JOURNAL OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE
ISSN Print: 2992-2763 – ISSN Online: 2992-4618 | Vol. 3, No. 2 / June, 2025
https://www.jopd.com.ng

THE IMPACT OF RUSSIA - UKRAINE WAR ON THE PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS IN NIGERIA

NWADUHU BERUCK ORUCHUKWU
National Open University of Nigeria
berucknwaduhu2017@gmail.com

Abstract

The ongoing Russia-Ukraine war, which began in 2022, has had far-reaching global consequences beyond its immediate geographical scope. This study examines the indirect impact of the conflict on the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) in Nigeria. It explores how the diversion of arms from European stockpiles, black market surpluses, and weakened international arms control regimes have contributed to increased illicit arms flows into West Africa. The paper highlights the role of porous borders, transnational criminal networks, and insurgent groups in Nigeria—such as Boko Haram and bandit militias—in exploiting these global arms dynamics. Furthermore, the study underscores the compounding effect of global insecurity, disrupted regulatory mechanisms, and shifting geopolitical alliances in accelerating arms trafficking. By analyzing qualitative data, this research reveals a troubling correlation between global conflict and localized insecurity in Nigeria, emphasizing the urgent need for coordinated international and regional policy responses to curb the spread of SALWs.

Keywords: Proliferation, Security, Arms, Challenges.

Introduction

Nigeria's response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine carried significant geopolitical weight within the Global South. Despite Western pressure, Nigeria adopted a carefully calibrated, value-driven, pragmatic indifferent stance that avoided overtly condemning Russia. While denouncing the violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity, Nigeria emphasized the need for dialogue and diplomacy. This reflected Nigeria's pursuit of strategic domestic value-driven foreign policy that has embedded non-alignment principles and its Afro-centric worldview. Nigeria's position highlighted the challenge many Global South nations face in being caught between the West and Russia. Overtly backing either side could jeopardize their interests and economic ties. Nigeria aimed to uphold foreign policy principles and support international norms like sovereignty while keeping channels open with the West and Russian power blocs. Its position which reflects Afro centricism bolstered its credentials as a leader representing the perspectives of the Global South. Its value-driven and pragmatic indifferent stance provided a model for global order making, and its deft geopolitical balancing act allowed it to protect its interests while reinforcing its status as an influential force shaping the Global South's stance(s) on major international issues.

However despite Nigeria’s non-alignment position in the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine the country is faced with sordid situation as a result of the conflict borne out of proliferation of arms.In nearly all the conflicts, the diffusion of small arms, particularly from the industrialized nations to the developing world has played a decisive role in the escalation, intensification and resolution of these conflicts. The ease with which these arms are available,

leads to easy escalation of festering conflicts. These small arms have played a major role in exacerbating armed violence.

Thus, this phenomenon threatens the consolidation of democracy and security in Nigeria which is necessary for sustainable development. As of today, the greatest security challenge facing this country and present administration is the impunity of activities of government and the terrorist activities of Boko Haram and Islamic fundamentalist based in Northern Nigeria, kidnapping in the eastern part and an armed rebellion in the oil rich Niger Delta.

The proliferation of light weapons and illicit arms trafficking in Nigeria pose a major threat to peace, security and development in the continent. Arms and weapons cause conflicts and criminal activities in which they are used for, the wide availability, accumulation and illicit flows of such weapons tend to escalate conflicts, undermine peace agreements, intensify violence and increase crime, impede economic and social development and also hinder the development of social stability, democracy and good governance.

In the current world environment in which the realities of globalization are literarily forcing the rapid break down of border lines, low-intensity conflicts in which small arms are critical, and widely used are threatening the non-negotiable core value (national security) of especially developing countries of Africa and indeed the countries of the West African sub-region including Nigeria.

