# NILDS Journal of Democratic Studies

### Copywright 2022

Published by

National Institute for

Legislative & Democratic Studies,

National Assembly,

Abuja.

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopy, recording or otherwise) without prior written permission of both the copyright holder and the publisher.

This journal is published subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, resold, hired out or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition being imposed on the subsequent user.

### **EDITORS**

Dr. Adewale ADEREMI Editor-in-Chief

Dr. Christopher O. NGARA Editor

Dr. Lohna BONKAT-JONATHAN Associate Editor

Dr. Ganiyu EJALONIBU &

Mr. Patrick N. UDEFUNA Editorial Secretaries

### **EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD**

Professor Abubakar O. SULAIMAN DG. NILDS - Chair

Professor Sam EGWU Independent National Electoral

Commission, Niger

Professor Adele JINADU Independent Researcher Lagos

Professor Habu MOHAMMED Bayero University, Kano

Professor Usman TAR Nigeria Defence Academy (NDA)

Professor Michael Abiodun ONI Babcock University, Ilishan-Remo

Professor Shola OMOTOLA Federal University, Oya-Ekiti

Professor Olajumoke YACOB-HALISO Babcock University, Ilishan-Remo

Professor Terkura TARNANDE Benue State University, Makundi

Professor Nuhu YAKUB Sokoto State University, Sokoto

Professor Rotimi SUBERU Bennington College, USA

**Information for Subscribers:** The Journal of Democratic Studies (NILDS-JDS) is published Bi-annually. For submission instructions, subscription and all other information visit *http:nilds.gov.ng* or email nildsjds@nils.gov.ng.

**Aims and Scope:** The NILDS Journal of Democratic Studies (NILDS-JDS) wishes to attract submissions of high-quality research covering all areas of democracy and political governance. It encourages the submissions of original contributions or authoritative research surveys that advances knowledge about democracy, politics, society, international relations, and legislative studies. The journal is interdisciplinary in scope and welcomes full-length articles, policy analysis, book reviews and research notes that draw from, or can advance knowledge and practice of democracy and governance. NILDS-JDS also provides a forum for interaction between policy and practice on questions of governance, law, constitutionalism, policy making and Institutional development, in order to catalyse policy debates among scholars, researchers, policy makers and other stakeholders. Articles to be published must meet the highest intellectual standard and be at the cutting edge of research in their field, making worthwhile contributions to democratic theory and practice. NILDS-JDS will only consider publishing manuscripts that make a significant contribution from either a theoretical, empirical perspective or a blend of both approach in terms of originality, rigour and reach. In particular, we do not wish to publish manuscripts which replicate existing results and/ or are limited in scope/applicability and thus more suitable to specialized field journals.

## **Contents**

Articles	Page
CITIZEN DIPLOMACY AND DEVELOPMENT:	7
RE-EVALUATING NIGERIA'S AFROCENTRIC	
FOREIGN POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABLE	
PEACE IN WEST AFRICA	
Olayemi Durotimi Akinwumi & Erunke Canice Erunke	
GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE AND	31
NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA:	
A STRATEGIC PANACEA FOR GOOD	
GOVERNANCE	
A. O. D. Okoro	
THE TRAVAILS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS	53
AND THE CHALLENGES OF DEVELOPMENT	
IN WEST AFRICA SINCE THE 1990s	
Abdulkadir Salaudeen & Abdulkabir Abdulwahab	
ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION	79
IN NIGERIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF	
2016 AND 2020 GUBERNATORIAL CONTESTS	
IN EDO STATE	
William E. Odion	

Articles	Page
THE ROLE OF DELEGATES AND EMERGENCE OF CREDIBLE LEADERS FROM PARTY	102
PRIMARIES IN NIGERIA DII Christian Tsaro	
HUMAN INSECURITY AND THE CHALLENGE OF VOTER TURNOUT AT ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA, 1999-2019 Moses Saa-Aondo Andza	122
PERVASIVE INSECURITY AND THE CHALLENGES FACING THE 2023 ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA Abdulrasheed Abdulyakeen	142
INTERROGATING GOVERNMENT'S MULTI-LEVEL APPROACHES TO ENDING ARMED BANDITRY IN THE NORTHWEST REGION OF NIGERIA Kolade Gabriel Olubiyo & Mohammed, Nasiru Ibrahim	172
IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBALIZATION ON TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS IN NIGERIA Anthony Emmanuel Edet, Patrick Nnadozie Udefuna & Quadri Kolapo Abayomi	196



# GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN NIGERIA: A STRATEGIC PANACEA FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

A. O. D. Okoro<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Okoro, A. O. D. Ph.D, Department of Army Transformation and Innovation, Army Headquarters Annex A Asokoro – Abuja. Email: aodng10@gmail.com, aodng03@yahoo.com

