COURSE GUIDE	
POL 751 POLITICS OF A	AFRICAN STATES
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

The course was designed to educate students on Political background of African states; Problems of nation-building and national integration; Search for continental unity. Politics of dependence and development, the state and society, political economy, ethnicity and the national question, internal peace and security, pan-Africanism, economic integration, and Africa in world politics.

CONTENTS

Introduction	V
Course Aims	vi
Course Objectives	vi
Working through the Course	vi
Course Materials	vi
Study Units	vi
References for Further Readings	vii
Course Overview/Presentation	viii
What you will Need in this Course	ix
Tutors and Tutorials	ix
Assessment Exercises	Х
Tutor-Marked Assignment	Х
Final Examination and Grading	Х
How to Get the Most from This Course	Х
Conclusion	xii
Summary	xii

INTRODUCTION

Africa was the first environment on the globe where survival of human race was recorded. African societies had gone through three major historical transformation; pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era. The pre-colonial epoch was the period where African societies were managed and governed by their people depending on the need, space and scale of time. During that era, there were empires and kingdoms serving as state apparatus for governance under the dictatorship of kings and chiefs. The colonial period was an era of absolute domination, African kings and chiefs were conquered and their mandate was taken over by the colonialists. In 1884, European powers met at Berlin and divided African geographical landscape among themselves that was the beginning of formal colonization of African societies. The colonial period span for almost a century and throughout that period Africans were under the yoke of European imperialists. The colonialist brought both political and economic structures that are alien to African societies. The post-colonial period signified the era when African countries obtained their political independence from the colonialists through tireless struggle by the African nationalist. From the onset of independence, African countries were confronted with myriad of daunting challenges, ranging from dwindling economic development, political instability, insecurity, ethnic tension among others. It is therefore imperative for student of African politics to be acquainted with the three important epoch or transformation that African societies had gone through.

COURSE AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The general aim of this course is to provide an in-depth knowledge on African politics, essentially as it relate to contemporary African states that are characterized by political instability, insecurity and socio-economic problems among others.

The specific objectives of the course are to:

- a) Introduce students to historical evolution of African states.
- b) Educate students on the African political landscape.
- c) Acquaint learners with the political and socio-economic challenges facing African states.
- d) Educate students on the responses/efforts made by African leaders to address the daunting challenges.

WORKING THROUGH THE COURSE

To complete the course, you are required to read the study units and other related materials. You will also need to undertake practical exercises for which you need a pen, a note-book, and other materials that will be listed in this guide. The essence of the exercises is to aid you in understanding the concepts being presented. At the end of each unit, you will be required to submit written assignment for assessment purposes.

At the end of the course, you are expected to write a final examination.

THE COURSE MATERIAL

In all of the courses, you will find the major components thus:

- 1) Course Guide
- 2) Study Units
- 3) Textbooks
- 4) Assignments

STUDY UNITS

There are 20 study units in this course. They are:

- Unit 1 State formation of Pre-colonial Africa.
- Unit 2 Africa during Colonial Era.
- Unit 3 Post-Colonial African States.
- Unit 4 Post-Colonial African States and Wider World.

Module 2 The Problems of Nation Building and National Integration in Africa

- Unit 1 Political Instability-Military Intervention.
- Unit 2 Violent Conflict.
- Unit 3 The Quest for African Unity.
- Unit 4 Economic Cooperation/Integration.

Module 3 Political Economy of Africa

- Unit 1 Politics of Development and Dependence
- Unit 2 Africa's Economic Dependence.
- Unit 3 Africa's Economic Reforms.
- Unit 4 Africa's Debt Burden

Module 4 Ethnicity and National Question

- Unit 1 Dimension of African Ethnicity.
- Unit 2 Types and Characteristics of African Ethnic Context.
- Unit 3 Types of Ethnic Minority Groups in Africa.
- Unit 4 Ethnicity and National Question and How to Manage Ethnic Conflicts.

Module 5 Peace and Security in Africa

- Unit 1 Nature and Scope of Security Challenges.
- Unit 2 Continental Response on Peace and Security in Africa.
- Unit 3 International Response on Peace and Security in Africa.
- Unit 4 Response of Some Major Sub-Regional Organizations on Peace and Security in Africa.

As you can observe, the course begins with the basics and expands into a more elaborate, and detailed form. All you need to do is to follow the instructions as provided in each unit. In addition, some self-assessment exercises have been provided with which you can test your understanding and progress with the text and determine if your study is fulfilling the stated objectives.

TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES

At the end of each unit, you will find a list of relevant reference materials which you may wish to consult as the need arises, even though efforts was made to provide you with the most important information you need to pass this course. However, you are encouraged, as a postgraduate student, to inculcate the habit of consulting as many relevant materials as you could within a scale of time available to you. In particular, be sure to consult whatever material you are advised to consult before attempting any exercise.

COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME

There are 20 units in this course. You are to spend one week on each unit. One of the advantages of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) is that you can read and work through the designed course materials at your own pace, and at your own convenience. The course material replaces the lecturer that stands before you physically in the classroom.

All the units have similar features. Each unit begins with the introduction and ends with summary and reference/suggestions for further readings.

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Assignment (End-of- Unit)
Course Guide			
MODULE: 1.	POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF AFRICA		
Unit: 1	State formation of Pre-colonial Africa	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit: 2	Africa During Colonial Era	Week 2	Assignment 1
Ünit: 3	Post-Colonial African States	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit: 4	Post-Colonial African States and Wider World.	Week 4	Assignment 1
MODULE: 2	THE PROBLEMS OF NATION BUILDING AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA.		
<u>Unit: 1</u>	Political Instability – Military Intervention	Week 5	Assignment 1
Ünit: 2	Violent Conflicts.	Week 6	Assignment 1
Únit: 3	The Quest for African Unity.	Week 7	Assignment 1
Ünit: 4	Economic Cooperation/Integration.	Week 8	Assignment 1
MODULE: 3	POLITICAL ECOBONY OF AFRICA		
Unit: 1	Politics of Development and Dependence	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit: 2	Africa's Economic Dependence.	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit: 3	Africa's Economic Reforms.	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit: 4	Africa's Debt Burden	Week 12	Assignment 1

MODULE:	ETHNICITY AND		
4	NATIONAL QUESTION.		
Unit: 1	Dimension of African Ethnicity.	Week 13	Assignment 1
Unit: 2	Types and Characteristics of	Week 14	Assignment 1
	African Ethnic Context.		
Unit: 3	Types of Ethnic Minority	Week 15	Assignment 1
	Groups in Africa.		
Unit: 4	Ethnicity and National Question	Week 16	Assignment 1
	and How to Manage Ethnic		
	Conflicts.		
MODULE:	PEACE AND SECURITY IN		
5	AFRICA.		
Unit: 1	Nature and Scope of Security	Week 17	Assignment 1
	Challenges.		
Unit: 2	Continental Response on Peace	Week 18	Assignment 1
	and Security in Africa.		
Unit: 3	International Response on	Week 19	Assignment 1
	Peace and Security in Africa.		
Unit: 4	The Response of Some Major	Week 20	Assignment 1
	Sub-Regional Organizations on		
	Peace and Security in Africa.		
	Revision	Week 21	
	Examinations	Week 22	
	Total	22 Weeks	

WHAT YOU WILL NEED IN THE COURSE

There will be some recommended texts at the end of each module that you are expected to purchase. Some of these texts will be available in most of libraries across the country. In addition, your computer proficiency skill will be useful to you in accessing internet materials pertaining to this course. It is crucial that you create time to study these materials diligently.

TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

The course provides fifteen (15) hours of tutorials in support of the course. You will be notified of the dates and locations of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor as soon as you are allocated a tutorial group. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, and watch you as you progress in the course. Send in your tutor-marked assignments promptly, and ensure you contact your tutor on any difficulty with your self-assessment exercise, tutor-marked assignment, and the grading of an assignment. Kindly note that your attendance and contributions to discussions as well as sample questions are to be taken seriously by you as they will aid your overall performance in the course.

ASSESSMENT EXERCISES

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First is the Tutor-Marked Assignments; second is a written examination. In handling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The tutor-marked assignments are now being done online. Ensure that you register all your courses so that you can have easy access to the online assignments. Your score in the online assignments will account for 30 per cent of your total coursework. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination. This examination will account for 70 per cent of your total course mark.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAs)

Usually, there are four online tutor-marked assignments in this course. Each assignment will be marked over ten percent. The best three (that is the highest three of the 10 marks) will be counted. This implies that the total mark for the best three assignments will constitute 30% of your total course work. You will be able to complete your online assignments successfully from the information and materials contained in your references, and study units.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for Pol: 751: Politics of African States will be two hours duration and have a value of 70% of the total course grade. The examination will consist of multiple choice and fill-in-the-gaps questions which will reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. It is important that you use adequate time to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

- 1. There are 20 units in this course. You are to spend one week in each unit. In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suites you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do. The study units tell you when to read and which are your text materials or recommended books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you in a class exercise.
- 2. Each of the study units follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with other units and the course as a

whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives let you know what you should be able to do, by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chance of passing the course.

- 3. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from your reference or from a reading section.
- 4. The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor or visit the study center nearest to you. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.
- 5. Read this course guide thoroughly. It is your first assignment.
- 6. Organize a study schedule Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units.
- 7. Important information; e.g. details of your tutorials and the date of the first day of the semester is available at the study center.
- 8. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
- 9. Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it.
- 10. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind in their coursework. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please let your tutor or course coordinator know before it is too late for help.
- 11. Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
- 12. Assemble the study materials. You will need your references for the unit you are studying at any point in time.
- 13. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
- 14. Visit your study center whenever you need up-to-date information.
- 15. Well before the relevant online TMA due dates, visit your study centre for relevant information and updates. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination.
- 16. Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor. When you are

confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to space your study so that you can keep yourself on schedule.

17. After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the course guide).

CONCLUSION

This is a theoretical as well as empirical course and so, you will get the best out of it if you can read widely, listen to as well as consult relevant text books and web sites that deals with African politics, ultimately you will be well informed about the course.

SUMMARY

This Course Guide has been designed to furnish you with the information you need for a fruitful experience in the course. In the final analysis, how much you get from it depends on how much you put into it in terms of learning time, effort and planning.

Wish you all the best in POL: 751 and in the entire program!

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ACRONYMES/ABBREVIATIONS

AEC: African Economic Community AU: African Union **DPKO:** Department of peacekeeping Operations DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo ECCAS: Economic Community of Central African States **ECF: Electoral Commission Forum** ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States ECOMOG: ECOWAS Monitoring Group EISA: Electoral Institute of Southern Africa EU: European Union FAO: Food and Agricultural Organization IGAD: Inter-governmental Authority on Development. IMF: International Monetary Fund NEPAD: New Partnership on African Development OAU: Organization of African Unity. PEMM: Principles for Election Management Monitoring and Observation. **ODA:** Official Development Assistance. **OPDS:** Organs on Politics, Defense and Security SADCC: Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference. SADC: Southern Africa Development Committee, SOE: State Own Enterprises. UAM: Union of the Arab Maghreb. UN: United Nations. UNDP : United Nations Development Program. UNECA: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. UNHRC: United Nations High Commission for Refugee, UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund UNFP: United Nations Population Fund, WFP: World Food Program. WHO: World Health Organization

MAIN COURSE

CONTENTS

Module 1	Political Background of Africa	
Unit 1	State formation of Pre-colonial Africa	1
Unit 2	Africa during Colonial Era	7
Unit 3	Post-Colonial African States	11
Unit 4	Post-Colonial African States and Wider World	15
Module 2	The Problems of Nation Building and	
	National Integration in Africa	
Unit 1	Political Instability – Military Intervention	21
Unit 2	Violent Conflicts	27
Unit 3	The Quest for African Unity	33
Unit 4	Economic Cooperation/Integration	41
Module 3	Political Economy of Africa	
Unit 1	Politics of Development and Dependence	47
Unit 2	Africa's Economic Dependence	52
Unit 3	Africa's Economic Reforms	57
Unit 4	Africa's Debt Burden	62
Module 4	Ethnicity and National Question	
Unit 1	Dimension of African Ethnicity	66
Unit 2	Types and Characteristics of African Ethnic	
	Context	70
Unit 3	Types of Ethnic Minority Groups in Africa	74
Unit 4	Ethnicity and National Question and How	
	to Manage Ethnic Conflicts	78
Module 5	Peace and Security in Africa	
Unit 1	Nature and Scope of Security Challenges	84
Unit 2	Continental Response on Peace and Security	
	in Africa	88
Unit 3	International Response on Peace and Security	00
0 0	in Africa	93
Unit 4	Response of Some Major Sub-Regional	10
	Organizations on Peace and Security in Africa.	96

MODULE 1 POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF AFRICA

Introduction

Africa was the earliest known evidence anywhere in the world for the existence of man and emergence of human society that came from East and North-East Africa as result of series of discoveries (Fage, 1978:3). African states had gone through three major historical phases; precolonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Each of this phase or era was and is being shaped and conditioned by various forces and factors, and associated dynamics. There were variations in the state constructions that were either developed by Africans with the context of the objective conditions of their divergent local realities during colonial and postcolonial eras. The various state formations that were developed by Africans and those imposed on them by external powers were essentially, reflections of the world views and interest of dominant classes (Kieh 2008:53). In fact, a wide range of literature, as it relate to state formation in Africa has been stressed by a number of historians and political scientists. However, for easy comprehension, three main stages; precolonial, colonial and post-colonial periods would be considered. However, the module also covers post-colonial African states and wider world. The module comprises the following units:

- Unit 1 Africa- pre-colonial state formation
- Unit 2 Africa During colonial Era
- Unit 3 Post-colonial African states
- Unit 4 Post-Colonial African States and Wider World

Unit 1 Africa- Pre-colonial State Formation

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Out come
- 1.3 State formation in the pre-colonial Africa
- 1.4 Factors that led to evolution of state in pre-colonial Africa
- 1.5 Types of state in the pre-colonial Africa
- 1.6 Political system in pre-colonial Africa
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 References/further readings/Web sources
- 1.9 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

1.1. Introduction

Africa has been inhabited for over three million years. Many states evolved at around first century A.D., some of these states were large and many were small, However, the state system continued to change until the nineteenth century, either by way of expansion or contraction. Political, social and economic institutions were established and perhaps adjusted essentially, to suit various times and needs to adapt to the environment and respond creatively to the new idea from within and outside (Falola, 1997:3-4). In fact, hunting, farming and pastoralism were the common means of survival. Leadership emanated from kinship, the gradual change in population and struggle for means of survival expanded the political set up of the then societies, from small to larger perspective. Authorities were recognized and boundaries also defined. The unit discusses state formation in the pre-colonial Africa, factors that led to the evolution of state. Equally, the unit stresses types of state in the pre-colonial Africa.

1.2. Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit student should be able to:

- Explain factors that led evolution of state in pre-colonial Africa
- Mention three stages of state formation in pre-colonial Africa.
- Enumerate six political system of pre-colonial Africa as purported by Murdack.