The proliferation of small arms is thus a brisk business in the West African sub-region. It has become a serious matter of concern not just to all countries in the region but also to the international community. Dokubo opined the perturbing effects of small arms generally and in West Africa in particular:

> ***Of the 500,000 people killed every year across the world, an estimated 300,000 of them are as a result of small arms. An estimated 50 percent of illicit weapons that proliferate in Africa are used in internal conflicts, armed robbery and drug trafficking. West Africa alone is reported to have an estimated eight million illicit weapons. Availability of small arms outside the formal security structures had contributed greatly in creating continuous cycle of violence and instability in which particularly women and children are brutalized. (Dokunbo, 2003:118).***

Experts have agreed that, "the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, rifles, handguns, machine guns grenades and bazookas - is just as harmful as the increasing number of so-called weapons of mass destruction. Of the 50 or so conflicts fought since the end of the Cold War, the vast majority of them have been fought predominantly with small arms and light weapons".

Russia and Ukraine war has fueled the proliferation of small arm's and light weapons globally especially in west Africa and Nigeria particular.

Literature Review

Related literature is a review that identify the gap and offer the opportunity to discover new problems or limitations that will be further be investigated. In reviewing literature that is related to the study, views or opinions or contributions of scholars concerning the causes, sources, transit and destinations of SALW and its security implications in Nigeria will be discussed critically.

Nigeria is a source, transit, and destination of small arms and light weapons (SALW). The causes of the circulation of SALW is well written in the literatures e.g. crime, revolts, subversion, sabotage, ethno religious crisis, social agitation, terrorism, insurgency, riots, militancy, post-election violence, cross-national border smuggling, porous borders, black marketeering, local manufacturers, insecurity, poverty, economic crisis and unemployment.some scholars focus on the supply factors of SALW like those who are willing to sell illegally to the illegal buyers as a lucrative business venture and taking advantage of the porous borders while other scholars concentrate on demand factors like crime, armed violence, ethno religious conflict, riot and political violence. The proliferation and use of small arms and light weapons(SALW) in ethno religious clashes, post-election violence, insurgency, and armed robbery have killed many innocent Nigerians and rendered many as homeless victims in their own country. The majority of the affected people were the victims of Small and light weapons (SALW), as a result, some sustain permanent injuries or disabilities.

Nte. (2011:5), explained that "there is a direct link between the possession of weapons like SALW and escalation of violent conflict" in North-East Nigeria. Nigeria has severally experienced direct and indirect consequences and security challenges of proliferation and circulation of SALW, which has retarded development in the region. The same author further defined national security "as an absence of threats to life that may inflict injuries, death or discomfort as a result of human action or inactions or from a natural disaster such as flood, earthquake, famine, drought, hunger, diseases, or war". The emphasis on national security derives from three key issues, sanctity and inviolability of human life, the universality, and dignity of human rights and the existence of individual safety in more than one threat. Christopher (2011:34) defined security "as activities that ensure the protection of a country from internal and external threat, individual safety and properties of the community against threats, danger and any negative mishaps".

Badmus (2012:12) opined the National security, "as physical protection and defense of a country citizenry and territory from threats, and also the promotion of economic activities and prosperity of Nigerians in a peaceful and secure environment that encourage the attainment of National goals and those of its neighbors". Ngang (2012:5) stated that "security means protection from dangerous and harmful disruptions in the patterns of day to day activities in homes, working place and our environments" therefore, security is related to positive and negative peace, development and safety of life and property, happiness and absence of threats to human life".

Theoretical framework

This paper utilizes the theory of power politics, failed state theory and state relative autonomy to explain the nature and causes of Russia-Ukraine war and it's effects to Africa and Nigeria security menaces.

Power politics is a theory of power in international relations which contends that distribution of power and national interests are fundamental causes of war and of system stability. The concept of power politics as propounded in the works of Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Hans Morgenthau (1948) provides a way of understanding systems of international relations in this view, states compete for the world's limited resources, and it is to an individual state's advantage to be manifestly able to harm others.

Assumptions of the Theory of Power Politics as propagated in the works of Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Hans Morgenthau (1948) the theory contends that distributions of power and national interests are fundamental causes of war.

That states compete for the world's limited resources, and it is to an individual state's advantage to be manifestly able to harm others in order to secure these resources. Power politics prioritizes national self-interest over the interests of other nations or the international community and thus may include threatening one another with military, economic, or political aggression to protect national interest.

