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Highlights

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Contents of the Volume

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Table of Contents
v. From the Chief Editor's Desk
vi. Research and Review Papers

1. Corruption and Military Rule in Nigeria: An Over View 1966-1999. *1- 6*
2. Oil and Conflict Nexus: The Greed Model and Insecurity in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. *7-16*
3. Military Governance and Civil War: Ethnic Hegemony as a Constructive Factor in Nigeria. *17-35*
4. Measuring Public Opinion Regarding Peaceful Solution of Palestine Issue: An Experimental Study of University Students in Pakistan, Iran and United Arab Emirates. *37-42*
5. The Dilemma of Managing Foreign Workers in Malaysia: Opportunities and Challenges. *43-53*
6. A Research on Chang Chien's Reform Ideas. *55-62*

vii. Auxiliary Memberships
viii. Process of Submission of Research Paper
ix. Preferred Author Guidelines
x. Index

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Corruption and Military Rule in Nigeria: An Over View 1966-1999

By Wole Iyaniwura
Ekiti State University,

Introduction- In the discussion of such a topic as corruption which is a perennial subject of global concern one may start by defining some important terms in the topic.

Corruption is an act done with an intent to give some advantage inconsistent with official duty and the right of others. The act of officials or fiduciary person who unlawfully or wrongfully uses his station or character to procure some benefit for himself or for another person, contrary to his duty and the rights of others.

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Corruption and Military Rule in Nigeria: An Over View 1966-1999

Wole Iyaniwura

I. Introduction

In the discussion of such a topic as corruption which is a perennial subject of global concern one may start by defining some important terms in the topic.

Corruption is an act done with an intent to give some advantage inconsistent with official duty and the right of others. The act of officials or fiduciary person who unlawfully or wrongfully uses his station or character to procure some benefit for himself or for another person, contrary to his duty and the rights of others.[1]

Corruptionhas never been condoned by any legal system. Official corruption is legislated against in our statute books and the military is not as exception in the regards. For example section 98 of the Criminal Code provides[2] : inter alia, "that any person who being employed in the public service, and being charge d with the performance of any duty by virtue of such employment not being a duty touching administration of justices, (a) corruptly asks, receives, or obtains any property or benefit of any kind for himself or any other person on account of anything done or omitted to be done or afterwards done or omitted to be done by him, in the discharge of his office, or corruptly gives, confers or procures or attempt to procure or promises or offers to give confer, or to procure or attempt to procure, to upon or for, any person employed in the public service, or to upon, or for any other person any property or benefit of any kind on account of any such act or omission on the part o the person so employed is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for seven years".

II. Extortion by Public Officers

Section 99 of the Criminal Code provides: "Any person who being employed in the public service, takes or accepts from any person, for the performance of his duty as such officer, any reward beyond his pay and emoluments, or any promises of such reward is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for three years."

On assumption of powers inmost third world countries where they did military on their part have always portrayed a Messiahnic and idealistic image of themselves. For example, Late Major Patrick Chukwuma Kaduna Nzegwu on announcing his coup on January 15 1966 said among other things: my dear countrymen no citizen have anything to fear as long as that citizen is law-abiding. Our enemies are political profiteers, windlers, the men in high and low places that seek bribes and demand ten percent, this that seek to keep the country divided permanently so tat they can remain in office as ministers and VIP of waste, the tribunals, the nepotistic, those who make the country big for nothing before international circles, those that have corrupted our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds".[3] Nzegwu dispelling rumor about the tribal characteristic of the punch and its victims, emphasized and reiterated that the aim of the coup was to establish a strong, united and progressive nation free from corruption and internal strife.

These lofty idea was shortlived as the coup was hijacked by senior military adventurists, who put paid to the young officers' aim. The history of the nation was to take a different shape. The nation witnessed orchestrated corruption that made the reason why Nzegwu seized power a mere child's play.

Not much could be said about the short-lived regime of Ironsi that followed Nzegwu'sputch, though it tried to lay down the parameters of addressing the problem of corruption in Nigeria. The Gowon era which lasted for about nine (9) years witnessed corrupted in such an unprecedented scale that would have made Nzegwu shudder min his grave. Government hoped to lay down guidelines and a new standard for the conduct of public officers in this country. [4]

Mohammed's purge was not limited to state governors alone it spreadss to the judiciary, the police, the evil service, some parastatals and even the Universities. Several public officers were dismissed fort corrupt practices, olr retired with or without benefits. For redundancy or similar reason. At the end of the great purge, at least 100,000 workers were dismissed from the civil service for corrupt practices.[5] Some of the dismissed may have been wrongly done, but on the whole, Mohammed's purge was reckoned by the majority of Nigerian has salutary effect on public life in Nigeria, albeit only temporarily, as it did not deter the

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[1]DeLux Black's Law dictionary, sixty edition page 345.
[2]Cap 77 LFN, 1990.
[3]Makers of Modern Africa: Profiles in History Published by Africa Limited first Edition page 473.
[4]Ibid p. 68

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politicians of the second Republic from engaging in massive corruption.

III. The Buhari/Idiagbo Period

Gen MohammedBuhari claimed that his regime was an off-shoot of the Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo regime. He tried to restore sanity to the Nigerian society and attempted to wipe out corruption from our period life in Nigeria (i.e before the coming of Babangida) Buahri, like Mohammed presumed all the political office holders in the second republic guilty of corruption until they proved otherwise. He dumped them all into detention and set up numerous Tribunals both at the Federal and State levels to probe them. The findings which emerged from the Tribunals were shocking.

Under Decree 3 of 1984 (Recovery of public Property) which took retroactive effect from September, 1979 many were found guilty of several counts whose jail terms totaled hundreds of years, in addition to forfeiture of some and refund of the ill-gotten sum of money. Under the slogan WA (War Against indiscipline)Buhari and his deputy Idiagbo attempted to bring sanity into the Nigerian society by force.

IV. The Babangida Years (1986-1993)

The efforts of Murtala Mohammed and Muhammadu Buhari were undermined by the Babangida Regime. Not only id the regime encourage corruption, but pardoned corrupt officials convicted by his predecessors and returned their seized properties. The inglorious regime officially sanctioned corruption in the country and made it difficult to apply the only potential measures (long prison terms and seizure of ill-gotten wealth) for fighting corruption in Nigeria in the future.[6] Worse still, Babangida reversed the dismissal by Mohammed and promulgated a Decree which not only restores the ranks of the dismissed erstwhile military governors, but also returned their seized assets.

Right from the outset Babangida sent signals that his intention was to release all the politicians who had been detained or jailed by Buhari, in order to buy popularity. He however later set up a Judicial Tribunal which reviewed then cases of the jailed politicians on the assumption that Buhari's action was an excessive exhibition of zealotry.[7] Based on the recommendations of the Judicial Tribunal, the Babangida regime reduced the sentences of more than 50 convicted former public officials and acquitted 12 completely[8] distribute largesse to cronies. By 1991, Babangida had appointed altogether at least 70 governors, some of whom were redeployed from one State to another. When one adds these to frequent changes of his ministers, members of his Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) and the proliferation of institutions such as MAMSER, DFFRI, Better Life Programme, Center for Democratic Studies, National Council for Intergovernmental Studies- all in order to give job to the boys one begins to visualize the volume of corruption during the Babangida regime. Some of the apologists of Babangida have given us an insight into his attitude towards corruption.

"it would appears that Babangida humane disposition worked against any aggressive vigorous and ruthless was against all forms of corruption in the society… there seem, to have been an underlying philosophy, if you like, thinking, within then corridors of power n that these are "legitimate and legal loopholes" that can be exploited by public officers to make money and ensure their conform and that of their families after public office. After all, it really makes no sense for a top public officer to retire into a life of want or "socio – economic oblivion" especially when it is recognized that the same officer woulf have during his tenure made a good number of contractors millionaires or at least "thousand naires". Would it be morally wrong for such an officer to accept gift of cars or house given by favoured contractors or companies in a competitive bid for contract? From experience, most Nigerians would call that officer a fool, should he reject such offers and finally come out of public life, in deed of a car or a house."[9]

Under the looter in chief Babangida the Mobutu syndrome of "take what you need but don't take everything and get caught", became entrenched in public life.

V. The Abacha Years

Under Abacha who came to office in 1993, corruption and stealing walked on four steady, sure legs. The monstrosity of the Abacha fraud machine had bewildered the nation: Nigerians were appalled at how Abacha ran the country's treasury and economy like his own personal estate. Abacha was corruption personified. After the equally, unsavoury reign of Babangida, Nigerians though that the worse over. Abacha changed that so much that just a years after he came into office as Head of the junta, creative Lagos school children drawing from the failed promises, and track record of looting and plundering, soon found a praise, an acronym that defined the man "Afeter Babangida, Another Criminal Has Arrived" (ABACHA). The late general lived this acronym to the fullest.

[5]Anthony Kirk- Greerv and Donglas Rimmer, Nigeria since 1970: A political Economic Outline, London Hondder and Stronghton, 198, p. 11.

[6]Corruption and Democratization in Nigeria: Published by Freindrich Ebert Foundation (1996) Chapter2, Nigeria in Search of Political Culture: The political Class Corruption and Democratization by M.O Moduagwu (p. 17)

[7]Dickson Agedah, corruption and the Stability of the Thirds Republic, Lagos Perceptions Communication, 1993, p. 26

[8]

[9]Agendah, op cit p.48.

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Abacha, his cronies and his family ran an extensive corruption business that has all the looks of the Italian La Costra Mafia. His cravings for political power was matched only by a greed that often bordered on the bizarre and macabre. Under Abacha in order to perpetuate corruption, state apparatus were relegated into the background and they lost autonomy. Key ministries like petroleum, sold minerals, fiancé, works and housing, transport, industries and parastatals operated under the nose of the Abacha presidency. Ministers were utterly powerless if they did not join the fraud roller coaster'. By this time Abacha's three eldest children were already into the family business, in what seemed like a chapter straight out of Indonesia\s Suharto's corruption guide book. As President of Indonesia, Suharto helped his family build an extensive business empire based on government contracts and patronage. As Head of Nigeria's Military junta, while it lasted those who wanted a taste of Nigeria's rich pudding only had to tap on Abacha to succeed.

Abacha's late son Ibrahim provided contracts for many. Until he died in a plane crash in 1996, Ibrahim was evidently Abacha's business arrowhead handling discussion with the many contractors that bombarded Aso Rock. He also had another role: the channeling of family investments. When Ibrahim died, these roles devolved on Mohammed (currently facing murder charges) and so some extent, Zainab the third child and first daughter. The children had no clear cut corporate roles. What mattered was making in cash at whatever cost to both treasury and country. And the deal looked pretty easy. They faced stealing, it was subcontracting, over invoicing, importation and beer faced stealing. It was fraud incorporated. Through a well engineered scheme Abacha successfully crippled the Nigerian economy in order to make for his family and cronies.

By the time the late dictator died the "Times" of London reported that heands his family were worth some 3.5 billion pounds sterling or $5.6 billion ($ 476 billion)[10]. This is just about a little less than the total value o Nigeria external reserve put at $7 billion last year but which sources say had been dipped into to make for a shortfall in oil revenue expectations due to reduced oil price.[11] Sources hint that the Abacha family may indeed be worth about $ 8 billion or more (at least some $ 700 billion). At this Abacha, in under 5 years as Nigeria's maximum ruler, bested the worst of Africa's tribe of thieving dictators Mobutu Sere Seko who ate the height of his 3 decades' rule, had the unique record of having lent part of his loot back to his country. Mobutu was worth a mere $ 3.5 billion according to a French magazine "Levenement du Jeudi".

VI. The Period of Abdulsalami Abubakar

Over the years, the conduct of Nigerian's military juntas has proved that looting the national treasury ids largely the exclusive preserves of the comradesin arms. However, during Abacha's time he extent of the involvement of ministers and civilian appointees left Nigerian dumbfounded. When Abubaka stepped into Abacha's shoes and radiated some innocence, many Nigerians though perhaps his regime would be different from those of his rapacious predecessors. How regime would be different from those of his rapacious predecessors. How wrong they were! It has since become obvious that even as the junta pretended to be inquiring into alleged stolen billions under Abacha, the new helsman positioned himself, friend and military colleagues for the next round of raiding the public treasury. And it did not take a long time for hints of something gone awry to emerge.

A few weeks after Abubaker became head of the junta, m about $50 million was discovered to be missing by the national economic intelligence Committee, NEIC led by Professor Samuel Aluko. The head of the junta chose to cover up this j early morning' shock. In order to make up for the missing millions. Abubakar who had just arrived from a tour of Britain, United States and France at the time, hurriedly embarked on another tour of some West African States. Sources said this provided a perfect explanation to cover up the missing million. In the end, it was said that the missing amount was used to offer assistance to needy neighbouring African countries.[12] What became clear to discerning insiders was that another era of kleptomania had got off to a well packaged start, with Abubakar himself playing a cntral role. Already an ugly picture was emerging, indicating that a lot of brasshats in Aso Rock were capitalizing on the head of the Junta's weakness to perpetuate fraud. And as it is customary with every military junta, several tribes of over light millionaires were being made through inflated contracts, outright diversion of public funds, allocation ofk choice oil blocs and fraudulent allocation of money under the pretext of officialdom. The tactics for looting are many and varied but what appeared most outstanding is that, given short span of this junta, a lot of spurious contracts were awarded. Some of the spending spree are ubnder listed below.

a. Reuters New agency reported, that about N60 billion would be spent by ministries in 26 days.[13]
b. When Abacha died the external reserve was $7 billion. But went down to just $ 4 billion.[14]
c. The contract for CBN headquarters building in Abuja was reportedly awarded for about N15 billion,

[10]Tell, May 17, 1990 (p. 21)
[11]Ibid (p.22)

[12] Tell, May 17, 1999 (p.21)
[13]Ibid (p. 22).

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while that of the Defence Headquarters is put at 2Nbillion

d. For the Nigeria '999 Lucrative contracts were given ton some members of the junta to supply telecommunications equipment worth $50 million.[15]

The various military governors under Abubakar were no better, those in the so called lucrative states also dipped their fingers into the treasury of such States. For example, the so called wonder boy of Lagos Buba Marwa, to most Lagosian is simply a crafty cheat who blindfolded the people through populist programmes while "fraudulently" enriching himself with little or no suspicious.

One can sum up the position of what transpired during military rule in Nigeria in the words of Professor Sam Aluko "when a national gives its rule to the military, the national is finished. When a solder captures a city he loots it. When a soldier captures a country what do you expect?. He loots it"

VII. Peculiar Nature of the Military with Regards to Corruption

Military rule by nature is characterized with arbitrariness. By virtue of the fact that they are not accountable to anybody or representatives such asparliament or National Assembly makes them vulnerableo all sorts of abuses. The consequence of which is corruption. Corruption flourishes in a situation of unaccountability, and is exacerbated by absolute discretion. Corruption grows like cancer and pushes whatever limits there may be if there may be if there are no limits and controls. A corrupt regime is the one most likely to abuse human rights in order to repress the accountability and transparency which would reveal the dishonesty of the culprits. These appear to be the fate of Nigerian which have had to beunder one form of military administration or then other for almost 29 years out of 39 years of political independence.[16]

VIII. Effects of Corruption

1. It discourages industry and honesty. This clearly affects productivity and therefore development.
2. Corruption, especially in form of bribery adds to cost, increase prices and reduces the capacity to purchase. This is had fort the economy.
3. Corruption leads leakages in the economy. It therefore does not make for effective planning and subsequently it affects the quality of life.
4. Corruption introduces distortion in the society. It makes some to become excessively rich while others, usually the[17] majority poor. This is turn distorts consumption patterns which is not in the national interested. It also introduces distortion in the polity as only the affluent shows some degree of patriotism.[18] The military years exhibited all the above tendencies even in an more massive scale than postulated by the learned writer.

IX. Effective of Corruption under the Military

The major effect is that military rule with its unabated corruption brought untold poverty and mystery to Nigerians. A country which at a particular time paid civil servants wags for the Caribbean could no longer meet its waged demands.

i. Development as earlier stated became hampered by corruption… in 1984, ten years after the oil boom, per capital income of average Nigerians was no higher than that of 1974.
ii. In 1980 the economy declined at a rate of 0.4% annually.
iii. In 1990- Nigeria was the 17th poorest country in the world. Despite Oil wind fall, the per capital income was lower than those of India and Kenya (same year $12billion gulf war oil windfall was unaccounted for).
iv. In 1996 Human Development Report (UNDO) ranked Nigeria 137th out of 174 in its index of development
v. Declining Oil Revenues 1997 ($12 million) 1998 ($19 million) 1999 ($ 8million). Estimates of Abacha's cash worth £3.8 billion of $ 5 billion[19] Whatever the country had lost in terms of development subsequently became those of the looter and their felloe adventures in power.

A few examples will reveal the position that what those officials during military rule have stashed away are more than the spending of some states in Nigeria.

1. Lagos State 1998/1999 capital expenditures = N3.4 billion Jeremiah UnseniN4 billion.
2. Total Health Budget 1998/99 =N35million. $400 million (N35billion) found in one of Abacha's Accounts.
3. Total amount recovered from Abacha's friends (Gwanzo and Co) = N68billion. Almost equivalent to the budget of 36 states. NEPA needs N9.6 billion to restore Egbin Thermal Station. Universities went on strike for 7 months for N 3.billion.
4. Ajaokuta debt buy back N2billion. In excess of all that PTF has spent in all 3 years of its existence to pay up all bills and wages etc.[20]

[14]Ibid (p.23)
[15]Ibid (p.234)
[16]Ibid (p. 2 25)
[17]OlukayodeTaiwo: "Corruption in the Civil Society: The Rule of Institutions" Paper presented at a two-day round table on the impact of Corruption on Political Reform and Economic Recovery of Nigeria organized by the Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, Lagos on the 31st March, 1999.p. p.7.
[18] Professor J.F. Akingbade: "Corruption
[19]Professor J.F. Akingbade: "Corruption in the Civil, Society: The Rule of Students Body, Non Government Organizations: Academic, Religion organizations the general popular.
[20]Ibid (p.7)

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Another sad aspect of the effect of corruption on the nation are the existences of abandoned projects all over the nation. Most of these projects are internationally financed and while they are not completed the loans keep on accruing interests while some are totally cancelled by the financing institutions. The following chart is a breakdown of major ADB projects in Nigeria as at October 1996.

X. ADB Projects in Nigeria as at October, 1996

S/N	PROJECT	YEARS OF APPROVAL	AMOUNT IN MILLION	% OF DISBURSEMENT	STATUS
1	ANAMBRA/Enugu Rural Infrastructure Project	1989	$122.55	63.70	Inadequate counterpart funding unsatisfactory performance local contractor
2.	Edo/Delta water supply project	1990	$188.11	100.04	75% complete loan exhaust with cost over
3	Ibadan water supply project	1986	$39	75.96	Mixed
4	Forestry development project Ondo/Ogun	1986	$104	38.12	Inadequate local counterpart contribution
5	Nigeria Agricultural ^ Co0operative Bank NACB institutional strengthening project	1992	$69.15	66.81	Poor management/irregular audit reports and quarterly progress reports.
6	Savanna sugar Rehabitation	19991	$68.7	5.52	
7	Hadejia Valley irrigation	1991	$55.26	Notice of cancellation given	
8	Forestry Resources Study	1993	$40.8	26.84	Default in Implementation
9	Bacita Sugar Expansion	1989	$101.22	78.51	On going
10	Plateau State Water supply	1991	14.1	49.87	
11	Bauchi State Health	1990	$33.855	100	85% completed loan exhausted with cost overruns
12	Bauchi township water supply	1988	$67.425	100	Completed satisfaction
13	Kwara /Kogi/Niger Health project	1991	$19.62	65.34	Inadequate counterpart funding
14	Multi- State health service rehabilitation Kebbi/Ondo/Ogun	1992	$82.89	6.10	inadequate counterpart funding
15	River State Rice	1991	$2.07	72.46	Loan cancelled notice given
16	Line of credit to Nigeria Industrial Development Bank	1989	$120	84.91	
17	River Basin Irrigation Planning Study	1992	$5.52		Loan cancelled October 1996 being inactive
18	Animal vaccine and drug production	1992	$0.78		Loan cancelled October 1996 being inactive
19	Ibadan- Ilorin High way	1994	$1.17		Unsigned canceled in 1996
20	Industrial Exports Support	1993	$2.25		Loan cancelled in may 1996 government request
21	Bank Note and Security paper	1994	$85.59		Unsigned cancelled in 1996
22	Gombe Water Supply	1994	$76.65		Unsigned loan cancelled in May 1996

Source: New swatch, October 19, 1991

Of the 22 projects covered by this chart only was successfully completed. All the others are marred by the irregularity or the other and it is safe to conclude that the projects will not be completed or will be complete at excessive cost to development. A principal unseen factor in all these projects, the multinational

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companies or their local subsidiaries handling the usually technical projects and the international consultant usually appointed by the multilateral lending agency [21].

S earlier indicated the sad commentary is that whether or not these loan are profitable the country is obliged to pay back because loans of multilateral agencies are regarded as senior debts which cannot be written off[22]. The country has to source foreign exchange which could be put to more productive use to service loans on failed projects. Little wonder then that the president of the Word Bank said recently that there is a strong positive relationship between corruption and economic growth[23]. He also confirmed that the country with high corruption levels which fails to do something about it risk being perpetually out of the world economy. [24]Under the military the worst charters have come to the forefront on the state apparatus and the nation has become impoverished by this unfortunate disaster.

XI. Conclusion

The country is just shedding of the yoke of militarism and kleptocracy which has plagued us for a long time. While one should appreciate the various efforts of the Obasanjo regime to start on a clean state' the fact remains that the army had always and did operate with willing civilian collaborates some of who have inroaded themselves into this present administration. The government should take more concrete steps to stamp out the cancer of corruption.

The current anti-corruption bill presented to the National Assembly by the President is a welcome idea. However, a long term and positive position should be taken by the government to deal with corruption. Corruption, like the armed robber is not a spirit, to sue a popular radio and television jingle. It can be tackled not by the use of law only but also by the total reform of the political and economic orientation of the society in Nigeria for example there are basic factors which fuel. For corruption. One of this mediocrity. The placement of square pegs in round holes in vital areas of Nigeria's pubic service in the name of federal character has fuelled corruption as mush as any feeling of insecurity because the mediocre and incompetent public officer will gratify self and cronies to stay in office at all costs to ensure a position which isa constantly in need for excellence. In the process excellence is frustrated and development stultified.[25]

There is a need for re-orientation of the society at large, a public awareness programme. It may do the country a lot of good if the campaign starts from public institutions. The period of a wasted generation" by the army as Professor Wole Soyika put it has imbibed into children and youth and almost everyone a culture of corruption and hence graft. That is nothing goes for nothing. Though it is very important that those who used their position to plunder the country's resources should be dealt with as it is being currently pursued, a long term measure need to be put in place. The country should wake up from the problem created by past military kleptocracy to face the next millennium and create a country for which coming generations can be proud of. While a totally corruption free society is an impossible or utopian task, we can join countries such as Bostwana where it has been reduced to the barest minimum. This will create an atmosphere for meaningful growth and sustained development.

[21]On the Impact of external loans on development see Bolaji Owasanoye "Development and External Loans Paradox of Incompatible". Nigerian Current law Review (995) at p. 110

[22]See generally, Ayua and Owasanoye External Debt and financial Management in Nigeria Institute of Advanced Legal Studies 1997

[23] Guardian Wednesday, March 17, 1998 at p. 29

[24]Ibid

[25] Bolaji Owasanoye, Corruption an Enemy within (p.15)

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Oil and Conflict Nexus: The Greed Model and Insecurity in the Niger Delta, Nigeria

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Abstract- The Niger Delta has for the past two decades been the focus of national and international discuss. The region was virtually ungovernable; enmeshed in panoply of violent conflicts that dove-tailed into near full blown youths driven insurgency. This made the region anarchic and inhospitable for the oil companies. Various studies posit a close link between natural resources and conflict, and oil as being central to conflict. This perspective is underpinned by the greed (economic) model, which posits that conflicts in Africa are greed driven. Militants' involvement in oil theft has given fillip to the notion that greed underpins insecurity in the Niger Delta. The paper examines the Niger Delta conflicts within the context of the greed model. The paper concludes that insecurity has been goaded by grievance rather than greed as conflicts in the Niger Delta evolved through many stages of oppression, repression and exploitation.

