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On

Challenges of Nigeria's Borders and Frontier Security

1960-2014

By

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Abstract

This study is to highlight the challenges in the Nigeria's international borderlines and its implications for national security at the cross-borderlines. This is because the layers of frontier and cross-border activities of Nigeria and her Neighbours since independence in 1960 has been bedevilled by controversies and worrisome security challenges that sparked diplomatic rows and near-war experiences.

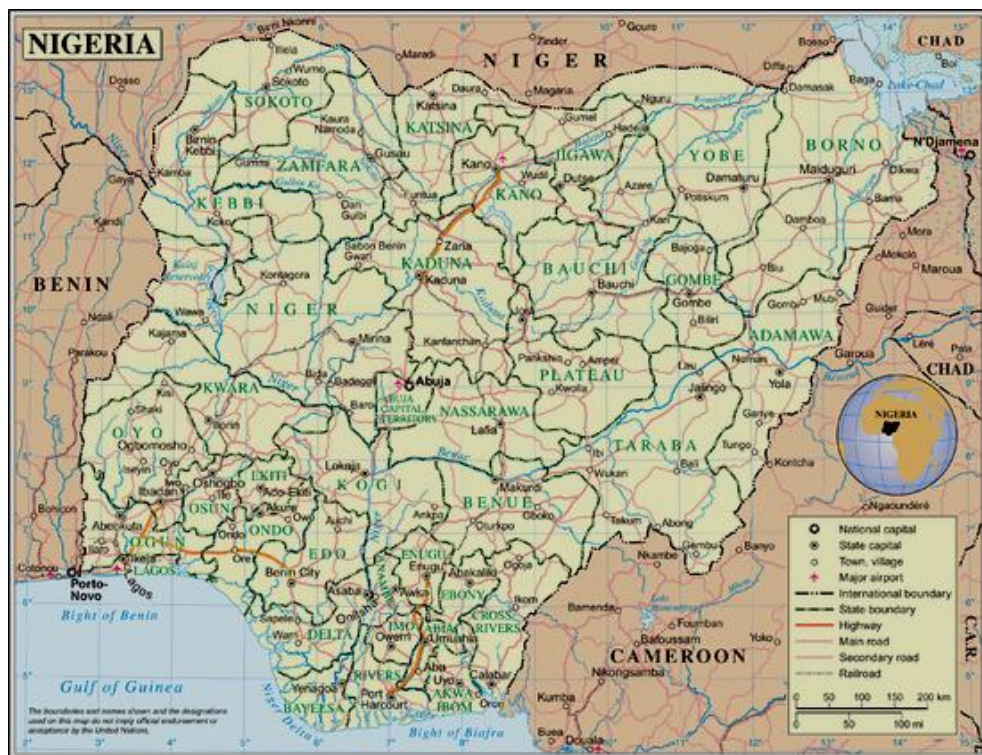
The greatest challenge facing Nigeria today is international terrorism that is aided by religious extremism, porosity of borderline and cross-border security challenges and crime. Indeed, the existence of porous borders and cross-border and frontier activities in Nigeria has aided crimes and security challenges across Nigerian borders for long without any specific solutions.

It is therefore crucial to highlight the challenges of political authorities and security apparatuses in addressing the implications of cross-border activities at Nigeria's frontier. By so doing, the researcher can contribute to knowledge by identifying issues of boundary questions and its implication for Nigeria's security and territorial integrity. Moreover the study would be an opportunity to highlight political and diplomatic steps taken or required to resolve border questions between Nigeria and her neighbours to foster regional integration and economic cooperation with intervention strategies.

The study therefore identified some of the issues that can result to or prevent escalation of war and reduction of border conflicts on Nigerian soil and any incursion from neighbouring States towards stemming the rise of insurgents and continued influx of illegal migrants from neighbouring countries. Finally, the study is necessary in order to highlight the possibility of catastrophic consequence of war between Nigeria and her neighbours arising from border issues and the implication for the nation's political stability.

Overview of Nigeria Borders and Territoriality in West Africa

Nigeria lies between latitudes 4° and 14°N and longitudes 2° and 15°E . Nigeria is attributed as possessing a total area of $923,768 \text{ km}^2$ ($356,669 \text{ sq mi}$)¹, making it the world's 32nd-largest country. It shares a 4,047 kilometres (2,515 mi) border with Benin (773 km), Niger (1497 km), Chad (87 km), Cameroon (1690 km), and has a coastline of at least 853 km.² Nigeria's claim to territorial sea (offshore space) rose from 3 miles of continental shelf and about 200 miles on exclusive fishing zones from 1958 to 1978 as a country signatory to conventions on continental shelf despite its inability to determine its extent of claim.³ Nigeria's claim to a 200 mile wide exclusive economic zone in October, 1978 is part of reaction to UNCLOS Conventions on jurisdictional zones and claims to the territorial sea, continental shelf and exclusive fishing zones.⁴



Map of Nigeria's 36 states, FCT & Neighbours' Border – Source: Google online Resource (2014)

A list of Nigerian borderlands classified as 'Gateway' States and 'Gateway' Local Government Areas is presented below and further highlighted with a Map.⁵ The Map was drawn based on the provisions for the schedule of Local Governments specified by the 1979 Constitution (amended by Decree No. 1 of 1984). The Map also correlates with the Journal Officiel de la Republique Populaire de Benin - Loi