State Relative autonomy theory

The state relative autonomy theory explains the level in which the state failed to perform its constitutional duties such as negotiating and mediating inter-class and intraclass conflict or competition. The theory explained that in a state or political community, there are two contradicting forces as opposing rivals, the primary and secondary contradictions, the primary contradiction explain the struggles between the rich people and the poor people or between leaders and the followers in the society and their relationship is always in opposition to each class. Secondary contradictions are about interclass conflict or struggle within the ruling class or leaders in the society or between different opposing groups of the ruling class.

Karl Marx (1977:2) in his writing titled "Communist Manifestoes" explained that "the history of all known existing society is the history of class struggle". This explains that the state can exhibit low or high relative autonomy when there is a high accumulation of capital in the hands of few people in society while the majority of the people have nothing. The state does not intervene in the productive activities in the domestic economy therefore the few rich appropriate the profit when they enter into the social relationship of production base on the exploitation of the working class.

The function of the state is to regulate as an impartial and unbiased arbiter reconcile inter-class and intraclass rivalry through harmonization of the class interest. The Nigerian state is the only means in which fund is appropriated by the leaders. The implication of the low performance of the Nigerian state is that it is also involved in the class rivalry more than performing its constitutional roles or duties.

Failed State theory

Anyanwu (2005) the term "failed state" is often used to describe a state perceived as having failed at some of basic conditions and responsibilities of a sovereign government. A failed state is one that has shattered social and political structures. It is characterized by social, political and economic failure. Common characteristics of a failing state is when a central government is so weak or ineffective that it has little practical control over much of its territory, non-provision of public utilities or services, widespread corruption and criminality, refugees and involuntary movement of populations, and sharp economic decline. Anyanwu (2005) further notes that failing states are invariably the product of a collapse of the power structures providing political supports for law and order, a process generally trigged and accompanied by anarchic forms of internal violence. It is the collapse of state institutions, especially the police and judiciary with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and general banditry and chaos. Not only are the functions of government suspended, but its assets are destroyed or looted and experienced officials are killed or flee the country.

From the socialist states of the former Soviet bloc to Africa and Asia, we have witnessed the outbreak of ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic and other forms of communal strife and the melting away of social norms and government structures that would otherwise contain the violence (Jeffrey, and Michael, 1998). Adding to the disorder, in many instances, has been a significant upsurge in armed banditry and criminal violence in all parts of African states.

The importance of this "failed state syndrome" during this decade according to Jeffrey Boutwell, a director of international security studies at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge, can hardly be overstated. The very nature of conflict has been transformed from traditional combat between nation-states to inter-communal conflict within states. Such strife typically involves a wide variety of actors, including governments, rebel movements, armed political militias, ethnic and religious groups, tribes and clans, expatriate and diaspora groups, criminal gangs and mercenaries. Common distinguishing characteristics of this type of intra-state conflict include multiple warring parties, blurred lines of conflict, greater involvement of civilians, and the fact that the conflict itself is not fought on traditional battlegrounds but in local communities indeed within society itself.

Also characteristic of these conflicts is the presence among the warring parties of irregular and paramilitary forces with little or no formal military training and little compunction about violating the rules of war. All too often, it is children and teenagers who are recruited or forced into these organizations and then made to kill, loot and rampage. During the armed conflict, there is a continual circulation of arms between factions, as weapons are captured and stolen by all sides. Such sources of arms remain significant, even for insurgent groups that have secured access to an external supply of arms in the early stages of the conflict.

Research Methodology

This study adopted qualitative research design because data were collected from secondary sources such as books, journals articles, ECOWAS publication and newspapers. This research contributes to the improvement of security and sustainable development in Nigeria.

History of Proliferation of SALWS in Nigeria

Perhaps, gun possession by civilians in Nigeria is not new and predates colonialism (Saburi Biobaku, 1957). Guns were introduced by the Europeans prior to colonialism during legitimate and illegitimate (slave) trade between them and Africans. Subsequently, guns and other arms, ammunition and weapons were used by Europeans to realize their imperial ambitions when they used force to suppress Africa's resistance to European incursion, conquest and colonialism. The gunboat diplomacy was popularly employed by the British to compel African chiefs to enter into various treaties with them. There was establishment of West African Frontier Force (WAFF) used by the British which was used to execute the British-Aro War of (1901-1902), and other forms of resistance in Nigeria, West Africa, and Africa.

