
**GOOD GOVERNANCE, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE BUILDING: REFLECTIONS
ON THE NIGERIAN SITUATION.**

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Abstract

This is an interrogation of the concepts of good governance, development and peace building. It however anchors their operationalization on the socio-political and economic realities in contemporary Nigeria. The discourse questioned the theoretical and ideological origins and underpinnings of the concepts. It unmasks the neoliberal stuff of good governance and yet, affirms that the notion may bore well with any human community in search of development and peace. In other words, there is a nexus. However for Nigeria to attain the ideals of good governance, development and peace building, chapter two of the 1999 constitution which contains the fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy should be enforceable and Justifiable in the courts. Therefore, the Nigerian federal executive authorities should consider it a matter of urgency to initiate a bill in the National Assembly to pass appropriate legislations to give effect to the provisions of chapter two of the 1999 constitution. This will move Nigeria some inches close to the welfare state.

Keywords: Good Governance, Development, Peace, Peace Building and Conflict Resolution.

1. Introduction

The concept of “Good Governance” is use in Nigeria and in virtually all corners of the World to refer to some ideas of authority of any sort, whether at government level or corporate organization level or even sometimes, at the private space of family management which are responsive to the good and general well-being of those who are managed or governed by the given authority. The concept logically implies that there is also “Bad Governance”. But, the idea of “Bad Governance” is not in vogue. Rather, other adjectives are used to qualify governance which fails to be responsive and responsible to its mandate. Terms like “poor leadership”, “corrupt government”, “weak government”, “irresponsible leadership”, “dictatorship”, “non-transparent government” and others are used to depict governments which are acclaimed or adjudged bad or poor.

And so, in common usage, the idea of “Good Governance” is lapped up and parroted by all and sundry. In government circles, public institutions, in the private sector, i.e in industries and the corporate world, the concept of good governance, sometimes, tied up with the idea of “transparency”

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gained currency. It is argued fervently, and believed by many, that with good governance in a country, there is bound to be development. Development here, referring to progressive social change in economic life, political life, social and cultural life of the citizenry. Further, the argument is well canvassed that in the event of conflict which can manifest on several fronts; ranging from ideological differences, belief systems, hunger and starvation, religious cleavages, injustice and oppression, violation of fundamental human rights to contestations over resources in a polity, with good governance conflict resolution is achievable. Even where conflict has escalated into full blown war, resulting in heavy casualties, some contend, peace can be fathomed out of the ashes of conflict and war. What is more, with peace restored, it becomes imperative to build peace and return society to some relatively peaceful and stable state, enabling the citizens to return to normal life.

Peace building becomes an end-state in the pursuit of good governance. This assumption is commonplace in Nigeria and in the rest of the World. But, there is more that meets the eye. Ordinarily, good governance by its literary meaning is desirable. Development is the desire of all mankind. Peace building after major crisis can be achieved from good governance. While these ideals are realizable within the human community, it is important that the concepts of “good governance”, “development” and “peace building” be interrogated, and their meanings properly put in perspective for the purpose of establishing the linkage.

In doing this, the Nigerian context, and indeed, the African context in which these concepts are explained and exemplified are germane. Therefore, the discourse is organized around the following sections. The introduction is the first section. The second section clarified the concepts of good governance, development, social justice, peace, and peace building. Section three discusses how the concepts of good governance, development and peace building are related. Section four concludes the chapter with some recommendations.

2. Conceptual Clarifications

Good Governance

The term, good governance is today a universal phrase. What does it really mean? What are its theoretical attributes, its evolution and its current manifestations, usages and relevance? It is in answering these questions that we can understand the concept. The concept of governance is contested in political science. Two broad perspectives can be explained here, i.e, the technical sense and the holistic sense. In the technical sense, governance refers to the efficient management of state institutions. In this wise, issues of public accountability, transparency in government procedure, rule of law, and public sector management are emphasized. (Adejumobi, 2004:14). A second definition, which is considered broader, all-encompassing and transcends state and its institutions is the one that views governance as the process of steering state and society towards the realization of collective goals. (Ibid)

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in line with the second sense on governance articulated above defines governance thus:

Governance is a process of social engagement between the rulers and the ruled in a political community. Its component parts are rule-making and standard setting, management of regime structures and outcomes and results of social pact. (UNECA, 1999; cited in Adejumobi, 2004:15).