1.3 State formation in pre-colonial Africa

1.4 Factors that Led to Evolution of State in Pre-colonial Africa

There was much silence on the process of state formation in pre-colonial Africa. In spite of this, a wide range of discourse had been advanced by a number of scholars essentially, as it relate to the factors that led to the state formation in the pre-colonial Africa. First, state formation in precolonial Africa started to emerge as a result of struggle for survival that eventually led to cultivation of land to provide livelihood, consequent upon this, there was erection of home/shelter, and this brought about expansion in population. Where it was not habitable they had to move and look for shelter. Ultimately, this was how integration/ social and political groups begins to emerge that gave birth to creation of empires and kingdoms in Africa. Second, migration as it was evidenced by many communities in pre-colonial Africa also was a key to the emergence of state formation in the pre-colonial Africa. Third, agriculture was one of the significant factors that transformed pre-colonial Africa into social and political entity. Small agriculture communities were organized mainly for crop production.

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

1.	Briefly	outline	three	factors	that	are	of	importance	in	the
	emergence of state in the pre-colonial Africa.									

1.5 Types of state formation in the pre-colonial Africa

In an attempt to discuss state formation in the pre-colonial Africa, some scholars pointed out three major type of state in the pre-colonial Africa. The states are as follow:

Primitive or stateless society: As pointed out earlier, primitive i. people were just like foragers. There was no shelter then, their major means of survival was hunting, it was latter agriculture became famous pathway of survival. When the erection of home/shelter began, that was what brought the emergence of integration inform of groups. These groups could be described as a kind state. They mainly grouped together for security and agricultural purposes. In this type of state, there was no formal constituted authority neither political structure, the society used to be egalitarian rather than one based on hierarchy. Most of them were bound by ties of kinship and kinship ties also influenced relations between neighboring polities. In fact, the people of communities linked by an assumed common ancestor could see themselves as forming part of associations sometimes described as clans or tribes (Yandaki, 2015:100). Communities in stateless societies were independent unit.

Horton outlined four definition of the stateless society, particularly, as it relates to West Africa:

First, in a stateless society there was little concentration of authority. It is difficult to point to any individual or group of men as the rulers. Second, such authority roles as exist, affect a rather limited sector of the lives of those subject to them. Third, the wielding of authority as a specialized full-time occupation is virtually unknown. Forth, The unit within which people feel an obligation to settle their disputes according to agreed rules and without recourse to force tends to be relatively small (Yandaki, 2015: 85).

ii. *Demi- state:* This refers to state in between stateless society and fully organized state. In this type of state communities were not fully autonomous, but there exist some form of political structure.

The ruling group has at its disposal means of coercion.

iii. *State (Monarchies):* The earliest polities to develop characteristics of a state were some areas of lower Nile and some parts of North

Africa. In the Lower Nile region, such polities developed since the fourth millennium BC. But for North Africa, it was established at end of the first millennium BC. This early states includes, Carthage, Berber kingdom, Greek and Roman colonies etc. In the West Africa there were states such as Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Hausa kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu etc. iv.

Self- Assessment Exercise 2

State and discuss three types of state in the pre-colonial Africa

1.6 Political system in Pre-colonial Africa

Variant opinions were advanced by different scholars particularly, as regard to formation of state vis-a-vis political system. However, according to George Murdock, there were about six distinguishable political systems in pre-colonial Africa:

- 1. *Primitive Democracy:* In this type of political system leadership and a measure of prestige but not authority are vested on the hands of headman and a council of elders or family head. Headman had no power to compel compliance, he only pursue or advice, decisions were usually arrived by discussion and consensus.
- 2. *Gentile aristocracy:* This system was exclusive to Bedouin Arabs and the Tuareg. Their structure rest primarily on a kinship foundation, specifically a segmentary lineage system. This is a form of coercive power, based on superiority of weapons, mobility through the camel or horse. It is through such advantage the powerful kin group conquered weaker groups and reduced them to slave status.
- 3. *The Berber republic:* This is highly distinctive and confined to the Arabized parts of North Africa. In this republic only emergency of war can determine who becomes the leader, otherwise, no chief or other authoritative functionaries exist. At local level government or leadership is conducted by a democratic assembly of all adult males, headed by an elected president who serves for one year. At district level authority is vested in a council or senate with similar elective procedure; it is also composed of a representative of each lineage of the district.
- 4. *Gada republic:* This type of political system was found mostly in East Africa and some of southern Ethiopia. This form of rule rest on a structure of formal age-grades not kinship. Upward movement is by initiation and usually the set occupying the junior grade serve as warriors. The senior set on the other hand served as the respected elders and advisers but exercise no political authority, which is invariably reserved for the members of the set occupying the grade behind them, which is the second from the top in

hierarchy. By virtue of its integrative role on entire tribes, according to Murdock, the Gada republic becomes a genuine state. Chiefs, headmen, judges, and advisers as well as religious functionaries existed where the system had developed.

- 5. Oriental Despotism: Oriental despotism was adopted from Wittfogel. According to them and cited Pharaonic Egypt as a classical example. It is an absolute monarchy, hierarchically bureaucratized, but built on massive monuments created by corvee labor, with a habit of conspicuous consumption of its rulers as well as complete domination of the state over property, religion and other potential sources of power. Other example of this type of political system was found in North Africa by Rome, Byzantium, the Ottoman Turks, the Arabs and the state of Nubia.
- 6. *African Despotism:* This type of political system was found in Negro Africa and extending to Madagascar and to the Cushiti-speaking Sidamo people of southern Ethiopia (Yandaki, 2015:58-61).

Self- Assessment Exercise 3.

• Enumerate six political system of pre-colonial Africa as purported by Murdock.

1.7 Summary

In the unit we have discussed factors that led to the formation of state in the pre-colonial Africa. Before the formation of state the then people were stateless i.e. they lacked sense belongings, because no kinship and group. It was when they erecting shelters/home, the thinking of having semblance of state started. The factors that led to the creation of state in pre-colonial Africa were; farming, population expansion among others. The unit equally stressed three types of state in pre-colonial Africa; primitive/stateless, demi and monarchies. The unit also discussed political systems of pre-colonial Africa, which include; primitive democracy, gentile aristocracy among others.

1.8 References/Further Reading

Fage, J.D. (1978:3). A History of Africa. London, The Anchor Press Ltd.

- Falola, T. (1997). Africa in Perspective. In Ellis, S. (ed.). *Africa Now: People, Policies and Institutions*. London, James Currey.
- Yandaki, A.I. (2015). *The State in Africa: A Critical Study in Historiography and Political Philosophy.* Kaduna, Gaskiya Corporation Limited.

1.9 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answer

Factor that led to emergence of state in pre-colonial Africa

- Struggle for survival that eventually led to cultivation of land to provide livelihood.
- Migration as it was evidence by many communities in pre-colonial Africa was also key to the emergence of state formation in the post-colonial Africa.
- Third, agriculture was one of the significant factors that transformed pre-colonial Africa to social and political entity.

SAE Exercise 2: Answer.

Three (3) types of state in pre-colonial Africa.

- Primitive or stateless society: Primitive people were just like foragers. There was on shelter then, their major means of survival was hunting, it was latter agriculture became famous pathway of survival.
- Demi- state: This refers to state in between stateless society and fully organized state. In this type of state communities were not fully autonomous, but there exist some form of political structure.
- State (Monarchies): The earliest polities to develop characteristics of a state were some areas of lower Nile and some parts of North Africa.

SAE Exercise 3: Answer. Six political system of pre-colonia Africa

- Primitive Democracy.
- Gentile Democracy.
- The Berber Republic.
- Gada Republic.
- Oriental Despotism.
- African Despotism.

Unit 2 African States during Colonial Era

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcome
- 2.3 European Partition of Africa
- 2.4 Strategies for Colonial Incursion in Africa
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/further readings/Web sources
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

2.1 Introduction

As we have observed in the last unit that Africa had through series of historical charges ranging from the time when there was no formal or political group to the time when there semblance of state. Some scholars were of the view that even before the introduction colonial administration there were states in Africa that possessed all the apparatus of state structures. The unit discusses strategies used by the European powers before the formal colonization of Africa territories, include; exploration, treaty signing etc.

2.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of the unit students should be to:

- Explain how European partition Africa.
- When was Africa partitioned by European powers?
- Discuss some strategies followed by the colonial powers before the formal colonization of African countries.

2.3 European Partition of Africa

The Europeans partition of Africa, which Berlin conference of 1884, served as the best known forum where European met and divided African states among themselves. As a result of it, the pre-colonial African states lost their freedom due to the conquest by the imperialists. The conquest was fast, sudden and successful, due to largely, superiority in technology, which crushed the African resistance forces. Only Liberia and Ethiopia retained their independence. The new European powers determined how society would be governed and ordered (Falola, 1997:9). African scholars and perhaps Marxists interpreted such intrusion as a tragedic epoch to Africans, because African states forfeited their enormous economic potentials that might have huge impact on African societies to colonial

powers. However, there were scholars who saw the coming of colonial powers as a welcome development. For instance, Boahen pointed out that: On the eve of the conquest Africa had gone through some revolution and changes- for example, the slave trade was abolished, there was a greater process of centralization, the military was modernized, constitutional reforms were embarked upon, a steady increase in population occurred, Islam and Christianity spread and a new Christian elite was born (Falola, 1997: 10).

Under the colonial era, there was defined name, boundaries, capital city, central government and official language. Power shifted to those with education, with the knowledge to understand the new western political models. In fact, colonialism gave birth to nationalism that destroyed it. Africans resisted many aspects of colonial rule and struggle for their freedom (Falola, 1997:11).

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

1.	When was Africa partitioned?
2.	Where was Africa portioned?

2.4. Stages of Colonial Incursion in Africa.

Prior to formal colonization there were a number of phases or stages that were followed by the colonial powers before the institutionalization of colonialism in Africa. Among the major stages, include, stage of exploration, treaty making and stage of occupation or pacification and finally the colonial rule.

Exploration stage: Toward the beginning of imperialist preparation for external exploration, the British had already formed the African association in 1788. The association represented multiplicity of interest, politicians, scientists and the like. In fact, this paves way for the earliest contact group of the colonial state, that is, the explorers. The explorers served as the advanced party. The purported objective of the society was promotion of scientific knowledge about Africa. Although the prime object was colonization of African societies. It is imperative to stress that the exploration availed Europeans with four lessons: the possibility for white man to live and keep reasonably healthy for years in African environment; investigate on the horrors of the slave trade; the possibility of seeing for themselves the plenty of land lying empty; and possibility of confirming the property of African states. In essence the numerous exploration missions into the African interior were carried out for scientific purpose. But in reality, the explorers gathered considerable data on the geography, economy, society and politics of African states. This is very

important for the European colonization that was to follow. Missionaries were also considered to be among the advance party (Yandaki, 2015:122).

- Treaty stage: Europeans fully recognized the authority of African kings and chiefs, consequent upon this, European military expedition was hastened to conclude them with treaties of friendship and protection in the name of their governments. These agreements/treaties the full scope of which was not realized by the African chiefs were regarded as conferring full sovereign rights on the European 'protector' In fact, through the signing of treaties, the African chiefs lost their independence. The renowned architect of these treaties was Johnston, who deceived African chiefs. He pretended being on a friendship mission from the Queen of England who wished to make a book with rulers of the villages or areas (that is a treaty) to take home to the woman chief who had sent him out. In other places, blank treaty forms were carried about by colonial agents. The chiefs were expected to fill in the blank forms and append their signatures. One major typical example was the treaty used by the Royal Niger Company in its drives to acquire sovereign rights in the Niger Valley. This was how African chiefs in West Africa, East and Central Africa, signed away their lands to the colonialists (Yandaki,2015:123-126).
- *Era of Pacification or Colonialism:* This era marked the beginning of full colonial incursion into the African societies.

Self - Assessment Exercise 2

Outlines three (3) stages/phases that were followed by the Imperialists before the formal colonization

2.5. Summary

In the unit efforts was made to discuss the Africa during colonial domination. The Berlin conference of 1884 served as a pivotal event, where European colonizers met and divided Africa among themselves. The conference is prelude to formal colonization of African countries. Equally, the unit discussed some strategies that were followed or adopted by the imperialist, all with a view to having hitch-free incursion into the interior of African countries. Among the strategies discussed in the unit include; European exploration into the interior of Africa, signing of treaties between the representative of imperial powers and the African kings and chiefs.

2.6. References/Further Readings

- Falola, T. (1997). Africa in Perspective. In Ellis, S. (ed.). *Africa Now: People, Policies and Institutions*. London, James Currey.
- Yandaki, A.I. (2015). *The State in Africa: A Critical Study in Historiography and Political Philosophy*. Kaduna, Gaskiya Corporation Limited.

2.7. Possible Answers to Self Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers.

When was the partition? * 1884 At where? * At Berlin Conference.

SAE Exercise 2: Answers.

The three stages for followed.

- Exploration stage.
- Treaty stage; and
- Pacification or formal colonization.

Unit 3 Post-colonial African States

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcome.
- 3.3 Prelude to Independence
- 3.4 The Era of 1960 and Beyond
- 3.5 Political Sub-region of Africa
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References/further readings/Web sources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

3.1 Introduction

Colonization of African countries spans almost a century, within which African countries were under the yoke of colonialism. Economic and political control was on hands of imperial powers. They made artificial boundaries; people having the same ancestral history were divided through boundary created by the imperialists. They similarly, brought political and economic structures that are alien to African societies. The unit discusses various efforts and strategies made by the African nationalist in their tireless struggle for self -government. Two prominent factors (external and internal) significantly facilitated nationalist movement for independence of African countries. The unit equally stresses 1960, was the era when many African countries got their independence. It also points out political sub-regions of Africa.

3.3 Prelude to Independence

African States attained their independence consequent upon intense struggle, which culminated within and outside Africa. Both external and internal influences gainfully pushed the actualization of self- government by African countries. Most African countries were colonized by Britain, France and Portugal. It is pertinent to points out that African countries got their independence as a result of influence of two major factors; external and internal factor. For the internal factor, radicalization of African press coupled with expansion educational opportunities took centre stage in the quest for independence by the African countries. In addition to this, there were grievances relating to forced labor, police and court brutalities, heavy taxations and levies also added considerable weight to the struggle. Traditional rulers also protested as a result of usurpation of their powers by the colonialists. External factor was equally, a fundamental factor that greatly helped in realization of self- independence by the African countries. Under this factor, Pan-Africanism was prominent in that regard, this served as a forum where African nationalists, particularly,

those living outside Africa strongly campaigned for freedom of Africans from the evils of colonialism. Similarly, Italian inversion of Ethiopia and success of Asian and Arabs struggle for self -government gave optimism for African nationalists in their endless struggle for independence.