Keywords: *oil, greed, insecurity, niger delta.*

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I. Introduction

Since the 1990s, African states have been dogged by insecurity from violent intra-state conflicts that nearly turned several states, Nigeria inclusive into failed states. These conflicts involved states well endowed with natural resources. Various studies posit a close linkage between natural resources and conflict, with oil at the apex (Khan, 1994; Karl, 1997; Coronil, 1997). The *economics of civil war* (Collier 1999) gave fillip to the natural resource conflict nexus. Thus Mbembe (2001:280) asserted that "Regions at the epicentre of oil production are bisected by repeated conflicts". The theory gives detailed illumination on conflicts in natural resources endowed states. It explains conflicts notably in Africa in terms of *economic* driven rebellion, due to natural resources profusion. The greed theory premises onset of violent conflicts on greed and not grievance (Collier and Hoeffler, 2000; 2002, 2004).In other words, greed defined in terms of opportunity cost of a rebellion provides explanation for the conflicts in natural resource endowed African states instead of grievance related issues; political marginalisation, exclusion and neglect. That is, the only interest of rebel leaders is the looting of resources for personal enrichment. Hence, Collier, (1999) asserted that the real cause of most rebellions is not the loud discourse of grievance, but the silent voice of greed. Other writers (Mwanasali 2000; Berdal and Malone 2000; Fearon and Laitin, 2003) also share this view. Resort to Insurgency it is said is hinged on the fact that natural resource dependent states often, suffer a horde of economic and political diseases (Auty, 2001); slow economic growth (Sachs and Warner, 1997, 2001; Manzano and Rigobon, 2001) and markedly high corruption level (Sachs and Warner, 1999; Leite and Weidemann, 1999; Gylfason, 2001). The model has generally underpinned explanations for conflicts in Africa and elsewhere. Indeed, conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Angola, Sudan, Equatorial Guinea, and Congo DR seem to strengthen the greed thesis.

The Nigerian State's view of the Niger Delta conflict seemed underpinned by the *greed* thesis, as; coercion has been the trademark policy under all successive regimes. Only President Yar'Adua attempted albeit feebly to end the conflict with amnesty declaration on June 25. 2009. But this was after massive air, land and sea attacks on Gbaramatu Axis (suspected militants haven) that killed 2000 persons but failed to stem insecurity. The amnesty was indeed, induced by militants' shut-in of a million barrels of oil daily due to attacks on oil facilities; pipelines, flow stations, platforms, drilling rigs and kidnapping of oil workers. The paper therefore examines the Niger Delta conflicts and in particular, the natural resource conflict nexus within the context of the *greed* model. It poses the question; *Is the greed model (lootable) oil resource adequate and proper in explaining insecurity in the Niger Delta?*

II. Conceptual Framework

Historical institutionalism or path Dependency explains conflicts in terms of historical events and choices that induce decisions in the present political situation of a state. It stresses that past political events largely inhibit the future in a state (Mahoney, 2000:510). It involves processes that are highly sensitive to events that take place in the early stages of an overall historical sequence (of a country) and "… self reinforcing processes in institutions that make institutional structures, and hence their policies, hard to change once the pattern has been accepted" (Peters *et al.*, 2005:1276). By showing that political developments are linked to institutional changes "and conceiving political choices as periodic interruptions in path-dependent policies, historical institutionalism tends to identify the chosen policy options as the logical, and generally the

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most rational … choice at any given time" (Peters *et al.*, 2005:1277). Indeed, this theory implies that a minor or fleeting action or a seemingly trivial lead for public policy can have important and irreversible influences and/or constraints on the institution of a state (Liebowitz and Margolis, 1995).

Institutions are thus, socially constructed in the sense that they embody shared cultural values ("shared cognitions", "interpretive frames") of the way things work (Meyer and Rowan, 1991; Scott, 1995:33; Zucker, 1983:5). Hence, some analysts opine that certain organisations come and go, but emergent institutional forms will be "isomorphic" with (i.e. compatible with, resembling, and similar in logic to) existing ones because political actors extract causal designations from the world around them and these cause-and-effect understandings inform their approaches to new problems (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991:11; Dobbin, 1994). Thus, even when policy makers set out to redesign institutions, they are guarded in what they can devise by embedded, cultural constraints. These constraints may be formal or informal, but deal with structures and institutions that set precedents which affect political and economic decisions in the future. They are referred to as historical accidents that impact actual political developments within a political terrain since the start of a particular path in a specified type of socio-political situation which is called a "critical juncture" may be small events capable of great after effects.

For instance, from the mid 1940s, Nigeria practiced fiscal federalism with revenue allocation based on the principle of derivation. But as oil became the main revenue earner, the derivation principle was switched for landmass and population; parameters acutely lacking in the Niger Delta. This denied the region the benefits of rapid development through oil resources (Emuedo and Ebohon, 2009b). The Niger Delta was thus, fiscally deprived, while the other region (ethnic majorities) continued to enjoy benefits of increased revenues. As such, despite the over $600 billion revenues earned from oil (Watts, 2008) the region remain deeply impoverished. Historical institutionalists argue therefore, that timing and sequence of a specific event or processes matter a great deal (Gerschenkron, 1962; Kurth, 1979; Shefter, 1977; Ertman, 1997). Thus, in the state of socio-economic underdevelopment, crisis of poverty has kept the Niger Delta besieged with insecurity.

III. Oil, the State and the Niger Delta

The Niger Delta as historically defined is the area bound by the Benin River in the West, Imo River in the East, Aboh in the North and in the South, Palm Point at Akassa (Dike, 1956; Willinks *et al.*, 1958; Akinyele, 1998). Based on this definition, the Niger Delta is today comprised of Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States[1]. The total land area is 25,640 km^2; Low land Area 7,400km^2, Fresh Water Swamp 11,700 km^2, Salt Water Swamp 5,400 km^2 and Sand Barrier Islands 1,140 km^2 respectively (Ashton-Jones, 1998). Since the 1980s, oil has accounted for over 80% of state revenues, 90% of foreign exchange earnings and about 96% of export revenues (Ohiorhenan, 1984; Ikein, 1990; ICG 2006b; UNSD, 2009). Nigeria has 36.2 billion barrels in proven oil reserves as of January 2007 (RWI, 2010) and produces about 2.45 million barrels daily. But Guichaoua (2009) opined that were the Niger Delta more secured production would increase by between 100,000 and 500,000 barrels daily. The region also has an estimated 159 trillion cubic feet (Tcf) of natural gas reserves (NNPC, 2009) but RWI (2010) but the figure at 182 Tcf. The Niger Delta is the twelfth richest area in hydrocarbon resources in the world (Klett *et al.*, 1997).

However, oil activities are major sources of pollution that cause severe damages to the environment (Okpokwasili, 1996; Snape *et al.*, 2001; Liu and Wirtz, 2005). This has been worsened by the oil companies' impunity of operations (Brooks, 1994); oil activities in the Niger Delta involved incessant oil spillages. For instance Shell's oil operations in Nigeria accounts for mere 14% of its production worldwide but account for over 40% of its oil spillages globally (Gilbert, 2010). DPR (Department of Petroleum Resources) reported that from 1976 to 2005 over 4 million barrels of oil was spilled into the environment in over 9,000 incidents (Egberongbe *et al.*, 2006; Emuedo, 2010). Some researchers have dismissed these figures, averring that actual figures are three times higher (Grevy, 1995; Banfield, 1998; Nassiter, 2010). Also, over 74% of gas (Watts 2001) or about 56.6 million cubic metres (Gerth and Labaton, 2004) is flared daily in the region. This constitutes the largest single source of global warming worldwide (Hunt, 2000). The flares generate temperatures of between 1,300°C to 1,400°C, produces cocktail of toxins; CO_2, VOC, CO, NOx and particulates round the clock and emit 34 million tons of CO_2 and 12 million tons of methane annually (Ake, 1996; Shelby, 1996:28; World Bank, 1995, 2000/2001). Thus, the World Wildlife Fund in 2006, dubbed the Niger Delta the most polluted place on earth (Watts, 2008).

Impacts of oil pollution and gas flares have resulted in adverse physical deterioration of the region's environment (Moffat and Linden, 1995), crippled agricultural practices (Ibeanu, 1997) and accelerated depletion of the mangrove forests (FAO, 2005:50). Specifically, oil impacted areas remain unsuitable for agricultural practices for decades (Ekekwe, 1983) due to soil degradation. Inoni *et al.* (2006) reported that oil spill of about 10% reduces crops yield by about 1.5% and farmer's income by over 5%. Oil pollution of water bodies have also, led to bio-accumulation of heavy metals to toxic levels by most fish species (Benson *et*

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al., 2007; Nubi, *et al*., 2011), acute decline in fish stocks and extinction of certain flora and fauna (Omoweh 1978; Emuedo 2010). Studies show that poor water quality affects species composition, assemblages and distribution of plankton (Boney, 1983), benthos (Dance, and Hynes 1980) and fish (Kutty, 1987). Additionally, heat from gas flares kills vegetation, impacts plants growth and crop yields (Mba 2000:223; UNDP 2006:186). For instance, drastic reduction has been reported in yields of sweet potato Udoinyang (2005) and cassava/yam (Odjugo 2007). Indeed Salau (1993) and Adeyomo, (2002) reported that crops yield reduced by 10% at a distance of 1000 metres, 45% at a distance of 600 metres and 100% at a distance of 200 metres from gas flare sites. Odjugo (2010) also, reported yield reduction of 85.7%, at 500m, 82.1%, at 1 km 75%, at 2km, and 32%, at 5 km from flare sites of seed vegetable; melon. The effects of these have constricted traditional means of livelihoods; exposing the Niger Delta people to extreme poverty vulnerabilities. Thus, despite its oil, the Niger Delta is Africa's epicentre of the poorest (Time 2006:20). It is in the light of the foregoing that the greed thesis is examined within the context of the Niger Delta.

IV. The Greed Versus Grievance Model

Over the past ten years various studies have been carried out on the causes of civil war, with the works of Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (see Collier and Hoeffler, 1998; 2002a; 2002b; 2004; Collier, 1999; 2000a; 2000b) being the most influential. Their works stirred myriads of inquiries into the relationship between natural resource endowment and the onset of civil war (Ross, 2004). The media such as *The Financial Times, The Washington Post, The New York Times* and *The Economist*, widely reported their findings (Fearon, 2005). They have been cited profusely in governmental and international reports on security and stability, including the reports of the Commission for Africa, the British Prime Minister's Strategy Unit[2], and the United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change[3].

This view argues that two major factors are responsible for violent conflicts in natural resource endowed states: *grievance* over political marginalisation and exploitation and the quest for economic gains in the event of natural resource wealth *(greed)*. The latter, which is purely economic-driven, has immense capacity to increase the propensity of conflicts and wars since the wealth accruable through these resources creates incentives for different groups to vie for state control to enhance its quest for control of the country's wealth (Welsh, 1996:485; Young, 1982:170). Defining *greed* in terms of "…ability to finance rebellion …" and *grievance* in terms of ethnic and religious divisions, political repression and inequality …". Collier and Hoeffler (2002b:1), sets a paradigm for discourse into the dynamics of violent intra-state conflicts especially in natural resource endowed African states. They opined that wars or civil conflicts have the propensity of occurring "… if the incentive for rebellion is sufficiently large relative to the costs" (Collier and Hoeffler, 1998:563). The pivot of rebellion based on this view is drive towards state capture or secession – "… the incentive for rebellion is the product of the probability of victory and its consequences." (Collier and Hoeffler, 1998: 564).

They also stated that primary commodities dependent states seem to have lower conflict risk since rentier states are able to deploy accruable wealth for internal security and repression of all opposition as well as insurgency (Collier and Hoeffler, 2002a; 2002b). In the "economic causes of civil war", they concluded that; "*The effect of natural resource endowment is non-monotonic. Initially, increased natural resources increase the risk of war. … However, at a higher level, natural resources start to reduce the risk of war. We interpret this as being due to the enhanced financial capacity of the government, and hence its ability to defend itself through military expenditure, gradually coming to dominate* …"(Collier and Hoeffler, 1998: 571)

It would seem therefore, that natural resources endowment creates both incentives as well as risks of civil wars as happened in Congo DR, Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Thus, they insisted that conflicts – especially those that are resource-related are better explained by the greed model that focuses on the sources of finance of civil war (Collier and Hoeffler, 2002a; 2002b). They contended that though grievance may account for certain conflicts, the economic prospects for rebellion propels groups more easily towards violent conflicts. They therefore asserted that: … *social fractionalisation, measured as religious and ethnic diversity, lowers the risk of conflicts. Typically rebel organisations recruit their members from similar backgrounds and diversity may make it more difficult to generate a large rebel force and to maintain cohesion during war."* (Collier and Hoeffler, 2002b: 1). Two basic notions are disenable; (i) since insurgency is less about grievance than greed, rebellion is more of organised crime, (ii) government and rebels are two separate discrete entities.

Thus, by examining conflicts from this greed model, it becomes logical to understand mobilisation along rebellious lines as it would be easier to mobilise people when the state is relatively weak; when the opportunity cost for rebellion is lower than having peaceful negotiations; and above all when funds are really available (through several sources; extortion, looting and funding from the Diaspora) to acquire arms and personnel in the quest for state capture or economic power. They averred that it is difficult to mobilise enough rebellious forces against the state

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based on ethnic grievances. They opined that grievances based on ethnic hatred, political repression, exclusion and marginalisation implying ethnic diversity, diverse opinion, motives and political affinity within the polity, which is antithetical for cohesion against the state. Thus, it is obvious that violent conflicts can be explained more explicitly in terms of the economic drives that motivate groups to engage in violent acts. However, some writers have criticised the greed model on methodological grounds (Boschini *et al.*, 2004; Hegre and Sambanis, 2006; Murshed and Tadjoeddin, 2007). The next section discusses the main tenets of the greed thesis within the context of the Niger Delta conflicts.

V. The Greed Model and Conflicts in the Niger Delta

As earlier mentioned, the greed model has underpinned explanations for conflicts in resource endowed African states. However, the greed model seems limited in explaining the Niger Delta conflicts. For instance, inherent in the greed model is the notion that insurgents are motivated by greed, not grievance. That is, the focus of insurgents is on secession from, or, to gain control of the state for predation purposes. This does not seem to be so in the Niger Delta, as secession has never been part of the people's demand at any fora. Rather, they have only demand for restructuring of the Nigerian federation to reflect fiscal federalism as was applicable from 1953 to 1967. There is no evidence whatsoever, suggesting militants' attempt at state capture in their activities. In the absence of any secessionist attempt, or state capture, the greed factor, as the premise of insecurity becomes weakened substantially.

Another notion of the greed thesis is the separateness of rebels and government; i.e, government and rebels are two separate discrete entities. Again, this on close scrutiny appears not true for the Niger Delta. Politicians recruited and armed the earliest militias as political thugs to deliver votes in the 2003 elections. Thus, the militants got their start through support (finance and arms) from politicians, who make-up the government. Therefore, the idea, of an impermeable membrane separating two discrete entities; government and rebels not only becomes porous but actually breaks down. Additionally, huge caches of arms used by militias were overtly or covertly acquired from the Nigerian military (Watts, 2008). Even the economic argument; predation appears rather weak in the Niger Delta. Looting of natural resource (oil in this case), is a key argument of the greed model. Thus, militias' involvement in oil theft seems to justify greed as the cause of insecurity. However, oil theft in the region involves not only militias but it is organised through a network involving senior officials of state, armed forces and politicians. Indeed, oil theft is an endemic practice long known in the military era (Asuni, 2009b). Turner (1976) painted how Nigeria's rentier economy widened opportunities for parallel economies to develop around oil in which state officials and clients are deeply ingrained. With the advent of democracy in 1999, the state itself appear to "capture" rebellion and transformed it in its own likeness; a mirror at one end of a continuum not far removed from the official and unofficial economy of oil-related pillage, which is political practice in Nigeria (Nwajiaku-Dahou, 2012). For instance, two naval officers, Rear Admirals Francis Agbiti and Samuel Kolawole were dishonourably discharged from service for illegally setting free a ship, MT African Pride, arrested on October 8, 2003 for stealing over 11,000 metric tons of crude oil (Omonobi and Abdulah, 2005).

Thus, militias' engagement in oil theft is not enough to denominate greed as motivating the conflicts. Many writers' have attributed insecurity in the Niger Delta to greed because they misconstrued activities of armed gangs (pseudo-militias) in the region before the onset of insurgency as those of militias. In discussing the Niger Delta conflicts, a dichotomy must be made between the era of pseudo-militias (2001-2004) and real militancy (2005-2009)[4]. This dichotomy would show that militias paid little attention to oil theft. For example, (CC, 2009:159) shows that oil theft averaged 400,000 barrels daily between 2001 and 2005 (armed gangs era) but plunged to about 110,000 barrels between 2006 and 2009 (militias era). Between 2001 and 2005 the pseudo-militias either escorted oil bunkering vessels for their patrons, or engaged in oil bunkering for themselves. This was what led to the fight (war of the creeks) between Asari Dokubo and Ateke Tom in 2004. The fight was over sphere of influence (governable space) for oil bunkering activities for themselves, after Dokubo became estranged with erstwhile godfather Governor Peter Odili of Rivers State. Even if the armed gangs are equated to militias, their involvement in oil theft would also not justify the greed label. For, as, Agbonifo (2007) stated, resort by militants to economic predation to sustain the conflict does not diminish issues that ignited the conflict. Indeed, what the actions of the militias have brought to the fore is that violent conflicts could contain elements of greed and frustration (Arnson, 2005). The reason is that a political conflict could mutate into a situation were short term economic benefits assume primacy; in violent conflicts, greed and grievance may coexist (Arnson and Zartman, 2005). The question then is would insurgency have arisen had the benefits of oil accrued to Niger Delta, as the ethnic majority regions with agriculture?

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VI. What Factors Underpinned the Niger Delta Conflicts

Kapucinski (1982:34-35) noted that "Oil creates the illusion of a completely changed life, life without work … life of ease, wealth, fortune, power". The advent of oil in the Niger Delta brought expectation of rapid socio-economic development. The expectation was not unfounded. Before the advent of oil, revenue sharing was based on the principle of derivation. From 1946-1967, each region received minimum 50% of the revenues it generated. As a result, the regions of the tripartite major ethnicities enjoyed rapid socio-economic development. The North established Arewa house, Ahmadu Bello University, Kaduna Polytechnic, Durba Hotel, Bank of the North and New Nigerian Newspaper; the East set-up University of Nigeria Nsukka, United Bank for Africa, Commerce Bank, the Presidential Hotel chain and Premier Brewery; while the West set-up University of Ife, Ibadan Polytechnic, Cocoa House, Western House, industrial estates, Housing estates at Apapa, Ikeja (Lagos), Bodija (Ibadan), National Bank and African first Television station (Emuedo and Idahosa, 2005). Lacking in resources, the Niger Delta was utterly undeveloped; Willink *et al*. (1958) described the region as "*poor, backward, neglected*". The Niger Delta's impoverish state compared to others led to Isaac Boro's 12-day revolution in 1966. But in 1967 when oil revenues surpassed agriculture, the derivation principle was replaced with landmass and population; two parameters acutely lacking in the Niger Delta. As Fashina, (1998:109) opined, abnegation of the derivation principle was determined by primordial interests of the different factions of the ethnic majorities based on their political power. For the switch guaranteed increased revenues to regions of the major ethnicities but denied the Niger Delta benefits that the major ethnicities enjoyed from agriculture (Emuedo and Ebohon, 2009b).

As a result, after over 40 years of oil, the Niger Delta remained "*poor, backward, neglected*", as oil failed to improve the region. Hence, Lubeck *et al*. (2007) asserted that the Niger Delta is archetypal case of the "paradox of oil"; vast oil resources only beget deep catholic poverty. This geo-political contradiction of poverty amidst oil wealth gave rise to frustration and angst in the region. As Dollard *et al*. (1939:1) has noted "Aggression is always a consequence of frustration". They opined that "Aggression always presupposes the existence of frustration" and also, "frustration always leads to aggression" Dollard *et al*. (1939:7). In other words when an individual, a group or groups are prevented from reaching their goals they get frustrated and often, this results in aggression (Barker *et al*., 1941). Aggression it is stated results, from feelings of the people that their progress is being deliberately blocked by others to hurt them, hence they view it as personal attack (Averill, 1982, 1983; Weiner, 1985; Dodge, 1986). According to Berkowitz (1969, 1978) frustration has been constantly fingered as precursor of aggression.

Closely linked with the frustration-aggression model is the concept of "relative deprivation", which states that often, people perceive themselves deprived, relative to others (Barker *et al*., 1941). In the opinion of Stewart (2000) this happens when conditions improve for one group but not for another and the deprived group deem this unjust. Relative deprivation as Gurr (1970) noted, is the variance between what people think they deserve, and what they are getting. Often, this gives rise to group identity. The potential for collective violence is strongly tied to the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among group members Gurr (1970:24). Thus, group and identity are vital for grievance (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000), without these, organised large-scale violence, is unfeasible, even if conflict is underpinned largely by greed (Olson, 1965). Ronnfeldt (1977) outlined fourfold sense in which the term relative deprivation can be understood; comparison with a situation in the past, to other social groups, to what the actors feel they expect or to a mix of the preceding three. The last point may provide the key to understanding the transformation of erstwhile peaceful conflicts to violent forms, in the Niger Delta. The Niger Delta people are unable to see the benefits of oil, as agriculture had done to other regions in the past, a change in the country's historical path. Arising from the foregoing, it is argued that conflict in Niger Delta is intertwined with the denial of the ontological needs of the people, exacerbated by bad governance. As Lowenthal, (1986:250) opined, "The Niger Delta conflict transcends the conception of conflict simply as the fear of the past lived in the present; it is an engrained and habitual awareness of deprivation". That is, having experienced abject neglect for years, the Niger Delta people need no re-enactment to retrigger their unassuaged history injuries and injustices. It should be noted that when dialogue and constitutional means of seeking redress are anathema, violent forms of expression become inevitable. The Niger Delta suffered exploitation under colonialism; this has remained unchanged in post colonial Nigeria. The Nigerian state is perceived in Niger Delta, since independence as, hostage to the tripartite majority ethnic groups. This has deepened the injunction between state policies and the needs of the ethnic majorities, except where such needs coincide with the clannish and primordial interest of the ethnic majorities; often, they do not.

Hence, the Niger Delta has remained epicentre of ethnic minority rights protests as under colonialism. Azar (1990:7) has noted that "A single communal group or a coalition of a few communal groups that are unresponsive to the needs of other groups in the society ... strains the social fabric and eventually breeds fragmentation and protracted conflicts. Strident call for

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fiscal federalism as was the case prior to until 1967 was goaded by the asymmetry of development between the Niger Delta and non-oil producing areas. Palpably pervasive poverty has remained the hall mark of years of oil exploitation in the region. This mirror of neglect gives fillip to Azar's notion of protracted social conflict and diminishes Colliers subordination of grievance to greed. The history of exploitation of Niger Delta shows that the people are justified to be aggrieved, thus, weakening the greed factor in explaining the Niger Delta conflicts. Buzan (1991:19) identified five areas of threat to human security; military, political, economic, social and environmental. The Niger Delta conflict fits this classification. It includes crises of confidence owing to protracted failure of the state to deliver good governance; dissatisfaction with the current revenue allocation regime, leading to demands for resource control; pervasive poverty occasioned by oil-activities; polluted environment; threats to personal and communal security; disregard for minority rights; alienation; denial of access to economic opportunities and exclusion from main stream politics. Thus, Watts (2008) noted that the Niger Delta conflicts are expression of long and deeper geography of exclusion and alienation by which the region came to suffer all the social and environmental harms of oil activities and yet receive in return, very little of the oil revenues. In other words, the conflicts are reactions to the contrived inequality, hindering the region from development and ignored by the state.

Denial of opportunities to reduce inequalities is in particular, potent force of grievance. Sociologists have indeed suggested that conflict is quite often, a smoke from the fire of unjust state policies and the political process (Keane, 1998; Churchill, 2005). Some analysts hold the view that violence is often, the only "political resource", available for those at the periphery of the political arena, to influence policy (Lipsky, 1970; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). In the opinion of El-Kenz, (1996:51-52) violence is the mode of response to the problems that state institutions are unable to solve because violence often, yields concessions from states (Piven and Cloward, 1977; Button, 1978). This is indeed true for the Niger Delta because the increase in derivation revenue from a crippling low of 1.5% in the 1980s to 3% % in the 1990s and to 13% in 2001 arose from the spread of violent protests in the region (Fubara, 2002:25). Thus, for Gurr (1991) violence is the only means for poor, deprived and marginalised people to redefine the process perpetuating their conditions. He stated further that "The greater the inequalities the more likely disadvantaged groups are to take collective action; particularly if the inequalities are reinforced by legal barriers established by dominant groups" (Gurr, 1991:181). For the Niger Delta, this is essentially true as Van Dessel (1995:29) observed, "Too many promises and disappointments in the past have exhausted the patience of the people". The violent conflicts that have characterised the Niger Delta are therefore, expressions of economic and political disparities (Welch, 1995).