Similarly, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) views governance as:

The totality of the exercise of authority in the management of a country's affairs comprising of the complex mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, and mediate their differences. It encompasses the political, economic, legal, judicial, social and administrative authority and therefore includes: government, society (UNDP, 1997 cited in Adejumobi, 2004:15)

From these definitions, the major actors or agencies of the governance project include *the state*, the *civil society* and the *private sector*. To sum up the effort at explaining the concept of governance, it is important to state that it readily implies good governance separate from bad governance. The point should be made as (SIDI, 1998:74) points out that good governance entails the management of political, economic and socio-cultural structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of the effectiveness of public bureaucracies, and the capacity of the economy to produce, and for the benefits of the citizenry, who in turn are able to carry out their daily activities without fear of insecurity and other security threats. Thus, as Mohideen (1997) notes: governance becomes “good” when it operates in accordance with legal and ethical principles as conceived by society. Good governance symbolizes a situation whereby society seeks to provide a guide and direction to itself through standards and norms embedded in the governance idea. It is the desire, and indeed, the art and science of steering state and society according to defined rules and procedures, and ensuring that governance in all its ramifications serves the interest of the greatest number of people in society through a collective. While good governance is desirable for all human society, it is regrettable that the idea is being forced through from the developed western countries on Africa, with a doze of market (neo-liberal) ideological bent. Thus, merely looking at good governance from its intention and harmless connotation does not shed light on the political economy origin of the concept and its ideological trajectory which deepens the non-autonomization of the neocolonial state in Africa, nay, Nigeria. However, more explanation of the political economy and ideological orientation of good governance will come up in section three of the discourse.

Development

For some social scientists, especially, those of the liberal persuasion, development is synonymous with economic growth measured in aggregate terms. For these scholars, a country is developed if it can sustain, by its own effort having reached a per capita Gross National Product (GNP) level of \$500 (for some observers) of \$1,000 (for others) an annual rate of growth ranging from five percent to seven percent. Today, this unileaner view of development has been rejected by the world citizen body. The United Nations Organization (UNO) at the start of the United Nations First Development Decade described development thus: “Development is economic growth (plus) social change”. (cited in Opubor, 1986:184). It is in this sense of economic growth plus social change that the concept of development has found meaning in contemporary times. Walter Rodney, in his magnum opus, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, defines development as:

... a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. The achievement of any of those aspects of personal development is very much tied with the state of the society as a whole. (Rodney, 2009:11)

Indeed, development is a multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of poverty. Development, in its essence, must represent the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system, turned to the diverse basic needs and desire of individuals and social groups within that system, much away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory toward a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better (Todaro and Smith, 2009:16).

Dudley Sears, British economist provides an explanation of development which is deep and profound. According to him, development involves the creation of opportunities for the realization of human potential. Sears assumes that human beings have certain basic requirements which must be satisfied in order for them to function properly. Among these are: enough food (i.e, good nutrition), something worthwhile to do (employment) and the elimination of the kinds of inequality which lead to poverty. For Sears, the questions to ask about a country's development are: what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of those have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially, if all three have, it could be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income doubled. (Cited in Opubor, 1986:184). Amartya Sen, the 1998 Nobel Laureate in Economics, contends that the "capability to function" is what really matters for status as poor or non-poor person. According to him: "Economic growth cannot be sensibly treated as end in itself. Development has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy? Sen identified three core values of development. They are: *sustenance* (The Ability to Meet Basic Needs): self-esteem (To Be a person) and freedom from servitude (To Be Able to Choose) (Sen, 1999:14-20).