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

Mention two (2) factors that facilitated nationalist movement in Africa

3.4 The Era of 1960 and Beyond

It is imperative to note that 1960 marked as an important era for realization of political independence by African countries. It was in the 1960, Nigeria, Somalia, the Belgium Congo, Madagascar, and a cluster of French colonies in West and Equatorial Africa got their independence. Sierra Leone and Tanganyika gained their independence in 1961. While Algeria, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda in 1962 (Yandaki, 2015:163).

Immediately after the attainment of self -government, African leaders were pre-occupied with issues relating to economic development and political stability. They accepted boundaries that were created by the colonial powers, and assumed European models would sustain them and they would function and acquire respect in the international community. The continent tied to a world economic system; colonial ideas, culture and education were carried over; ex-master devised and means to retain control; and there were also old ethnic division in the society. Economic development was then the central issue. The struggle for independence was at the same time a struggle for economic development. New leaders had to be judged by their performances in liberating their people from poverty (Faloal, 1997: 12).

The post-independent African countries were characterized by a number of daunting problems, central among them are; political instability, dwindling economic development, ethno-religious conflicts and the menace of insecurity.

Self -Assessment Exercise 2

- 1. Mention four (4) African countries who got their independence in 1960.
- 2. Enumerate some problems faced by African countries immediately after independence.

3.5 Political Sub-region of Africa

It is important to note that modern Africa was divided into different political sub-regions:

- 1. The Maghreb: Consist of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria.
- 2. North Africa and Nile Valley: Libya and Egypt.
- 3. The Congo Basin: The Central African countries.
- 4. West Africa: Consist of Nigeria, Ghana, Niger, Liberia etc.
- 5. Eastern Horn or Horn of Africa.
- 6. East African Region.
- 7. Southern Africa.
- 8. The Madagascar and the Indian Ocean areas (Mbah, 2012:1).

Self -Assessment Exercise 3

State five (5) political sub-regions of Africa

3.6 Summary

The unit discussed factors that assisted significantly toward realization of independence by the African countries. Some of these factors include; Pan-Africanism, radicalization of African press coupled with expansion educational opportunities, grievances on the parts of business men and chiefs, court brutality among others. In the same vein, it was pointed out in the unit that 1960s marked the end of colonialism and saw the beginning of self government by most African countries. Immediately after independence, African leaders were beset with numerous problems, such as political instability, economic downturn and ethno-religious conflicts just to mention a few. It also pointed political sub-region of Africa, such as West Africa, sub-region, Southern Africa, Maghreb etc.

3.7 References/further readings/Web sources

- Kieh, G.K. (2008). The State in Africa. In Kieh, G.H. (ed.). *Africa and the Third Millenium*. Eritrea, African World Press, Inc.
- Mbah, M. C.C. (2012). *African Politics an Introduction*. No Publisher and place of publication.

3.8 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answer.

Four (4) that got independence in 1960

- * Nigeria.
- * Somalia
- * Belgium-Congo
- * Madagasca.

SAE Exercise 2: Answers

Problems faced by Africa countries after independence.

• Political instability, dwindling economic development, ethnoreligious conflicts and the menace of insecurity.

SAE Exercise 3: Answers

Five (5) political sub-region of Africa.

- The Maghreb: Consist of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria.
- North Africa and Nile Valley: Libya and Egypt.
- The Congo Basin: The Central African countries.
- West Africa: Consist of Nigeria, Ghana, Niger, Liberia etc.
- Eastern Horn or Horn of Africa.

Unit 4 Post-Colonial African States and Wider World

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.1 Learning Outcome
- 4.3 Africa's relations with UN
- 4.4 Africa's relations with UN specialized Agencies
- 4.5 Africa's Relations with Commonwealth and "G" Groups
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/further readings
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

4.1 Introduction

United Nations (UN) was established in 1945, the creation of UN was necessitated following the daunting lapses of League of Nations due its failure to bring peace and tranquility on the globe. Since the time UN was founded, it has a number of mechanisms that were put in place, so as to ensure that its major aims and objectives are being accomplished. UN equally, has specialized agencies, which in fact, their presence was felt in most of the African countries, particularly, those that are directly related to economic development. UN was created by the allied powers with a view to making it a body where nations in the world could peacefully and amicably settle their disputes without resorting to war. Immediately after 1960s, when majority of African countries got their independence they were members of UN and related international organizations, such as Commonwealth. The unit discusses Africa's relations with UN, Commonwealth and ''G'' Groups.

4.2 Learning outcome

At the end of the unit students should be able to:

- Explain when and why UN.
- Mention some of the objectives of UN.
- Enumerate some "G" that African countries have relations with them.
- Mention some specialized UN agencies that facilitating development in Africa.

4.3 Africa's Relations with UN

Close to the end of Second World War, the victorious parties otherwise known as Allied powers constituting mainly the United States of America, Britain, France and the Soviet Union began to plan for a new international political order. They hoped to create a forum in which the nations of the world could resolve issues of dispute peacefully with resorting to war. As a result of this, the UN was established in 1945. As a new international organization, it was vested with responsibility for provision of collective security for all nations. UN has powerful bodies, known as Security Council and Permanent Membership given to the principal foundation members of the United Nations, which include; United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. The rationale was that if any nation attempted aggression against another nation, or group of nations, or even engaged in a general bellicosity of the type, which Nazi Germany was judged guilty of, the collective and combine might of the Five Allied Power could be effectively deployed to defeat and discipline the offending country or countries (Obiozor, 1985: VI).

When UN was established in 1945, it had only 51 members, only four African countries were members of the UN, the countries include; Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa. Counting the importance of UN to African countries, in 1955, the process of decolonization began to be reflected in the membership of the UN. By 1960, the rising tide of decolonization had reached flood crest with the entry in that single year of 16 new members from Africa. In fact, it is palpable to stress that African states membership of the African Union (AU) alone count for one-third of the total UN membership and constitute the largest regional group in the organization. Using this position of advantage, African states have been attempting to use UN as a convenient instrument for the conduct of their diplomacy and for giving global priority to issues important to them (Mbah, 2012: 128).

Suffice it to mention that UN meant so much to independent African states. The most significant contribution of the UN in the early years has been its consistent involvement in the global sweep of anti-colonialism and decolonization which then, matters to African countries. Another major event of importance to African countries within the UN circle was the unanimous adoption of the historic UN Declaration on Decolonization. In fact, the colonial revolution has been more peaceful because of the UN involvement. As part of the UN contribution to African countries, UN has provided a forum in which African leaders could express their views on world problems and seek support in matters of special interest to their countries (Mbah, 2012: 130).

It is important to note that African diplomacy at the UN is usually conducted through the African Group. African Group at the UN deals with some issues affecting Africa, which came before the UN in the immediate post-colonial period. Of major importance was the establishment of the Economic Commission for Africa, and the revocation of the mandate which conferred on South Africa responsibility for the administration of the Trusteeship Territory of South West Africa, now Namibia. The group also deals with some policy issues not strictly within the ambit of UN, but which were of special international significance such as, Commonwealth initiation to end the conflict in Vietnam and the complexities of multilateral diplomacy. Other issues that the African Group tackles include; issues relating to effect of cold war on African diplomatic practice, globalization, economic development etc (Mbah,2012: 131).

Self-	Assessment Exercise 1	

1. When was UN established?	
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2. Mention four (4) major powers that played key role in establishing UN

4.4 Africa and UN Specialized Agencies

African countries benefitted and continue to benefit from UN and its specialized agencies. There are quite a number of UN specialized agencies that are involved in one way or the other in African development. Some of these specialized that currently operating in Africa include:

- i. UN Development Program (UNDP). UNDP is a UN specialized agency that play coordinating role in some places, its own ability to manage projects or shape the development agenda is extremely limited.
- ii. UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). This is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, is one of the five regional UN commissions that does a limited amount of advocacy work on behalf of the continent.
- iii. UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). It is providing support to people forced to flee their home country and facilitating their return.
- iv. World Food Program. (WFP). This is the leading organization for delivering emergency food aid and is very active in the part of Africa facing food shortages.
- v. UN Children's Fund (UNICEF). This agency has been important in raising awareness of childhood diseases and other issues, and also coordinating immunization campaign.
- vi. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). FAO supposed to help improve agricultural policies.
- vii. UN Population Fund (UNFPA). It provides advice for countries on population data and data management issues.
- viii. World Health Organization (WHO). WHO was set up to provide or help national government improve their own health policies.
- ix. UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). This agency has been very active with peacekeeping in Africa,

operating with many of the UN global operations on the continent (Moss, 2011: 134-135).

However, it is important to stress that there are other UN specialized agencies that play enormous role in the African countries.

Self -Assessment Exercise 2.

1. Mention four African nations that were members of UN as at 1945.

2. Explain two (2) importance of UN to the African countries.

2. Mention five (5) UN specialized agencies that are currently present in Africa.

4.5 Africa's Relations with Commonwealth and G-Groups

The following are some of the G-Groups that African countries have ties with them:

- 1. *Commonwealth:* This group mostly former British colonies, it has many African members, they usually hold meeting annually to try promote better governance among member states.
- 2. *G-8 Group:* This group consists of leading western economies including Russia. There are no African members in this group; however, the group usually take many issues of African concern, especially debt relief and aid commitments. Many African countries participate in the annual summit of the G-8.
- 3. *G-20 Group:* The group consists of 20 nations; it emerged as the leading forum for global economic cooperation. South Africa is the only African country which is a member of the group.
- 4. *The group of 24* represents leading developing countries seeking to influence international policies on monetary and development finance issues. Members of the group are; Cote d'Ivoire, The Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa.
- 5. *G*-77: The group of 77 now has more than '130 members. The group usually coordinate common negotiating positions for all developing countries on major international economic issues within the UN system (Moss, 2011: 207).

There are quite a number of international groups that African countries either directly or indirectly inclined to, specifically, groups that primarily concerned with economic co operations.

Self -Assessment Exercise 3

Mention four (4) Groups that African countries have relations with them

4.6 Summary

In the unit effort was made to trace the historical formation of UN, it was mentioned that UN was established in 1945, towards to the end of Second World War. There were four major industrialized nations that led the creation United Nations. It was established essentially, to serve as a forum where nations can resolve their disputes amicably. At the initial stage, only four countries happened to members of UN. The creation of UN gave African countries unprecedented opportunity to press for decolonization process, which in fact, led to the adoption of UN declaration on decolonization. Similarly, UN provided African countries with a forum where they could discuss areas of their interest. The unit further discussed relations of African countries with some UN specialized agencies. African countries benefited tremendously from the programs of UN specialized agencies. It also highlighted Africa's relations with Commonwealth and ''G'' groups.

4.7 References/Further Readings

- Mbah, M. C.C. (2012). *African Politics an Introduction*. No Publisher and place of publication.
- Moss, T.J. (2011). African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors. London. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Obiozor, G.A. (1985). *Nigerian Participation in U. N.* Taiwan. Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. LTD.

4.8 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers

Relevant date for establishment of UN.

• 1945.

Four major powers that established UN

- U.S.A.
- Britain
- France
- Soviet Union (USSR).

SAE Exercise 2: Answers

African Countries that were initial members of UN in 1945.

- Egypt, Liberia, Ethiopia and South Africa UN specialized Agencies working in Africa.
- UNICEF, UNDP, FAO and WFP.

SAE Exercise 3: Answers

Four Groups African relate with.

- Commonwealth.
- G-8.
- G-20.
- G-77.

Module 2 Problems of Nation Building and Economic/National Integration

Introduction

From the onset of independence, African countries bedeviled with daunting political problems, these problems in any way hindered progress in the quest for nation building within the African countries. The problem of national integration/nation building in the post-colonial African states is to most, if not all become a source of worry to African countries. Political instability from the early days of political independence took center stage. In fact, there is no African country that did not witness political turmoil, either in small or larger scale, which ultimately, threatened to plunge that county into the mayhem of disintegration. Beside the political instability, there are issues relating to civil war, ethno-religious crises, security and rampaging armed banditry and kidnapping, particularly, in Nigeria. This module also focuses on the effect of military intervention and civil war in nation building in Africa. It equally stresses the negative impact of ethno-religious conflicts in African societies. Similarly, the unit discusses Africa's quest for unity, which pave way for the formation of OAU/AU and the role of Pan-Africanism in national integration in Africa. The module comprises five units:

- Unit 1 Political Instability-Military Intervention.
- Unit 2 Violent Conflicts.
- Unit 3 Quest for African Unity.
- Unit 4 Economic Cooperation/Integration.

Unit 1 Political Instability-Military intervention

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcome
- 1.3 Types of Military intervention
- 1.4 Causes of Military for Military Intervention
- 1.5 Effect of Military Intervention in National Integration and Nation Building
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/further readings

1.1 Introduction

After the realization of self- government by African countries, military coup/intervention became a source of worry and perhaps a huge threat to nation building. The actual growth of military and its relationship to

African leaders varied, the armed forces in most countries Africa became politically powerful. As a result of their organization and control of weaponry, the armed forces were positioned to over through civilian regimes (Gordon. 2007: 98). Between 1952 and 1984 there were seventy successful coups in thirty African countries. In fact, 65% of all Africa's inhabitants and over half of its states were governed by military administration. Since independence, Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Nigeria witnessed five or more successful military intervention. Only twelve African states have never disrupted by military intervention (Gordon, 2007: 79). Military by nature, are known to be autocratic, hence, they lack democratic credentials that are of immense importance in national integration and nation building. The unit focuses on the causes of military intervention in Africa and the reasons for intervention. It also discusses types of military intervention and nation building.

1.3. Learning outcome

At the end of this unit students should be able to:

- Enumerate causes of military intervention in African countries
- Explain reasons for military intervention
- List types of military intervention
- Briefly explain effect of military intervention in national integration and nation building.

1.4. Causes of military intervention

Scholars in political science and other related areas have advanced wide range of factors that usually call for military intervention. Some of these causes include:

- i. National Interest: Military, particularly, in developing countries consider itself to be protector and guidance on national interest. When civilian regime seems to take or rather took decisions that are threat to national interest, military usually intervene with a view to protecting the national interest.
- ii. The Corporate Self-interest of the military: Military are sometimes known to be jealous of its corporate status and privileges. Anxiety to preserve its autonomy usually provides one of the wide spread causes of military intervention.
- iii. Demonstrative Effect or Contagion: A successful military coup in one state could lead to a coup in another state (Ujo,2003: 121-122)..
- iv. Class Interest: Conflict of class interest essentially, between military and ruling class in some occasions may lead to military intervention.

- v. Civilian factor: The major component of civilian factor, which may likely invite military intervention; include, wide spread of bribery and corruptions, nepotism, tribalism, political antagonism etc..
- vi. Socio-Economic development; and
- vii. Aspect of political development.

A number of conditions (causes) precipitate military intervention Africa. In most of the military coups that took place in Nigeria, the architect of the coup justified their taking over by stressing that there were wide spread of bribery and corruption, mismanagement of public funds, dwindling economic development, and disregard of rule of law. As a result of this, the military stage a coup to rescue the governance from total decay.

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

Enumerate five causes of military intervention in Africa.

