Managing Security
in a
Globalised World

Isaac Olawale Albert
Willie Aziegbe Eselebor

Contents

New Nigerian, 15 September.

International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2000). Stopping Forced Labour: Global Report Under the Follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. International Labour Conference, 89th Session 2001, Report 1B, p. 47.

IRIN (2002). Focus on Dangers of Cross-border Crime, IRIN, Lagos, 30 October.

Lischer, S.K. (2003). "Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict." International Security, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Summer), pp. 79-109).

Olukoshi, A. (2001). West Africa's Political Economy in the Next Millennium: Retrospect and Prospect. CODESRIA Monograph Series, 2/2001, UK, p 4, www.codesria.org

Shelley, L. (1999). "Transnational Organized Crime: The New Authoritarianism," in H. Richard Friman and Peter Andreas (eds.), The Illicit Global Economy and State Power, Lanham, Md.: Rowmanand Littlefield, pp. 25–52.

Shelley, L.O and Picarelli, J.T. (2002). Methods Not Motives: Implications of the Convergence of International Organized Crime and Terrorism. Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, American University. Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group Police Practice and Research, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 305-318.

Stedman, S.J. (1996) "Conflict and Conciliation in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Michael E. Brown (ed.), The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp. 235–265.

Stoecker, S. (2000). The Rise in Human Trafficking and the Role of Organized Crime. Demokratizatsiya 8:129-131.

Torpey, J. (1998). "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolisation of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement'." Sociological Theory, Vol. 16, No. 3 (November), pp. 239–25.

Torpey, J. (1999). The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

United Nations(2000). Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention.

US Department of State (2003). Trafficking in Persons Report, 2003. [http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2003].

Väyrynen, R. (2003). Illegal Immigration, Human Trafficking and Organized Crime. October.

World Bank (2004). West Africa's New Challenge: Making Peace Pay. 21 March, Dev. News Media Center <www.worldbank.org>.

Wannenburg, G. and N. Giralt (2003). West Africa: A Review of the Region. South African Yearbook of International Affairs (2003/4), p. 83.

World Bank (2000). Can Africa Claim the 21st Century. World Bank, Washington, DC, 2000, p. 90.

12 Governance and Sustainable Peace in Postconflict Liberia

Benjamin Adeniran Aluko
Peace and Conflict Studies Programme
Institute of African Studies
University of Ibadan, Ibadan, and
Senior Research Fellow, IFRA-Nigeria

There is a dialectical relationship between conflict, governance and the political settlement, unresponsive states and exclusionary political settlements provide fertile environment for conflict. . .[1] (DFID, 2006).

INTRODUCTION

Empirical evidence shows that bad governance in most African countries is the greatest obstacle to the realisation of collective human progress, peace and sustainable development. There is a consensus in the literature on African development that the phenomenon of bad governance is at the root of the crisis of development in Africa. The World Bank in its 1989 Report established this when it identified "the crisis on the continent as one of governance"[2]. In Liberia, before war broke out in 1989, governance was not only a microcosm of the 'endemic bad governance' in Africa but also of the worst genre. It is expressed in the literature on Liberian civil war that the quality of governance was simply inadequate to meet the challenges of economic and political development. Thus, bad governance snowballed into the violent conflict that produced humanitarian crises, such as famine,

destruction of communities and massive outflows of Liberian refugees into neighbouring African states.

Following the civil war, the crisis of governance confronting Liberia had deepened, obviously in view of the enormity of the challenges of the postconflict peacebuilding process, which naturally is the concern of the Liberian state today. In a publication of the US Government entitled, *Foreign Aid in the National Interest*, it is acknowledged that 'it is much safer and cheaper to build a well-organised democratic state than to rescue a failed state".[3]

In the light of the above, the greatest challenge to the achievement of sustainable peace, the ultimate goal of postconflict peacebuilding is how to provide good governance required to facilitate a successful postconflict peacebuilding and achieve sustainable peace.

