

THE IMPACT OF ILLICIT FLOWS OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY IN BORNO STATE NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA 1999-2025.

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ABSTRACT

Illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons remains one of the most protracted and dangerous trade in modern international relations. The motivation for this study stems from the destructive nature of the illegal flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons in other countries and Nigeria. that has caused loss of lives and property, criminal activities such as banditry, kidnapping, insurgency and pastoral farmers conflicts that has led to thousands of deaths. The study adopted The Failed State Theory as the best that fits into the study. The study employed a qualitative, document-based methodology, analyzing how illicit flows of Findings indicated that illicit flows of Small Arms and Light weapons in Nigeria has caused problems to the national security. The study revealed that the illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Nigeria has caused great havocs in terms of loss of lives and property, insurgency and perennial pastoral farmers conflicts in Nigeria. The study recommends that the sources of these illicit flows of arms should be blocked and the criminal elements carrying those acts should be prosecuted if found guilty.

Keywords: Illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons, National security

Background to the Study

Illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons into countries globally is a source of concerns all over the world. In advance countries such as United States of America, Britain, France, Australia and the under developed countries for instance Nigeria, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Ghana, Senegal, Cameroun and Burkina Faso illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons and its uses in the hands of criminal elements has brought about loss of lives and property, insurgency, terrorism, wars, and trans organized crimes such as kidnapping, banditry, pastoralists farmers conflicts, smuggling of hard drugs and cocaine into different countries that have an implication to the national security(Simeon, 2011). The end of the cold war saw the emergence of a new phenomenon in the international system – new forms of threats to global peace and security. One of these threats to global peace and security is illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons are rapidly increasing globally. No country of the world is free from one form of illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons or transnational organized crime or the other. According to Simon (2011), the dimension and momentum of illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons has increased and taken a frightening dimension with the emergence of globalization. Today, states have realized they cannot exist or live in isolation because no nation is an island unto itself, making them interdependent. Interdependent between and among states has encouraged the opening of borders for easy movement of people, finance, goods and services. With the advent of a globalized world, illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons has gone global and reached macro-economic proportions. Illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons and other illicit goods

can be sourced from one continent, trafficked across another, and marketed in the countries of its designation.

Adetula (2014) also remarked that 'globalization generally has made illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons and transnational criminals appear as pioneers and visionaries in the age of globalization. He argued that transnational criminal organizations have not only adopted facilitative and exacting measures to remain competitive, they can also now boast of having an enviable organizational culture of efficiency and accountability, and maximized the opportunities provided by globalization, courtesy of communication/technology revolution which have made the international system more interactive, integrated, interrelated, and interconnected. The increasing interdependence of the global economy and rapid pace of technological changes are linking individuals and groups in so many ways. Adetula (2014), opined that, although Africa is still lagging behind in the area of information communication technology, it has, however recorded high increase in illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons and transnational criminal activities. Illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons is a Transnational Organized Crime (TOC) criminal activity which involves people in more than one country maintaining a system of operation and communication that is effective enough to perform criminal transactions, sometimes repeatedly. It is a movement of persons, goods and services with arms across several sovereign national jurisdictions in a manner devoid of acceptable norms and standards. Illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons is a Transnational organized crime also known as cross —border crimes include smuggling and illicit trade, illegal transfer of firearms/free — flows of firearms, illegal migration, human trafficking for forced labor and prostitution, money laundering, car and livestock theft, cyber-crime, advanced fee fraud, illegal oil bunkering, and maritime crime. Transnational organized crimes which is an element of illicit flows of Small Arms and Weapons can fuel corruption, hindering socio — economic development, threaten peace and human security.

Illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons and Organized crime in Nigeria is generally believed to have emerged in 1970s, after the Nigeria- Biafra civil war and the decade of rising oil price (oil boom). Nigeria became a magnet for immigrants from other parts of the world searching for economic opportunities, including criminals. According to Adetula (2014), in a country where legitimate economic opportunities were far less lucrative, criminal activities like illicit flows of Small Arms and Light weapons, drug trafficking, child and women trafficking, and other forms of criminality presented enormous temptation in times of recession. Emigrants from Nigeria in search of economic opportunities turned to criminal activities in their host country in order to earn a living.