Fundamental – Official Journal of the Republic of Benin – The Fundamental (September, 1977) which designated the provinces and districts of Benin Republic thereon. Reference to Nigerian borders with her neighbours - Benin Republic, Niger Republic, Chad and Cameroons indicated the main bi-national links and official gateways to and from Nigeria through the sets of existing local authority areas.⁶



NIGERIA- BENIN BORDERS:

Badagry LGA in Lagos State of Nigeria and rural districts of Iseme-Podji, Adjarra and Arrankou in South of Queme Province in Benin Republic with Border Post at Seme; Egbado (Yewa) South LGA in Ogun State of Nigeria and rural districts of Ifonyin (*Ifangni*) and Itakete (*Sakete*) in Central part of Queme Province of Benin Republic; Egbado (Yewa) North LGA in Ogun State of Nigeria and rural districts of Ipobe (*Pobe*) and Ketu (*Ketou*) in the Northern half part of Queme Province of Benin Republic; Kajola LGA (Oke-Iho) in Oyo State of Nigeria and rural district of Sabe (Save) in the Zou Province of Benin Republic; Ifedapo LGA (Saki) in Oyo State of Nigeria and rural districts of Quesse in the Zou Province of Benin Republic; Borgu LGA centred around Bussa, Illo and Koko in Kwara State of Nigeria and 8 districts

including Kandi (Kounade), Malanville District of and Nikki District of Borgu Province in Benin Republic.

NIGERIA- NIGER BORDERS:

Bagudo LGA in the then Sokoto State (now divided into Sokoto and Kebbi States) of Nigeria and part of the eight districts of Borgu Province and Department of Dosso and Tahoua in Niger Republic; Argungu and Gwadabawa LGAs in Sokoto State of Nigeria and the local communities of Dago Duchi and Mantakai in Department of Dosso and Tahoua in Niger Republic; Shinkafe and Kaura Namode in Nigeria and the local community in Department of Dosso and Tahoua in Niger Republic; Kebbi (Birnin Kebbi) LGA in the then Sokoto State (now Kebbi State) of Nigeria and the local community of Filinguee in Niger Republic; Katsina and Mani LGAs including Maradi and Tassawa (Tassoua) in the then Kaduna State (now Katsina) and Daura LGA in Kaduna State of Nigeria and many of the local communities of Niger Republic; Birin Kula in Bamle Village with border settlements and houses partly in Niger and partly in Nigeria; Dambata and Gunel LGAs in old Kano State and Department of Zinder in Niger Republic; Nguru, Geidam and West of Kukawa LGAs in Borno State of Nigeria and Local communities in Department of Zinder in Niger Republic;

NIGERIA- CHAD BORDERS:

Local areas of Monguno, Ngala, Bama and Gwoza in Chad Republic; The Lake Chad region that borders Nigeria and her neighbours.

NIGERIA- CAMEROUN BORDERS:

Traditional states and communities of Adamawa (Sardauna), Mandara, the Hingi, Michika, Mubi, Fufori, Ganya, Wukati and others in old Gongola State and neighbouring local communities in Cameroun; Traditional communities of Kwande in old Benue State and neighbouring local communities in Cameroun; Traditional communities of Odukpani in the Ododop area of old Cross Rivers State (now Akwa Ibom State) and neighbouring local communities in Cameroun; Traditional

communities of Obudu, Ikom and Akamkpa in the Ekoi and the Efik areas of old Cross Rivers State and neighbouring local communities in Cameroun;

The Characteristics of Borderlands in Nigeria with her Neighbours

Characteristics of the Borderland (frontiers) were severally identified by as comprising of location, interaction patterns and transitional features.⁷ Location deals with boundaries in relation to political units, the government function and the capital or core areas while the interaction patterns deals with relationship of the population in the respective political units across the borderlands and the product of their frontier relationship, including conflicts and settlements and impact of borderland on culture and development. Transitional features at the borders relates to changes witnessed in the transitional zones as a result of border activities in terms of development, economic activities, trade exchange and cultural values.

The factors militating against the most newly created modern African states in the areas of managing their borders and safeguarding it from intrusion and invasion of any kind from aliens, strangers and unqualified neighbours suffice. The problem is pronounced towards defining and restraining people who should exercise citizenship within the context of the modern African states, not in terms of their location, but in terms of their nationality, relationship and activities across the borders. Many citizens across the divide have relations and traditional ties to people existing as citizens of different nation-states, whom they cannot divorce totally or set apart in sustaining their traditional sentiments and cultural understanding despite the rules of inter-state relations and boundary crossing.

The embroiling border crisis among neighbours with claims and counter claims of access to lands across the borders of modern African States and the need to preserve their territorial integrity was very critical at the time of independence. It was obvious that there was a great need to find means of resolving the challenges that bothers on or arises from national frontiers and borders with their porosity or accept, alter or manage it through agreements despite the challenging situation. The need for political and diplomatic compromises was therefore a necessary solution to hasten the continent's reunification and guarantee Africa's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Most of the

new African States and their political leadership were forced to appreciate the need for regional cooperation and access to unrestricted and freer inter-state border crossing and movements across the region to sustain the age-long traditional relationship and communality, despite their territorial integrity and separate political sovereignty.