VII. Concluding Remarks

The Niger Delta conflicts no doubt, may have had its fair share of predation; exemplified by the unholy mix sometimes of insurgency and criminality as evidenced by the involvement of armed groups in oil theft and hostage taking. However, with regards to the Niger Delta, the greed model provides no politics and no history and hence a very simplified version of events in the region. As a result, the Niger Delta conflicts appear to suffer disconnect from the greed thesis of conflicts. This is because in looking at oil-related conflicts in the region from the perspective of ordinary men and women in the oil host communities, the point is made that under certain conditions; such as conditions of large-scale and prolonged social justice deficits as in the Niger Delta, violent conflicts may help to define for the "deprived" region and for the Nigerian state, a more socially sensitive development and democratisation trajectory. This is the point that exponent of the *greed* model basically misses or indeed obscured. It is therefore argued that grievance due to frustration appears to be most suited for an appropriate interpretation of events in the Niger Delta. Protest strategies may be mere rational efforts by people poorly positioned to make claims on the state using conventional means. Thus, jettisoning of "Gandhian" tactics to embrace AK47 is the response to the state's insensitivity to the region's plight. Thus, as Okonta (2006) asserted behind the insecurity in the Niger Delta, is a political subject forced to resort to violence to restore his rights and dignity as a citizen.

Notes

1. The Niger Delta as, defined, has a population of about 11,015,676; 5,616,418 men and 5,399,258 women (NPC, 2007). It is the locale of about 90% onshore oil production and for over two decades, area of intense oil pollution, environmental degradation and military interventions (Isoun, 2001; Mickwitz, 2003; Omeje, 2006). But in Part 1 Subsection 2(1) of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) Act 1999, the Niger Delta is politically defined as being synonymous with the nine oil producing states; Abia, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross Rivers, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers. The Niger Delta, as politically defined, extends over 70,000 km^2. This area has a population of about 31 million people, consisting of more than 40 ethnic groups, speaking some 250 dialects. Furthermore, Imo State is in the Ibo heartland inhabited by the Igbos; one of the three major ethnic groups in the country. The same

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applies to Ondo State that is in Yorubaland, inhabited by the Yorubas; the second largest ethnic group in Nigeria. This implied that the real intent of the NDDC is not to cater for the Niger Delta *per se* but was merely intended to deceive the world that efforts are being made to develop the region.

2. Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2005). *Investing in Prevention: An International Strategy to Manage Risks of Instability and Improve Crisis Response*, London: Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office. This report contains 17 references to co-authored work by Collier and Hoeffler.
3. United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, New York: United Nations, 2004, endnotes 16, 22 and 110.
4. Various armed gangs and cult groups existed in the Niger Delta before the unset of insurgency in late 2005. These consisted of those people that were armed by politicians to secure votes in the inglorious 2003 elections but were dumped after assuming power. The bad blood that ensued between erstwhile masters and their estranged boys on one hand and fight between erstwhile foot soldiers over governable space for oil bunkering on the other, led to the creek wars of 2004.

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Military Governance and Civil War: Ethnic Hegemony as a Constructive Factor in Nigeria

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Abstract- Ethnic consideration has been comprehensively substantiated as a major trait in determining the political sustainability in Nigeria. Historically, the British overlord in 1914 saw forceful nuptials as a political necessity to safeguard and consolidate divergence ethnic pluralism, hypothesizing the dawn of ethnic consciousness in Nigerian political life. Ethnicity has been exploited as an instrument of oppression, therefore, becomes a time bomb lingering to explode in Nigerian political landscape. Military intervention in politics as an extra-legal and conspiratorial subjugation of government has been conventionally reprimanded as an aberration, despite their forbidden operational values in political engagements, various countries of the world such as Nigeria, France, Ghana, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, Tanzania, Thailand, Iraq, Libya, Algeria, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Russia, just to mention a few, have experienced military skyjacking of political power at one time or the other, therefore, this paper, discusses how ethnicity influences military takeover and civil war in Nigeria. Methodology espoused in carrying out this study was heavily derived from both secondary sources and insightful empirical observation of military trends in Nigeria.

Keywords: military, governance, ethnicity, politics, biafra, civil war, nigeria.

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Keywords: military, governance, ethnicity, politics, biafra, civil war, nigeria.

I. Introduction

"The dominance of the NPC and the perceived dominance of the North in the centre were like a threat to the presumed more enlightened and better educated Southerners who believed they were the backbone of the movement for Nigerian independence but did not succeed the colonial power to run the affairs of the state. So with that background one can now lay the foundation of the perception of the military struggle in Nigerian politics. (Major General IBM Haruna).[1] *"The failure of the Aburi meeting.., and the outbreak of ethnic hostilities and the indiscriminate killings in the North and East further complicated and aggravated the situation....There was also the growing inter-ethnic rivalry and suspicion between the three major ethnic groups-Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba.... (General Yakubu Gowon).*[2]

The existence of heterogeneous caption of Nigeria cannot be pulled off without the colonial stratagem which provides ill-fated matrimony of divergence pluri-ethnic groups for the smooth running of British colonial occupation in Nigeria. Nigeria is a country estimated with over 160 million people, comprised of three dominants ethnic groups (Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo), concomitantly, with more than 250 minority ethnic classes, therefore replicates pluralistic rhetoric of Nigerian amalgamation; it was observed that ethnic consideration serves as a significant value in determining the political leadership of the country since independent. The proxy of ethnicity with meritocracy has continued to hampering the political survival, its affiliation with political leadership has hijacked the political control of the country amid its reflection in daily governmental businesses in Nigeria. Thus, ethnic fondness protracts to frustrate numerous steps taken to sustain the amalgamation of the various social groups; the fear of marginalization of minority groups utterly contributes to the ethnic consciousness in the political array of Nigeria.

The intercession of Military personnel in politics has been conventionally chastised as an aberration, despite their forbidden operation in political engagements, various countries of the world such as Nigeria, France, Ghana, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, Tanzania, Thailand, Iraq, Libya, Algeria, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, Azerbaijan Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Congo, just to mention a few, have experienced military skyjacking of political power at one time or the other. It is usually proclaimed that the involvement of military in governance habitually resulted in absolute crippling down of political system; this has crafted an enduring damage to many political systems all over the world. Observably, the military intervention in

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[1] Major General IBM Haruna quoted in Omoigui .N. (2002) The Prelude: Bloody Coup of January 1966; Urhobo Historical Society
[2] General Yakubu Gowon

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Nigerian body politics has rooted in ethnic chauvinism which metamorphosed into civil war in 1967. Notably, during this political clampdown, which was later transmuted into ethno-religious violence, myriad of Igbos were lynched while their properties were either looted or destroyed in the Northern region.

Ethnic consciousness was so pronounced in Nigeria that the old national anthem adopted at independence read in part "though tribe and tongue may differ in brotherhood we stand ... ." Subsequent events that plunged the country into ethnically enhanced political crisis showed that much more was needed than mere lyrics of a national anthem. The civil war, militarism, and military intervention in politics, enabled one ethnic group to perpetuate its domination of governance to the bitter exclusion of the other component nationalities. The long history of ethnic intransigence to rule the roost of central political vigor has continued to fabricate incongruous political character of diverse ethno-linguistic Nigerian society. The application of favourism and nepotism in military governance immensely has effectual connotation on Nigerian amalgamation which is currently endangering the political togetherness in Nigeria[3]. The history of military governance and civil war cannot be completed without mentioning unquantifiable roles of some military heroes like Majors Nzeogwu, General Benjamin Adekunle, General T.Y. Danjuma, Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi, General Yakubu Gowon, General Murtala Mohammed, General Olusegun Obasanjo, General Muhammadu Buhari, General Ibrahim Babangida, General Sani Abacha, General Abdulsalam Abubakar, Martins Adamu, Captain Mamman Shuwa, Hassan Katsina, Ifeajuna, Adaka Boro, Philip Effiong and the rebel leader, Colonel Ojukwu.

Ako-Nai cited in Ojo posits that ethnic politics and rivalry had been the handiwork of colonial manipulators who used the method of divide and rule to govern. The ethnic groups were used against one another for the colonizers' economic gain. At the inception of colonization, the British authorities emphasized separation. It is against this background that one can readily appreciate the nature of continued conflict among the major ethnic groups even after independence was attained in 1960.[4] Nigeria gained political independence from imperial Great Britain in 1960. In 1966 its elected civilian regime was toppled in a coup d'etat that ushered military rule into Nigeria's public affairs. Since 1966, Nigeria has been dominated by military rulers. Even during the two brief non-military periods, in which civilians were voted into office, military men were never far away. Few Nigerians have bothered to probe the gory details of the coups that have maimed Nigeria's post-independence history[5]. as the military took over in the mid-1960s, and the economic situation worsened, ethnic tensions broke out[6].

The goals of military takeover in Nigeria or most part of the world was to effect changes. In trying to achieve these, they often engaged in bloody revolution. When in January 15th 1966 Major General Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu and those loyal to him staged a coup, these were their intentions, to eradicate: "our enemies who were the political profiteers, swindlers, the men in the high and low places that seek bribes and demand ten percent, those that seek to keep the country divided permanently so that they can remain in office as ministers and VIPs of waste, the tribalists, the nepotists, those that make the country look big for nothing before international circles, those that have corrupted our society and put the Nigerian political calendar back by their words and deeds. These good intentions are insurmountable. Yet, military intervention can never be a panacea to civilian inadequacies since their intervention in politics is unconstitutional. Venturing into politics negates the tenets of their traditional roles[7] .

Ethnic politics has always been the major source of growing political tension in Nigeria which has resulted in periodic outbreaks of violence between different ethnic groups in the country. This scenario has been detrimental to national unity and socioeconomic development of the country. Ethnic tensions increased after a military coup in January, 1966 led by Major Kaduna Chukwuma Nzeogwu. The coup was seen by the Northerners as an attempt by the Igbos to dominate the country. This led to a counter coup led by the Northerners few months later. In the counter coup, Aguiyi Ironsi, an Igbo Major General who was the then Head of State was killed and widespread reprisals were unleashed against the Igbos in the Northern part of the country. Fearing marginalization within the state, on May 30, 1967 the Eastern region dominated by the Igbos declared its independence as the Republic of Biafra[8].

From the onset of independent government in Nigeria in 1960 to the end of 1990, the military had ruled for twenty-one years. Altogether there were five coups d'état involving changes of government: those of January 15, 1966; July 29, 1966; July 29, 1975; December 31, 1983; and August 27, 1985. There was also an unsuccessful coup in which the head of state,

[3] Orji .E. (2001) Issues on Ethnicity and Governance in Nigeria: A Universal Human Rights Perspective; Fordham International Law Journal; Volume 25, Issue 2

[4] Ojo .J. (2014) An X-ray of Inter-Governmental Relation Conflicts and Resource Control in the Fourth Republic in Nigeria; International Journal of Educational Administration and Policy Studies, Vol 6(3)

[5] Omoigui .N. (undated) Nigerian Civil War File Federal Nigerian Army Blunders of The Nigerian Civil War (1) available at www.dawodu.com/omoigui25.htm

[6] BBC News, Thursday, 13 January, 2000

[7] Gimba .N. (2012) Military Rule And Nation Building Process In Nigeria; Journal of Arts, Humanities and Diplomacy Volume 2, Number 1, Insuderc Academic Publishers

[8] Ebegbulem .J. (2011) Ethnic Politics and Conflicts in Nigeria: Theoretical Perspective; Khazar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences

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General Murtala Muhammad, was killed in February 1976, and another was nipped in the bud in December 1985. An attempt to overthrow General Ibrahim Babangida was made in April 1990. Of these coups, only those of January 1966 and December 1983 were against civilian governments. Several explanations of military intervention have been added to those given by the coup plotters themselves. Whereas the latter have cited economic mismanagement and corruption, other explanations have ranged from the continuation of ethno-regional politics by military means to the personal ambitions of officers[9]. The coups and counter-coups that started with the bloody coup of January 1966 heralded into the Nigerian governance institution, an ethnically biased and one-sided military. The various military regimes did very little to repair this ethnic relationships within the force or in Nigeria. The military took many decisions that aggravated the ethnic situation in the country. This gave rise to national question[10]. Axiomatically, this has been the origin of ethnic sexism in politics after independent which has been an injurious to political solidarity of divergence ethnic caste towards sustainable amalgamation in Nigeria. Premised from the above background analyses, this study therefore explores ethnic hegemonic as a constructive factor for military takeover and civil war in Nigeria.

II. Theoretical Framework

Ethnicity is a cultural heritage shared by a category of people. Objective criteria are those of ancestry, cultural practices, language, and dress while subjective criteria are those involving the internalization of a distinctive identity[11]. Ethnicity is a group of people having a common language and cultural values[12]. Ethnicity refers to a selected cultural and physical characteristic used to classify people into (ethnic) groups or categories considered to be significantly different from others[13]. It is defines as a subgroup that shares a common ancestry, history, or culture, ethnicity is determined by a number of factors: geographic origins, family patterns, language, values, cultural norms, religion, literature, music, dietary patterns, gender roles, and employment patterns[14]. Ethnic groups are defined as a community of people who share cultural and linguistic characteristics including history, tradition, myth, and origin. Ethnic conflicts are therefore often caused by an attempt to secure more power or access more resources[15].

Ethnicity and nationalism, interethnic conflicts, and secessionist movements have been major forces shaping the modern world and the structure and stability of contemporary states. In the closing decades of the twentieth century, such forces and movements emerged with new intensity. Drawing examples, from a wide variety of multiethnic situations around the world[16], with a great emphasis on African nations.

"If you are born poor, you may die rich. But your ethnic group is fixed"[17]. So goes the "primordialist" way of thinking about ethnic identity. According to it, each of us belongs to one and only one ethnic group that group membership remains fixed over a lifetime and it is passed down intact across generations. Wars begin and end, states grow and die, economies boom and crash, but through it all, ethnic groups stay the same. Although theories of the formation of ethnic groups are driven by the constructivist assumption that ethnic identities can change over time, theories of the effect of ethnicity on economic and political outcomes are driven by the primordialist assumption that these identities are fixed[18].

Ethnic identity can be expressed either in action or feeling, or combinations of these, and the kinds of situations in which it is expressed are nearly limitless[19]. Once a group has won control over the country's riches, however, it faces the task of enforcing the exclusion of non-members. Agents not belonging to the winning group will attempt to infiltrate it, so as to participate in the distribution of the spoils. For example, they will apply for land titles, mining concessions, scarce places in higher education, or for government jobs. This infiltration defeats the winning group's purpose, as it dilutes the dividend each original member receives[20]. The on-going agitations by various ethnic groups are a direct result of what has widely became known in Nigerian lexicon as "marginalization." The Hausa/Fulani of the North are complaining about marginalization in the area of education and economic development. The Igbo are crying marginalization in almost every aspect of national endeavor, including political, military, and senior civil service appointments and promotions, as well as economic and social development. They also complain about the non-implementation of the Reconciliation, Reconstruction, and Rehabilitation program promised at

[9] U.S. Library of Congress Studies
[10] Ako-Nai .R. (2008) The Politics of "Marginalization" in Nigeria: Challenges of the 4th Republic "in" Nigeria and Globalization Discourses on Identity Politics and Social Conflict; published by Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization (CBAAC).
[11] Macionis .J.& .L. Gerber, (1995) Sociology; Fifth Canadian Edition; Pearson Education
[12] Rakov S. (1990) Ethnicity in Nigeria; Vassar College '92 (English 32, Fall 1990)
[13] Ibid 3
[14] Ibid 12
[15] Irobi .E. (2005) Ethnic Conflict Management in Africa: A Comparative Case Study of Nigeria and South Africa; The Beyond Intractability Project, The Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado
[16] Brass .P. (1991) Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison; Sage Publications, UK.
[17] Chandra .K. (2010) Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics; (Ed) Oxford University Press.
[18] Ibid 16
[19] Gans .H. (1979): Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 2:1, 1-20
[20] Caselli .F. & Coleman .W. (2012) On the Theory of Ethnic Conflict London School of Economics, CEP, CEPR and NBER

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the end of the civil war in 1970. The Yoruba are displeased, among other things, with the early retirement of their qualified and experienced nationals from the civil services during the military dictatorships. The South-South, which comprises the oil-rich states of Nigeria, are pushing for full control of their natural resources[21]. Therefore, Ethnocentrism channels the competition along ethnic lines; and the power differential determines whether either group will be able to subordinate the other[22]. Ethnicity has been used as a ploy by the military to perpetuate itself in power at the expense of national development. The military slove for power stems partially from a love for wealth and partly from its self-image as the custodian of the independent and corporate existence of the country[23].

Previous research on civil wars, in the same vein as the research on riots, tends to treat ethnic groups as unitary actors and ethnic identities as given ex ante, automatically salient, fixed during the conflict, and predictive of individual political behavior[24]. Ethnicity as a Social phenomenon associated with the identity of members of the largest possible competing communal groups (ethnic groups) seeking to protect and advance their interest in a political system. The relevant communal factor may be language, culture, race religion and/or common history. Ethnicity is only one of the phenomena associated with interactions among communal groups (ethnic groups). Others include trade, diplomacy, friendship enmity, corporation, self-abnegation and self extension. What is peculiar to ethnicity is that it involves demands by one group on other competing groups[25].

A severely divided society is one in which ascriptive cleavages are highly salient in politics (more salient than alternative cleavages such as social class), a few groups contend for power at the center, and there is a history of interethnic antipathy[26]. The relative wealth of the country and the large size of some ethnic groups has allowed them to express their ethnicity in remarkable and sometimes problematic ways that are not mirrored in other similar countries. Dominance of particular ethnic groups in certain sectors of the economy has significant implications for equity. The pattern of dominant and excluded minorities is embedded in the administrative and economic subsystems and has important implications for access to justice and equitable resource-sharing. Ethnic conflict has been a perennial feature of the Nigerian scene since pre-colonial times[27].

The Nigerian socio-topography comprises three major ethnic groups, that is, Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba with other minority groups, as Rakov validates it that the Hausa are themselves a fusion, a collection of Sudanese peoples that were assimilated, long ago, into the population inhabiting what is now considered Hausaland. They believe in the religion of Islam. Their origin is a matter of dispute: legends trace them back to Canaan, Palestine, Libya, Mecca and Baghdad, while ethnologists hold them to be from the Southern Sahara or the Chad Basin. The Fulani are also Muslims, and, like the Hausa, their origin is more or less an open question. Once a nomadic people, they believe themselves to be descended from the gypsies, Roman soldiers who became lost in the desert, a lost "tribe" of Israel, or other groups such as the relatives of the Britons or the Tuaregs, who inhabit the southern edge of the Sahara in central Africa. The second majority ethnic group is the Ibo, who like the Hausa-Fulani are a synthesis of smaller ethnic groups. In this case the smaller groups are the Onitsha Ibo, the Western Ibo, the Cross River Ibo, and the North-eastern Ibo. Their origins are completely unknown, as they claim to be from about nineteen different places. The third ethnic majority group, the Yoruba, is like the others made up of numerous smaller collections of people. Those who are identified as Yoruba consider themselves to be members of the Oyo, Egba, Ijebu, Ife, Ilesha, Ekiti or Owu peoples. The Yoruba are united, however, by their common belief in the town of Ife as their place of origin, and the Oni of Ife as their spiritual leader. Their mythology holds that "Oduduwa" created the earth; present royal houses of the Yoruba kingdoms trace their ancestry back to "Oduduwa," while members of the Yoruba people maintain that they are descended from his sons[28].

In the post independent regime, ethnicity serves as an instrument of development until someone used it to garner votes for political and economic gains of one of the zones, the South West, following which, the military elevated the abuse of ethnicity to an unimaginable level[29]. The original justification for military rule in Nigeria arose from the claim that the country's civil politics were unruly and required a dose of military discipline. This naive assumption overlooked the universal historical fact that since the invention of the nation-state some five centuries ago, its civil politics have been disorderly. Order and discipline were the military's twin mantras. But the Nigerian military's

[21] Ibid 16
[22] Noel .D. (1968) A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification; University of California Press
[23] Anugwom. E. (2001) The Military, Ethnicity and Democracy In Nigeria; Journal Of Social Development In Africa, Vol 16 No 2
[24] Ibid 16
[25] Nnoli, 1978:5 cited in Felicia .H. & Akuva .I. (2013) The Origin And Development Of Ethnic Politics And Its Impacts On Post Colonial Governance In Nigeria; European Scientific Journal June 2013 Edition Vol.9, No.17 ISSN: 1857 – 7881
[26] Horowitz .D. (2014) Ethnic Power-Sharing and Democracy; Journal of Democracy, Volume 25, Number 2
[27] Blench .R.& Dendo .M. (2003) Position Paper: The Dimensions Of Ethnicity, Language And Culture In Nigeria; DFID, Nigeria
[28] Rakov S. (1990) Ethnicity in Nigeria; Vassar College '92 (English 32, Fall 1990)
[29] Vanguard Newspaper, August 23, 2013

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meaning of discipline was completely defective. Overthrowing a government which military officers had sworn to protect was in fact an act of indiscipline. Discipline signifies an inner code of behavior that honors important societal principles. *Coups d'etat* have no redeeming values as acts of discipline; because they destroy respect for a societal institution of governance[30], it is believed that ethnic manipulation has been a handiwork of political elites in Nigeria, as it was stated that:

> *Why we have been fighting along ethnic, regional and religious affiliations for years is caused by the elites competing for the control of political and economic powers…….. But because of competition among the elites, they instigate the people to fight one another while the elites convert the resources of the nation for their personal benefits[31].*

Therefore, ethnicity has been an apparatus of political manipulation to get to power. The origin of military takeover in Nigeria was as a result of thrilling ethnic dogma to control the affairs of the nation in Nigeria.

Table 1 : Structure and Composition of Military Government in Nigeria

Structure	Composition	Functions
Supreme Military Council (SMC)	The Head of State (Chairman), Chief of Staff Supreme Military headquarters, Head of Army, Air force and Navy, minister of Justice, vice president, inspector General of Police, Attorney General of Federation and other top military officers	It is supreme military organ vested with power to make law and responsible to appoint military Governors to various states in Nigeria
National Executive Council (NEC)	It constitutes Head of State as the Chairman, the Ministers with different portfolio, the secretary to the federation, some top military officers	It is assigned with the responsibility of formulating and implementing government policies and programmes
Council of States	It consists Head of State as the Chairman, the Military Governors, some top Military officers and Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters	This organ serves as advisory in nature. It advises the government on any related matter affecting the country

Source: By Author

III. Causes of Military Intervention in Nigerian Politics

Military intervention in Nigerian politics has been part of the unrelieved ethnic competition for power. There are various reasons for military occupation in politics, among them are the following:

i. *Ethnicity:* The major problem facing Nigerian State is sketches' along ethnic competition for power. The 1966 military coup was colorized as an attempt to exclude Northerners from the cloak of political leadership which was later corrected through another coup devised by the Northern military officers calculatingly to recuperate their political credence in Nigeria.

ii. *Political Upheaval:* Political crisis has been a major reason for military intervention in politics as it was reflected in the South-Western Nigeria political crisis during the first republic. The intervention of military to quench the flame of political tension resulted in synchronized usurping of political power from the incumbent civilian government.

iii. *Corruption:* In many occasions, the civilian government were accused of been corrupt, dwelling on this premise, military takeovers were justified as it was experienced in the past military coups in Nigeria.

[30] Ekeh .P. (1998) Theory And Curse Of Military Rule And The Transition Program; Available at www.nigerianscholars.africanqueen.com

[31] Nigeria News Day, Thursday, 03 April 2014

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Table 2 : Rank And Background Of The Nigerian Army's High Command As At January 14, 1966

NAME	POSITION	BACKGROUND
Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi	GOC – Nigerian Army	East: Igbo
Commodore Joseph Wey	Commanding Officer – Nigerian Navy	Mixed Yoruba/eastern minority heritage
Brigadier Samuel Ademulegun	CO – 2nd Brigade – Kaduna	West: Yoruba
Brigadier Zakariya Maimalari	CO – 1st Brigade – Lagos	North: Kanuri
Brigadier Babafemi Ogundipe	Nigerian military attaché in London	West: Yoruba
Colonel Thimming	CO – Nigerian Air Force	German expatriate officer
Brigadier Varma	CO – Nigerian Military Training College – Kaduna	Indian expatriate officer
Colonel Kur Mohammed	(Acting) Chief of Staff at Army HQ – Lagos (in place of Colonel Robert Adebayo	North: Kanuri
Colonel Ralph Shodeinde	Deputy-Commander, Nigerian Military Training College: Kaduna	West: Yoruba
Colonel Robert Adeyinka Adebayo	Attending a course in London	West: Yoruba
Lt-Colonel Yakubu Gowon	Preparing to take over command of the 2nd battalion from Hilary Njoku	North: Angas
Lt-Colonel Francis Fajuyi (was on leave in his home town of Abeokuta during the coup)	CO – 1st Battalion – Enugu	West: Yoruba
Lt-Colonel Hilary Njoku	CO – 2nd Battalion – Lagos	East: Igbo
Lt-Colonel George Kurubo	CO – 3rd Battalion – Kaduna	East: Rivers
Lt-Colonel Abogo Largema	CO – 4th Battalion – Ibadan	North: Kanuri
Lt-Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu	CO – 5th Battalion – Kano	East: Igbo
Lt-Colonel James Pam	Adjutant-General of the Nigerian Army	North: Birom (his father was the Chief of Jos and his brother was in the air force)
Lt-Colonel Arthur Unegbe	Quartermaster-General of the Nigerian Army	Mid-West: Igbo
Lt-Colonel Ime Imo	CO – Lagos Garrison	East: Igbo
Major Hassan Usman Katsina	CO – 2nd Reconnaissance squadron - Kaduna	North: Fulani
Major John Obienu	CO – 1st Reconnaissance squadron – Abeokuta	East: Igbo

Source: Siollun, (2005)

Note: Those whose names are italicised in the above table were killed in the coup of January 1966. May their souls rest in peace.

