclassical theories of realism emphasize on the existence of anarchic system and argues that states seek to survival in such international system. Therefore, to preserve their interest, intervention can be one strategy. In favor of this, J. Bellamy (2008) highlights that it is generally not in the best interests of any sovereign state to interfere in the affairs of any other state. He adds that sacrificing resources, both military and monetary, for humanitarian goal alone is not the intention of super powers.[9]Hence, a realist argument holds that intervention, whether humanitarian or not, are always guided by political interest and can't be grounded on moral foundation.

On the other hand, liberals believe that human beings are rational, hence despite their self-interest they can engage in collaborative and cooperative acts.[10]Right to liberty and the idea of institutions are at the center of liberals' discussion of the existing IR. The core tents of liberalism including equality before law, adoption of democratic governance, human rights and free market justify their view that states continue to operate in cooperation and mutual benefit. Smith argues that liberals value "self-determination, community, and shared history" and gives greater importance to universal human rights "in which sovereignty is a subsidiary and a conditional value".[11] Classical liberalism, as reflected on President *Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points,* is built on idealism, a philosophy that asserts a state has to act ethically and its foreign policy should promote world peace. Hence, under the liberal's assumption, humanitarian intervention reflects the moral and legal principle (obligation) of civilized states.[12]

In addition, liberals stress on the promotion of international liberal laws and institutions to reach the goals of world peace. Proponents of liberal school of thought emphasize that liberal institutions like UN are instrumental to preserve world peace.[13]Hence, liberals tend to promote the importance of undertaking 'humanitarian' intervention at a multilateral level, as a moral duty of liberal states, to protect the endangered human life. It can be concluded that humanitarian intervention, from a liberal perspective, is justified as a liberal technique to protect the endangered innocent. R2P, whose focus is on human right protection, is a justification for the liberal scholars that believes in the progress of human nature and existence of harmony of interest.

III. Humanitarian Intervention

Case Studies Before the Adoption of R2P

To better understand whether the Council has reached a shift from national interest to a humanitarian intent, the first case analyzed is the UN intervention in Africa in the pre R2P period. The case studies are used to explore the factors that made the council members decideto intervene or not. Accordingly, major wars in Africa till the period of 2005 are presented below pointing the casualties, and time span between the start of the conflict and the Council's intervention. The cases of Somalia and Rwanda, which are the biggest failures of the UN, are selected to assess the motives behind intervention (or non-intervention) in the conflicts.

[3] Daniel Fiott, 2013, Realist Thought and Humanitarian Intervention, Journal of The International History Review Volume 35 (4)

[4] Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, u.d. [web], *Armed Humanitarian intervention,* retrieved from http://www.iep.utm.edu/hum-mili/

[5] Misha Seay 2007, *Realism, Liberlism and Humanitarian Intervention: Is There a Middle Ground?, http://iars.org.uk/sites/default/files/2007_Research%20Essay_%20Humanitarian%20Intervention.pdf*

[6] Morgenthau, Hans (1948),"Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace" New York NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

[7] See e.g. Daniel Fiott, 2013

[8] Rober W. Tucker, 1975,*Oil: The Issue of American Intervention*

[9] Bellamy, Alex J. 2008. "*Humanitarian intervention in world politics"* In The Globalization of World Politics.

[10] Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen (2006). Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches. 3rd edition. Oxford university press, UK. pp98

[11] Smith, Michael J. (1998). 'Humanitarian Intervention: An overview of the ethical issues'. Ethics and International Affairs. Vol.12. pp 72

[12] Misha Seay 2007, op cit in note 5

[13] Andrew Moravcsik (2010), "Liberal Theories of International Relations: A Primer", Princeton University, retrieved from www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/primer.doc

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Table 1: Conflicts, Casualty and intervention in Pre R2P: Africa

Country	Start of conflict	Lives lost (mil)	IDP* and refugee population (mil)	Intervention
DRC	1989	5.4	1.5	2000 MONUC
Sudan	1983	2	4	2004 AMIS, 2004 AMIS hybrid mission, 2005-UNMIS
Angola	1974-2002	0.6	3	1989 UNAVEMI, 1991 UNAVEM II, 1995 UNAVEM III
Liberia 1st and 2nd civil wars	1989-96 and 1999-2003	0.25	1.25	1990 ECOMOG, 1993 UNOMIL, UNMIL (observer)
Sierra Leone	1991-2002	0.05	2	UNAMSIL
Rwanda	1994	0.8	2	UNAMIR
Somalia	1991	1	1.6	1992 UNISOM I & II, 1993 UNITAF, 2007 USA
Burundi	1993	0.2	0.507	UNOB
Ethio-Eritrea	1997	0.1	0.7	2000 UNMEE

*Source: author's compilation from UN and Wikipedia sources(*IDP- internally displaced People)*

a) Intervention in Somalia: UNISOM, UNITAF

Somalia was one of the first states for the Security Council to deal with humanitarian intervention. The east African state of Somalia fell apart in 1990–1, following the collapse of its longstanding dictator-Zaid Barre-, with power falling into the hands of rival clan leaders. Most of the country, notably the capital, Mogadishu, descended into lawlessness. Moreover, the vulnerability of the Somali people and the magnitude of the humanitarian crisis was exacerbated further by mass drought leading to a death toll of 1 million Somalian. Golebiewski (2013) reminds us that the Council was not involved at the time except adopting a resolution 733 that impose embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia.[14] He further notes that after a critic from the secretary general, African leaders and some civil societies for its double standard "assisting the Bosnian Muslims, which *were far less dangerous at the time*, but not helping the people of Somalia", the Security Council "reluctantly" adopted Resolution 751 in 1992 and established UNISOM I peacekeeping. Since the UNISOM I was not an organized strategy, it failed to stabilize the violence. On 3 December 1992, with the request of the United States to lead multilateral military intervention, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 794 calling member states to "establish a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations" and authorized the creation of United Task Force (UNITAF).[15] However, this mission was thwarted because the US decision to take sides during the operation led to the retaliation of Aideed- one of the warring faction who killed 18 US soldiers. This ultimately led for the termination of UNITAF's operation by the US President Clinton's decision.

Why the intervention in Somalia?

On a superficial view, the eventual deployment of UN mandated US troops in Somalia seems difficult to explain through a realist paradigm of international relations. For instance,Davidson argue that Somalia,as a small faraway country in Africa, "was of no obvious strategic interest" to theUS.[16]However, this is odd with Wengraf's explanation. Lee blamed for "U.S. policy" that wrecked the economy of Somalia through its military sell to the dictatorial regime and IMF's insistence to adopt neoliberal measures (in 1970's) in return for loans which later caused for a drop in the annual per-capital income from $250 to $170.[17] He further argues that intervention in Somalia was the result of the national interest of US that was at stake than humanitarian interests. During the period of 1970's to 80's, Somalia was a longtime aid recipient of US. But later in the early years of the Cold War, Somalia became a client state of the USSR, while the U.S. supported the regime of King Haile Selassie in the rival Ethiopia. Following the dethrone Selassie's regime by the Soviet ally military junta in 1974, the superpowers switched sides, leading U.S. to start backing Somalia's dictator Ziad Barre.[18] Therefore, one of the factors for US to focus on the Horn of Africa was its standoff with the rival USSR. This argument is supported by the former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger illustrating his cynicism of U.S. policy with his 1974 popular comment "To give food aid to a country just because they are starving is a pretty weak reason". The US, which led the military intervention, was the very supporter of the dictatorial regime of Barre who from the beginning was engaged in killing and torturing of

[14] Daniel Golebiewski. 2013.*The Humanitarian Interventions of the UN*. http://thepolitic.org/the-security-councils-humanitarian-intervention/, emphasis mine

[15] UN UNOSOMI http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unosomi.htm

[16] Joanna Davidson,2012, Humanitarian Intervention as Liberal Imperialism: A Force for Good? POLIS Journal Vol. 7

[17] Lee Wengraf, Making Somalia's nightmare worse; Operation Restore Hope 1992-1994, international socialist review issue #77

[18] Ibid

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thousand dissidents; therefore, it makes the later intervention less of humanitarian in purpose. On the other hand, Somalia has a geopolitical significance to control the Arabian oil fields, which Carter's regime make use of this benefit by agreeing with Barre to access the port of Berbera on the Gulf of Aden for deploying the US military bases. Mark Fineman, *Los Angeles Times* writer, also noted that, in addition to the geopolitical significance of Somalia, U.S. priorities were driven by oil interests.[19] Exploration of oil were started since the beginning of the 1980s, U.S. oil corporations tenderedbillions of dollars worth of contracts under Barre. Therefore, it was evident that US or the Council's intervention was less humanitarian in purpose.

b) (Non) Intervention in Rwanda: UNAMIR

The Rwandan genocide is the great tragedy that haunts the UN and the west to date, which they were a mere "eyewitness" or "bystander". The Hutu majority Rwanda was dominated by the ethnic minority of Tutsi in the political affair. That was short-lived when dissatisfaction on the increased social, economic and political difficulties were heightened in the country, followed by hostilities between the Hutu armed forces and the Tutsi-led Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1993. The outbreak of the civil war was started in April 1994 following the death of president Habyarimana and his entourages when their plane was shot down by missile. The incident was reported by the Steering Committee of the Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwandareport as

> *"Within a period of three months in 1994, an estimated five to eight hundred thousand people were killed as a result of civil war and genocide in Rwanda. Large numbers were physically and psychologically afflicted for life through maiming, rape and other trauma; over two million fled to neighboring countries and maybe half as many became internally displaced within Rwanda. This human suffering was and is incomprehensible. The agony and legacy of the violence create continuing suffering, economic loss and tension both inside Rwanda and in the Great Lakes Region"*[20]

Few literatures argue that lack of media coverage or clear communication on African crisis has misguided the international community to act on African countries, especially the prolonged battle between Hutu and Tutsi of Rwanda. However, the UNRC report admitted that the "*Policymakers in France, Belgium, and the United States and at the United Nations were aware of the preparations for massive slaughter and failed to take the steps needed to prevent it. Aware from the start that Tutsi were being targeted for elimination, the leading foreign actors refused to acknowledge the genocide*". The report also condemns not only the silencing by the international leaders but their declined effort "to use their political and moral authority to challenge the legitimacy of the genocidal government". [21]

The UN launched its first peacekeeping mission (UNAMIR) in October 1993 to monitor a cease-fire agreement between the Hutu government and the rebel Rwandese Patriotic front. However, the mission proved insufficient to protect the slaughtered 800,000 minority Tutsis and moderate Hutus. With the lightly-armed 5,000peacekeepers, which initially in October 1993 was limited to 1400 far less than the planned 2500, scattered throughout Rwanda, UNAMIR was unprepared to confront the dangerous wave of terror unleashed by Hutu extremists against Tutsis and Hutu moderates.[22] The extremists also kidnapped and executed 10 Belgian troops and marked several for death, which consequently led Belgium to quickly withdraw its troops from UNAMIR and plead for suspension of UNAMIR.The UN's indifference over Rwanda's case was evidenced in the series of negligence to strongly condemn the act of "genocide". Daniel Golebiewski (2013) noted that the "Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the UN had business as usual meetings and were hesitant to use the word *genocide*, which would force them to take action". He also mentioned that lack of states' will to send their troops to an increasing chaotic environment, the Security Council had a hard time convincing member states to contribute their troops for an expanded operation.[23] France, which initially used to provide military assistance to Hyderabad's youth militia or *Interahamwe*-fomenter of the genocide, near the end of the 100 day genocide deployed its troops (under operation Turquoise) to establish a safe turquoise zone.[24] Though this shows France's ability to intervene, the operation was nothing but a mistake that the zone enabled many genocidal Hutus to safely escape to Zaire in advance of the victorious RPF soldiers. Eventually, after much criticism from NGOs and other human right observes over not intervening earlier to stop the genocide in Rwanda, the Council adopted the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in November 1994 to prosecute persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda in

[19] Mark Fineman January 1993 *The Oil Factor in Somalia http://articles.latimes.com/1993-01-18/news/mn-1337_1_oil-reserves*

[20] Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda: The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience March 1996 http://www.oecd.org/derec/unitedstates/50189764.pdfp5

[21] http://www.unitedhumanrights.org/Genocide/genocide_in_rwanda.htm

[22] Michael N. Barnett 1997 "The UN Security Council, Indifference, and Genocide in Rwanda Cultural Anthropology" 12(4):551-578 American Anthropological Association.

[23] Daniel Golebiewski (2013), op cit note 14

[24] UN. u.d. http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamirFT.htm

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the period between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994.

Why failed?

Dominique Maritz (2012) support the above evidence that the dominant actors like Belgium, US and France were well informed of the situation on the ground, hence the early evacuation of their citizens.[25] She further noted that the genocide convention of the 1948 carries both moral and legal obligation for them to intervene. Hence, she vehemently criticized the failure and outlined the rationale behind lack of intervention which is lack of internal pressure for action or in short "lack of political will". The departure of peacekeepers from a school in Rwanda where thousands of civilians had massed hoping for protection was a similar case in point, like the Srebrenica or recently in Syria, that the international actors can remain indifferent unless their interests are at stake. In 19 April 1994, the US and UN security council's vote to withdraw 90% of the peacekeepers, which dips the number of troops to 270, shows that the supply of the mission was less equipped and there were unclear directions which led the peacekeepers not being able to use force to even defend themselves, let alone stop any of the killings. Ten years later in 2004 Stockholm conference on international genocide, Kofi Annan noted that the world had the capability but *lacked the will* to prevent the mass slaughters happened at that time.[26] Therefore, lack of will to take on the commitment necessary to prevent the genocide was the main reason for the failure to prevent civilian causality in Rwandan case. Thus, it can be argued that realism can explain UN's failed operation in Rwandan case.

Case Studies After the Adoption of R2P (post R2P)

In practical terms, the first time the Council made official reference to the responsibility to protect was on 28 April 2006, in resolution 1674 on the protection of civilians in armed conflict.[27] The resolution, which recognizes a set of criteria to form a basis for humanitarian intervention in situations of armed conflict, was adopted after six months of debate among the council members. The resolution emphasizes a comprehensive approach to the prevention of armed conflicts by reaffirming previous resolutions including 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000) which are concerned with the protection of civilians in armed conflict and resolution 1631 (2005) that concerns about the cooperative arrangement between UN and regional security organizations. Accordingly, three months later in August 2006, the council adopted resolution 1706 authorizing the first post R2P deployment of UN peacekeeping troops in Darfur (United Nations Mission in the Sudan- UNMIS operation).To date, R2P has featured prominently in the number of resolutions adopted by the council to civil war states including Libya, Cote d'Ivoire, South Sudan, Yemen, Syria and Central Africa Republic.

For liberalists who are the moral crusaders for human right protection, the moral suasions that are advanced by R2P are effusively welcomed. However, the question remains (as to) whether states have been shifted to act as moral actors in the period after the adoption of R2P. Some evidences including fatal humanitarian crisis in the ongoing Syrian civil war and the previous Darfur crisis put a reasonable doubt on R2P's compelling nature to protect communities at the risk of humanitarian crisis. Africa, as depicted in the table below, suffered most from tragedies of civil war even after 2005, some of which are escalations of previously unresolved conflicts. The cases of Darfur, Mali and Libyan are examined below to see whether moral justification or realpolitik prevailsover interventions in Africa Post R2P.

[25] Dominique Maritz (2012) Rwandan Genocide: Failure of the International Community?
Can be retrieved from http://www.e-ir.info/2012/04/07/rwandan-genocide-failure-of-the-international-community/

[26] News24.com, web document, 26 January 2004, <www.news24.com>.