This situation made OAU at its formative stage in 1963 to resolve to ferment African Unity by reducing conflagration of conflicts while working for fragmentation of African States and promotion of African unity to keep a common front in its fight against European colonialism and neo-colonial interest. A former Mali's President, Modibo Keita therefore put it's thus: *'We must take Africa as it is, and we must renounce any territorial claims, if we do not wish to introduce what we might call black imperialism'*.⁸

The Sene-Gambia Confederation is a viable example of the African initiatives in the attempt to break the barriers created by colonial rule and boundary demarcations of modern African States in the Senegal/Gambia Region. This was initiated with a view to fuse the two states together in several areas of cooperation, until it failed and the two reverted to their formal status. The creation of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 was another strategy at the regional level to sensitize cooperation among Africans and to achieve cross-border movements and free trade within the sub-region. Similar occurrences are traceable in the Northern and Southern African Sub-Region where attempts are made for free passage and free trade within the zones by citizens.

The compromises attained among Africans led to regional cooperation, trade, free movement where possible and even political stability in the region, would not remove the facts that independent African States should exist as separate entities within their boundaries secured. Major indicators in 2013 statistics of World Index with focus on Safety and Rule of law, Participation and Human Rights, Sustainable economic opportunity and Human Development (*and which to a great extent include reports on border issues, cross border impacts and immigration*) showed that Nigeria, Africa's largest economy, is lagging behind most African countries after being ranked 41st out of 52 countries in Africa with 43.4%.⁹ Outside of China, Russia, Brazil and the European Union, African countries have a unique rate of land borders and

neighbours.¹⁰ For instance, 18 of the top 46 countries with long borders in the world are in Africa and Nigeria is ranked 18th on the list.¹¹ Despite the fact that Nigeria has fewer neighbours with a shorter land border which should make it safer than Mauritania, Angola or South Africa, only four African countries namely: Democratic Republic of Congo, Central Africa Republic, Chad and Libya, with longer land borders and more neighbours are worse off than Nigeria.¹²

The unseeingly challenges of cross-border activities particularly in the areas of exploration and benefits of mineral and natural resources, migration, border control and closure, access to and utility of energy resource and infrastructures through dam construction and diversion of water within the sub-region, crime issues and illicit transnational trade across the porous borders, unrestricted frontiers and smuggling which is harmful to the economy; the rise and threats of emerging separatists, militia and terrorist groups and its implication for national security suffice.

Nigerian Borders and Security Challenges: Insurgency and Terrorism

Records available to the Nigeria Immigration Service revealed that there are over 1,400 illegal routes into Nigeria – 1,316 more than the approved number of border control posts. The 84 approved border controls cover 4,047km, the total length of Nigeria's land border. Ogun and Adamawa states, for example, have 83 and 80 illegal posts respectively.¹³ The activities of smuggling and tax evasion in cross-border movements across Nigeria-Niger border provides the transitional features of border economic activities, interaction patterns in the border regions and flouting of international laws and convention on border crossing to the detriment of the national interest and invariably the national security in that era.¹⁴ It also indicated that porous features of the border region and the prevailing economic policies of the neighbouring states are tantamount to influence illegal cross-border transactions in goods, currency and other threatening circumstance.¹⁵

Nigeria's economy is not translating into a better socio-political environment within the West African sub-region due to decades of neglect and misrule have allowed informal economies at the borders to thrive on crime. Nigeria's borders with its many pot-holes are 'used to smuggle people, guns, rice, tokunboh (used) cars, fake

pharmaceuticals and other contraband goods'.¹⁶ The implication is that Nigeria is not safe due to cross-border population and its attendant economic activities, cross-border crossing and immigration, ineffective border control and the porosity of Nigerian borders which is a challenge to Nigeria national security and boundary questions. In the north-east, the borders Nigeria shares with Cameroun, Niger and Chad stretch over 1,690, 1,497 and 87 kilometres respectively. All share a common feature: porosity.

The porosity of the Nigerian borders is the main factor encouraging proliferation of illegal arms and insurgencies in the country.¹⁷ An arms trade expert, William M. Hartung argues that conflicts in Africa have attracted arms deal and influx of arms to different parts of North, West and Central Africa that have proximity with Nigeria. Hence, in linking the flourishing arms market in Africa to the strengthening of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria as a challenge of the nation's territorial integrity and national security, he admitted that the proliferation of arms has become a matter of concern owing to the facts that subsist thus:

“It's one conflict after another...Because of the nature of the conflict ... the concentration of conflicts ... the black market in Central Africa is more vibrant than other places.”¹⁸

The situation of Nigeria's porous borders, which serve as conduits for illicit transnational traffic of small arms and light weapons and drugs, is further exacerbated by limited presence of security and law enforcement officials. If they are present, they are poorly equipped, poorly paid, poorly trained and sometimes compromised or recruited to do the bid of the insurgents. It was also widely reported on accounts of current and former U.S. officials and arms experts that most of Boko Haram weapons were either stolen from Nigerian military stocks or purchased from thriving Central African arms black market, owing to the insurgents' source of weaponry, its sophistication and sheer number. The news report further credited a statement to a former US Ambassador in Nigeria - John Campbell, admitting that: *“There are hints that sympathizers in the Nigerian Army will deliberately leave doors of armouries unlocked for Boko Haram”*.¹⁹ He concluded that the array of small and automatic

weapons, grenades, mortars, mines and car bombs *“is all Boko Haram’s soldiers need to carry out their brand of terrorism.”*²⁰

In June, 2013, the Nigerian military seized arms and ammunition exported through the Nigerian Seashores for delivery to Islamic fighters i.e. Boko Haram (a terrorist group) using religious and rebellious tactics to attack, maim and kill civilians, businesses, government institutions and security forces. Furthermore, it was propounded that the degree of arms proliferation and possession of arms and ammunition: surface-to-air missiles, anti-tank missiles, rocket propelled grenades (RPGs), AK-47 assault rifles etc by rebel forces and mercenaries during Libya uprising open to acquisition by terrorist groups like Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and sold to Boko Haram and its splinter groups in Nigeria have made the matter worse.

