The Role Non-State Actors in Shaping International Security

By

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Abstract

The paper examines the Role of Non-state Actors in Shaping International Security. Insecurity posed a grave threat to lives, properties and the social displacement of people. Several lives have been lost as a result of the activities deadly non-state actors. The realist theory was deployed as the theoretical framework of the study. Secondary source of data was adopted for the study; it involves the collection of data from textbooks, journals and seminar papers amongst others. The study observed that there is a strong links among dead non-state actors in the international system such as ISIL, Alqaeda, and Al-shabaab among others. This has enabled them to share arms, ammunitions and information. The study recommends that national governments need to demonstrate commitments not only in policy formulation, endorsement of agreements and codification, but also practical effort at implementation need be put in place, and to also, meet their primary responsibility to provide social and economic security and development for their citizens.

Keywords: Non-state actor, Security, Alqaeda, Boko Haram, ISWAP

Introduction

Security and insecurity are two side of the same coin; whatever brings about one will frustrate the realization of the other. The dominant threat to states in the international system is the threat pose by insecurity. As it is in the global system today, no state is immune from security threat. Even the most technological advanced Western societies have experience one form of security threat or the other. The attack on United States trade center in 2001 popularly known as (9/11)

by terrorist group is still fresh in the minds of global policy makers and students of international politics. Apart from the attack on the US, other Western developed countries have experience terrorist attacks. France in 2019 was a victim of terrorist attack following the detonation of bomb by a terrorist in a club that left many dead including security agents (Global Security Index, 2020). Common security challenges in the international system include; terrorism, conflict and war, climate change, gun violence and cult related activities etc. Security threat varies from state to state and as such, what constitutes security threat to one country may not be a security threat to another. For instance, Nigeria is battling with the menace of Boko Haram, herdsmen attacks and banditry amongst others, these security challenges are not at present experience in United States and Britain etc. countries such as Turkey, DR Congo and Chile are today faced with the challenge of climate change which s has resulted to the death of hundred and the social displacement of many, this challenge at present is not experience in Nigeria and Ghana etc.

Most security threat in the global system is spearheaded by non-state actors. It is important to note that there are two actors in the international system; state and non-state actors. State is a sovereign entity that is recognize in the global system to make binding decisions. They are the most dominant actor in the global system. Non-state actors do not enjoy sovereignty but they wield so much influence through their activities in the global system. Common non-state actors that pose security threat in the international system are; Alqaeda, Boko Haram Bandit, Islamic State of West African Province (ISWAP), Taliban and Al-shabaab etc. This paper intends to examine the role of these groups in shaping international security.

Statement of the Problem

The activities of non-state actors pose a grave danger to mankind and states in the global system. Several lives and properties have been destroyed including the social displacement of people as a result of the activities of some non-state actors. For instance, Alqaeda one of the non-state actor in the global system in 2001, staged the September 11 attack against the United States trade center that led to the death of hundreds of people and the destruction of the trade center. Also, Jihadists affiliated to the Islamic State of West Africa Province (ISWAP) killed 17 people in a raid on a remote village in northeast Nigeria after villagers refused to pay an illicit tax (BBC, 2022). Scores of fighters from Islamic State of West Africa Province

(ISWAP) stormed the remote farming and herding village of Kayayya in Yobe State, 150 kilometres from the state capital, Damaturu, hurling explosives and opening fire (BBC, 2022).

Several non-state actors such as Oodua People's Congress (OPC), The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND), the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Niger Delta Avengers, Herdsmen, Boko Haram Insurgents, Bandit and most recently the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) wield so much influence in the global system. According to Dagbo (2019), hundreds of people have lost their lives as a result of armed groups' related attacks both in Nigeria and indeed in the sub region. Some of the victims of bandit, Boko Haram and militant attack lost their properties as a result of the invasion. Several communities in the north especially northwest region have been invaded by bandit, the northeast have been overrun by Boko haram and ISWAP, militancy in the Niger Delta region and Eastern Security Network in the eastern region etc. these invasion have led to the loss of several lives including the destructions of farm produce and other material artifacts. The debilitating activities of non-state actors have made both national government and the international community to put in place measures to address the problem.

Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this paper is to examine the role of non-state actors in shaping International security. The specific objectives are:

1. Examine the activities of some selected non-state actors in the global system.
2. Analyze the impact of non-state actors on security.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is the realist theory. The realist theory derives its impulse from the view that the nature of man is sinful and conflictual. Realism holds that political theory must flow from observation of history and experience of people and of states and that these show a pattern of violent and aggressive behavior (Richard and Sinclair, 1996). Thus, the highest moral duty of the state is its own preservation. To accomplish this, states must utilize power. According to Hans J. Morgenthau (1978; p.57), "the interest of the

state define in terms of power, is the primary moral guide by which policies are developed, but prudence in pursuing that interest is the primary ethical guide for policy makers". In the world of power politics, states must increase their power to guarantee their survival. According to Morgenthau (1978: p.56), "thus, the goal of the state has come to include the search for ways to acquire and keep power, increase power and demonstrate power. In short, in a world of conflicting states seeking power, or world confirmed by historical experience and by the nature of man, states must engage in power politics in order to survive, and they should do anything prudent or otherwise to achieve that goal''.

According to walker (1993:p.33), "there is no single tradition of realism but rather a knot of historically constituted tensions, contradictions and evasions''. There are therefor e different types of realism which Timothy (1993; p.33), has distinguish into three: classical realism (up to the twentieth century), modern realism (1939 – 1979) and neo-realism (1979 to date). Timothy (1993:41), admits that "this periodization do not however overcome the problem of diversity since not all classical writers agree on the causes of war, or whether the balance of power is a natural state or one which must be created for the effective management of global power".

According to Ogonor (2007: p.35), realism is predicated on the following assumptions:

1. The realist theory assume that there is no essential harmony of interest among nations and that nation-state often has conflicting national objective, some of which lead to war.
2. Realism posits that the capabilities of state are crucial for the outcome of international conflict and for the ability of one state to influence another state behavior.
3. Power, they believe has a military and non-military component which include not just military force but also the levels of technology, population, national resources, geographical factors, forms of government, political leadership and ideology.
4. Realists posit that there are severe limitations in the extent to which political reforms or education can alter human nature. Man is evil, sinful and power seeking. According to the realist, human nature is not innately good or

perfectible. The task of the statesman lies in fashioning a political system or framework within which the human propensity to engage in conflict can be minimized.

Methodology

The secondary source of data was utilized for this study. Secondary source of data refer to the set of data collated or authored by another person, archives, in the form of documents collected for a purpose other than the present one in which it is being used (Asika, 2006). Selltiz et al (1977), has declared that the usefulness of secondary sources of data lies in the fact that information of this sort is collected periodically. Also, gathering of information from such sources does not require the cooperation or assistance of the individual about whom information is being sought. The sources of data for this study includes: magazines, textbooks, journals and seminar papers among others.

Results and Discussions

The Activities of some Selected Non-State Actors in the Global System

Some non-state actors that pose grave threat to international security discuss in this paper includes Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, ISWAP, Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB), Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF), bandit and herdsmen etc.
Al-Qaeda; is a broad-based militant Islamist organization founded by Osama bin Laden in the late 1980s and became one of the world's most notorious terrorist organizations after carrying out the attacks of September 11, 2001.

Al-Qaeda began as a logistical network to support Muslims fighting against the Soviet Union during the Afghan War; members were recruited throughout the Islamic world. When the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, the organization dispersed but continued to oppose what its leaders considered corrupt Islamic regimes and foreign (i.e., U.S.) presence in Islamic lands. Based in Sudan for a period in the early 1990s, the group eventually re-established its headquarters in Afghanistan (Korona, 1996) under the patronage of the Taliban militia. Al-Qaeda merged with a number of other militant Islamist organizations, including Egypt's Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Group, and on several occasions its leaders declared holy war against the United States.

The organization established camps for Muslim militants from throughout the world, training tens of thousands in paramilitary skills, and its agents engaged in numerous terrorist attacks, including the destruction of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salam, Tanzania (1998), and a suicide bomb attack against the U.S. In 2001, 19 militants associated with al-Qaeda staged the September 11 attacks against the United States. Within weeks, the U.S. government responded by attacking Taliban and al-Qaeda forces in Afghanistan. Thousands of militants were killed or captured, among them several key members (including the militant who allegedly planned and organized the September 11 attacks), and the remainder and their leaders were driven into hiding.