[27] ICRtoP. 01 May 2006. [web] http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/crises/37-the-crisis-in-darfur/1449-01-may-2006-news-update

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Table 2: Conflict, Casualty, and Intervention in the post R2P: Africa

Country	Start of war	Death and displacement (in M and K)	Intervention
Sudan	2003-present	2.3m displaced;~300kdeath	UNMIS 2005; UNAMID 2007
Chad	2005-2010		MINURCAT 2007
Congo	1999-2007; 2004-2013.	~5m death in general	MONUSCO 2010
South Sudan	2013	1.86mil displaced; ~50k death	UNMISS 2011
Mali	2012-2015	374k displaced; ~8k death	MINUSMA 2013
Central Africa Rep.	2012-	~1mil displaced; ~10k death	MINUSCA 2014

*Source: author's compilation from UN and Wikipedia (**m**= million, **k**= thousands, ~ = nearly)*

c) Intervention in Darfur and R2P

The civil war in Darfur was started in February 2003 when the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) rebel groups began to fight the Sudanese government and its Janjaweed militia, which they accused of oppressing Darfur's non-Arab population. The war was initially triggered by the dispute among ethnic factions over access to resources, mainly land and water, and later culminated to genocide when the government of Omar Al-Bashir responded to rebel's attack by carrying out a campaign of ethnic cleansing. The *Darfur Peace Agreement* which was signed between the government and one faction of Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) led by Minni Minnawi on May 2006, was short-lived when both *Justice and Equality Movement* and the rival faction of SLA (led by Abdul Wahid Al-Nur) rejected the accord. Subsequently, the reaction of Al-Bashir led for the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians from the combat, starvation and disease, and the displacement of millions to refugee camps. Despite such humanitarian disaster, the response from the council was, in Flint and De Waal word, "too little too late".[28]

UNMIS, AMIS and UNAMID in Sudan

The UN passed a resolution 1590 on March 2005 establishing the United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS) in response to the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement between the government and Sudan people's liberation movement (SPLM) on January 2005. The mission's tasks were to support the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, to perform certain functions relating to humanitarian assistance, protection, promotion of human rights, and to support Africa Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS). AMIS's inadequate resources (around 7000 peacekeepers), which is under-funded and ill-equipped, hampered its mandate of protecting civilians and eventually was substituted by UNAMID, or *African Union-United Nation Hybrid Mission in Darfur*, under the council's approval of Resolution 1769 in July 2007.[29]

Though the UNAMID mission sustains so far, the answer to the question whether the intervention was successful is certainly precise, it was failed to protect the genocide. Rebecca Tinslay (2009) explains this failure as

> *"The most obvious hindrance to the UNAMID force has been its lack of troops. To date only 9,000 of the 26,000 troops promised are on the ground. UNAMID is so resented and mistrusted by Darfuri people…who believe it is in league with the Sudanese government. ...From the start UNAMID has lacked helicopters, logistics and communications equipment, all essential to cover an area the size of France with very few paved roads. … UNAMID is unable even to protect itself from attacks, let alone protect civilians and humanitarian operations in Darfur.*[30]

Furthermore, Bensouda, an international criminal law prosecutor and legal adviser, presented her report to the council's 7199th meeting in 17 June 2014 saying,"It is indeed an understatement to say that we have *failed* Darfur's victims who continue to bear the brunt of these crimes". She further lamented over the impunity of the suspects of genocidal crime to bring them to justice. Her report also covered a deep concern of the large number of continuing displaced people, constraints over humanitarian aid workers and Al-Bashir's impunity despite his six international travels.[31] Similarly, HervéLadsous- a former French diplomat and current U.N. peacekeeping chief explained that there was no tangible progress towards resolving the conflict.[32]

Why tepid response?

In answering the reason for the reluctance of international community over Darfur, Bellamy and Wheeler (2011) outlined three possible explanations. They highlightthat the Sudanese government refusal to accept non-African deployment in Darfur was one of the factors hindering foreign troops. Strong opposition from

[28] Julie Flint and Alex de Waal Darfur: A Short History of a Long War Zed Books, 2005.

[29] Sudan Tribute. 28 December, 2007. [web news] http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article25356

[30] Rebecca Tinsley (2009) http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/jan/01/darfur

[31] http://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11441.doc.htm

[32] http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=50355#.VpOzOBWGPIU

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Russia, China and AU over western intervention in the wake of war on terror was another hindrance. Their third view corresponds with the realists' argument of "statism" tendency of states. They argue that great power leaders do not have the moral right to shed the blood of their own citizens on behalf of suffering foreigners. They also add that majority of great powers have self-interested reasons for not taking offensive measure over the Sudanese government, for instance, "China has significant interests in Sudanese oil; Russia has a smaller oil interest but also sells arms to Sudan; and the United States sees Sudan as a vital regional ally in the war on terror. The enduring logic of statism means that these powers afford more weight to their interests than they do to the lives of Darfurians".[33] It is worth noting that the first two reasons of Bellamy and Wheeler don't hold water for the simple reason that foreign soldiers were deployed despite Sudan government's refusal and the moderate stance of Russia and China in the council. In addition, as amnesty international report showed, China and Russia involved in arms sell to the Sudanese government despite the UN arm embargo.[34] Therefore, the failure in Darfur crisis is attributed to the primacy of national interest of council members over humanitarian motive. R2P was neverdefunct in Darfur case but the international community was less willing, under the R2P, to undertake proportional intervention to protect innocent Sudanese from the threat of mass atrocity.

d) Libyan Civil War

The Libyan civil war or Libyan revolution was an armed conflict between loyal forces of Col. Muammar Gaddafi and rebel forces that broke out in the context of the wider "Arab spring" in mid-February 2011. The protest over the undemocratic regime of Gaddafi, who ruled for forty-two successive years, was inspired by the revolutions in the neighboring countries such as Tunisia and Egypt. Within few weeks of the revolution, the opposition group's movement for change and quest for democratic change was evolved into an armed struggle following violent reaction by Libyan authorities. Oppositions took control of several towns and announced the formation of a "transitional national council".[35]

Libyan Intervention and R2P

In 26 February 2011, the council passed the first resolution 1970, freezing the assets of Gaddafi and his inner circle and ban for their travel, and referred the matter to the international criminal court for investigation. In the following month, before the start of the armed measures taken by allied western countries, Gaddafi's forces began pushing the rebels back and retaking many of the towns eastward previously under the control of the rebels. This led for the council under the auspicious of France and Britain authorized UN resolution 1973 enforcing member states to establish a *no-fly zone over Libya* and to use *all necessary measures* to protect innocent civilians.[36] However, though the subsequent air strikes by the allied forces resulted in the overthrow of Gaddafi's regime, the campaign couldn't end conflicts in Libya and bring the desired outcome of intervention under R2P. The *independent*'s 2013 report under the title "we all thought Libya had moved on – it has, but into lawlessness and ruin" shows that Libya has plugged into its worst political and economic crisis since the overthrow of Gaddafi. The report also claims that "Despite threats to use military force to retake the oil ports, the government in Tripoli has been unable to move effectively against striking guards and mutinous military units that are linked to secessionist forces in the east of the country"[37] Later in 2014, the General National Congress (GNC), which was elected by popular vote earlier, started to govern Libya for a while till discontent arises allegedly for being dominated by Islamists and its funding of other Islamist militants. The discontent led for the *second civil war*among several rival factions in May 2014 resulting in closing of business activities, drop of oil exports, death of 4000 and mass exodus of Libyan to neighboring Tunisia.[38]

Realpolitik Behind Intervention

At the outbreak of the revolution, Gaddafi's violation of human rights was quickly condemned by supranational institutions like AU, EU, GCC and UN, and world leaders. Almost all of the Western countries cut off diplomatic relations with Gaddafi's government over an aerial bombing campaign in February and March 2011. Using the R2P doctrine, the council condemned 'the gross and systematic violation of human rights' and recalled the Libyan authorities to discharge their responsibility to protect their population. It also imposed a series of international sanctions and referred the situation to the International Criminal Court.[39] Therefore, the sense of moral duty to protect civilian has to some

[33] Alex J. Bellamy and Nicholas J. Wheeler, *Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics*, in: John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 5th ed., 2011), pp. 510-525.

[34] https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2012/02/darfur-new-weapons-china-and-russia-fuelling-conflict/

[35] "Country analysis: Libya" http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/6314~v~Peace_and_security_council_report_No__21.pdf

[36] *UN News Centre. 17 March 2011. Retrieved 14 August 2011.* http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37808&Cr=libya&Cr1#.VpQaPRWGPIU

[37] The *independence* 3 September 2013 http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/special-report-we-all-thought-libya-had-moved-on-it-has-but-into-lawlessness-and-ruin-8797041.html

[38] Anderson, Jon Lee (February 23, 2015). "Letter from Libya. The Unravelling". *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/02/23/unravelling

[39] UN, outreach program on the RWANDA GENOCIDE and the United Nation http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgresponsibility.shtml

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extent pressed the international community, specially allied force, to intervene.

However, the case of Libya was not a full-fledged manifestation of R2P norm as it couldn't prevent, protect and rebuild the nation Libya. Therefore, it can be argued that international norms are not sufficient to explain intervention in Libya. In contrast to the R2P norm advocators, I argue that intervention in Libya has little to do with the humanitarian norm. Instead, foreign policy doctrine of realism or *realpolitik* i.e. economic and security concerns were greater driving forces behind the intervention than a pure humanitarian concern. Here are some of the explanations.

First, Europe's interest in general and France in particular was in play. Countries like Britain, Italy and France have had interest in Libya as a large sum of their oil comes from Libya. Kazianis (2011)argued that the drop in the level of oil import due to the civil war has caused damage to the economies of those importing countries and subsequently they played leading roles in the intervention by providing air force, training and arming Libyan rebels.[40] Türkmen (2014) argued that France in particular played a decisive role in the intervention, from starting the air attack before even the NATO mission was officially launched to supporting rebels with arms without informing its allies "which was *against* the UNSC Resolution 1970 that constituted the base of Resolution 1973 and prohibiting arms shipments to the parties. It was severely criticized by Russia on the grounds that NATO engagement exceeded the decisions of the UN Security Council".[41] Moreover, Sarkozy's failure to deal with the "Arab Spring", as the people of Tunisia turned against him at the wake of the eruption of revolution, and the heated debate in French politics over Islam had damaged Frances reputation in the Arab world, hence taking the lead on Libya was part of the strategy to recover France's reputation in the Arab world.

Second, for chemical weapons in Libya, making the country more dangerous and intervention therefore a higher priority. In 2003 the Libyan government has agreed to dismantle its weapon of mass destruction program (chemical and biological weapons) and to limit the range of Libyan missiles to no greater than 300 kilometers. However, they didn't give up the program to develop medium-range missiles based on Scud technology.[42] Besides, Libya has been accused of using chemical weapons against Chadian forces during clashes in 1986 and 1987. Kazianis (2011) highlighted that the west was afraid the danger that "Libya may use its remaining stockpiles of chemical weapons against its own people or in a terrorist attack against western powers".[43]

Third, Western's fear of Gaddafi's sponsorship of terrorism if he won the civil war. Kaplan (2007) discusses that Gaddafi was accused of establishing terrorist training camps on Libyan soil in 1970s and was also 'suspected of attempting to assassinate the leaders of Chad, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, and Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo)'.[44] Hence, till 2003 when the government renounce terrorism and WMD, Libya was on the US list of States sponsoring terrorism and implemented trade restrictions against Libya. Therefore, due to its bad record of relations with the west Gaddafi can return to sponsoring Islamic terrorist groups if he wins the civil war. This potential return, as Kazianis (2011) argue, can be a danger to the neighboring Europe.[45] The case of Libya shows that though initially R2P was referred, the mission failed to both 'protect' the innocent civilian from falling into an ongoing second civil war and 'rebuild' their state.

n) Intervention in Mali

The roots of Mali's crisis date back to May 2006 following sudden eruption of minor conflicts in northern part of the country (the so called *Azawad* region) between government force and alliance of Islamic fighters and armed ethnic Tuareg insurgents. The escalation of conflicts and government's ineffectiveness in handling the conflict resulted in the March 22 military coup that ousted president Amadou Toumani Toure. The following month, the ethnic based rebel, the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA), declared independence of Azawad. However, the collapse of MNLA's relation with Islamic militants (including Ansar Dine, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (Mujao) led for the waning of its power and was driven out from the northern cities of Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal.[46] Subsequently, the Islamic rebels, after establishing their power in north, expanded to south. In general terms, the Mali crisis has resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands and the death of thousands.

Intervention: Operation Serval, MINUSUMA and Operation Barkhane

The advancement of Islamic rebels forced the MNLA to call for the intervention of its former colonial

[40] Harry Kazianis, "Intervention in Libya: Example of R2P or Classic Realism," *eInternational Relations*, 2011.

[41] FüsunTürkmen (2014) *From Libya to Syria: The Rise and Fall of Humanitarian Intervention? Retrived from http://acuns.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/From-Libya-to-Syria-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-Humanitarian-Intervention.pdf*

[42] CNN World news, December 20, 2003, http://edition.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/africa/12/19/bush.libya/

[43] Harry Kazianis, "Intervention in Libya: Example of R2P or Classic Realism," *eInternational Relations*, 2011.

[44] Eben Kaplan(2007), "How Libya got off the list", retrieved from http://www.cfr.org/libya/libya-got-off-list/p10855

[45] Harry Kazianis, "Intervention in Libya: Example of R2P or Classic Realism," *eInternational Relations*, 2011.

[46] http://www.geneva-academy.ch/RULAC/ current_conflict. php?id_state=137

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power- France. France, backed by UN resolution 2085, immediately deployed around 4000 troops under Operation Serval in January 2013. France's attack on Islamist rebels not only restrained their southward expansionbut also debilitated their capacity. The first mission was ended in 2014 and replaced by a wider geographic operation in Sahel region. The ongoing counter-terrorism operation, operation Barkhane, covers five countries including Niger, Mauritania, Mali, chad and Burkina Faso with French forces of 3000. The UN also established the United Nation Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSUMA) in 2013 under resolution 2100. The mission's duty was renewed in 2014 under resolution 2164 that include ensuring security, stabilizing and protecting civilians, facilitating national dialogue and reconciliation, reestablishing state authority, promotion of human right and rebuilding the security sector.[47] However, the missions including France, UN and AU was failed to restore peace. The missions failed to rehabilitate the displaced people. Though France's bombing of jihadists has driven them out from the north Mali, it has apparently helped them to spillover their organization and influence to the neighboring countries like Niger. Richard Reeve summaries the five-strategic failure of France's mission. First, France has miscalculated the crisis as an only a jihadist terrorism problem and forgets the chronic division in internal politics, hence failed to solve the conflict between state force and Tuareg separatists. Second, France failed to fight in ground the dispersed terrorist forces which leads to the deterioration of security condition when jihadists start reorganized themselves. Third, *Operation Serval* displaced jihadists problem to neighbors. Fourth, *Operation Barkhane's* 'partnership' with sahel military was less effective in the fact that these militants of sahel had a record of inflicting their own citizens than protecting them. Last, the partnership with national governments over the war on terror has strengthened and legitimatize their regime despite their autocratic tendency.[48]

Motives of Intervention and R2P

UN's rejection of MNLA's independence entitlements and France's mission upon the request of the interim government seems that interventions were for the best interests of the Malians. President Hollande in his 2013 new-year speech addressed to the journalists and diplomats saying "We are faced with a blatant aggression that is threatening Mali's very existence, I have decided that France will respond, alongside our African partners, to the request from the Malian authorities. We will do it strictly within the framework of the United Nations Security Council resolution. We will be ready to stop the terrorists' offensive if it continues."[49] From this perspective, it seems though the intervention has an element of the responsibility to protect.