IV. The Historical Rootage of Military Governance and Civil War in Nigeria

This section of the paper examines various military regimes from 1966-1999. Military rule instigated against the government of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in Nigeria on January 15, 1966, the military coup d'e-tat was led by Major, Chukwuma Nzeogwu, and therefore, the Balewa's regime was short-lived with the immediate replacement of Major-General J. T. U. Aguiyi-Ironsi. In another military coup, General Yakubu Gowon (1966 - 1975) which also witnessed the Nigerian Civil War (1966 - 1970) and the regimes of Brigadier (later General) Murtala Mohammed (1975 -1976) and Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo (later General) (1976 - 1979). General Olusegun Obasanjo handed over to democratic regime of President Shehu Shagari (1979 - 1983) which was overthrown by a military coup on December 31, 1983. Thereafter, the successive military regimes were headed by General Mohammadu Buhari (1983 - 1985), General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida (1985 - 1993),

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which later handed over to ersatz-civilian regime headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan (August - November, 1993), this regime was later truncated by General Sani Abacha (1993 - 1998), after the demise of General Sani Abacha, General Abdulsalami Abubakar ruled from 1998 – 1999. In 1999 Abdulsalami Abubakar handed over power to civilian regime which signals the winding-up of military administration in Nigerian politics.

Table 3 : Names and Ethnic Backgrounds of Military Head of States in Nigeria

NAME	ETHNICITY	YEAR OF RULING
Aguiyi Ironsi	Igbo	1966-1966
Yakubu Gowon	Hausa	1966-1975
Murtala Muhammed	Hausa	1975-1976
Olusegun Obasanjo	Yoruba	1976-1979
Muhammadu Buhari	Hausa	1983-1985
Ibrahim Babangida	Hausa	1985-1993
Sani Abacha	Hausa	1993-1998
Abdulsalam Abubakar	Hausa	1998-1999

Source: By Author

V. Brief History of Military Government in Nigeria

❖ General Aguiyi Ironsi 1966-1966

Following the assassination of Tafawa Balewa (Nigerian Prime Minister) in the first republic, Dr Nwafor Orizu (the Acting President) was informed by General Ironsi to handover power either voluntary or forcefully, this scenario led to the handing over of power to military government in a broadcast announced by Dr Nwafor Orizu. Contributively, the political crises that enveloped the political parties system strengthened military takeover in 1966.

Misunderstanding between the political leaders, tribal or ethnic interests, or nationalist impetus played a vital role in the January 15, 1966 military *coup d'etat.* The docile nature of the post-independence ruling elites also contributed to the first coup in Nigeria. The smoldering volcano of rampage, arson, pillage, and jungle justice, triggered off by the allegations that the Western region elections were rigged, provided a fertile ground for the military to seize power on January 15, 1966. Announcing the reasons for the coup, Major C.K. Nzeogwu, said:

In the name of the Supreme Council of the Revolution of the Nigerian Armed Forces, I declare martial law over the Northern provinces of Nigeria ... We seized power to stamp out tribalism, nepotism and regionalism ... The constitution is suspended and the regional government and elected assemblies are hereby dissolved. All political parties, cultural, tribal and trade union activities, together with all demonstrations and unauthorized gatherings, excluding religious worships, are banned until we established a strong, united and prosperous nation, free from corruption and internal strife ... All treaty obligations previously entered into with any foreign nation will be respected, and we hope that such nations will respect our country's territorial integrity and will avoid taking sides with enemies of the revolution and enemies of the people[32]

At the same time, in exercise of his constitutional prerogatives as the Senate president, Dr. Nwafor Orizu, who by virtue of his office was then the Acting President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, made the following broadcast to the nation:

I have to-night been advised by the Council of Ministers that they had come to the unanimous decision voluntarily to hand over administration of the country to the armed forces of the Republic with immediate effect . . . I will now call upon the General Officer Commanding Nigerian Army, Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi, to make a statement to the nation on the policy of the administration .... [33]

Citing a laundry list of complaints against the political class, there was a military rebellion in Nigeria against the first republic. Led by a group of Majors who were predominantly of eastern origin, the Prime Minister, a federal minister, two regional premiers, along with top Army officers were brutally assassinated. A number of civilians were also killed. The coup succeeded in Kaduna the northern region capital, failed in Lagos the federal capital and Ibadan the western regional capital, but barely took place in Benin the Midwestern capital, and Enugu the eastern capital. The majority of those murdered were northerners, accompanied by some westerners and two Midwesterners. No easterner lost his

[32] Ibid 16
[33] Ibid 16

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or her life. (Omoigui [34]. The deep division in the political class and the military institution itself, encouraged a few young army officers to overthrow the civilian government of Alhaji Tafawa Balewa at the dawn of 15th January 1966 the five military officers who initially planned and executed the coup were Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu (Chief Instructor, Nigerian Military Training College, Kaduna), Major Wole Ademoyega, Major Christian Anuforo, Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna and Major Donatus Okafor[35]. Aptly, the above mentioned names mirrored ethnic agendum of some Igbo military officers to takeover the government forcefully from Tafawa Balewa who is a Northerner.

Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi was killed a few months later, and was followed by Lt-Col Yakubu Gowon from the Christian North. Relations became extremely poor between the federal government and the Ibos of the Eastern Region. In 1967, the Eastern Region proclaimed its independence as the Republic of Biafra (BBC News, Monday, February 15, 1999). The principal coup plotters behind the assassination of Major General Aguiyi Ironsi were mainly Hausas from Northern Nigeria, these include Lt. Col. Murtala Muhammed (Inspector of Signals), Major TY Danjuma (General Staff Officer II, SHQ) and Captain Martin Adamu (2nd Battalion, Ikeja). The coup leader was T/Lt. Col. Murtala Muhammed.

A mistake in the execution of the 1966 coup was viewed with a mind full of vengeance, and desire to take over the ruler ship and dominium of Nigeria by some military officers from the Northern zone, such that they launched a counter-coup, followed by genocide against the Igbos in the North, leading the country to a 30-month civil war. But these officers kept blaming ethnicity as their reason[36]. Therefore, these two political epochs signifies the beginning of ethnic distrust in Nigerian politics which later transformed into civil war in 1967, the allusions that the Igbos were been sentimental in plotting 1966 military coup resulted in the death of Tafawa Balewa and other Nigerian politician, therefore, dictated the emergence of General Aquiyi-Ironsi (an Igbo man) as first military Head of State which prompted Northern military officers in the Nigerian Army to safeguard their tribe from ethnic subjugation of Ironsi, unequivocally led to the origin of ethnic suspicious after independent.

Table 4 : Principal Actors and Victims in the January 15, 1966 Revolution

Names	Ethnicity
Major Chukwuma K. Nzeogwu	Igbo
Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna	Igbo
Major D. Okafor	Igbo
Major C.I. Anuforo	Igbo
Major I.H. Chukuka	Igbo
Major T. Onwuatuegwu	Igbo
Major Adegboyega	Yoruba
Captain G.O. Oji	Igbo
Captain Gbulie	Igbo
Captain E.N. Nwobosi	Igbo
Lt. B.O.O. Oyewole	Igbo
2nd Lts. N.S. Wokocha	Igbo
2nd Lts. Ojukwu	Igbo
2nd Lts. Azubuogu	Igbo
Victims	
Brigadiers Sam A. Ademulegun	Non-Igbo
Brigadier Z. Maimalari	Non-Igbo
Colonel .K. Mohamed	Non-Igbo
Colonel Ralf A. Sodeinde	Yoruba
Lt. Colenel. Y. Paur	Igbo
Lt. Colenel .A.C. Unegbu	Igbo
Major Sam. Adegoke	Non-Igbo

Source: Adapted from Orji, 2001

❖ General Yakubu Gowon 1966-1975

Following the bloody coup d'état of 29th July, 1966 which led to the killing of Major-General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, Ironsi was assassinated during a state visit to the western region; Lt. Colonel Adekunle Fajuyi was the military governor of western Nigeria in this political epoch. In this coup, General Ironsi, Colonel Adekunle

[34] Ibid 4

[35] Madiebo, 1980 cit in Akinbade .J. (2008) Government Explained; Macak Books Ventures, Lagos

[36] Vanguard Newspaper, August 23, 2013

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Fajuyi and other numerous military officers mainly from Igbo tribe were killed. The immediate causes of the coup include the following:

- People in the North were generally dissatisfied with Ironsi's handling of the officers who carried out the January 1966 coup. The coupists were not officially tried and sanctioned in accordance with military regulations.
- The January 1966 coup was perceived in the North as an attempt by Southerners, especially the Igbo to regain power from the North. The urge for revenge and the need to retake power was always there.
- The decision by Ironsi government to turn Nigeria into a unitary state was unpopular in several parts of the country
- The government of General Ironsi was weak and, was unable to act on several reports of attempts to overthrow it[37].

The assassination of many Igbo military officers prolonged the ethnic problem facing Nigeria. Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu refused to cooperate with the new regime of Yakubu Gowon due to killings of some high-ranking military officers originated from Igbo dynasty. Concomitantly, the Republic of Biafra was declared by Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, this led to three years civil war in Nigeria. In May 27th, 1967, 12 states were created in order to weaken the regional government and also to arrogate power to the central government along federal structure. The civil war ended on 15th January, 1970 in which General Yakubu Gowon proclaimed three political agenda including reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation in order to bring Igbo back into Nigerian political system. In July 29th, 1975, General Yakubu Gowon was overthrown in a bloodless coup; therefore, marked the end of his military administration.

Table 5 : Principal Actors and Victims in the Counter-coup of July 29, 1966

Name	Ethnicity
Victims	
Lt. Colonel I.C. Okoro	Igbo
Lt. Colonel G. Okonweze	Igbo
Majors T.E. Nzeogwu	Igbo
Majors B. Nnamani	Igbo
Majors C.C. Emelifeonwu	Igbo
Majors J.I. Obienu	Igbo
Majors P.C. Obi	Igbo
Majors Ibanga Ekanem	Non Igbo
Majors O.U. Isong	Non Igbo
Majors A. Drummond	Non Igbo

Source: Adapted from Orji, 2001

VI. General Murtala Muhammed 1975-1976

In another related military coup embarked upon on 29th July, 1975 which serves as the third in the history of military governance in Nigeria produced General Murtala Muhammed as a new military Head of State and commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Federal republic of Nigeria. It was discovered that General Murtala Muhammed contributes a lot the downfall and hijacking of power from General Yakubu Gowon. The regime of General Murtala Muhammed created more additional 19 states and the relocation of federal capital territory to Abuja. This regime devoted to curbing of corruption in Nigeria. Unfortunately, the regime of General Murtala Muhammed was short-lived in a military coup orchestrated by Lt. Colonel Dimka who was also killed after the coup.

❖ General Olusegun Obasanjo Administration 1976-1979

Following the assassination of General Murtala Muhammed, General Olusegun Obasanjo was declared new a new Head of State. The regime witnessed changing of military structure as it related to creation of Council of State. This regime made a pronouncement of Major-General Musa Yar'Adua as the new Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters. The appointment was made to conciliate the Hausa/Fulani tribe which produced General Murtala Muhammed who was assassinated in a bloody coup. The regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo promised to handover power to civilian regime which came to fulfillment in 1979. A civilian Shehu Shagari was declared Head of State after the general election conducted by the military government.

❖ General Muhammadu Buhari 1983-1985

Following another military coup which hijack power from civilian regime of President Shehu Shagari on 31st December, 1983, marked the end of Second Republic in Nigeria. Major General Muhammed Buhari was proclaimed as a new military Head of State. The military administration of General Muhammed Buhari indicted the civilian regime in relation with corruption while this led to imprisonment of major political leaders in Shagari's administration in Nigeria.

❖ General Ibrahim Babangida Administration 1985-1993

In a place coup that took place on 27th August, 1985, Major General Ibrahim Babangida, the Chief of Army Staff under the Buhari government, was declared as the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the federation (Akinbade, 2008)[38]. President Babangida pledged to transfer power to a

[37] Ibid 34

[38] Ibid 36

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civilian administration in 1990 though in 1987, this transitional period was extended until 1992. A comprehensive timetable to democracy was published, local government elections were held, and a draft constitution was drawn up. Political parties were legalized in 1989. A military coup was attempted in 1990, but was suppressed on the same day. Elections to the bicameral National Assembly were held in 1992. Presidential elections were due to be held later in the year, but electoral irregularities led to their postponement. When the presidential elections were finally held in June 1993, confusion over the election meant that only around 30% of the registered electorate actually voted. The initial results from the elections indicted that Chief Moshood Abiola had won the majority of votes in 19 states and he declared himself president. A couple of days later, however, the results were annulled by the ruling National Defence and Security Council, and Mr Babangida said that the polls had been marred by widespread irregularities. The annulment of the election was condemned internationally[39]. Therefore, this led to major protest by the Yorubas in South-Western Nigeria unequivocally lengthen ethnic suspicious between Yoruba and Hausa tribes. To appease Yorubas tribe, General Babangida handed over power to Interim National Government (ING) headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan who happened to be a Yoruba by origin. The regime of Chief Ernest Shonekan was trampled upon by a military coup synchronized by General Sani Abacha.

❖ General Sani Abacha 1993-1998

Following the military coup which overthrown Chief Ernest Shonekan interim national government in October 17th 1993, General Sani Abacha emerged as a new military Head of State. Abacha's regime showcased the true nature of authoritarian tradition of military administration; this is evident in the killings of Ogoni environmental activists, namely; Ken Saro-Wiwa, Saturday Dobee, Nordu Eawo, Daniel Gbooko, Paul Levera, Felix Nuate, Baribor Bera, Barinem Kiobel, John Kpuine. The Sani Abacha regime witnessed another attempted coup d'état which was foiled by the military in Nigeria. The principal stakeholders in the coup were Lieutenant General Oladipo Diya, Major General Tajudeen Olanrewaju, and Major General Abdulkarim Adisa circumcised with Yoruba ethnic background.

General Sani Abacha's regime could be credited with the following:

- Prominent members of the opposition such as Ebenezer Babatope , Olu Onagoruwa, Lateef Jakande, and Alex Ibru were appointed as ministers by the Abacha government in 1993 but they were all dropped in the first cabinet reshuffled about one year later. Soon after, Alex Ibru was shot by people suspected to be agents of the government. The first son of Onagoruwa was also killed in mysterious circumstances,
- The government organized the 1995 Constitutional Conference. Although widely boycotted in Western Nigeria, the conference achieved some modest success. The report of the conference was submitted to the government in 1996. Some of the recommendations such as division of Nigeria into six geo-political zones have proved to be of great political significance long after the collapse of that government.
- Five political parties were registered by the government in readiness for election scheduled for the end of 1998, although the five political parties later adopted Abacha as their joint presidential candidate, a development which appeared abnormal in a competitive party system.
- The government creates six additional states on 1st October, 1996 bringing the number of states in Nigeria to 36
- The Abacha government was able to put in place the vision 2010 programme, which was acknowledged as far sighted. The Obasanjo government did not however find it useful.
- It set up the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) under the leadership of general Buhari. Through PTF, Nigerians were able to enjoy some of the country's oil wealth through various interventionist programmes. The major criticism of PTF was that the federal character of the country was not observed in the distribution of projects[40].

❖ General Abdulsalam Abubakar 1998-1999

As a result of General Sani Abacha's death in June 8th, 1998, General Abubkadir Abubarkar was pronounced as a new military Head of State. The regime recorded huge successes in the area of registering new political parties which include People's Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD) and All People's Party (APP). A new constitution was also drafted to suit the incoming democratic regime while election was conducted accordingly in 1999. Former Nigerian military president, Olusegun Obasanjo was declared as presidential winner of the election. This marked a new historic era of Nigerian fourth republic.

[39] BBC News, Monday, February 15, 1999

[40] Ibid 36

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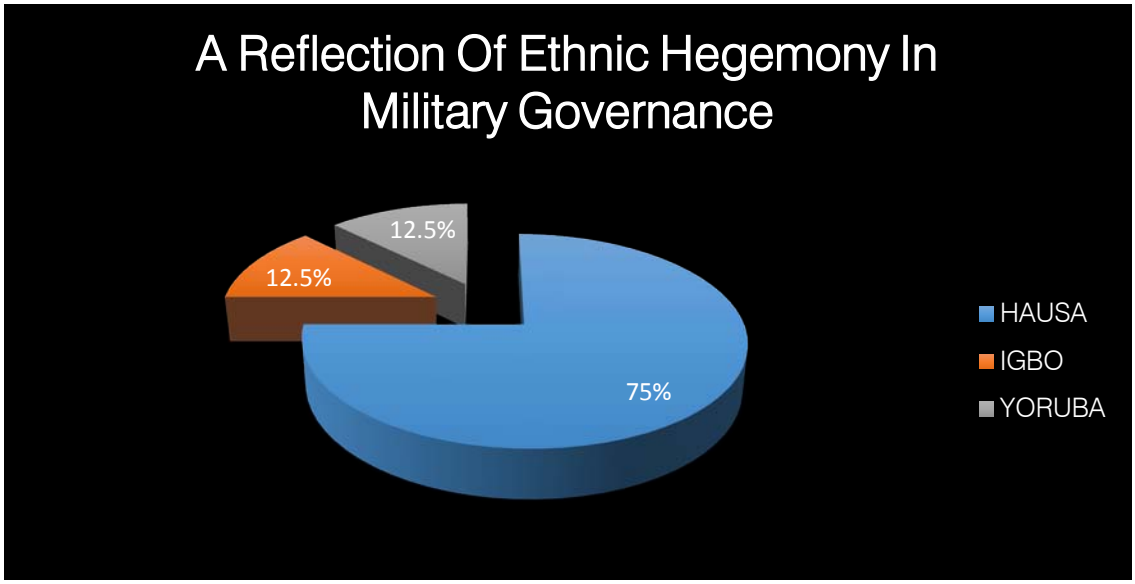

Figure 1

Source: By Author

VII. Military Coups and Civil War in Nigeria: A Symptom of Ethnic Hegemony

Before the infamous military incursion into governance in Nigeria in 1966, life was good and expectation for a better and greater nation was high. The regional leaders between 1960 and 1966 were competing to out-do one another in their respective regions. It was indeed a people-focused government providing free education to all school age children, irrespective of which part of the country they come from, also as part of its cardinal programme, free medical services, clean pipe- borne water supply, integrated agricultural programme, among others, were undertaken. The schools were well laid and equipped with both educational and sporting facilities and a maximum of 30 pupils to a teacher was the standard. Unfortunately, it is not only the old Western region's socio-political and economic life that has become estranged from our realities. The whole of Nigeria has become alienated from the modern and democratic world. Nigeria and Nigerians have also become victims of socio-economic stagnation, imposed fear, insecurity, unprecedented psycho-cultural damage and trauma. Between 1966 and 1999, except for the interlude of four years of civilian regime of Alhaji Shehu Shagari (1979-1983), the military through many coups and counter-coups ruled Nigeria without the consent of Nigerians[41].

Nigeria's First Republic dated October 01, 1963 - January 15, 1966 was terminated on January 15, 1966. In an attempt to overthrow the federal government, a group of young army officers led by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu assassinated the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Premier of the North, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of the West, Chief Samuel Akintola, and the Federal Minister of Finance, Chef Festus Okotie-Eboh. It was an abortive coup that led to Nigeria's first military regime headed by General J. T. U. Aguiyi Ironsi, the GOC of the Nigerian Army. General Ironsi, an ethnic Igbo, caused the arrest of the coup plotters. Since the coup was aborted and the plotters arrested, the federal government was secured. However, as there were no civilian successors from the federal cabinet willing to take over power, General Ironsi was therefore compelled to fill the void as head of Nigeria's first military government. That the coup plotters were ethnic Igbo, and there were no Igbo politicians among those assassinated, the coup attempt was perceived as an Igbo-inspired plot. In a series of coups and counter coups, the military subsequently ruled Nigeria from 1966 to 1979, and from 1983 - 1999, for a total of 29 years since independence on October 01, 1960 (Natufe, 2006)[42]. David Muffett, a British colonial officer outlines the Igbo elite's detailed plan to take control of not only the political structures but even the social structures of the North by killing all the then northern emirs in the final[43].

[41] Vanguard Newspaper, June 28, 2011

[42] Natufe .O. (2006) Governance And Politics In Nigeria; A Lecture Delivered On November 21, 2006 At The Staff And Graduate Seminar Department Of Political Science & Public Administration University Of Benin, Benin-City, Edo State, Nigeria.

[43] Sahara Reporter, October 11, 2012

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The remote cause of the civil war was the January 15, 1966 coup that claimed the lives of prominent Northern and Western politicians such as Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, Premier of Northern Nigeria, Sir Ladoke Akintola, Premier of Western Nigeria, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Minister for Finance etc. The coup caused indignation in Northern and Western Nigeria as the people of these two regions saw the coup as one targeted against their people. Thus, there was a countered coup on July 29, 1966 that was executed by army officers of Northern extraction. The Head of State, Gen. Aguiyi Ironsi was killed along with his host and Governor of Western Nigeria, Lt. Col. Francis Adekunle Fajuyi. After the countered coup, Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon was appointed Head of State[44]. The Igbos had made the secessionist move with the promise from Chief Obafemi Awolowo in the Southwest that the Yoruba would follow suit. The plan was if the southeast and southwest broke away from the Nigerian federal union, the federal government would not be able to fight a war on two fronts. Awolowo, however, failed to honour his pledge, and the secession proved a nightmare for the Igbos. Awolowo in fact became the Minister of finance of the federal government during the civil war[45]. In similar vein, The Origins of the civil war could be located in a complexity of factors ranging from the remote which includes the military coups d'état of January 15, and July 29, 1966. Other remote factors are the regional election crisis in Western Nigeria in 1965; the Tiv riots of 1964; the Federal Elections of 1964; the killing of the Igbos living in Northern Nigeria from May to September 1966[46]; the structural imbalance of the Nigerian federation; and, most importantly, the asymmetrical distribution of power among the various ethnic and geopolitical groups[47].