Illegal flow of firearms into countries is adjudged as the most immediate national security challenge to individuals, societies and states worldwide, fuelling civil wars, ethnic conflicts, insurgency and terrorists activities leading to loss of lives and property (Bashir, 2014). Sowale, (2018), noted that Nigeria shares the three stages of the organized trafficking of small arms and light weapons in West African sub- region: origin, transit and destination. The civil war that erupted in Nigeria from 1967-1970 exposed the country to influx of firearms. The participation of Nigerian in peacekeeping operations all over the world and particularly Nigeria's dominant role in ECOMOG operations in the sub — region serve as a likely source of firearms into the country. The major source or routes of illegal firearms being brought into the country is through the Porous borders, local production, smuggling from government armoury, insurgents from Nigeria's neighbors and the proximity of Nigeria to some of the conflict zones in Central and West Africa to Nigeria's land and sea borders has aggravated the illicit flow of small arms and light weapons into the country (Adetula, 2014, Bashir, 2014, Sowale , 2018, Olsgebemi & Alabi, 2017). The ECOWAS scheme on free movement of persons and goods within the sub-region has accorded advantage to criminals as they maximized the opportunity to perpetrate cross-border crimes including smuggling of arms into the country. According to Sowale (2018), Nigeria has become a gargantuan market accommodating trans—border arms merchants as well as metamorphosed into

a destination for major arms and light weapons. These arms are readily available and are being used to escalate and intensify ethnic, religious and political violence, banditry, farmers herders clash and insurgency in Nigeria. Firearms have the capacity to engender violence. The use of these weapons in any area undermines human security. They serve as a motivation to act violently. The use of small arms in Nigeria has led to loss of lives and property leading to humanitarian crisis. The activities of Boko Haram in the North East have rendered many people homeless, resulting in untold hardship and great fear in people due to illegal flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons and transnational organised crimes. This study intends to look at the effects of free flow of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons Nigeria on Nigeria's national security.

Statement of the Problem

Illegal flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons most especially smuggling of firearms into the country constitutes one of the fundamental obstacles to achieving peace and security in the country. These arms are smuggled into the country through the porous borders. Nigeria shares a 1500km land border with the Republic of Niger and Chad in the north, about 1000km with the Republic of Benin in the west, 1700km with Cameroon in the east and has 700km Atlantic coastlines (Adetula, 2014). These large borders, aside other thick forests being used by criminals and illegal migrants to smuggle illicit goods into Nigeria has made it very difficult for Nigeria to effectively controls its borders. This makes it easy for entry and exit of arms. In 2017, the Nigerian Custom (NCS) claimed that a syndicate based in Turkey has been discovered to be behind illegal arms import into the country. Since the beginning of that year, NCS disclosed that four batches of arms are illegally imported into the country from Turkey. These include the interception of 661 arms in February, 440 arms in June, 1100 arms and 470 arms, both in September, making total of 2671 arms. In August 2010, a commercial driver carrying 25 AK-47 rifles allegedly smuggled into the country from Cameroon was arrested by security forces in Maiduguri, and the destination for these arms was Jos- the Plateau state capital (Sowale, 2018). Since from September 2001, Jos has been experiencing serious carnage and wanton destruction of lives and properties resulting from ethno-religious crisis. In November 2010, Lucy Dangana was captured at Dabar Nasara, Borno state, in an attempt to smuggle 10 AK-47 rifles into Nigeria from Chad Republic. The magazine of 2012 reported that 13 containers shipment filled with artillery rockets and small arms were intercepted at Lagos port.

Though the security operatives are trying their best, a lot of firearms have already been smuggled into the country, illegally. These arms are being used to fuel attacks on innocent civilians, ethno-religious conflicts, banditry, insurgency, farmers- Herders clashes and many other heinous crimes fuelled by firearms. Firearms have fuelled several attacks on innocent Civilians in the North Eastern part of Nigeria by Boko Haram sect. The activities of Boko Haram sect have led to the death of thousands of Nigerians, injuring scores of people, displaced many people from their comfort zones, and destroying properties worth millions of naira. The experience of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) on camps is lamentable, resulting in a serious humanitarian crisis. Victims are suffering from hunger, poverty, diseases and children suffering from malnutrition. Economic activities have been grinded to a halt because of fear. Educational facilities have also suffered a lot of setbacks. The nation is losing a lot of human and material resources on security. The incessant clashes between farmers and Herdsmen in some parts of Plateau, Benue, Nassarawa and Taraba states is also fuelled by the availability of Small Arms and Light Weapons.

Research Questions

The following questions guided this study.

1. What are the factors aiding the illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country?

2. What are the effects of the illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons on Nigeria's national security?
3. What are the ways that can help in curbing the illicit flow of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country?

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to examine illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons on National Security in Nigeria.. Other specific objectives include:

1. To investigate the factors aiding the illicit flows of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country.
2. To examine the effects of the free flows of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons into Nigeria, on Nigeria's national security.
3. To suggest ways that can help in curbing the illicit flow of firearms into the country.

Methodology

The study adopted the qualitative method of research. The qualitative method involves the use of secondary data which are derived from books, academic journals, research reports, online sources, government documents, organizations like Amnesty International, Human's Right Watch, etc.