### **Abstract**

This paper examined government by the people and national security in Nigeria: A strategic panacea for good governance. Government by the people is a function of the "will" of the people. This was practiced by people of early centuries who consequently had leaders of repute that led them both in peace and war times. Nigeria whose independence dates back to October 1, 1960 has had series of democratic governance up to the current fourth republic. These republics, less the current fourth republic, were truncated by military coup d'état, which also truncated itself at several points. These resulted in short lived regimes, unstable socio-economic development and growth, poor imagery in the international community as well as barrages of sanctions and denial of various assistance from world economic bodies such as WTO, IMF, World Bank and the UN. It indeed mutilated Nigeria's national sanctity, integrity and sanity across the world's view of the nation. With these, hardship and social insecurity ensued, governance was threatened and national security become ridiculed due to the emanation of strikes, riots, revolts, demonstrations, protests, breakdown of law and order and decay in judicial processes. The theory of direct democracy was brought to bear in this paper while the variables were conceptualized. The paper relied on observations, open interaction as well as in-depth secondary data for collection of facts. On the whole it was found that government by the people has direct impacts and implications to national security being that it is people driven. Therefore, the ways forward remains that the "will" expressed by the people must be respected and should be the determinant for governance.

Keywords: Governance, Democracy, People, National Security, Will

### Introduction

Leadership of nations across the globe is often determined in different ways. Sometimes, they are determined by individuals who believe that they have the mettle to lead without recourse to how the people feel (authoritative, autocratic and dictatorship). At other times, they are determined by group of persons who live and propagate certain cultural heritage, especially in terms of monarchical transfer of leadership (traditional). In other parlance, leadership could be capitalist, socialist or communist in nature and practice as it exists in some blocs on the globe. In all of these, there are essential determinants that classify ways in which the people or the society are led or governed. These determinants could either be the person, belief system or culture and the environment. As controversial as this could be, Frank Herbert, an American author was quoted in a Premium Times publication of April 6, 2012 as stating that:

Good governance never depends upon laws, but upon the personal qualities of those who govern. Thus, it could be averred that the machinery of government is always subordinate to the will of those who administer that machinery. The most important element of government, therefore, is the method of choosing leaders.

Government by the people is a function of the "will" of the people. This have been practiced right from early centuries when the people wished and sought for leaders of repute that would lead them both in peace and war times. Their desires were often blessed by the Almighty and Supreme Being who helps them in actualizing their desire. According to the position of the Holy Book in 1 Samuel Chapter 9, Saul is chosen to be the first king over the Israelite people. The Israelites begged Samuel for the appointment of a king to rule over and lead them, and God rewarded them with Saul as a king. This pattern and desire by the people has continued in so many parts of Nigeria where leaders are sought for through the guidance of supernatural deities as it is in the southwest, south-east and south-south Nigeria. As was prescribed by Herbert, these leaders would often work with mechanisms that would either help to actualize the dreams and wills of the people or to help in achieving the leadership's

nightmare against the people resulting in uproars, regrets and negative wishes by the people for an urgent change.

In contemporary times, nations experience governance either through a democratic process of election or through an abrupt dislodge of government by coup d'état. These coup d'état which are often conducted by the military of the state, normally advance an autocratic or dictatorial front in leadership. As much as this is abhorred by international communities as well as the UN, it presents itself as a solution following a failure in a state's democratic process or leadership. Ordinarily, it is expected that the dictatorial government would last for a very short while to realign governance, after which it relinquishes governance to a democratic government. However, what is obtained is that the juntas tend to last longer than expected or necessary, advancing several reasons. This makes the affected nation fall out of favour with the world committee of nations and it further suffers sanctions which create hardship for the people. Thus, national security becomes impeded, fragile and of concern as national hardship gives rise to various crimes both against the people and the state.

A democratic setting reflects government that emanates from a credible electoral process. However, skirmishes often ensue due to lack of electoral integrity. Corruption arises, issues of maladministration, embezzlement and misappropriation of funds become the order of the day. At most, there is lack of accountability of governance to the people. This is contrary to the position of Benjamin (1826) who stated that "...all power is a trust and we are accountable for its exercise". Consequently, strikes, riots, revolts, demonstrations, protests, breakdown of law and order as well as toothlessness and decay in judicial processes give rise to ill situations. With these, governance is not only threatened, national security is exposed to ridicule. This has occurred in several countries across the globe such as Pakistan in Asia, Sudan in North Africa, Mali and currently, Burkina Faso both in West Africa in the African continent.