The January coup led by Major Kaduna Nzeogwu, an Igbo, saw the demise of two senior Northern political leaders and four senior Northern soldiers. Given the ethnic distribution of the casualties of the January coup and the fact that the leader of the coup and Ironsi were both Igbo, allegations were levied against the new regime as being an attempt at domination of the country by the Igbos[48]. The January 1966 coup brought to the fore the ethnic factor in the makeup of Nigeria in that most of the leaders of the coup were of Igbo ethnic nationality but the victims were largely from some other ethnic nationalities of the then Northern and Western Regions. In May 1966, a wave of ethnic hatred and cleansing erupted in the North which was targeted at the Igbo and resulted in the violent and premeditated death of hundreds of thousands of the people. This was quickly followed by the July 1966 counter coup, the end result of which was the three year Nigerian-Biafran war of 1967 to 1970 (The Nigeria Ethnic Nationalities Movement)[49]. A mistake in the execution of the 1966 coup was viewed with a mind full of vengeance, and desire to take over the ruler ship and dominium of Nigeria by some military officers from the Northern zone, such that they launched a counter-coup, followed by genocide against the Igbos in the North, leading the country to a 30-month civil war. But these officers kept blaming ethnicity as their reason. Ever since the 'Araba' of 1966 in the North of Nigeria, the life of an Igbo man means very little to an average Northerner till date. That is why the Igbos could be killed in the North and nothing is done; foreigners would be killed there and nothing is done[50], up to 30,000 Ibos were killed in fighting with Hausas, and around 1million refugees fled to their Ibo homeland in the east. On 30 May, 1967, the head of the Eastern Region, Colonel Emeka Ojukwu, unilaterally declared the independent Republic of Biafra[51]. Supportively, many African nations recognized the existence of Republic of Biafra, among them are Tanzania, Zambia, Ivory Coast. Tanzania was the first country to recognize Biafra nation on 13 April 1968, Nyerere in his defence asserted:

> *For 10 months we have accepted the federal government's legal right to our support in a 'police action to defend the integrity of the state'. On that basis we have watched a civil war result in the death of about 100,000 people, and the employment of mercinaries by both sides. We watched the federal government reject the advice of Africa to talk instead of demanding surrender before talks could begin. Everything combined gradually to force us to the conclusion that Nigerian unity did not exist*[52]

The Igbos who ran for their lives during the pogroms and war returned to find their positions had been taken over; and when the war was over the government did not feel any need to re-instate them, preferring to regard them as having resigned. This reasoning was also extended to Igbo owned properties and houses. People from other regions were quick to take over any house owned by an Igbo, especially in the Port Harcourt area. The Nigerian Government justified this by terming such properties "abandoned". This,

[44] Daily Independent, Saturday, June 14, 2014
[45] Sahara Reporter, October, 21 2012
[46] Falode .A. (2011) The Nigerian civil war, 1967-1970: A revolution? African Journal of Political Science and International Relations Vol. 5(3),
[47] Ibid 45
[48] Ojeleye .O. (2010) The Politics of Post-War Demobilization and Reintegration in Nigeria; A Copyrighted Material Available at www. ashgate.com
[49] Nigeria Ethnic Nationalities Movement
[50] Vanguard Newspaper, August 23, 2013
[51] BBC News, Thursday, 13 January, 2000
[52] Muhammadu .T. & Haruna .M. (1979) The Civil War: Causes and Course "Ed" in Oyediran. O. (1979) Nigerian and Politics Under Military Rule, 1966-79

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however, has led to a feeling of injustice as the Nigerian government policies were seen as further economically disabling the Igbos even long after the war[53].

The crises and killings that led to the civil war were fallout of the bitter 'politicization of ethnicity, feigned by the corrupt elite', who encourage the gullible members of their ethnic group to cast aspersion on other ethnic nationals. Therefore, one would better conclude that the civil war started as a result of the coup and counter-coup led by dissident military officers against corrupt politicians and military leaders. The unfortunate incident was hijacked by berserk civilians, with support from undisciplined army officers, who engage in callous killings everywhere, due to the failure of the coup[54]. Ethnicity therefore has become a strong factor in the political life of Nigeria. Most often ethnic sentiments are used to replace merit and skills, such that round pegs are no longer found in round holes. This chauvinistic behavior affects the efficiency and productivity of Nigeria[55]. Therefore, the old ethnic and religious tensions remained a constant feature of Nigerian politics[56].

Since Nigeria achieved political independence in 1960, there has been struggle among the various ethnic nationalities in the country over control of political power and natural resources which led to the civil war from 1967 – 1970[57]. Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu's declaration of the state of Biafra on May 30, 1967, was the immediate factor responsible for the civil war. Before this declaration, the Nigerian polity was geographically divided into 3 regions. These are the Northern, Western and Eastern regions. The Igbos are of Eastern extraction. Ojukwu's declaration will effectively excise the eastern part of Nigeria out of the federation. Thus, it was the effort of the federal government of Nigeria to truncate the east's secession from the federation and Ojukwu's desire to ensure the survival of Biafra that started the civil war in 1967. Like all civil wars, the Nigerian civil war was unique in the context of the nation's history. This is because it was the most vivid expression of a country turned against itself[58]. In foregoing, the following are the remote causes of the Nigerian civil war:

- The counter coup of July 29, 1966 which led to the killing of Head of State, General Aguiyi Ironsi and unguarded statement of the new head of state, Colonel Yakubu Gowon (as he then was) that the North should take consolation from the fact that "another Northerner has come to power" and there was no basis for Nigerian unity" [59].
- The massive killings of Igbos residing in the Northern Nigeria ignited ethnic suspicious in Nigeria.

The struggle for resources control

- The fear of ethnic marginalization in the political affairs of the country
- The concentration of power at the centre which makes Nigeria to have unitary outlook, therefore,
- parroting suspicious of Hausa/Fulani domination of the central government.

The following analysis explicates how Eastern Nigeria was captured by Nigerian Army during the civil war:

[53]Adimekwe .K. (2010) History of The Nigerian Civil War; Available at www.allnigeria.info/index.php?board=8.0

[54] Ekhator .O. (2013) "There was a Country": The Reminiscence of Nigeria-Biafra Civil War and Elites' Perception of Nation and Nationalism in Nigeria; A paper presented at an expert workshop tagged "Nation, Nationalism and National Integration in Nigeria" organized by Nationalism Research Network, Nigeria in June, 2013

[55] Ibid 24

[56] Ibid 29

[57] Ojo ,J. (2014) An X-ray of Inter-Governmental Relation Conflicts and Resource Control in the Fourth Republic in Nigeria; International Journal of Educational Administration and Policy Studies, Vol 6(3)

[58] Ibid 45

[59] Ibid 36

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Table 6 : Analysis of the 1967 Nigerian Civil War

Date	Combatant Advancements
1967	
6 July	Fighting breaks out between the federal and Biafran troops
10 July	The First Division of the Nigerian Army under Colonel Mohammed Shuwa captures Ogoja. Biafran aircraft bombs Lagos
15 July	Shuwa captures Nsukka
25 July	Third Marine Commandos Division of the Nigerian Army under Colonel Benjamen Adekunle captures Bonny
9 August	The rebels invade Mid-West and capture Benin. Later, in a hurried response, a Second Division of the Nigerian Army under Colonel Murtala Mohammed is formed
10 August	Gowon declares total war. Lagos bombed again
29 August	Murtala recaptures Ore and thus halts Biafran threat to Ibadan and Lagos
14 September	Murtala recaptures Benin
4 October	Shuwa captures Enugu
9 October	Murtala captures Asaba. Subsequent attempts to cross the Niger and capture Onitsha proved abortive
18 October	Adekunle captures Calabar
1968	
January	After the abortive attempts to capture Onitsha from Asaba Murtala moves up the Niger, crosses it at Idah and advances down to Awka and Onitsha
21 March	Murtala captures Onitsha
5 April	Shuwa captures Abakaliki
21 April	Shuwa captures Afikpo
Late April	The entire South Eastern State liberated by Adekunle
6 May	Adekunle captures Bonny Oil field in Rivers State
19 May	Adekunle captures Port Hacourt and thus completes the sealing off of Biafra from the sea
26 May	Colonel I.B.M Haruna replaces Murtala as G.O.C. Second Division
29 July	Adekunle captures Ahoada, last major state in Rivers State
4 September	Adekunle captures Aba
10-11 September	Adekunle captures Oguta and advances on the Uli airstrip which was Biafra's major link with the outside world
15 September	Biafrans retake Oguta
16 September	Adekunle captures Owerri
30 September	Shuwa captures Okigwi
November/December	Nigerian airforce begins air strikes on Biafran airstrips especially Uli but with little effect
21-24 December	Biafran offensive to recapture Owerri and Aba foiled
1969	
22 April	Biafra recaptures Owerri
12 May	Major reshuffle of Nigerian's Army commanders. Obasanjo takes over from Adekunle, Jalo from Haruna and Bisalla from Shuwa
27 December	Third Division links up with the first at Umuahia
1970	
7 January	Third Division recaptures Owerri
11 January	Ojukwu flees Biafra for Ivory Coast
12 January	Obasanjo captures Uli airstrip. Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Effiong who took over from Ojukwu brocasts surrender over on Radio Biafra
13 January	Gowon accepts Biafra surrender

Source: Adapted from Muhammadu & Haruna (1979)

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VIII. The Aftermath of the Civil War

The aftermath of the civil war witnessed a reconciliatory delegation organized by the military Head of State under the leadership of General Yakubu Gowon. The official members of the Biafran and federal delegations who attended the formal war ending ceremony at Dodan Barracks on January 15, 1970 were:

a) Biafran Delegation

- Major-General Phillip Effiong – Officer Administering the Republic of Biafra
- Sir Louis Mbafeno – Chief Justice of Biafra
- Matthew Mbu – Biafran Foreign Minister
- Brigadier Patrick Amadi – Biafran Army
- Colonel Patrick Anwunah – Chief of Logistics and Principal Staff Officer to Ojukwu
- Colonel David Ogunewe – Military Adviser to Ojukwu
- Patrick Okeke – Inspector-General of Biafran Police

b) Federal Military Government Delegation

- Major-General Yakubu Gowon – Nigerian Head of State
- Obafemi Awolowo – Deputy Chairman, Supreme Military Council
- Brigadier Emmanuel Ekpo – Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters
- Brigadier Hassan Katsina – Chief of Staff, Nigerian Army
- Brigadier Emmanuel Ikwue – Chief of Air Staff
- Rear-Admiral Joseph Wey – Chief of Naval Staff
- Dr Taslim Elias – Attorney-General
- H.E.A. Ejueyitchie – Secretary to the Federal Military Government
- Anthony Enahoro – Commissioner for Information
- The Military Governors of the 12 states: , Ukpabi Asika, Audu Bako, David Bamigboye, Alfred Diete-Spiff, Jacob Esuene, Usman Faruk, Joseph Gomwalk, Mobolaji Johnson, Abba Kyari, Samuel Ogbemudia, Oluwole Rotimi, Musa Usman.

Source: http://maxsiollun.wordpress.com/

IX. Consequences of the Civil War in Nigeria

- *Starvation:* Many of Igbos died of starvation during the war. According to Adimekwe, (2010), the Biafran government claimed that Nigeria was using hunger and genocide to win the war, and sought aid from the outside world. A Nigerian commission, including British doctors from the Liverpool University School of Tropical Medicine, visited Biafra after the war and concluded that the evidence of deliberate starvation was overplayed, caused by confusion between the symptoms of starvation and various tropical illnesses. They did not doubt that starvation had occurred, but were unsurprisingly not clear of the extent to which it was a result of the Nigerian blockade or the restriction of food to the civilians by the Biafran government[60]. As this could also be justified in the word of Major General Benjamin Adekunle that "I want to see no Red Cross, no Caritas, no World Council of Churches, no Pope, no missionary and no UN delegation. I want to prevent even one Ibo from having even one piece to eat before their capitulation. We shoot at everything that moves and when our troops march into the centre of Ibo territory, we shoot at everything even at things that do not move," - (*Benjamin Adekunle. Commander, 3rd Marine Commando Division, Nigerian Army to French radio reporter*). All is fair in war, and starvation is one of the weapons of war. I don't see why we should feed our enemies fat in order for them to fight harder." - *Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Nigerian Minister of Finance, July 28th 1969)* [61] "
- *Destruction of lives and properties:* it was believed that over a million people lost their lives in the war, among the top military leaders such as Christopher Okigbo, Emmanuel Ifeajuna and Adaka Boro lost their lives in the battle."One word now describes the policy of the Nigerian military government towards Biafra:- genocide. It is ugly and extreme but it is the only word which fits Nigeria's decision to stop the International Committee of the red Cross, and other relief agencies, from flying food to Biafra , " The Nazis had resurrected just here as Nigerian forces,[62]. "The greatest single massacre occurred in the Igbo town of Asaba where 700 Igbo male were lined up and shot as terrified women/children were forced to watch" [63] "Federal troops, killed, or stood by while mobs killed, more than 5000 Ibos in Wari, Sapele, Agbor"[64]
- *Backwardness in socio-economic development:* The war had adverse effect on socio-economic development; as many infrastructural facilities that have been put in place were destroyed during the war.
- The war cost Nigerian federal government huge amount of money, as Alade, cited in Akinbade buttresses this statement that the war cost federal military government about $158,000 a day[65].
- The reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation projects embarked upon by the federal government

[60] Ibid 52
[61] Washington Post, editorial, July 2, 1969 *quoted in* Ogbuefi, (2012) Gowon must live to answer the genocide question; available at wwww.wordpress.com
[62] Ibid 60
[63] London Observer, 21 January, 1968 cit Ibid 61
[64] New York Times, 10th January, 1968 cit Ibid 61
[65] Ibid 36

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impound a huge amount of money from the nation's financial purse

- The war cost the Igbos a great deal in terms of lives, money and infrastructure. It has been estimated that up to three million people may have died due to the conflict, most from hunger and disease[66]
- Many properties own by Igbos were confiscated and tagged as "abandoned properties" by the government especially in Port Harcourt, therefore, this led to persistence injustice in Nigerian political landscape.

X. Untapped Opportunity in Nigerian Civil War

During the Nigerian Civil War, the Igbo scientists and engineers gave good account of themselves in terms of technological inventions. In the heat of the civil war, the leader of the young Biafra Republic, Lt. Col. Chukwuemeka Ojukwu called a meeting of engineers and scientists, and challenged them to produce a counter weapon to all that Britain and Russia were providing to the Nigerian Government. The Biafran inventors were led by Ugah Aguata, a science genius, Engineer Roy Umenyi, Ben Nwosu, Godian Ezekwe, Emma Osolu, Sam Orji, Njoku Obi etc manufactured unfathomable weapons not expected of young nation like Nigeria that got independence only six years back. Thus, the Igbo engineers first invented shore batteries with which they devastated marine craft. They also invented anti-aircraft weapons which they used to control the excesses of the federal fighting jets[67]. Biafran scientists from the research think tank RAP-the Biafran Research and Production Unit developed a great number of rockets, bombs, and telecommunications gadgets, and devised an ingenious indigenous strategy to refine petroleum[68].

The Biafran Army made a bomb they called "Ojukwu Bucket" or "Ogbunigwe," which means the mass killer. Dr. Sam Orji, a world-renowned nuclear physicist and bomb expert and Dr. Felix Oragwu, also a nuclear physicist played a crucial role in sustaining the Biafran war effort by inventing bombs for the secessionist Briafra. Engineer William Achukwu, an Agricultural Engineer actually fabricated the metallic bucket that was used for making the Ogbunigwe bomb. The Biafran Armed Forces engineers also manufactured armoured cars which were very effective and comparable to those made by advanced nations. They invented ground to air missiles, assault rifles, gun boats for amphibious attacks, rocket launchers, rocket propelled grenades, etc. They built refineries with which they refined their crude oil; ambulances were manufactured; bunkers and other war armaments[69]. After the civil war, these prominent engineers and nuclear scientists were not assembled by the Nigerian government to foster economic and technological development in Nigeria. This would have been a grand opportunity to manufacture locally made weapon for Nigerian military capacity.

[66] Ibid 52
[67] Daily Independent, Saturday, June 14, 2014
[68] Achebe .C. (2012) There Was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra; Published by Allen Lane an imprint of Penguin Books
[69] Ibid 64

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Table 7 : Political Killings as a Legacy of Military Governance In Nigeria

	Name	Year	Location of Death	Affiliation	Position	Nature of killings	Ethnic Identity	Killer
1	Tafawa Balewa	1966	Lagos	Northern People's Congress (NPC)	Prime minister and Head of Government	Gunshot	Hausa	Military
2	Ahmadu Bello	January 15, 1966.	Sokoto	Northern People's Congress (NPC)	Premier of Northern Nigeria	Gunshot	Hausa	Military
3	Aguiyi-Ironsi	July 29, 1966	Lagos	Nigeria Military	Military Head of State	Gunshot	Igbo	Military
4	Adekunle Fajuyi	July 29th 1966	Oyo	Nigeria Military	Military Governor of western Nigeria	Gunshot	Yoruba	Military
5	Ladoke Akintola	January 15th 1966	Oyo	Action Group	Premier of western region	Gunshot	Yoruba	Military
6	Alfred Rewane	October 6, 1995	Lagos	National Democratic Coalition (NADECO)	Business man, Elder statesman and NADECO financier	Gunshot	Ijaw	Military
7	Shehu Musa Yaradua	December 8th 1997	Abakaliki prison	Military	Military chief of staff and SDP Presidential candidate	Poisoned	Hausa	Military
8	Muritala Mohammed	Feb 13, 1976	Lagos	Nigeria Military	Head of State	Gunshot	Hausa	Military
9	Tunde Idiagbon	1999	Ilorin, kwara state	Nigeria Military	Military vice president	Poisoned	Yoruba	Yet to be identified
10	Ken Saro-Wiwa and other Ogoni compatriots	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental activist	Leader of (MOSOP) Ogoni Environmental activist	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state
11	Saturday Dobee	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental activist	Member of (MOSOP) Ogoni Environmental activist	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state
12	Nordu Eawo	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental activist	Member of (MOSOP) Ogoni Environmental activist	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state
13	Daniel Gbooko	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental activist	Member of (MOSOP) Ogoni Environmental activist	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state
14	Paul Levera	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental	Member of (MOSOP)	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state

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				activist	Ogoni Environmental activist			
15	Felix Nuate	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental activist	Member of (MOSOP) Ogoni Environmental activist	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state
16	Baribor Bera	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental activist	Member of (MOSOP) Ogoni Environmental activist	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state
17	Barinem Kiobel	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental activist	Member of (MOSOP) Ogoni Environmental activist	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state
18	John Kpuine	November 10th 1995	Gokana	(MOSOP) Environmental activist	Member of (MOSOP) Ogoni Environmental activist	Hanged	Ogoni	Military state
19	Moshood Abiola		Lagos	SDP	Presidential winner of 1993 election	Poisoned	Yoruba	Military
20	Dele Giwa	October 19, 1986	Lagos	Newswatch Newspaper	Editor Newswatch	Parcel of Bomb	Yoruba	Military
21	Kudirat Abiola	June 4 1994	Lagos	SDP	Business mogul	Gunshot	Yoruba	Military

Source: By Author

XI. Concluding Remarks

From 1966-1999, Nigeria has experienced eight military regimes, Hausa ruled for (6) six years, Igbo (1) year, Yoruba (1) one year which showcase ethnic hegemony of Hausa military officers; military have ruled without the consent of the citizens through many coups and counter coups branded with ethnic hegemonic doggedness. Ethnicity has been a fervent dominant component in the historical evolution of Nigeria; it plays a major role in the daily political and economic businesses in Nigeria. This study therefore has carefully explored how ethnicity influences military takeover and civil war in Nigeria. it is believed that ethnic suspicious claimed the blow-up of civil war and general social unrest from Nigeria independent; the fear of marginalization that has been maneuvering social conflict among different ethnic groups impair the temperament of Nigerian politics. Lack of mutual trust among the political elites in the military regime has prolonged tawdry politics of ethnicity which has transmuted into trans-generational political impasse in Nigeria. Part of the legacies of military governance and ethnic chauvinism in Nigeria has led to the selective killings and assassinations of prominent political leaders and innocent citizens in Nigeria. Hence, it is very germane to sketch out the reconstruction of the state christened "Nigeria" for the sustenance of Nigerian federal polity through justice, fairness, equity and sustainable development.

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Measuring Public Opinion Regarding Peaceful Solution of Palestine Issue: An Experimental Study of University Students in Pakistan, Iran and United Arab Emirates

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Abstract- This study aimed to measure public opinion in the Pakistan, Iran and United Arab Emirates regarding peaceful solution of Palestine issue Data (N=276) was collected from two universities, one postgraduate college and one degree college in Pakistan, two universities in Iran and two universities in United Arab Emirates. Although, Pakistan and Iran have theocratic environment and we got anti-Israel replies but there were 77 Pakistani and 41 Emirati students who presented their rational views about peaceful solution of this conflict.

There is a brief debate on One-State Solution, Two-States Solution, Three-States Solution and the status of Jerusalem. The plan of forming union among the territories of Israel and Palestine, single currency and Rail-Road plan for secular transportation from one region to another is also discussed in this study. During comparing such public opinion with other previous international proposals for resolving this issue, recommendations from the author are presented in the last.

Keywords: *uae, i-p union, religiosity, eu, state of judea.*

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- *Hypothesis*

Israel is a reality and formed under the light of UN resolution. Anti-Israel sentiments within the territories of Palestine or in the Muslim world are becoming a cause of Palestinian as well as neighboring countries' destruction. And, only a peaceful solution can restore the Palestinians as a nation and a strong economy.

- *Research Methodology*

This study is based on theoretically and historically descriptive, analytical, comparative and qualitative methods. The data is collected from books, research journals, newspapers, internet, interviews, results of different dissertations, and personal visit of universities in Pakistan, Iran and United Arab Emirates. A questionnaire was also designed for measuring public opinion that was analyzed through statistical formulas.

I. Introduction

The basic aim of this study was to measure public opinion in Muslim society regarding finding peaceful solution of Palestine issue. For this purpose, three countries were selected in which Pakistan and Iran has theocratic culture while United Arab Emirates has liberal Muslim society (Coughlin, 2006, PP.89-159). Madrid Conference of 1991, Oslo Peace Accords 1993, Camp David Summit 2000 and different other proposals regarding resolving Palestine-Israel conflict became the reason of investigating public opinion in Muslim society on this issue. This was a pilot study conducted on a small sample of 180 students of Pakistan, 41 students of United Arab Emirates and the 55 students of Iran. This study was much more exploratory in kind to understand some core assumptions and to see whether the findings could lead to the development of some better theoretical framework in order to do some large scale work in the future.

To measure public opinion, firstly we have to highlight historical background of the Palestine-Israel Conflict.

II. Historical Background

Conflict among Israel and Palestine started from the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Arab countries considered it a threat for them and began Arab-Israel war of 1948 (Wolfman, 2007, PP.110-112). In result, Israel captured more areas than the areas allocated in the declaration of its establishment. While, Jordan captured West bank and Egypt captured Gaza Strip where Palestine Government was declared by Arab league in September 22, 1948. But, these areas were captured by Israeli forces during Six Day War 1967 and Palestine Government firstly shifted in Jordan then Lebanon. In 1993, through Oslo Accords, Palestine Liberation Organization of Yasser Arafat allowed to establish its control over Gaza Strip and West Bank. So, Palestine National Authority was established (Ross, 2004, PP.06-10). This was the time of emerging new conflict within Palestine where Hamas and Fatah had different point of views. Hamas was strongly anti-Israel while Fatah was controlling Palestine National Authority. Conflict among both groups raised in 2005 when Hamas won the elections of Palestine National Authority. This victory became the reason of division among Palestine Government. Hamas is now

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governing in Gaza Strip while Fatah's Palestinian National Authority is governing over West Bank (Schanzer, 2008, PP.50-53). Palestinian Authority tried to gain UN membership in 2011 as a sovereign state but failed. But, in 2012, United Nations declared it a non-member observer state. This time, State of Palestine is recognized by 134 countries (Boyl, 2013, PP.189-190).

In 2011, Hebrew University conducted a survey of measuring public opinion regarding tow-state solution among Israelis and Palestinians. This plan was supported by 58% Israelis and 50% Palestinians. Similarly, 70% Israelis and 63% Palestinians supported an end of violence (The Jerusalem Post, August 25, 2013). This was one aspect but there are since several other plans like One-State Solution and Three-States Solution for resolving this issue. So, there was a plan to judge public opinion in other Muslim countries about this issue that what their educated population considers best. So, we choose students of different higher education institutions in Pakistan, Iran and United Arab Emirates. The basic purpose of choosing students of higher education institutions was to avoid uncivilized and immature answers.

III. Sample

The sample of the study (N= 276) consisted of Bachelor and Master Degree programs from two universities, one postgraduate college and one degree college in Pakistan, two universities in United Arab Emirates and two universities in Iran. Most of the study was mainly belonged to the disciplines of Political Science, History, Islamic Studies, Project Management, Business Administration, Education, Chinese Studies and Persian Studies. In Pakistan, there were 65 (23.5%) students from Government Boys Degree College Lodhran, 25 (09%) Students fron National University of Modern Language Islamabad, 50 (18%) students from Sargodha University Bhakkar Campus and 40 (14.5%) students from Government Postgraduate College Asghar Mall Rawalpindi. Similarly, in Iran, there were 44 (15.9%) students from Al-Mustafa International University Qom and 11 (04%) students from Research Center for Islamic Culture and Civilization Qom. At the same time in United Arab Emirates, there were 32 (11.6%) students from British University in Dubai and 9 (03%) students from Michigan State University Dubai Campus. Total number of Pakistani students was 180 while there were 55 Iranians and 41 Emirati students

IV. Instrument

As Pakistan and Iran are theocratic societies while United Arab Emirates have liberal Islamic environment, firstly, it was decided to verbally ask the questions about status of Israel as an independent state individually to each student. This helped to differentiate among reactional and rational opinion. At this stage, there was a questionnaire for those who accepted Israel as an independent state and considered that war is no solution of any conflict. Their opinion was considered as rational opinion for the solution of this issue in peaceful meanings. So, the designed questionnaire was filled by these students for measuring public opinion regarding One-State Solution, two-state solution or three-state solution.