However, contrary to this, the objective of France's incursion is debated. For instance, the question for intervention was raised simultaneously from Central Africa Republic (CAR) and Mali, but France immediately responded to Mali's request in January 2013 and delayed CAR's request till the end of 2013. Among other reasons, economic and security interests were along the drivers of France's intervention in Mali than a pure humanitarian intervention. Kimenyi (2013) quoting Katrin Sold (member of German council on Foreign relations- DGAP) "France has interests in securing resources…particularly oil and uranium, which the French energy company Areva has been extracting for decades in neighboring Niger" concludes that France's foray is driven by economic interest than humanitarian.[50] This was also evidenced in France's deployment of its force near the Uranium mines, extracted by French company, in Niger- a former colony. Similarly, Mazyaev (2013) contends that the intervention was aimed at economic recolonization of Africa by vying with china.[51] Moreover, the presence of large scale French firms that provide service in construction, energy, communication and finance sector, such as Bouygues, Bolloré Africa Logistic, Areva energy, Orange and BNP-Paribas, can be another argument that interventions were directed at keeping economic interest. On other hand, the expansion of Islamist rebels in west and north Africa is a threat to Europe in general. This is supported by Derian, French defense minister, "In Mali, it is our own security that is at stake: the security of France, the security of Europe..."[52] and Katrin Sold" France fears that Mali could become a retreat and training center for Islamist terrorists if an Islamist state were established there".[53] Besides, though David Cameron complimented Hollande's intervention, he refused to send British troops[54], an indication that Libya was more important for British than Mali. Therefore, I argue that realism can best explain the intervention in Mali.

[47] UN MINUSUMA http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minusma/

[48] Richard Reeve (2015) The Broker http://www.thebrokeronline.eu/Blogs/Sahel-Watch-a-living-analysis-of-the-conflict-in-Mali/Five-strategic-failures-of-the-French-intervention-in-Mali

[49] Reuters news Jan 11, 2013 http://www.reuters.com/article/mali-rebels-hollande-idUSP6E7N600P20130111

[50] Kimenyi and Routman (2013) http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/up-front/posts/2013/01/18-mali-challenges-kimenyi

[51] Alexander Mezyaev January 14 2013, http://www.globalresearch.ca/military-intervention-in-mali-special-operation-to-recolonize-africa/5318820

[52] BBC News, 11 November 2012 Cited in http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-20292797

[53] DW News 16.01.2013 http://www.dw.com/en/the-interests-behind-frances-intervention-in-mali/a-16523792

[54] The Guardian January 14 2013 http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/14/france-lonely-intervention-mali

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IV. Conclusion

The paper has analyzed five cases of UN peacekeeping operations, two in the pre R2P period and three since after the adoption of R2P in African conflicts along with their motivations. As indicated in the essay, the case studies show that interventions in African conflict hasless significant humanitarian outcome. This was, as the paper argued, because of the primacy of council members' national interest over humanitarian intent. The paper shows that the case of Darfur was an exception that the R2P was totally violated. Mali and Libyan crisis, though references were made to R2P, the motives were mainly of national interest than humanitarian. Though France's intervention in Mali has squashed terrorists in the north part of the country and the Libya intervention resulted in ousting of the brutal regime of Gaddafi, it is made clear that the interventions were never cost free- more unrest followed intervention in Libya and Mali. There is an optimism that in the post R2P regime there was a move from single state domination (like US in Somalia and Belgium in Rwanda) to multilateral effort in addressing humanitarian intervention (cases of Mali and Libya). However, as shown in five of the case studies, all interventions couldn't bring the desired level of security or peace, in some even led for worst humanitarian crises which is against the principles of R2P. In Somalia and Rwanda case studies, it was evident that the council dealt with unreliableoperations with no clearly stated problem, underlying cause, integral strategy and befitting capacity. Yet in Mali and Libya cases though it seems that the interventions were organized, they failed to realize peace and security. In general, the essay underlines that economic and security interests than humanitarian intentions were the main drivers of intervention in both periods, before and after the adoption of R2P.

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Changing Cycles of Terrorism: The use of Vehicles as a Tool for Violent Attacks

By I S. Ladan-Baki & C. Enwere
Nile University

Abstract- Terrorist activities are usually carried out by men of the underworld who derive pleasure is taking the lives of innocent people through the use of car bombs, suicide bombers and in rare cases sporadic shooting at crowded places. These methods over the years have proved to be very effective and capital intensive with serious logistic planning and critical intelligence and evaluation of the target area before the time or date to strike. However, with the whole world especially the super powers on high alert, the terrorists have changed their tactics and have selected a more discrete but effective method to deploy violence through the use of vehicles to ram into crowds of unsuspecting innocent people. To this end, this it is the aim of this paper to attempt to demonstrate how terrorist have changed their game by now using a motorized technique in their violent operations. The study adopted the use of secondary data and the descriptive method in the analysis of its variables. The research concluded that terrorists have adopted the use of vehicles to ram into crowded places because the method raises little or no suspicion before the attack. The paper recommends that speed breakers should be installed at bus stops and also government of states need to invest in intelligence gathering and proactive to avoid such attacks in the future.

Keywords: *terrorism, violence, vehicle, deployment, attack.*

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Changing Cycles of Terrorism: The use of Vehicles as a Tool for Violent Attacks

I S. Ladan-Baki [α] & C. Enwere [σ]

Abstract- Terrorist activities are usually carried out by men of the underworld who derive pleasure is taking the lives of innocent people through the use of car bombs, suicide bombers and in rare cases sporadic shooting at crowded places. These methods over the years have proved to be very effective and capital intensive with serious logistic planning and critical intelligence and evaluation of the target area before the time or date to strike. However, with the whole world especially the super powers on high alert, the terrorists have changed their tactics and have selected a more discrete but effective method to deploy violence through the use of vehicles to ram into crowds of unsuspecting innocent people. To this end, this it is the aim of this paper to attempt to demonstrate how terrorist have changed their game by now using a motorized technique in their violent operations. The study adopted the use of secondary data and the descriptive method in the analysis of its variables. The research concluded that terrorists have adopted the use of vehicles to ram into crowded places because the method raises little or no suspicion before the attack. The paper recommends that speed breakers should be installed at bus stops and also government of states need to invest in intelligence gathering and proactive to avoid such attacks in the future.

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I. Introduction

Over the years, when the word terrorism is heard the first thing that comes to the mind of man is loud bangs, heavy gun fire and other forms of explosions. These are the basic *modus operandi*of terrorist the world over. Various terrorist organizations all over the world including Boko Haram which began in Nigeria most of the time use explosions either through suicide or car bombs to harm innocent civilians and even security agencies at the time of attacks. One main important thing to note is that this method of deploying violence consumes more time to plan, requires heavy funding and other logistics issues associated with it all in a bid to cause havoc. To plan a single attack, terrorists painstakingly devote their whole resources to ensure that the mission never fails and must be successful. They go as far as reaching out to other sister terrorist organizations and other cell terrorist slipper cells in order get tentative information about their target or targets before they strike. These people are heartless and merciless, and sometimes faceless which makes it more difficult to identify a terrorist. They have experts in almost every field of study which is being used at different stages before and after an attack. Most of the time, terrorist acts are religiously related and in other cases politically related. In every part of the world, even in the most powerful state the USA its citizens are constantly living in fear thinking that the country could face another wave of attacks like was seen in some European states where hundreds of innocent lives were lost and of course, this happened in New York on the 31st October 2017.

With the brief analysis, violence deployment by terrorists has begun to change pattern. The most popular methods such as car bombs, road side bombs and even suicide bombing approaches are still being used by every terrorist organization. They have opted for a more tactical and equally effective method which still takes the life of innocent people which we call **Vehicular Terrorism.** This involves the use of vehicles to ram into unsuspecting and innocent people usually at crowded places like markets, night clubs and bus stations thus killing and wounding innocent people. This nefarious and dastardly method of unleashing terror has not only proved to be effective, but also needs very little planning and logistics to deploy. Terrorist who operate in Europe are fully much aware that, any move to procure explosives or other bomb making materials could easily be detected which will equally put their plans in disarray. This is why they have carefully selected this method of violence delivery from various options. However, with this new pattern of attacks, leaders of states especially the leaders of Europe are on high alert and are fully much aware that the attackers can strike at any time. Hence, it has urged its citizens to be extremely vigilant and to report any suspicious driving. Also car and sales outfits have been advised to report any suspicious purchase or rent of any vehicle suspected to be used for terrorist attacks. This new trend if not arrested, will eventually find its way down to Africa especially Nigeria that is still finding it difficult to contain the Boko Haram insurgency that has ravaged the North Eastern part of the country.

The use of vehicles to conduct acts of terror is an area that has not really been examined by scholars of international relations and politics. To this end, this paper will attempt to extensively analyze the shifting patterns in the deployment of terror using vehicles and also endeavor to provide theoretical explanations on why the change from the use of explosives for attacks to

Author α σ: Department of Political Science and International Relations, Nile University of Nigeria Abuja. e-mail: miharbi4life@yahoo.com

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the use of vehicles. The paper will further discuss the attacks that occurred at Berlin, Barcelona, Westminster and Sweden just to mention a few. Also the study will attempt to provide answers. The paper consists of seven parts. The introduction, conceptual clarifications, brief history of terrorism, theoretical framework, vehicular terrorism, conclusions and recommendations.

II. Conceptual Clarifications

a) Terrorism

Terrorism is said to be the unlawful use or the deployment of violence and intimidation against civilians usually for the purpose of political or religious aims. According to Steven Best & Anthony J. Nocella (2004) in their study Definition of Terrorism, they defined it as the deliberate use of physical violence directed against innocent persons for the purposes of political, religious and economical aims. Jensen (2004) defines terrorism as the deliberate use of force or the threat of force by an individual, or by a nation-state against a civilian population to achieve a political end.

b) Vehicular Terrorism

This concept is virgin in its nature and scholars of politics have not explored this particular area. This is because the focus is mainly on the acts of terror by terrorists such as the use of chemicals, bombs, suicide bombers as a delivery method of violence on innocent lives. To this end, Ladan-Baki & Enwere (2017) define vehicular terrorism as an act of violence that involves the use of high speed vehicles to ram into unsuspecting innocent people.

c) Brief History of Terrorism

Terrorism didn't just surface in the 20th or 21st century, but this dastardly act can be traced back to the 19th century under Adolf Hitler's Germany where he terrorized the world especially Jews and in the 18th century at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 headed by Otto von Bismarck, the host of meeting of the Scrabble for Africa where world powers met with the aim of partitioning and conquering Africa using any means necessary including violence and terror. With the conclusion of the August gathering, the stake holders mobilized and descended on the African continent slaughtering, maiming and killing innocent people including women and children. The invasion was purely for political and economic interest with violence to hasten the compliance of the Africans to adhere to the demands of the European invaders who had sophisticated weapons at their disposal. To this end, we can say the colonization of Africa by Europe was an act of terrorism as opined by Best & Anthony J. Nocella (2004).In a bid to drive home their agitations, terrorists deploy various means such as the use of bomb explosives, kidnapping and other dangerous methods. Conventionally, this involves the use of explosives and most often the use of suicide bombers.

Terrorism in the name of religion can be traced as far back as the first century Jewish Zealots' also known as the *Sicarii*(Adams, 1986). This murderous sect aided the spark of an uprising against the roman occupation that ended up inter alia in the devastative destruction of the second temple in 70 C.E. and the diaspora. According to Adams (1986), the Ismaíli sect which were known to be assassins was an Islamic correlate. Between 1090 and 1272, the sect succeeded in eliminating Muslim dignitaries using the blade which was known to be its trademark for carrying out gory assassinations. Looking at past history especially during the regime of Mao Tse-Tung of China, Kamal Ataturk of Turkey. Historical records have shown that one of the earliest manifestations of coordinated and organized terrorism in the Middle East in first-century Palestine. The nefarious Zealots sect was the first sect to practice systematic terrorism which is properly documented.

Our in-depth knowledge of the Zealots struggle is based upon the reporting of *Flavuish Josephus* in his *Jewish Antiquities*, published in 93-94 C.E and in his account of the Jewish war. Josephus used the word *sicarii a generic latin* term which is a derivation of the work *sicarius* which means "dagger man" to refer to the Zealots (Gerard and Blin, 2003).According to Gerhard and Blin (2003) in their study, they noted that the immediate cause of the Jewish rebellion against the Roman empire was the census conducted by the Roman authorities all over the empire in the early years of the common era. The Jews were abundantly humiliated by its clear submission to a foreign power. However, the situation turned incendiary in the year 6 B.C.E, about eight years after the demise of Herod the Great, an event that marked the decisive turning point in the history of the Jews, who had enjoyed more than a century of relative independence and prosperity since 129 B.C.E.

The history of the Assassins postulates to a degree of dynamic movements that have resorted to terrorist tactics and manipulations over centuries. A thorough analysis of the organization is definitely of the essence. The history of the great monotheistic religions-Islam, Christianity and Judaism is inseparable from the idea of struggle. Just like any social party, the religious or divine party is first and natural rival of the political power. The Assassins fall within the rule, in that their dreaded or organization fall within the rule, in their organization fall within the logic of political power plays. By taking up arms for terrorism, was a logical choice for the Assassins, as it had been for the *sicarii*. Thus, its effectiveness made it the primary weapon in their strategic arsenal and eventually defined the organizations very essence.

The French revolution marked a devastating turning point in the history of terrorism. Thus it gave birth to the terminology" terror" or what other scholars call "state induced terrorism". With the advent of

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totalitarianism and violence at a very large scale, the term terrorism derives from the experience it gathered from the French revolutionary terror it gained in 1793 and 1794 (Gerhard and Blin, 2003). With the Age of Enlightenment at hand, it had bequeathed humanity in the name of popular sovereignty. It was in the same name of sovereignty that the revolution claimed to retain thereby unleashing state terror and mayhem in which the ends justifies the means.

Following the Terror, the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a long pause for state terrorism, which did not reemerge in any significant form until 1917. The pause instead saw a new form of terrorism that has been endured till this day. However, terrorism against a state is not a new phenomenon like was seen with the case of Zealots and the Assassins. Though modern terrorism was different, it was no longer religious to maintain its dominance a form of terrorism. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, there was a new form of terrorism practiced by marginal groups who didn't have a clearly defined political objectives (Ladan-Baki, 2017). The late nineteenth century was a violent century characterized by immense violence of the highest level, when war became a mass phenomenon, involving not just heads of states but also armies of different states and even entire societies. The advent of technology and industrialization gave way to different forms of violence. This gave a great deal of considerable impetus to terrorist movements, which by definition engage in a form of low cost struggle.

On the geographical level, the ushering of the nineteenth century was marked by the gradual and incremental collapse of the Peace of Westphalia and the Balance of Powers, it was also known to be an era of rising nationalism. However, lying at the divide of between two declining empires- the Australian and the Ottoman- the Balkans became an extremely precarious region. It was however in this political context that the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 transcended the regional framework, becoming the spark that ignited WW I. before that time, terrorism manifested in France and in southern Europe in the form of anarchist movements that was known to be promoted by heavy propaganda. In Russia at that time under Lenin, he used state terrorism to entrench and consolidate his tyrannical powers. His successor Stalin who was head of the Soviet Empire, exploited the terrorist system that was already well ensconced, thanks to a well-oiled political apparatus, and wielded absolute power concentrated in his person. This model of state terrorism would be emulated all over the world particularly in China and the Khmer rouge in Cambodia both in the 1970. Ireland offered another kind of terrorist model, which was taken up by numerous nationalist movements throughout the world. By confronting the British democracy in the midst of WWI the Irish Republican Army (IRA) won the independence of the Irish Free State in the war's aftermath.

III. Theoretical Framework

According to McNabb (2006), a theory is a set of postulations or ideas used to analyze events or possibly forecast the future. Therefore, this study will attempt to explain the research using the Rational Choice Theory. The rational choice theory of terrorism postulates that terrorist acts usually emanate from deliberate and well calculated acts using clinical and surgical precision and also are conscious of their decisions (Ladan-Baki and Enwere, 2017). These decisions, represent an optimal strategy to fulfill the sociopolitical goals of these perpetrators (Crenshaw, 1983). However, in other words, the act of terror might not represent pathological or illogical behaviors but could represent the best means to fulfill personal needs in some or most circumstances.

This theory is often applied to forecast the utility of various policies. In analyzing this theory and looking inwards in the minds of the terrorist, the rational choice theory explains how the terrorist weighs the advantages and disadvantages before carrying out an attack. This involves critical thinking and calculations even going as far as using mathematical models for illustrations of the theory which emanated from the field of economics and applied mathematics (Morrow, 1994). As a limitation of this theory some scholars are of the view that some of the acts done by terrorists, seems to contradict the assumption that such acts represent optimal attempts to fulfill sociopolitical goals. Crenshaw (2000), concurs that the goals of terrorists are sometimes implausible. However, their actswill not fulfill their goals and thus cannot be regarded as a rational attempt to pursue their objectives (Strindberg, 1979).