1.5. Types of Military Intervention

The actual involvement of military in politics takes different dimension or forms. Finer asserts that there are three forms which the military could intervene in politics:

- i. Influence
- ii. Blackmail; and
- iii. Displacement and supplantment.

Influence

This refers to the use of normal constitutional channel by the military to get favor from civilian government. In some occasion the military may request the civilian government to increase their budget so that they could recruit more people, build more barracks and buy equipment. This type of request is done under the normal constitutional means and government may or not accept the request.

Blackmail

The military could use blackmail to get what they want from the civilian authority. The use of blackmail involves intimidation of civilian authorities and the threat of non-cooperation or violence.

Displacement and supplantment

Displacement and supplantment precisely means removing incumbent government. This could be achieved by various means. The Military may refuse to defend the government against its enemies thereby making it possible for the regime to fall Ujo, 2003: 118-119). In fact, this type of intervention, mostly, was or is the tradition of military intervention in most of African countries.

Self -Assessment Exercise 2

State three types military intervention in Africa

1.5 The effect of Military Intervention on National Integration and Nation Building

Military disengagement in government is not an easy issue. Many military rulers who intend to hand over power to civilian government do so in rare instances. Those who intend to handover and refuse at latter stage are so common. The effect of military intervention on political and economic change for many decades remained a source of discourse by a wide range of scholars in political science and related fields. Variant views were put forward to explain the impact or effect of military in political /democratic consolidation across African countries.

In an attempt to depict the inability of the military to provide conducive atmosphere for democratic consolidation, which is pre-eminence in nation building, Huntington doubts the ability of military to spearhead political and economic progress. He also contend that the military is incapable of real efforts towards giving building political institutions, because among other considerations, their skills make them least suitable for such task (Mbah, 2012:92). Arising from this assertion, it is vividly clear that military, whether in power or after disengagement lack credentials that are enormous in national integration and nation building. This is as a result of the fact that military by their very nature or training, they are rigid and constitutionally, their major role is protection of national interest.

Military in developing countries align with forces of reaction and the middle classes to defend the status quo, and is often used to in the conspiracy to abort efforts at bringing about real changes in the Third World Countries. This state affairs makes the operation of democratic systems in states where military and civilian dictatorship have been part of political life difficult (Mbah, 2012:92). It is important to note that almost invariably military regimes have tended to operate just like civilian regimes that preceded them. In Africa most military leaders share with their civilian counterparts both the use of patronage as a mechanism for gathering political support and the use of coercion to control or eliminate opposition. They also share an overall per-occupation of increasing their own economic position (Gordon, 2007: 80). Taking good example of Nigerian political space, form 1960 to 1999, both First and second republic short lived, the remaining scale of time in political realm of

Nigeria was occupied by military, unfortunately, military rule, instead of bringing about national integration, rather brought multiple political and socio-economic problems that are of immense threat to national integration and nation building, which up till today the problems continue to nod their heads.

Self -Assessment Exercise 3

Briefly explain the effect military intervention in national integration and nation building in African countries.

1.6. Summary

In summary, the unit contained military intervention in African countries. Issues discussed in the unit include, causes of military intervention in which six factors were stressed, among the factors are; national interest, civilian factor, class interest etc. Similarly, there was discussion on the types of military intervention in Africa; influence and blackmail were pointed out as some of the types. The military, by their nature and constitutional responsibility, they are meant to safeguard the state from external aggression and control internal uprising, however, sometime situation may warrant their intervention in political realm, as a result of this, the unit spelt out effect of military intervention on national integration and nation building, essentially, on African countries.

1.7. References/Further Readings

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1.8. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises SAE Exercise 1: Answer.

Five causes of military intervention

- 1. National interest.
- 2. Civilian factor
- 3. Demonstrative effect or contagion.
- 4. Class interest.
- 5. Socio-Economic development.

SAE Exercise 2: Answer.

Types of military intervention

- I. Influence.
- II. Blackmail.
- III. Displacement and supplantment.

SAE Exercise 3: Answer

Effect of military intervention

• It was discovered that in Africa military regimes have tended to operate just like civilian regimes that preceded them. The military leaders also share with their civilian counterparts both the use of patronage as a mechanism for gathering political support and the use of coercion to control or eliminate opposition. They equally, share an overall peroccupation with increasing their own economic position.

Unit 2 Violent Conflicts

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcome
- 2.3 Causes of Conflict in Africa
- 2.4 Types of Conflicts in African Context
- 2.5 Effect of Violent Conflicts on National Integration and Nation Building in Africa
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/further readings
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

2.1 Introduction

Violent conflicts and civil war have been an unfortunate issue that over the years consumed millions of lives and unsummuntable loss of properties in most African countries where they became horn of crises. Violent conflict had broken out frequently in some Africa countries and usually, last longer than expected, such as that of South Sudan. One major problem of violent conflict and civil war is most often, spilled over into neighboring countries. In many instances, violent conflicts and civil wars may result into proliferation of unwanted weapons and crimes. Violent conflicts and civil wars are considered as one of the key reasons hindering Africa's efforts on national integration and nation building, examples abounds in a number of countries in Africa. This unit discusses causes of violent conflict in Africa and the types of conflict. It equally, stresses the effect of violent conflicts and civil war in the Africa's quest for national integration and nation building.

2.2. Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit students should be able to:

- Explain causes violent conflicts in Africa.
- Discuss types of violent conflicts in African context
- Briefly explain the effect of violent conflicts on Africa's struggle for national integration and nation building.
- •

2.3. Causes of Violent Conflict in Africa

Conflicts in the context of African countries, usually takes different dimension depending on the circumstances. The following are some of the causes:

- i. *State weakness:* In states where conflicts were found, such as Sierra Leone, Republic of Congo. These states seemed to be very weak the government controlled little territory outside the capital.
- ii. *Strength of traditional power structure:* In an event of weak state, there arose enduring influence of no-state authorities, including traditional leaders, warlords or other kind of local strongmen who offer sources of power and legitimacy alternative to the state.
- iii. *Poverty:* Deprivation seems to be a major cause of violence. Poor countries sometimes are likely to fall into conflicts than the rich ones. People are more desperate when they are closer to poverty or when opportunities for people are lower. Just like a saying a "hungry man is an angry man". For example, large number of unemployed youth may present an enabling factor for conflict to start.
- iv. *Political struggle for resources:* In an environment where there are scarce resources there is bound to be break out of crisis. In fact, most of the conflicts that took place in various parts of African countries, usually, emanated from struggle for state resources.
- v. *Nonreconciliatory political system:* This is a political system where a winner takes all, in essence, those in political power and their supporters "eat" while the rest are excluded can lead to violence. Marginalized groups within a particular country may feel that the political system has no path for them to address their grievances or redress injustice giving them little choice, which may force them to violence. This scenario is rampant in most African countries, and majority of the conflicts are caused by the very notion of marginalization by one particular group over the other, hence, conflict erupted.
- vi. *External meddling:* In some occasions, outbreak of conflict erupted as a result of external influence. For example, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire conflicts were fueled by Liberian President Charles Taylor. Likewise developed countries, such as America and Russia, are among the major external factors that cause conflicts, particularly, in Africa by either supporting opposite site or assist on influx of light weapons to the country where there is conflict or may likely to start (Moss, 2011: 64-65).

In fact, Moss (2011) further pointed some relevant factors that are likely important in causing violence in African countries. The factors are as follows:

i. *Ethnicity:* A common explanation for conflict in Africa is ethnicity. Media sometime refer it as tribalism; while academic call it ethnolinguistic fractionalization. Given the diversity of African societies, there are fissures based on culture, language, religion, or family clan differences underlying many of the continent's outbreaks of violence. This is similarly, the case where political control is significantly based on ethnicity, either the exclusive control by where political control by one group over the others or a deliberate balance of ethnic groups to maintain peace. Ethnicity can, thus be a supporting factor in many cases of conflict, sometimes a tool used by leaders to exploit tensions and hatred toward other political or economic end.

- ii. *Conflict-underdevelopment linkages:* Underdevelopment creates condition that may lead to outbreak of violence. One of the critical used to predict the risk of war is low income.
- iii. *The resource curse:* Countries that are endowed with abundant material resources may be at the risk of war or violence, in most cases, conflict erupted usually, in the process of resource sharing.

Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Enumerate four causes of violent conflict in African countries.

2.4. Types of Conflict

There are many types of conflict; however, categorization of conflict is dependent on the dimension of the conflict. The major types of conflicts that are prevalence in African countries are follows:

- i. Inter-state conflict: This type of conflict erupted between two countries; reasons for the conflict could be for socio-economic, cultural, religious and other related factors. For example, Nigeria-Cameroon conflict over the Bakasi Peninsula, Ethiopia- Eritrea conflicts, Central Africa and Democratic Republic of Congo.
- ii. Civil Wars and low-level armed insurgencies: There are number of African countries that witnessed this type conflicts, some countries are recently facing such problem. Countries that witness rebellion and insurgencies includes; Sudan, Uganda, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola etc.

Self- Assessment Exercise 2.

State two major types of conflicts that are found in Africa.

2.5. Effect of conflict on National Integration

Where ever there is prevalence of conflict in any given country the concomitant effect of the conflict is devastating. Countries that witnessed conflict experienced daunting problem of national integration. One better example is South Sudan which has been in conflict for twenty years, others like, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Tuareg rebellions. The armed struggle for power by groups of citizens has brought about disintegration of the state in Liberia and Somalia and threatened its survival in Sierra Leone (Drame, 1997: 206). In republic of Niger the Tuareg who border with Libya waged resistance against Niamey. In Nigeria also Boko Haram insurgence, Niger Delta militant and Independent of People of Biafra (IPOB) posed serious threat to Nigeria's unity.

Ethno-religions conflicts, which is one of the common conflict in majority of African countries posed serious problem and further stagnate nation building and deeply threatened national integration. Taking Nigeria as a prime instance, Nigeria witnessed a number of devastating communal and ethno-religious conflicts between Hausa/Fulani groups and non-Muslim minority communities in Southern Bauchi, Southern Kaduna, Taraba and Adamawa states. These conflicts resulted from complex communal struggle over traditional authorities, economic control and religious and cultural values (Suberu, 2003: 100). These conflicts deeply retrogresses Nigeria's quest for nation building and threaten the country's integration struggle. In order to show the effect of ethno-religious conflict on nations building as well as national integration, Suberu (1999: 100) further opines that:

The maintenance of Nigeria as a single entity, despite the deep tensions and division, may be suggestive of the efficacy of the centralist path to integration in Nigeria. The recent resurgence and intensification of ethnic, regional and religious tensions in the country would, however, tend to belie such a suggestion. One would, in fact, like to argue that the more viable path to integration in Nigeria lies not in the extremes of centralization, but in the promotion of truly federalist institutions and processes.

Despite the aforementioned effect, there are other negative effects of violent conflicts as pointed out by Moss (2011: 63):

- i. *Effect on individuals:* War has a very differential impact on individuals. Politicians and leaders of armed groups can often gain financially through conflict. Those recruited for the conflict may also benefit from looting because their original livelihood has been destroyed. The impact of war is frequently death or debilitation, with the destruction of properties and disruption of economic activities.
- ii. *National effect:* The effect of civil war/conflict on an economy are often obvious, with infrastructural damage, normal economic activity interrupted and labor pool either diverted or lost from injury and death. The true economic impact is even greater, given the amount of resources diverted to military spending, the cost of construction and the lingering effects on human health.
- iii. *Regional effect:* Even if the neighboring country is not dragged into the war, its economy will be affected through the combined effects of reduced trade, forced migration, spread of disease etc.

iv. *Global effect:* civil conflict in Africa usually places burden on the rest of the world. There are direct cost in terms of spending on peacekeeping and peacemaking, plus indirect costs from lost trade and investment opportunities.

Self -Assessment Exercise 3

Explain effect of conflict on African societies.

2.6. Summary

Taking into cognizance on the pre-eminence of national integration as well as nation building in Africa, issues that tend to pose threat on the national integration attracted a wide range of discourse by scholars of different disciplines. In view of this, the unit discussed the concept of national integration and the different understanding of scholars on concept, with a view to providing clarity on the national integration. In Africa violent conflicts in some cases takes different dimensions, as such, the unit pointed out some of the major causes of violent conflict in Africa, among the causes are; poverty, political struggle for state resources and ethnicity factor. Equally, effect of violent conflict on national integration was also discussed.

2.7. References/further Readings

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2.8. Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers:

Four (4) causes of conflict

- Strength of traditional power structure
- Poverty.
- Political struggle for resources
- Strength of traditional power structure

SAE Exercise 2: Answers

Types of conflict:

- Inter-state conflicts
- Civil Wars and low-level armed insurgencies.

SAE Exercise 3: Answers

- Conflict has effect on national integration this could be seen on the issue of conflict in South Sudan and Liberia.
- Effect on individual due to lose of lives and properties.
- Regional effect as a result of spill over of the conflict to neighboring countries.
- It also has global effect.

Unit 3 Quest for African Unity

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Out come
- 3.3 Establishment of Pan-Africa
- 3.4 Early Movement for African Unity
- 3.5 Formation of Organization of African Unity and African Unity
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References/further readings
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

3.1 Introduction

Most African countries were colonized by the European powers. The Berlin conference of 1884 was the main event where Europeans met divided African societies among themselves. Different groups were placed together while many groups were split across national border without consideration of tribal or ethnic background. The creation of borders by the imperialist brought daunting problems to the newly independent African countries, solving the problems requires proactive approach on search for African unity. Immediately after the independence. African leaders were faced with question of how the newly independent countries could be united, which could enable them to fashion out plans that will make them politically stable and economically buoyant. In view of this, the unit discusses formation of Pan-Africa, which was the first of its kind to call for unity among Africans during colonial domination. It also stresses the groups that were established by pioneer African leaders to serve as mechanisms for driving the quest for unity among African states, the groups include; Monrovia, Brazzaville and Casablanca groups. The unit further discusses formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Africa Unity (AU), which replaces the former.

3.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit students should be to:

- Explain formation of Pan-Africa and its objectives
- Discuss early movement for African unity
- Explain establishment of OAU and AU. And their major objectives.

3.3 Establishment of Pan-Africa

Pan-Africa was the first organization in Africa that vociferously called for unity among Africans. It was inspired by the anti-colonial activities of people of African descent living in North America and the West Indies during the Nineteenth and Twentieth century. African nationalist sought to promote a unified African front against colonial rule. Pan Africa ideal was enunciated for the first time at the 1945 meeting of pan-Africa Congress held in Manchester, England (Schraeder, 2007:162). Pan-Africanism was a popular movement among the nationalist who fought for total eradication of colonialism in African societies. Many African nationalist and early political leaders, such as Kwame Nkruma of Ghana, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania became proponents of Pan-African vision for Africa.