V. Results

During interview, 103 students in Pakistan and all the 55 students in Iran showed anti-Israel sentiments and gave reactional views against the status of the Israel as an independent state. On the other hand, there was no student in United Arab Emirates who found as an anti-Israel. Table given below is showing the percentage of students who had reactional views out of total 180 Pakistani, 55 Iranian and 41 Emirati students.

REACTIONAL OPINION			
	Pakistan	Iran	United Arab Emirates
Israel is an illegal state. It should be eliminated through war.	63.1%	100%	0
Although Israel is an illegal state but if, it would return back to the position of 1967, we should accept it. Otherwise, it should be eliminated through war.	36.9%	0	0

Even these 103 Pakistani and 55 Iranian students directly or indirectly found war as a solution of this conflict but they could not reply of this question that which country will go for the war against Israel. There were ambiguity answers. Some says that all the Muslim world should united against Israel while some says that Israel-neighboring Arab countries should fight against Israel. They became again confused when a question was asked that how Israel-neighboring Arab countries will go for a war against Israel when they are militarily weak than Israel and most of the Arab countries have accepted Israel as an independent state. This was the reason that we called such opinion as reactional opinion.

The remaining 77 Pakistani and all the 41 Emirati students accepted Israel as an independent

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state and considered that war is not a solution of any conflict. They argued that Israel is a reality and the problems of Palestinians are due to lack of unity and ideological differences among Hamas and Fatah. They also argue that we must find a solution of this conflict through mutual understanding of both the stake holders. This is a reason that their opinion can be considered as rational opinion.

Data collected from these students was in favor of establishing one, two and three states within the territory of Israel and Palestine. The following table is showing percentage of their support.

RATIONAL OPINION		
	Pakistan	United Arab Emirates
One-State Solution	32.5%	0
Two-States Solution	37.7%	100%
Three-States Solution	29.9%	0
Egyptian-Jordanian Solution	0%	0%
Allon Plan	0%	0%

Among 25 (32.5%) supports of One-State Solution, 16 (64%) Pakistani students gave the name "Israel-Palestine Union or I-P Union" to new state while 09 (36%) Pakistani students were called it "Federation of Israel and Palestine". They were in favor of three autonomous units of one state; Israel, Gaza Strip and West Bank. They said that there should be secular transportation with foreign relations, single currency and mutual defense with one army. Issues of governance, economy, trade, and domestic law and order situation should be separated for each unit. On the other hand, supporters of Two-States Solution wanted two states; Palestine and Israel where Palestine would have two administrative units; called Eastern Palestine (West Bank) and Western Palestine (Gaza Strip).

There was the difference in opinion regarding administrating two units of Palestine. The following table is showing percentage of difference in opinion among 29 (37.7%) Pakistani and 41 (100%) Emirati students regarding political structure of these two units of Palestine.

OPINION OF THE SUPPORTERS OF TWO-STATES SOLUTION		
	Pakistan	United Arab Emirates
There should be two provinces. Each province should be governed by the provincial government.	72.4%	68.3%
There should be unitary system and both units should be divided into districts. Each district should be governed by the district administration.	27.6%	31.7%

There were 23 (29.9%) Pakistani students who were in favor of Three-States Solution. Their opinion is judging through following table given below.

OPINION OF THE SUPPORTERS OF THREE-STATES SOLUTION	
	Pakistan
There should be three state; East Palestine (West Bank), West Palestine (Gaza Strip) and Israel.	100%
East Palestine (West Bank) should be a secular state due to Jewish, Muslim and Christian population	69.6%
East Palestine should also be a Muslim State. Muslim community will be happy with this decision.	39.1%

On question about status of Jerusalem to all the 77 Pakistani and 41 Emirati students who have rational opinion, we collected two different views.

STATUS OF JERUSALEM		
	Pakistan	United Arab Emirates
It should be a neutral city state like Vatican City, having its own administration, political structure and security force.	84%	37%
It should be a part of West Bank or Eastern Palestine.	13%	0%
Eastern Jerusalem should be capital and part of Palestine while Western Jerusalem should be capital and part of Israel according to PLO's current position.	03%	63%

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During discussion about political system in Palestine with the 29 (37.7%) Pakistani supporters of Two-States Solution, 21 (72%) argued that there should be two provinces, called Eastern Palestine and Western Palestine. On the other hand, 8 (28%) students said that there should be unitary system and both the wings of Palestine should be divided into districts. But, all the other 23 (29.9%) Pakistani supporters of Three-States Solution and 41 (100%) Emirati supporters of Two-States Solution preferred unitary system in both the states; Eastern Palestine and Western Palestine.

In case of two or three states solution, RAIL-ROAD PLAN was discussed with the students. This plan was designed to generate harmony among both the stake holders. And, this plan would be a cause of secular transportation among both or all the three wings within the territory of Palestine and Israel. The table below is highlighting views of all the 77 Pakistani and 41 Emirati students on this plan that had rational opinion.

RAIL-ROAD PLAN		
	Pakistan	United Arab Emirates
There should be secular transportation among all the regions within the territory of Palestine and Israel.	82%	100%
There should be separate transportation in each region to avoid any socio-political conflict.	18%	0%

An idea of union among the territories of Israel and Palestine welcomed by all the 77 Pakistani and 41 Emirati students who had rational opinion. The table given below is showing their interest in this idea regarding betterment and welfare of the people within the territories of Israel and Palestine.

AN IDEA OF UNION AMONG THE TERRITORIES OF ISRAEL AND PALESTINE LIKE EUROPEAN UNION (EU)		
	Pakistan	United Arab Emirates
There should be a union of all the regions of Israel and Palestine like European Union (EU), either there will be two states, three states or three states and one city state.	91%	76%
Union of Israel and Palestine will eliminate Islamic, Arab and Palestinian ideology because Israel is socially and culturally strong country.	09%	24%
There should be single currency for all the regions of Israel and Palestine like Euro in European Union. It will facilitate to stabilize weak Palestinian economy and this region would become another emerging economy of the Middle East.	94%	100%
There should be separate currency for each region but the currency of one region should be accepted in the other regions of the Israel and Palestine.	06%	0%
There should be mutual defense and one army in case of foreign threats. But, each region should have its own police department.	78%	0%
There should not be a single army or mutual defense because religiously and ideologically, there is a huge difference among both the nations.	22%	100%

During data collecting from the students of Al-Mustafa International University Qom, rather than the 44 Iranian students, we interviewed the 20 students of Somalia and 07 students of Uganda who were enrolled here. Their opinion was not different from any Iranian and they also did not accept the status of Israel as a legal state. All these students said that Israel is an illegal state and it must be wiped out from the world map through war. But, they are silent and confused on the question that who will fight against Israel. So, we can include this opinion also in the category of reactional opinion.

VI. Discussion

This study was done in the Pakistan, Iran and United Arab Emirates mainly to investigate the public opinion about peaceful solution of Palestine issue without any war or militancy. During data analyzing, we mainly focused upon the opinion of those students who had rational views and dislike war or militancy. Therefore, questionnaire was filled by just 77 Pakistani and 41 Emirati students out of 276 students of Pakistan, Iran and United Arab Emirates.

As Pakistan and Iran have theocratic environment, there are a lot of anti-Israel sentiments. Even educated population has a rich dogmatic and militant attitude. The study of Liaqat (2012) showed very high dogmatic religiosity in the Pakistani sample and 87% population is religiously conservative (Liaqat, 2012, P.147). Similarly, another study of Asim and Liaqat (2013) highlighted culturally conservatism and militant

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attitude in the Pakistani society. This study showed that 83% population of Pakistan has militant attitude (Asim, 2013, PP.09-10). This is the reason that we got reactional views from the 103 Pakistani students.

Similarly, anti-Israel sentiments are supported by state level in Iran. During prayers or any other religious ceremonies, Imam or host always raised the slogans against United States of America, United Kingdom and Israel like (مرگ بر امریکا، انگلیس و اسرائیل). So, the views against Israel were as usual from the 55 Iranian students. As environment and culture effects thinking and philosophy, we should not be afraid from the views of other 20 students of Somalia and 07 students of Uganda who were studying in Iran. Their anti-Israel sentiments were due to two reasons. Firstly, they had been inspired by Iranian culture and theocratic environment. Secondly, Uganda and Somalia are also suffering from militancy and having conservative environment (Kumar, 2006, PP.97-98).

On the other hand, United Arab Emirates is a gateway for West Asia and Africa. Its local population is just 1.4 million while there are 7.8 million foreigners. All the foreigners are usually here for business and trade but essentially associated with any Emirati citizen due to the law of United Arab Emirates. This is the reason that the "Badow" culture of the United Arab Emirates has converted into economic-oriented culture. This conversion also changed the thinking and attitude of the Emirati citizens (King, 2008, PP.135-139). Therefore, during collecting data, we found them religiously liberal and rational in their opinion.

During judging rational opinion of the Pakistani and Emirati students, we came to know that Two-States Solution was preferred by majority of Pakistani and Emirati students. Similarly, majority was in favor of Jerusalem as a city state like Vatican City. On the other hand, Rail-Road Plan for secular transportation among the territories of Israel and Palestine was also appreciated by the majority. At the same time, an idea about EU-type union among the territories of Israel and Palestine with having single currency also got high value.

VII. Recommendations

As this study is presenting several opinions regarding peaceful solution of Palestine conflict, we compared it with other peace proposals that have been presented before in different times. And, we concluded some recommendations as a solution of this conflict. These are as follows:

1. There are several plans like One-State Solution presented by Palestinian activist Edward Said in 1999, most popular Two-States Solution, Egyptian-Jordanian Solution 2009, Allon Plan presented by Yegal Allon after Six days war in June 1967 or Plan for establishing State of Judea (West Bank) in January 1989. But, there is a huge criticism on each plan. Opponents of One-State Solution argue that this solution will follow the Jewish rule over the Palestinian Muslims. Similarly, Opponents of Two-States Solution called that the two wings of a country cannot be administrated when there is a strong enemy in the middle. They highlight the example of Pakistan which had two wings since its formation in 1947; East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Both the wings have the distance of 1000 miles approximately and the territory of India was in the middle of the wings. Indian supported insurgency in the East Pakistan could not be controlled by the Pakistani Government which was stationed in the west wing and Bangladesh was formed in 1971. At the same time, opponents of Egyptian-Jordanian Solution argue that if Gaza Strip will be under control of Egypt and West Bank will be under control of Jordan, it will eliminate the Palestinian identity. Allon Plan is also opposed by the majority of Muslims in the world because it will legitimize Israeli occupations in most of the Palestinian territories. The plan of establishing State of Judea is even from the Jewish community which is illegally settled in the West Bank but some scholars are accepting this as a secular state. To observe these plans and to judge public opinion during this study, we concluded that there should be three sovereign states within the territories of Israel and Palestine. Gaza Strip should be called West Palestine while West Bank should be called East Palestine. Both the states should have their own political systems, foreign relations and defense army. This will also facilitate Palestinian people to get rid off from the internal conflicts of Al-Fatah and Hamas which is further destroying their lives.
2. Status of Jerusalem should be an Open city or city state like Vatican City with having its own political system, transport, security force, economy, foreign relations and citizenship.
3. There should be a union all the territories of Israel and Palestine like European Union even there are three states of Gaza Strip (called West Palestine), Israel and West Bank (East Palestine) and one city state of Jerusalem. And, this union should be linked through rail and road infrastructure. Although, there are several roads to travel from one region to another but there is a need of re-functional Palestinian Railway which is non-functional since 1948 (Cotterell, 1984, PP.10-11). There are several talks among Israel and Palestinian authority in 2004 for reviving old railway line from Gaza Strip to Tulkarm (West Bank) and constructing new railway line from Gaza Strip to Tarkumia (West bank near Israeli city of Hebron). And, all this transportation will be operated through using territories of Israel. If, this

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plan will be implemented, Palestinian territories can be linked through Israeli port of Ashdod. Similarly, there is another plan of reviving a branch line of Hejaz Railway from Afula (Israel) to Jenin (West Bank) (New Statesman, August 29, 2013). But, all this is useless until there will not be any agreement regarding secular transportation or formation of any union which also accept by the people of all the territories of Israel and Palestine. So, there is a solution of introducing single currency for all the territories of Israel and Palestine like EURO in the European Union. As single currency will facilitate economic development in the Palestinian territories, people of Palestinian territories will automatically be agreed for secular transportation from one region to another. Same impact will be generated on Israeli companies and they will prefer secular transportation for promoting their products and getting market access. Therefore, we can say that an agreement regarding union and single currency can generate harmony among the population of both the territories, And then, they can linked through rail-road infrastructure.

4. All the militant organizations should be banned in the territories of Palestine and Israel even there are Jewish organizations or Muslim Organizations.
5. There should be foreign investment in the territories of Palestine for stabilizing their economic conditions. A strong economy of any society always saves its population to adopting militant or aggressive attitude.

This was a pilot study that basic aim was to measuring public opinion regarding peaceful solution of Palestine conflict and we presented all the ideas which we collected with respect and care. Moreover, this is an essential duty of international community, especially United Nations to establish peace in the Palestinian territories and find out the peaceful solution of this conflict with sincerity. Because, this is not an issue of occupying territories. This is a problem of humanity and innocent lives are most important than occupying any territory or formation any state.

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The Dilemma of Managing Foreign Workers in Malaysia: Opportunities and Challenges

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Abstract- Migration in South East Asia has been happening since a long time and it has indirectly given an impact to the increase of population in countries around the region. Besides population increase, migration of workers has also given an economical impact to the countries in the surrounding region by taking pleasure in certain benefits. The shift in the trend of economic activity from agriculture to industry, and the imbalance in the total population to job opportunities ratio as well as the expansion of education level of a country is often one of the major factors for migration to occur. In the South East Asian region, Malaysia is seen as one of the popular destinations for foreign workers to get a job, especially for those with little or no skills at all. Like other countries, we are rely on foreign workers because of modernization aspect and also the lack of work force in the employment sector. Therefore, the government has introduced a few policies in hiring foreign workers in certain sectors in order to implement economic agendas which have been pre-planned. Even then, their on-going and unstoppable entry has caused the country and its people to worry, especially regarding the threat imposed towards the security of the country.

Keywords: *foreign worker, labour migrant, national interest, national security, malaysia.*

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The Dilemma of Managing Foreign Workers in Malaysia: Opportunities and Challenges

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Abstract- Migration in South East Asia has been happening since a long time and it has indirectly given an impact to the increase of population in countries around the region. Besides population increase, migration of workers has also given an economical impact to the countries in the surrounding region by taking pleasure in certain benefits. The shift in the trend of economic activity from agriculture to industry, and the imbalance in the total population to job opportunities ratio as well as the expansion of education level of a country is often one of the major factors for migration to occur. In the South East Asian region, Malaysia is seen as one of the popular destinations for foreign workers to get a job, especially for those with little or no skills at all. Like other countries, we are rely on foreign workers because of modernization aspect and also the lack of work force in the employment sector. Therefore, the government has introduced a few policies in hiring foreign workers in certain sectors in order to implement economic agendas which have been pre-planned. Even then, their on-going and unstoppable entry has caused the country and its people to worry, especially regarding the threat imposed towards the security of the country.

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I. Introduction

According to United Nations (2002), the South East Asian population has increased after the 2nd World War, from 178 million people in the year 1950, to a total of 522 million people in year 2000. This increase is found correlated to aspects such as increase in birth, decrease in mortality rate as well as the expansion of migration process to South East Asia. During the European era of colonization in South East Asia, Chinese migrants dominated most of the districts in this region compared to migrants from Arab, India and Persian. The existence of the Chinese could not be avoided and many of them were focussed in the cities and along the port (Hugo, 2004). Migration has been a norm since the beginning of the history of human existence itself. Even then, the term migration was only introduced in the government's policy when a modern country started to exist, which focuses on border aspects, security and the peace (Kurus, 2004).

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The migration of people from one country to another has become a social development process, especially in the very competitive world of economical structure. This development has indirectly given an impact in context of economy, especially to individuals, and countries that export and import foreign workers (Ramasamy, 2004). Usually, migration factor is tied to economical aspect such as poverty and high rate of unemployment, but then there are certain cases of migration which happen due to factors such as running away from war, natural disaster and political instability in the country of origin (ILO, 1998). Foreign workers are a major source of work force in the development of the economy, whether it is for the country that imports or exports foreign workers. This is because the contribution given by them not only gives a great impact to the development of the importing country, but it also gives a great contribution to the country exporting them, as they help decrease the unemployment issues in their country of origin. Therefore, the contribution of foreign workers from the importing countries, especially those with semi skills and unskills, are seen as more of a substitute to fill in the vacancies in certain sectors that the locals are not interested to work in, rather than something permanent. In conjunction with that, the existence of foreign workers in Malaysia could give a positive impact to the interest of the country especially in generating an increase in the economical activities which has already been planned.

In order to avoid shortage of workers in sectors such as agriculture, construction, services and manufactures, the government has implemented and introduced a few policies on foreign workers in a few decades ago. Sometimes these policies are looked as a tool for the government to control the entry of foreign workers but this situation seems to be getting worse as the total number of foreign workers has been increasing uncontrollably annually. At the same time, the policy coordinator associated with immigrant or foreigners between the ministries is also found to be not running as smoothly as expected. This is because the composition of the policy was not evaluated based on the two major elements, which are national interest and national security. Every policy, especially those dealing or associated with foreign issues such as migration, needs to be evaluated based on those two elements so that the outcome can be benefited from in the most optimum way possible. Hence, in this issue, the entry of foreign workers and the dependence of our country on the

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foreign workers is not the main issue, but the overflowing entry of these foreign workers without control to the extent of jeopardizing the safety of this country is actually the main problem that needs to be focussed upon. In order to guarantee the safety of the country, the government needs to come up with a realistic and holistic approach in handling foreign workers issues in Malaysia.

II. The Concept of Labour Migration

The countries in Asia can be considered as the major contributors of foreign immigrants, especially in the context of employment in this world. Generally, the entry of foreign workers is more than often associated with three assumptions, which are economic liberation, non-uniformity in economic opportunity and non-effective law on border enforcement. Therefore, foreign workers are expected to be a part of social process which is more than often associated with issues like economic market, transnational offering of labour and the change of policies in importing countries as well as the rights of foreign workers (Shuto, 2006). Goss and Linquist (1995) said that a person makes decisions to migrate when he feels that he can maximize his income. Those who choose to migrate to other countries usually get better jobs especially in terms of salary compared to when in their country of origin. That is why the instability of salary payment and the development of the economy in neighbouring countries motivate and increase the migration of workers to other countries in that region. According to Hicks (1932) in *Wage Differential Theory,* migration occurs due to the imbalanced salary distribution in the surrounding region because there are differences in offers and demands of labours between one country and the other. This shows that the country offering a large number of workers has a relatively lower level of salary, whereas countries with fewer labours to offer, has higher level of salary. Therefore, migration of labours from countries with lower salary to developed countries occurs especially in Third World Countries or from rural areas to urban areas in a country.

Harris & Todaro (1970) said that rationally, a person tends to decide on migrating when he or she hears that the differences in salary and job opportunity in another country is better, regardless the actual truth or how true the statement might be. This is because most Asian countries more than often encourage the locals to migrate to another country in the hopes of increasing the country's economic condition via remittance (Massey et al, 1993). At the same time, Appleyard (1989) added that due to the mass development of economic increase and development activities in many developed countries and developing countries, it has made the employment sector also evolve dramatically and the labour market has also changed. The aspect of development in the process of migration is something inevitable and the change in the migration flow is associated with the change in a country's economical structure. The migration policy in countries exporting and importing foreign workers, either from aspects of sum, destination or flow of direction, depends on the level of socio-economic level of the country. In accordance to that, the intake of temporary foreign workers in a certain country is very much related and relevant and gives an impact to the development of the importing and exporting countries' economy. According to Davanzo (1981), what usually makes a person migrate is when he believes that the benefits that he will eventually receive by doing so will be higher than the cost of migration to that particular destination. That cost directly or indirectly includes transportation, the cost of job hunting, health fees, family and child support. In fact, the migration of workers is not only limited to workers with semi and unskill but it also involves the migration of skillful from one country to another. Amin (1974) said that migration can also be looked at as a positive transfer of value which already exists in a person who is skillful, to another country. This is because skillful workers who migrate are workers who have high productivity and education higher than in the developing countries. As a specialist from a foreign country, it can be a good influence in the working environment and strengthen the economic condition in the importing country.

At the same time, the migration process is usually associated with the money transfer issue, or also known as remittance, which actually means the outflow of money from one country to another. The outflow of money by foreign workers usually brings benefits to the exporting countries compared to the importing countries. Taylor et al (1996) said that direct effects from the consequences of money outflow will increase fund and source of income as well as generate economic development especially for sending countries. According to him, there are a few reasons why migration occurs, firstly because the person wants to increase his source of income and send money to his hometown to support his family. Secondly, he wants to build a new home or buy land. Thirdly, he wants to use the money to invest in a few businesses (Brown, 2006; Goldring, 2004). With that, the government needs to control the money outflow so that it does not deteriorate the importing country's economy. Seddon (2004) said that the government needs to be involved in controlling the foreign currency flow in order to strengthen the foreign exchange from the taxes obtained. The issue of remittance often gets a positive perspective from the government when believed to increase the development of the country as well as provide the current needs of the people such as health and education. According to Taylor, E. J (1999) there are a few ways to measure the consequences of remittance towards the economy, where first, the direct effect towards the economy; that is

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by looking at the average remittance per capital with the total sum of export commerce. In this situation, labour force is seen as one of the export elements and remittance as part of the payment made to the exporting country for the service of labours provided. At the same time, foreign currency exchange is also looked at as a direct contributor towards the outcome of remittance to the sending country. This is because it can give a positive outcome to the country's Balance Of Payments (BOP). Secondly, indirect effect is the stimulation towards the local economy through multiplier effect on remittance. This outcome is seen as more effective when money transfer goes to rural areas. This is because most of the people in the rural areas use more local products compared to imported goods, therefore this indirectly controls the money from flowing out to another country.

III. Immigration and Security

The term and concept of security is something that still not certain. Until now, there is no specific definition that refers to the concept of security. Conventionally, most scholars are more prone to using the term security on matters that involves military aspects only, such as weapon conflicts, nuclear war and imbalanced military power etc. Apparently, the term national security has been debated about and used widely especially after the end of the Cold War, that is in the early 1990's. The new concept of national security includes all sorts of threats and not specifically focussed on military threats merely. Forms of threat are such as economy, environment, social and culture, politic, ethnic, energy source problem, migration, trafficking, smuggling, cyber crimes and terrorists are considered as a new form of threat to the national security. Therefore, the national security concept is seen as not only specifically focussed on military threats aspect alone, which is more traditional, but also on non-traditional elements. Hence, national security today can be divided into three dimensions known as traditional, non-traditional and critical non-traditional (Cabarello and Emmers, 2006; Kleinschmidt, 2006; Kicinger, 2004; Chee, 1991; Snow, 2004; Lohrmann, 2000).

Therefore, Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998) have introduced five general categories in the theory of security which are military, environmental, economic, social and political security. They say that the meaning of security is "readily-available threat" towards the reference object which is done by the security actors such as the leaders and political parties which will eventually bring towards a chaotic situation in a country. 'Reference object' refers to either the state-actors like government and leaders or non-state actors including individuals, the society and certain groups. According to this view, national security started to exist when leaders and political members are able to convince the people with a speech that an uncertain situation has occurred and can take the lives of the people in that country. Usually, the aim of leaders is to receive an approval from the people so that the government will receive enlightenment and a certain monetary allocation to overcome that particular threat. Even then, Callabero and Emmers (2006) argue national security cannot be measured based on the outcome of the speech given by the leaders to the people alone. It must also be supported by empirical and statistical data to explain the threatening situation. Consequently, qualitative and quantitative approaches need to be done so that national threat situation can be proven realistically.

At the same time, Aniol has the opinion since a few decades ago, that a large amount of value is considered as a national threat element which has been stood up for by many parties. Many cumulative values need to be protected in guaranteeing the security aspect other than the military element. A country does not only stand up for the sovereignty of the territory and the political freedom, but they also have to protect the national interest such as economical freedom, cultural identity and social stability. By giving attention to elements known as non-traditional national threat, it will be more meaningful to a country in the context of international security. In association with the migration and security issue, he believes international migration can bring a massive impact towards the national security of a country. This situation occurs when a country cannot control the entry of large amounts of foreign workers continuously until it brings about national threat to that country and the people in that area such as violence of rights, ethnic conflict, domestically intervention, xenophobia and many more. At the same time, he also mentioned a few security dimensions that can be an issue towards the migration aspect such as social stability, demographic security, cultural identity, internal security and social security (as cited in Kicinger, 2004).