The role of Royal Niger Company (RNC) later United African Company (UAC) backed by British Government in using force to suppress dissenting communities is imperative (Chuma-Okoro, 2011). These arms or guns possibly found their ways to the hands of Africans during the period of colonialism subsequently used in tradition and hunting in the rural community. In no time, guns and gun powder became symbols of strength and power, and were later transformed into ceremonial weapons displayed during funerals, burials, ceremonies and customary festivals

among the natives. They also became symbols of individual and ethnic grandeur, and for deterring aggressors and invaders.

Background of Russia-Ukraine War

Ukraine is a relatively young state which gained its independence in 1991 after centuries of being partitioned between Poland and Muscovy and then Soviet rule. It is divided based on ethnicity with Ukrainian majority and Russian minority, Russian and Ukrainian language, and religion. Ukraine is ethnically, religiously, and linguistically divided with some regions, e.g., the Donetsk and Luhansk provinces and the Crimean peninsula, strongly identifying them as belonging to Russia (Kusa, 2022). Ukraine was the second-most powerful Soviet republic after Russia, and was crucial strategically, economically and culturally. Russian military intervention in Crimea in 2014 initiated the international war between the two states. To Kusa (2022), the interests of the foreign international actors such as the European Union, the United States, and the United Nations demonstrate the difficulty in resolving the conflict due to a firm neo-foreign policy conducted by Vladimir Putin the President of Russia. According to Lakomy (2016), the long lasting dichotomy, the Ukrainian sense of national identity is still developing, and intensifying the problem.

Again, Ukraine as a region that has varying degrees of differences inherited from difficult historical processes, and partly developed during the post-Cold War era (Lakomy 2016). It has become a country characterized by conflicting interests and long lasting divisions. Due to its dependence, first on the Soviet Union and, now, the Russian federation, several issues have emerged and complicated the relations between Russia and Ukraine. While almost the entire Ukraine was controlled by the Russian, there was an important entity that marked its influence on the existing conflict in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions (Lakomy, 2016). This gave the Russians the assertion that the historical region ought to be under their control. Furthermore, having a status of a Post-Soviet satellite state, even after official recognition of independence, further deepened the conflicting positions regarding whether Ukraine should align more towards the West or Russian federation in sum, it is obvious that both Russia and Ukraine have a long lasting political, economic and cultural relationship, this relationship tends to shape the war today making it have a unique nature and different phases, and dimensions.

Russia-Ukraine war has been traditionally analyzed in three dimensions: The Crimean occupation by Russian forces; The military activity in Eastern Ukraine by massing military camps; maritime operations is another dimension of the war in Ukraine where by Russian military have engaged Ukraine over the years in show of power and military capacity (Kusa, 2022 ; Giekzak, 2020) .

Russia and Ukraine war has lead to high rate proliferation of small arm's and light weapons in Nigeria and this is because Nigeria borders Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin. It has several border entry routes from these four countries, most of which are unmanned and uncontrolled (Abegunde and Fabiyi 2020). The porous nature of these borders heightens the potential for transnational transactions and has incremental encourage the proliferation of small Arms and light weapons in Nigeria.

On November 29, 2022, President Muhammadu Buhari told the summit of leaders of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) that influx of weapons and fighters from the Russia-Ukraine war is now fueling the Boko Haram/Islamic State in West Africa Province and Nigeria too. President Buhari said: “Regrettably, the situation in the Sahel and the raging war in Ukraine

ISSN Print: 2992-2763 – ISSN Online: 2992-4618 | Vol. 3, No. 2 / June, 2025
https://www.jopd.com.ng

