THE STATE IN AFRICA AND NATIONAL SECURITY: CONTEMPORARY EXPERIENCE

BY

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Protocol:

Vice Chancellor – Prof. Michael Hodd;

Members of the Governing Council & Senate of Baze University;

Members of the Diplomatic Corps;

Academic & Administrative Staff of Baze;

Graduating Students;

Student Union Officers; and

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen.

Introduction:

I feel highly honoured to be invited to present the historic Convocation Lecture marking the graduation of the second set of Baze University, Abuja. I would like to begin this lecture by thanking the Vice Chancellor and the Governing Council and Senate of the University for the Excellent Contributions to enhancing the quality of education in Nigeria. May I also thank especially Senator Dr Datti Baba-Ahmed, founder and Pro-chancellor of this University for his enormous contributions to our great country, after serving as a Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, by establishing this Institution of higher education. In doing so, he recognizes the pivotal role of education in the development of any society. As Nelson Mandela reminded us "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" However, teachers, administrators and students in institutions of learning, at all levels, do not and cannot exist in isolation from the larger society. Hence, the topic of today's discussion provides us with an important context as we examine **"The State in Africa and National Security: Contemporary Experience"** In this regard, a cursory look at newspaper headlines and

other news on global television screens, would suggest that the contemporary experience in Africa is one of perennial conflicts and wars; failed or failing states and national insecurity. Yet, starting with Nigeria's own experience, there is a glimmer of hope that the negative trends can be reversed especially if the African peoples take advantage of new opportunities for change and socio-economic development.

2. The main argument to be advanced in this presentation is that the surest way to promote strong, viable state in Africa and promote national security in the continent is to adopt and implement strategies to end wars and violent conflicts, enhance human security and promote an inclusive political and socio-economic development. The reality or contemporary experience however, is that;

(i) While Africa has achieved much progress in leaving behind the shadows of its colonial past and in promoting sustainable socio-economic development and democratization on the continent, it continues to grapple with ways to achieve these objectives.

(ii) Conflicts in the 21st century, in the world in general and in Africa in particular, are characterized by their multi-dimensional nature and complex causes, such as inequality, state failure, political, economic and social marginalization, scarcity of resources, human rights violations, environmental degradation and widespread displacement of civilian populations.

(iii) Meanwhile, globalization and the rapid implementation of neo-liberal economic policies also played their part in weakening state sovereignty in Africa.

(iv) Moreover, most conflicts in Africa today are intra-state conflicts but with considerable regional and international implications and involvement. In addition to conflicting interests of rebel groups fighting the government, as well as in some instances other non-state actors, terrorist networks around the globe have become involved in the majority of conflicts plaguing Africa from the Sahel region all way to the Somali coast.

Such conflicts cannot be addressed solely by preventive diplomacy, political negotiations and mediation, peacemaking and peacekeeping and the use of force. Nor can they be resolved only through national actions alone.

3. Hence, what is needed is an integrated and comprehensive, yet coherent approach that includes, in addition to political and military activities, transparent and urgent improvements in the areas of human rights, good governance, democratization, economic growth, poverty eradication, environmental protection and other measures.

4. Mr Chairman, as this presentation is taking place in an academic and intellectual setting, it is perhaps useful to briefly touch upon some concepts which are relevant to the topic of my presentation today.

i. Peace and Security

John Galtung, a leading figure in peace research defined peace narrowly as "the absence of warfare" Galtung distinguished "direct, personal or institutionalized violence" and "structural violence" as economic exploitation and/or political repression. However, our definition of peace should be wider, to include "positive peace", which includes elements of "human security". In this regard, traditionally, security was equated with the protection of territorial sovereignty and integrity, as well as national interests, by a nation state through political means and, if necessary, the use of force. However, in the 1990s, the concept evolved to include non military threats, such as environmental hazards, socio-economic conditions and transnational crime, affecting the individual, communities and states. In other word, while a state may be physically secure, there may be human insecurity within its border. Hence, the Human Development Report of 1994 explicitly recognized the interdependence between security and development as the two main components of human life and human dignity. It also listed seven dimensions of human

security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

ii. Human Development

The first Global Human Development Report launched by UNDP in 1990, human development is defined as being about enlarging people's freedoms, choices and capabilities. It was based on the assumption that when human development advances, people live longer and lead healthier lives, are better educated, have more income and can live in greater dignity.

iii. Peacebuilding

The concept of peacebuilding was introduced in 1992 when UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali launched the "Agenda for Peace". It gained institutional expression through the establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission in 2005. It is based on the understanding that peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacity at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding is seen as a broad policy framework that enhances synergy among the related efforts of conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, recovery and development, as part of a collective and sustained effort to build lasting peace. Peacebuilding emphasizes local ownership, civil society engagement and community buy-in.