Nigeria whose independence dates back to October 1, 1960 has had series of democratic governance up to the current fourth republic. These republics, except the current fourth republic, were truncated by military coup d'état, some of which lasted for a short while and others lasted a long time. At some point,

coup d'état truncated each other resulting in short lived regimes, unstable socio-economic development and growth, poor imagery in the international community as well as barrages of sanctions and denial of assistance from world economic bodies such as WTO, IMF, World Bank and the UN. It indeed mutilated Nigeria's national sanctity, integrity and sanity across the world's view of the nation.

Be that as it may, the fourth republic which commenced in 1999 and has continued till date has witnessed a total of six democratic elections that led to six uninterrupted democratic governments to which citizens built and had their hopes of national survival, socio-economic tranquility, development and economic growth. It is obvious that the democratic dispensations have yielded much less than expected and this has been made evident by high poverty rates, increase in inflation and unemployment, dwindling national economy, recurring recessions as well as loss of value in the national currency. This has consequently resulted in abject poverty, massive suffering, economic hardship and serious loss of confidence in the government. These situations occur when incompetence which is a by-product of corrupt electoral processes with possible practice of vote buying and deception of the people (citizens) who sell their consciences and vote for it, prevails. At the end, the people suffer the aforementioned consequences in addition to increase in crime rate due to want for survival, social decadence and the replacement of national security with national insecurity.

### Conceptualisation

Conceptualisation of variables actuates open knowledge, sagacity and application. It is based on this that the two variables of *government by the people* and *national security* will be viewed from the light of other scholars.

Government by the people: Literally speaking, this concept could be described as the existence of a government elected, permitted and installed by not just the people but a true reflection of the people's will. Accordingly, John Wycliffe, an English Theologian, was pointed to be the originator of this quote and concept which he cited in the prologue

of his early translation of one of the holy books (the Holy Bible) in 1384 wherein he posited that "this Bible is for the government of the people, by the people and for the people."

This was further eulogized by a politician, Daniel Webster in 1830 who during a sitting of the US Senate made a presentation concerning his perception of the US constitution. He posited that the US constitution is the people's constitution, the people's Government, made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people. He reiterated and made it clear that the people of the US have declared that this constitution shall be the supreme law ".....we must either admit the proposition or dispute their authority". This simply means that government by the people from the position of Webster represents and remains a declaration by the people, not just by words but by act which speaks to their position.

Theodore Parker manifested this during his speech in 1850 to a New England Anti-Slavery Convention where he posited and declared that:

...There is what I call the American idea... This idea demands, as the proximate organization thereof, a democracy, that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people, of course, a government after the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God; for shortness' sake, I will call it the idea of freedom...

Abraham Lincoln in 1863 during his address at Gettysburg was unforgiving at remembering the sacrifices of their heroes past while elaborating on what the US government must depict. In his words:

.. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember

what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

As concise as these definitions could be, the concept remains definite in describing its sole make up. Government by the people is descriptive in its function. It designates that there is an action behind a collective will of a people, a representation of an answer focused towards an agreed direction. It is a targeted wish or answer gotten in unison by a people. Therefore, the government by the people is a pattern of leadership decided upon and chosen by the people for the collective good of all (the state).

National Security: National security seems a wholesome wide umbrella under which lie various forms of security like human security, economic security, financial security, institutional security, educational security, food (agricultural) security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, political security and the security of all aspects of human living and endeavour. These and many more are all points of interest that affects the people, thus they are a consideration by the people especially in times and terms of governance. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), security means protection from hidden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life in homes, offices or communities. It further defines it as the state of being or making safe, secure from danger. Wehmeier and Ashby (2002) however define security as protection against something that might happen in the future or as the activities involved in protecting a country, a building

37

or persons against threats or danger. Essentially, security must be related to the presence of peace, safety and happiness; and the protection of human and physical resources as well as the absence of crisis, threats or human injury amongst others as the presence of peace could facilitate progress.

Imobighe (1990, p.224) however opines that security is the freedom from threats to a nation's capability to defend and develop itself, promote its values and lawful interest. Zabadi (2005, p.3) on the other hand posits that "Security is a state in which people or things are not exposed to danger of physical or moral aggression, accident, theft or decline. This view is associated with the survival of the state and the preservation of its citizens."

The term "national security" does not appear to lend itself to any precise definition. This is partly because; the nature and concept of national security may vary from one state to the other. Like other contested concepts, the term contains ideological element that renders empirical evidence irrelevant as a means of resolving the debate. It is a very complex issue that is all encompassing and means different things to different people but fundamentally it has to do with the survival and safety of the nation state including but not limited to the exercise of military, economic, political and diplomatic powers in the society. To achieve national security, deliberate policies are enacted by the government to ensure the continued survival of the state to enable the citizens to carry out their daily legitimate activities.