With regard to Boko Haram, the group which carry out its operation mainly in the northeast region, have wreak havoc on the people of the region. The group was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002; the group was led by Abubakar Shekau until his death. Nigeria has been ranked third of the 162 countries of the world that have been worst hit by terrorist attacks according to the 2015 global terrorisms index, due to the high rate of terrorist activities carried out by Boko Haram Sect. Going by the latest ranking, Nigeria is only better than two largely Islamic countries, Iraq and Afghanistan, who were ranked first and second respectively. The only African countries closer in ranking to Nigeria are in the eighth and ninth position respectively (Njoku and Chikere, 2016). The sect formally calls itself "Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Liddo' wati Wal Jihad" which means "people committed to the propagation of the prophet's teachings and Jihad" (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013; Ikenga and Efebeh, 2013; Meehan and Speier, 2011). Their violent action started in 2009. Practically it has been difficult to establish the source of the funds that the Boko Haram uses in running its formation. But Boko Haram attracts international Islamic sympathizers just like every Islamic extremist.

ISWAP is another non-state actor that operates in West Africa with devastating effect on the people of the sub region. ISWAP is a splinter group from Boko Haram. As succinctly capture by Abdulrahman (2017), "starting from 2015, Boko Haram found itself under increasing pressure from the Nigerian military and its regional allies, which fed its internal divisions, causing it to shrink in power". Boko Haram lost its self-proclaimed capital, Gwoza, to Nigerian troops, and over time, notable towns it had overrun in Borno state fell back into government hands, forcing the

group back into safe havens on the periphery of Lake Chad, in the Sambisa Forest and in hills and mountains east of Gwoza (Abdulrahman, 2017). Boko Haram's retreat exacerbated longstanding personality clashes and doctrinal differences within the organization. The group was still intact in March 2015 when Shekau pledged allegiance to ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and it took up the name Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP) (Akinyetun, 2017). But a year later it fractured in two. Following the death of Mamman Nur and Abu Musab al-Barnawi, a son of Mohammed Yusuf, a number of senior leaders split off from Shekau's forces. Nur and al-Barnawi's faction, retaining the name ISWAP, gained recognition from ISIS and attracted a growing number of militants (Akinyetun, 2017). ISWAP's leadership has changed in the intervening three years.

In 2018 an internal dispute reportedly led it to execute Nur, and in March 2019, it announced that Abu Musab had been replaced by another (albeit unrelated) al-Barnawi, Abu Abdallah. Shekau remains in control of a rump faction of Boko Haram that reassumed the group's original name, Jama'tu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad (JAS). According to Akinyetun (2017; p.132), "their sway is limited to the marshland around and islands of Lake Chad, parts of the Mandara hills on the Nigeria-Cameroon border, and the inaccessible forests of Borno and Yobe states – terrain that provides cover from Nigerian and allied air power". Moreover, ISWAP has been expanding its reach. As observed by Ajibefun (2016; p. 87), "in December 2018, it overran a major military base in Baga, on the shores of Lake Chad, which the Nigerian army had recaptured in February 2015. On 23 February 2019, the day of Nigeria's general elections, ISWAP launched its first-ever attack on Borno state's capital, Maiduguri, firing rockets at military targets". Bandit is another non-state actor group operating in Nigeria. The activities of this group are mainly in the northwest region. Katsina State is one of the states in the north-west that is presently affected by banditry, cattle rustling and kidnapping which started from July 2018 to date. This affects mainly the eight frontline Local Government Areas (LGAs) namely Jibia, Batsari, Safana, Danmusa, Kankara, Faskari, Dandume and Sabua. This situation have becomes so bad that in January 2019, the Governor of Katsina State lamented that Katsina State is under serious siege by bandits and kidnappers.

Ojewale (2021; p.102) in his submission, aver that "the phenomenon of rural banditry, which recently gained currency in Nigeria's public discourses, is fallout of persistent violence in rural communities within the last ten years". The results had been traumatic. He went further to posit that "there had been massive loss of thousands of lives, forced displacement of locals and devastation of monumental proportions in states like Benue, Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara, Plateau, Niger, Nasarawa, Taraba, Yobe Gombe and others across northern Nigeria (Ojewale, 2021).

Although rural banditry is also reelected in criminal escapades like cattle rustling, kidnapping, armed robbery, drug abuse, arson, rape and other forms of violence, the brazen and gruesome massacre of agrarian communities with sophisticated weapons by suspected herdsmen and reprisal attacks from surviving victims threw it up to the front burner of national security. Pastoral Resolve group (a social group comprising of farmers) notes that there is a symbiotic relationship between the two productions systems agricultural and pastoral, but conflicts had arisen because of their reliance on land and its related resources. Thus, the declining capacity of the state to moderate these conflicts and undertake effective policing of rural areas led to unending cycle of violence (Ojewale, 2021).