Riker (1998), opines that political actors are faced with numerous options in order to attain a collective or desired goal but need to think deeply in order to pick the most suitable option that will satisfy their desires with minimal errors. By the above statement, it is clear that before a terrorist makes a move to strike, from the planning all the way to the execution stage there is a critical need to make use of the cerebral before arrivingat the decision to use a particular method of attack. However, to these end terrorists the world over use this theory either directly or indirectly to carry out their dastardly attack. The rational choice theory allows the terrorists to carefully plan and coordinate their attacks after studying their targets, the situation, the behavior of security agencies and counter security agents before they carry out their attacks. The best element of attack is surprise, which is why terrorists make their move within seconds after months or even years of planning. Attackers make consultations and even draw in experts of various fields such as electrical

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years of planning. Attackers make consultations and even draw in experts of various fields such as electrical electronic experts, bomb makers, chemists and other experts that will be relevant to the success of their attacks. Rationally, terrorists are constantly conducting research on silent but also highly potent and deadly delivery methods of violence. This leads this study to discuss next on the modern attack strategy on innocent civilians. We define this new concept as ***"Vehicular Terrorism".***

a) Vehicular Terrorism: The New Strategy of Violence Deployment

Vehicular terrorism can be defined as a premeditated and discreet but very effective use of high velocity vehicles to plough or ram into innocent people with the sole aim to unleash terror and maximizing causality for political or religious motives.This area is virgin in nature and has not yet been discussed extensively by scholars. Therefore, we shall attempt to shed light on this virgin area. Though journalist have discussed in the tabloids on this area but their perspectives does not have empirical evidence or explanation to this new wave of terrorism. With states of Europe and USA on constant high alert and also entry visa to the former and latter are difficult to secure, global terrorist networks have activated sleeper cells. These cells may be found in the countries where the strike is likely to occur. This makes planning and execution easy since the executioners are already within the locality and are already citizens of the target state. We shall attempt to discuss some of the attacks that occurred using vehicles to attack innocent and law abiding citizens predominantly in Europe and of recent the USA.

b) Chronology of Vehicular Terrorist Attacks

i. *Dijon France Car Attack 21 December, 2014*

A solo assailant alleged to be shouting "Allahu Akbar" (God is Great) attacked pedestrians with his car in the central town of Dijon on Sunday night injuring 11 people. It was reported by the French authorities that the attacker was receiving psychiatric treatment before the event (The Guardian 2017).

ii. *Nice France Truck Attack 14 July, 2016*

About 84 people including several children were confirmed dead in the French city of Nice after a truck loaded with grenades and other sophisticated arms plowed into a large crowd during Bastille Day celebrations on a Thursday night. At press time, the French authorities concluded that the attack was an act of terrorism which was a premeditated attack in its form (ABC News, 2016).

iii. *Berlin Truck Attack 19 December, 2016*

It was on Monday night when people were at the Christmas market when a tractor trailer barreled into a crowded Christmas market killing 12 people and injuring 48 others. Shoppers screamed in fear and dropped their packages as the truck plowed into the market (CNN, 2017). Of course this was not a mere accident. This was premeditated. The new weapon of choice for most terrorist organization was the use of vehicles to carry out attacks. According to CNN (2017), ISIS has encouraged their members all over the world to use trucks as an attack tool to carry remorseless attacks on the countries of the west. This instruction was adhered to and were carried out by ISIS members, affiliates and other loyalists with similar dastardly motives, intentions and ideology. German authorities were still gathering information to know the motives and aims of the attacker.

iv. *Westminster Car Attack London March 23, 2017*

According to Aljazeera News (2017), at least four people were killed and 20 left wounded after a car ploughed into pedestrians and later the attacker went on a stabbing spree to kill more people or inflict more injury as the case may be. This event occurred near the British Parliament but the attacker was later shot dead by the Metropolitan Police. Mark Rowley, the Metropolitan Deputy Police Commissioner told reporters at press time that full counterterrorism investigation was under way. He further went on to demonstrate that violence began when a car was driven over Westminster Bridge, assaulting and injuring a number of civilians and three police officers on their way back from a commendation ceremony (Aljazeera News, 2017). With this wave of attack, it was clear that it was a terrorist attack. This was one of a serially planned attack that was carried out by terrorist across Europe. This was mostly done by people who had dual citizenship or had permits to live and work in the state where the attack was carried out.

v. *Stockholm Truck Attack April 7, 2017*

At least four people are reported to be killed when a hijacked truck drove into crowds on a crowded street in central Stockholm (Sunday Express, 2017). The report further confirmed that 15 people were injured in the attack. Security agencies confirmed that arrests have been made. The first man according to media sources, is believed to be a 39-year-old man from Uzbekistan. He was arrested after acting strangely in a store moment after the attack.

vi. *Barcelona Spain Van Attack 18 August, 2017*

This wave of attack in Barcelona claimed the lives of 13 people and left dozens injured. Authorities confirmed that the van which was rented sped along the pedestrian area popular with tourists crushing down people while those who had the time to react took cover (BBC, 2017).

vii. *Manhattan New York Truck Attack 31 October, 2017*

On this faithful day, a driver rammed a pickup truck down a crowded bike path killing 8 people and injuring 11 others. He was shot at with a bullet hitting his abdomen by a brave police officer. Officials have

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confirmed that this is the deadliest attack on New York City since September 11, 2001 (New York Times, 2017). The short rampage came to an end when the driver of the truck identified as Sayfullo Saipov smashed the truck into a school bus. As soon as the vehicle stopped, he exited the truck waving a pellet gun and a paint ball gun alleged to be shouting "Allahu Akbar" an Arabic word which denotes or means "God is great" (New York Times, 2017). At press time, preliminary reports showed that Mr. Saipov came into the United States from Uzbekistan in 2010.

IV. Conclusion

There is no doubt at this moment but to confirm terrorism has changed with the use of vehicles to carry out attacks. The main targets are Western countries predominantly the Super Powers. All the countries attacked are developed countries with resource in abundance yet the security infrastructure and human intelligence failed to detect the attack because of the delivery method of attack. With all the resources channeled to homeland security terrorist have been able to penetrate and carry out their attacks which we forecast there will be more attacks of this naturebut it's just a questions of when? where? and what time? The use of vehicles to carry out attacks comes all of a sudden which gives the attacked zero or little reaction time to dodge or run for cover.

V. Recommendations

Following this new mode of violence deployment, there is every need for security agencies and also governments of states to be on top of their game through the following ways.

1. Companies whose business it isto rent out vehicles need to involve the police and relevant authorities before releasing any vehicle. This will aid the security agencies to determine if the purpose is to actually rent the vehicle for genuine reasons or otherwise. This may be able to prevent an attack.
2. Technology experts need to design a new software that does not allow a vehicle to exceed a particular speed once the vehicle enters a particular zone or area. By doing this, the device will communicate with the computers of any vehicle irrespective of size not to exceed the decided speed to be determined by authorities.
3. Security agencies need to focus their energy and resources to intelligence gathering so as to avert future attacks.
4. People need to be on the lookout for any fast moving vehicle and try to use the walk ways while using the road.
5. With this wave of attacks rampant in Europe, African leaders need to put the necessary intelligence and infrastructure in place because there is every tendency this sort of attacks may be used by African terrorist organizations.

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Nigeria's Oil and Gas Production and Niger Delta Militant: The Need of Oil Resource to Stop Oil Reliance for Sustainable Development

By Ademola Emmanuel Oluniyi
Federal Univesity of Agriculture

Abstract- Nigeria is the largest oil producing in the Sub- Saharan Africa, with 32% and 34.2% of Africa's oil and gas reserves respectively, the fifty largest exporting countries in the Organisation of Petroleun Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the largest oil exporting country to the US. Like many other oil producing countries, Nigeria has not been spared the agony of recurring conflicts associated with the management of her oil resources. This paper carries out exploratory survey of Nigeria oil and gas industry with focus on the incessant conflicts in the oil producing communities, security, environmental problem, fraud and corruption that are ranking high and serving as impediment to the sector from achieving its operational excellence. Findings in this work revealed that communal conflicts, pipeline vandalization, kidnapping, sabotage, crude oil theft among other militant activities; are all impediment to the economy growth and have posted greater challenges to oil and gas industry; inversely impacting on upsteam and downstream oil production. The terrible sharp as, decline in nation oil proceeds in the recent years coupled with global decline in the oil prices has given a final blow, proved right that much hyped revenue from the famous black gold can no longer sustain Africa's largest economy. Suggestions are raised for restructuring the nation dwindling oil and gas industry.

Keywords: *nigeria, oil and gas, sustainable development, militant and oil reliance.*

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Nigeria's Oil and Gas Production and Niger Delta Militant: The Need of Oil Resource to Stop Oil Reliance for Sustainable Development

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Abstract- Nigeria is the largest oil producing in the Sub-Saharan Africa, with 32% and 34.2% of Africa's oil and gas reserves respectively, the fifty largest exporting countries in the Organisation of Petroleun Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the largest oil exporting country to the US. Like many other oil producing countries, Nigeria has not been spared the agony of recurring conflicts associated with the management of her oil resources. This paper carries out exploratory survey of Nigeria oil and gas industry with focus on the incessant conflicts in the oil producing communities, security, environmental problem, fraud and corruption that are ranking high and serving as impediment to the sector from achieving its operational excellence. Findings in this work revealed that communal conflicts, pipeline vandalization, kidnapping, sabotage, crude oil theft among other militant activities; are all impediment to the economy growth and have posted greater challenges to oil and gas industry; inversely impacting on upsteam and downstream oil production. The terrible sharp as, decline in nation oil proceeds in the recent years coupled with global decline in the oil prices has given a final blow, proved right that much hyped revenue from the famous black gold can no longer sustain Africa's largest economy. Suggestions are raised for restructuring the nation dwindling oil and gas industry. Nigeria economy needs to be weaned away from its overdependence in petrol dollar economy which is clearly receding for a diversifying economy system with good sustainable policies for better growth.

Keywords: nigeria, oil and gas, sustainable development, militant and oil reliance.

I. Introduction

Nigeria is known to be largest oil producer in the Sub-Saharan African States, with about 32 % and 34.2 % of Africa's oil and gas reserves respectively. According to the *Oil and Gas Journal* (OGJ), Nigeria ranks among the top 10 nations in proven oil and natural gas reserves, worldwide. As of January 1, 2007, the Nigeria estimated crude oil and natural gas reserves are 36.2 billion barrels and 181.9 trillion cubic feet (TCF); the fifth largest exporting country in the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and fifth largest oil exporting Country to the US. Nigeria is known as the largest producer of sweet oil in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). It becomes a member of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) since 1971 (Iledare, 2007). It has the largest natural gas reserve in Africa, has the second largest oil reserve in Africa and is the African continents primary oil producer. As of the late 80s, oil revenue provided 90% of Nigeria foreign exchange earnings and 85% of the government revenue (Odeyemi and Ogunseitan 1985), with estimated reserves extending beyond 20-30 years (NNPC, 1984). Shell D'Arcy, the pioneer oil company in Nigeria started commercial production of oil in 1958 with a production rate of 5100 barrels per day and a peak production of 2.44 million barrels per day over the next few years (Amu, 1982).

Nigeria‟s proven natural gas reserves are estimated at about 200 trillion cubic feet (tfc), about 2.82 per cent of global reserves and three times as substantial as oil reserves. By 2010, it had become a major exporter of LNG to the EU and the US. Particularly coveted is the Bonny Island Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) plant, which has an annual output capacity of 17 million tons; an annual output of 2.5 tons of liquefied petroleum gas (PLG) and a million tons per annum of condensates. New plants, such as Nigeria Liquefied Natural Gas (NLNG) Project, Escravos Gas-Gathering Project and Oso Natural Gas Liquefied Project, are either currently operational or are in the pipeline (Ajayi, 2013). In 2011, while the NLNG exports to the US substantially declined its exports to Japan more than tripled (USEIAN). Nigeria is, by far, the GoG‟s major oil and gas player with the Niger Delta as its epicenter, as already indicated. Between 2009 and 2011, the country earned $ 143.5 billion in equity crude sales, royalty, signature bonuses and taxes. During the same period it lost over 136 million barrels of oil estimated at $109 billion to oil theft, militancy and sabotage. 10 million barrels valued at $894 million were also lost as a result of pipeline vandalism in onshore operations (NEITI-EITI Core Audit Report of Oil and Gas, 2009-2011).

Nigeria has a coastal line of approximately 85km towards the Atlantic Ocean lying between latitude 4°15' to 4°50' and longitude 5°25' to 7°37' with a land mass of about 28000sq/km area within the coastal region. The surface area of the continental shelf is 46300sq/km. The coastal areas consist of fresh water swamp, mangrove swamp, beach ridges, sand bars, lagoons marshes and tidal channels. It has a total land mass of 923,768sq/km; 918,768sq/km being terrestrial

Author: Department of Communication and General Studies Peace and Strategic Studies (Unit) Federal Univesity of Agriculture, Abeokuta Ogun State, Nigeria. e-mail: niyi_ademol@yahoo.com

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land and 13000 sq/km being aquatic (CIA World Fact Book). The coastal area is humid with a mean average temperature of 24-32°C and coastal area has an average annual rainfall ranging between 1,500-4,000m (Kuruk, 2004). Anifowose (2008) and Onuoha (2008) cited in their studies affirmrd that the Delta region of Nigeria which made of coastal area has about 606 oil fields with 355 situated onshore; 251 situated offshore with 5,284 drilled oil wells and 7,000km of oil and gas pipelines. There are several rivers that channel into the Atlantic Ocean directly, all other flowing waters flow into the Chad basin or into the lower Niger to the sea eventually (Kuruk, 2004). Without gain saying, oil export in Nigeria Niger Delta coastal area remains the larger export of Nigeria economy.

As far as at late 70s, Nigeria has four oil refineries with an estimated total refining capacity of 445,000 barrels per day (Onuoha, 2008; Anifowose, 2008). The first and oldest being the Port Harcourt refinery, commissioned in 1965. It had an initial capacity of 35,000 barrels per day, which was later expanded to 60,000 barrels per day of light crude oil. The Port Harcourt refinery has a second refinery with a capacity of 150,000 barrels per day (Odeyemi and Ogunseitan 1985; Ukoli 2005). These refineries today have gone to state of doldrums which has made Nigeria to have continued exporting its crude to the foreign refinaries for many years. This process is found to have yeilded more benefits to the political elite who are feeding fat under the politics of *oil subsidy*; however, it has been a bitter experience for Nigeria citizenry. Like many other oil producing countries, Nigeria has not been spared the agony over the years as a result of recurrent violent conflicts assiociated with exploration, production and the mis-appropiration of oil resource (Obi, 1997). By most accounts, Africa in general had been blessed with numbers of natural resources and Nigeria in particular, had supervulous witnessed an "unprecedented boom in oil production" (Southall, 2009). The extraction of oil by countries in Africa and other parts of the developing countries nevertheless have always leads to political repression, corruption and violence" (Klare and Volman, 2006: 625).

In Nigeria, for example, following the post independent, and early 1967 oil related disputes had motivated as insurection by a major ethnic group in the Niger Delta Region, (the repository of almost of the nation's oil and gas reserves) in Nigeria. Less than a year after, the nation experienced a civil war (the Biafran war of 1967-70) which was not unconnected with dissagrements over sharing of oil revenues. While the country has managed to maintain a fragile post-war peace, since middle of 90's down to late 90'; there have been on going violence and uprising on oil resources with a renewal calls for self-determination and local control of oil resource by the agitators in the oil producing communities. Going by all these challenges, it is in no doubt that, Nigeria has been on struggling, and its manageable adaption to remain the biggest economy on the continent has nothing than thanks to its oil wealth surplus.