The paper argues for the promotion of good governance and participatory democracy as a recipé for the attainment of sustainable peace in Liberia. Essentially, it maintains that holistic democratisation of Liberia requires the evolvement of a new social contract,

> emerging from the interaction between (a) expectations that the civil society has of the state: (b) state capacity to provide services, including security and to secure revenue from its population and territory to provide these services, and (c) elites' will to direct state resources and capacity to fulfill social expectations.[4]

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

In this study, we delineate very clearly the meanings of the key concepts employed to enhance our understanding of the ultimate goal of the study. These concepts are: governance, sustainable peace, postconflict and social contract.

The Concept of (Mis)Governance

Governance can be defined as the management of public resources to solve societal problems. In a generic sense, governance is referred to as the task of running a government or any other appropriate entity, for example, an organisation.[5] It is "the conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of the public realm".[6] It is a concept that does not only have theoretical bearing with concept

such as legitimacy, public realm and state-society relationship, but largely define their contents and contexts.

Towards bringing into sharper focus the meaning of the concept of governance, it is germane to shed a little light on the notions of 'public realm' and 'power'. The notion of public realm, according to Goran Hyden encompasses both state and society and draw the line between private and public.[7] Ekeh, in *Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa* identifies what he calls "the primordial public realm and the civic public realm".[8] For him, the 'primordial public realm' is the realm occupied by ethnic groups and associations while the 'civic public realm' is the domain of the state and the civil society. The issue here is how the civic public realm is being managed and sustained by the political actors to accomplish the collective goals of the society. When governance is responsive and impacts positively on the lives of the citizenry, it confers 'performance legitimacy' on the government in power and facilitates cooperation between the state and the society.

Essentially, "governance is concerned with how rules (or structures) affect political action and the prospects of solving given societal problems".[9] Let us at this juncture point out that 'governance' is assessed based on the strength of its impacts on the well being of the citizenry. When governance processes produce positive impacts and engender development of the society it is termed 'good governance'. Babawale captures the when he defined good governance as "the exercise of political power to promote the public good and the welfare of the people."[10] On the other hand, when governance processes are characterised by economic mismanagement, rabid corruption, irresponsible political behaviour and squandermania, violation of the fundamental rights of the citizenry, it is dubbed 'bad governance'. This represents a governance process where the resources of the state are being managed to advance personal and group interest rather than promote the public or collective good.

Before we conclude our exposition on the idea of governance, it is germane to our study that we identify some of the attributes of good governance and some of the conditions that facilitate good governance and by implication promote sustainable peace. These become imperative in view of their relevance to the exploration of the nexus between good governance and sustainable peace.

Sambo Adesina[11] in a paper entitled 'Quality Governance and its

Implication for Democratic Culture' identifies attributes of good governance as:

(1) Accountability;
(2) Transparency in government procedures;
(3) Expectation of rational decisions;
(4) Predictability in governance behaviour;
(5) Openness in government transactions;
(6) Free flow of information;
(7) Respect for the rule of law and protection of civil liberties;
(8) Freedom of the press;
(9) Decentralisation of power structure and decision-making.

Having listed the attributes of good governance, let us now examine the conditions that facilitate good governance. Goran Hyden[12] in a paper entitled 'Governance and the Study of Politics' categories these conditions into three broad groups. They are:

(1) Citizen influence and oversight which encompasses elements cum variable such as degree of political participation; means of preference aggregation, and methods of public accountability;
(2) Responsive and responsible leadership which is exemplified by the degree of respect for civic public realm, degree of openness of public policymaking, and degree of adherence to rule of law;
(3) Social reciprocities which encompass degree of political equality, degree of inter-group tolerance, and degree of inclusiveness in associational membership.

Let us conclude our exposition on the concept of governance by stating very clearly that in this study, governance is seen not only in terms of the activities of the government, but also that of the private sector and the civil society in the promotion of the common good. In other words, our conception of governance is broad. It connotes the interaction between the government, private sector and civil society organisations for the achievement of public goals and objectives.