5. In Africa and elsewhere, we should all be interested in peacebuilding for three main reasons; first at a basic level, conflict causes significant devastation and inflicts much suffering, and from both purely humanitarian perspective, as well as demonstration of our common humanity, it is a decent thing to help people who are suffering. But at a more fundamental level, conflict can be contagious, and if we fail to put out the fire in our

neighbours's house, the risk are high that it could spread to ours. And third, peacebuilding efforts are aimed at addressing the root causes of conflicts such that peace endures. In 2006, the African Union also developed a Draft Policy Framework on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD) which is conceived as a tool to;

a. Consolidate peace and prevent relapse of violence
b. Help address the root causes of conflict
c. Encourage fast-track planning and implementation of reconstruction activities; and
d. Enhance complementarity and coordination between diverse actors on PCRD.

6. The policy framework outlines six (6) indicative elements to be concentrated on security, humanitarian/emergency assistance; political governance and transition, socio-economic reconstruction and development, human rights, justice and reconciliation, women and gender. It also emphasizes collaboration between state and non-state actors in determining priority areas for engagement and the design and implementation of programmes. It also calls for the promotion of gender equality and women's participation.

However, until recently, the implementation of the framework has been lagging; the AU has been more pre-occupied with peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts than with post conflict reconstruction. Meanwhile, through a unique collaboration in peacemaking and peacekeeping, the UN and African Union established a joint mission in Darfur, Sudan called UNAMID. During my tenure as the AU-UN joint Special Representative and Head of UNAMID, I made it one of my priorities to promote understanding of the nexus between peace, security, recovery and development and advocates for greater reflection of the nexus in policy decisions of donors and development actors.

Indeed, economic marginalization and competition over scarce resources were among the major root causes of the Darfur conflict. Environmental degradation compounded the already dire situation.

In response to the escalation of violent conflict in Darfur in the years 2003-2004, the international community mounted a major humanitarian operation to attend to the victims of the conflict-the civilian population, and in particular the displaced. Although the substantial and massive international humanitarian efforts and investments yielded positive gains and helped to stabilize key humanitarian conditions, they have, however, so far failed to empower the population to adapt to and cope with their future, indeed, it appears as if inadvertently, a culture of dependency has been created.

In order to maximize and consolidate the gains so far achieved, it is therefore important and urgent to promote a complementary strategy of increasing early recovery and development activities. Put differently, the need for donors to complement their humanitarian activities with support for restoration of livelihoods including the resettlement and integration of IDPs and refugees back into the new 'urban' locations have become critical and justifiable.

 7. Now, coming nearer home to Nigeria, one of the greatest threats to the Nigerian state and National security is the menace of Boko Haram. This is because it represents the ill use of religion and uses sectarian violence to undermine the unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity of our country. And to defeat it and thus strengthen the Nigerian state and our national security requires three differentiated but interrelated strategies;

a. The use of overwhelming force to degrade the military capacity of the terrorist group.
b. The mobilization of neighboring countries and the west African sub-region to collectively act to fight the scourge and

c. To drain the swamp-which is to embark not only on massive programme for the relief of the victims but on socio-economic recovery and reconstruction of the areas of our country that have been devastated by the activities of the terrorist group. Furthermore, youth unemployment has to be tackled head-on so that extremist groups would not be able recruit from a pool of unemployed youths for violent extremist actions. It is difficult to exaggerate the fact that Nigeria needs intensified efforts at peacebuilding in various parts of the country. Hence, public policy must respond to and apply effective peacebuilding strategies to existing and emerging areas of crises in the country. An effective peacebuilding strategy is one that is not only holistic but carefully targeted in addressing structural   causes of conflict and fragility.