The failure to address the problems facing the oil resources in Nigeria is found previously strong and growth fall in line with the wider Sub-Saharan region resources problems. It is no secret that global oil price collapse in the recent times has been felt keenly across Nigeria, while the declning revenue has threatened to slow the economy momentum. This can be well also linked to unearth inefficiencies that have in the past years gone unchallenged by the governments. Oil and gas production holds 60 per cent participation in the industry (Ajayi, 2013). It has been plagued, over the years, by inefficiency, waste, capacity, vandalisation, oil theft and endemic corruption. It has built up a sordid reputation for under-reporting the country"s oil and gas sales and revenues. For example, between 2005 and 2010, Nigeria's GDP at purchasing power parity more than doubled, yet its human capital and living standards leave much to be desired. As of 2010, the proportion of people living in absolute poverty rose to nearly 60 percent, up from 54.7 percent in 2004, according to the National Bureau of Statistics.

This, alongside World Bank estimates that 80 percent of energy revenues benefit just one percent of the population, has given observers real cause for concern. For example, starting from 2015, from global scene, the price of crude oil has continued to experience a downward trend. The price which stood at an average of $112 per barrel in June 2014 slipped to $35 per barrel in December, 2015, the price that was far below the budget benchmark of $53 per barrel for year 2015 (Chika, 2016). The Nigerian economy has been substantially unstable a consequence of the heavy dependence on oil revenue, and the volatility in the prices of oil. As at the mid 1970s, petroleum exploration and production had dominated the Nigerian economy, with this, Nigeria moved from an agricultural economy based on the export of palm oil, cocoa, and groundnuts to a petroleum economy based on crude oil extraction (Umoren, 1984). As the Nigerian government focused its attention on the petroleum industry, the agricultural industry was neglected. Under-investment, a steady drift away from the land to urban centers, increased consumer preference for imported foodstuffs (particularly rice, wine and wheat) and outdated farming techniques continued to keep the level of food production well behind the rate of population growth. The country of over 180 million people today is forced to import food at high Western prices to feed its people, even domestic staples such as rice and beans. However, at the same time the Western countries encouraged Nigeria, like other Third World countries, to sell to them at low prices their crude, leading to a further decline in the agricultural industry.

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Not only has the agricultural sector in Nigeria been ignored over the years, but so has the industrial sector. Unlike many developing countries where the agricultural based economy is replaced by a labor intensive manufacturing industry, there were few industrial jobs to take the place of the disappearing agricultural development in Nigeria (Nwankwo, 1982). Even as at 1995, manufacturing only accounted for only 5% of the GDP (Van Buren). The contraction of agriculture and manufacturing with the military structural adjustment policy (SAP) has led to high unemployment and an increased sense of frustration. Unfortunately, while petroleum became the mainstay of the economy in terms of both export revenues and attracting foreign investments, it has never been influential in terms of employment for the Nigerian people (Wright, 1998). The oil boom had a crucial impact on domestic politics as revenues accrued to the federal government. The growth of oil revenues combined with and reinforced a trend towards the centralization of power by the military government. Because of the lack of other industries, state governments became dependent on the national government for funds, contributing heavily to the contraction of social services and inablity of many states to pay their workers salary in the recent years.

The influx of wealth also contributed to rampant corruption, making Nigeria one of the most corrupt governments in the world. The country oil sector is regarded as one of the least transparent globally. In a 2010 survey of 44 National and International Energy Companies by the Revenue Watch Institution (RNI), the NNPC brought up the rear (Katsouris and Sayne, 2013). Corrupt officials have easy access to government funds and since the oil boom first began, millionaire generals have become common. There has been an estimated $176 billion of unaccounted oil revenues during the 1980-1992 periods (Wright, 1998). The worse situation was the series of reports on oil money logging into different accounts of politicans by the past administration of President Jonathan, and evedences are the recent discovery by the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC). The oil boom of the 1970s which has been a follow up till late 90s led to the neglect of non oil tax revenues, expansion of the public sector, and deterioration in financial discipline and accountability.

Nigerian masses have become impoverished while handfuls of millionaires consume and spend (Nwankwo, 1982). The hardship suffered at the hand of their political leaders had speed up the groups of violently radicalized agitators especially from the oil bearing communities of Niger Dealta; those who their activities have made a threat to Nigerian econmy. In fact it was revealed that security fears, together with poor governance and rampart corruption has brougth Nigeria's oil and gas out put on the step side of decline. In turn, oil-dependence exposed Nigeria to oil price volatility which threw the country's public finance into disarray. According to Sala--Martin and Subramanian (2003), Waste and Dutch disease manifesting in rapid capital accumulation and negative Total Factor Productivity (TFP) characterized Nigeria's many years of political post-independence development experience. While capacity utilization averaged about 77 percent in 1975, it had declined to about 50 in 1983 and until very recently has languished at about 35 percent since the mid 1990s; the recent decline in the global oil prices coupled with emergence of insugency has however done a great damage of irreversible.

Nigerian experience in oil and gas extraction and production has proved wrong the assertion by early 50s, development economist especially, those who associated with the *staple theory of growth;* who have suggested that "natural resources abundance would help the backward states of Africa to overcome their capital pifalls and provide revenue for their government to provide public goods, better development and lifts their citizens out of doldrums of poverty". In opposite, since late 90's, a growing number of resources conflicts have established a link between resource abundance and a number of socio-economic problems. Consequently, natural resources abundance in Nigeria and other oil producing African countries has been associated with slow growth (Sachs and Warner, 1995), greater inequality and poverty for a larger majority of a country's population (Gravin and Hausmann, 1998; Ross, 2004), corruption of political institutions (Lame and Tornell, 1999; Ross, 1999; 2000), with high disparity between the haves and have not.

Over the last years of her oil boom, Nigeria for example has received over $300 billion in oil revenues after deducting payments to the foreign companies (Gary and Karl, 2003; Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian, 2003). Yet the country is marred in poverty. In 1965, Nigeria's oil revenue per capital was about US$33, per capita GDP was US $245. However, in 2000 when oil revenue grew to US $325 per capita, per capita GDP remained at the 1965 level, implying that oil revenue accumulated over the 35 year period between 1960 and 2000 did not add value to the standard of living of Nigerians (Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian, 2003). It is a common view in literature that mismanagement of oil boom of the early 1970s prepared the economic doom of the late 1980s and thereafter. A thoughtful primary school child according to Ezekwesili can figure out that the mathematics of oil revenue in a season of oil boom does not add up at all in Nigeria (Ezekwesili, 2013). Nigeria's per capita GDP (in PPP terms) was US $1, 113 in 1970. It is estimated to have fallen to US $1, 084 in 2000, a figure which places the country among the fifteen poorest in the world.

Consequently, oil production in Nigeria has given rise to vertical conflicts among different groups across geographical boundaries, ethnic groups,

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communities, class among others in Nigeria. Many factors have been identified as causes which are: the high global demand for energy resources notably, oil and gas which encourage foreign Trans National Corporations to explots reasources. The internal weakness of internal resources governance in the oil producing states, and consequently, interfere in their domestic politics and lastly, the high rent that accrue from the resources, which in diverse ways can be linked to corruption and greed on the part of political elites vis-à-vis local communities which had hightening the expectation of local populace of the oil producing communities (Obi, 2004). Pervasive sleaze and graft in the oil sector explains much, but not all, of so-called "resource curse" (Amuwo, 2013). Alao in his work: natonal resources and conflict in Nigeria: the tragedy of endowment said that; resource conflict and politics remained indifferent to its national politics of most naturally endowed states. For example, corruption pervading the Nigeria politics applies not only to the sums of millions dollars that can be involved at federal level, but those that get into the hands of the local political elites in each of their communities.

The percentage of Nigerians living below the United Nations US$1 per day absolute poverty line has risen from 27 in 1980 to 66 in 1996, and 70 in 2000. At the same time, income distribution has deteriorated sharply with more and more people pushed towards poverty and towards extreme wealth. With a Gini index of 50.6 in 1996-97, Nigeria.s richest 10 percent controls 40.8 percent of the country's wealth and the poorest ten percent only a negligible 1.6 percent (*CIA Fact Book, Nigeria, 2005*), whereas in 1970 the top 10 and bottom 17 percent of the population earned the same amount of income (Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian, 2003). Nigeria Sub-Sahara Africa's largest oil producer has given a classical illustration of "national resources as development trap". Rich in proven resources approximately 30 billion barrels of oil and gas having earned an estimated $340 billion over the past years, Nigeria oil exports rank only behind Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Iran and United Emirates. Her oil dependenmce account 83% of export earning and approximately 40% of GDP cited by (Philips, 1997; Onosode, 2003 and Imobigbe, 2007) remained an old glory. Thus inspite of all these above mentioned reports Nigeria oil economy export as at today is largely decline and her citizenry especially those in oil and gas bearing communities are impoverished. Exploration of oil in Nigeria interfaces and further disrupts both the natural and the social life of the people. The disruption causes conflicts which need to be addressed and one of the ways to address it is through divisification economy, the restruction synergy for sustainable development, peace and security in oil producing communities, and for the better national stable economy.

II. Security Threats and its Impacts in Nigeria's Oil Production

More fundamental problems are increased risk of security in the oil gas producing communities of Delta region, Nigeria. This by the researchers had been established as a link between resources motivated conflict and economic collapse (Collier and others, 2003; Skaperdas, 1992; Deinger, 2003). Nigeria as oil economy dependent country, has remained largely underdeveloped and its citizens most especially, those in oil and gas bearing communities are impoverished with their socio-economic status very low. Soysa, (2011); Donner, (2009); and Weszkalynys (2009, 2011) for instance blamed crude oil for the underdevelopment of oil-rich African states and the common denominators of instability and violence in those countries. According to the trio, the paradox of plenty in Africa is that the continent is rich, its people are poor- and in many cases extremely poor. It has been observed that security fears; together with poor governance and rampart corruption from oil sector has push out Nigeria's oil output in the recent times to the steep side of decline (Timms, 2016). The acitivities of militant groups and the recent activities of militancy in the oil-rich Niger Delta region after the 2015 presidental election, had inflicted untold levels of destruction on key oil sites and put a serious dent into the production of crude oil and gas. Given that the Niger Delta brings in around 90 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings and 80 percent of government revenues, any threat to it authomatically become a threat to Nigeria's economy as a whole.

Apart from the fact that Nigeria is extravagantly endowed with much coverted energy resources such as oil and gas, Nigeria is also blessed with huge deposit of other mineral resources (Kunle, 2013). In fact, research have revealed that Nigeria has a load of wealth of natural resources which housses over (thirty four) commercially viable mineral resources (*Nigerian Vanguard*, 2016). Managing natural resources wealth in Nigeria however, is fraught with difficulties – some economic policies and many political issues – which has adversely impact macroeconomic performance in the short and long runs", according to an IMF report entitled *Boom, Bust, or Prosperity? Managing Sub-Saharan Africa's Natural Resource Wealth*. "Data from the sub-region suggests that such a curse has been present to some degree, but has diminished since 2000, although the broad economic and social indicators point to continued weaknesses that could be attributed to poor natural resource management." Africa, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, and Nigeria in particular is making a good example of how abundant resources can stifle development and distracts governments from the central task of ensuring long-term prosperity. Infact, while other countries like Malaysia and Angola have

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made great deal of their oil legarses, Nigerian experience remained a sorry one.

Nigeria nation has made a name for itself as a rich nation in natural resources, also has been considered as one in which citizens are severely handicapped by a low-growth climate and endemic corruption; qualified as fantastically corrupt country. With little incentive to raise taxes or focus on other sectors, plentiful resources have been known to cripple once-fruitful economies and shrink government responsibility. Nigeria's oil and gas resources have been found to have the highest risk of civil conflict this of course happened because of the large rents it offers and the shocks to which the government and the national economy are exposed (Collier and Hoeffer, 2005; Fearnon and Lanton, 2005). These conflicts often attended by kidnapping of foreign workers for ransom (hostage taking), vandalization of oil pipelines, oil theft and some times blow up of oil and gas installations have taken on frightening dimensions over the years. While the annual value of oil stolen from Nigeria estimated at between $3 an $8 billion dollars palis into insignificance compared to $550 billion, the annual value of drug sold globally (Book, 2013; Katsouris and Syne, 2013), it is huge loss to Nigeria's ailing mono cultural econmy. However, the negative impact of local bunkary on the region's political economy runs deeper than petrol dollara losses. The Nigeria state's logitically and credibility are regularly called to question; human security is in constant jeopardy; and deepening uncertainty around safety of pipelines and other infrastructures instantly threatens system shutdown.

Some of the first armed activities that emerged from the oil-rich region of Nigeria, ranging from the Boro-led Niger Delta Volunteer Service (NDVS) in 1966, the Ken-Saro-Wiwa-led Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1992, the Aleibiri Demonstration (AD) in 1997, the Kaiama Declaration (KD) in 1998, the Odi Massacre (OM) in 1999, the Asari Dokubo-led Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF) in 2004, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in 2005, Tom Ateke-led Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV) and several other militant groups (Eseduwo,2007). The profiles and activities of selected militant groups in the Niger Delta since 2003; have proved deadly with kidnappings and taking over oil facilities in the volatile Niger Delta. The movements claim that their activities are to seek a redistribution of oil wealth and increased local control of their God given resources. These groups are notorious for kidnappings of oil workers (especially expatriates) for ransom with negative consequences on the Nigerian state since the deteriorating security has forced some oil services firms to leave the country (Badmus, 2010).

Obi (2004) when studies globalization, oil industry and local community politics showed that globalization, oil local politics nexus is chracterised by conflict relations arising from the mode of production, its exploration and production consequences. According to him, the global oil giants, the state and local authorities, elites fractions seek to maximize oil extraction and optimize profit while on the other hand, the villagers who are disposed of their farmlands and fishing ground suffer the wide spread impact of oil pollution, environmental degredation and gas flaring seek to block or resit oil based accummulation. Eteng (1998) had arguably explainned that the potential benefits of links to the oil and gas industry have thus exacerbated conflicts within and among the oil producing communities.

He further put thus:

> *Oil exploration and exploitation have instigated and intesfied bitter and bloodly conflicts between emerging interest groups within and between competing claimants. Such conflict are range between elite groups, between competing claimants of communities traditional chieftancy stools between youths organization on one hand, and between them and community elders; between the urban resident elite and village community resident and even between village and emergent professional community.*

It is interesting to note that the federal government had made some ameliorative attempts in addressing the conflicts erupting the exploration of oil in the oil producing communities like: (i) the setting up of the Niger Delta Development Board NNDB in 1962 (ii) The Presidential Task Force on Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development 1989 (iii) Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission OMPADEC, 1992. The Niger Delta Development Commission NDDC 2000. Of these efforts and others, Okpeh (2004), notes that, these measures have not been able to address the core demand and agitation of the people largely because of the insincerity of the Nigerian State and its ruling elites. This culture of neglect has breed hostilities and violent reaction from oil and gas bearing communities.