Conceptual Review

Illicit flows Small Arms and Light Weapons

This is an illegal movement of Small Arms and Lights Weapons or firearms most especially small arms and light weapons across borders. According to Ikoh (2005), illicit flow of firearms refers to illegal cross —border movement of arms. Illegal firearms trafficking constitute a major component of TOC. In Nigeria and West Africa in general, the free flow of arms have contributed both to the increase in the number of violent conflicts in the country and their intensity (Adetula, 201 5). Etannibi (2005) also noted that illicit flow of firearms constitutes a serious threat to national and global development and stability. These arms according to Adetula (2014) are sourced from within West Africa and also from world supply of arms through the collaboration of Nigerians and foreigners. This supply, according to Ikoh (2005), is facilitated by the porous borders and incessant and conflicts, most especially in West Africa. Sowale (2018) added that civil wars, local productions, smuggling from government armory, and insurgents from Nigeria's neighbors are some of the major reasons that account for the illicit flow of firearms into Nigeria. He argued that the use of these weapons undermines human security. Though the exact number of illegal firearms in Nigeria cannot be ascertained, available data shows that in 2001, 1,103 arms were intercepted. According to Ikoh (2005), the figure rose to 3100 firearms in 2003 and 5,405 firearms and 420,281 rounds of ammunition in 2004. Ikoh also added that in 2005, police intercepted and destroyed 6,348 illegal firearms and discovered 225 firearms in 2006. In 2009, the punch newspaper reported the seizure of 41 assorted shotguns and 364 rounds of live ammunition by the police. In June of the same year, a Ukrainian plane loaded with committee which attempted to reconcile the militant factions of Ateke Tom and Dokubo Asan in the Niger Delta succeeded in recovering and destroying only 854 guns, 1,353 rounds of ammunition, 2 grenades and 11 pieces of explosive. Both leaders were political bodyguards to Governor Peter Odili of Rivers state in the 1999 governorship elections (see Ikoh, 2005, Fagbemi & Nwarikwo, 2002).

Sowale (2018) recorded that in 2010, a commercial driver carrying 25 AK-47 riffles allegedly smuggled into the country from Cameroon was arrested by security forces in Maiduguri. Jos, the capital of Plateau state was the destination of these arms. In 2017, the Nigerian Custom Service (NCS) disclosed that illegal firearms were discovered to be imported to Nigeria from Turkey in four batches. They include the interception of 661 arms in February, 440 arms in June,

1100 in September and 470 arms in September making 2671 arms (see Sowale, 2018). In 2006, UN estimated that 640 million firearms are in circulation worldwide. 100 million are revealed to be in Africa. Sub-Saharan Africa is home to 30 million small arms and light weapons, while 8 million have their nest in West Africa alone and more than 70% of about 1 million illicit weapons in West African sub-region are in Nigeria. This is quite worrisome. The small arms survey (2007) noted that there are at least 873million firearms in the world (cited in Bashir, 2014). The availability of these arms in wrong hands has fueled and continues to fuel and exacerbate conflicts and violence in Nigeria. They serve as a motivation to the holders to act violently. Today, Boko Haram, herdsmen, bandits and other criminal elements are using firearms to perpetrate criminal acts in Nigeria. The entry points and transit routes of arms into Nigeria is through Benin Republic (Seme border), Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Gabon and Guinea Bissau (Ikelegbe, 2005, Ojudu, 2007). Arms are smuggled into Nigeria for various reasons. For civilians, SALWs are procured for security as a result of the inability of the police and other security operatives whose primary duty is to protect lives and properties of citizens, to maintain law and order in a consistent and reliable fashion. For criminals, arms are procured for personal gains like armed robbery, cultism, banditry etc.

National security

The concept of national security just like other social science concepts has no single universally accepted definition. It suffers from ambiguity. It has come under contention among a multiplicity of perspectives that can be brought under two schools of thoughts: state-centric school of thought and the human needs school of thought. Central to this concept is the term 'Security'. The term originated from the Greek word 'secura' which refers to a state of no fear, implying that humankind is in a state which is free from any threat both from within and outside of his territory. According to NYSC (2016), security simply means absence of danger to your person, asset and infrastructure wherever you are located. This definition though very short, captures the important issues about security —i.e. safety of the individual and that of his properties. The state of being 'free from fear' is achieved by putting in place structures and actions design to shield members of the society from all kinds of harm, be they physical, psychological, economic or otherwise (Yecheo, 2015). The word security according to BBC dictionary of English Language refers to all the precautions that are taken to protect a given location or place from danger. . . security is also a legal protection against possible harm or loss (BBC Dictionary, 1992, p.1048). The United Nations Development Programme (1994) posits that human security (an aspect of national security) refers to "freedom from fear and freedom from want".."safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. "National security is defined here as freedom from actual and potential threats to national life that may arise either as a result of human actions or inactions, or from natural disaster such as flood, earthquake, famine, drought, disease and other natural calamitous events resulting in death, human suffering and material damage. The emphasis on national security derives essentially from three fundamental convictions — namely the sanctity and inviolability of human life, the universality and dignity of human rights, and the existential imperatives of and value for individual safety in a world full of multifarious threats. National security is, therefore, rooted in three basic instincts: self-preservation, self-extension and self fulfilment. By contributing to the disruption of the pattern of daily life at the individual, community and societal levels, the proliferation of SALWs plays a key role in denying people entitlement to these three core national values, central to the notion of national security.