It must be noted that the end which governance process serves determines its quality. When it promotes the overall goal and welfare of the generally of the people, it is said to be 'good governance'. This, perhaps, explains why the UNDP defines good governance as,

promoting widespread participation by all citizens, making decisions by rule of law, ensuring transparency in the actions of governance institutions, being responsive to the needs and desires of citizens, and assuring equity in the treatment of citizens, effectiveness and efficiency in the use of public resources, public accountability and the exercise of strategic vision in planning for development.[13]

Sustainable Peace

Let us break these 2-word concept down into its components — sustainable and peace. Our understanding of each of the word will facilitate our comprehension of 'sustainable peace'. Let us start from the word 'peace'. This is a word that has been defined in many ways, because it is a value-laden concept. Expectedly, ideological, intellectual and religious orientations have impacted on peoples' conception of peace. However, it is seen as a condition that facilities the realisation of the potentiality of the individual and the accomplishment of the common goal. According to Ibeanu,[14] peace is a condition whose achievement it as a result of the interaction of various forces — political, economic, environmental and cultural. This was captured in the definition of peace which sees it as "a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices, and norms".[15] Sustainable, on the other hand, is a word that depicts 'endure'; 'lasting'. It is a word that is used or employed with reference to the idea of time or period. It is used to express persistence, lasting and enduring. In the light of the analysis of these 2 words, they would then mean a socio-political condition that could last, or endure.

'Sustainable' becomes an accomplishment of the concept of peace, especially in contemporary times in view of the reality of recidivism (reversion to war) even after peace agreements have been signed by parties in conflict. Conflict, especially of the violent genre, is a negation of peace. This perhaps explains why some social scholars see peace as absence of war. In contemporary times, the idea of sustainable peace is usually employed with reference to a postconflict society. It is referred to as peace that can endure even after peacekeepers have left the field.

Postconflict State

Conflict represents uncooperative social interaction between two or

more parties as a result of clash of interests. Coser defines conflict "as a struggle over value, claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the opposing parties are not only to gain the desired value but also to neutralise, injure or eliminate rivals".[16] Postconflict state refers to a state where there had been a violent struggle to control state power and resources. It is marked by absence of recognisable authority that exercises monopoly of coercive force. Consequently, it is characterised by a deeper dimension of crisis of governance. In other words, following lack of a viable political order, governance is weak and ineffective. Diamond captures this when he opines that postconflict state is one where "the pre-existing state has completely collapsed, so that there is no over-acting indigenous political authority over which it exercises international legal sovereignty.

In a nutshell, a postconflict state is one that exhibits absence of an effective state power that can be used to reconcile competing interests, dispense collective resources for common good and ensure compliance to state laws for the promotion of social order and development. It is characterised by serious social, political, economic desolation and dysfunction. It is one that is emerging from a culture of violence to a democratic culture and civility.

Social Contract

The notion that individuals and nation-states tacitly agree to a set of mutually binding stipulations and obligations are what social contract is about. It is a theoretical construct meant "to explain fundamental aspects of modern societies, the protection of human rights, the distribution of particular goods and services, and the formulation and institutionalisation of social and political relationships".[16] Also, "it is a philosophical foundation for understanding modern conceptions of citizenship and constitutionalism, whereby individuals willingly submit some of their personal freedoms to political authority in return for the general benefit of all members of a given society".[17] The concept which is rooted in the Scottish Enlightenment is a theoretical construct that defines the relationship between the individuals and the modern nation-state. It is a philosophical cum moral document that spells out the mutual rights and responsibilities of the state and the citizen.

In the context of our study, a new social contract between the Liberian state and the citizens would mean a theoretical construct that exhibits

features and elements that enables an average Liberian citizen to participate in the decision-making process and to have equitable access to the resources of the state and enjoy in concrete terms his fundamental human rights. This 'new social contract' depicts a profound departure from the pre-war socio-political and economic arrangement which oppresses, disseminates and undermines Liberians. It emphasises a socio-political condition that facilitate the promotion of equality of citizens, participatory democracy, guarantee basic human needs and engender the realisation of individual potentiality and promotes group interests and overall national development and progress.