In fact, Nkrumah envisioned a United States of Africa that would operates as a single government adjacent with a federal structure. Although his plan never came to fruition but led to the creation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) (Moss, 2011 :199). Some of the cardinal objectives of Pan-Africa includes; i. to fight or ensure freedom of Africans from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic. ii. to elect their own government without restriction from foreign powers. According to Nkruma the realization of the Pan-African ideal required a commitment between African leaders and their peoples to guide their countries through four stages:

- i. Attainment of freedom and independence.
- ii. The consolidation of that independence and freedom.
- iii. The creation of unity and community between the African states; and
- iv. The economic and social construction of Africa (Ajala,188) in Schraeder (2007:162).

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

- 1. Mention two (2) major objectives of Pan-Africa.
- 2. State two (2) stages proposed by Nkrumah for realization of Pan-African ideal.

3.4 Early Movement for African Unity

After the creation of Pan-Africa, which was the major factors that led to realization of independence by African countries, the pioneer African leaders were deeply pre-occupied with the issue of unity within the continent. Based on this thinking, African leaders split into three clusters, although they all envisioned unity of African countries, but the pathway to the unity varied. The groups are:

- 1. *Brazzaville group:* The group was named after the capital of the Republic of Congo.
- 2. *Casablanca group:* The group was named after the Moroccan city.
- 3. *Monrovia group:* This group was also named after the capital of Liberia.

Brazzaville Group

This group consisted of members mostly, from francophone countries, the group sought for a manimalist approach stressing on the coordination of national economic policies through standard diplomatic practices. The group gave little credence to the creation of continental institution.

Casablanca group

The Casablanca group was led by Kwame Nkruma of Ghana; the members argued that the success of the Pan-Africanism required political union of all independent African countries, patterned after the federal model of United States of America. They strongly pursue the idea of one single government in Africa and that is the major way for unity of African countries.

Monrovia group

This group was led by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Nigerian prime minister. Unlike other groups, the group called for creation of a looser organization of African states. The group envisioned, African international relations, African countries would guard their independence by promoting growing cooperation in a variety of functional areas, notably, economic, scientific, educational and social development. Important component of the Monrovia group was a desire to create continental-wide institutions that would oversee and strengthen policy harmonization (Schraeder,2007: 163).

Self- Assessment Exercise 2

Mention three (3) groups that were established by pioneer African leaders in their search for unity of Africa

3.5 Formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) and African Unity (AU)

On May 25, 1963, thirty one African heads state embraced the Monrovia vision of African international relations by launching the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the first pan-African intergovernmental organization of independent African countries. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, was chosen as the headquarters of the organization. In fact, four basic documents were behind the establishment of OAU. They are:

- i. The charter of the OAU, which came into force in 1963.
- ii. Protocol of the Commission on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, which came into being in 1964.

- iii. Declaration on the problem of subversion, created in 1965; and
- iv. Convention on refugee problem in Africa also established in 1969.

The OAU charter contains thirty three articles, but the most important ones are:

Article (2) which states five purposes of the OAU (1) to promote African nuity, (2) to collaborate and achieve better life, (3) to secure African sovereignty and integrity, (4) to eradicate all forms of colonialism; and (5) to promote international cooperation.

To achieve these purposes, it was stated that African states should cooperate and harmonize their policies.

Article (3) also states seven (7) principles of the organization: (1) sovereign equality of African states. (2) non interference in the internal affairs of states, (3) respect of territorial integrity, (4) peaceful settlement of disputes, (5) condemnation of all forms of political assassinations and subversive activities, (6) absolute dedication to emancipation of non-independent states, (7) policy of non-alignment to any bloc.

Article (7), specifies four organs of OAU: (1) the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, (2) council of Ministers, (3) General Secretariat, (4) commission for Mediation, Arbitration and conciliation.

Since the establishment of OAU, it has achieved a modest success, it provided a meeting ground for African leaders and acted as an umbrella for sub-regional organizations and other international organizations (Mbah, 2012: 115).

Self- Assessment Exercise 3.

When was OAU established?	
State four (4) objectives/purpose of OAU.	

3.6 Formation of African Unity (AU)

African Unity (AU) was established in July 9, 2002, at Durban, South Africa. The organization replaced the thirty one year old OAU. The creation of AU was, as a result of efforts by some African leaders in their bid to catch up with the ever changing world. It was conceived by the former Libyan leader President Gadhafi, who first proposed a full blown United States of African, in line with Kwame Nkrumah's political philosophy on African unity. The AU was modeled after the European Union (EU), to fight the new reality of globalized world. It has wider power, including the right to intervene in wars and crisis (Mbah, 2012: 121).

AU has ten principal organs, which was contained in Article 5 of it Constitutive Act, this is to enable it achieve its objectives. The organs are as follows:

- 1. The Assembly.
- 2. The Executive Council.
- 3. The Pan-Africa Parliament.
- 4. The African Court of Justice.
- 5. The Permanent Representative Committee.
- 6. The specialized Technical Committee.
- 7. The Economic, Social and Cultural Committee.
- 8. The Peace and Security Committee,
- 9. The Commission; and
- 10. The financial Institutions.

The objectives of the AU are as follows:

- i. To promote unity and solidarity of African states.
- ii. To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa.
- iii. To defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.
- iv. To eradicate all forms of colonialism in Africa; and
- v. To promote international cooperation.

Article 3 of the Constitutive Act also provided comprehensive objectives of the AU:

- a. Achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the people of Africa.
- b. Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the independence of its member states.
- c. Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent.
- d. Promote and defend African common position on issues of interests to the continent and its people.
- e. Encourage international cooperation, taking the account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- f. Promote peace, security and stability on the continent.
- g. Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.
- h. Promote and protect human and people's rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' and other relevant human rights instruments.
- i. Establish the necessary conditions which will enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations.
- j. Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies.

- k. Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples.
- 1. Coordinate and harmonize the policies between the existing and future regional economic communities and the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union.
- m. Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular science and technology; and
- n. Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent Mbah, 2012: 122-123).

It is imperative to note that AU was established as pan-African organization, primarily to build on the success of the OAU in the continuing search for African unity.

Self -Assessment Exercise 4

1.	When and where was the AU established?
2.	Mention four (4) objectives of AU.

3.7 Summary

The unit discussed how pioneer African leaders made a giant stride for ensuring unity among African countries. This particular effort of uniting African countries, irrespective of border, language and ethnic cleavages, was conceived following the creation of Pan-Africa, which was established in 1945 at Manchester, England. Despite calling for African unity, the organization played a vital role in ensuring independence of African countries. Three contrasting groups (Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia) were created with sole aim of uniting African countries, though leaders of the groups held contrasting views on the pathway to unity on the continent. The unit further stressed the formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was established in 1963, it served as the first pan-African organization where African leaders usually meet discuss issues relating to eradication of colonialism in Africa, unity of African countries, socio-economic and political development of the continent. AU was established in 2002, at Durban, South Africa, the organization was created majorly, to continue with OAU legacies and it was modeled on European Union (EU) ideal so as to keep pace with the new global trends.

3.8 References/further Readings

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3.9. Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises.

SEA Exercise 1: Answers.

Two (2) Objectives of Pan-Africa

- 1. to fight or ensure freedom of Africans from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic.
- 2. to elect their own government without restriction from foreign powers.

Two (2) Stages proposed Nkrumah

- 1. Attainment of freedom and independence.
- 2. The consolidation of that independence and freedom..

SAE Exercise 2: Answers.

Three (3) groups that were established by African leaders.

- 1. Brazzaville group: The group was named after the capital of the Republic of Congo.
- 2. Casablanca group: The group was named after the Moroccan city.
- 3. Monrovia group: This group was also named after the capital of Liberia.

SAE Exercise 3: Answers

When OAU established?

• 1963.

Four (4) Objectives of OAU.

- 1. To promote African unity.
- 2. To collaborate and achieve better life.
- 3. To secure African sovereignty and integrity.
- 4. To promote international cooperation.

SAE Exercise 4: Answers

When was AU established?

• 2002 at Durban, South Africa.

Four (4) Objectives of AU.

- i. To promote unity and solidarity of African states.
- ii. To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa.
- iii. To defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.
- iv. To eradicate all forms of colonialism in Africa.

Unit 4 Economic Cooperation and Integration

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcome
- 4.3 Concept of Integration
- 4.4 Establishment ECOWAS
- 4.5 Establishment of Southern African Development Community (SADC)
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/further readings
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

4.1 Introduction

The first generation of African leaders were so much concerned and perhaps pre-occupied with issues of unity as well as economic cooperation and integration continent. They were also mindful with economic development of their respective newly independent countries. They sought of creating regional entities capable of promoting regional cooperation and integration. This was captured by the OAUs publication in 1981 of a document Lagos Plan of Action for the economic development of Africa, 1980-2000, which proposed the establishment of an African Economic Community (AEC). The major objective of Lagos Plan of Action was; creation of inter-governmental economic organization in each of Africa's five major sub-regions; North, East, Southern and Central Africa. By 1980s, there were at least 160 intergovernmental economic groupings in Africa; with thirty two of such organizations were located in West Africa alone. Some of these notable economic groupings in Africa include:

- i. Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) established in 1975.
- ii. Union of the Arab Maghreb (UAM), established in 1975.
- iii. Southern African Development Committee (SADC), established in 1980.
- iv. Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).
- v. Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in northeast

Africa established in 1986 (Schreader, 2007: 169).

The unit discusses two major regional economic groupings; Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) and Southern Africa Development Community (SADC).

4.2. Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit students should be able to:

- Define integration
- Explain establishment ECOWAS and some of its objectives
- Discuss formation of SADC and some of its objectives.

4.3. What is National Integration?

Due to the importance of national integration in socio-economic development of a country, scholars in different fields of human endeavor devoted their time to define the concept of national integration. Nnoli (2006) cited in Bande (2015:15) opines that the concept of national integration has been described by various terminologies; national cohesion, national unity, nation building, among others, the terminologies given to national integration have resulted in the concept being subjected to a myriad of interpretations. This notwithstanding, there is some unanimity in the literature on the meaning of national integration, which has to do with 'bringing together of different parts into a whole'. Similarly, Coleman and Rosberg (1964) cited in Bande (2015:15) defined national integration as the progressive reduction of cultural and regional tensions and discontinuities in the process of creating a homogenous political entity.

Equally, Frank and Ukpere (2013) cited in Bande (2015:15) defined national integration as the process in which the different people in a state transfer primordial allegiance to one central authority, which becomes the representative of the people, who take conscious steps towards nation-building. In the same vein, Jimoh (2006) cited in Shatambaya (2015:500), describes national integration as social relationships that a based on liberty, equality and fraternity rather than those based on hostility and discrimination among the diverse people of a state. In addition to this, Abdulrahman (2006) cited in Shatambaya (2015:500) defined national integration as a common hegemonic order and common ideological motivation which serve to integrate major actors in a state. Tahir (1991) cited in Bade (2015:15), refers to national integration as the process of creating a mental outlook which will prompt and inspire every person to place loyalty to the country above narrower sectarian interest.

National integration is considered as a procedure in which political players in divergent nations are swayed to swing their allegiance, plan and partisan deeds to a new center, whose establishments hold or request domination over the pre-existing nationalities (Odeh,2020 :199. National integration is also described as a condition where people of a country view themselves as one entity, engage each one justly and toil together

supportively and spontaneously decide to and resolve their issues amicably in the general interest of the state. In that way unity, fair treatment, cooperation, consensus and peaceful conflict resolution become indispensable mechanism of allegiance to the nation (Odeh, 2020: 200). In fact, based on the aforementioned myriad definitions of nation integration, one can argue that allegiance and readiness of total submission by citizenry to constituted authority for the sake of unity in a state is central in most of the definitions.

Self	- Ass	essme	nt E	xei	cise 1

What is national integration?

4.3. Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was founded by the Treaty of Lagos, which was signed in May 1975, it covered 16 West African countries. The ECOWAS was dominated by English and French speaking countries. Members of the community include; Benin, Nigeria, Niger Togo, Ghana, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Liberia, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Mauritania. It took off in 1978 with its headquarters in Lagos, now in Abuja, federal capital territory of Nigeria. It members pledged themselves to work towards a free movement of goods and people throughout the territories of the member countries (Mbah, 2012: 117). The ECOWAS main objective is to promote economic cooperation among member states in order to raise living standards and promote economic development.

Four stages were envisaged for the process of integration:

- i. Creation of a Free Trade Area
- ii. Customs Union.
- iii. Common Market; and
- iv. Economic Monitoring Union.

After 40 years of creation, the main achievement of ECOWAS are; restoration of peace, containing conflicts, dealing with rigged elections, facilitating the free movement of people, supporting infrastructure development or associating civil society and business associations to the integration process (Bossuyt, 2016: 6).

Despite the aforementioned achievement ECOWAS efforts in cooperation has been hampered by a variety of factors, including the proliferation of currencies and of foreign exchange restriction and controls in the West African sub-region and the non-paymant of subscription fees and the strong sense of economic nationalism on the part of many states in the organization. Similarly, political crises also have disrupted cooperation such as civil war in Liberia and sierra Leone, which led ECOWAS to take very costly step of sending a peace keeping force, the ECOWAS' Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to Liberia. As a result of these problems, ECOWAS made very little progress in achieving its main goals (Mbah, 2012: 118).

Self - Assessment Exercise 2

- 1. Mention one major objective of ECOWAS.
- 2. State two stages that were envisage by the ECOWAS of in process of integration.

4.4. Formation Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)

SADCC is one the major sub-regional organizations, mainly established to foster economic integration among member states. The SADCC came into being in 1979, but was not formally established until April 1980. The organization has ten member states; Angola, Bostwana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. SADCC has a great economic potential as a result of their rich mineral deposits and vast agricultural land.

Some of the aims of the SADCC are; to corporate in designated areas, in order to secure the equitable development of the sub-region as a whole; and reduce the economic dependence of member states, especially on Republic of South Africa during the apartheid era. The SADCC major areas of cooperation are: transport and communication, agriculture, industry and trade, energy, manpower development, mining, tourism and finance. Members are to coordinate on individual basis, on functional activities within a specific area. Angola is responsible for coordinating energy and conservation and Mozambique for coordinating transport and communication Mbah, 2012 :118-119).

It is imperative to note that SADCC was transformed into SADC in 1992. In fact, the transformed SADC count South Africa among its member state and seeking to enhance traditional cooperation in a variety of functional realms, most notably transportation (Schraeder, 2007: 172).

Self - Assessment Exercise 3.

- 1. When was SADCC formally established?
- 2. In what year was it transformed into SADC.

4.5. Summary

The creation of these regional or sub-regional institutions was, primarily to foster economic cooperation among African countries, and also promote economic development. Regional cooperation and integration through the contemporary independence era demonstrated the firm commitment of first generation leaders to the economic dimension of the Pan-African ideal. ECOWAS was established with sole aim of promoting economic cooperation among the 16 member states, though confronted with a number of daunting problems; however, it recorded an appreciable achievement, particularly in the free movement of individual across the borders of member countries. One major achievement is in the area of security. essentially. considering the role it played in peacekeeping/monitoring in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The SADCC, which later was transformed into SADC, also made some bold steps in its quest for realization of its objectives, part of the success was reducing economic dependence of Southern African countries on foreign economic interests and creating the basis for self sustaining development in the postcold war era.