Christopher (2011) however defines security as activities that ensure protection of a country, persons, and properties of the community against future threats, danger, mishaps and all other forms of perils. However, Babangida (2011) views national security "as the physical protection and defense of our citizens and our territorial integrity, of which it is a part, but also the

promotion of the economic wellbeing and prosperity of Nigerians in a safe and secure environment that promotes the attainment of our national interests and those of our foreign partners. Furthermore, Ngang (2012) asserts that "security means protection from hidden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life in homes, offices or communities... security must be related to the presence of peace, safety, happiness and the protection of human and physical resources or the absence of crisis, threats to human injury among others."

The state-centric school of thought looks at national security as military and related response to threats against the nation. According to this school which is associated with Hans Morgenthau, R.Niebur, and Herbert Butterfield, national security entails a formidable defense of its territorial integrity (Ewa, 2018). Proponents of this school of thought further argued that national security is the capability of a state to deter potential aggressors or should deterrence fail, bring any conflict to a conclusion manner favorable to the state. This school looks at national security as a pure military affair, serving as deterrence to a potential enemy. That means its military apparatus have to be constantly displayed most especially on national days for the whole world to see.

On the other hand, the human needs —centered school of thought which has its proponents in such scholars and organizations like Barry Buzan (1999, 1981, 2006), Ken Booth, Ullman Richard, Jessica Tuchman Mathews, , etc holds the view that national security should go beyond the management of military threats to accommodate human related problems that are non military in nature. According to this school of thought, such non-military as safety from hunger, poverty, unemployment, diseases like HIV and Ebola, harmful disruption of daily life, food security, environmental degradation and issues of climate change are within the domain of national security (Yecheo, 2015, Ewa, 2018, Imobighe, 2010). For Egwu (2015), security is defined as freedom from fear which indicates freedom from violence and freedom from want, indicating freedom from poverty. Adetula (2014) also defined security to mean a condition of freedom from danger and threats that transcend military to include other forms of threats. Egwu (2015), and Adetula (2014), belong to the human needs school of thought. It should be noted that in 1998, UN through its Secretary General, Kofi Annan threw its weights behind the human — centric school of thought when He declared that:

... today, we know that security far more than the absence of conflict. We know that lasting peace requires a broader vision encompassing areas such as health, education, democracy, and human rights, protection against degradation... these pillars of what we now understand as the people-centered concept of human security are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

In this research work, we are not in concurrence with the human needs school of thought's conception of national security which could lead to problems and give room for dissensions and other unlawful behaviors that have revolutionary tendencies especially in third world countries like Nigeria eg, the recent call by Sowore for an orange revolution in Nigeria. This is because these Third World Countries do not have the political will and the resources to implement such an unending agenda of national security. The human needs definition of national security can lead to confusion, distractions and military failure because the government will be busy to implement things that are beyond its capacity or things that may not lead to protecting the country from harm.

The researcher is of the opinion that national security is inherently dynamic and selective. Nations should be left to tackle their security challenges analyzed or assessed to constitute a source of threats to them in the light of their assessment and experience. Outside of its traditional focus, on the safety of the nation, it could at any given time , bring into its domain for ad hoc attention, any human problem that has the potential of becoming a threat to the nation should be attended to by the government agency created for that purpose. For this reason, this research will adopt the traditional meaning of national security which centers on threats that are of military

nature, i.e. transforming any real or potential threat to national interest. We define national security as the safekeeping of the entire nation the safeguard of its core national interest by military and security forces through the detection, determination and management of real or potential threats to the nation.

Theoretical Review

The Failed State Theory

Not all states really function as a country; some hardly function at all. Just because a country has a flag and sits in the UN does not prove that it is a serious state. While some states are categorized as effective, others are categorized as weak or failed (Robert, James & Walter, 2010). A failed state theory is defined as: (a) a condition of state collapse —i.e a state that can no longer perform its basic security and developmental functions and (b) a condition where the state has no effective control over its territory and borders and (c) a condition where the state can no longer reproduce the condition for its own existence (Crisis state Research Center, cited in Sha, 2016). The crisis state research center developed an index which ranks states using 12 indicators of state vulnerability. The ones that are relevant to this work are as follows:

1. Demographic pressures due to high population density relative to food supply and means of livelihood among others.
2. Massive movement of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) as a result of random or targeted violence and /or repression.
3. Uneven economic development along group lines.
4. Sharp and /or economic decline.
5. Criminalization and /or de-legitimization of the state: endemic corruption or profiteering by ruling elites and resistance to transparency, accountability and political representation.
6. Progressive deterioration of public services including failure to protect citizens from terrorism and violence and to provide essential services.
7. Security apparatus as 'state within a state': an emergence of elites that operates with impunity including the emergence of state sponsored or supported private militias that terrorize political opponents.
8. Widespread violation of human rights.
9. Rise of factionalized elites using aggressive nationalistic rhetoric leading to communal irredentism or communal solidarity like ethnic cleansing (see Sha, 2016).