8. Although the crises of the Niger Delta has receded, there is an unfinished peacebuilding agenda that ranges from repair of environmental degradation to economic revitalization of many of the communities in order to provide assured means of livelihood for the people. Meanwhile, in the North-East, as military victory over Boko Haram accelerates, it is not too early to start contemplating the nature and scope of the peacebuilding efforts that might be required. Consensus is evolving that peacebuilding efforts in the North-East must entail three components; de-radicalization of the youth through training and employment creation; supporting the re-integration of internally displaced persons; and undertaking the reconstruction and development of the conflict-affected areas. There was a consensus in the National Conference, at least in principle, on the need to make appropriate budgetary provision available for the 3Rs in that region of Nigeria.

9. NATIONAL SECURITY IN BROADER PERSPECTIVE

Mr Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen, in Nigeria, as elsewhere in Africa and the world as whole, addressing the issue of national security has engaged the efforts and attentions of governments and all segments of the society. In this regard, there is a real nexus between security and peace, development and democratization. This was aptly captured by two UN Secretaries-General, both Africans, Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan. They both wrote seminal reports. Boutros-Ghali issued a report in 1992 called "An Agenda for Peace", in which he laid out a post-Cold War agenda and argued that there can be no development without peace and emphasized the need for preventative diplomacy and conflict resolution. He followed that in 1994 with "Agenda for Development", wherein he further argued that there can be no durable peace without sustainable development. In 2005, Annan issued "In Larger Freedom" in which he argued that there can neither be peace nor development unless people have the right to decide who will rule them and how, and the promotion of human rights is central to national activities. Furthermore, post 9/11 world, shows how the new scourge of terrorism, violent extremism, irregular armies and non-state actors were not envisaged complicates the efforts at promoting national security. Thus, combating these pose great challenges requiring timely intelligence, accurate and creative approaches, sound strategies at sub-regional, regional and global cooperation.

10. As noted by President Muhammadu Buhari during his recent address at 70th UN General Assembly, Peace, is close to the hearts of Nigerians, as we are in the front line in the war on terror. Boko Haram's war against the people of Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroon may not attract as much worldwide attention as the wars in the Middle East but the suffering is just as great and the human cost is equally high. This is a war about values between progress and chaos; between democracy and the rule of law. Let be noted that guns and ammunition alone cannot stop terrorism but some level of dialogue. Terrorism is a warped ideology and one cannot kill it with gun alone. Hence, the continued threat to

international peace and security posed by Boko Haram requires collective responses at the national, regional and global levels. Boko Haram should be made to know the collective will of the Nigeria people and of the region. Security should be everyone's business. As we live in a world where threats to national, regional, and global security are growing on a daily basis, a threat to peace and security any where should be seen as a threat to peace everywhere and thus demanding collective response. That is indeed, the essence of collective security which is at the heart of the goals and objectives of our African Union and the United Nations.

11.   The concept of National security has to do with the overall safety of a nation and the generality of its citizens. Security is so special, critical and of relevance to all humans and nations irrespective of creed, colour, economic status, or geographical location, (Nwolise, 2013:3). Security is the primary concern and value of all humans and nations at all times, and in all climes as it is a pre-requisite for their survival, progress and happiness. Security is not just all about survival, but "there is also the focus on the attainment of peace and progress of individual, groups and the society". Thus, section 14(2b) of chapter II of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria, provides that, "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government", in addition, "the security of a person, identity group, nation or the world is not only a sacred and strategic value, it is the utmost value." Security is the utmost value because as noted by Zabadi (2001:1), "unless one can be assured of his physical security or safety everything else will be meaningless."

12.   Since the primary function of every government is the welfare and security of its citizens. Therefore, any government that fails in this primary responsibility should be seen as a failed government. The insecurity situation in Nigeria can therefore be partly seen as a pointer to the failure of successive government. A closer look at some of the developing nations of the world confronted with the most grievous security challenges, one can

observed that "inefficiency of their government has often been identified as a crucial factor undermining security.

13. Consequently, improvement in the quality of governance, among other measures, is necessary for "a qualitative improvement in national security". In the same vein, in 2003, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was launched to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, higher economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration.

But central to the question of improved governance is the issue of political leadership with inept and corrupt political system often identified as major bane of effective governance in many developing countries. The obvious inference that can be made from the foregoing is that only a political leader who has a good understanding of those social, political, economic and ecological conditions that are necessary for the security and overall wellbeing of society and who also has the will power to rise above selfish interest in the pursuit of the security and overall wellbeing of society and its members will be able to surmount these challenges and enhance national security. It is based on the conviction that there can be no peace where human security and credible leadership are lacking. A country where political corruption and human security are neglected give way to violent conflict. On the contrary, national security will be enhanced when political power is held and exercised by people possessing an adequate understanding of what is good in the light of which they formulate policies and respect the rule of law and rights of the citizens. The APRM attempts to achieve this through experience sharing and reinforcement of successful and best practices, including identifying deficiencies and assessment of requirements for capacity building.