A Cameroon Defence Ministry official also presented a variety of weapons including Russian-made AK-47s, which are used for combats by the Boko Haram.²¹ Evidence of makeshift collection of small arms, automatic weapons, rifles, rocket-propelled grenades and mortars were cited and suggested to have been procure from nearby conflict zones of Libya and Chad. The rebels were also reportedly to frequently possess non-lethal equipments to help them carry out their attacks.²² It was revealed again thus:

“the collapse of Libya has further flooded the market...Whether these came from Chad, Nigeria, or Libya is almost irrelevant, as such arms are widely available.”²³

Boko Haram as a terror group has conducted a campaign of terror in the turbulent region, causing mayhem and wanton destruction of lives and properties in various parts of the Northern Nigeria and neighbouring Cameroon. Another online publication indicated that Cameroon officials had on Tuesday 20th May, 2014 displayed a cache of weapons which they seized near the Nigerian border in April, 2014 following a rescue of some kidnapped victims. The terror perpetrated by Boko Haram has eclipsed other security threats in the country apart from piracy, militancy, kidnapping and armed robbery. Places like Baga, Mubi, Bama and Gwoza in Borno state that have suffered frequent attacks are located along the border Borno shares with

Cameroun.²⁴ The hills of Gwoza and the forests of the Sambisa Forest Reserve shelter the insurgents. Gowza Hills, for example, is at the north-east of the Mandara Mountains that straddle north-east Nigeria and the far north of Cameroun.

The unconventional war fought against Nigeria's State by the Boko Haram terror group has claimed over 12,000 lives, with more than 8,000 persons injured or maimed, besides the displacement of thousands of innocent ones.²⁵ The Boko Haram has become a challenge to Nigeria and her neighbours and looms large as a regional and global threat despite the fact that it started as a local insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria. It had evolved into the new frontier of the global war of terrorism against civilisation, our way of life, and against the many prospects of stability in our region.²⁶ The fight against terrorism and the safeguarding of territorial integrity, where the country's border is the first line of defence comes to question in view of the nature of Nigeria's border.

The audacity and carnage of Boko Haram has risen in proportion to the proliferation of arms and ammunition from Libya. Camels, donkeys, cattle, trucks, trailers and petrol tankers that ply the porous borders of the expansive areas that make up Yobe and Borno states are used to smuggle these arms. Deadly attacks from Boko Haram for instance, have turned Nigeria into a no-go-area for most Tourists and foreign Visitors.²⁷ Hence, Nigeria's porous borders are infamous.²⁸

Another report from a Nigerian Newspaper on the recent kidnapping and abduction of nearly 300 Nigerian schoolgirls at Chibok stated that Boko Haram routinely raids police stations and military bases in search of weapons. It was also stated that Boko Haram sympathizers in the Nigerian military abet the theft.²⁹ The situation no doubt calls for a need to investigate possibilities of sabotage, conspiracy and illicit sale of arms by unpatriotic military officers, owing to the fact that a top military officer was indicted in Kaduna, few years ago, for supplying the Nigerian Army weapons to Niger Delta militants through Henry Okah, who is currently serving prison sentence in South Africa.³⁰

Failure of the ill-equipped, corrupt and unorganized state controlled agencies like the Nigeria Police Force, the Customs and Excise, the Nigerian Immigration Service, the Defence Intelligence Agency, the Nigeria Intelligence Agency, the

Department of State Security Service and other interrelated independent bodies involved in the process of protecting the nation's seaports (harbours), the border posts and border bi-national links within their areas of jurisdiction and in cooperation with Government of neighbouring states leaves much in doubt.



A map showing States under Boko Haram attacks – Google Online Resource (2014)

Attempt to stop, reduce or eliminate the threats of arms proliferation may take time to correct, though it is not too late to start defining and adopting a comprehensive national security plan that includes cooperation with Governments of Niger, Cameroun and Chad as well equipping and training personnel to man the borders and ensure the economic and physical security of Nigeria. A rider to be above was articulated in the reported speech of President Ebele Goodluck Jonathan at the Regional Summit on Security and Anti-Terrorism hosted for Nigeria and her Neighbours by the French President, Mr Francois Hollande on 17th May, 2014 in Paris, France. Extracts of President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria speech at Paris Summit gives much insight into the damage done by the Boko Haram to Nigeria political stability and national security and the need for all Nigerian neighbours to cooperate with the nation to put an end to Boko Haram insurgency and international terrorism once and for all.³¹

Observations and Findings

Borders concept in Africa changed from traditional perspectives to international (universal) concept with colonial acquisition of territories and independence of modern African states. The concept of border relations, migration, inter-state relations and border trading in Africa however did not result into any major crisis until various Governments of independent African States began to deal with issues related to boundary management, claims and counter-claims over national territories in the determination of crossing lines or borderlines in frontiers of new African states. Neighbours and land occupiers who easily migrate from one land to the other occasioned by needs and circumstances and without any specific limitations in traditional African settings, other than to understand and fulfil the requirements for use of the land in any specific location or society, now finds it difficult or impossible to do so. This is because the state policy regulating migration, relocation and cross border activities within the region were determined by Governments of each independent African States and not by their people despite the often visible traditional and cultural relationship existing across the lines of the borders.