4.6. References/Further Readings

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4.7. Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers

Definition of integration.

• National integration means a process in which the different people in a state transfer primordial allegiance to one central authority, which becomes the representative of the people, who take conscious steps towards nation-building.

SEA Exercise 2: Answers

ECOWAS main objective.

- ECOWAS main objective is to promote economic cooperation among member states in order to raise living standards and promote economic development. When was ECOWAS established?
 - when was ECOWAS est
- May 1975.

SEA Exercise 3: Answers

Relevant date of establishing SADCC.

- It was conceived in 1979 and established in 1980 Relevant date of transforming to SADCC into SADC.
- 1992.

Module 3 Political Economy of Africa

Introduction

Immediately after the attainment of independence, the first generation African leaders were confronted with issue of development. Colonial powers instituted and perhaps left some state apparatus that mainly driven development of African states, even though, to a large extent, the mode of economy tailored towards improving economy of the center, in contras and in the real sense, not the economy of the colonies. In fact, maintaining this legacy became a herculean task to African leaders. Ake (2003: 9), argued, now that independence has been won, the overriding task was development, without which political independence could not be consolidated and African countries could be able to eradicate the humiliation of colonization. In a similar vein, Mbaka stressed that in the 1960s, as many colonies in Africa gained independence from the European powers, it was generally believed that the governance and economic structures by indigenous elites would provide the wherewithal for rapid economic growth and development. Many Africans were optimistic that the new leaders would provide the enabling institutional environment for wealth creation, powerful coexistence and improve the welfare of marginalized and deprived groups and communities. The module provides highlight on the concept of development and also underdevelopment as it relate to Africa. It equally discusses issues relating to Africa's economic dependence and factors that impede economic development in Africa. The module further discusses the various measures that were put in place as economic reform programs introduced by a number of African countries. It also discusses Africa's debt burden.

The module comprises the following units:

- Unit 1 Politic of Dependence and Development.
- Unit 2 Africa's Economic Dependence.
- Unit 3 Africa's Economic Reform Programs.
- Unit 4 Africa's Debt Burden

Unit 1 Politic of Dependence and Development

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcome
- 1.3 Concept of Development
- 1.4 Concept of Underdevelopment
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises.

1.1 Introduction

For understanding the concept of development and underdevelopment, knowledge of two major theories is paramount, the theories are; dependency and modernization theories. For dependency theory, underdevelopment is mainly caused by the peripheral position of affected countries in the world economy. Proponent of this theory stressed that the underdevelopment of the third world countries, principally is being caused by the imperialist countries, raw materials are extracted and transported to the center at the expense of the periphery. The economic interaction between center and periphery stagnate the economy of the third world countries. Resources sold to advanced economies, which have the means to transform them into finish goods. Underdeveloped countries end up purchasing the finished products at a high price, depleting the capital they might otherwise devote to upgrading their own productive capacity. However, modernization theory proponents suggest that traditional societies will develop as they adopt modern practices. They further claimed that modern states are wealthier and more powerful and that their citizens are freer to enjoy a higher standard of living. Suffice it to mention dependency theory stresses the relationship between developed and underdeveloped countries. The unit addresses myriad understanding of scholars relating to development and underdevelopment.

1.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit students should be able to:

- Explain the concept of development
- Discuss the concept of underdevelopment

1.3 Concept of Development

The word development is a multi-faceted concept. Scholars in political science and related fields tend to define development in different perspective depending on space and time and perhaps environment. According to Rodney (2005:1), development in human society is a many sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. Rodney further stressed that development is universal because the condition leading to economic expansion are universal. Everywhere man is faced with the task of survival by meeting fundamental material needs.

According to Mclean (2009: 149), development is normative concept referring to a multidimensional process. Some people argue that development must be relative to time, place, and circumstance, and dismiss any universal formula. To Mclean development means increased economic efficiency, expansion of national economic capacity, and technological advance are generally accepted as necessary conditions if development is to be sustainable.

The issue of development in independent African countries remained a major factor of discourse over a large scale of time. Africans were of the view that political independence would enhance development process, which ultimately provide them better living condition. Unfortunately, many post-independent development programs initiated and implemented by African leaders generate significant benefits for state bureaucrats. They imposed enormous cost on the people, increased levels of poverty and marginalized many groups in the society. Despite the tremendous changes that have taken place on the continent, especially in the political arena, most of the economies of African countries are still characterized by relative high levels of poverty and deprivation, poorly developed infrastructures, excessive and unmanageable external debt, endemic political and bureaucratic corruption, political violence and institutional instability, destructive ethnic mobilization and many other factors that hindered economic growth in the continent (Mbaku, 2008: 88).

1.4 Concept of Underdevelopment

Underdevelopment is not absent of development because every people have developed in one way or another and to a greater or lesser extent. Underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development. One of the other ideas behind underdevelopment is a comparative one. It is possible to compare the country and determine whether or not it had developed and it is possible to compare the economies of any two countries or set of countries at any given period in time. In the contemporary sense of the word, Rodney (2005:15) points out that underdevelopment expresses a particular relationship of exploitation of one country by another. All of the countries named as underdeveloped in the world are exploited by others; and the underdevelopment with which the world is now pre-occupied is a product of capitalist exploitation. African and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers when that happened, exploitation increased, depriving the societies of the benefit of their national resources and labor. That is an integral part of underdevelopment in the contemporary sense.

In fact, dependency and modernization theories are the two contrasting theories that tend to explain development and underdevelopment. Dependency theory portrays Marxist views of the two concepts; dependency was built upon Lenin's theory of imperialism. Proponents of modernization theory are to a large extent, pro-capitalist sense of the concepts.

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

- 1. Mention two (2) theories of development and underdevelopment.
- 2. Briefly explain the concept of development.
- 3. Briefly explain the concept of underdevelopment.

1.5 Summary

Development and development is one of the interesting discourse by scholars of political science and development studies, essentially, as it relate to third world countries, which African countries take centre stage. In the unit, various definitions on the concept of development were according Rodney, development is relative discussed. and multidimensional, it all depends on time and circumstances. Development implies increased skill and capacity and greater freedom... and material well-being being. In the unit it has equally been stressed that development refers to increased economic efficiency, expansion of national economic technological advancement. capacity and With regard to underdevelopment, it was also discussed that every nation or individual must have developed in one way or another either to larger or lesser extent, underdevelopment is not referring to absent of development. Underdevelopment depicts exploitative relationship between center and periphery. In fact, two major theories (dependency and modernization) were used for better understanding of the two concepts.

1.6 References/Further Readings

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- Rodney, W. (2005). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Abuja. Panaf Publishing Inc

1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answer.

Two theories.

- Dependency theory.
- Modernization theory.

Brief Explanation concept of Development.

• It is a multi-facet concept it implies increased skill and capacity and greater freedom. It also means increased economic efficiency, expansion of national economic capacity, and technological advancement.

Brief Explanation on Underdevelopment.

• It is a relative concept it is not referring to absent of development, nation or individual have developed in one or another either greater or lesser extent. It similarly means exploitative relationship between center and periphery.

Unit 2 Africa's Economic Dependence

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcome
- 2.3 Causes of Africa's Economic Dependence
- 2.4 Colonial Factor
- 2.5 Aid/Assistance and other related factors
- 2.6 Factors that Impede Economic Development in Africa
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 References/Further Readings
- 2.9 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

2.1 Introduction

African countries were colonized by European powers. Their economies were constructed or structured to serve as suppliers of raw materials to the metropolitan economies and the markets for the sale excess output from European industries. Each European power made an effort to integrate the economies of its African colonies into the metropolitan economy and in the process, created a one-sided dependency that has lasted hitherto. Colonialism emerged as a consequence of search for economic development by the center at the expense of periphery. Rodney (2005: 177) rightly pointed out that colonialism was not merely a system of exploitation, but one whose essential purpose was to repatriate the profits to the so-called mother country...it meant the development of Europe is part of the same dialectical process in which African countries were underdeveloped.

2.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit students should be able to:

- Discuss how colonialism caused Africa's economic dependency syndrome.
- Explain the effect of aid/assistance caused economic dependence of African countries.
- Enumerate factors that impede Africa's economic development.

2.3. Colonial Factor

African countries depend on their former colonial powers for trade, development and military assistance, food aid, foreign direct investment etc. For example Francophone African countries were integrated into the French economy though the currency union called CFA Franc zone, this exhibit greater dependence on their former colonizers (Mbaku, 2008: 122). Many African countries are as dependent on the West European economies as they were during colonial period.

It could be noted that Africa's most important trade partner since the 1960s is the European Economic Community now European Union. Over the decades, while other developing regions of the world have been able to lessen their trade dependency on the EU, African countries have actually become more dependent on their former colonizers for trade. Although the EU is an important market for African economies, the latter have been losing their strategic significance to the Europeans. The continued European integration, with the formation of the EU, is expected to further marginalize the African economies and push them to the periphery of the global system (Mbaku, 2008: 120).

The Africa's continued dependence on Euro-American markets and direct foreign investment coupled with presence of multinational companies in the continent, the combined effect of these processes, to a large extent, continue to make African economies dependent on the imperialist. In so far as this circle persist the, dependency syndrome of Africa's economies will equally continue to exist.

Self- Assessment Exercise 1

Briefly discuss how colonialism contributed to Africa's economic dependency syndrome.

2.4 Aid/Development Assistance and other related factors

In the 1950s, African countries/colonies prepared for independence, it was suggested that foreign financial flows, especially, Official Development Assistance (ODA), could be used to argument domestic savings and significantly raise the level of capital formation in the new independent countries. Unfortunately, despite the fact that African countries attract numerous development aid they remained very poor and dependent on the former colonial powers. Many reasons have been given to explain why this massive flow of aid has failed to improve wealth creation and economic growth in the African countries. Some of these reasons include:

- i. During cold war, western Aid donors favored African countries with relatively high military expenditure.
- ii. The African countries have usually allocated very little aid to areas, such as basic education, primary health care, nutrition, and safe drinking water, social and economic sectors that are critical for economic development.

- iii. The granting of OAD greatly favored those African leaders that are friendly with the donor countries and consequence upon this, those leaders are forced to accept western ideologies, ideology that may likely lead to loose of control of aid received from the donor. The lack of control over the ODA may constrain the ability of the Africa's policy makers to use the resources effectively to enhance domestic wealth creation efforts.
- iv. A number of policies regarding aid in the developed countries are driven by the objective of special interest groups instead of a genuine desire to improve the wealth creation capacities of the developing countries.
- v. In the case of food aid, the dumping of foreign goods in the African countries may destroy the markets for domestic production, discourage investment in agriculture and prevent the local economy from achieving self-sufficiency in food stuff production (Mbaku, 2008:124).

The aforementioned inflow of aid and development assistance to the African countries and the way and manner it was utilized by the African leaders, vividly account for the continued dependence of African countries on their former colonial powers. This further entails the perpetuation of Africa's economic dependence on metropolitan mothers.

Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Briefly discuss how aid/assistance led to Africa's economic dependence

2.4. Factors that Impede Economic Development in Africa

Quite a number of factors were advanced to explain reasons for poor or slow development process in Africa, some of these factors over a large scale of time overlaps. The factors include the following:

- i. *Lack of democracy:* One variant of the government agenda is more promotion of democratic values. Despite the various reasons donors might favor democracy other than to promote development, the link to economic growth is tenuous.
- ii. *Neighborhood effect:* Because economies interact with each other, African economies might grow slowly because many of their neighbors do as well. A neighbor in economic trouble can lead to fewer trading partners, smuggling or black market along the border and perceptions of regional risk, this factor ultimately reduces the possibility of rapid economic growth in the continent.
- iii. *Prevalence of conflicts:* The outbreak of conflicts in African countries has a negative effect on the economic growth especially,

through disruption of farming, trade and other economic activities. Violence in Africa also has suppressing effect on the economy.

- iv. *Shock vulnerability:* African economy remain fairly undiversified and concentrated in a small number of products, they are vulnerable to shock if there is sharp drop in the price of commodities.
- v. *Poverty trap: Due to poverty trap,* African economies are so short of resources that they are unable to generate savings to invest enough to make the transition to the next level (Moss, 2011: 101-102).

In fact, there are host of other factors that deeply affect the economic growth of African countries. Some of these factors include; excessive external debt and heavy reliance on foreign aid from the developed countries. In addition to this, Rodney (2005: 351) pointed out that growth in underdeveloped countries is hampered by inadequate growth in exports and is made worse by population explosion.

Self -Assessment Exercise 3.

Mention three (3) factors that impede development in Africa

2.5. Summary

African countries got their independence over some decades, however, their economies remained in what some scholars called dependency syndrome. The unit highlighted factors that are responsible for such ugly development. It discussed how imperialist designed and structured economies of African countries in such a way that even after independence the African economy continue to be dependent on European power. It equally discussed how aid/development assistance that usually comes from imperialist contributed to the continued circle of Africa's economic dependence on Europeans, largely, as a result of mismanagement of aid or assistance by the African leaders. The unit also pointed out some factors that hindered development in Africa

2.7 References/Further Readings

- Mbaku, J.M. (2008). *Economic Development in Africa*. In Kieh, G.K. (ed.). Africa and the Third Millennium. Eritrea. Africa World Press, Inc.
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- Rodney, W. (2005). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Abuja. Panaf Publishing Inc.

2.8. Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answer.

How colonialism contributed to Africa's economic dependency syndrome.

- Colonialist structure Africa's economies in such a way that even after left the economies will dependent of the Europeans
- By making sure that there is direct foreign investment into the African countries.

SAE Exercise 2: Answers.

How aid/assistance led to Africa's economic dependence.

- Mismanagement of aid/assistance by the African leaders, this makes it worthless because it will not make any impact on the economy, thereby making the countries to be more dependent on assistance.
- In the case of food aid, it discourages investment in agriculture and prevent the local economy from achieving self sufficiency in food stuff production.

SAE Exercise 3: Answer.

Three (3) factors that impede development in Africa.

- Lack of democracy
- Neighborhood effect.
- Prevalence of conflict

Unit 3 Africa's Economic Reform Programs

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcome
- 3.4 State Intervention
- 3.5 Structural Adjustment Program
- 3.6 Privatization
- 3.7 Summary
- 3.8 References/Further Readings
- 3.9 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

3.1 Introduction

Globally, countries rich or poor are routinely undergoing some measures or reforms; changing laws, regulations and policies. Across African countries, economic reform has been one of the most prominent strategies for trying to increase economic growth and reduce poverty. International community encourages reforms as part of its assistance and in many cases uses financial and diplomatic means to reduce certain kinds of reforms over others, especially trying to find ways to reduce the states intrusion in the economy where possible, and try to encourage private actors, farmers, business people, companies to play a greater role (Moss, 2011: 5). From the onset of political independence, most if not all African countries bedeviled with dwindling economic development. As a result of this, myriad economic reform programs were adopted with a view to mitigating the ailing economic problems. The unit discusses some reform programs, which include; state intervention, structural adjustment program and privatization.