According to Ottawa and Mair (2004), the most important manifestations of state failure are the breakdown of internal security and the increasing inability of the state to control its borders and territory and to exert its monopoly on the use of force. Nigeria's borders are known for the limited number of security operatives and law enforcement agencies. The few that are deployed to manage the porous borders are poorly trained, work with inadequate and obsolete equipment, and sometimes poorly remunerated. Criminals have taken advantage of this weakness to smuggle arms into the country. As a result, over 70% of about 8million illegal firearms in West Africa are in Nigeria. Nigeria has failed to protect its borders thereby exposing the nation to diverse security threats. The illicit flow of firearms has fueled and exacerbates a lot of conflict situations in Nigeria, leading to the death of thousands of Nigerians with millions of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). For instance, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) (2019) reported that 2,216,000 IDPs were recorded in 2018 resulting from Boko Haram insurgency, pastoralist and farmers clashes, and natural disasters. According to IDMC, in the first half of 2019, about 142,000 IDPs were recorded. 140,000 by conflicts, and 2000 by disasters. Aljazeera Center for Studies (AJCS) reported that between 2009 and 2013, Boko Haram killed over 3500 people. International Crisis Group (2018) reported that more than 1300 people were killed by Fulani herdsmen in Plateau, Adamawa, Nassarwa, and Taraba states alone, with more than 300,000 people displaced.

Corruption is one of the major problems bedeviling Nigeria as a state. According to Sha (2016), it is a phenomenon that has taken the form of primitive accumulation by state elites. It involves the conversion of state resources meant for development to private use. Nigeria continues to occupy pitiable positions in Global Corruption Perception Index. As an illustration, it was ranked 136 out of 167 countries in 2015 with a score of 26% (Sha, 2016). In 2018, it was ranked 144 out of 180 countries with a score of 27 (TI, 2019). This has led to high unemployment, poverty, and low level of development. A new report by the World Poverty Clock (WPC) 2019 shows Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with the most extreme poor people in the world. The report continued that 94million Nigerians now living in extreme poverty representing nearly 50% of its estimated 180million population. According to WPC, Nigeria's poverty is caused by incompetence in leadership and corruption. That is why most of our roads have become death traps, with education and health sectors in shambles. The government has failed to deliver on its primary responsibilities of protecting the lives and properties of its citizens, and also failed to protect the rights of the common man. Though Nigeria is not yet a failed state, indications of state failure are palpable, even to a most casual observer (Egwu, 2015). Section 14 (b) of 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria stated that 'the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government'. Part 3 (b), section 214 and part 3 (c), section 217 contain the provisions for the establishment of the Nigerian Police Force and the armed forces respectively with the mandate of providing security for citizens but the citizens are being killed on a daily basis. For this reason, the researcher adopts the failed state theory in this work as a theoretical framework of analysis.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted the qualitative method of research. The qualitative method involves the use of secondary data which are derived from books, academic journals, research reports, online sources, government documents, organizations like Amnesty International, Human's Right Watch, etc.

Empirical Review

Factors aiding the illicit flow of firearms into Nigeria.

Available literature on TOC has revealed some factors aiding the illicit flow of firearms into the country. These factors are as follows:.

Porous borders

According to Adetula (2015), Nigeria shares a 1500km land border with the republic of Niger and Chad in the North, about 1000km with the republic of Benin in the west, 1700km with Cameroon in the East and has 700km Atlantic coastlines. This is actually a large space. Effective border management is very important for the preservation national security. This is why Spencer (2007) noted that the border is the first line of defense against terrorism and the last line of a nation's territory. Successive governments in Nigeria failed to properly administer these large borders. As Okumu (2010) noted, the high level of insecurity in Africa is due to the way they are managed and administered. Nigeria's borders are known for the limited presence of security and law enforcement officials. The few that are deployed are poorly trained, work with inadequate and obsolete equipments, and sometime poorly remunerated. In addition, most border communities have long been neglected by the government, making it difficult for government to leverage on their position to curtail illicit cross-border crime activities. For example in Adamawa state, there are about 25 illegal routes into Nigeria from neighboring countries. Terrorist and arms smugglers take advantage of this leakage to smuggle arms into the country. As a result, over 70% of about 8million illegal firearms in West Africa are reported to be in Nigeria.