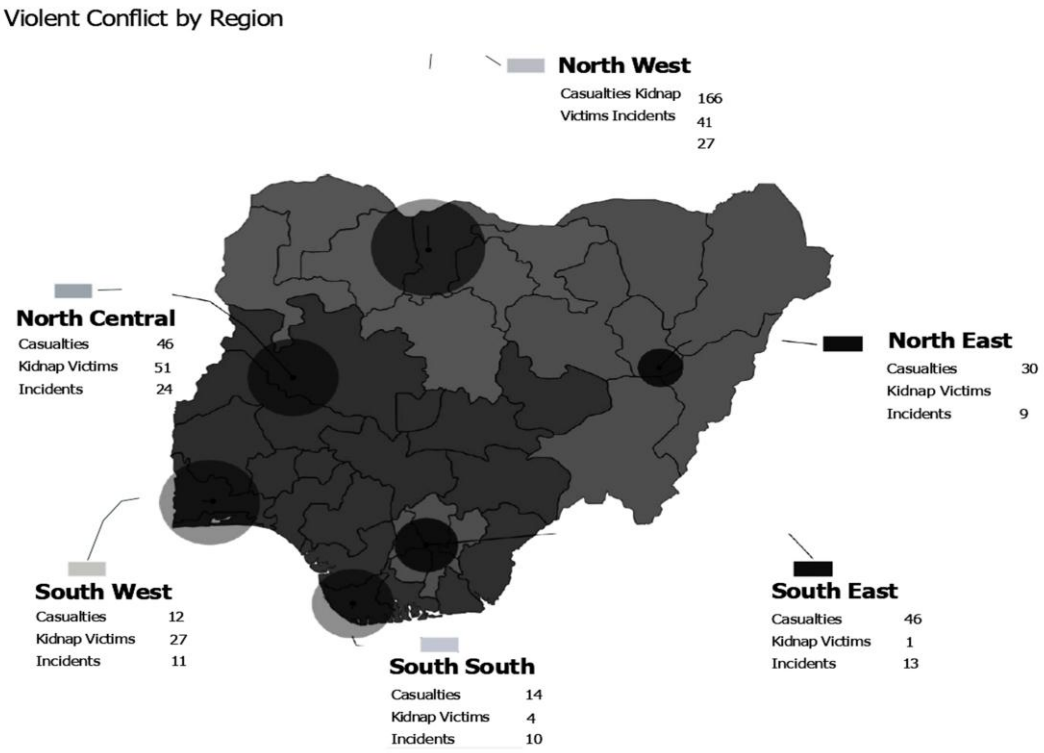
serve as major sources of weapons and fighters that bolster the ranks of the terrorists in Lake Chad Region. Weapons being used for the war in Ukraine and Russia are equally beginning to filter to the region." A report by Conflict Armament Research (CAR), an investigative organization that tracks the movement of weapons, ammunition and explosives into conflict areas shows that 17 per cent of the weapons seized from Boko Haram- were diverted from the stockpiles in Chad, Niger and Cameroun.

These weapons add to the stockpiles illegally trafficked into or through Libya, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mali and smuggled hand guns and shot guns are sold in the black market and the diversion of illegally imported fire arms and explosives in the Nigeria is alarming as a result of Russian-Ukraine war . The large swaths of unmanned, illegal and porous borders and booming business of gun-running in the region do not help this. The increase in arms proliferation across Nigeria and the entire Lake Chad no doubt plays an undeniable role in perpetuating violence from criminal related activities by non-State actors which are destabilizing peace, development and security.

The persistence and the complication of war between Russia and Ukraine has lead to high rate proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria and also brought about increasing in Niger Delta militancy, Boko-Haram, Election weapons and armed activities of the Proscribed Indigenous people of Biafra .

20th April 2024 – 20th May 2024

Statistics of Violet Cases As A Result Of Small Arms And Light Weapons In Nigeria



Implication of the Study

It is ironic but real that the post-colonial Africa is, in large measure, a threat to its survival. The argument is that, most of the post- colonial states in Africa are without any visible capacity to engender is kind of development with quite a number becoming "failed states". This is because, as further argued, the post-colonial African states are ”deficient in managing the economy and natural environment and the nature of their performance has often given rise to divisions and conflicts resulting within some of them into popular resurrections and uprisings." We can cite the examples of Nigeria series of conflict, Somalia, Zaire, Uganda, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi.

This declining capacity of the post-colonial African states, including Nigeria has several implications to the national security of the states themselves. They are thus a threat to their survival. The declining capacity of these states in Africa for development is clearly seen in the record of their economic failure, lack of human development, poverty, illiteracy, debt burden etc.