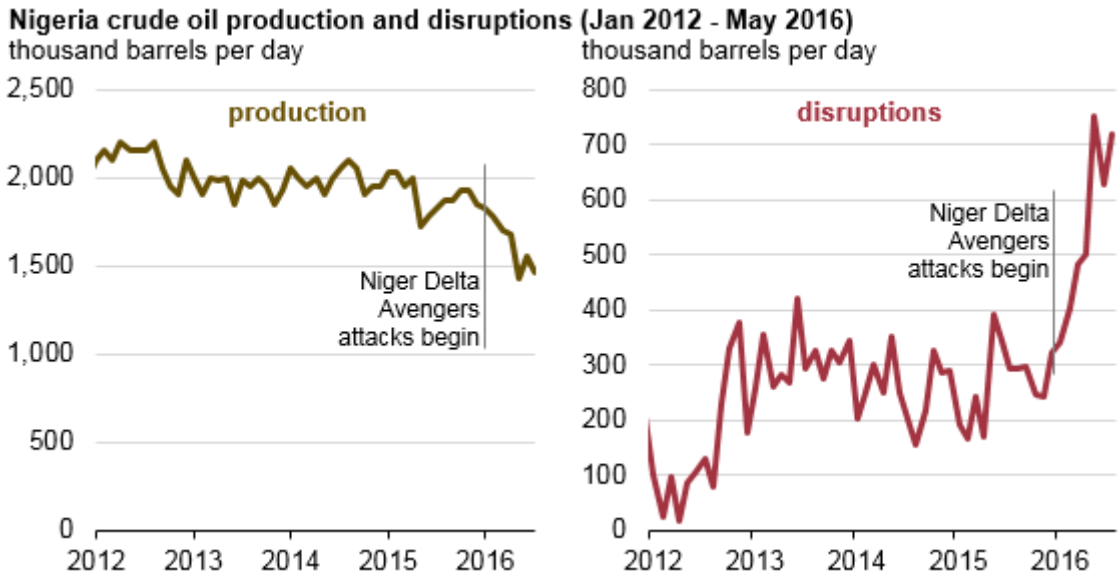
Thus while Nigeria can boasts of her abundant natural resources, yet her failure to crack down on endemic corruption and incessant conflicts has eroded its status to such an extent that as at May 2016, lost its title as the continent's leading oil producer to Angola. This has occurred because of deteoriorating political and security situations that posed much threat to Nigeria output in oil and gas production. Oil losses on account of militancy amounted to over $1 billion annually. The department of petroleum resources claims this figure represent 32% of the revenue the country generated that year (NNPC, 2009). In 2006, MEND claimed to have achieved a goal of cutting Nigerian output by 30% and has apparently succeeded (Watts, 2007). These destructions have reduced both export revenue amount going to the Federation Account. Furthermore, due to the Niger Delta crises, merchandise

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trade for the second quarter of 2007 stood at 2.74 trillion ($19.8 billion), that is a decrease of N208.4 billion ($1.7 billion, 7.8 percent) from the year's first quarter (Watts, 2007). Commenting on the beginning of the drop in oil production in Nigeria, Tanimu (2009) noted that immediately after election, violence in the Niger Delta region drop Nigeria's crude oil output by nearly 1 million barrel per day, plunging production to its lowest level since early 2003. The Managing Director of NNPC Funsho Kupolokun disclosed that the country was losing 600,000 barrels of oil daily because of conflict and insecurity in the Niger Delta (*Punch Newspaper*, May, 2008). The Technical committee on Niger Delta reported that the average of 700,000 barrel of oil was lost per day (TCND Report, 2008). The committee highlighted that these losses were recorded each time the militants attacked oil installations.

In spite of the soaring price of oil in the international market, the value of oil exports for the second quarter of 2007 was N1.61 trillion ($12.9 billion) a decrease of 5.8 percent over the first quarter (PENGASSAN, 2009). Tracing the history downward, Onuoha (2016) asserted that in mid-2015, the insurgency resurfaced and has become a major security concern to Nigerians, the federal government, regional shipping companies, and international oil interests. Intensified attacks on oil infrastructure by new militant groups such as the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) have reduced Nigeria's output to a 22-year low. As a result, President Muhammadu Buhari has responded by directing the military to "crush" the NDA, resulting in a heightened military presence across the Delta region and has brought about growing concern that further escalation of violence could cripple oil production, with dire, cascading economic and security consequences for the country.

Militant activities in the Niger Delta region especially, the emergence of the new emerged group called, Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) had forced supply disruption of oil and gas and had made the country output fall by 800 million barrels per day to 1.4 milion barrels per day (Kackchukwu, 2016). Data cited by RBC capital markets' showed by the commodities team revealed that Nigeria's as oil production slipped to 1.69 million barrels as at first quarter of 2016. In the same vain, the National Petroleum Corporation, collaborated it in its monthly report said that crude oil production in Nigeria pluminated to 1.69 million since May 2016 attack, following the up stick in pipeline vandalization in the volatile Niger delta region by the Niger Delta Avengers.



Source: CNBC, 2016

Regardless of either assessment, this is still below the production level of Angola, which held steady in April, 2016, at 1.8 milion barrels per day (UK business Insider, 2016). According to NNPC (1984) through OPEC in the recent production rates in the Niger Delta region, Nigeria has dropped to 1.5 million barrels per day from the activities of 10 international companies working 122 fields, containing over 970 oil wells. Niger Delta Avengers had attacked a Chevron platform, Nigeria oil rich company on May 11th 2016 causing economic sabotage (RBC Capital Market Report, 2016). As far as the Niger Delta is concerned, Royal Dutch Shell for example, was forced to shut its Forcados export terminal early 2016; its withdrawal costing the country 250,000 barrels a day. A Chevron closure not long after cost another 90,000 barrels following a security breach at one of its facilities. This experience on the part of the militants is clear; in a statement, they wrote: "This is what we promised the Nigeria government, since they refuse to listen to us."

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A Niger Delta fighter poses with a heavy machine-gun at his militia's creek camp.

The resurgent of militancy in the oil-rich Niger Delta region especially the destructive activities of Niger Delta Avengers undoubtedly had inflicted untold levels of destruction on key oil sites and put a serious dent in production. The attack on Focado export line by militants in the Niger Delta have left a total of 79 million barrels of crude oil shut in February 2016, causing oil firms and the nation a huge of loss of revenue (*Punch Newspaper, 2016*). Niger Delta Avengers has gone as far keeping their promise to hold the economy to stand still under their operation tagged "Red economy". Their constant attackes on oil production facilities have worsened Nigeria's economy woes and standard of living. The first of their niferous attacks was damage to Chevron's main electricity feed pipeline at Escravos terminal cute (*Punch Newspaper, 2016).* According to Chevron, the said damage to the Okan platform had affected about 35,000 bpd of its not crude production or about 15% of its output in the country.

Data gathered from the Nigeria's extractive Transparency Initiative- NEITI revealed tha Nigeria has lost $15.9 billion as a result of crude oil theft, pipeline sabotage and deferred production in four years. The data convering 2011-2014 showed that a total of volume of 38.6 million barrels of crude oil has lost in 2011, costing $4.4 billion. Year 2012 for example has the second havest loss with 23.8 million barrels of crude oil lost amointing to $2.7 billion. The NEITI figures also revealed that in 2013, the country witnessed the highset loss of 37.7 million barrels of crudeb oil, totaling $4.7 billion. As at 2014, Nigeria lost 40.2 million barrels of crude oil amointing to $4.1billion. Total volume of crude oil lost was 140.3 million, amointing to $15.9 billion from 2011 t0 2014. Country;s crude oil production however become declined by 12% in the third quarter of 2016 dire mainly to militant attack in the Niger Delta. These documented cases of crude oil production decline also indicated revenue loss by the country, NEITI stated.

Niger Delta Avengers like other militants for example, have caused the country to lose at least N100.4bn earthys in 13days of their first attacked on May 20th, 2016. Niger Delta Avengers has earlier promised to saboutage the economy of Nigeria and their niferous activities which had given grater effect in the huge decline in crude oil production. According to their spokeman he said "we have a message to big oil when we warned that there should be no repairs pending negotiation/dialogue with Niger Deltal people, it means there should be no repair." Among the groups following the Avengers' model is the Niger Delta Greenland Justice Mandate, which claimed an attack on a pipeline on Sunday to protest a meeting this week between President Muhammadu Buhari and regional leaders. The NNPC said the subsisting force of Majuere of Forcado's terminal means that about 380,000 barrell per day shut in cargoes were deftered until repairs are completed. Official report by the minister of state for petroleum resources, Dr Ibe Kachikwu has earlier confirmed that, the nation's oil output has dropped by 800,000 barrels per day to 1.4 million bpd since May 16th 2016; this he states, Nigeria has lose N100bn in 13 days *(Punch Newspaper May 29th, 2016)*.

Also, the nation has lost over 1,500 mega watts to the damage of Forcados, which accounted for 40 percent to 50 percent of gas production. The corporation noted that force majeure was declared on May 2016 for repair work in Nembe Creek Trunk line and the resultant shut in of about 275,000 bpd, adding that other farfetch incidents included production shut in at Usam, Que Iboe and Brass terminals. This has been noted by the global credit rating that oil business in Nigeria had been hampered by security issues, leading

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to prolongd shut down at the Forcados oil terminal, and the weak finacial position of Nigeria Petroleum Development Company. It is important to reiterate the fact that the renewed attacks by militant groups not only undermine Nigeria's economic stability, but also risk exacerbating maritime insecurity in the Gulf of Guinea (GoG).

Thus, owing to recent attacks on critical infrastructure, Nigeria's oil production has plummeted from 2.2 million bpd to about 1.4 million bpd (AFP, 2016). Nigeria is already losing about N2.79 billion ($14 billion) daily to the closure of the ExxonMobil-operated Qua Iboe terminal, following the evacuation of Exxon-Mobil's workers. This has compounded government revenue losses caused by the fall in global oil prices since mid-2014. In addition to crippling oil exports, the new wave of militancy in the Delta has also choked the supply of gas to local power plants, thus hobbling Nigeria's power grid. Electricity generation in Nigeria has declined from about 4,800 megawatts in August 2015 to 1,000 megawatts in May 2016 (AFP, 2016), seriously undermining overall productivity and service delivery in the economy.

The renewed violence has also impacted maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea. Pirate attacks emanating from the Niger Delta remain a major threat to the oil industry in Nigeria and merchant shipping in the GoG. An estimated 70 percent of all piracy-related incidents in the GoG are directly related to Nigerian criminal gangs, mostly originating from the Niger Delta. In the first quarter of 2016, at least 12 attacks were recorded in the Gulf of Guinea, including nine in Nigeria, one in Côte d'Ivoire, and two within the territorial waters of the DR Congo (Zerihoun, 2016). Apart from worsening the economic woe of Nigeria and the standard of living, criplling almost everything from oil production, export operations and power; it has affected economic relations of Nigeria as neigbouring countries like Ghana are beginning to face certain challenge as a result of the attacks. Former Ghanian president, John Mahama has Nigeria blamed for the fitfil power cuts in his country; referrred to Nigeria's delay in the delivery of crude oil to his country's power stations. Apparently, the renewed militancy and the sporadic attacks on oil infrastructures by NDA and attacks had resulted in massive shortage in electricity production both in Nigeria and Ghana.

III. Nigerian Crude oil Decline: The Need for Economy Diversification

Coincedentally, before this time, Nigeria crude was very refiners' oil of choice. Most of refiners wanted to refine Nigerian light sweet oil in order to produce a substantial amount of middle distillates and gasoline, the profit making product for refines. With the recent deline in the oil price, Nigerian crude has become overhang, glut, and over supply with high number of unsold barrels. Nigerian crude has lost its appeal and with the growing pace of technological advancement in refineries that can take a greater variety of crude grades, Nigeria crude is no longer the talk town (Oil Gram Report, 2016). In the past six years, Nigeria has lost its biggest customer, the U.S, which now buys only small amount of Nigeria crude oil due to dramatic rise in domestic scale production. Nigeria has not been able to adapt to this loss. Majority of Nigerian crude oil today travels to Europe, a regionn where oil demand is on decline, and this does not bode well for African the largest oil producer. For example, out of five biggest global oil importers- China, U.S, Japan, India and South Korea, it is only really India that buys a siginificant amount of Nigeria crude. Nigeria therefore needs to attract countries or region where crude oil demand is in the rise.

More importantly, while experiences of oil exporters across the globe shows that oil dependence is most often a perilious development path, it is also evident that the negative outcomes of oil and other resources can be avoided. For example, Norway has used the benefits from North Sea oil to earn the highest place on the UN human development rankings (Gary and Karl, 2003). Mexico and Malaysia have also fared well among developing oil exporters. Angola formally called the third biggest economy after South Africa and Nigeria has performed wonderfully well in the recent years with a GDP of over $104 billlion in 2011. It has now being considered the fastest growing economies. This has been achieved as a result of FDI capital inflows into the country vast oil and gas industry (Amuwo, 2013). Steady investment in the energy infrastructure since the end of the devastating 27years of civil war (1975-2002) has gradually developed the sector. Taken as example, the official goal of the country's current National Development Plan (NDP) 2013-2017, is to create a new Angola by giving piority to provide investiment to diversify and create jobs. This is not the case in Nigeria, and apart from the fact that Nigeria several industries have developed around oil and gas; most of oil largeses are being misappropirated, and the huge amount from oil resouces are spread across different private induvidual accounts outside Nigeria. According to the Director General (D-G) of the Chamber, Muda Yusuf the drastic decline oil crude oil consequently led to various fiscal and economic challenges such as the drop in foreign earnings, strained fiscal budget and huge financial bailout for some state governments, general cash flow issues in the economy and unstable business environment.

When analysing issues on oil and gas exploration and its production in Nigeria, Human activities and those of oil exploration and exploitation raise a number of issues such as depletion of biodiversity, coastal and riverbank erosion, flooding, oil

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spillage, gas flaring, noise pollution, sewage and waste water pollution, land degradation and soil fertility loss and deforestation, which are all major environmental issues. Oil exploration and exploitation has been ongoing for several decades in the Niger Delta. It has had disastrous impacts on the environment in the region and has adversely affected people inhabiting that region. Odeyumi and Ogunseitan (1985) wrote on the growth and development of the oil and petrochemical industry in Nigeria with emphasis to the notable cases of pollution disturbances during the 25 years of its existence, highlighting causes and effects on the social, economic, agricultural and ecological characteristic on human and other biotic occupants of the oil region.

Nevertheless, regarding the state of Nigeria's economy, petroleum, especially oil, has been its main driver since the end of the civil war in 1970. These facts not withstanding, the impact of Nigeria's industrial sector (oil and gas sector inclusive) to the overall GDP remains abysmal. This contention is more so if one keeps in perspective the national government (HG) investments in upstream joint venture (JV) operations in Nigeria. It is estimated that HG spent about $19 billion for JV operations in Nigeria from 2002-2006 (Delano, 2007). With these large government investments in the upstream oil and gas sector, the potential to derive maximum wealth and a sustained economic growth from the oil and gas industry should be indubitable. So the questions to ask are what the future holds for oil and gas in Nigeria and how Nigeria can attain its economic aspirations using oil and gas industry as the prime mover of its economy diversification in the next five years

The Nigerian Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB), described as "the first attempt to restructure the Nigerian oil industry to enforce sustainability, transparency and greater control over her natural resources" (Rasheed, 2011) is the country‟s boldest attempt since juridical independence in 1960 to make the industry truly serve national interest. But nearly ten years after it was first introduced in the National Assembly, it has yet to be passed into law and its contents have, by most accounts, been watered down. Among others, the Bill seeks to increase the royalties payable to the Nigerian state by the MNOCs and to determine the crude outputs at the points of production rather than at the points of export, the current practice. It also provides for the payment by oil majors of ten per cent of their oil earnings to the oil-bearing and producing communities.

A coalition of foreign and local interests which considers the Bill‟s provisions too radical has sought to frustrate its passage to law. Both the presidency and the National Assembly have been under intense pressure to either wholly jettison the bill or pass a hallowed-out version that will be inconsistent with its original intention. The Bill has also pitched the Nigerian government and oil majors against each other with the latter appearing to have the upper hand with the active support of their home governments. They want the *status quo* to remain because it is extremely skewed in their favor, insisting that "a contract is a contract that must be respected by all parties" (Rasheed, 2011).

IV. Conclusion and Recommendations

Though Nigeria's economic problem or global declining in oil price is not peculiar to us alone, other oil producing nations like Venezula were also feeling a lot. Our negative attitude to agricultural product has given the much read of our present experience. This is clear because our oil which used to be source of many is no longer bringing in money, as a result we are positively responding to the reality. Our own become more pronounced because we lived life of falsehood in the past guided by our gross appetite for corruption, consumption of what we are not produced, and lack of productivity since there have been flowing money from crude oil. However, the contribution of neglected agricultural production in Nigeria to the GDP was negligible in the past especially in the first Republic when regional competitionn on agricultural production were of main priority.