MIS-GOVERNANCE: THE LIBERIAN EXPERIENCE

Liberia came into existence on 26 July, 1847 when the Liberian Declaration of Independence was signed. The nation is a creation of the American Colonization Society (ACS), a group whose primary responsibility was to repatriate and resettle freed slaves to their original home of Africa. Thus, at the Liberian Declaration of Independence, which marked the birth of Liberia's sovereign state on 26 July, 1847, two groups of people formed the population of the Liberian state namely, the American-Liberians and the African-Liberians. Charles Ukeje in a paper entitled 'State Disintegration and Civil War in Liberia' captures this when he writes:

> The American-Liberians represent descendants of slaves originally taken to America during the slave trade, who were later shipped back to Liberia and the African-Liberians, the indigenous people of Liberia who were never transported to Euro-America as slaves. The American-Liberians constitute about 5 percent of the whole population of Liberia while the African-Liberians constitute 95 percent of the population.[18]

The crisis of governance bedevilling Liberia took a new dimension on 24 December, 1989 when a civil war on broke out. Thus, the first *de facto* independent state in the continent of African was embroiled in a catastrophic civil war.

In our analysis of the quality of governance that characterised those years, we are going to employ the World Bank definition of good governance and its criteria for assessing governance process. According to the

World Bank in a 1992 report on Governance and Development, good governance implies the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. This involves:

(i)   establishing a foundation of law;

(ii)   maintaining a non-distortionary policy environment, including macro-economic stability, investing in social services and infrastructure, and protecting the environment and vulnerable groups of the population.

For the ADB, the elements of good governance are:

(i)   accountability — the capacity to hold public officials responsible for their actions;

(ii)   transparency;

(iii)   just and equitable laws, and

(iv)   participation of the people in governance.

It is interesting to note that the governance process in Liberia before the outbreak of the civil war in December 1989, was a clear negation of the principles and elements of good governance. The government was not accountable, the whole process of governance lacked minimum transparency, the bulk of the population, most especially the African-Americans, were virtually excluded from the decision-making processes and of course the management of the nation's resources was not done with a view to improve the living condition of the generally of the people. As a matter of fact, the mass of the people were and still live in abject poverty. The governance framework was characterised by economic exploitation, mass poverty, deep structural violence, political repression and exclusion of the mass of the people from the decision making processes. In other words, the management of the Liberian state prior to the outbreak of the civil war was a symbol of bad governance.

Liberia was managed with total disregard for the rule of law and constitutionality, a very critical element of good governance. James Youboty captures the endemic bad governance that characterised pre-war Liberia when he opines "historically, the core problem that Liberians have had has arisen out of their inability to effectively perform the fundamental task of governance. This is primarily because, for a very

long time, various administrations have paid lip service to the constitution of the Republic. This led to the civil war. Today, despite her abundant human and natural resources and long history as a sovereign nation, Liberia has been classified among the poorest countries of the world. It is all about not obeying the constitution".[19]

THE CHALLENGES TO SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN LIBERIA

First, the problem of insecurity is a serious threat to the achievement of sustainable peace in Liberia. The failure of the state's security agencies could be said to be one of the factors that aggravated the Liberian civil war. Though the immediate postconflict peacebuilding activities, PDR-disarmament, demobilisation and re-integration have been carried out, the security situation in Liberia is nothing to precarious. Armed robbery incidents and violence obviously carried out by ex-combatants who were not properly disarmed and demobilised and reintegrated to normal civil life, are still posing serious challenge to the safety and security of the people and the state and security of the people and the state. Coupled with this is fact that the state is still finding it difficult to exert effective control over the nation's geographically territory.

Second, the prevalent poverty situation in Liberia is another serious challenge to the ongoing postconflict peacebuilding process in the nation. The bulk of the people are still wallowing in abject poverty and deprivation. Basic amenities and needs, such as housing, electricity, pipe-borne water are almost non-existent. The social infrastructures had collapsed while those that are functioning provide at best epileptic services. President Ellen Sirleaf in an address in Ghana presents the nation's state of affairs when she states that, "the critical institutions of the state collapsed and were unable to provide basic social services, the economy was in tatters and political and social institutions were dysfunctional. In short, the country was bedeviled by the trinitarian evils of poverty, disease and ignorance"[20]

Third, the social cement of trust, not only between the American-Liberians and the indigenous African-Liberians, but also among the various ethnic groups, i.e. between the Khan and the Mandingo peoples is largely non-existent. Moreover, the lack of trust in government among groups in society who had been dissatisfied with or excluded from participation in political and administrative processes still constitute a very serious challenge to the quest for sustainable peace in Liberia. This, of course, hinders the

participation of the people in governance processes and thus the much needed cooperation from the people to execute public spolicies are lacking. Consequently, programmes designed by the government and other stakeholders to achieve development and promote durable peace hardly receive the much needed support from the mass of the people.