No one could easily move from one location in one independent state to the other without official permission. Hence, Africans became aliens of each other by colonial experience and the new nations born at their independence from colonial rule. They were therefore compelled to manage their citizens' aspirations for cross border and inter-state activities within their borders and dictates of the law. The damage done to traditional mode of life, migration, economic cooperation and regional integration was vividly recounted as one of the major challenges of inter-states relations and cross-border activities while looking at the traditional relationship between Ghanaian sedentary farmers and Burkina Faso nomadic pastoralists within the context of cross-border relations.³² The crisis generated by state centric perspective of border controls and reactions of the national governments involved in resolving the boundary conflicts suffice.

A good illustration of the above indicated that Ghanaian sedentary farmers were age-long partners of their neighbouring Burkina Faso pastoral groups in the border areas. The two groups cooperate for mutual benefit to the extent that sedentary

farmers entrusted their cattle herds to nomadic pastoralists who possess better knowledge of livestock herding and whose nomadic life style facilitates the utilisation of pastures and waterholes in distant locations. The Burkina Faso nomads provide cow milk and help Ghanaian farmers to spend less times and energy in search of pasture and water.

It is on record that both the Burkina Faso nomads and Ghanaian farmers socialized and integrated into each other daily subsistence living, culture and economy. The specialisation of average African workers and their traditional interrelationship were worked out for communal benefits among both sides. There were also evidence of age-long relationship of inter-marriages and shared cultural affinity among the two border populations.³³ However, when conflict broke out between the two inter-states border settlers over land and water in borderlines, the consequences was a restriction of the activities in both ends. To avoid a breach of national integrity, age-long fulbe nomads who were seasonal migrants, were expelled as intruders back to their countries. The expulsion invariably affected the development of livestock and herding and the cordial relations among these Africans at the borders. This scenario therefore represents one of several cases of consequences of modern African boundaries, cross-border activities, inter-state relations, migration and boundary disputes.

Though a good element of border for national security lies in the non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations and the survival of any modern state nation, a guarantee of non-interference and independence could result in dwindling population and social crisis arising from poor economic growth and non-cooperation between neighbouring states where both sides can benefit from sharing of resources and expertise, trade and other sources of economic cooperation. The key factor of national security which rest squarely on territorial integrity and the non-violation of borders and borderlines can only create a culture of territorial sanctity and effective occupation within a defined territory of a State in the attempt to stabilise the citizens without improving on the economy of areas whose geographic resource can be drawn from the neighbouring states without placing heavy burdens on other citizens within their areas of existence and location in the country. The above position is

canvassed and highlighted in view of occasioned displacement and migration of restricted people in different localities to other parts as advanced in the case of migration of several Igbos and Igbirra of Nigeria from their ancestral homes to other parts of Nigeria either to farm or to trade.³⁴

John Foster Dulles (*a former US Secretary of State*) highlighted the features of a recognized nation-state under international law as inclusive of possessing laws that reflect the moral judgment of the community, having a superior force to deter violence by enforcing the law upon those who defy it and providing for the sufficient well-being of the citizens so that people are not driven in desperation to violence which can affect world peace, security and regional stability.³⁵

Border disputes often arises from challenges of territorial allocation which are evident in terms of border claims or relevance of borderland to neighbouring states in term of its historical, geographical, ethnic or cultural, economic and military or strategic importance.³⁶ In effect, a good understanding of a nation's border and its security challenges is tied to the relevance and role of the border (frontiers) in its national life and economy. The importance of Nigeria's territorial integrity in securing and sustaining the political independence of a modern African state cannot be compromised or literally abandoned to serve the needs of the neighbouring states or be negotiated as a palliative measure in resolving challenges of cross-border activities. To do so is to put the national security and regional cooperation in jeopardy or to dismember the Nigerian State from its original size. Hence, the need to examine the issues in Nigeria Borders and its implications on the nation's security and how to address its security challenges.

Furthermore, the sustenance of territorial integrity of any modern nation-state within the atmosphere of international laws and convention remains an influencing and critical factor in managing the nation's security activities and defence strategies. Existence of modern boundaries helps several nations to appreciate the extent of their territorial exploration and political jurisdictions over their citizens and citizens of neighbouring countries including allowance of passages on land and waterways and by air. The study of nations' boundaries helps to identify and examine issues of national security, socio-economic development and cultural advantages within the border zones

with its attendant implication of border issues and politics. Modern African States will continue to witness challenges of border issues arising from traditional claims and counter-claims to territories pre-dating colonial era, which had to be abandoned and left as it is.

Nigeria is facing a lot of security challenges particularly at the Northern borders arising from influx of separatist and terrorists groups with the uprising of the Maitasine in the early 80s and the Boko Haram since the early part of the millennium. This is the rise of a newer challenges and cross-border activities that extends to other parts of the region with intent to destabilise Nigeria and the entire continent, unless steps are taken to arrest the emerging situation. Hence, the failure of the State in Congo and the Central African Republic as well as the continued fighting by rebels in South Sudan, Angola, Uganda and parts of Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Libya and Somalia has spread to Nigeria's neighbours and invariably threatening Nigeria's peace and security.