However, two main tendencies in defining national security are identifiable. The first is the state-centered concept which views national security in terms of defence and survival of the state. The conception equates "defence" with "security" and bestows its protection to the military as the custodians of national security, and equates national security with the security of the state (conventional security).

The problem of this conception is that it is based on the erroneous belief that in all circumstances "nation" equates to a "state" and therefore the object of national security is the nation. But, this is not always the case in many countries. Giving the definition of a nation as a large community of people sharing a common

history, culture and language and living in a particular territory under one government, a nation may not always coincide with the state. For instance, the Nigerian state is made up of many ethnic nationalities with different cultural, religious and social backgrounds. Where they coincide, the object and purpose of the state will be to protect the sacred attributes of the nation. But where they do not, the state becomes an instrument in the hands of the dominating nationality to pursue and protect its survival. In this connection, it would appear that a state without nationality crisis might have the capacity to view its national security in terms of protecting its internal values from outside threat and interference. The 1999 constitution however, attempts to close the gap in this nation and state dichotomy perhaps, by describing Nigeria as a nation in its preamble and declaring it as a state in Section 2 (1) which says "we the people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria: Having firmly and solemnly resolved: To live in unity and harmony as one indivisible and indissoluble sovereign Nation...".

The second tendency in the definition of national security involves the factoring of the state and the individual into the constituents of the definition. According to this definition, security involves freedom from danger or threat to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and well-being of its people. It refers to the security of a nation-state, its institutions including the general well-being of its citizens. This takes into account the significance of human well-being in the security considerations of a country. According to Al-Mashal, (2010) national security should address "the physical, social and psychological quality of life of a society and its members both in domestic setting and within the larger regional and global system (non-conventional security).

Therefore, national security is viewed as the ability to ensure that the nation's citizens, resources, territorial integrity, economy as well as socio-cultural entities which are all subject to policy determination through governance are secure by the people. The availability of security by the people defines ownership of the nation by the people who also determine how the nation and its content are governed.

### **Theoretical Framework**

According to the theory of direct democracy, people (citizens) should vote directly and not through their representatives. Proponents of this theory is of the view that as much as political activity can be valuable, it require that the people (citizens) who remain participants, be educated so that they can check powerful elites put in position of rulership and leadership by them. This point is important owing to the fact that the people (citizens) do not rule themselves, but select through votes those who should rule them and remain accountable to the people.

Downs (1957) and Dahl (1989) which are proponents of this theory were of the view that the fundamental democratic principle is that, when it comes to binding collective decisions, each person in a political community is entitled to have his/her interests and be given equal consideration (not necessarily that all people are equally satisfied by the collective decision). They used the term polyarchy to refer to societies in which there exists a certain set of institutions and procedures which are perceived as leading to such democracy. Most sacred to these institutions is the regular occurrence of free and open elections which are used to select representatives who then manage all or most of the public policies of the society.

### The Tripod Stands of Democracy

The concept of democracy connotes the free and fair chances of citizens of nations to choose and elect their leaders to govern over them. It is a practice in which the choice is of the people, for the people and by the people thus forming the tripod upon which democracy sits. For the purposes of determining "freeness" and "fairness", certain principles guide the process. These principles are participation of citizens, transparency, equality, political tolerance, multiparty system, bill of rights, control the abuse of power, rule of law, free and fair elections, accepting election results, freedom of economy, accountability, human rights, and free courts.

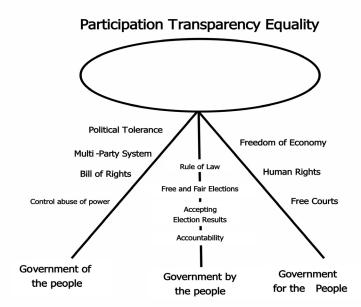


Fig 1.3 Diagram showing the Tripod Stand of Democracy

Source: Author's compilation

Democracy which rests on a tripod as shown in the diagram above is made formidable by the aforementioned principles. They are the grease which lubricates the value within which democracy exists. Better put, they are the legitimate succor for governance of a nation (or the people). The tripods of democracy are not just statements or representations, they are descriptive actions expected from citizens. This means that the government that is to exist would exist based on the will and choice of the people (government of the people), the government would be meant to serve the people (government for the people) as well as that the government would exist based on the total agreement and acceptance of the people. However, where the government comes short of the people's expectations, it can be repealed or impeached out of existence through appropriate processes by the people (government by the people). This descriptive definitions of the various pods elaborates how much and the extent to which democracy relies on and owes its existence to the people. The various attached principles reflect the wishes of the people and also describes the extent to which the people expect their well-being, socioeconomic welfare and security to be handled and managed by government instituted by them through democratic processes.