Herdsmen is another non-state actor group operating in Nigeria. The activities of this group are mainly in the north central Nigeria. According to Ibrahim (2017), the activities of herdsmen is a threat to the economic, political and social security of a nation and a major factor associated with underdevelopment; because it discourages both local and foreign investments, reduces the quality of life, destroys human and social capital, damages relationship between citizens and the states, thus undermining democracy, rule of law and the ability of the country to promote development. The current conflict in Nigeria between the Fulani herdsmen and their neighbor stem from a long history of feuding, farming and herding (Ibrahim, 2017). This will not easily be resolved due to pre-existing communal conflicts that have fueled violence over the years.

Herdsmen crisis have now changed the dimension from the usual crisis known to Nigeria to militancy in the face of urbanization, desertification and the indifference of the Nigerian government to their plight. Herdsmen attacks on communities has

taken more lives in the past few years than has Boko Haram and has been described by the World Terrorism Index as the third most deadly group in the world, Nigeria's most prominent terrorist organization and has not shown any sign of slowing down in its deadly pace (Global Terrorism Index, 2019)

Herdsmen attack has been confined to the Nigeria's middle belt north west which includes Kaduna, Benue and Nasarawa state and other region in the country (Greg, 2017). In Kajuru Local Government area in Kaduna south, research has it that, from January 2020 to 22nd May, 2020, the killings, maiming, burning, looting and kidnappings have continued unabated from village to village. Within the period, there have been 63 terrorist attacks and kidnapping incidents, more than 107 people killed, about 49 persons injured more than 66 men, women and girls abducted for ransom, more than 111 houses burnt, 32 villages destroyed and 20,000 persons displaced. (Daily Post, May, 22nd 2020.)

The Fulani Herdsmen crisis remains a major issue in Nigeria. So far, many people have been killed and many more have been expelled from their homes. Casualties were recorded on the Fulani herders and other nationals. Steps taken by the Nigerian Government does not appear to host communities and State Governments as workable solutions as they meet stiff resistance from the people who believe the herders are aiming to seize their ancestral land and probably turn them to caliphates. On the other hand, the Federal Government initially failed to initiate any forceful action against the herders until recently when military actions and more holistic approach are being designed to tackle the menace (Gadzama, 2018).

The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) is another non-state actor group operating in Nigeria. It is a decentralized militant group in the Niger Delta region in Nigeria. According to Ajibefun (2016; p.114), "MEND's actions – including sabotage, theft, property destruction, guerrilla warfare and kidnapping – are part of the broader conflict in the Niger Delta and reduced Nigeria's oil production by 33% between 2006-07". The group's efforts are directed toward crippling oil production in the Niger Delta and exposing both the oppression of the region's people and devastation of the natural environment by the oil corporations in partnership with the Federal Government (Ajibefun, 2016).

Its composition includes members of the Ijaw who accuse the government and Multinational oil firms of promoting massive economic inequalities, fraud, and environmental degradation. MEND's methods include kidnapping oil workers for ransom, armed assaults on production sites, pipeline destruction, murder of Nigerian police officers, and theft of oil for sale on the black market (Ajibefun, 2016).

Nine officials for the Italian petrol company Eni SPA were killed when armed members of MEND attacked Eni SpA's security forces in Port Harcourt. On May 10, 2006, an executive with the United States-based oil company Bakers Huges was shot and killed in the south-eastern city of Port Harcourt. On June 2, 2006, a Norwegian rig offshore Nigeria was attacked and 16 crew members was kidnapped by MEND. On October 2, 2006, 10 Nigerian soldiers were killed off the shore of the Niger Delta in their patrol boat by a MEND mortar shell. Earlier that day a Nigerian/Royal Dutch Shell convoy was attacked in the Port Harcourt region resulting in some people being wounded (Ajibefun, 2016).