3.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit students should be to:

- Discuss some reform programs adopted by African countries to mitigate economic problems.
- Explain why state intervene.

3.3 State Intervention

After the attainment of independence, African countries faced with problem of transparency in the way government conducted business, spending at the whim of state bureaucrats or in musky schemes where many of the funds disappeared. In many cases there was scant regard for private property, especially that of foreigner and also little or virtually no distinction between public and private wealth of political leaders. One of the legacies of post-independence period was heavy government intervention, such as state ownership of factories.

Part of the major government intervention after independence was the nationalization of major industries, whereby the owners of a company were expelled and the state seized control and management of the company. This has happened in many African countries.

State owned enterprises is also one of the state intervention, state intervention involved the establishment of state owned companies that include not only utilities such as water and electricity, in some cases shoes factories breweries etc

One may need to ask question, what is the rationale of state taking over ownership of private companies? There are many reasons why state became heavily involved in the economy, five basic justifications suffices to answer the question:

- i. *African nationalism:* Nationalism was a movement or struggle that sought to reassert local control and rebuild confidence of societies that had been under foreign domination. Although political authority was fore-most in the minds of new African leaders, they also wanted to throw off the yoke of economic colonialism. At that time they used the state to Africanize the economy was thought a logical and to many a necessary next step to control Africa's destiny.
- ii. *Socialist influence:* In the early 1960s, socialism pre-occupied the minds of some African leaders, such as Nkrumah of Ghana. They were trying to emulate the Soviet Union model. A softer version was tried in places like Tanzania, Ghana, leaders of these countries sought to use state to create an African socialism in which the government would manage the important parts of the economy for the greater good of the citizens.
- iii. *Dependency theory:* From the early days of independence there was strong ideological influence from the dependency theory, an idea that extended colonial economic relationship into post-independence era. While colonialism was a system for exploiting poor colonies in the periphery for the benefit of rich countries at the center, dependency theory argued that this system continued through international capitalism. Even though countries might have gained political independence, they were still thought to be economically dependent. The only solution is to break the bonds.

If the international capitalist system was a source of dependency, and these new states wanted to be truly independent, then they would have to intervene to withdraw from the system. This meant cutting ties to the global economy, seizing control of economic activity, and expelling foreign business interest.

iv. *Development economic theory:* Another justification for the state intervention was not to break the bonds of global capitalism but rather to help economies jump-start into the global system.

Development economics argued that certain steps were necessary for the state to take in order to nurse poor economies along until they were large and mature enough to compete with the already rich. This theory suggested that the state should help small companies to get started, assist them to grow, and protect them from outside markets until they were large enough to stand on their own. Trade barriers, cheap loan from the government and state ownership thus could all be justified as temporary steps to help bring African industries to the point of takeoff.

Elite capture and patronage: Political elites some time pursued control of resources. They favored firms owned by the state or with close ties to politicians sought to use the state to protect their position or to merely steal from the public funds (Moss, 2011: 107-109).

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

1.	Briefly explain how can a state intervene in the economy?
2.	Mention three (3) reasons why state intervene.

3.4 Structural Adjustment Program

This is a policy or program established by International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and other related institutions. This program is tied to loans given to, particularly developing countries, which African countries takes larger part. Most government in Africa entered into negotiation with IMF and its sister organizations, this marked a shift toward policy based lending or using loans to try to encourage policy changes. Thus, the beginning of structural adjustment, which largely continue to this day (Moss, 2011: 110). Usually IMF loans used to be tied with conditions, one major condition is devaluation of currency.

Self- Assessment Exercise 2.

Briefly explain structural adjustment program.

3.5 Privatization

This is also part of economic reform measure, although confronted with many staunch criticisms. Privatization precisely refers to transfer or sale of ownership of firm from public to private hands. The purpose is larger than just changing ownership. The essence is to raise money from the sale, and halt any public subsidies to the State Owned Enterprises (SOE), and help to improve the contribution of the company through new management, investment and technology (Moss, 2011: 113).

Further to these reform programs, Mbaku (2008: 130), pointed out some institutional reforms that are critical to Africa's economic growth. Africans should be engaged in institutional reforms to develop laws that provide the appropriate foundation for establishing viable and sufficient institutions to uphold the constitution and the rule of law. These include:

- i. A professional and neutral military.
- ii. Properly constrained policy force.
- iii. An independent judiciary.
- iv. An independent media.
- v. An independent Central Bank.
- vi. A professional civil service; and
- vii. An efficient and representative parliament.

Despite the fact that several African countries introduced and perhaps implemented most of these reforms program, unfortunately, their economies continue to remain at staggering stage.

Self -Assessment Exercise 3

- 1. Briefly explain the term privatization.
- 2. Mention four (4) institutional reform measure as proposed by Mbaku.

3.6 Summary

In the unit effort was made to discuss some reforms program that were adopted or implemented by African countries, the essence of the reform program was to bail out African countries from the yoke of dwindling economic problems, which over the decades they had been experiencing. The various reform programs are; structural adjustment program, privatization and state taking over ownership of private firms. The unit also discussed reasons why state take over ownership of private companies. Variant views were put across to explain the reasons for that. There were also some institutional reform programs or measures proposed with the sole view of addressing development obstacles of African countries.

3.7 References/Further Readings

- Mbaku, J.M. (2008). *Economic Development in Africa*. In Kieh, G.K. (ed.). Africa and the Third Millennium. Eritrea. Africa World Press, Inc.
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3.8. Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers

How can state intervene?

• State intervenes by taking over ownership of private firms operating within the state.

Reasons for the state intervention.

- To rebuild confidence of societies that had been dominated under colonialism.
- Some African leaders tried to practice socialism in which government would manage important part of the economy.
- Dependency theory emphasized on continuation of exploitative relationship between the center and periphery through the international capitalism, the only solution is to break the bonds by cutting ties to the global economy and expelling foreign business interest.

SAE Exercise 2: Answer.

Explanation on structural adjustment program

• Structural adjustment program is a program or condition tied to IMF and World Bank loans.

SAE Exercise 3: Answers

Privatisation Program

• Privatization simply means sales of governments firms to private companies or individuals.

Four (4) Institutional reform measures

- i. A professional and neutral military.
- ii. Properly constrained policy force.
- iii. An independent judiciary.
- iv. An independent media.""

Unit 4 Africa's Debt Burden

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcome
- 1.3 Comcept of Debt Burden
- 1.4 When Debt Become a Problem
- 1.5 Who are the Africas Main Creditors
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

1.1 Introduction

Since the attainment of independence most of African countries are seriously with numerous challenges, one of the major challenge is associated with development. As a result of dwindling economic development some African countries could not execute vital projects that have direct bearing to their citizens, they therefore resorted to hungrily looking for loan from either developed countries or from some financial institutions. Loan was usually taken by most of African countries with a view to financing some projects, but unfortunately, over a large scale of time those in the corridor of power mismanage the loan ultimately become a burden the country. This unit addresses the concept of debt, whether or not debt is always problems and who are the African creditors.

4.2. Learning Outcome

At the end of the unit students should be able to:

- Explain the concept of debt.
- Explain when debt becomes a problem to the nation.
- Enumerate who are the main African creditors.

4.3. What is a Debt?

Because of debt is associated with poverty and stress, debt has all kinds of connotations. However, debt is not necessarily bad, if managed properly, debt can actually be a very good think for a country. Debt is merely a financial obligation by one actor to pay money to another actor based on previous transfer of funds. The actor who owes the money is called a debtor, and the one to whom the funds are owed is called a creditor. Most countries on the globe are creditors and debtor at the same time, with governments lending to and borrowing funds from various other entities. United States of America is the world largest debtor, it owes more money to creditor than any other country on the world.

In fact, African countries have borrowed more money than they have loaned, making all of them significant debtors. Africa's debt became problem in the 1980s, when the African countries encountered problems paying back older loans. Many African countries their debts were unpayable and that the rising level of debt itself was becoming a barrier to development (Moss, 2011: 157).

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

1.	Who is a debtor?
2.	Who is a creditor?

4.4. When Debt Becomes a Problem?

The debt becomes a problems it all depends on how the loan is used. If the money borrowed is judiciously invested in projects that will produce a return, especially exports, then the loan should be payable. But if the loan is not used wisely, for example it was used for purchase of luxury materials or spent on projects that will never be completed or the worst of it ended up in the bank accounts of those in the corridor of power, then there is little or no chance for the loan to be repayable. Unfortunately, many loans taken out by African countries, usually fall on the latter category. It is worth mention that heavy borrowing did not in any way suggest trouble if the money is spent well and produces future income. The problem of African countries has been that most of them built up a lot of loan and failed to generate returns to pay the money back, even on the soft aid-like terms. Government tended to spend a lot each year than

they collected revenue, so they covered the difference by borrowing, usually from other governments or international institutions, such as World Bank. In fact, most of these loans were used to pay salaries or sunk into misguided projects. Therefore, when the loans became due for payment, even if it was twenty years later, there were no dollars generated to service the debt (Moss, 2011: 158).

It is important to emphasis that if loans are used wisely, it is expected to encourage faster economic growth and hopefully more exports form the investment so far made with the loans.

Self -Assessment	Exercise 2
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1.	Is debt always a problem?
2.	When the debt is becomes a problems?

4.5. Who are the Africa's Creditors?

Most of African countries borrowed money from international financial institutions, such as World Bank, and other governments, primarily those in Europe, North America and Japan. Recently, China has become a major creditor to African countries, offering huge credit lines, typically in exchange for mining or oil contracts. Loans form one government to another, assuming the terms are significantly soft (interest rate below commercial bank) are considered aid when given. These receipts then go on country's books and are called "official debt." When a loan is owed to international or regional organizations, it is called "multilateral debt." The final broad category of debt is to private companies, investors or banks and is known as "commercial debt."

The following are some of the Africa's main types of debt: **Bilateral Debt:**

- British government.
- Japanese government.
- Canadian government.

Multilateral Debt:

- World Bank.
- IMF.
- African Development Bank.

Commercial Debt.

- Private Banks.
- Oil Companies etc.

Self -Assessment Exercise 3

- 1. Differentiate between bilateral and multilateral debt.
- 2. Mention two (2) main types of Africa's debt.

4.6. Summary

In summary the unit discussed the concept of debt, where the one who owe the money is called a debtor, while the actor or the one to whom the money are owed is called a creditor. The Unit also pointed out that loan is not a problem if invested where it can generate or produces export goods, but if used for purchase of luxury, payment of salaries or misappropriated then it will become a problem as in case of most African countries. The unit further highlighted major African creditors, such, World Bank, British, Japan etc. and the main types of African debt.

4.7. References/Further Readings

Moss, T.J. (2011). African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors. London. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

4.8. Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE 1: Answers

Who is a debtor?

• A debtor is the one owed or borrowed money.

Who is a creditor?

• A creditor is the one to whom money is borrowed from.

SAE 2: Answers

Is debt always a problem?

• Debt is not always a problem if used wisely.

When the debt becomes a problem?

• Debt becomes a problem only if it is not used or invested into projects that can generate or produces export goods.

SAE 3: Answers.

Differentiate between bilateral and multilateral loan.

• Bilateral loan is when a loan is owed to an individual government. While multilateral loan is a loan owed to international or regional organizations.

Mention two (2) main types of African debt.

- Bilateral debt.
- Multilateral debt.

Module 4 Ethnicity and National Questions

Introduction

The development of ethnicity in Africa span over a century and has been marked by dialectic of expansion and differentiation. African ethnic group are not univocal and the content of culture and customs as well as the boundaries of communities remain matters of conflict and negotiation. The social forces that shaped ethic development and identity have been fundamentally materials, and ethnic politics focused on access both to traditional assets, land and labor and the material resources of modernity in both the state and market (Burman, 2004: 4). Modern ethnicities were shaped by particular relationship with colonial administration. Ethnicity is not just a matter of culture and tradition, but is also about competition of wealth and power. African ethnicity entails conflict within ethnic the groups over social obligations, authority and the boundaries of community. It is imperative to point out that ethnic factor is one of the major factors that over a large scale of time precipitate conflicts in Africa. Ethnicity in Africa has different dimension; there is the internal and external dimensions. Equally, there are scholars that made distinction among ethnic group, ethnic pluralism and ethnicity. The module further points out characteristic of the African ethnic context and their relationship to the various forms and levels of democratic institutional development. It also highlighted the issue of ethnicity, essentially as it relate to national questions.

The module comprises the following units:

- Unit 1 Dimension of African Ethnicity.
- Unit 2 Types and Characteristic of African Ethnic context.
- Unit 3 Types of Ethnic Minority Groups
- Unit 4 Ethnicity and National Questions and How to manage Ethnic Conflicts.

Unit 1 Dimension of African Ethnicity

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcome
- 1.3 Internal Dimension
- 1.4 External Dimension
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

1.1 Introduction

The trend of ethnicity in the African societies vis-à-vis political space is one of the major areas of concern, essentially, as it relate to nation building and perhaps national cohesion. Most of the conflicts in African countries that metamorphosed into civil war usually, emanated from the menace of ethnicity. Ethnicity deep rooted in African society that is why politicians and state bureaucrats use ethnicity as pivotal in their efforts to get access or control of state resource. If there is any resistance from any ethnic group to hinder the acclaim control or access to resource may likely resulted into mobilization by another ethnic group to counter the resistance, hence, conflict erupted. This unit discusses the dimension of ethnicity in African societies, this includes; internal and external dimension. The understanding of these two broad categories of ethnicity in Africa will vividly lead to proper conceptualization of ethnicity in African societies.

1.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit students should be able to:

- To conceptualized ethnicity in African context.
- To explain internal and external dimension of ethnicity.

1.3. Ethnicity: Internal Dimension/Process

The internal dimension concerned with relations inside the group and it has been termed as 'moral ethnicity'. This is a contested process of defining cultural identity, communal membership and leadership. It is important to note that the attachment of many Africans have to their ethnic group and ethnic identity is not simply irrational attachment to kin or blood and soil, it is rather tied up with complex social obligations that define people's right and responsibilities, and protect people when they are most vulnerable and alone. This is the reason for calling it 'moral ethnicity' membership of this group entails subordinating one's behavior to certain moral imperatives when dealing with other group members (Burman, 2004: 4).

Moral ethnicity has primarily been a culture of accountability with little concern for poor and no articulation of a concept of universal equal citizenship. Some scholars noted the tendency of African ethnic culture to a conservative authoritarianism. Competing elites and sub-groups are continually contesting the meaning of group membership and seeking to negotiate their assigned responsibilities. Within this conservative hierarchy system there are relations of trust and solidarity; people can rely on others in the group to fulfill their responsibilities, minimal and egalitarian as they often are (Burman, 2004: 5).