Good Governance, Democracy and Sustainable Peace in Liberia

This paper has established the fact that "where governance is endemically bad, rulers do not use public resources effectively to generate common good and improve the socio-economic condition of the mass of the people. Rather, state resources are deployed to advance personal interest and, consequently, the development of the society is undermined and its peace threatened. Against this background, if Liberia were to achieve sustainable peace after a 14-year civil war, governance of the state must be more responsible, competent, efficient, participant, participatory, open, accountable, lawful and legitimate.

The question now is: How do we improve governance process in Liberia to achieve sustainable peace, which is the ultimate objective of the ongoing postconflict peacebuilding in Liberia? To start with, we must acknowledge the fact that achieving good governance in a post-conflict state, especially in Africa, is a huge challenge. Nevertheless, it is achievable with the support and commitment of the government, the civil society, and the international community.

Let us now discuss some of the elements that are germane to the attainment of good governance in postconflict Liberia. First, the most critical factor to the task of achieving good governance in postconflict Liberia is the existence of a viable political order. It goes without saying that before a country can achieve good and effective governance, it must first have a state. By the state, we mean "a set of political institutions that exercise authority over a territory, make and execute policies, extract and distribute revenue, produce public goods and maintain order by wielding an effective monopoly over the means of violence".[21]

Apart from the fact that the civil war weakened the capacity of the state to perform the minimum role of a modern state considerably, in many African states, "the state inherited was non-hegemonic and lacked the capacity to create the sort of environment that would have allowed public policy to be rational, sustainable and effective. Africa did not inherit

an environment that was conducive to democracy, growth and development".[22] In other words, the state that was inherited in Liberia, like in many African countries, "had no room for the rule of law, social justice, human rights, and constitutionalism".[23]

In view of this background, the task of reforming the state is *a sine qua non* to the project of institutionalising good governance in Liberia. Reforming the state involves nurturing the leadership of the state and inculcating in them civic nationalism, building strong and national state institutions, that is, national police, civil service, army, judiciary, etc. decentralising authority and power to engender belongingness, incorporate the local people in the decision-making process, review of the constitution to enhance equitable participation of all groups in the governance process, constitutionalism, nation-building, respect for democratic values and practices and transformation of state institutions to become capable, accountable and responsive. We should acknowledge at this point that the task of reforming the state is quite challenging and so clearly beyond the capacity a state that is just emerging from prolonged violent conflict.

Against this backdrop, we argue that for the much needed reformation of the state towards attaining good governance to take place in Liberia, there is the need for the international development agencies to be seriously involved in terms of injecting funds and providing technical support to build capacity of the various institutions of the state. The Liberian security sector, for instance, needs to be radically transformed to serve as instrument for the promotion of good governance.

Following closely to the need to reform the state is the imperativeness of repositioning the Liberian civil society to become virile and dynamic. The role of a strong and dynamic civil society to the promotion of good governance cannot be over-emphasised. The role of the civil society as a force in checking the excesses of the state and in making the state alive to her responsibilities to the citizenry can only be performed when civil society is largely independent of the state and is resourceful. Consequently, there is the need, in view of the weak nature of Liberia's civil society, to deepen the capacity of the Liberians civil society through training and re-training of the leadership and the personnel of the CSO. This would improve the capacity of nation's civil society to promote democracy and good governance.

Furthermore, there is the need to seriously put in place a very powerful

and fearless institution that would fight political corruption in Liberia. It has been established through various studies that the high level of corruption is one of the greatest threats to the quest for good governance in Africa in general and in Liberia in particular. If corruption is frontally tackled in Liberia, the quality of governance in the nation will considerably improve.