The APRM is a self-monitoring mechanism within the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) that can be voluntarily acceded by African countries. The

APRM process focuses on four thematic areas to assess state's compliance with a wide range of African and international human rights treaties and standards;

1. Democracy and political governance
2. Economic governance and management
3. Corporate governance
4. Socio-economic development

The mandate of the APRM is to encourage conformity in regard to political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standards, among African countries and the objectives in socio-economic development within the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

The Leadership Challenge

14. Ladies and gentlemen, National Security has everything to do with leadership. According to my distinguished compatriot, late Professor Chinua Achebe, the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely the failure of leadership. Leadership is a critical factor in national security and it should be understood in two important but related ways. Firstly, there are the *personal* qualities of integrity, honesty, commitment, and competence of *individual* leaders at the top. Secondly, there are the *collective* qualities of common vision, focus, and desire for development of the elites as a whole. The standards for recruitment and the performance of our individual leaders over the years have left much to be desired. We do not need leaders who see themselves as champions of only some sections of our population. We do not need leaders who do not understand the economic and political problems of the country, not to talk of finding durable solutions for them. We do not need leaders who are more interested in silencing their opponents, than in pursuing justice. We do not need leaders, who preach one thing, and do the exact opposite. We do not need leaders who place themselves above the constitution and the

laws of the country, but leaders who lead by upholding and respecting the law. We do not need leaders who have no sense of tomorrow, other than that of their private bank accounts. If we are to succeed in securing our nation, we must have a leadership that is committed to the rule of law and has a demonstrable sense of fair play and democratic tolerance; a leadership with ability and integrity; above all else, we must have a leadership that can see beyond the ostentatious pomp of office. We must have leaders who have a vision for a Nigeria better than the one they inherited; leaders who will lead by deeds and not by words; achievers, not deceivers. We need a leadership that will not only leave its foot-prints on the sands of time, but one, which by dint of hard-work, fair play, dedication and commitment, will live forever in the hearts of Nigerians. Of course, leadership is not everything, but it is an extremely important factor. Unless we have leaders with ability, integrity, commitment, and vision, we cannot succeed at tackling the present security challenge in Nigeria. It is gratifying to note that within the judiciary, the National Assembly, and within the Executive, the issue of the quality of leadership is currently receiving attention. We must not relent in this struggle for quality leadership as it is the key to securing our nation.

15. Beyond the qualities of individual leaders, however, there is the equally important question of the quality of the collective leadership offered by the Nigerian elite as a whole. After all, a tree cannot make a forest, and an individual leader cannot do everything alone. When I talk about collective elite leadership, I am drawing attention to the collective vision, focus, and discipline of the elites as a whole. When a Nigerian leader, by words and deeds, is able to convince a large enough section of the Nigerian elites and the wider public about a vision for a greater tomorrow, then Nigeria will truly be on the way to national greatness. While our experiences in the past have been disappointing, we have every reason to believe that the future is likely to be better, especially under the new Administration in Nigeria.

The Security Challenge and President Buhari's Approach

16. According to W. Buffet, there are basically three important things you need to look for in a person; viz are; intelligence, energy and integrity. Integrity is the keystone that holds government, organization, home, business, community and friendship together. There has to be sincere commitment to upholding integrity as an integral part of our value system. Actions, words and deeds must be sincere. It is appropriate for the graduating students and timely for our nation which has suffered so much in the hands of so called leaders with huge "integrity deficits" to be part of this era of change. It is so refreshing and uplifting that when President Obama formally welcomed President Muhammadu Buhari at the Oval office in the White House, he referred to him as, I quote "a man of integrity" And it is appropriate to tell our graduating and continuing students to have integrity as your watch-word. Remember good name is better than riches!