Government by the people which is one of the tripods of democracy connotes that governance would remain accountable to the people just as the people would, as a result of their accountability, determine their continuity in leadership. Thus, governance on this democratic tripod remains a people-centric mechanism.

### Historical Approach of "Government by the People"

In ancient times, societies were ruled by individuals with wealth, physical strength or power but even in those times, these persons had to work for the well-being of those they ruled. Also, these rulers most of the time, governed within the paradigms of their traditions, societal norms and laws. They also consulted the powerful members of society on some matters. Gradually, those with whom consultation became customary evolved into councils, estates and parliaments. The idea of consensus-seeking then broadened to include the masses, and this is how democracy came into being.

The birthplace of democracy was ancient Greece, particularly Athens. In the Greek city-state, democratic self-government was direct, the people in assembly discussed and voted on major public issues. There were no parliaments, no cabinets and no civil servants. Officials were selected by lot, but slaves and women were excluded from the vote. Not all the Greek city-states were democratic. Plato condemned democracy. He was of the view that people had neither the moral nor the intellectual capacity to participate in governance. Plato proposed that government be entrusted to a small elite of highly trained men, the philosopher-kings, who were of superior moral fiber and intellectual capacities. Aristotle, though he was more sympathetic towards Democracy than Plato, believed it to be a corrupt form of government. Although he felt that persons of education and wealth should have considerable influence in public affairs, he also held the view that the principle of numbers must be recognized if government was to be based on consent. Moreover, Aristotle stressed the rule of law, as opposed to the rule of men, which is why he is considered one of the

founders of the western tradition of constitutional government, basic to both autocratic and democratic societies.

Despite the great achievements of the Athenian city-state, the idea of democracy was not widely praised in the Ancient World. Athens (which was head of the Delian League of democratic city-states) was defeated by an oligarchic league, led by Sparta in 404 BC and after some time all the city-states whether democracies or oligarchies were incorporated into the new empire of Rome. The Romans, drawing inspiration from the Greek civilization, set up their first assembly named Comitia Curiata. It was the first step towards a democratic polity. Different tribes were represented in the assembly and they elected the magistrates. As Rome expanded and became more populous, the Romans reorganized their assembly and named it Comitia Centuriata. This assembly was larger and included representatives from the Army, and it decided how the city/country should be run. However, the assembly was restricted only to free male citizens, the wealthy and soldiers. The senate was the legislative body which approved laws and later on, also selected the people who would be members of the assembly. This made the senate a very powerful body. The men in the assembly elected the consuls. There was no real system of checks and balances between the three different bodies; the consuls, the senate and the assembly. The clientele system distorted the rudimentary democracy in Rome. It worked like a mafia. The members of the senate had faithful followers called clients, who were given full protection in exchange for unquestioning loyalty, including voting for them.

The early Roman republic began as a democracy, but the influence of the Patricians (the wealthy aristocratic families) and the system of clientalism weakened the democratic element and the majority of the citizens did not have a say in government matters. Julius Caesar gave the final blow to the Republic when he became Emperor. Here we can say that Europe was the birthplace of democracy, since it originated in the Greek city-states of 5 B.C. But before Aristotle's Latin version of Politics began to be circulated in the midthirteenth century, little was known in Europe of the government of Athens and Aristotle's strictures on democracy, which he found to be a corrupt form

of governance. This did not offer good grounds for emulating its achievements in mediaeval Europe. The Renaissance or Enlightenment became catalysts of change in Europe. Renaissance began with the revival of the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. Educated people started reading ancient texts, rediscovering knowledge that had been lost or forgotten during the Middle Ages also called the Dark Ages, when feudalism, the tyranny of the Christian church and wars kept the masses in Europe poor, downtrodden and illiterate.

The revival of ancient texts and their wider circulation, enticed the people of the Age of Enlightenment to write books on philosophy, and forms of government. In this regard, the invention of the printing press gave the literate people access to the works of philosophers and intellectuals. Thus the seeds had been planted which blossomed, bringing about major changes in European societies. The Protestant Movement in the fifteenth century which created a schism in the Christian church also contributed to the rise of modern democracy both directly or indirectly, though Martin Luther, the founder of the Protestant Movement, was a firm believer in the authority of princes and had no use for democracy. The Protestants and the Catholics, after fighting many long drawn-out and bloody wars, had to learn to coexist peacefully despite their religious differences. This new spirit of tolerance became an accepted practice in politics too. Also, the practice of self-government in some Protestant churches promoted the idea of self-government in politics as well. In 1689, the English Parliament passed the Bill of Rights, the ancestor of similar charters in other countries later on. The Bill of Rights emphasized the importance of the individual's freedom in many aspects of life, including government, law and religion. It also laid down the principle that political authority rests with parliament. Though it was a great step towards democracy, its immediate result was government dominated by the aristocrats rather than the common man.