IV. Foreign Worker Policies and Management in Malaysia

The Malaysian economy has always shown captivating progress from 1990 up to 1997 that is before the major financial crisis in Asia. Even then, with the concerned step taken by the government such as pegging the ringgit to the US dollar, the government managed to save the Malaysian economy back to recovery and maintain it at a full force usage level. This very stimulating development increase in the economy has increased the country's need towards work force in various economic sectors and indirectly encourages the entry of foreign labours from various countries into Malaysia. This phenomenon can be seen from the sum of foreign workers in 1997 where there was a total of 627, 426 people and then a decrease to 395, 140

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people in year 1998 due to the financial crisis. But then, after 1998, the entry of foreign workers increased gradually in 1999 (409, 660), 2000(807, 096), 2001(849, 829) and 2002(1, 067, 529). This situation shows that the Malaysian economy has recovered from the financial crisis that occurred previously, and as a result, many sectors are now opening more and more job opportunities in various sectors within the country. Among the economic sectors that lack of work force at the time was agriculture, construction, services and manufacturing (*Purnama*, 2002).

The entry of foreign workers in Malaysia is via two ways, legal entry through legitimate foreign workers agencies registered under the Malaysian Immigration Department, and the other way is the illegal way that is through non-registered agencies. According to International Labour Organization (ILO), Malaysia is an ASEAN country that faces critical problems such as the entry of illegal foreign workers. This phenomenon may occur due to geographical location that is so strategic when using the sea route and it is so close to other ASEAN countries (as cited in Department of Research and Planning, Ministry of Human Resource, 1984). The foreign workers in Malaysia can be divided into three groups, firstly, non-citizens of Malaysia who have been staying here for a long time and have red IC, and they are consist various races. Under the Employment Restriction Act 1968, this group is not allowed to work unless they have work permits produced by the Labour Ministry. The second group consists of foreign workers who are highly skilled and are professionals in the technical and administration field. The third group is foreign workers who are semi or unskill that enter the country illegally. This group is also known as illegal immigrants who mostly work in the agriculture and construction sectors (Ali, 2003). At the same time, recently, there was a suggestion from the Malaysian Trades Union Congress (MTUC) that the government should absorb about 90 thousand refugees into this country under the United Nations High Commisioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to work legally. This suggestion was implemented as a reaction to the government's announcement of approving nearly 100 thousand work permits to foreign workers since the past 3 months. This step is seen as not only a solution to the issue of dependence on foreign workers and fulfills demands in certain sectors but it is also helps to solve the problems faced by the refugees in Malaysia in the context of economy. By allowing the refugees to work in certain sectors, it will help bring prosperity especially in developing aspects such as education and health, which is the government given less attention towards that community. Even then, that suggestion needs to be re-evaluated and considered more comprehensively so that it does not create conflict of interest with the local citizen (Zakaria F.I, February 17, 2010).

In the 1960's, there was not a single clear mechanism or structure regarding the intake of foreign workers who are semi and unskills into Malaysia. At the same time, employers were allowed to hire foreign workers informally via middlemen or agents from countries such as Indonesia and Thailand. Therefore, regional migration system is seen as more closely based on tight cultural and religion based relationship between the exporting and importing countries (Kaur, 2008). In the year 1969, a new law related to employment was introduced and it was known as Employment Rule 1969 (Control and Work Permit). It was done to give work permit in a flexible manner to foreign workers and they are allowed to stay in Malaysia. Even then, most employers, foreign workers and their family members have misused the benefit by coming and staying in Malaysia illegally. This situation prolonged until the 1970's, where the government was seen ignoring the situation with excuses such as they are only around tremporarily, there will come a day when they will go back to their country of origin (Karim et al., 1996). At that time, shortage of workers in the agriculture sector was rising, and the government took measures to determine the inflow of foreign workers into Malaysia. Since then, laws associating with foreign workers are seen to change either becoming more strict or lenient, depending on the current situation at the time, and the demand of country in work force sector. Align with that, policies that keep changing can be considered as a tool used by the government to control the entry of foreign workers in Malaysia (Kaur, 2008).

In 1981, the government announced allocation for laws regarding the formation of foreign workers agency. The reason behind this allocation was to speed up the process of foreign workers intake, where employers need not go to the country of source to get the labours. At the same time, in year 1984, Medan Agreement was sealed between governments of Malaysia and Indonesia to manage mechanism and offer labour force to Malaysia. In this agreement, Indonesia agreed to offer labour force in 6 categories needed by Malaysia, especially in the plantation sector and maid or help around the house. After the agreement, the Malaysian government made agreements with the neighbouring countries such as the Philippines, regarding the need for maids, whereas Thailand and Bangladesh for sectors like manufacturing and farming (Kassim, 1993; Atukorala, 2006; Kanapathy, 2004).

The acceptance of foreign workers policy in the 1990's era practised by Malaysia towards workers with semi and unskills is more of a short term approach; that is to fulfil the vacancy of labours in certain sectors. Because of the condition of the Malaysian economy that keeps expanding widely, the action of sealing the deal with the country of origin of the foreign workers is seen as not helpful in deterring the entry of illegal immigrants

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into Malaysia. Therefore, in year 1991, the government introduced a new rule more known as Legalization Process or Amnesty Process. In the Legalization Process, every employer who employs a foreign worker without going through a legal process will have to register and authorize their status within 6 months, or they will have to face court action and fined RM 10 thousand for every illegal foreign worker they have employed. Even then, this process seemed quite complicated because to authorize the status of an illegal immigrant, the employer will have to send back that illegal immigrant to his country of origin and then take him back via a legal channel. This will complicate things and cause a higher cost for the employer especially to organise foreign workers in large quantities. Eventually, this allocation was found inappropriate with very little support from most people and not effective, especially in handling issues regarding illegal immigrants (Kassim, 1997; Kanapathy, 2004).

The migration policies introduced by the government often get criticism and are usually a debate among the people of Malaysia. There are a few opposing political parties that have the impression that the government purposely take in foreign workers from Indonesia to strengthen the position of their political party based on Malays. They also believe that the government have an agenda to strengthen the position of Malays in Malaysia so that they create competition for non-Malays, especially the Chinese who have proven they are strong economically and socially. This impression is seen as something that is baseless and irrational because logically speaking, most non-Malays especially Chinese have conquered economical activities in Malaysia such as in construction, plantation, farming, manufacturing and many more. Most foreign workers especially in Indonesia was employed in those sectors are controlled or owned by the Chinese community. Furthermore, most illegal agencies taking in illegal immigrants in the early 1970's are owned by the Chinese (Ajis et al 2009, Kassim, 1997). The accusation regarding the government helping to provide special treatment to workers from Indonesia is seen as absolutely baseless. This is because according to Spaan, Naerssen and Kohl (2002), the Malaysian government's policy regarding Indonesian foreign workers is the same with other countries, where they are seen and treated equally with other foreign workers and are seen as temporary worker, although they share similar culture, language and religion. In fact, in the Foreign Maid Application Guidelines (No. 18) it was stated that foreign maids are not allowed to apply for Entry Permit which is a pre-condition that qualifies someone to get a permanent resident (PR) status, although they have settled down for more than 10 years.

V. The Inflow of Foreign Workers: Between Opportunities and Challenges

Basically, bringing in foreign workers into Malaysia is done to overcome problems such as lack of work force in certain sectors only, and not to be absorbed into all sectors. Among the sectors having shortage of work force are such as plantation, construction, service, industries and manufacturings. From these four sectors, the service and manufacturing sectors are the two major sectors with severe shortage of work force (Kassim, 1998). The Malaysian economic transition from agriculture orientated to industries such as manufacturing has left an important impact to the demand of skilled, semi skilled and unskilled workers (Bank Negara Malaysia, 2004). The increase in productivity which is generated from the foreign labours has elevated the sum of the country's export and contributed to an increase in National Balance of Payment (BOP). The strong growth in the export income is motivated by the higher export value, especially the ones contributed by the manufacturing industry. Therefore, the entry of foreign workers into Malaysia does not only fulfill the demand of workers needed in this country but they also have helped the country's economic growth tremendously (Bank Negara Malaysia, 1997). In fact, former Malaysian Prime Minister, Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi has stressed that:

> *"We want to decrease the intake of foreign workers but if we were to stop (their entry) altogether at this point, it may jeopardise the industry that highly depends on them"* (Utusan Malaysia, May 3, 2001; 4).

Same goes with the then Deputy Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Razak who is the Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Foreign Workers and Illegal Immigrants, stressed that:

> *"For a very long period of time, Malaysia still needs foreign workers to fill up the vacancies especially the ones that the local citizens are not willing to participate in. Even then, it does not mean that we will continue to use this policy without taking into account factors to motivate the locals to fill those vacancies"* (Utusan Malaysia, February 23, 2010; 7).

This situation has clearly shown that Malaysia still needs foreign workers to increase the country's economic growth and fulfil the available work force demand. The economic growth is able to make Malaysia become a developed country and hence be able to compete with other developed countries. Like in the United Kingdom, the role of a foreign worker has successfully increased the country's economy since the past decade. This is because their presence does not even damage the rate of interest and inflation even slightly, in fact it managed to overcome issues like lack of work force and maintain the stability of economy.

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Furthermore, they did not give a significant impact towards the salary and employment aspect especially among the youth. This is because most of them are willing to work in sectors that get very little response from local workers such as construction and hotel services (New York, April 23, 2008). With that, if seen the issue of temporarily freezing the intake of foreign maids to Malaysia by the Indonesian government since June 2009 has caused various negative implications in both countries. This is because this blockade has caused many maid agencies in Malaysia to gain loss up to a few hundred thousand. According to Foreign Maid Agency Association, this is because usually these agencies will bring in at least 10 thousand Indonesian maids to Malaysia every month, and when the blockade was implemented, these agencies are forced to pay back the deposit money to the employers. Indirectly what is happening is that it is damaging the country's socio-economic activities especially in the service sector and causing employers in Malaysia to accept a large amount of loss due to the blockade problem. Even then, this blockade is not only felt or suffered by Malaysia, it has also caused many Indonesians who want to work as maids in Malaysia to forget about their dream to work here. According to Foreign Maid Agency Association again, it was just a matter of time before nearly 30 thousand women in Indonesia are waiting to be brought into Malaysia to fill up the vacancies for that job since the sanction was implemented. In fact, according to Khairuddin Harahap, Director of Indonesian Social Workers Problems Research Board, if the blockade issue cannot be solved immediately, it is feared that it may lead to an increase of total illegal immigrants in Malaysia. This is because even though part of the Indonesian workers entering Malaysia illegaly knows the risks that they need to bear, but they still have to do it (Mingguan Malaysia, January 16, 2011).

The role contributed by the foreign workers towards the expansion of the country's economy especially in increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by sector and the aggregate expenditure are relevant. According to a research done by Bereau of the Census (1990) in 30 locations in the United States of America, it was found that there was a significant correlation between the sums of foreign workers in a particular location with the increase of average income. This shows that the more foreign workers there are in a particular place, the more the family's income and the productivity of that place will be. On the other hand, Carbaugh (2004) is of the opinion that the entry of foreign workers into a certain country will increase the export value of that country. Furthermore, the commercial account will go through an increase and will be able to help generate the economic growth. From the economic aspect, the government has taken a few intelligent steps in controlling the increase of salary and inflation. It happens to be a major aspect in aiming towards an economic growth success. Via this method, the government is able to reduce the usage of large sums of money to pay salary or wage to these foreign workers. This is because they are not very active in requesting for a pay rise and do not really bothered about the salary they get, as long as they earn enough to support their family in their country of origin. Indirectly the employers will take advantage in gaining profit because they no longer have to provide costs for social facilities such as social welfare fund, health benefits and other workers' benefits (Hoon, 2005).

Even then, the overflooding of foreign workers especially with semi or unskills is continued and without control, it can bring a negative impact to local economic aspect, social tranquillity, national threat and political stability. According to the Home Minister, Datuk Seri Hishamuddin Tun Hussein, the increased number of foreigners in Malaysia does not tally with foreigners record, including those registered with the foreign workers recruitment agency. He fears that the increase of foreigners including foreign workers will cause a bad implication towards aspects like social, security and peace until it tarnishes the the country's image in the eyes of the world (Utusan Malaysia, February 17, 2010). In fact, Malaysia leaders have also voiced out their fears towards losing the security of the country due to the increasing number of foreign workers in Malaysia. The former 4th Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad stated before during a meeting with former Indonesian Prime Minister Megawati Sukarno in year 2002 in Bali, that:

> *"most immigrants or foreign workers who live in Malaysia are unemployed and are involved in criminal activities. This situation has raised a concern among the locals of Malaysia"*

At the same time, former 5th Prime Minister, Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, who then was the Deputy Prime Minister, stressed that:

> *"the government needs to take actions to stop immigrants from entering the country. This step needs to be done because many criminal cases that occur involve illegal immigrants. Therefore, a stricter policy needs to be enforced and implemented"* (Kurus, 2004: 343)

The entry of foreign workers especially illegal migrants in large amounts has caused negative outcome towards the wage structure from continuously increasing. This is because most foreign workers are willing to accept any amount of wage and work any amount of long, flexible hours compared to the locals. For example, a manual worker from Indonesia who works in a big city like Kuala Lumpur will receive salary as low as RM12.50 a day and will have to conduct a different job in order to gain higher income. Usually, a foreign worker in construction sector earns between RM12-16 per day compared to a local worker in the same sector; that is RM20-25 per day for Malays and

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RM25-35 per day for Chinese, working in the same working capacity. If this phenomenon continues, it is feared that Malaysia will remain known as a country that orientates about low wage labour and as a result, the country's aim to be a developed country by the year 2020 may be a difficult target to accomplish (Narayanan and Lai, 2005).

Low wage payment gives the employers benefit because they are able to reduce the cost of output and then increase the profit of the company. But then, it will bring a negative outcome when wanting to define wage for workers in the long run. Basically, the participation of foreign workers in the labour market usually focuses on manufacturing industry and as a result, many locals in this sector will also get a range of low income. This situation is motivated by the imbalanced demand and supply principal. A decrease of price and wage will occur when the available supply is higher than the required demand. When foreign workers are willing to take over the jobs that the locals refuse to do due to income factors and working environment, definitely they will be the employer's choice compared to local labours. Furthermore, if there are unions that come up with this issue, employers are going to easily assume that the locals are not interested in the job (Ali, 2003). This situation calls for lower wage for both foreign and local labours because the locals are afraid of losing their jobs and want to reduce the risk of it. The research done by Friedberg and Hunt (1995) in the United States of America found that 10% of the labours supplied due to the migration of foreign labours into the country will decrease the labour wage rate as much as 0.3% in certain sectors. This situation proves that the entry of foreign labour will elevate competition to get jobs with the locals. In fact, overflooding of foreign workers will relatively reduce the unskilled worker's wage and the turnover rate of the owner will continue to increase. As a result, a wide range or gap will occur within our society and bring about conflict of interest.

Because of the vast economic growth, Malaysia is considered as a major foreign labour importing country in South East Asia. The entry of foreign labours into Malaysia has increased the outflow of our currency into other countries. During the Parliament convention in October 2008, the Finance Minister made an announcement that up to June 2008, a total of RM9.12 billion has been channelled out of our country and is expected to increase and reach up to twice that amount by the end of year 2008. This is because there are 2.1 million foreign workers registered and it is assumed that each of them sends RM720 every month. This total does not include those who enter illegally, who are estimated to reach up to 1 million of them. Even then, the government considers that they will not possess threat to the growth of the country's economy based on the belief that the reserve owned is way more than that amount. But then, in the long haul, it may damage the country's economy especially from aspects of currency exchange and country's balance of payments (BOP) when reduction in currency value occurs, and then soon it will affect the country's reserve (Utusan Malaysia, October 23, 2008). At the same time, the entry of foreign workers into Malaysia can also increase the rate of poverty. According to Shari and Embong (1998), foreign workers contribute significantly towards the percentage of poverty in Malaysia. According to the research done, the rate of poverty among the poorest for foreign labours increased from 6.0% in year 1995 to 9.9% in year 1999. This shows that more foreign workers are earning equivalent to or less than the Income Poverty Line. This indirectly gives a negative outcome to the status and quality of life among the Malaysians.

At the same time, the presence of foreign workers has the possibility to threaten the social aspect of the country, such as health. There are foreign workers who enter the country without going through health check up required, and as a result, they bring along contagious disease. Most foreign workers who come in are from under developed countries and have very low levels of health and disease control. In year 1992, the government announced that 30 percent of the 337 thousand foreign workers are HIV positive. With that, the government ordered a rule where every foreign worker who wants to work in Malaysia will need to go through two health check-up processes, first in their own country, and the other in Malaysia (New Straits Times, July, 30 1992). At the same time, Safety and Health Department exposed that 80% of the foreign workers in the plantation sector are positive for HIV. Based on this analysis and the observation made by National Anti Drug Agency, most HIV cases are among foreign workers in the plantation sector and this is due to the misuse of drugs and not sexual activities (Utusan Malaysia, June 12, 2008). The presence of foreign workers can also increase the criminal index point in Malaysia. Because of the leniency of border control and management of foreign workers that lacks efficiency, especially the illegal ones, has caused criminal activities to expand vastly. Among the criminal activities that have connection with foreign workers are fights, theft, robbery, murder, smuggling, raping and many more. The Home Ministry has once announced that 14, 809 out of 37, 446 prisoners in Malaysia are foreign workers where majority of them are illegals. This amount is said to exceed 28% of the capacity that is affordable for the Malaysian prison to support (Marzuki, W, July 8, 2008). Furthermore, the government has already spent RM11.6 million in year 2008 on 60,800 foreign labours who are mostly illegal immigrants and for each of them that is captured, an amount of RM30 is being spent per day. This cost only involves daily management and not including health costs (Utusan Malaysia, April 3 2009).

In fact, there are some illegal immigrants who already paid a lump sum of money to the 'illegal agents'

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to obtain legal documents and part of them managed to receive blue identification card, which is only specified for Malaysian citizens (Karim et al, 1999). In this regards, the authorities have captured an illegal immigrant in Sabah who tried to use a blue identification card to apply to enter the military. This situation is a serious matter where it may threaten the sovereignty of the country's defense and military system (Berita Harian, May 14, 2008). At the same time, the local media also reported approximately 300 thousand foreign workers were hired as security guards. Most of them are from Nepal and have experience in the military and this situation will possess a security threat to the country's sovereignty. Therefore, Dato' Seri Syed Hamid Albar who was the Home Minister at the time, said that:

> *'although we admit that they (Nepalis who work as security guards) have contributed in the national interest, but then these foreign workers (security guards with military experience) have the possibility to bring about security dilemma in the country's sovereignty'* (Abd. Rahim, T, February 22, 2009, pp: 7)

At the same time, it is estimated that 30 thousand illegal foreign workers are illegal immigrants traced to be working illegally in the local security industry including guarding housing and industrial areas. This has been exposed by the Malaysian Security Control Service Association which also added that most foreign workers are from Bangladesh, India and Myanmar, who are paid between RM400 to RM500 a month, for duration of 12 hours of service per day. As a result of the observation done by that association for the past three years, it was found that some of them were employed by individuals who operated without license. There are also Nepalese hired to work in Malaysia given work permits in the plantation and service sectors but in reality they work illegally as security guards in factories and housing areas (Kumar, January 14, 2011). This situation has caused many companies that employ illegal foreign labours to gain extreme profits, besides not having to get involved in worker welfare issues such as Social Security Organization (PERKESO). In fact, it has also created a major unbalanced competition with security companies that are using legal workers.

VI. Conclusion

Generally, Malaysia has been facing the migration issue for a very long period of time in history and it happens to a the popular target of destination especially in the South East Asian region. At this period of time, the reason for migration is usually due to aspects such as to increase the economic and individual status. Furthermore, factors like major development and lack of work force in importing countries are among the significant source for the entry of foreign workers into the country. Besides that, imbalanced economic development and change in prices of goods in certain regions will also cause an increase in migration. Regarding aspects such as policies and laws, the government is also seen as not conducting enough studies that are detail and precise in making foreign workers policy especially in evaluating aspects like work force demands and offers in Malaysia. The government usually says that the need for foreign workers especially with partial or no skills, are based on the current needs but what is obvious is that their entry is becoming more and in some cases the role of local workers are neglected. In fact, more and more local employers are proned to hire the services of foreign workers compared to locals. This is based on the excuse that foreign workers are a lot easier to be controlled and handled and they are willing to receive any work contract and work environment given such as low salary and long working hours. At the same time, there are also employers who are willing to hire illegal immigrants just because they want to gain multiple times the profit even though it involves local security.

With the uncontrollable entry of foreign workers, eventually it will be a threat to the national security especially in the economy and social context. This phenomenon has also given threat to the amity of the people, when a local worker is forced to compete with a foreign worker to get employed. Furthermore, the leaders and political members in Malaysia often voice out their worry towards the unstoppable over flooding issue of foreign workers. There are some of them who deem this over flooding will bring various negative impacts to the people and country like in employment issues, health, crime and other social issues. National security aspect needs to be looked into in a bigger context and not focussed on military aspect alone, in fact it could happen in various forms including economy, social culture, politics, migration, energy source, smuggling, trafficking and many more. Most developing countries have realised and focussed on various forms of security threats to a more contemporary concept. Therefore, in the world that is full of various developments, it is something that cannot be avoided especially when factors mentioned before are taken into account, alongside evolving development which happens in certain countries. Their contribution to generate economic activities in the country is still relevant. But then, what is more important is that the control and enforcement of immigration policies need to be relevant with the current request so that their inflow will not threaten the national security and the peace of the people, but instead increase the country's economic activities.

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A Research on Chang Chien's Reform Ideas

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Abstract- Chang Chien (1853-1926) was a native of Nant'ung, Kiangsu. In spite of the Various works on Chang Chien, which testify to the significance of his role in modern *China,* Chang Chien's Reform ideas is still not well-researched. The purposes of this paper are firstly, to analyze Chang Chien's Reform ideas systematically and clearly in the hope that it may become a useful reference for researchers on modern Chinese political thought, and secondly, to stimulate scholars for further research. This paper depends more on basic source materials rather than second-hand data. Among various source materials, *Chang Chien's Diary, The Nine Records of Chang Chien and The Complete Work of Chang Chien* are the most important. Chang Chien's Reform ideas may be summarized as follows:1 taking notice of both economic basis and superstructure; 2 elitism; 3 pragmatism; 4 concept of limited change; 5 gradualism; 6 golden means; and 7 government by the people.

Keywords: gradual reform, middle way, confucianism, modernization, industry.

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A Research on Chang Chien's Reform Ideas

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Abstract- Chang Chien (1853-1926) was a native of Nant'ung, Kiangsu. In spite of the Various works on Chang Chien, which testify to the significance of his role in modern *China,* Chang Chien's Reform ideas is still not well-researched. The purposes of this paper are firstly, to analyze Chang Chien's Reform ideas systematically and clearly in the hope that it may become a useful reference for researchers on modern Chinese political thought, and secondly, to stimulate scholars for further research. This paper depends more on basic source materials rather than second-hand data. Among various source materials, *Chang Chien's Diary, The Nine Records of Chang Chien and The Complete Work of Chang Chien* are the most important. Chang Chien's Reform ideas may be summarized as follows:1 taking notice of both economic basis and superstructure; 2 elitism; 3 pragmatism; 4 concept of limited change; 5 gradualism; 6 golden means; and 7 government by the people.

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I. Introduction

Scholars are inclined to divide the world views into conservative, liberal and revolutionary. A conservative world view generally values maintenance of status quo and discounts the elements of change; a liberal world view values reform of status quo through an evolutionary process of incremental change; and a revolutionary world view values transformation of the status quo through revolutionary and rapid change (Goldstein, 2001:8-9).