17. The visit of President Buhari upon assumption of office to Nigeria's neighbours of Cameroon, Chad and Niger plus Benin are worth commending. Their resolved to work together to face this common threat within the regional framework of the Lake Chad Basin Commission will go a long way in building a robust strategy to defeat Boko Haram. The establishment of the multinational joint task force to confront, degrade and defeat Boko Haram is a welcome development. The international community must pin its support in the fight against Boko Haram. Nigeria has contributed both human and material resources in peacekeeping operations in different countries of the world and helped in a reasonable extent to stabilize the polity. It is time now for the whole world now to rally round Nigeria in this critical moment. Nigeria needs help and there is no better time than now. On the other hand Nigeria should be ready and willing to partner with international agencies and individual countries on a bilateral basis to confront crimes and other threat to the nation's security. In particular, I call upon the global community to urgently redouble efforts towards strengthening the mechanisms for dismantling safe havens for proceeds of

corruption and ensuring the return of stolen funds and assets to their countries of origin (Buhari: 70th UN Assembly). We must fight the proliferation of small arms, human and arms trafickers are two major evils that should be challenged" And Nigeria's efforts in addressing her national security challenges mirrors the hopes and aspirations of much of Africa.

The Challenge of Institution Building to Promote National Security

18.   One of the greatest challenges of national security is the challenge of institution building. Whether nations are able to manage their political and social disputes peacefully, without lapsing into conflict, or sustain economic growth without creating huge inequalities, critically depend on the quality of the relevant national institutions. Thus, President Barack Obama was partly right during his speech in Accra Ghana on the 11th of July, 2009 when he said "Africans need strong institutions and not strong leaders" but let me add here that it is not only strong institutions that Africans need but also, we need strong, intelligent leaders with integrity. Weak leaders always subvert strong institutions because they always feel insecure.

19.   There are three important components to institution building: setting the rules; hiring persons with the technical expertise and moral competence to interpret the rules or implement the goals of the organisations; and ensuring that the institutions inspire public confidence by being transparent, fair and consistent. These are also the standards by which the performance of any organisation, in particular, public sector organisations should be measured. This shows that the act of creating the organisation itself is not as important as its proper functioning and overall effectiveness. In this regard, Nigeria needs to create or strengthen institutions that would help achieve the national goals of democratic governance, peace and sustainable development.

20. Again, Nigeria's progress or lack of it has demonstrations effect on our sub-region and the African continent as a whole. There are some people who represent our national importance by calling us the 'Giant of Africa'. This is an <u>ascriptive</u> perspective. We are seen as giants not necessarily because of the quality of our national institutions and values, but simply by virtue of our large population and oil wealth. But in reality, the greatness of a nation has to be <u>earned</u> and is not determined just by the size of its population or the abundance of its natural resources. In today's world, skills, industriousness, productivity, and competitiveness are the determinant factors of national greatness (example, Singapore). Not even the possession of the nuclear bomb is enough to make a nation great without reference to the industriousness and creativity of its citizens an example is (North Korea). Since the time of Adam Smith, every serious nationalist and politician has come to know that the wealth of a nation is based on the on the productivity and industriousness of its citizenry.

Prospects for Nigeria's and Africa's National Security and Stability

21. Mr Chairman, the prospects of enhancing state stability and national security in our country and continent would be greatly enhanced by addressing the issues of youth restiveness as well as national identity.

(i) Youth restiveness: In a country with over 10 million unemployed (graduate) youths, it is not out of place to observe youths getting involved in several social vices, taking up arms and being restive in different parts of the country. This has over the years created a gap in the handing over process of leadership positions from the ageing generation to the younger but hardly maturing youthful generation as the older ones see the majority of the younger crop as unserious, immature and unfit to handle resources. There is only one way to curb this and that is for the government of the day to ensure that there is gainful employment for the average youth on the street and also for the youth to grow up and live

up to responsibility by seeking knowledge and expertise instead of taking to the idleness, restiveness and wasting away.

(ii). National Identity; No nation can grow to its optimum level of expectation if its citizens do not have the feelings of national identity. It is this feeling of national identity that gives a nation its peculiar character and, thus, differentiates it from other nations. In other words, the cohesion and coherence of a nation are underpinned by the extent and level of its national character defined by the unity of its people, the stability of its polity, the perception of its viability by the citizenry and by its social harmony. In this regard, the past years are replete with restiveness among our people: "Boko-Haramism", the Fulani-Tiv conflict, the Niger-Delta militants, South East Kidnappers etc. They are the common enemies of the Nigerian people. Some of these phenomena, unheard of in the past, are beginning to be a fact of our daily life. But what is surprising is that such phenomena are rearing their ugly heads less than 45years after the end of Nigeria's traumatic civil war 1967 - 1970. Yet, our political elites, rather than learn from history, continue to fan the embers of hatred, animosity and ethnicity for selfish political and financial ends. To them, it must be 'self' first and the nation last. Such attitudes are not typical of nations that have created strong national identity within its polity and among its people. The emergence of ethnic militias in Nigeria is a serious threat to the corporate existence of Nigeria. In the South West, you find the Oodua People's Congress, the movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra is found in the South East, the movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta in the South-South and Boko Haram in the northwest that is presently on rampage.