The American Revolution which began as a movement against British rule of the American colonies also had a strong element of democratic idealism. The British kingdom had established colonies on American soil. As these expanded, the British government decided to impose taxes on the colonists. The colonists evoking the democratic principle argued that the British parliament

could not tax them because they did not have representation in it. The slogan "no taxation without representation" challenged British rule over the American colonies. In April 1775, British troops at Lexington exchanged fire with armed colonists. A month later the second continental congress wrote the Declaration of Independence. Thomas Jefferson, one of the leaders of the revolution drafted the declaration which pointed out that a ruler has power only if given by the people he governs. In 1783, the Treaty of Paris between the colonies and Britain was ratified and American independence became a reality. John Locke and Montesquieu undertook the task of writing the American constitution. Both Locke and Montesquieu were inspired by democracy in ancient Greece. The main objective of the authors of the American constitution was to establish a balance of power between the three branches of government – the executive, the legislature and the judiciary.

The Congress, the legislative branch, would make laws. The members of the Congress would be elected to represent the citizens. The Congress would have two houses - the House of Representatives (lower house) and the Senate (the upper house). The President would head the executive branch, assisted by a cabinet, advisors and other officials. Strong powers were given to the President, but not enough to make him a tyrant. The French revolution of 1789, radically transformed the social order in France and recast ancient democracy into a new mould. The French revolution was the first successful attempt by a European nation to establish a government by the people. French revolutionary ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity not only affected France but also the whole of Europe, for the Napoleonic wars that followed the French revolution, spread these ideas throughout the continent. The mediaeval institutions of monarchy and feudalism got a severe blow from the revolution and while monarchy endured in a diluted form, feudalism could not survive in Europe. The French revolution promoted the idea of democracy and popular sovereignty in Europe. The idea of popular sovereignty is a predominantly modern doctrine, designed to grant legitimacy to political institutions that did not exist in the Grecian polity. Again the system of representation of the masses in modern states, had no place at all in the politics of ancient Athens.

As already pointed out, democratic ideas spread throughout Europe in the Napoleonic era (1799-1815). Napoleon transformed the conquered areas by abolishing feudalism, and class privilege. The Congress of Vienna (1815) was convened by the Great Powers of Europe after the defeat of the 'parvenu' emperor Napoleon. Its aim was to restore the ancient regime and to stop the consolidation of French revolutionary ideals which had begun to transform societal norms in Europe. The Congress restored and legitimized the monarchies of Europe, and the aristocrats and the privileged classes were given back the privileges that they had lost. The so-called 'Holy Alliance' formed between Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria, protected the outcomes of the Vienna Congress. Though the Holy Alliance was mainly a military partnership to quell any future revolutions in Europe, it also expressed the determination of these great powers to thwart the resurgence of liberal and democratic trends in Europe. The July Revolution of 1830 and the February Revolution of 1848 in France triggered revolts and revolutions in other parts of Europe and paved the way for constitutional government. These revolutions revived the idea of democracy introduced by the French Revolution of 1789, albeit in a rudimentary form. The Industrial Revolution also contributed to the evolution of democracy. In Europe, the Industrial Revolution created a middle class, which as it became stronger, struggled for the right to vote and eventually achieved it. This middle class organized itself in the form of interest groups and labour unions and put pressure on their governments to grant them political participation.

Democracy progressed slowly and gradually and in most parts of Europe universal suffrage was given first only to the propertied male population, then extended to large sections of the working class in the cities and the countryside and ultimately to women. European women launched a prolonged and brave struggle called the suffragette movement to gain equality and the right to vote. Slavery was abolished first in theory and much later in practice. The freeing of the Afro-American slaves by Abraham Lincoln after the American civil war in the mid-nineteenth century dealt the final blow to this abhorrent practice of enslaving human beings. However, the blacks in the US had to struggle for another hundred years by waging the civil rights movement, before they were fully recognized as equal to the whites before the law. Democracies were

working well, though slowly when the First World War broke out. The war ended with the defeat and collapse of the German, the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman empires. In 1919, the Weimar Republic replaced Germany's Kaiser and his supporters – the Junkers (the land owning aristocratic military class). Several new states emerged in Eastern Europe and the Baltic region. All of these were committed to democracy, but in different degrees. Women were enfranchised in most of the old and new states. Political parties emerged in the European democracies, which represented the industrial working class. They adopted names such Journal of European Studies as the Social Democratic Party, the Socialist Party or the Labour Party. Their aim was to eventually change the economic system, from capitalism to socialism, but not through revolution. In this way they differed from the Marxist school of thought.