Three objectives of development were identified by Todaro and Smith (2009:22):

- i. to increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods such as food, shelter, health and protection;
- ii. to raise levels of living, including, in addition to higher incomes, the provision of more jobs, better education, and greater attention to cultural and human values, all of which will serve not only to enhance material well-being but also to generate greater individual and national self-esteem:
- iii. to expand the range of economic and social choices available to individuals and nations by freeing them from servitude and dependence not only in relation to other people and nation-states but also to the forces of ignorance and human vision.

To sum up this effort at explaining development, it is noteworthy to summarize the description of development by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its 2016 Annual Report on Human Development in the World:

Human development is all about human freedom: freedom to realize the full potential of every human life, not just of a few, nor of most, but of all lives in every corner of the World – now and in the future. Such universalism gives the human development approach its uniqueness (UNDP, 2016).

However, it seems that this projection by the UNDP that all lives in every corner of the World – now and in the future should realize their full potentials is unattainable. Rather, there are billions of peoples all over the World who live in abject poverty. In Nigeria, 62.3 percent of the population lives in poverty and yet, it is the 12th oil producer in the World (Development and Peace, 2016). What is responsible for this unpalatable state of affairs? This will be addressed in the following sections of this work.

Social Justice

Social justice emphasizes the fundamental character of justice in social life. It refers to the place of justice in the lives of citizens in a political community. Justice, generally implies a moral ideal which the law upholds in the protection of rights and punishment of wrongs. Duties of justice are duties towards others. Justice naturally applies to the framework of social existence. This is why some scholars think that the concept of “social justice” is superfluous since justice is necessarily a social or interpersonal concern (Reeve, 2003:499). Nevertheless, the concept of social justice is pre-dominant in human society in the course of daily interactions of citizens in a given political society.

Social justice as a concept describes the movement towards a socially just world. It is based on the concepts of human rights and equality. Social justice reflects the way in which human rights are manifested in the everyday lives of people at every level of society. Social justice entails working towards the realization of a world where all members of society, regardless of background, have basic human rights and equal opportunities to access the benefits of their society. In a general sense, social justice can be seen as a belief in and the pursuit of human rights and the equal distribution of resources for all people. Social justice ensures that all citizens enjoy equal opportunities for self-development and self-actualization irrespective of sex, class, race, ethnic background or any ground whatsoever. (Gbadamosi, 2007:282).

Illustrating further the contents of social justice, Gbadamosi (2007) states inter alia:

Social justice is grounded in the practical day-to-day realities of life. It is the ability to feed your children well and send them to school where their education not only equips them for employment but reinforces their knowledge and understanding of their cultural inheritance. It is the prospect of genuine employment and good health: a life of choices and opportunities, free from discrimination.

Peace

Peace is the absence of direct or indirect violence, or threat of violence in relationships between individuals, groups, classes and states. It is the absence of war, fear, conflict, anxiety, suffering and violence. Peace, and the search for peace, as Francis (2006:17) noted, is primarily concerned with creating and maintaining a just order in society and the resolution of conflict by non-violent means. Some peace researchers have identified six meanings of peace. They are: (i) peace as the absence of war (absence of direct violence): (ii) peace as justice and development (absence of structural violence): (iii) peace as respect and tolerance between people: (iv) peace as Gaia (balance in and with the ecosphere, (v) inner peace (spiritual peace): and (vi) peace as “unwholeness” and “making whole” (Ibid; 17-18). Peace is a world phenomenon, a concern, desire of peoples throughout the world. The establishment of the United Nations in 1945 at the end of the most devastating war in human history (Second World War, 1939-1945) was an embodiment of this universal desire.