The only means of ensuring that Nigeria is salvaged and protected from the threats from its neighbours lies in its capacity to contain the growing security threats across the continent. Moreover, there is need for national cohesion to prevent the splitting of such threats into Nigeria through religious connotations and tribal tendencies across borders. This is owing to the fact that level of development achieved by Nigeria as a modern African State and the vast resources available and untapped can be of great benefits to the use for the nation's development and its huge population, as the most populous Black and African nation. It could also be of blessing to Africa along the way through regional cooperation and integration. Any attempt to split Nigeria would risk a total disintegration of political stability and development in West African region and invariably Africa.

Conclusion

Border issues or boundary politics remains integral part of citizens' livelihood, economic activities, movement of goods, regional cooperation and territorial integrity (sovereignty of any nation) and every approach to its management and proper settlement should take all the risks and benefits into accounts. Though it has been

observed that interstate disputes may occur with or without reference to border disputes and that border disputes may occur as a result of border clashes without contention over border demarcations or as a result of conflicts over jurisdictions and control of off-shore islands which are not land boundaries,³⁷ the fact remains that border activities has a great implication on a nation's integrity, even when it has little or no economic implication on its citizens.

Existing works on international boundary shows how geographical proximity of states, interstate interactions and perceived threats results to interstate disputes, conflict and war³⁸ though it has been further adduced those interstate wars are more often facilitated by boundary disputes.³⁹ Boundary disputes are therefore territorial claims over demarcation of a territorial boundary between two bordering states or a land area between their borders of questionable ownership though it was argued that Border disputes may be territorial or boundary claim existing between a state and the neighbour based on the challenge of territorial allocation requiring adjustment and arising from historical, geographical, ethnic or cultural, economic, military or strategic reasons.⁴⁰

The Nigeria and Cameroon borders dispute and its implication on national security easily come to mind here. Nigeria and Cameroon as modern African states evolved through British and French colonial enterprise, a situation which left many ethnic groups and their territories partitioned to both sides of colonies. Boundary disputes between the two countries after the attainment of their independence began from the economic and agricultural angles in terms of location of water and farmlands while discovery of oil in Bakassi region triggered the final phase.

The foregoing notion indicates that boundary issues in Africa cannot be addressed with a light-heart because of its overall implication on the space, population, resources and need of each State to survive in the modern world. Many protocols have been applied to trans-border security and cooperation and the level of cooperation achieved at resolving boundary issues by securing interventions and applying non-violent approaches have helped some countries, just as Nigeria and Cameroon resolved their differences at the ICJ. However, the need to ensure that national sovereignty is sustained within an atmosphere of regional cooperation and

peaceful co-habitation as well as diplomatic engagements for good brotherliness and accessibility between Nigeria and her neighbours constitute a justification for the study.

There is the need to harmonise findings and existing positions in researches to advance knowledge by directing them as initiatives to correct any wrong premise or notion existing in border management and conflict resolutions as well as security challenges within the perspectives of local initiatives for regional cooperation, despite the political independence of African States. Though, it has been argued that phenomenon causing boundary disputes in modern States is difficult to explain, the factors needed to inhibit or resolve its challenges should be advanced within the context of promoting harmonious interstate relations, regional cooperation and world peace.

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- ¹⁸ NBC, a United States Network Television globally televised searchlight on Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, 21st May, 2014.
- ¹⁹ NBC, a United States Network Television globally televised searchlight on Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, 21st May, 2014.
- ²⁰ NBC, a United States Network Television globally televised searchlight on Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, 21st May, 2014.
- ²¹ www.NigeriansonFB.com says No to Boko Haram Killing, bombing and Terrorism..., 27th May, 2014
- ²² NBC, a United States Network Television globally televised searchlight on Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, 21st May, 2014.
- ²³ Michael Leiter (Former Director of the National Counter Terrorism Center and an NBC News analyst) - NBC televised searchlight on Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, 21st May, 2014.
- ²⁴ David Parradang, Comptroller General, Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), *BUSINESSDAY Newspaper*, April 28, 2014
- ²⁵ Goodluck Jonathan, Presidential Speech delivered at the Regional Summit on Security and Terrorism titled: Why Boko Haram intensifies terror attacks in Nigeria, (circulated by News Agency of Nigeria), Published by Leadership Newspaper, Nigeria, 18th May, 2014 edition
- ²⁶ Goodluck Jonathan, Presidential Speech delivered at the Regional Summit on Security and Terrorism titled: Why Boko Haram intensifies terror attacks in Nigeria, 18th May, 2014 edition
- ²⁷ US Department of States Foreign Visitors Alert Website on the Safety of Tourist and Foreign Visitors Application for Visa and Visits to Nigeria (2014)
- ²⁸ David Parradang, Comptroller General, Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), *BUSINESSDAY Newspaper*, April 28, 2014
- ²⁹ This Day Newspaper, www.thisdaylive.com/articles/where-boko...gets...weapons/178579/, 15th May, 2014
- ³⁰ NBC, a United States Network Television globally televised searchlight on Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria, 21st May, 2014.
- ³¹ Goodluck Jonathan, Presidential Speech delivered at the Regional Summit on Security and Terrorism titled: Why Boko Haram intensifies terror attacks in Nigeria, 18th May, 2014 edition Extract of the Speech noted thus: 'The Boko Haram Sect emerged in 2002 while its insurgency phase started as far back as 2009... the group was officially known as the Jamaa'tu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'wati Wal Jihad, which in English means "people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad"...the group was more commonly ... referred to as Boko Haram which literally means, Western or non-Islamic education is prohibited...The group is hostile to democracy; it uses every means to indoctrinate its members; its ultimate objective is to destabilise the country, and take over Nigeria in order to turn it into a base of operation in West Africa and the entire continent...Since 2009, we have had to contend with many attacks and killings, which have now developed into a full-scale war targeting the stability and integrity of our nation...Boko Haram has launched a vicious guerrilla-style campaign against the government and the people of Nigeria...It has attacked schools, slaughtered students in