To take an example in the Late-ch'ing period of modern China, The Ch'ing government put emphasis on order, so as to maintain the status quo; The Constitutional Monarchists paid special attention to gradual reform regardless of the race conflicts; and the Revolutionaries advocated rapid revolution for the establishment of a republic by exaggerating the race conflicts (Sun & Chu, 1997:422). Chang Chien, one of the Constitutionalists in China, paid special attention to evolutionary process of incremental change as the middle way, neither conservative nor rapid change, with the characteristics of gradual reform opposing rapid change.

a) Review on the research outcome on Chang Chien and the purposes of this paper

So far lots of scholars have done research on this topic; however, the answers to this question have not been completely discovered yet. Chang Hsiao-jo's *Biography of Mr. Chang Chien of Nant'ung* is a pioneer work which contains a great many source materials on this topic, however, this book suffers from loose organization and superficial treatment of Chang Chien's Reform ideas (Chang, 1930). Sung Hsi-Shang 's *The Career of Chang Chien* is less a biography than an annotated collection of source materials, drawn largely from Chang Chien's works, supplemented by personal remembrances, but touches little on Chang Chien's Reform ideas (Sung,1963). Liu Hou-sheng's *Biography of Chang Chien* concentrates on the political events of Chang Chien's time including Chang Chien's Reform ideas (Liu, 1958). Samuel C. Chu's *Reformer in Modern China: Chang Chien, 1853-1926* emphasizes Chang Chien's role in industry, education, land reclamation, water conservancy and his involvement in national affairs including Chang Chien's Reform ideas (Chu, 1965). Chang K'ai-yuan's *The Footprints of A Trailblazer: Draft Biography of Chang Chien* (Chang, 1986), and *Biography of Chang Chien* (Chang,2000), and Chang K'ai-yuan & T'ian T'ung 's *Chang Chien and Modern Society* (Chang & T'ian , 2002), and *Chang Chien and Modern Society During the Period of the 1911 Revolution* (Chang & T'ian ,2011)discuss his career, his political activities and his middle way for gradual reform. Shao, Qin's *Culturing Modernity: The Nantong Model, 1890-1930* argues that the 1911 Revolution was not a breaking point in terms of local self-government. To be sure, the collapse of the Ch'ing dynasty demanded the reorientation of local self-government from being a base for a constitutional monarchy to being one for a Republican government"(Shao, 2004:11). Other works by Wong King-kong (Wong,1957),Jerome Ch'en (Ch'en,1983), Chang P'eng-yuan (Chang, 1968, 1969, 1983), LuYao-tung (Lu,1980) , Li Shih-yueh (Li ,1962), Hsu Lun, (1962), T'a Fu-hui, (Ta,1970), Meng-ch'un and Chang T'ingu-hsi (Meng & Chang, 2010), Sun, Shun-chih (Sun, 1991, 1995, 2009, 2013) also give interpretation to Chang Chien's Reform ideas.

The fourth international symposium on Chang Chien held in Nant'ung on the 25th - 28th of November 2006, 88 articles in relation to Chang Chien and modern Chinese society had been submitted to this symposium(Chang Chien International Symposium Committee, 2007), and the fifth international symposium on Chang Chien held in Haimen on the 17th-19th of April 2009, 120 articles in relation to Chang Chien and Haimen: The Thoughts and Practice in the Early Period of Modernization had been submitted to this symposium

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(Ts'ui, 2010), however, Chang Chien's Reform ideas still has not been fully explored yet. The purposes of this paper are firstly, to analyze Chang Chien's Reform ideas systematically and clearly in the hope that it may become a useful reference for researchers on modern Chinese political thought, and secondly, to stimulate scholars for further research.

b) Basic Materials

This paper depends more on basic source materials rather than second-hand data. Among various source materials, Chang Chien's Diary (Chang, 1986. Hereafter cited as Jih-chi) is the most basic one, which covers almost 53 years from 24 October, 1873, when he was twenty years three months and twenty three days, to 2 August, 1926, twenty two days before his death. This diary contains approximately 875,000 words by which we are able to understand the life of a typical Chinese intellectual, to check the exact dates of some writings of his, and to correct errors against related sources. The first part of Chang Chien's diary which covers approximately the period from 1873 to 1892 was published in Taipei in 1967; and the second part of Chang Chien's diary which covers approximately the period from 1892 to 1926 was later published in Taipei in 1969. These two parts of Chang Chien's diary were reprinted together in 1986 in Taipei covering the period from 1873 to 1926.

The Nine Records of Chang Chien (Chang, 1983. Hereafter cited as Chiu-lu.) is an indispensable source material to Chang Chien's political thought. This collection of his writings is divided topically into: Cheng Wen Lu (On Politics), Shih Yeh Lu (On Industry), Chiao Yu Lu (On Education), Tzu Chih Lu (On Self-government), Tz'u Shang Lu (On Philanthropy), Wen Lu (Essays), Shih Lu (Poems), Chuan Lu (Special Section), and Wai Lu (On the Civil Service Examination). Within each topical section the sources are arranged in Chronological order.

The Complete Work of Chang Chien(Chang Chien's Research Center, 1994; Li Ming-hsun & Yu Shih-wei, 2012) includes some new data not found in The Nine Records of Chang Chien, is an invaluable source material to Chang Chien's thoughts and activities.

II. Chang Chien's Career and the Development of his Middle Way

Chang Chien (1853-1926), *tzu* (courtesy title) Chi-chih, *hao* (alias) Se-an, and Se-Weng, was born the fourth of five sons, on July 1st, 1853 in the village of Ch'ang-lo, Hai-men, Kiangsu, China, and died on August 24th, 1926 in Nant'ung, Kiangsu, China. Chang Chien began his student days in 1856 at the age of only four. His first teacher was his father Chang, P'eng-nien, who taught him to read *Book of a Thousand Characters*. The following year, 1857, Chang Chien was sent to a village school. The teacher was Ch'iu, Ta-chang, under whom Chang Chien in a period of seven years (1857-1863), had finished the primers such as *Trimetric Classics, and Books of Family Names*; the basic poetic readers such as *Works of A Thousand Poets,* and *Poems of A Boy Prodigy*, and the Confucian Classics such as *The Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of Golden Means, The Analects of Confucius, Mencius, The Filial Piety Classic,* and *The Book of Odes.* The study of these books served as a basis for examination work, though they were for elementary education only.

In 1864, his father employed Sung, Hsiao-ch'i as family teacher to help Chang Chien and his brothers in the preparation for local examinations. The teacher asked Chang Chien to study again *The Great Learning, The Doctrine of Golden Means, The Analects of Confucius,* and *Mencius,* but from better editions. Then he proceeded to teach the boy *The Book of History, The Book of Change, The Book of Rites, and T'so's Commentary of the Spring* and *Autumn Annals*. Under his teacher's effective guidance, Chang Chien learned to write examination poems and examination essays which were required in the examinations. Unfortunately, this enthusiastic teacher died in the summer of 1866, and Chang Chien was sent to follow Sung Lin, the dead teacher's nephew, in a neighboring village, Hsi T'ing. Under the new teacher, Chang Chien advanced to study two more Confucian Classics, *The Rite of Chou* and *The Book of Ritual* (Chiu-lu, Chuan Lu, chuan 6, 2a-4b).

Chang Chien's examination life was a long and toilsome history. In the first stage, Chang Chien was lucky enough. He spent only five years, 1864-1868, in preparation, successfully passed through the district, prefectural, and Yuan (one conducted by provincial literary examiners) examinations, placing twenty-sixth in the latter, and was classified a Fu-sheng (Licentiate) in 1868, at the age of sixteen (Chang,1930: 25-26).

The second stage was very hard for Chang Chien. He spent seventeen more years, 1869-1885, failed five times in the provincial examinations. In 1870 he tried for Chu-jen degree for the first time, and succeeded in placing sixteenth in the k'o examination but failed to pass the provincial examination. He was to repeat this pattern of succeeding in the k'o examinations and failing in the provincial examinations four times in 1873, 1875, 1876, and 1879. The degree of Chiu-jen continued to elude him until 1885, when he competed in the provincial examination and succeeded in placing second highest among who passed.

Chang Chien spent nine more years, 1886-1894, in preparation, failed repeatedly four times in the examinations for Chih-shih degree in Peking in 1886, 1889, 1890, and 1892. In 1894, at the age of 42, Chang Chien, at the insistence of his elder brother, Chang Ch'a, and the encouragement of his aged father, once more took the metropolitan examination. This time, his name was found in the sixtieth position. He improved on this in the re-examination by placing tenth, and when the

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palace examination was over, he was chosen to be Chuan-yuan, the highest of all. He was duly appointed a Compiler of the First Class in the Hanlin Academy. Unfortunately, only six months after he had won the highest title of Chuan-yuan, he lost his father, who had played the most important role in his examination life. Four years later, in 1898, when he had decided to take no office in the government and when he was busy promoting local development in his home area, Chang Chien did not forget to come back to Peking for his last examination in Hanlin Academy. According to himself, this unnecessary effort was again to fulfill the dream of his deceased father.

Through the traditional training, Chang Chien had accepted the pragmatic and the reciprocal aspects of Confucianism which later functioned as his guiding spirit in promoting industry, education and self-government as the foundation of a constitutional monarchy, and then a republic. Chang Chien believed that the best way is somewhere between the two extremes. As he understood it, there were no basic conflicts between the Chinese tradition and Western civilization. It was possible to find some form of compromise by adhering to the broad principles of Confucianism and adopting Western technology, organization, and even political system of constitutional monarchism and republicanism. Chang Chien thought that "practical use" might be changed but "basic principle" should be permanent and could not be changed. Chang Chien's ideas on industry, education, self-government, constitutional monarchy and republic had changed according to situations, but Chang Chien's belief on Confucian ideas serving the people had never changed.

With the pragmatic and reciprocal aspects of Confucian ideas serving the people, adjusting to China's concrete situations, Chang Chien developed his middle way for gradual reform: firstly, saving China by industry from 1866, the time self-strengthening movement in progress; secondly, saving China by industry and education from 1895 to 1900, the time after Sino-Japanese War; thirdly saving China by industry, education and self-government from 1900 to 1903, the time self-government movement in progress; fourthly saving China by industry, education, self-government under a constitutional monarchy from 1903 to 1911, the time constitutional movement in progress; and lastly, saving China by industry, education, self-government under a republic from one month after 1911 Revolution, the time he changed to a republican and worked hard behind the scene in the North-South Negotiation for the birth of the Republic, until his death in 1926. Chang Chien indeed had successfully made considerable contributions to China's economic, educational and political modernization. The case of Chang Chien's subtle promotion of China's modernization demonstrated clearly that Confucianism was not necessarily incompatible with modernization (Sun, 1995:14). To this, Samuel C. Chu commented precisely: "He saw nothing incompatible with Confucianism in the introduction of industrialization, universe education, and local self-government into China" (Chu, 1965:179).

III. The Content of Gradual Reform: Chang Chien's Middle Way

Chang Chien was a real Confucian who promoted the modernization of China by the gentry with Western methods and in a mild but progressive way. He was a man of golden means, and he liked to advocate the modernization of industry, education, and political system by inches and drops. The content of Chang Chien's Reform ideas are as follows:

a) Taking notice of both economic basis (industry) and superstructure (politics)

In the early industrial development of China, Tseng Kuo-fan, Tso Tsung-t'ung and Li Hung-chang all looked at modern manufacture more from the military angle. Chang Chih-tung seems to have differed from them by showing a broader interest in modern livelihood enterprise, but he still regards modern industrial organization as a purely technical matter and separated from the whole political system (Sun, 1991:139). Chang Chien, however, was convinced that political system and laws were related to the development of industry.

Chang Chien had devoted himself to the cause of industry, education and self-government as the foundation of a constitutional monarchy, and later a republic. He recognized industry and politics were mutually related and thus pay equal attention to them. He said in 1903: "Politics is the cause and industry as the result" (Jih-chi, 2099). In a letter to the Revolutionary army in December 1911, Chang Chien expressed his opinion that a republic government will ensure the development of industry (Chang Chien Research Center, 1994:195). Chang Chien's term of office as the Minister of Agriculture and Commence from October 21, 1913 to December, 1915 was characterized by a number of projects. He indicated this in the first published statement upon his appointment, in which he enumerated the four basic steps which needed to be taken by the government: (1). To set up the necessary legal framework by providing forestry regulations, corporation laws, bankruptcy laws etc.; (2).to stabilized the fiscal system of the country; (3).To put the tax system into order; and (4) to offer encouragement to private enterprises in all fields. He made a conclusion that:"The development of industry is dependent on the proper performance of politics. If the performance of politics is proper, everything will be easily achieved. Otherwise there would be many problems in the future" (Chiu-lu, Cheng Wen Lu, chuan7, 1a-4a).

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b) Elitism

Chang Chien believed that the intellectuals were under an obligation to promote the welfare of the people. In 1903 he said:

> "The formation and implementation of Politics are the duties of the emperor and the high officials; the performance of education and academic issues is the duties of the intellectuals; and the development of agriculture, artisan and commerce are the duties of industrialists. The intellectuals should act as the mediators between the politicians and the ordinary people as the intellectuals live along with the people, but they also have opportunities to communicate with the high officials "(Jih-chi, 2099).

He accepted Ku Yen-wu's sayings"all are included in our duties. If we intellectuals do not work for the people, who maybe expected to work for them" (Chang, 1930:314). In a property division agreement with his brother, Chang Chien wrote:"From now on, my skin, bones, heart and blood will be sacrificed to the world. I will not remain an ox or horse of my son and grandsons" (Chang, 1930:345).

c) Pragmatism

He believed that the merits of the gentry depended on its deeds rather than its words. He again accepted Ku Yen-wu's sayings:"It is better to act than to talk". The major tasks for the intellectuals to accomplish according to him were to educate and to feed the people; but most of the intellectuals in office only sought gain for themselves and failed to do anything for the people. Thus Chang Chien, after the Korean campaign in 1882, began to join gentry's activities in his home area and after his success in the Chin-shih (Metropolitan) civil service examinations, decided to give up his official career and devoted himself to the reconstruction of his home area. When the constitutional movement flourished after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, Chang Chien urged the gentry (those who have passed the civil service examinations and have worked in their home areas), to promote local industrial and educational development as a basis of a local Self-government. He told them in 1906, "Let the ultimate initiative of constitutional monarchy come from government, for private individuals had better pay their primary attention to industry and education which will function as the foundation of Self-government. It is better to act than to talk, an advance of even a foot or an inch is valuable (Chiu-lu, Chuan Lu, chuan 7, 14b).

d) Concept of limited change

Chang Chien thought that "practical use" might be changed but "basic principles" should be permanent and could not be changed. However, Wong King-kong said:

> "He believed that everything in the world is changing. The existing systems, which had been established several thousand years ago, should be reformed or abolished in order to meet the demand of the times; thus he favored the modernization of China with Western organization and technology. In his article on the reform of salt administration, Chang Chien said, there is no system that can function for hundred years without producing any abuse" (Wong, 1957:27)

Chang Chie's ideas on industry, education, self-government, constitutional monarchy and republic had changed according to situations, but Chang Chien's belief on Confucian ideas serving the people had never changed. To this, Samuel C. Chu commented succinctly:

> "His basic beliefs altered remarkably little from the time he first conceived of the idea of setting up a cotton mill to the day he died. He accepted few of the western-inspired ideas, such as individualism, the equality of sexes, and the pursuit of truth for its own sake" (Chu, 1965:177).

It is true that Change Chien "accepted few of the Western-inspired ideas, such as individualism, the equality of the sexes, and the pursuit of truth for his own sake" especially in his later part of life; It is also true that "his basic beliefs altered remarkably little from the time he first conceived of the idea of setting up a cotton mill to the day he died" if "his basic beliefs" are the pragmatic and the reciprocal aspects of Confucianism. However, in the practical use of Western technology, science, management, educational institution, and even political system of constitutional monarchism and republicanism, Chang Chien's thought developed and changed step by step, --firstly saving China by industry; secondly, by industry and education; thirdly, by industry, education and self-government; fourthly by industry, education, self-government and a constitutional monarchy and finally by industry, education, self-government, and a republic.

e) Gradualism

Chang Chien believes that the best form of political movement is progressive reforms. He realized the importance of planning and a preparatory stage in any political action. Chang Chien sympathized with Kang Yu-wei's Reform Movement, but was opposed to the latter's immature actions in the Hundred Days Reform in 1898. He anticipated K'ang' failure and disasters. He even repeatedly warned K'ang against taking careless action, but K'ang ignored his advice. After his visit to Japan in 1903 he promoted the constitutional movement and considered the local government as the real basis for a constitutional national movement. He urged the gentry to join the movement for local reconstruction in their home areas

f) Golden Means

Chang Chien believed that the best way is somewhere between the two extremes. As he

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understood it, there were no basic conflicts between the Chinese tradition and Western civilization. It was possible to find some form of compromise by adhering to the broad principles of Confucianism and adopting Western organization and technology. In the whole course of his political career Chang Chien never seemed to find himself in ideological confusion. He praised Chang Chih-tung's *Ch'uan-hsueh p'ien (Exhortation to Study, 1898)* as "an effort to maintain a fair balance between the new learning and the old learning". In comparison with Chan Chien and Chang Chih-tung in terms of Chung-ti Hsi-yun (Chinese learning as basic principle and Western learning as practical use", Chang Chien's concept of yun (practical use) is broader than that of Chang hih-tung. Chang Chien's concept of practical use included western technology, science, education, administration and even political system of constitutional monarchism and republicanism; Chang Chih-tung's concept of practical use included western technology, science only, and not political system. Chang Chien's concept of t'i (basic principle) is also had a bit difference from that of Chang Chih-tung: Chang Chien's concept of t'i emphasized the reciprocal and the pragmatic sides of Confucianism while Chang Chih-tung's concept of t'i emphasized absolutely obedience, and therefore Chang Chien is more progressive than Chang Chih-tung.

Is Confucianism incompatible with modernization? Mary C. Wright argued that Confucianism was totally contradictory to modernization:

> "The failure of the T'ung-chih Restoration demonstrated with a rare clarity that even in the most favorable circumstances there is no way in which an effective modern state can be grafted onto a Confucian society" (Wright, 1957:300).

She concluded:

> "That the Restoration failed because the requirements of Confucian stability...That the obstacles to successful adaptation to the modern world were not imperialist aggression, Manchu rule, mandarin stupidity, or the accidents of history, but nothing less than the constituent elements of the Confucian system itself" (Wright, 1957:9-10).

If the so called "Confucian system" referred to orthodoxy such as absolutely obedience and relationship orientation, it was quite true for Mary C. Wright to conclude that it ran counter to "the requirements of modernization". But if the "Confucian system" referred to pragmatic Confucianism and reciprocal Confucianism, Mary C. Wright's conclusion was quite wrong.

John K. Fairbanks regarded Chinese political institutions and social structure as hindrances to modernization thus:

> "The resulting experience of the Chinese people in modern times has been overcast by a pall of frustration and uncertainty, owing to their inability to meet the West on equal terms. The inherited institutions of their society have played them false. More than any other mature non-Western state, China seemed un-adaptable to the conditions of modern life. Nationalism and industrialism, which triumphed so easily in Japan, were retarded in the Middle Kingdom. Neither the scientific method nor the rule of law, the inventor or the entrepreneur, have yet had their heyday in this strangely different society. Perhaps the very maturity and stability of Chinese social structure and political institutions have proved a handicap. Their dissimilarity to the West was so deep and ingrained that adjustment to the modern world has been possible only through the break-up of the old order. China's society has had to be thrown into the melting pot and her people have had to accept revolution as the law of modern existence; for the process of modernization has involved intense and rapid changes on all levels of social life and practice"(Fairbanks, 1953, 4-5).

On the contrary, Lu Shih-Ch'ang argued that Confucianism was totally compatible with modernization:

> "Confucian tradition has never been a hindrance to reform. In fact, many Confucian intellectuals were able to reconcile new foreign knowledge with Confucian tradition and put it into practice. Hence Confucian tradition is flexible, and an essential foundation to modernization" (Lu, 1980:83).

It is just as unreasonable to say that all elements of Confucianism were contradictory to modernization, as it is to say that they were totally compatible with it. In fact, some elements of Confucianism, such as "equal opportunity to education", and "let people be rich" were compatible with modernization, whereas some others, like "absolutely obedience to the senior" and "dependence to the superior" which killed people's initiatives and free wills surely were incompatible with modernization. Hence Sun Kuang-the concluded precisely:

> "Some ethics of Chinese traditional culture such as "I will bear my responsibility, fulfill my mission, and even die to fulfill my duty", and "I will struggle hard for success, so that I may glorify my parents, and my clan" facilitate modernization, at least, they are not hindrances to it. But some other ethics like "I always admire, hold precious and feel nostalgic about anything of ancient origin" tend to encourage conservatism. "I absolutely recognize the authority of the family head and sovereignty of the emperor" shows a lack of individual independence. They surely are contradictory to modernization ... It is easy to see that some elements of Chinese traditional culture sometimes are compatible with modernization while other elements sometimes obstruct modernization" (Sun, 1982:187-189) and Chang P'eng-yuan also

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made a conclusion that:" Some elements of Confucianism for example, adjusting to the circumstances, surely facilitate modernization while some other elements of Confucianism, for example, whole-heartedly protection of tradition, surely are contradictory to modernization" (Chang, 2002:190)

In my view, Confucius's own ideas contained the elements of pragmatism, reciprocity, as well as orthodoxy in its original form. Since the Han Dynasty, especially the Sung, and the Ch'ing Dynasty, Confucianism was merely a symbol of corruption, dirty, inhumanity, rigidity and superstition. The original essentials of reciprocity and pragmatism in Confucianism have been ignored for a long time.

Chang Chien, however, chose the pragmatic and reciprocal elements of Confucianism and put them into practice. With the Confucian ideas serving people, Chang Chien devoted himself to the cause of industry, education and other local affairs of self-government as the foundation of a constitutional monarchy and later a republic and had successfully made considerable contributions to China's economic, educational and political modernization. Chang Chien's case demonstrated clearly that Confucianism was not necessarily incompatible with modernization.

g) Government by the people

Chang Chien wanted to replace Kuan-chih (government by the officials) by Min-chih (government by the people). He admitted that Kuan-chih was the normal condition under autocracy, but he complained that in the past several thousand years, except during the Hsia, Shang and Chou Dynasties, the officials had done nothing for the people.

Although in imperial China the gentry could handle in their home areas some projects, including irrigation and flood-prevention work; the building of road, bridge, and ferries; the settlement of local disputes; and the promotion of local defense organization. It is not an exaggeration to say that the gentry constituted the keystone of rural organization (Chang, 1955: 197-198). However, they acted on a voluntary basis and under the control of the officials. Chang Chien hoped that this traditional role of the gentry could be developed into a modern system of self-government under which the gentry's position as the representatives of the people rather than the agents of the officials would be institutionalized, their activities for the local public welfare would be strengthened and the program of modernization would be effectively and extensively carried out. He believed that the only way to save China was through the united efforts of the gentry to modernize the country under the system of local-self government.

On the one hand, he promoted an institutional reform—that is the transfer of political power from the officials to the gentry, the representative of people. On the other hand, he charged the gentry with the actual task of modernization of the country. The former was the constitutional movement while the latter the local self-movement. Chang Chien dedicated himself to and made considerable contributions to these two movements.

IV. Conclusion

Chang Chien was a pragmatic and moderate Confucian-constitutionalist, his ideas and attitude of the middle way for gradual reform had been shaped by pragmatic and reciprocal Confucianism and Western Constitutionalism. Chang Chien's ideas of the reciprocal and pragmatic aspects of Confucianism serving the people had never changed while his ideas on industry, education, self-government, constitutional monarchy and republicanism had changed according to situations.

As a sincerely Confucian, Chang Chien tried to revive Confucianism by developing its most flexible parts into a practical school of Confucianism. In advocating Confucian philosophy, he especially emphasized the doctrine of adjusting to the circumstances and taking the middle course with which he tried to defend his own policy of modernization and moderate reconstruction. Although Chang Chien confined most of his activities to the local scene, he never lost sight of his larger purpose of modernizing all of China. His course of action was determined by his practical nature.

The Revolutionary, Sun Yat-sen had devoted himself to the cause of industrial development with a huge paper project entitled "*The International Development of China*" (Sun, 1953), and the constitutionalists, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had also intended to develop to develop China's industry as well. Sun Yat-sen, K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao talked industrialization, but they had never really carried out their projects on their own. However, Chang Chien was the one who actually devoted himself to the cause of industry, education and self-government as the foundation of constitutional monarchy and then a republic, and hence Chang Chien was far more a pragmatic figure than Sun, K'ang, and Liang.

Chang Chien's Reform ideas may be categorized as moderation, pragmatism and elitism—a combination of Chinese intellectual idea of serving the people with Western idea of governing by the people. As mentioned, Chang Chien paid attention to both economic basis and superstructure of politics; believed that the intellectuals were under an obligation to promote the welfare of the people; recognized that the merits of the intellectuals depended on their deeds rather than their words; thought that practical use may be changed but basic principle of the reciprocal and pragmatic sides of Confucian idea serving the people could not be changed; acknowledged that the best form

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of political movement was step-by-step reform; believed that the best way is somewhere between the two extremes; and Advocated constitutional movement in China. Chang Chien paid attention to industry, education as well as politics and social problems and made great contributions to China's economic, educational, social and political modernization.

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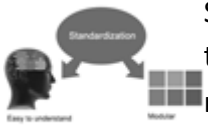

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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

A

Ameliorate · 2, 4, 69
Arguably · 53

B

Bolsheviks · 5

D

Damascus · 8
Despotism · 53
Disenchanted · 5, 6

E

Epistemological · 53

H

Hygroscopic · 30

M

Monarchies · 2

N

Nocturnal · 62

P

Pyrrhic · 70

R

Ropriateness · 54

S

Scrutinized · 8, 18

T

Tautologies · 54
Traumatized · 45, 47

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