Keeping peace and developing friendly relations among nations are among the main objectives of the United Nations. (<http://www.pathwaystopeace.org/2017>). The ideal of world peace provides basis for peoples and nations to willingly cooperate, either voluntarily or by virtue of a system of governance that prevents warfare. While different cultures, religions, philosophies, and organizations may have differing concepts about how such an ideal state might come about, they have in common this ideal of a cessation of all hostility amongst all humanity (World Peace-Wikipedia, 2007). Peace, and the conditions for peace both at the world level and the national level are subjects for debate. The particular historical and political context of a country and community determines their perceptions of peace. As Francis (2006), rightly observed, a society fragmented and polarized by perpetual war and armed conflict will interpret peace as the absence of war. Similarly, a political community driven by unjust structures and policies will equate peace with justice and freedom. People suffering material deprivation and poverty will

inevitably perceive peace in terms of equity, development and access to existential necessities of life. This last view may well be the defining situation in Nigeria – why there are pockets of conflicts in different parts of the country. However, there are several factors contributing to the near-absence of peace in Nigeria today.

Peace Building

While the idea of peacekeeping, which the United Nations (UN) defined as a unique and dynamic instrument developed by the organization as a way to help countries torn by conflict create the conditions for lasting peace appears similar to peace building, they are distinct concepts. Peacekeeping can, and do create the condition for peace building. So, what is peace building? Peace building is a stage in the complex web of conflict resolution mechanism. It aims at reconstructing conflict-ridden and massively destroyed communities. Such reconstructions manifest in physical, psychological, economic, political, cultural and social rebuilding of beleaguered and devastated societies.

The United Nations defines peace building as consisting of a wide range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation, and societal transformation. (cited in Oche, 2006:235) Peace building is a long-term process that occurs after violent conflict of the peace process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to halt. Peace building is conceived by scholars and civil society groups as an umbrella concept which includes not only long-term transformative efforts, but also peacemaking and peacekeeping. Peace building, according to this school of thought, include early warnings and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, and the establishment of peace zones. Peace building is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political, as well, as economic transformations. This consists of a set of physical, social and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of past conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation. (Oche, 2006:235-236)

Peace building is characterized by the effort to resolve the issue-fields of conflicts and change the patterns of perceptions and interactions of conflicting parties and conflict entrepreneurs. Peace building often involves demobilization and reintegration programmes, as well as immediate reconstruction needs. (Ibid). It also involves psychological resigning of parties in conflicts, changing mindsets towards sustainable peace as against mindset of pre-conflict situations. However, the purpose of peace building in a post-conflict society should be the promotion of substantive and procedural justice, institutional building and the strengthening of civil society to achieve durable peace and prevention of the re-emergence of earlier causes or roots of conflict. Peace building promotes non-violent mechanisms that can eliminate violence, nurture structures and institutions that can fulfill basic human needs, and encourage inclusion in the socio-economic, political and cultural advancement of citizens in post-conflict societies.

3. Good Governance, Development and Peace Building in Nigeria: Connecting the Duct

The idea of good governance in the matrix of global capitalist political economy is rooted in the hardware politics of international financial institutions (IFIs) – the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The concept, according to the WB and the IMF is essentially institutional adaptability to achieve the goal of macroeconomic stability in a process which allows for responsibility to the creditors, i.e., the WB and IMF (Odion-Akhaine, 2004:23). The WB and the IMF have engaged in the process of promoting their blueprints and programmes as the frameworks of socio-economic reforms in Nigeria and the rest of Africa since the 1980s, pushing through the agenda of the Structural Adjustment programme (SAP), Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) and the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) I and II which the Nigerian State has been implementing since the 1980s till date, including the rebranded and continuing version which the ruling All Progress we Congress (APC) government now calls Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) launched in April 2017 – two years into its four year term. (Olorode, 2017).

The ruling class implements ideologically oriented socioeconomic reform programmes from the IFIs and introduced these programmes as homegrown when in actuality these programmes are blueprints from the IMF and the WB to create the objective conditions for debt repayment and capital outflow from Nigeria to the country's western creditors. A good instance of this economic arrangement imposed on

Nigeria and the rest of the poor indebted Third World States is Nigeria's payment of over \$12 billion dollars to the Paris Club in 2006 in the so-called Paris Club debt deal of 2005 and another over \$2 billion to the London Club to off-set Nigeria's so-called external debt to these clubs of Western creditors.