In addition to this submission, there is a lot the mass of the people can do to improve the quality of governance, especially at the local level. It is important that the people themselves be committed to ensuring that those they elect to govern them are made accountable. In other words, the people should become 'active citizens' and show serious concern about what operates in the civic public realm otherwise they will continue to experience deprivation, under-development and ultimately poor governance. It goes without saying that the people get the quality of governance they deserve.

Towards achieving good governance, especially at the local level, it is needful that town meetings be opened to all citizens where the stakeholders, most especially, the community leaders, the youth and women can ask questions and express their minds about the governance processes and consequently make the leadership accountable. It is instructive to point out at this juncture that there is so much of miss-governance and corruption in Liberia's body politic because of the peoples' lack of concern for what operates in the civic public realm.

Finally, the role of the international community to the project of achieving good governance in Liberia cannot be over-emphasised. As earlier stated, at the root of bad governance in virtually every country in Africa is the ugly phenomenon of corruption. The international community, most especially, Western nations like the US, the UK, France and Germany can help stem the tide of corruption by making it extremely difficult for looted funds to find a resting place, which, usually, are Euro-American banks. Stealing, the Yoruba of Nigeria, will say, continues so long as stolen goods find a resting place. If looted state funds are prevented by the governments of the developed countries from their banks, this would largely dissuade corrupt leaders in Africa from looting the treasuries of their states. The implication of this is that there would be enormous resources made available for developmental programmes.

CONCLUSION

The argument advanced here was that the key to achieving good governance was the institutionalisation of participatory democracy in Liberia. The truth of the matter is that when the people effectively participate in decision-making, transparency and accountability are enhanced and good governance is provided.

Virtually all the factors that precipitated and trigged the Liberian civil war had only one root — bad governance. If good governance was enthroned in Liberia, all the challenges to the achievement of sustainable peace and the root causes of the violent conflict such as poverty, insecurity and marginalisation of some groups would receive serious attention. Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary-General acknowledges the nexus between good governance and development and by implication sustainable peace when he states that, "good governance is perhaps the single most important in eradicating poverty and promoting development".[24]

We should state that participatory democracy is the antidote to bad governance in Liberia. Participatory democracy promotes good governance and peaceful co-existence and thus engenders social capital required for the achievement of sustainable peace. Darl emphasises the relationship between democracy and welfare of the people when he states that, "under a true democracy, there must be governmental responsiveness to citizens on a continuing basis".[25] As a matter of fact, participatory democracy is the most effective safeguard against bad governance, which was at the root of the crisis that decimated Liberia. Participatory democracy engenders good governance and this facilitates the enthronement of sustainable peace.

NOTES

1. *See* DFID 2007, Governance Development and Democratic Politics. Policy paper. http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/governance.pdf
2. For World Bank 1989, *see* Goran Hyden, Governance and the Study of Politics in Goran Hyden and Micheal Bralton (eds). *Governance and Politics in Africa.* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992, p. 5.
3. *See* a Report by the USA government Foreign and in the National Interest: Chapter 1: Promoting Democratic Governance, p. 34.
4. *See* Catherine Barnes, 'Renegotiating the Political Settlement in War-to-Peace Transitions". Paper commissioned by the UK Department for International Development, 20 March, 2009, p. 10.
5. Goran Hyden, op.cit., p.r.