Corruption

This is a major problem of Nigeria. Corruption in Nigeria is endemic. This is why Kwaru (2013) noted that, since corruption is endemic and systemic in Nigeria, cross-border arms trafficking is sometimes facilitated by security agents in the border entry points into Nigeria. Kwaru added that, in May 2013 for instance, senior custom personnel was arrested for allegedly assisting Boko Haram insurgents to smuggle several trucks loaded with large cache of arms and ammunition into Nigeria. The nation newspaper of July 14, 2013 reported that soldiers in Kebbi state impounded a petrol tankër loaded with 3 AK-47 rifles, 1 rocket propelled grenade (RPG)-2, 9 ak-47 magazines, 2 bombs, 3 RPG chargers, and 790 rounds of ammunitions in the fuel compartment of the tanker (Aljazeera Center For Studies, 2018). **Institutional framework**

The ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of person, goods and services was established by ECOWAS to allow free passage of member states into one another territory without any difficulties or obstruction. Major features of the Protocol and four Supplementary Protocols are as follows:

1979 Protocol A/P.1/5/79 relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment

- a. Sets out right of Community citizens to enter, reside and establish in territory of member states (Art. 2(1))
- b. Establishes three-phased approach over 15 years to implementation of (I) right of entry and abolition of visas, (II) residence and (III) establishment (Article 2).
- c. Conditions entitlement to enter territory of member state on possession of valid travel document and international health certificate (Article 3(1))
- d. Reserves right of member states to refuse admission into territory of Community citizens deemed inadmissible under domestic law (Article 4).
- e. Establishes some requirements for expulsion (Article 11)
- f. Confirms that Protocol does not operate to detriment of more favorable provisions in other agreements concluded by member states (Article 12)

1985 Supplementary Protocol A/SP. 1/7/85 on the Code of Conduct for the implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment

- g. Obliges member states to provide valid travel documents to their citizens (Article 2(1))
- h. Establishes additional (to Article 11 of Protocol) requirements for treatment of persons being expelled (Article 4)
- i. Enumerates protections for illegal immigrants (Articles 5 and 7)

1986 Supplementary Protocol A7SP.J/7/86 on the Second Phase (Right of Residence)

Requires states to grant to Community citizens who are nationals of other member states "the right of residence in its territory for the purpose of seeking and carrying out income earning employment" (Article 2)

- j. Conditions entitlement to residence (and thus seeking and carrying out of income earning employment) on possession of an ECOWAS
- k. Residence Card or Permit (Article 5) and harmonization by member states of rules appertaining to the issuance of such cards/permits (Article 9)
- l. Prohibits expulsion en masse (Article 13) and limits grounds for individual expulsion to national security, public order or morality, public health, non-fulfilment of essential condition of residence (Article 14)
- m. Stipulates equal treatment with nationals for migrant workers complying with the rules and regulations governing their residence in areas such as security of employment, participation in social and cultural activities, re-employment in certain cases of job loss and training (Article 23)

1989 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/6/89 amending and complementing the provisions of Article 7 of the Protocol on Free Movement, Right of Residence and Establishment

- n. Amends provisions of Article 7 of Protocol to confirm obligation on signatories to resolve amicably disputes regarding the interpretation and application of the Protocol (Article 2)

1990 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/5/90 on the Implementation of the Third Phase (Right to Establishment)

- o. Defines the right of establishment emphasizing non-discriminatory treatment of nationals and companies of other member states except as justified by exigencies of public order, security or health (Articles 2-4).
- p. Forbids the confiscation or expropriation of assets or capital on a discriminatory basis and requires fair and equitable compensation where such confiscation or expropriation (Article 7) (www.ecowas-free-movement.com)

Mobolaji and Alabi (2017) noted that the essence of the protocol is to improve the relationship that exist between the West African states in terms of trade, commerce, politics and social events among others. According to Opanike (2015), criminals have availed themselves of this initiative to perpetrate nefarious activities of cross-border arm trafficking. The ECOWAS protocol has thus created a space that criminals exploit to facilitate cross-border trafficking. These traffickers exploit the loopholes in states capacity in monitoring cross-border trade in the region and relaxation of national borders intended to enhance integration, to perpetrate their nefarious activities.

Globalization

Globalization is a multidimensional concept which is' loaded with ideological connotations depending on which aspect of the North/South divide that one is viewing it from. This is evident in the profusion of meanings that have characterized it (Saliu and Aremu, 2013). Cesare Poppi, (cited in Alan Scott, 1997) notes that:

The literature stemming from the debate on globalization has grown in the last decade beyond any individual capability of extracting a workable definition of the concept. In a sense, the meaning of the concept is self-evident, in another, it is vague and obscure as its reaches are wide and constantly shifting. Perhaps, more than any other concept, globalization is the debate about it.

Broadly speaking, the term globalization connotes the deepening of social, economic and cultural interactions among countries of the world (Saliu and Aremu, 2013). It is the integration of economies and societies through cross country flow of information, ideas, technologies, goods, services, capital, finance and people (Rangaraj an, 2003) .Technological breakthroughs such as mobile phones, computers, internet, satellite networks, among others are traceable to globalization. Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has greatly impacted publishing, health sector, financial institutions, entertainment, education, hospitality business and social interactions among Nigerians. The increases in arms proliferation, cyber-attacks, ethnic violence, global crime and during trafficking are occurred by globaliation (Davis, 2003). According to Williams (2008):

Not only has globalization challenged individual's state capacity to manage economic affairs, it has provided facilitators and false multipliers for Violent Non State Actors (VNSAs). According to him, global flow of arms, for example is no longer under the exclusive control of nation-states. Illicit arm dealers have become transnational players and have contributed to a diffusion of military power that has provided VNSAs with weapon capabilities that allow them to challenge government forces.