The socialists argued that political democracy was meaningless unless accompanied by economic democracy that would provide a reasonable standard of living, adequate education, security and leisure for all. The communist revolution in Russia during the First World War overthrew the Russian monarchy and the privileged aristocracy, bringing into power the Bolsheviks, led by V. I. Lenin. In the inter-war years in Italy, the Fascist party led by Benito Mussolini, seized power. Similar movements arose in some other European countries, including Germany and fascism became a scourge. Fascism was ultra-nationalistic, racist and militaristic, and after the Great Depression hit Europe in 1929, fascism became more widespread. In 1933, Adolf Hitler led the Nazi party to power in Germany and within a few years fascist regimes took over in Spain and Japan.

The aggressiveness and expansionism of the fascist regimes led to the Second World War, in which the democratic western states along with the Soviet Union confronted the fascist-ruled countries. Though the fascist era lasted less than 25 years, it wrought immense damage to the socio-political and economic structure of Europe. Fascism could only be dislodged through an all-out war against the three main fascist powers – Germany, Italy and Japan. After the war, the parliamentary system was adopted by the West European countries, which had been under fascist regimes or Nazi occupation. Democracy became

well-entrenched in Western and Nordic Europe. The Soviet Union, breaking the promises it had made to the allied powers in the war time conferences imposed 'people's democracies' on East and Central Europe which it had liberated from fascism. It then became the Soviet Union's aim to spread communism throughout the world. World affairs were now dominated by two opposing power blocs one led by the Soviet Union and the other by the US. For nearly 45 years, the liberal democratic West and the communist East confronted each other in what is known as the cold war. The cold war ended in 1989-1991 with the collapse of the communist regimes in Central and East Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Soviet-style communism enforced one-party rule, strengthened by the KGB, the secret police and made it possible for an individual and his clique to exercise dictatorial powers.

Unlike fascism, Soviet communism lasted for more than seven decades, but ultimately collapsed in 1991. The former communist countries adopted the western multi-party political model. Though the change was difficult, the Eastern European states successfully completed their transitional phase and several of them have now become part and parcel of the European Union and members of NATO. The failure of communism discredited the totalitarian system and encouraged democratic movements in different parts of the world. Here, the best example is that of South Africa, where the white minority racist regime crumbled between 1990 and 1994, buckling under international pressure and the prolonged and persistent anti-apartheid movement spearheaded by the African National Congress. The country's first elections were held based on universal suffrage and Nelson Mandela the hero of the anti-apartheid movement became the first black President of the country. He pursued a policy of reconciliation with the white minority, instead of unleashing revenge and reprisals against the former elites. Coming back to the post Second World War period, the defeated states - apart from the countries occupied by the Soviet army, adopted democratic constitutions and accepted the verdict of the electorate. Thus, West Germany and Italy in Europe and Japan in Asia became democratic states. After the Second World War, circumstances forced Britain, France and other European powers to give independence to their colonies in Asia and Africa. Parliamentary regimes were set up in the colonies by the

departing colonial powers, but few of these thrived. Here one can point to so many reasons for the failure of democracy in the developing world. Among the most prominent causes was dictatorship by charismatic leaders or army commanders, mass poverty, illiteracy, political inexperience, ethnic and regional conflicts and the selfish agendas of the former colonial masters and the two superpowers, which emerged after the Second World War.

There is an ongoing struggle to establish democracy in many developing countries. Until recently, an exception was the Middle East and North Africa, where dictatorships, emirates and monarchies are common. With the recent wave of democratic movements in the Arab world, beginning with Tunisia, where mass protests dislodged Ben Ali's government, the Middle East seems to be going through an awakening. Although one-party rule, dictatorships and absolute monarchies still exist, a semblance of multi-party democracy has been introduced in some countries.

### Implications of Government by the People to National Security

Implications of government by the people to national security are enormous. They range from the positive lights to negative lights.

Positive Light: When a government is chosen and instituted by the people, the nation has the likelihood of experiencing good governance, accountability to the people, open audit by the people on the achievements of the instituted government and open defence by the people in favour of government actions. The defence by the people would be due to the fact that the people are being carried along in government programmes. There will also be plans for the nation as well as periodically seeking the views of the people on issues through deliberations, debates and public opinion. In these ways, amongst others, national security will be enhanced as there will hardly be the existence of public protests, agitations, riots, and insurgency and so on, however, it does not exclude the fact that rifts and skirmishes, which may though be manageable, may exist. This is in tandem with the position of Oprah (2007) who in her speech during the opening of the Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy stated that:

It can be said that there are four basic and primary things that the mass of people in a society wish for: to live in a safe environment, to be able to work and provide for themselves, to have access to good public health and to have sound educational opportunities for their children." "It is better to lead from behind and to put others in front, especially when you celebrate victory when nice things occur. You take the front line when there is danger. Then people will appreciate your leadership.