Thus, state reforms are necessarily woven into conditionalities for new credit lines. Nigeria had since met the "objective" criteria of the international creditors, with the IMF's Policy Support Instrument (PSI) giving the Nigerian reform programmes a pass-mark and creating the opportunity for Nigeria to return to the borrowing spree as the President Muhammadu Buhari administration is currently doing by retuning to concessional and market sources in the global financial system to borrow to fund the 2017 budget and the provision of infrastructures in the country. The concept of good governance is foregrounded from this imposition of neoliberal economic policies on Nigeria by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and the western imperialist political institutions which control the political, economic, social and cultural destiny of Nigeria and the rest of the underdeveloped Third World countries. It is a consequence of what Ebohon (2008) calls "development by invitation". Good governance, as it is currently promoted in Nigeria, is not original to the Nigerian ruling class and the Nigerian peoples. The idea is super-imposed by the powerful global governance institutions – IMF and WB, which continue to dominate Nigeria's national life even after flag independence, reinforcing the doctrine of neocolonialism. Attahiru Jega correctly articulates the imposed concept of good governance thus:

Its (i.e. World Bank) policies and programme are said to be aimed at bringing about effective utilization of resources, efficient management, political and economic institutions and good governance. However, in reality, they effectively lead to hasty, uneconomical disposal of public investment through privatization and bad governance due to lack of responsiveness to popular demands and aspiration, which cuts in social expenditures and "rolling back the state" engender.

Good governance syndrome is imposed along with other features of neoliberalism which include periodic elections (no matter how poorly conducted), market fundamentalism, liberalization of trade, privatization of the economy. The point is that the import of good governance as thrown up by the IMF and the WB – the so-called global governance institutions or international financial institutions (IFIs) is in contradiction to the expectation of the mass of the Nigerian peoples who constitutes the majority of the population as against the one percent of the population which constitutes the ruling class. Nigeria deserves a government that can deploy the country's abundant natural and human resources to meet basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter. Ordinarily, Nigeria does not need external forces to define for her what good governance should be. External forces did not dictate to the great leaders of precolonial Africa like Oba Ewure of Benin Empire who built his empire through cheer visioning, courage, great intellect and passionate commitment to his people.

The constitutional provisions for the attainment of good governance, democracy and social justice which will cater for citizens' welfare are provided under the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy, which is in chapter Two of the 1999 constitution. The chapter states inter alia: The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state based on the principles of Democracy and social justice. Accordingly, it is hereby declared that:

- (a) sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this constitution derives its powers and authority;
- (b) The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose and responsibility of government; and
- (c) The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this constitution. (The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, chapter 11)

The state social order is founded on the ideals of Freedom, Equality and Justice. In furtherance of the social order, the constitution listed the following:

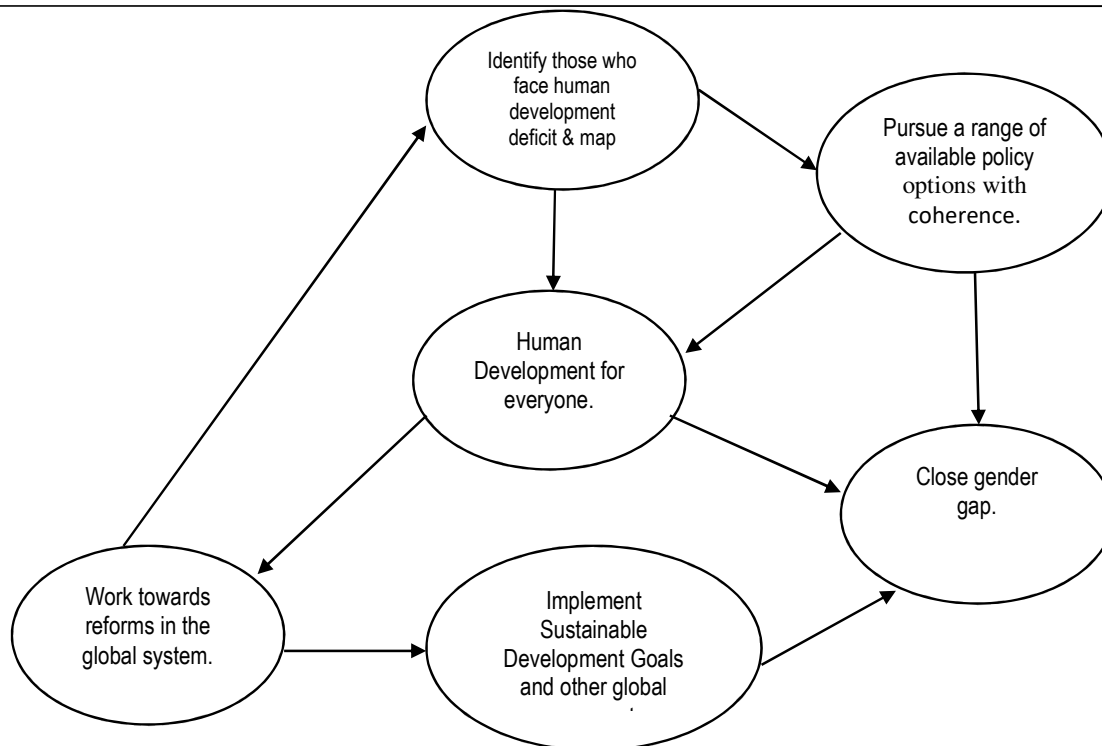
- (a) every citizen shall have equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law;
- (b) the sanctity of the human person shall be recognized and human dignity shall be maintained and enhanced;
- (c)

- (d) government shall be humane,
- (e) exploitation of human and natural resources in any form whatsoever for reasons other than the good of the community shall be prevented;
- (f) the independence, impartiality and integrity of courts of law and an easy accessibility shall be secured and maintained. (Ibid)
The states shall direct its policy towards ensuring that:
 - (a) all citizens without discrimination on any ground whatsoever have the opportunity for securing adequate means of livelihood as well as adequate opportunities to secure suitable employment;
 - (b) conditions of work are just and humane and that there are adequate facilities for leisure, and for social, religious and cultural life;
 - (c) the health, safety and welfare of all persons in employment are safeguarded and not endangered or abused;
 - (d) there are adequate medical and health facilities for all persons;
 - (e) there is equal pay for work without discrimination on account of sex or any other ground whatsoever;
 - (f) children, young persons, the aged, and the disabled are protected against any exploitation whatsoever and against moral and material neglect;
 - (g) Provision is made for public assistance in deserving cases or other conditions of need; and
 - (h) The evolution and promotion of family life is encouraged. (Ibid)

With these provisions in the Nigerian constitution, it can be correctly argued that good governance, social justice, peace and development are guaranteed in the country. But, is there good governance in Nigeria? Is there social justice in Nigeria? Is there peace in Nigeria? Is there development in Nigeria today? Today, the country is in a terrible state of confusion and flux partly because the Nigerian ruling class or so-called ruling elite is self-serving and concerned only with the oiling of the skin of its ever greedy, irresponsible members. As a matter of fact, the Constitutional Provisions on Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in Chapter Two of the 1999 Nigerian Constitution are said to be non-justiciable and therefore, are not enforceable.

The implication of the non-justiciability of Chapter Two of the constitution is the preponderance of numerous of social, economic, cultural and political ills confronting the country today, leading to threat to the country's national security with centrifugal forces like *IPOB, Arewa Youth, OPC, Boko Haram, Niger Delta Militants* and others calling for the balkanization of the country. The non-justiciability of Section Two of the 1999 constitution is grossly responsible for lack of economic development in the country: engendering mass poverty, lack and want among the majority of Nigerians across the 36 states and Federal Capital Territory.