Nigeria has recently emerged from a period of prolonged military misrule. And although democracy is a constitutional means of resolving conflicts, the expansion of the democratic space has released the cap on pent-up anger suppressed over the years of autocratic rule. The nation is currently trying to consolidate democracy after conducting a first civilian-to-civilian election.

However, the acrimony within the contesting tendencies is palpable. Localized conflicts have been sustained by massive socio-economic disparities and the emergence of emancipatory movements. These issues present a major obstacle to achieving long-term peace (with justice) and human security. Communal conflicts have been exacerbated and even intensified by the availability of small arms, which have provided the protagonists with the tools which enable them to resolve conflicts violently and improve their socio-economic position by engaging in criminal activities. Ironically, most of those small arms are residue of the ongoing conflicts in Russian and Ukraine war and Africa sub-region conflict, which has a result of uncompleted disarmament and weapons control programmes have consequently become a source of insecurity in Nigeria. Added to this problem, porous borders and weak governmental capacity have facilitated the trans-shipment of these weapons.

Small arms and light weapons is disastrous not just on individual well-being, they typically have the potential to challenge the very existence of the state. In a democratizing polity like Nigeria, where resources tend to be scarce and state capacity relatively weak, small arms provide ethnic warriors and criminal activities and severely undermine the rule of law. Consequently, this leads to increasing sense of insecurity as a result of lack of faith in the state's ability to provide personal protection.

Conclusion

The current conflict between Russia and Ukraine has made many African countries uncomfortable. Russia and Ukraine (formerly part of the USSR) have had various political, economic, military, and social relations with Africa since the 1950s. However, following the fall of the USSR, Russia, and Ukraine faced a decade-long social and economic crisis that deprioritized their African commitments. Although Russia has recently attempted to improve perceptions of its role and influence in Africa, it has not succeeded.

Africa is still recovering from the socio economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine conflict has emerged as another massive threat to their security and this has inclined the proliferation of small arm's and light weapons in African states including Nigeria.

Russia's violation of international law in Ukraine prompted several African countries to condemn the attack, with only a few countries supporting Russia while most African states have managed to walk a tightrope without taking sides. The nuanced and disjointed positions of African states can be attributed to various factors, including the extent of their dependence and inclination toward Russia or Western powers, Soviet support for Africa during the Cold War, Western hypocrisy over the Ukrainian issue, and national interests. A set of co-ordinated sub-regional programmes does not exist to tackle illicit arms trafficking. Programmes to develop effective controls on legal arms possession and transfers, among civilians and state security forces remain inadequate.

Recommendations

National Commission on Control of Small Arms control in the country should be responsible for developing strategies and approaches to curtail small arms and light weapons in the country. Equally, the commission should coordinate all arms control programme for proper implementation in the country.

Organizing conferences and Workshops will help to bring a larger number of countries, private organisations and NGOs together to evolve a collective programme of action that will stimulate the formulation of legal codes or protocols to control small arms and light weapons at individual basis, domestically and internationally. These legal codes or protocols will be directed at the production, transfer and procurement of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria. The involvement of traditional ruler's and communities' heads in fight against proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapon should be encouraged.

Border security should be given optimal attention, responsive and collaboration with neighboring countries bordering the country such as Ghana, Republic of Benin, Chad, Niger, Cameroon and so on should be given attention in order to improve border security which is essential for arms control.

Increase in the activities of private organisations, NGOs and Human Rights organisations to conduct researches, organise conferences, and workshops should be encouraged and this will go a long way in promoting campaign against small arms and its usage, and closing the gap created by insufficient information on the issue of arms proliferation.

Local production of guns should be regulated to the extent that they should be marked so that they can easily be traced to the point of production. Stringent rules should be made to guide the production of local guns and those involved in the production exercise should be made to register for the sake of regulation in order to promote orderliness in the business.