6.   Ibid, p. 7.
7.   Ibid, p. 6.
8.   Peter Ekeh (1992). "The Constitution of Civil Society in African History and Politics", in Caron, B., A. Gboyega and E. Osaghae (eds) *Democratic Transition in Africa,* Ibadan, CREDU.
9.   Goran Hyden, op. cit., p. 14.
10. Babawale, Tunde (2007) Good Governance, Democratic and Democratic Best Practices: Prescriptions for Nigeria, Lagos: CBAAC, Occasional Monograph, No. 3, 2007, p. 8.
11. Sambo Adesina (1999). Quality Governance and Implication for Democratic Culture." Paper presented at a seminar on Statistics and Transparent Leadership in a Democratic Settings," organised by the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) held at Gateway Hotel, Ijebu Ode, Ogun State, 18 November.
12. Goran Hyden, op. cit., p. 15.
13. *See* United Nations Development Programme, Governance for Sustainable Human Development, New York: UNDP, 1997.
14. Oke Ibeanu, "Conceptualizing Peace", in Shedrack Gaya Best (ed.) Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd, p. 6.
15. Christopher, Miller (2005). A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies (Second Edition) New York: University of Peace, p. 10.
16. Lewis Coser (1981). The Functions of Social Contract. London: Glencol Free Press.
17. Christopher, Miller, A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies, op. cit., p. 12.
18. Charles Ukeje, State Disintegration and Civil War in Liberia in Margaret A. Vogt (ed) The Liberian Crises and ECOMOG, Lagos: Gabuma Publishing Co. Ltd, 1992, p. 85.
19. James Youboty (2004). "A Nation in Terror" The True Story of the Liberia Civil War." Philadelphia: Parkside Impressions Enterprises, p. 385.
20. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2010). "Post-Conflict Liberia: From Tragedy to Opportunity." Address presented at University of Legion Accra, Ghana.
21. Larry Diamond, "Promoting Democracy in Post-Conflict and Failed States: Lessons and Challenges. Prepared for the National Policy Forum on Terrorism, Security and America's Purpose, 6-7 September, Washington, D.C.
22. Julius Ihonvbere (2011). Reinventing Africa for the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century, CBAAC Occasional Monograph, Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited, p. 5.
23. Ibid., p. 7.
24. Kofi Annan, in Adel M. Abdellatif's Good Governance and its Relationship to Democracy and Economic Development, Workshop IV, GF3/WS/IV-3/S1, 2003, p. 2.
25. *See* Tunde Babawale in "Good Governance, Democracy and Democratic Best Practices", op. cit., p. 9.

bitterness that conflict, violence, and even terrorism are now threatening to wipe out human civilisation. The United Nations, African Union, ECOWAS, NATO, and other regional bodies that mount peace support operations have all done wonderfully well in the efforts to manage security in our globalised world. But the present and succeeding generations are still far from being saved from the scourge of war. There is thus urgent need for change in strategy. There is need now to lay more emphasis on (early) dialogue, global justice, and war against poverty.

Unless this change in strategy is achieved, the Arab Spring that the world has just witnessed will be a child's play to what is coming when the bitter, hungry, unemployed, poor, displaced, homeless, and insecure millions of people all over the world, especially the youths, explode. The social media also needs to assist humanity in focusing on the policies and action of leaders and nations which generate and/or escalate tension, conflicts, violence, and insecurity.

Managing Security in a Globalised World is a book with a very rich menu, and it is commended to scholars, students of strategic studies, historians, policymakers and all lovers of wisdom.

Isaac Olawale Albert is a Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He had his Ph.D degree in African History from the University, and a Certificate in Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping from the UN International Leadership Academy in Amman, Jordan.

Professor Albert established the Peace Studies programmes at the Universities of Ibadan and Ilorin, Nigeria and was the UNDP Consultant for the design of the Peace Studies programme of the University of Cape Coast, Ghana.

In 2007/8, he served as the Country Director of the Nigerian Office of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA). He was a Research Associate of the Centre for Research on Inequality and Ethnicity (CRISE), University of Oxford, UK, from 2003 to 2007 and the 2006 Winner of the Africa Peace Education Award of the California State University, Sacramento, USA. Professor Albert is a Regional Board Member of the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), Accra, Ghana; an Associate Member of the Finnish Folklore Fellows (Helsinki), and a Fellow/Board Chairman of the Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP).

Professor Olawale Albert has published extensively on African History, particularly on issues of peace and conflict in Africa. He has published *Practice Guide for Managing Election Disputes in West Africa* (Accra, Ghana: West African Network for Peacebuilding, 2011).

Dr Willie Aziegbe Eselebor is an IFRA Senior Research Fellow, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, and National President, Society for Peace Studies and Practice (SPSP).