Development, which Rodney (2009), Seers (in Opubor, 1986) and Sen (1999) have all characterized as having a lot to do with the economic advancement, cultural process and the ability to make good and informed choices by the citizens is arrested while government officials bandied statistics of growth in the economy as representing development. The UNDP 2016 Annual Development Report graphically presented development as shown in the diagram below:



Human development for everyone – a five point action agendas source: UNDP 2016 Annual Report

The UNDP Human Development Report (2016) described Nigeria as a Low Human Development Country. In terms of poverty rate, Nigeria occupies the 152nd position out of the 185 countries that were sampled (UNDP, 2016). While Nigerian rulers at the three levels of government – federal, state and local government make so much noise about “good governance” to Nigerians, over 62 percent of the citizens lived below the poverty level. Over 63 millions of Nigerian youths have no jobs in a country that has earned over 800 billion dollars from oil sales in the last 60 years.

Little wonder that when Nigerian rulers talk of “good governance”, they mean the “good governance” of the IMF and the World Bank which imposed the structural Adjustment programme and the so-called economic reforms on the Nigerian state. The adjustment and reforms imposed on Nigeria and other indebted Third World States favour the owners of international capital in the triangle of North America, Western Europe and Japan; and now China.

Nigerians who were hoodwinked to cough out over 15 billion dollars as loan payment to the Paris club and the London Club between 2006 and 2007 are left to wallow in poverty as governments in the country continue to implement reform programs which insist on sack of workers (downsizing of the work force), sale of public enterprises and other public properties at give-away prices to cronies of state managers and their foreign collaborators in the guise of privatization (see El-Rufai, 2013). Liberalization of the economy cut in social welfare spending by government and the handing over of the national economy to foreign capital are other features of the perpetual adjustment state in Nigeria since the 1980s. These IMF-WB programmes are partly implemented by successive Nigerian governments and packaged as home-grown-programmes of National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS) I and II (part of which is the Buhari’s ERGP launched in April 2017) coupled with in-built official corruption and the shameless stealing of the country’s money by the ruling elite, the country cannot achieve good governance, irrespective of the claims of the managers of state power. Good governance must be rescued from the agents of international capital and domesticated within the socioeconomic realities, cultural matrix and the national interest of Nigeria. Good governance, as it is currently promoted by the trio of IMF, World Bank and successive Nigerian rulers since the 1980s cannot in concrete terms address the poverty situation in the country. So long as mass poverty is prevalent in the

Felix O.U. Oriakhi, Ph.D & Egbuchulem Michael Umezu

country, with no conscious effort by state managers to look inward, and use the country's resources efficiently to address unemployment and create social security for Nigerians rather than panders to the whims and caprices of IMF and the World Bank, the country will continue to come under serious security threat – the type that frontally attacks its national survival.

Poverty in the country breeds insecurity. Insecurity or threat to the country's national security is a recurring decimal. Today, there are Low-intensity conflicts (LICs) in different parts of the country. Low-intensity conflict (LIC) is a limited politico-military struggle to attain political, military, social, economic or psychological objectives. It is often of lengthy duration and extends from diplomatic, economic and psychological pressure to terrorism and insurgency. Low-intensity conflict is generally confined to a specific geographical area and is often characterized by limitations of armaments, tactics and level of force.

All conflicts that are below the high or medium intensity levels, including those that are commonly referred to as "communal" can be regarded as low-intensity conflicts. In view of this approach to understanding of LICs, it is clear that the concept is a comprehensive one that covers many different types of conflicts. It is not purely military in nature. The aim of LICs is not necessarily military victory, but for social control towards which attainment military means can be used as an element of struggle. Thus, military means within LICs can be seen as a tactical element within a broader strategic programme. LICs are given rise to by certain dynamic forces, which include *change, discontent, poverty, violence and instability*. These factors interact to create an environment that is conducive to the prevalence of LICs in the Third World (Oche, 2007:52-53).