Major Contribution to knowledge

The current conflict between Russia and Ukraine and the proliferation of small arm's and light weapons as results of the war presents an additional obstacle and the potential for self-censorship among academician due to the sensitive nature of the subject matter. The study of the subject matter is compelling academician to re-evaluate their starting point, considering the

Russian attempt to undermine Ukraine and its historical trajectory. This prompts crucial questions about Ukraine's historical agency and whether it has experienced colonial subjugation. The ongoing conflict invites reflection on how this war is already being remembered and what facets of history are deemed essential to preserve. Simultaneously, the challenge emerges of identifying who possesses the qualifications to document this history in a manner that respects its complexity and nuances.

References

Abdelfatau, M. (2004). *The political economy of small arms and conflicts*. http://unpaul.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/idep/unpan002406.pdf

Abiodun, T. (2016). An appraisal of Nigeria's counter-terrorism policy: The case of Boko Haram. In Akinwunmi & Olaniyan (Eds.), *Global perspectives in education: A book in honour of Late Prof. Mobolaji Ogunsanya* (pp. xx–xx). His Lineage Publishing House.

Abolurin, A. (2012). *Civil populace, internal security and national development: Any hope?* (2nd Faculty Personality Lecture Series). University of Ibadan, His Lineage Publishing House.

Adejo, P. Y. (2005). Crime and the cross-border movement of weapons: The case of Nigeria. In A. Ayissi & I. Sall (Eds.), *Combating the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in West Africa* (pp. xx–xx). UNIDIR.

Anyanwu, U. (2005). Failed states in Africa: The Nigerian case since 1960. *American Journal of International Politics and Development Studies*, *1*(1), xx–xx.

Ayissi, A., & Sall, I. (Eds.). (2005). *Combating the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in West Africa: Handbook for the training of armed and security forces*. United Nations Institute of Disarmament Research.

Badmus, I. A. (2009). *Managing arms in peace processes: ECOWAS and the West African civil conflicts* (Working Paper WP/CEAUP/2009). www.africanos.eu

Best, S. G. (Ed.). (2006). *Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa*. Spectrum Books Ltd.

Chesterman, S. (Ed.). (2005). *Making states work: State failure and the crisis of governance*. United Nations University Press.

Christopher, L. (2011). *The social impacts of light weapons availability and proliferation*. International Alert. [Discussion paper for UNIDIR].

Davis, S., & Dimieari, V. K. (2005). *The current stability and future prospects for peace and security in the Niger Delta*. Niger Delta Peace and Security Working Papers.

Edwards, L., Sean, N., & Rachael, S. (2005). *Controlling small arms and light weapons proliferation: The potential of the Arms Trade Treaty*. Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University.

Ero, C., & Ndinga-Muvumba, A. (2004). Small arms and light weapons. In A. Adebajo & I. Rashid (Eds.), *West Africa's security challenges: Building peace in a troubled region* (pp. xx–xx). Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Harzen, J., & Horner, J. (2007). *Small arms, armed violence, and insecurity: The Niger Delta in perspective* (Occasional Paper No. 20). Geneva.

Holmes, E. (2014). National security, disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants. In G. Burgess (Ed.), *Beyond intractability*. University of Colorado, Boulder.

Imobighe, T. (1989). *The OAU, African defense and security*. Adena Publishers.

Imobighe, T. (2003). *Nigeria's defense and national security linkages*. Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc.

Jekada, E. K. (2005). *Proliferation of small arms and ethnic conflicts in Nigeria: Implication for national security* [Doctoral dissertation, St. Clements University].

Ndime, D. (2005). Cooperation between states to combat the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. In A. Ayissi & I. Sall (Eds.), *Combating the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in West Africa: Handbook for the training of armed and security forces* (pp. xx–xx). United Nations Institute of Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).

Ninalowo, A. (1996). *The quest for democratization, military governance and trade unionism*. Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

Onuoha, G. (2006). Contextualising the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria's Niger Delta. *Africa Security Review, 15*(2), xx–xx.

Osimen, G., & Akintunde, B. (2015). Small arms and light weapons proliferation: Problems of national security in Nigeria. *The Journal of International Affairs and Global Strategy, xx*, xx–xx.

Osman, T. (2010). Redefining security. *Foreign Affairs, 68*(2), 162–177.

Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice*. Oxford University Press.