22.   Therefore, while appreciating that "the only place that any of us exists is at the centre of our own consciousness", we can and must continually expand that centre outward to include all around us. This is the mindset Nigeria needs now as we face the multiplicity of our national and especially security challenges. I make this plea, first as a

Nigerian, secondly as an African and finally as a retired international diplomat who has been engaged in helping to manage and resolve conflicts all over the world.

Conclusion and way forward

23. Conflict prevention, management and resolution are essential ingredients for state stability and national security in Africa and elsewhere in the World. In this regard, the real challenge is to design better-informed, more comprehensive conflict management strategies, including all the various actors involved, to address the root causes of the respective conflict in all aspects and dimensions. In this regard, in the planning and implementation of strategies and programmes designed to prevent, manage and sustainably resolve violent conflicts, the following requirements should be given adequate consideration;

(i). Deep-rooted understanding of the conflict dynamics, the trends and drivers through the conduct of a comprehensive conflict analysis and mapping and linking the outcomes thereof to programming priorities and objectives.

(ii). Adoption of a holistic approach (rather than piecemeal); but often difficult to translate down to a practical level because of contextual difficulties, the multiplicity of actors, the lack of political will and /or human and financial resources.

(iii). National and local ownership: the affected countries set their own strategies and agendas for addressing the root causes of the conflict and donors and international actors to align behind the objectives and priorities of their national partners. This also includes the need to prioritize local actors (i.e. local NGOs, authorities etc.)

(iv). Civil society and community engagement are key in efforts towards lasting peace and development.

(v). Coherence and complementarity through increased coordination and cooperation among the intervening actors (donors, peacekeeping missions, implementing agencies and NGOs etc) in all stages of the continuing conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding.

Conclusion

24. In concluding, I wish to refer to the comment made by former UN-Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2000 that; "Human security encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and healthcare and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment-these are the interrelated building blocks of human and therefore national security". I believe with this in mind, it has become clear that a lot remains to be done. Promoting sustainable peace requires a human security and a human development orientation. High-level political commitment and coordinated public policy and initiatives will play a critical role in overcoming continuing challenges to peace, security and human development.

25. I wish to end my presentation by stating that justice and fairness must be at the epicenter of our quest for sustainable peace and building a great nation. Writing two centuries ago, Uthman Dan Fodio, a great reformer and leader, had this message for us: "One of the swiftest ways of destroying a kingdom (or State) is to give preference to one particularly tribe over another, or to show favour to one group of people rather than another". As Abraham Lincoln puts it succinctly, "a house divided against itself cannot stand. Justice and respect for the diversity of our nation are the prerequisites for a Republic that is at peace with itself and consolidates its unity and its democracy.

However, these are not ends by themselves but means to unlock the rich potentialities of Nigerians, and fully to harness the human, material and mineral resources with which this nation is hugely endowed. I believe that if we can find the will to offer such a leadership, and support it by strong and dependable political and economic institutions, we will find a way to our national greatness. In other words, we need responsive and responsible leadership that would make the people feel the real fruits of democracy. We must all bear in mind that nations are built by men and women who have the will and vision to accomplish greatness, not for themselves, their immediate families and friends, but for their country. This observation holds true for the rest of our continent in the efforts of individual countries and as a collective in promoting a peaceful, just and prosperous Africa.

26. Finally, may I once again congratulate and rejoice with our graduands. Your accomplishment-the fruit of years of toil is a significant achievement which could not have been possible without the support and encouragement of your parents, spouses, friends and sponsors, some of whom sit proudly in our audience today basking in the glory of the moment with you. May I also express my sincere appreciation to your teachers who have assisted you on your educational and life journey during these defining years and for continuing to make this University a place of excellence and great achievements.

27. I thank you for listening.

Professor Ibrahim Agboola Gambari, CFR,
Savannah Centre for Diplomacy, Democracy and Development,
2nd October, 2015.