Since attaining "flag" independence in 1960 to date, LICs are recurrent features of the Nigeria's political life. Since 1999 when the country returned to civil rule, LICs have become more frequent, more violent and more lethal. The Niger Delta resistant militancy piloted by different militant groups including *MEND, AVENGERS*, etc; the resistant activities of the *Odua Peoples Congress (OPC)* in South-West; the resistant activities of the *Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB)* and the *Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB)* in the South-East; the anti-Biafra activities of the *Arewa Youth Movement* in the North, the guerilla warfare campaigns of *Boko Haram* in the North-East have all come to symbolize the insecurity of the Nigerian state. Added to all these is the killing spree of herdsmen in different parts of the country. Kidnapping, rape, murder, armed robbery, ethnic and communal clashes are more rampant in Nigeria today. Can the managers of state power still claim that they are providing good governance that can win the confidence of the citizenry?

Against the looming security threats to the country's survival, especially, against the insurgency campaigns of the Boko Haram sect in the North-East, peacemaking and peace building should be critical in the priority list of the Nigerian government. The peace building idea which envisages early warning and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy works, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, and the establishment of peace zones should be on the priority list of the governance agenda in Nigeria today. Government agencies concerned with the security of the country should be alert, proactive and prompt in curtailing violent activities of militant groups, including herdsmen across the country. This is not to say that the peace building idea which contemplates reconstruction of conflict-ridden and destroyed communities, capacity building, reconciliation and societal transformation is less important. Government should always be on top of any given situation, especially, threat to lives and properties. The on-going peace building in the North, especially in communities destroyed by the Boko Haram insurgency should be encouraged. Similarly, communities destroyed by militant herdsmen should be reconstructed. Efforts should be made to build the peace in the herdsmen – farmers relationships across the country. Legal instruments and other socioeconomic imperatives should be employed in such peace building efforts.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

From the issue raised so far, it is self-evident that "Good Governance", "Development" and "Peace building" are related concepts which do have far-reaching implications for both the international system and domestic (national) live. The World envisages that good governance will engenders development and promote peace and peace building wherever and whenever conflict breaks out. While good governance should be inherent in any polity which strives for peace and stability, the good governance philosophy of the IMF and WB, recommended for Third World states, including Nigeria serves the profit interest of the owners of international capital represented by IMF and WB. Ordinarily, the idea of good governance in a polity is undebatable. But, not the good governance that ensures that Nigeria and other

Third World rulers embrace free market economy and free hard-earned national wealth for debt servicing which benefits the owners of international capital. Good governance must be tailored to the benefit of the local citizenry. Therefore, Nigerians and other Third World citizens should confront the good governance ideology of IMF and World Bank which promotes what Klein (2007) called the policy trinity – the elimination of the public sphere, total liberation for corporations and skeletal spending.

This is the good governance of capitalism-neoliberalism which ensures that the resources of elsewhere colonized countries flow to the global (metropolitan) centres of capitalism – North America, Western Europe, Japan; and now China. Good governance in Nigeria should be targeted to bring succor to the Nigerian peoples, especially, the poor and the vulnerable Nigerians. It should be such governance that eschews corruption and looting of the national treasury by politicians and the so-called ruling class so that national wealth could be freed for the development of the country's infrastructures, the building of the capacity of Nigerians in all spheres, the education of Nigerian children and the promotion of good and responsible inter-group and inter-ethnic relations. Good governance in Nigeria should promote the rule of law, social justice, gender equality, free and fair elections, and independence of the judiciary and guarantee economic development in the country.

To attain the great ideals of good governance, development and peace building, it is imperative that chapter two of the 1999 constitution which contains the Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy is made enforceable and justiceable in the courts. The presidency should present this to the National Assembly, passing appropriate legislations to give effect to the provisions of chapter two of the 1999 constitution. This section of the constitution when enforceable will guarantee good governance, development and peace to Nigerians.

As Olaide (2007) correctly opined: "it will ultimately lead to economic redistribution, abolition of poverty and creation of wealth which are prerequisites of social justice". Does the present crop of rulers in Nigeria have the political will to make chapter two of the Nigerian Constitution justiciable and enforceable? This is the crux of the matter. Otherwise, good governance, development and peace building will continue to be illusion.

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