There is need to refertilize our policies for there is clear evidence that Nigerian government has not fully harnessed the opportunities of endowned natural resources available in our states and the potential of the oil and gas industry the reasons while I have raised the idea of using oil dependency policy of years for a better sustainale growth and development. It is well known that, after all years of oil exploration and campaign against gas flaring as a global order, gas flaring has still remain a bone of contention in Nigeria, bitter experience and; one of problem confronting oil and gas bearing communities. Companies in Nigeria still flare about 17.2 billion cubic meter of natural gas per year. This wasted gas could be converted for domestic use for the benefit of all Nigeria citizens while much of these could also be exported as national revenue.

At the same time, there is need for diversification of the country economy and stop over dependency on oil exploration considering the load of wealth of natural resources which houses over thirty four states of Nigeria with commercial viable mineral resources. Most of the states and their govenors can be compelled to take the bull by the horn and see to the proper harness of these available mineral resources in their different states. Infact economic integration among state would in no small help our small scale enterpreneurship. This will devinitely boost their hard earning internally generated revenues which have become a burden for Nigeria citizens in their different states. It will at the same time boost food security in each state and also, it will reduce montly rush and

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dependency on Abuja monthly allocation. Attaining success in the agricultural sector of which our lands could afford for instance, would reduce Nigeria food importation formula. Nigeria can take the lead in feeding Africa throug food security scheme considering her population of about 200 million, and her land area of 98.3m and 74 million of which are said to be good for farming, but yet to be explored maximally.

If Ghana could reduce her poverty by half through cocoa farming towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals of 2015 year target. And Angola could manage her oil largeses for better industrial development with strong and improved gross domestic product; Nigeria should be able to do better and boost food security, production to feed her citizens with nutritious food and improve her economy via investiment in agricuture and its related value chains. The new scheme of Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme under the control of Central Bank of Nigeria as one of Buhari agenda for diversification of economy should be seen as a good development. The ACGS according to CBN Governor is an development of the agricultural facilities to farmers at a single digit interest rule. This which is aimed to enhance natural food security by increasing food supply and affecting lower agricultural product prices is going to give a sure change. We should be awared that agriculture base production could serve as a major way of discouraging militancy especially when oil dependency economy is no more relevant to us. By this bold attempt, we can take our pegiant of militancy through a formidable agric economy, and this could as well use as opportunity to tell our people that most important resources most especially by the virtue of our blessed fertile land and enormous natural resources all aroud the state of Nigeria.

Nigeria needs to attract countries or regions where crude oil demand is on the rise. More importantly, there is need for creation of necessary linkage between oil and gas industry and other sectors of economy, delinking from petroleum investor's access to information on oil revenue in budget and actual expenditure to empower citizens to hold government to account. Agriculture need to be avowed as new economic policy of sustainable development in Nigeria with youth engagement in mechanised farming, and information technology-controlled farming processes and agri-preneurship.

Lastly, there should be enforcement of fiscal responsibility and procurement laws at all level of oil revenues generated spending habit for transparency and accountability; this can be possible when all hands are put on deck for the support of anti corruption graft of the present administration. These crusade for change attitude of falsehood, extravagancy among others; including value for money audit, saving for a raining day thorough diversification and investiment for the future generation will definitely bring back the old glory of Nigeria, a through giant of Africa not at the level of its population alone, but at the level of political, economy capacity and sustainability.

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When Freedom of Expression Goes Awry on Social Media: An Analysis of Comments on Naij.Com in the Run-Up to the 2015 Presidential Elections in Nigeria

By Enwefah, Christopher Itetegbe
Redeemers University

Abstract- This paper carefully analyzed public comments on Naij.com facebook page with the goal to expose the direction in which the comments of social media users followed in their bid to show support and canvass votes for their preferred candidates in the run-up to the 2015 presidential elections. Although the traditional media were perceived to have carried more venom in their campaign advertisements and commentaries, this study focused on whether or not social media users abused their freedom of expression on the facebook platform, and whether tribal sentiment determined the direction of comments. The findings revealed that facebook users posted abusive comments on Naij.com news page, but posted more comments endorsing candidates of their choice, followed by comments rejecting candidates they did not want. Tribal sentiment clearly reflected in the direction of comments, which finally played out in the outcome of the presidential election results.

Keywords: direction of comments, freedom of expression, social media, democracy, electioneering campaign.

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I. Introduction

The 2015 presidential election in Nigeria may have come and gone but the dust it raised is yet to settle completely. The election was palpably one of the most keenly contested in the annals of Nigeria's politics after the June 12, 1993 presidential election. Although available statistics show that low voter turnout was recorded across the country compared to the number of registered voters, observations made on social media, discussions on the streets, on commuter buses, at drinking spots, and other informal social gatherings, where the Nigerian electorate had cause to discuss issues concerning the election, especially the two leading presidential candidates – Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (PDP) and General Muhammadu Buhari (APC), it was obvious that Nigerians were determined to effect a major change of government in the 2015 elections at all levels, particularly the presidency.

It would be recalled that the June 12 1993 presidential election was not only keenly contested also, it attracted massive voter turnout across the country, and the driving force was 'change' of government, this time from military dictatorship to democracy. Similarly, the dire need for change was also a major push factor for the active participation of the electorate in the 2015 general elections.

Every available and accessible medium was maximally utilized by the electorate and candidates to canvass for votes. The traditional media were the most active because they offered a 'novel' and accessible platform to virtually everyone who owned a smart phone or a handset that could browse or surf the net to express support and canvass votes for their preferred candidates. According to Omojuwa (2015) "The social media which started out as a playground for mostly young jobless people, became the battle ground of what could arguably be described as the most competitive election in Nigeria's history."

The high level of competitiveness ordinarily was considered healthy for the country's inchoate democracy, but for the 'win-at-all-cost' tendency that crept in as the campaigns reached fever pitch. Candidates and their supporters became desperate and threw caution to the winds by adopting every available means to outdo the opponent at the polls. In fact, both unethical and unprofessional media campaign strategies were brazenly employed to either retain power or wrest power, as the case may be. Traditional and social media advertisement campaigns were generally considered unprecedentedly hateful and in bad taste.

Social media no doubt provided a somewhat 'novel' platform for unfettered freedom of expression in the 2015 general elections, which increased the electorates' participation in the country's political discourse, and also raised voters' awareness and consciousness as the principal deciders in who governs them at every level. But whether or not this freedom was responsibly used by social media users in the run-up to the 2015 presidential election is the major concern of this paper. This is in view of the fact that there were obvious indications that freedom of speech might have

Author: Redeemer's University, Ede, Osun State.
e-mails: Chrisitetegbe@yahoo.com, enwefahc@run.edu.ng

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gone awry at some point if what went on in the traditional media is anything to go by.

Therefore, considering current zero-regulatory status of the social media in the country, and the level and pattern of adoption by the citizenry, there is need to appraise the performance of the social media with regard to abuse or otherwise of freedom of expression using this all important window of opportunity in order to safeguard our nascent democracy and fragile national unity.

II. Research Questions

The following research questions are articulated with a view to address the problem raised earlier as to whether or not social media users abused their freedom of expression while expressing support and canvassing votes for their preferred candidates and parties in the run-up to the 2015 presidential election. The questions are also meant to find out the direction of comments, whether the direction of comments portrayed any element of tribal and religious sentiments, and if the direction of comments was in anyway reflected in the result of the presidential election.

RQ1. What is the direction of comments about candidates on *facebook* in the run-up to the 2015 presidential election?

RQ2. Are there indications that the direction of users' comments were born out of tribal and religious sentiments?

RQ3. Did the direction of users' comments reflect in the results of the presidential election?

RQ4. Did *facebook* users abuse their freedom of expression in their comments?

III. Methodology

Content analysis research method was used for this study. The following content categories were delineated for the purpose of coding the contents of comments the selected *facebook* page concerning the two leading candidates in the 2015 presidential election:

- Abusive
- Inflammatory
- Endorsement
- Rejection
- Neutral

Sampling was purposively done to get every available comment on any post on both candidates on the selected *facebook* pages. This to ensure that all shades of comment in the period under analysis is accommodated. Meanwhile the *facebook* page was selected on the basis of availability and activeness during the period under review. To this extent therefore, *Naij.com*, a news media page on *facebook*, was perceived the most active page with regular, up-to-date posts on candidates, and with a lot of followers.

IV. Review of Literature

Election is an inseparable component of democracy. The international Encyclopaedia of social sciences vol. 5 defines election as the procedure of aggregating preferences of a particular kind- cited in Okonkwo, 2015. The procedure is as important as the preferences it eventually or ultimately throws up. If the procedure is marred by irregularities of any kind, the preferences become questionable and unacceptable.

Ujo (2010) cited in Okonkwo (2016), describes election as a procedure that allows members of an organization or community to choose representatives who will hold positions of authority within it. Ujo isolated the following key components of the election process which interplay to determine who emerges winner in any democratic setting: political campaigns, political rallies, political talks, televised debates, political advertisements, etc. these activities cannot achieve their predetermined goals without the mass media. The media play an indispensable role in the proper functioning of a democracy. Beyond providing information about candidates for elective positions, they enable full public participation in the electoral process by providing information that, as far as possible, avoid inflammatory language, helping to prevent election-related violence, provide a platform for the public to communicate their concerns, opinions and needs, to the parties/ candidates, the electoral umpire, the government and to other voters to interact on these issues among others – (aceproject, 2015).

Media commercialism has, to a large extent, shrunk the space for participation in political discourse by majority of the electorate who do not have the means or financial muscle to appear in the media. But with the advent of the social media, this space has been expanded. Omojuwa (2015) speaks of social media as, "A space that was all about power brokers and media moguls which has become so deregulated you could consider it the freest space in Nigeria right now".

"Irrespective of its advantages of spreading information like wide fire, the social media platform could portend danger to the political landscape if the content is not well censored" (*Thisday live*, June 4, 201). In a bid to keep social media conversation safe and healthy for political participation, the Democratic Governance for Development (DGD II) project, a joint donor project managed by UNDP organized a two-day social media retreat in Uyo in December, 2014. The very well attended retreat reviewed threats to healthy social media engagements and strategies to avert them.

a) Relevant Theories

The democratic-participant media theory and the Social responsibility theory are relevant to this work. The main thrust of the democratic-participant media theory "Lies in its insistence that the existing

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bureaucracy as well as commercial and professional hegemony in media systems be broken down, so as to guarantee easier access for all potential users and consumers." (Folarin, 2002: 29). This access is what the social media tends to provide. On the other hand, the social responsibility theory suggests that freedom carries simultaneous obligations, and the press, which enjoys a privileged position under government, is obliged to be responsible to the society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication (Folarin, 2002).This principle applies to anyone who uses the media be it traditional or social media.

b) Data Presentation

Table showing direction of comments in relation to the region of commentators

Direction of Comments						
Region of Commentator	Abusive	Inflammatory	Endorsement	Rejection	Neutral	Total
South-West	6 (17%)	1 (3%)	8 (22%)	17 (47%)	4 (11%)	36 (100%)
North	4 (19%)	0 (0%)	4 (19%)	13 (62%)	0 (0%)	21 (100%)
East	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	18 (81%)	2 (9%)	1 (5%)	22 (100%)
South-south	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	16 (89%)	2 (11%)	0 (0%)	18 (100%)
Total	11 (11%)	1 (1%)	46 (47%)	34 (35%)	5 (5%)	N=97

The above table shows that out of a total of 97 comments analyzed, 11 (11%) were abusive, 1 (1%) was inflammatory, 46 (47%) were endorsement, 34 (35%) were rejection and 5 (5%) were neutral, which captures the profile of the direction of comments on *Naij.com facebook* page. It reveals that 17% of comments made by users from South-West Nigeria was abusive, the highest of all abusive comments analyzed. No abusive (0%) comment was made by users from South-south Nigeria, with Northern and Eastern users scoring 19% and 5%, respectively. More comments rejecting either of the presidential candidates were analyzed with Eastern Nigerian users posting more rejection comments (18) representing 81% of total rejection comments. South-south users followed with 16 comments, and the least came from the North.

V. Discussion/Suggestions

The findings revealed that social media users were abusive in their comments during the 2015 presidential election with a total of 11%. However, the result shows that users posted more comments endorsing candidates of their choice, 47%, and also rejecting candidates whom they do not want, 34%. The findings also show that comments followed ethnic or tribal lines. No abusive comment on a candidate was posted by users from South-south Nigeria (0%), while 6 out of a total of 11 abusive comments came from South-West users. The result of the 2015 presidential election also reflects tribal sentiments which were expressed on social media before the elections.

The implication is that people had the opportunity to express themselves on social media, but did not do so with the expected level of responsibility, which supports the revelations of the December 2014 Uyo retreat on healthy social media engagements, and *Thisday Live's* concern about the dangers of an uncensored social media platform to Nigeria's political landscape. The findings also imply that Nigeria is still divided along ethnic and religious line. What this therefore means is that work needs to be done by appropriate agencies to ensure proper orientation of Nigerians in the areas of religious and tribal tolerance and responsible use of the media, especially the social media. There is also the need for government to expedite action towards coming up with a workable policy framework for regulating the use of social media in Nigeria.

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India-Asean Relations in the 21st Century: Exploration of the China Factor

By Dr. Koyel Basu
Jangipur College

Abstract- The India-ASEAN relation which is set on a new path of revelry in the 21st century cannot be discussed without mentioning the China factor in it. India and China still continue to have their own share of mutual suspicions and misperceptions about each other will continue to provide a major leeway for these Southeast Asian countries to try and play one against the other all the time. This reality captures the essence of India's present foreign policy vision .It now needs to be seen how far the "dragon" of the Asian continent is ruffled by the Indian "elephant" in the future.

Keywords: *india-asean relations, china factor, look-east policy.*

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India-Asean Relations in the 21st Century: Exploration of the China Factor

Dr. Koyel Basu

Abstract- The India-ASEAN relation which is set on a new path of revelry in the 21st century cannot be discussed without mentioning the China factor in it. India and China still continue to have their own share of mutual suspicions and misperceptions about each other will continue to provide a major leeway for these Southeast Asian countries to try and play one against the other all the time. This reality captures the essence of India's present foreign policy vision .It now needs to be seen how far the "dragon" of the Asian continent is ruffled by the Indian "elephant" in the future.

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I. Introduction

It is said that there is no singular conception or idea of Asia. Varied conceptions of Asia have shaped in meaningful ways the destinies of its states and peoples. The durability of Asia has its underpinnings in regionalism. The stress put on regionalism is mainly regarded as a transitory measure, to provide a learning process for countries to emerge from a protective domestic economy towards a more open multilateral system. At the same time, regionalism is regarded as an insurance policy in case the global trading system cannot be sustained. In the economic field regionalism is regarded as a building block towards a more worldwide multilateralism. In the security field, regional cooperation is also regarded as a stepping stone towards the development of a more regional peace. Though an Asia, free of western hegemony remains a pipedream as the world gets more and more interconnected in the 21st century, time has come for reassertion of Asian independence. Asian independence is emerging against the backdrop of a more pluralistic, non-European, non-Western world. Asian economies are gaining in confidence to stand up in this changed situation. This is because there is space available to recast Asian relations away from the usual balance of power concept. In the Post-Cold war world configuration, India is no longer hostage to Cold war compulsions. It need not walk the tightrope of assuaging the Big Powers (Soviet Union and U.S.A) as well as follow an independent foreign policy. This has happened as the global political architecture has undergone a transformation with power shifting from the West to the East. With the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the Cold War and the onset of the era of globalization and economic liberalization, a new narrative of renaissance and renewal is being written. India is at the centre of this celebratory and optimistic atmosphere where the Great Asian Dream has become a reality.