In a similar vein, globalization has allowed Violent Non-State Actors to develop transnational social capital and to create alliance and generate support outside their immediate area of operations. Globalization, along with the rise of illicit global economy has also provided funding opportunities for Violent Non-State Actors and other terrorist groups generally (Ogbonnaya and Ehigiamusoe, 2013). In establishing a relationship between international terrorism and globalization, Agbu (cited in Akinterinwa, 2004) states that; "Globalization, which

has enabled the brand of international terrorism as at present, generally implies the integration of countries into the world economy through increased trade, investment, short-term capital flows and international migration of skilled and unskilled labor."

Also, Ampatuam (2003) submits that while globalization has brought unprecedented development and progress to people, it has also unleashed negative aspects such as "facilitating international terrorism and other forms of transnational crimes." According to him, transnational terrorism is a global phenomenon which is seen as one of the most destructive. The September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States of America illustrate the lethality of this threat.

Effects of illicit flow of Small Arms and Light Weapons or firearms on Nigeria's national security

Human security in Nigeria has been acerbically challenged by diverse ethnic conflict, religious crisis, cross-border banditry, kidnapping, armed robbery, insurgencies. These violent crimes increase the level of insecurity as the upsurge of armed ethnic militias and insurrection threaten and or violate the freedom from fear and wants of Nigerians. The militias of either ethnic group, sectional or religious sects engage in guerrilla warfare to articulate their interest or to assault unarmed individual in different communities (Adejo, 2005). The UN rightly depict the effect of the proliferation of SALW on human security, "Wreaks havoc everywhere; mobs terrorizing a neighborhood; rebels attacking civilians or peace keepers; drug lords randomly killing law enforcers or anyone else interfering with them illegal business (and) bandits hijacking humanitarian aid convoys. In all continents, uncontrolled small arms form a persisting problem".

SALW stockpiling has stimulated various violent conflicts in Nigeria. More than 187 ethno-religious conflict that claim the lives of people have been recorded in Nigeria since its return to democratic rule in 1999 until 2017. The eruption and the elongation of ethno-religious clashes are abetted by the proliferation of arms in many conflict-ridden communities in Nigeria. The resultant effect of these quagmires is the internal displacement of persons, violation of lives and deterioration of properties. The jeopardized socio-economic conditions of individual in different communities are captured in the historic annals of Nigeria's existence. The demoralizations of Nigerians inflicted suffering through the ready availability of arms among the perpetrators of insurgents and militias representing sectional or factional interests in the country. Nigeria is faced with the enormous task of responding to the challenge internally displaced persons (IDPs). Between 2000 and 2002, for instance, an estimated 1,713,306 persons were displaced by ethno-religious conflicts and, by 2013, some 3, 470,500 Nigerians have been displaced internally. The January 2010 to 2015 crisis in Jos displaced over 325,000 persons. Human security becomes vulnerable to violent crimes like rape, food insecurity, and environmental insecurity as there could be outbreak of disease in the camp thereby undermining health security.

Niger delta region of Nigeria is a stage for violent agitation between ethnic groups tussling for ethnic or political hegemony. The oil bunkering and vandalism worsen the crisis as the availability of light weapons contributed to the scores of dead people and the displacement of thousand of indigenes by inter communal violence. The prevalent of small arms and weapons has hampered human security by the nefarious destruction of material resources. In this wise proliferation of small arms and weapons has a far reaching impact on citizens' lives and fulfilment and this behooves the government to take the responsibility of securing lives and properties. Human security which is a sense of freedom from fear and want; protection from the violation of these freedoms and the empowerment to mitigate threat or actual violation of the freedoms gives physical and mental capacity to carry out their daily activities without fear of violation molestation or untimely violent death. Thus, the unbridled proliferation of small arms represents a state of complete physical, mental and social discomfort characterizing the society dangerous to live in (Bestman, 2006).

In addition, the outburst of violence as result of small arms and weapons also deter health care facilities as the health facilities are destroyed hindering people from seeking treatment. This results in the scarcity of medical supplies and equipments while trained doctors and nurses flee the violent areas. Serial bombings have destroyed vital organs of citizens' body such as noses, ears, and eyes turning them into handicappes. Individual and communities have witnessed the violent amputation of hands or legs. Different ailment such as high blood pressure, shock, due to the loss of relatives, breadwinners and valuable properties or means of livelihood have been incurred as small arms and weapons are ready for usage in a violent conflict. Besides, people within a community are living in fear as a result of available small arms and weapons with thugs (Ibrahim, 2003).