their dormitories, destroyed villages, communities and government infrastructure and has wreaked havoc on the economic and social life of our people...the activities terrorists had also been felt across Nigerian borders particularly in Chad, Niger and Cameroon...border and cross-border attacks had taken place with Boko Haram terrorists seeking refuge in neighbouring countries...So many Nigerians, fleeing from terror attacks, have also become refugees in our neighbouring countries creating additional burden (security and financial) in those countries...it was imperative to explore and adopt a regional and global approach to addressing the insurgency and menace because of the regional and global character of the terrorists' campaign...Indeed, in the spirit of collective regional security, it is important that we accept that an attack on one country is an attack on all of us and our common humanity...It is equally important that we accept the principle of hot pursuit of terrorists in the context of joint border patrols and cooperation...This is in order to deny them sanctuaries and make it impossible for them to take refuge in each other's territory...the region (need) to do more to restore security along the common borders, focusing especially on the actualisation of the mandate of the Multinational Task Force on the Lake Chad Basin...Other measures include the introduction of de-radicalisation programmes for convicted terrorists and suspects awaiting trial, and the promotion of opportunities for dialogue and collaboration with critical stakeholders from the region...nonetheless, Boko Haram had continued to attack innocent Nigerians without regard to religion, ethnicity and gender...Christians have been killed; churches have been destroyed, Muslims have also been murdered and mosques destroyed...The reprehensible abduction of innocent school girls in Chibok, Borno State, is another manifestation of this criminality...the abduction of the young innocent school girls in Chibok represented a watershed, and a turning point, in the global terrorist war against human civilisation...the major challenge faced in the search and rescue operation so far had been the deluge of misinformation about the whereabouts of the girls and the circumstances of their disappearance...government had deployed about 20,000 troops to the area, intensified aerial surveillance and strengthened local intelligence resources...(and)... government would spare no effort, but explore every avenue, to ensure the return of the girls to their families and the terrorists defeated...(I express)... gratitude to all countries participating in the search ... other partners that had offered technical assistance to Nigeria in the joint efforts...government is making thorough intelligence efforts to identify the sponsors and the sources of funding and arms supply to the group...''.

³² Steve Tonah, *State Policies, Local prejudices and Cattle Rustling Along the Ghana-Burkina Faso Border (Expelling the Fulbe) in Africa* 70 Vol. 4, Edinburg, 2001

³³ Steve Tonah, *State Policies, Local prejudices and Cattle Rustling Along the Ghana-Burkina Faso Border (Expelling the Fulbe) in Africa* 70 Vol. 4, Edinburg, 2001

³⁴ R.K. Udo, 'Environments and Peoples of Nigeria': A geographical introduction to the History of Nigeria cited in *Groundwork of Nigerian History* edited by Obaro Ikime, p.7, Heinemann, Ibadan, 1980.

³⁵ J.N. Garba, *Fractured History: Elite Shifts and Policy Changes in Nigeria*, Princeton: Sungai, 1995 p. 4-10.

³⁶ M.A. Ajomo *Legal Perspectives on Border Issues* In: Asiwaju, A. I. and Adeniyi, P. O. (ed.), *Borderlands in Africa. A Multidisciplinary and Comparative Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, University of Lagos Press, Lagos. p.39

³⁷ Robert Mandel, *Roots of the Modern Interstate Border Dispute* in *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 24, No. 3 Sage Publication (1980), p. 427-454

³⁸ Garnham (1976a), Starr and Most (1976: 584-585)

³⁹ Richardson (1960)

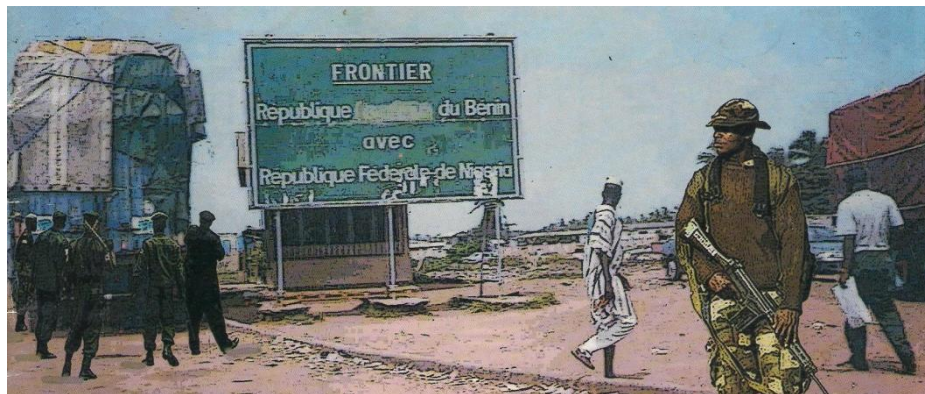
⁴⁰ Ajomo (1989:39) . Identification and Characteristics of Borderlands in Africa. In: Asiwaju, A. I. and Adeniyi, P. O. (ed.), *Borderlands in Africa. A Multidisciplinary and Comparative Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, University of Lagos Press, Lagos. P.39