This reality captures the essence of India's present foreign policy vision which reflects an enlargement of vision and a continuous effort towards cultivation of resources towards cultivation of resources to increase its zone of influence, albeit in a more diplomatic and friendly manner without evoking sentiments that could brand India as a meddling power. Undoubtedly, this is basically where India has charted out a space for itself in the Southeast Asian region despite the overwhelming presence of the Chinese power. The 'east' is important for many cultures and religions. Southeast Asia, which is part of the larger Asia Pacific region, occupies an important place as far as India is concerned. The emergence of India into a glowing position in the global arena, coupled with a number of virtues like enormous size, huge population, convenient geostrategic locations, progressive military might, and meteoric economic growth inspired Southeast Asian nations to devise collaborative ties with India. The principles of state sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs of others must be the bedrock of our cooperative endeavours. India's strategic and diplomatic maneuvers in Southeast Asia are signs of its intent to play a more substantial role in Asia. This objective is reflected in the formation of regional organization like Association of Southeast Asian nations formed in 1967. Its founding fathers had envisioned an organization which would include all the ten countries of Southeast Asia. It began with five Southeast Asian states like Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand; and others including the LCMV countries like Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia and Vietnam joined later. The relation between these countries is symptomatic of the inter-connectedness of these different member countries, specifically within the same geographical region.

India-ASEAN relations are a reflection of the complex inter-dependence among these two entities in the international politics in the 21st century. Looking for uncharted territories and moving beyond the conventional zone of interest India has built bridges and tried to amplify the convergences between it and

Author: Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Jangipur College. email: koyelbasu@yahoo.co.in

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ASEAN. India has embarked on a projection of its rising power and pitched itself into a higher trajectory in its relations with ASEAN The relations got cemented and diversified with the introduction of Look-East Policy in the 1990s. As Dr Man Mohan Singh, Indian Prime Minister said, "India's Look East Policy is not merely an external economic policy; it is also a strategic shift in India's vision of the world and India's place in the evolving global economy. Most of all it is about reaching out to our civilizational neighbours in South East Asia and East Asia."[1]

Though in the annals of its history, India has had extensive cultural, economic and political ties with the Southeast Asian nations, there has been a period of tumultuous relationship fraught with tension and suspicion. In the years after independence, the Southeast Asian region was completely overlooked by India for various reasons which need to be explored. India's rich civilization heritage followed by two centuries of colonization and the unique nature of freedom struggle have all contributed to the nature of India's foreign policy and foreign policy priorities. The leaders of nascent independent India were primarily concerned with the preservation of the new found political sovereignty and autonomy in international affairs which was under constant threat in the emergent Cold War characterized international system. Added to this, the direct security threat created by the partition of India and an assertive China coming to India's doorstep through annexation of Tibet created a complex that compelled India focus more on these two neighbours

A major characteristic of India's foreign policy comes from India's need for a fruitful association with the developed world to ensure steady economic growth that was of prime concern to independent India. This entailed that India avoids meddling with murky international affairs particularly where there was a tussle between the two superpowers was evident. Coming out of the colonial yoke, India had developed an anti hegemonic foreign policy ethos.

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) afforded a greater degree of interaction between India and many countries which it had neglected earlier. India also had close relations with Moscow. All these exemplified India's twin formulations of security pragmatism and foreign policy idealism. But the pro-Soviet tilt in India's foreign policy drove a wedge between India and the Southeast Asian nations. India's proposal for a security arrangement in the region also did not go down well with the ASEAN countries as it was seen to be part of the Soviet Union's attempts to bring the region under its influence. ASEAN also did not support India's cause during the 1971 Indo-Pak war.

Although NAM's credibility had started withering from the early 1970s onwards, India did not find any contradiction between signing a 'peace and friendship treaty' with the former Soviet Union and nonalignment. India had no option but to pursue the above policy given the serious security challenges it was faced with after a series of wars it had to fight between 1962 and 1971, and continued tensions in its immediate vicinity, including the Indian Ocean region. Thus during much of the Cold War era, India's foreign and security policies were dictated by events not only in South Asia but also the world in general.

The end of the Cold War marked a turning point in India's relation with ASEAN. It has had a considerable impact on India's thinking. The resolution of the Cambodian conflict brought about a change in Indo-ASEAN relations. India extended support to ASEAN's efforts in establishing peace in Cambodia and bring the warring factions to the negotiating table at the Jakarta Informal Meeting. It was perceived that China was using the Cambodian issue to increase its influence in the region.

For a variety of reasons, the end of the Cold War came at a very opportune time for India, enabling it to suitably adjust and reorient its foreign and security policies as it opened up new opportunities to reinvigorate its activist policy. The foreign exchange crisis and poor economic performance forced India to radically change its economic policy from the earlier self-radiant, socialist model to market orientation. In a way, they were also instrumental in effecting changes to external policies. A number of changes, as a result, were brought about in the foreign policy domain.

Look East Policy: The most significant change has been brought about through the initiation of the 'Look East Policy'. In the early nineties the then Indian Prime Minister, PV Narsimha Rao initiated a new chapter as the 'Look East Policy' in Indian foreign policy paradigm. It soon became a multifaceted and multi-pronged approach to establish strategic links with as many individual countries as possible, evolve closer political links with ASEAN, and develop strong economic bonds with the region .It was also an attempt to carve a place for India in the larger Asia Pacific. Thirdly, the Look East Policy was also meant to showcase India's economic potential for investments and trade. One can discern three distinct phases of this policy so far. The first phase is marked by enormous enthusiasm and a flurry of activities and exchanges. For instance, Prime Minister of Singapore, Goh Chok Tong, in his national address in August 1993 made a special mention creating a "mild Indian fever" in Singapore. By mid-1990s, there was considerable cooling down of earlier zeal by both sides, which got further dampened by the 1997-1998 financial

[1] Asif Ahmed, 'India-ASEAN Relations in the 21st Century-Strategic implications for India', Eurasian Review, 2012.
Source:www.eurasiareview.com/ 09072012-india-asean-relations-in-21st century-strategic-implications-for-india-analysis/

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crises. The third and a more recent phase is the revival of interest once again.

As far as political engagement is concerned, it is two-dimensional: to establish institutional links and to target certain countries to elevate bilateral ties to a higher plane. India and ASEAN became partners for the first time when India became a Dialogue Partner at ASEAN Meet in1992. This relationship went on developing and consequently, India was invited to become a full Dialogue Partner at the fifth ASEAN summit held at Bangkok in 1995 and subsequently a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1996. At the economic level, the growth in Indo-ASEAN trade and investments was expected to be boosted following the successive sectoral and full dialogue partnership .Though late to open to the east, once consciously initiated, India's Look East diplomacy gained a swift logic of its own. India became a summit partner of ASEAN called ASEAN Plus One since 2002. India has also acceded to ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) to underscore it's commitment to ASEAN's principles for inter-state relations. Simultaneously, one can see a remarkable turnaround in India's bilateral relations with Singapore, the Indochina countries, Thailand, Myanmar and Indonesia. The ASEAN India Joint Cooperation Committee and an ASEAN Working Group on Trade and Investment were set up along with the creation of an ASEAN-India Fund to promote trade, tourism, science and technology and other economic activity. Apart from creating an ASEAN-India Business Council (AIBC), in the first-ever meeting of India and ASEAN economic ministers in Brunei in September 2002, the Indian trade and industry minister offered to enter into a formal agreement with ASEAN on the Regional Trade and Investment Agreement (RTIA) or a free trade area (FTA), which has since been agreed upon to be realized by 2016. One of the biggest points in the India-ASEAN relationship is that on the defense and strategic front India has made impressive progress. The upshot of convergence of interests was the genesis of a new strategic interaction with several of the ASEAN nations. Aside from periodic naval exercises and the biannual get-together of regional navies, called the Milan, India has entered into bilateral defense cooperation agreements with Malaysia, Vietnam, Singapore, Laos and Indonesia. Moreover, the 26-day India-ASEAN Car rally that was flagged down in New Delhi on 21st December after a trip of 8000 kilometers and the voyage of INS Sudarshini further highlighted the indispensability for any meaningful integration.

The China Factor: The India-ASEAN relation which is set on a new path of revelry in the 21st century cannot be discussed without mentioning the China factor in it. In fact, ASEAN's unease over China's rapid rise is a key factor bringing India and ASEAN closer to each other. China remains India's most important Asian contender in its policy initiatives. India and China are not only two fastest growing major economies in the world at present, but are among the few countries that have continues to expand at a time when the economies at present contracted. They are defined by contrasting models of development, regime form, and compete not only for capital, resources and markets, but also for legitimacy in the global arena. They both believe in a rigid defense of the Westphalian system of national sovereignty and a certain degree of nationalism although this may be changing.

It may be clearly said that the China factor is a recurring subtext in any discussion about Southeast Asia and the rise of both China and India has been keenly monitored. Two separate studies have highlighted the trajectories these two Asian neighbours are taking. Southeast has been concerned with China's rise but its expression has been restrained and veiled. The rise has been marked by striking economic growth and military modernization with claims on the South China Sea, its growing influence in Myanmar, economic dominance of the Chinese community in Southeast Asian countries, etc.

In the 21st century, India is concerned with the emergent competition and threat from China at all levels which has become a major player in Southeast Asia. Indeed, China's future role, interests, capabilities and influence have been a major concern to India as it has been to ASEAN. India specially resents China's standing in the international order not only in its UN Security Council seat but also its clout as a nuclear power in both these dimensions, India sees itself as coequal with China and is at a loss to comprehend why China's role aspiration is acceptable and India's not.

Though right from the very beginning, the Indian policy making elite had been alive to the strategic significance of the China factor, India's vision of Southeast Asia was determined more by a desire to emerge as the new Asian leader rather than with the narrow agenda of dealing with a any major power: especially not China. China was still fighting to survive against Western policy of containment and was still in the throngs of its own nation-building experiments like the 'Great Leap Forward' and Cultural Revolution.

The China factor of India's policy towards Southeast Asia had begun to germinate far earlier than when it was first noticed and analyzed. The first major event that was destined to make China the most critical factor in India's relations with Southeast Asia was to be the famous Ban dung Conference of Afro-Asian nations during April 1955.This conference which witnessed the pinnacle of India's involvement with Southeast Asia, was also to mark the beginning of a sudden decline in India's interest in this region and this neglect was to last for a very long time. It is in this conference that Chinese Premier, Zhou Enlai stole the show and heralded China's aggressive charm offensive on to the

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developing countries of the region. Despite his well-known showdown with the Srilankan prime minister he was successful in cultivating most other representatives. Pandit Nehru's personal friend, Indonesian President Sukarno, decided to side with the Chinese and push their agenda expounding closer ties with Communist countries. However, it was India that had built this Afro-Asian movement and co-sponsored the Bandung Conference. This event caught Nehru's ire and he abruptly downgraded Southeast Asia in his scheme of things.

It is from here that India's initiatives were moulded in a direction seen often as a reflection of India's estrangement with the Chinese. This led to an altered diplomatic scenario. Chinese indulgence with Southeast Asia and Southeast Asian tilt towards Beijing had come as a complete surprise to India's leadership. Historically speaking, perhaps no other country had influenced the evolution of Southeast Asia culturally, religiously and linguistically as much as India did which had evolved maritime linkages with this region since the ancient times. As far India, its increasing discomfiture with China over the issue of Tibet and subsequently Dalai Lama's arrival in India in March 1959 followed by India-China border war during October-November 1962 had provided many opportunities to gauge the seriousness of commitments of these Southeast Asian countries. Indonesia had refused to condemn the Chinese aggression and virtually went to the extent of supporting the Pakistanis in their wars against India .Again; North Vietnam was virtually aligned to China and supported the Chinese side in their war against India. North Vietnam was virtually aligned to China and supported the Chinese side in their war against India. Therefore, the spectre of insecurity looming large over the destiny of India, New Delhi had to give up its grandiose plans for global peace and begin focusing on national security which later brought it closer to former Soviet Union which created its own difficulties between New Delhi and Beijing and its own misgivings amongst these Southeast countries.

Meanwhile, all this had resulted in making the China factor the most critical determinant in India's Southeast Asia policy which remained inactive and incoherent for many long years. As China factor gradually moved India towards former Soviet Union, India became more focused on building stronger ties with ASEAN countries. In fact, beginning from mid-1970s, New Delhi's increasing solidarity with Vietnam, following its estrangement with China witnessed India recognizing the Vietnamese installed Hang Samrin government in Cambodia. This later became a major irritant in India-ASEAN ties which persisted throughout 1980s and even later. Indeed, these entire attitudes were partly influenced by the larger policy of containing Chinese influence in Southeast Asia. During 1979, to show India's solidarity with Indo-China countries, the then Foreign Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee had cut short his maiden visit to China, as China attacked Vietnam while he was still on Chinese soil.

From the ASEAN side as well, their vision of China threat has clearly vision of China threat has clearly has clearly has clearly been the most critical factor determining their policy postures in engaging India leadership from time to time. New Delhi had formally approached ASEAN for such partnership in 1976, but ASEAN. In fact ASEAN continued to suspect India's intentions as it believed that India along with others was trying to undermine Chinese role in Southeast Asia .In the process, the Chinese gained enough political mileage, especially from the Cambodian tangle, to gradually start opening up their dialogue with ASEAN which was to result in a major policy shift during the early 1990s.

With the Chinese liberalization in 1980s and the open door policy of India in the 1990s there has been the rise of two emerging economic giants in Asia. China competes with India in the political, economic and military sphere and most importantly, for economic influence in the region of Southeast Asia. The "peaceful rise" of China is being considered more of an opportunity despite the challenges. China is virtually dominating the Southeast Asian region. The ASEAN-China Free Trade Area created by an accord in 2004 has come into effect from January 2010. China's trade with ASEAN in 2011 was a whopping $363 billion and it remains far better integrated in the region. A new talking point is the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI). It is basically a currency pool of the ASEAN+3 countries (China, Japan and South Korea).

China's rapid ascendance in the global hierarchy and aim to expand its strategic space is viewed with expectation and suspicion by ASEAN nations. It is a strong supporter of ASEAN's central position in the region and has developed an extensive bilateral relationship with its member states. It has shown a definite readiness to use its growing soft power notably economic leverage and national image and the benefits that accrue from non-material, ideational and cultural influences as a persuasive means to translate its influence into concrete policy measures.

China knows that India is the only country that could possibly challenge its ascendancy and potential hegemony in Asia. Therefore, it makes sense to keep India under pressure. In particular, territorial and border issues remain intractable specifically the disputes over the South China Sea Islands. ASEAN has sought to restrain Chinese power. To do that, it has cultivated India as an alternative both in the economic sphere for trade and investments, and on the security plan to balance both sides. ASEAN had no defence related problem with India, but was conscious of China's ambitions and intentions.

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To live up to its full potential and meet the region's expectations, India, for its part will have to do a more convincing job of emerging as a credible strategic partner of the region. Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Man Mohan Singh has repeatedly mentioned that in a global competitive environment India is not afraid of competition. Moreover, Indian Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh once said that India's strategic footprint as a "super regional power covers the region bounded by the Horn of Africa, West Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and beyond to the far reaches of the Indian Ocean.

At the sub-regional level, sponsored by India, the "Mekong Ganges River Cooperation Project" between India and ASEAN-5 (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar and Thailand) was initiated in 2000. India is also a member of BIMSTEC (Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Thailand Economic Cooperation). These projects underlie cooperation in tourism, culture and education; emphasize links between Indian traditional culture and ASEAN's culture, thus underscoring New Delhi's intention to elbow out China's influence from this area.

However, in spite of looming large like a spectre over Indian skies, the China factor has opened up the India-ASEAN relations further. Freewheeling engagement is the buzzword now. The Look East Policy is much stronger than before and India-ASEAN trade is now $80 billion. Connectivity and economic partnership has been the core of the December 2012 Commemorative Summit between India and ASEAN in Delhi. The ASEAN-India Car rally has shown the seamless road travel linking Southeast Asia to Northeast India is possible.

Thus, the China factor has been the most critical and persistent factor in Indo-ASEAN relations. Similarly, the fact that India and China still continue to have their own share of mutual suspicions and misperceptions about each other will continue to provide a major leeway for these Southeast Asian countries to try and play one against the other all the time. It now needs to be seen how far the "dragon" of the Asian continent is ruffled by the Indian "elephant" in the future.

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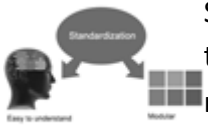


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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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