**Negative Light:** Instituted government may exist or come to fruition due to an agreement by the people. As much as the desire of the people would be that their chosen and instituted government is to represent their interests as a people and nation, the possibility of the government to veer off this expectation exists. The government, instead of meeting the aspiration of the people and nation, which it stood for prior to being chosen, may decide to act on its will against the will of the people. This will not encourage peaceful coexistence, good governance and a united nation. Instead, it would engender political instability, constant protests, and loss of confidence in the instituted government, riots and chaos, amongst other skirmishes. This in turn threatens the achievement of national security and coercion in the nation as the instituted government will no longer have a stronghold on the affairs of the state.

# Challenges Militating against the Achievement of Government by the People

As much as government by the people is comely, adorable and a reputable approach to governance, actualizing it has some challenges to contend with. These challenges would often militate against its actualization from people whose laid down intents are geared towards unscrupulous and nefarious activities while in governance. These militating challenges include corruption, lack of proper political education, high cost of governance, coup d'états, weak democratic institutions, poverty, socio-economic downturn and ethnic differences. Others include absence of self will, propagation of money politics by politicians, electoral malpractice, judicial misrepresentations and malpractice,

values, tradition and religion as well as greed for taxation. However, personality and party politic including willful disregard to promises made to the people prior to being elected, loss of attention and disregard to manifestoes made to the people and sentimentalism as an approach in making appointees instead of the use and application of technocratism, are major challenges militating against the achievement of government by the people. By this, leadership remains faulty, incoherent and directionless resulting in economy downturns, redundancy, national development and possible uproar by the people against the government of the day.

### Way Forward

The need to have a government by the people cannot be overemphasized. This is because a government by the people does not require the sale of consciences or votes but a deployment of support to a governance that would enhance competence in terms of national growth and development, socio-economic development, national security and the well-being of citizens through good governance. It is imperative to note therefore, that respect for the "will" of the people is a pedestal upon which government by the people rides. It is with this awareness in the mind of a people-oriented government that good governance rides. It gives birth to dividends which are enjoyed by the people as a fruit of true democracy. On the whole, national security is preserved and protected while insecurity is relegated and abased.

### Conclusion

Government by the people is not a new phenomenon or practice but has existed over time and centuries. It is a postulation that has been clarioned to be the basement for good governance and democracy. It has been actuated as the root source of both good governance and dividends of governance if only the will of this concept is respected. Its virtues lie in the fact that it gives birth to national security instead of insecurity. Therefore, the need to embrace this concept cannot be overemphasised but embraced for better and realistic governance and democracy.

### References

Downs, A. (1957). An economic theory of democracy. Harper Collins College. ISBN 0-06-041750-1

Robert, A.D (1989). Democracy and its critics. New Haven: Yale University Press, ISBN 0-300-04938-2

Roberto A.F (2013). South Africa Published December 5, 2013 Last updated July 20, 2022. https://qz.com/africa/93070/the-wisdom-of-mandela-quotes-from-the-most-inspiring-leader-of-the-20<sup>th</sup> century/#:~:text=%E2%80%9CIt%20is%20better%20to%20 lead,people%20will%20ap preciate%20your%20leadership.%E2%80%9D Accessed on 05/10/22.

Book Browse collections. Well Known Expressions – "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". https://www.bookbrowse.com/expressions/detail/index.cfm/expression\_number /600/government-of-the-people-by-the-people-for-the-people. Accessed on 05/10/22.

Tasneem, S. (2012). The Evolution of Democracy through the Ages: Focus on the European Experience. *Journal of European Studies*. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/32857 6959\_The\_Evolution\_of\_Democracy\_through\_the\_Ages\_Focus\_on\_the\_European\_Experience. Accessed on 19/10/22.

John, M. (1970). The Contemporary World: A Historical Introduction (London: Methven Educational Ltd., 25-26.

John, D. (2005). Democracy. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 6-20.

George S. (2008). Sorensen, Democracy and Democratization (Aarhus: Westview Press,).

Robert D. (1998). On Democracy (New York: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 37.

David R (1985). A Dictionary of Modern Politics (London: Europa Publications, 1985), 302-303.

Colliers Encyclopedia (1986), no.8 (New York: Macmillan Educational Company,), 75.

Barrie A, Gary K.B, Richard H & Ben R. (2002). Politics: An Introduction. 2nd edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2002). pp 159. http://www.political\_information.net/encyclopedia/de mocracy.htm. Accessed on 05/10/22.

Lyman, T.S. (1990). Contemporary Political Ideologies: A Comparative Analysis, 8th edition. California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 37.