Nigeria is plagued and immersed in arm conflicts between farmers, community inhabitants and Fulani herdsmen. Hundreds of Nigerians in Adamawa have been displaced as Fulani attack two communities of Suwa and Burukutu in Lamurde local government. About 500 Fulani herdsmen attacked residents of the two communities (Premium Times, 2017). In Plateau State, the police command on the 9th of September 2017 confirmed 19 persons killed and five others injured in an attack on Ancha village, Bassa local government. The Fulani herdsmen were reported to have carried out attack on the villagers. According to investigation, a Fulani boy was missing and his body was later found without the head on August 3, 2017. On a revenge mission, the Fulani attackers invaded the community and massacred innocent citizens. It is believed that the attack was a reprisal because the mayhem was unleashed on the villagers three day after the boy was found missing (Sahara Reporters, 2017). In the same Bassa local government, Fulani herdsmen exterminated 27 local residents despite curfew in the month of October, 2017. Unknown gunmen suspected to be Fulani herdsmen meted the attack on the Nkiedonwhro community while asleep (Punch, 2017). Ipiga village in Ohimini local government area of Benue state recorded the death of 15 members to Fulani herdsmen attack. The crisis erupted when some herdsmen invaded the neighboring community, Ajegbe village, graze their cattle forcefully and destroying farmlands. From there they entered Ipiga village shooting erratically resulting into the demise of some villagers (Vanguard, 2017).

Not more than 300 villagers were reportedly dead as Fulani herdsmen launched attack on the Agatu local government of Benue state. Villages such as Okokolo, Akwu, Ocholonya, Adagbo, ugboku and Alia were attacked leaving dead bodies littering the community. Internal displacement occurred as many of the villagers flee their community to other for refuge. Obagaji Local Government where people find refuge are deserted due to untold violence in the village by the Fulani herdsmen. The lively of the displaced persons is further threatened and violated as there is no identifiable camps to cater for the internally displaced person which include women and children (Vanguard, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Illicit flow of firearms in Nigeria has continued to make the dignity of human life fragile. In the current world environment in which the realities of globalization are literally facing the breakdown of borderlines, low intensity conflicts in which small arms are crucial, and widely used, are threatening the non-negotiable core-dimension of human security, especially, developing countries of Africa and indeed countries of the ECOWAS sub region. In Nigeria especially the North East, life is not less than hobbesian description of state of nature- brutish nasty and short. The danger is apparent. Daily, Nigerians are confronted with danger pose by the availability and unhesitating use of small arms and light weapons in conflict. The influx of the trans-border supplies and weakening controls on arm undermines to human security as various sect in Nigeria lay hold of these weapons to express grievance violently. A successful prevention of the illicit flow of firearms effect on human security in Nigeria requires an all inclusive methodology that seeks to diagnose the factors generating the pull for illicit flow of firearms and the sources of push. The

demand and supply factors of these firearms are interrelated and interdependent. Therefore, mitigating the push factor without the pull factors may not engender the desired results. A productive method necessitates a willing legislative, administrative and judicial strategy that solves the supply and demand problems. This will discourage the demand for arms and simultaneously block the supply channel through which illegal arms and light weapons circulate. It is imperative that curbing schemes and strategies should be trans-national in outlook to tackle the cross-border implications of SALWs. The illicit flow of firearms is posing a grave threat to human security in Nigeria. The proliferation of arms should be curbed to the barest level up to achieve a measurable degree of success in securing of life and property. There is, therefore, the need for the Nigerian government to pursue a stout strategy that could curtail the arms circulation menace.

The AU should provide a continent-wide platform for the monitoring of uncontrolled arms transfer in Africa. The African Union Peace and Security Roadmap 2016—2020 is a good strategy to influence uncontrolled arms across the continent. Putting the roadmap in action can alter the current situation of uncontrolled arms.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research findings as evident in this work, the following recommendations are put forward in order to help us stem the tide of illicit flow of firearms and its effects on Nigeria's national security. They include following:

1. Effective control of the border: This entails increasing the number of the security agents currently on the border entry points into Nigeria. They need to be properly trained on effective border management and be well equipped with modern security gadgets and ammunitions.
2. There should be an improved welfare for security operatives at the border entry points. The importance of this is that, it will discourage them from taking bribe for illicit goods to be smuggled into the country. And any security agent caught taking bribe at border entry points should be adequately punished to deter intending offenders.
3. AU should provide a continental- wide platform for the monitoring of uncontrolled arms transfer in Africa. The AU peace and security Roadmap 2016-2020 is a good strategy to influence uncontrolled arms across the continent. Putting the Roadmap in action alters the current situation of uncontrolled arms.
4. Good Governance: the focus of government should always be the citizens. Government should provide security of lives and properties of citizens. If government fails to provide security for citizens, the citizens will lose confidence on the capacity of their government to protect them. The implication is that they will look for means of self defense, thereby leading to the proliferation of firearms as this research revealed. Government should also create employment opportunities for the teeming unemployed graduates. Thus, youths will not be readily available to be used by criminals.
5. Elections should always be conducted under the principles of democracy. And politicians should stop taking it as do or die affairs. This can help reduce violence before, during and after elections. Any politician whose supporters fight during elections should be jailed.

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