Another non-state actor group operating in Nigeria discuss in this work is the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA). It is a militant group in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The group publicly announced their existence in March 2016.[1] The NDA is known for attacking oil-producing facilities in the deltas, causing the shutdown of oil terminals and a fall in Nigeria's oil production to its lowest level in twenty years. As observe by Akinyetun (2017, p78), "the attacks caused Nigeria to fall behind Angola as Africa's largest oil producer". The reduced oil output has hampered the Nigerian economy and destroyed its budget, since Nigeria depends on the oil industry for nearly all its government revenues. The NDA's stated that their aims are to create a sovereign state in the Niger Delta and have threatened to disrupt Nigeria's economy if their aims are not met (Akinyetun were blown up following orders issued by a Nigerian High Court in Lagos to arrest the ex-militant leader Government Ekpemupolo. On February 10, 2016, at approximately 1:30 am NDA militants blew up the Bonny-Soku Gas Export Line. On February 14, 2016, NDA militants destroyed Shell underwater Forcados 48-inch Export Pipeline at the Forcados Export Terminal. On May 4, 2016, NDA militants attacked and heavily damaged the Chevron Valve Platform located at Abiteye, Warri south. This platform is reportedly Chevron's most significant platform as it serves as a

connecting point where all of Chevron's other Niger Delta platforms link-up. On May 5, 2016, the Escravos-Lagos pipeline system linking Warri to Lagos was blown up by NDA (Akinyetun, 2017).

The Impact of Non-State Actors on Security

The activities of non-state actors have grave implication for the global security especially in the area of small arms proliferation. Small arms accumulation and circulation has the tendency to pave ground for higher risk of armed violence. The supply of arms stimulates violence instead of dialogue and has many undesirable effects. It is in view of this that Gofwan et al (2019; p. 63) posit that "high levels of armed violence hinder development, causes diversion of local resources, misuse of public money or imposition of "Might is Right". They further contended that "the interdependence of small arms control, security and development suggests that no meaningful development can take place in an atmosphere which is conducive to the production and distribution of small arms" (Gofwan et al, 2019; p.63). It prevents people from conducting business, leading to reduction in trade and foreign investment. In addition, SALW fuels the illicit trafficking of natural resources such as oil, minerals and timber etc.

The escalation of violence, loss of lives and property and the unabated proliferation of small arms since 2003 have turn Nigeria into a total hopelessness. Recently, on the 18th of September, 2019, This Day Newspaper reported that Nigerian Customs impounded a cargo from United State, which smuggled arms concealed in house hold cargo (Silas, 2019). Prior to this incidence on the 13th of April 2019 to be precise, Daily trust News Paper reported that Nigeria Police detectives from Anambra and Delta States have uncovered arms factories in three communities in Delta State (Silas, 2019).

Against the backdrop of mounting security challenges in Nigeria arising from the Boko Haram insurgency and ethno-religious crisis in the north as well as armed robbery and kidnapping in the south, it has been estimated that there are about one million illegally held guns in the country in civilian hands (Zuneidu, 2010). In Ghana, Chuma-Okoro (2020) observed that local manufacturing of guns was identified as central in explaining the proliferation of illicit SALW. It represents the main source of proliferation of SALW in the country, in particular for pistols,

shotguns and single barrel guns. One striking feature of local gun production in Ghana is its relative sophistication; recent research has shown that gun-making, far from being obsolete, is increasingly elaborated and remains competitive in comparison to those circulating in the sub region (Chuma-Okoro, 2020). That Ghanaian blacksmiths all over the country have the potential to illegally produce over 200,000 weapons annually (Aning, 2005). The proliferation of SALW is made possible by the activities of deadly non-state actors which has complicated global security.

Findings

1. The work observed that hundreds of lives and millions of people had lost their lives as a result of the activities of deadly non-state actors such as AL Qaeda, Boko Haram and bandit etc. The activities of Bok Haram, bandit, and Herdsmen groups among others have caused a lot of havoc and instability to the people of Nigeria.
2. The study also observed that there is a strong links among dead non-state actors in the international system such as ISIL, Alqaeda, and Al-shabaab among others. This has enabled them to share arms and information.

Conclusion

Non-state actors are actors without sovereign authority but this does not render them powerless in influencing policies or issues in the global system. Apart from the aforementioned non-state actors discussed in this paper that undermine global security, there are other non-state actors in the global system that make positive impact to global issues; Red cross, Amnesty International and Multinational Corporation (MNC). All these non-state actors influence global issues either positively or negatively.

Recommendations

1. National governments need to demonstrate commitments not only in policy formulation, endorsement of agreements and codification, but also practical effort at implementation need be put in place, and to also, meet their primary responsibility to provide social and economic security and development for their citizens.

2. National governments should unify in the fight against deadly non-state actors through training and intelligence sharing among the military to help nip in the bud the activities deadly non-state actors.

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