APPENDICES

SELECTED IMAGES OF NIGERIAN BORDERS: **TYPICAL BORDER POST AND BORDER TOWNS OF NIGERIA**



Nigeria Customs at Idiroko Border Post



Soldiers and Policemen at Nigeria-Benin Border Post inspecting traffic and goods



Typical Nigerian Road Block advances at Borders



Vehicular traffic and trade exchange on Nigeria's border – Seme (near Badagry)



A Nigerian-Cameroon Border Post



A Nigerian-Cameroon Border Post



A Nigerian-Cameroon Border Post



A Nigerian-Cameroon Border Post



A Nigerian-Nigerien Border Post



A Nigerian-Chadian Border Post



A Nigerian-Nigerien Border Post



A Nigerian-Cameroon Border Post



Typical economic activities at Nigeria's Seme Border and ferry of contrabands with rickety vehicles and motorcycles which attracts limited losses if seized from owners



Economic activities in Benin's Border Town



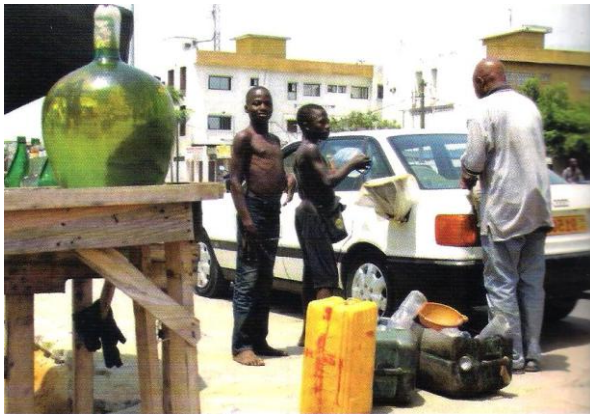
Typical Benin-Nigeria Border Town



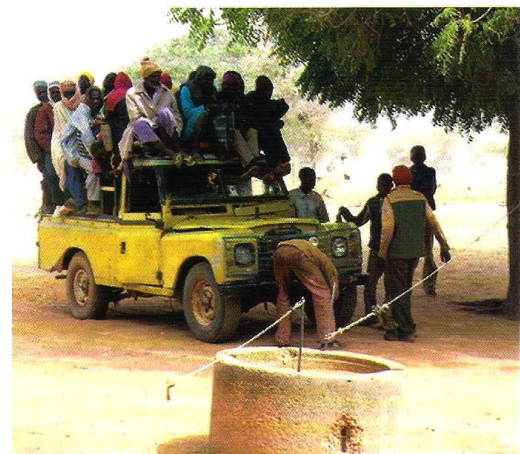
Motorable condition of Nigeria's border at Taraba State (North-East Nigeria)



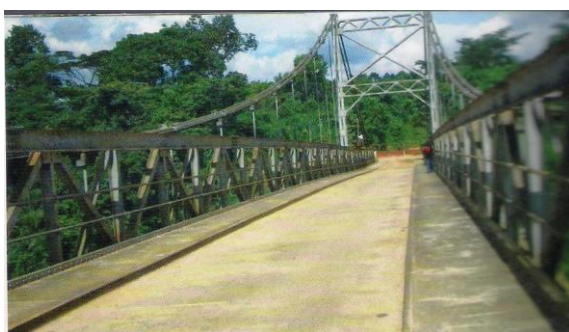
Nigeria's Border city of Lagos with huge population



Sale of smuggled fuel sold with jerry cans to travellers At typical Benin-Nigeria Border Towns



Nigeria-Niger Border and human traffic



Mfum-Ekok Border Bridge at Nigeria-Cameroon Border



Typical Cameroun-Nigeria Border Town

IMAGES OF NIGERIAN SECURITY CHALLENGES:
SELECTED PICTURES OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY,
DISPLACED PEOPLE AND CARNAGES OF TERRORISM



Boko Haram Leadership



Boko Haram militants



Arrested Boko Haram militants



Carnages of Boko Haram attacks and bombing



Scores of murdered Nigerians at border towns



Carnages of Boko Haram attacks and bombing



Kidnapped 234 Chibok Girls by Boko Haram



Destroyed Nigerian Town by Boko Haram insurgents



Bombed Bridge linking Nigeria and Cameroon



Displaced Nigerians by Boko Haram Insurgents



Seized arms from Boko Haram



MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST BOKO HARAM INSURGENCIES



Military Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Military Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Military Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Military Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Military Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Military Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Military Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Military Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Joint Military Patrols to flush out Boko Haram



Customs Patrol at Nigerian Borders



Police Operations to flush out Boko Haram



Cameroon Army counteroffensive against Boko Haram



Navy rescue of stranded Immigrants on nation's Sea