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

 Mention two types of process or dimension of ethnicity in African societies.
 Briefly explain internal dimension of ethnicity

1.4. External Dimension

Unlike internal dimension, the external dimension concerned with relations between an ethnic group and the state, or between two or more ethnic groups, this is called 'amoral'. This process often called 'political 'tribalism', this describe the competitive confrontation of ethnic contenders for the material resources through the control of the state apparatus. Here the success is defined as maximizing the power and resources available to one's own group, whatever the consequences for other group or for the functioning of the state as a whole. The interaction of moral and political tribalism 'describes a complex process of ethnic definition and identity of who belongs to what community and what access to material resources (Burman, 2004: 5).

In fact, taking into cognizance of the aforementioned of ethnicity dimension in Africa, the external dimension, best known as political tribalism tend to be a major threat to democratic consolidation in Africa, and perhaps posed very serious national questions, which most, if not all, African countries that are plunged into ethnicity conflicts are yet to fully addressed. Take Nigeria as an example, ethnic conflicts spanned for many decades. It was even found that ethnicity is one of the greatest threat to pre-independent Nigeria. This assertion was buttressed by Mustapha (2004:258), where he pointed out that:

Certain patterns of inter-ethnic conflict had emerged in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria, the best known of which are the ethnoregional conflicts which emerged from democratization period of 1950s. These conflicts were between political blocs constructed around specific ethnic, religious and regional elements from the Hausa-Fulani, parts of Kanuri, and other Muslim communities of the North, the Igbo in the mainly Christian East and the Yoruba in the West. If the main conflict resolved around the hegemonic ambitions and fears of these three political blocs, the sub-text was the conflict between the majority group and the numerous minority ethnic groups within each region.

Self -Assessment Exercise 2

Briefly discuss external dimension of ethnicity in African context.

1.5.1 Summary

In the unit we have seen characterization of ethnicity in African context where we discussed the two dimensions or process; internal and external dimension. Internal dimension usually concerned with relations inside the group and has been termed as moral ethnicity. Membership in this ethnic group entails subordinating of one's behavior to certain moral imperative. For the external dimension it concerned with relations between an ethnic group and state or between two or more groups. This type of process or dimension referred as amoral and often called political tribalism. It was also pointed that the later dimension is one of threats to democratic consolidation for African countries.

1.5. References/Further Readings

- Burman, B. Etal (2004). Ethnicity and Democracy in Historical and Comparative Perspective. In Burman, B. Etal (ed.). *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*. Ohio. Ohio University Press.
- Mustapha, A.R. (2004). Ethnicity and the Politics of Democratization in Nigeria. In Burman, B. etal (ed.). Ibid.

1.6. Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers

Explanation on ethnicity internal dimension.

• This is concerned with relations inside the group and it has been termed as moral ethnicity, it has been a culture of personal accountability with little concern for the poor and articulation of a concept of equal citizenship.

SAE Exercise 2 Answers.

Explanation on ethnicity external dimension.

• The ethnicity external dimension concerned with relations between an ethnic group and state or between two or more groups, essentially amoral, most often referred as political tribalism.

Unit 2 Types and Characteristic of African Ethnic context

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcome
- 2.3 Distinction of Ethnic Group
- 2.4 Characteristic Ethnic context
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

2.1 Introduction

Ethnicity in the African context assumed undaunted prominence due to its profound impact on democratic consolidation and political stability. The post-independent African countries bedeviled with menace of ethnic conflicts, which in fact, in some countries, resulted into civil war. Quite a number conflicts that African countries witnessed and currently, experiencing usually, emanated from ethnicity. In view of this therefore, knowledge of ethnicity, its types and characteristic undauntedly is important, because it will avail the state bureaucrats the kind of measures and or action to be employed with a view to curtailing the negative effect of ethnicity, essentially, as it relate to political viability and national cohesion. The unit also dwells on the types of ethnicity and its characteristic based on African context.

2.2. Learning Outcome

At the end of the unit students should be able to:

- To mention three distinguishable ethnic groups
- To explain characteristic of ethnicity in the African context.

2.3. Distinction of Ethnic Group

Considering the complex nature of the term ethnicity, scholars tried to come to terms with this ambiguity by making a distinction among ethnic group, ethnic pluralism and ethnicity. There are three distinct groups:

First, ethnic group is regarded as a social collectivity whose members not only shares such objective characteristics as language, core-territory, ancestral myths, culture, religion and or political organization, but also has some subjective consciousness or perception of common descent or identity. This subjective sense of common identity is however, developed only in contexts involving relationships among two or more ethnic groups. In other word, ethnic identity results from contact rather than isolation. Second, ethnic pluralism, this refers to the existence of two or more ethnic groups within a territorial society or political community. Third, ethnicity refers to the mobilization and politicization of ethnic identity in situation of competitive or conflictual ethnic pluralism (Suberu, 2003: 4-5).

Self -Assessment	Exercise 1
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1.	Mention three (3) distinct ethnic group.
2.	Explain ethnic pluralism.

2.4. Characteristics of Ethnicity on African context

Burman (2004:317) outlines characteristics of African ethnic context and their relationship to various forms and levels of democratic institutional development:

- i. Contemporary African ethnicities are modern, not primordial survival of some primitive tribal past: These groups they are relatively recent and dynamic in nature to the responses to the political, economic and cultural forces of western modernity as introduced to Africa during colonial powers. Ethnicity is the contested outcome of intense political process through which the boundaries, political ethics and moral economies of African communities have been continuously fought over and redefined in response to powerful destructive forces of social change.
- ii. Contemporary African ethnicities are intimately linked to the process of colonial and post-colonial state formation and the development of capitalist market economies: These groups are grounded in, and express, in particular, the inequalities of economic development and access to state resources both within and between ethnic communities.
- iii. The distinction between the internal and external dimensions of ethnicity is critical for understanding the relationship between ethnic communities, capitalism and the state: Ethnicity is not a matter of culture and tradition, but is also about competition for wealth and power. The conflicts within ethnic groups over social obligations, authority and the boundaries of community, and the conflicts between ethnic groups over access to markets and control over the state, are fundamentally about the control of the sources of material prosperity and political power.
- iv. The internal contestations are also moral conflicts over fundamental issues of social responsibility, solidarity, and the collective moral economy of ethnic communities: The term moral ethnicity denotes the web of moral obligations emerging from these conflicts that tie together members of an ethnic group and provide them with some degree of protection and solidarity.

- v. The external confrontation between ethnic communities over access to and control over state institutions take place in an amoral free-for-all pervaded by ethnically based patron-client network: In the clashes of political tribalism the formal rules of the political process mean little, and control over parts of the state apparatus mean a great deal. This process expresses and reinforces distrust and opportunistic materialism that characterized the view of the state in African societies.
- vi. *Ethnic communities in Africa shape and also shaped by other bases of social differentiation and conflict:* Internally, conflicts of both gender and generation are recurrent foci of clashing interpretations of custom and tradition. The conflicts between developing classes over issues of moral economy and political authority, in particular, are a crucial component of the politics of moral ethnicity. Externally, the clashes of political tribalism are also usually intra-class confrontation between competing ethnic factions of national political elites struggling for position within the state, and at same time inhibit the mobilization of other classes across ethnic lines.

Self -Assessment Exercise 2

State three (3) characteristic of ethnicity in African context.

2.5. Summary

In African societies there are myriad ethnic groups, each group is struggling to maintain its identity within numerous groups in the state. The unit discussed the distinction between the ethnic contexts in Africa. Two major distinctive groups were spelt out; ethnic group, ethnic pluralism and ethnicity. The unit further pointed out some characteristic of African ethnic context, in which, about six different characteristic were discussed. Similarly, the unit pointed out the relationship between these ethnic context to the various forms and levels of democratic institutional development.

2.6. References/Further Readings

- Burman, B. Etal (2004). Ethnicity and Democracy in Historical and Comparative Perspective. In Burman, B. Etal (ed.). *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*. Ohio. Ohio University Press.
- Suberu, R.T. (2003). *Ethnic Minority Conflicts and Governance in Nigeria*. Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limite.

2.7. Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers

Three distinct groups

- Ethnic group.
- Ethnic pluralism.
- Ethnicity.

Explanation on ethnic pluralism.

• Ethnic pluralism refers to existence of two or more ethnic groups within the territory or political community, usually state.

SAE Exercise 2: Answers

Three characteristic of African ethnic context.

- Contemporary African ethnicities are modern, not primordial survival of some primitive tribal past.
- Contemporary African ethnicities are intimately linked to the process of colonial and post-colonial state formation and the development of capitalist market economies.
- The distinction between the internal and external dimensions of ethnicity is critical for understanding the relationship between ethnic communities, capitalism and the state.

Unit 3 Types of Ethnic Minority Groups, Features of Ethnic Conflicts in Modern World

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcome
- 3.3 Types of Ethnic Minority groups
- 3.4 Features of Ethnic Conflict in Modern World
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

3.1 Introduction

Ethnicity vis-à-vis ethnic groups in African context is multi-faceted phenomena; African societies are characterized by a number of different groups, although we discussed the distinction between the groups, where we spelt out; ethnic group, ethnic pluralism and ethnicity. However, even among these groups, the question of minority is also very fundamental. In view of this, the unit dwells on the discourse of types of ethnic minority groups, it is equally important to note that this is not restricted to African societies only. The issue of ethnic minority most often is a source of ethnic conflict in African societies, because they always felt dominated in competition in and or sharing state resources, hence, they agitates for identity and fairness in sharing state resources. The unit also discusses features of ethnic conflicts in the modern world, particularly, as it relate to third world countries.

3.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of the unit students should be to:

- Mention types of ethnic minority groups
- State features of ethnic conflicts in the modern world.

3.3 Types Ethnic Minority Groups

Gur (1993) cited in Suberu (2003:6), pointed out that minorities group are communal groups, which experience systematic discrimination in a state, and have taken political action in support of their collective interests. In view of this, Gur came out with five types of ethnic minority groups; ethnonationalists, indigenous peoples, ethnoclasses, militant or politicized sects, and communal contenders:

i. *Ethnonationalists:* These are relatively large, regionally concentrated peoples who historically were autonomous and who

have pursued separatist objectives at some time during the last half-century. For example, Kurds of Iraq, Turkey and Iran.

- ii. *Indigenous peoples:* These are conquered descendants of the original inhabitants of a region who typically live a pre-industrial existence in peripheral regions, practice subsistence agricultures that are sharply distinct from those of dominant groups, for example, Masai and San of Africa.
- iii. *Ethnoclasses* are ethnically or culturally distinct peoples usually descended from slaves or immigrants, with special economic roles, usually for an inferior status. For example Muslim minority in the advanced countries like France, Britain, U.S. etc.
- iv. *Militant or politicized sects* are communal groups whose political status and activities are centered on the defense of their religious beliefs. Militant sects include Muslim minorities in societies dominated by other religious sects, such as Turks of German, Copts in Egypt, the Shi'a sect in Sunni dominated societies etc.
- v. *Communal contenders:* These are culturally distinct groups in heterogeneous societies in which no single group constitute a demographic majority of the population and virtually all groups hold or seek a share in state power. Communal contenders are two types:
- a. *Advantaged communal contenders:* These are groups that have both economic and political advantages over the other groups in heterogeneous societies.
- b. *Disadvantaged communal contenders:* These are groups subjected to economic or political discrimination or both.

It is worthy to stress that the fifth types of minority group, vividly captured the ethnic realties of the Nigeria's ethnic political space, because in Nigeria, there is no single ethnic group that constitute demographic majority of Nigerian population.

Self -Assessment Exercise 1.

1.	Mention three (3) types of ethnic minority groups.
2.	State and explain two (2) of communal contenders.

3.4 Features of Ethnic Conflict

Rupesinghe (1987) cited in Suberu (2003: 8-9), pointed out some features of ethnic conflicts, essentially, as it relate to Third World countries:

- i. *They are protracted social conflicts.* Protracted social conflicts are long drawn out social processes which combine ethnicity with a demand for economic redistribution. In such conflicts, it is difficult to distinguish between needs, interest and security.
- ii. They involve a conflict between the periphery and the center in which a dominant or hegemonic ethnic group or coalition controls

the central state apparatus at the expense of peripheral ethnic sections. Some scholars described it as internal colonialism.

- iii. These ethnic conflicts occur in segmented, deeply divided societies of an open type.
- iv. They also occur in unranked ethnic stratification systems. Ethnic and class conflict coincided when ethnicity and class coincided in ranked systems. Ethnic conflict impedes or obscures class conflict when ethnic groups crosscut classes, as occurs in unranked systems.
- v. Ethnic conflicts epitomize a defective state or a state that is bound by or enmeshed in, primordial loyalties. In fact, such defective state is unable to act impartially or equitably towards its diverse ethnic constituencies, and its policies invariably serve to exacerbate, rather than moderate, divisive conflicts.

Self- Assessment Exercise 2

Briefly explain two (2) features of ethnic conflicts in the modern world

3.5 Summary

The unit discussed the different types of ethnic groups as they existed in most parts of the world, the distinguishing features of all these groups were spelt out in the unit, about five of them were thoroughly discussed; the groups include, ethnonationalists, indigenous people etc. The unit also discussed the features of ethnic conflicts in modern world, particularly, the Third World countries. Knowledge of these features will greatly assist those in the corridor of power to come out with policies and or reforms that may likely reduce the re-occurrence and intensity of ethnic conflicts in their respective domains.

3.6 References/Further Readings

Suberu, R.T. (2003). *Ethnic Minority Conflicts and Governance in Nigeria*. Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited.

3.7 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers.

Three type of ethnic minorities.

- Ethnonationalists
- Indigenous peoples
- Ethnonationalists

Two types of communal contenders.

- Advantaged communal contenders: These are groups that have both economic and political advantages over the other groups in heterogeneous societies.
- Disadvantaged communal contenders: These are who subjected to economic or political discrimination or both.

SAE Exercise 2: Answers.

Brief on the two features of ethnic conflicts.

- This is a protracted social conflicts are long drawn out social processes which combine ethnicity with a demand for economic redistribution. In such conflicts, it is difficult to distinguish between needs, interest and security.
- It is a conflict between the periphery and the center in which a dominant or hegemonic ethnic group or coalition controls the central state apparatus at the expense of peripheral ethnic sections. Some scholars described it as internal colonialism.

Unit 4 Ethnicity: National Questions and How to Manage Ethnic Conflicts

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcome
- 4.3 Definition of national question
- 4.4 Ethnicity and National Questions
- 4.5 How to Manage Ethno-Cultural Diversity and Ethno-Cultural Conflicts in Africa
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Reading.
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

4.1 Introduction

As pointed in most of the relevant sections, ethnicity is a very serious issue in African countries; it usually poses daunting threats to national integration as well as nation building. A host of national questions that are viewed as inimical to nation building, mostly, emanated from the menace of ethnicity. For example, in Nigeria, the whole lots of Nigeria's national questions are resultant effects of ethnic minority struggle, essentially, with regard to state resource sharing formula to various geographical regions in the country. Beside the economic struggle of the groups, also there is the question of political domination by some ethnic groups within the Nigeria's political space. In view of this, the unit discusses the term, in particular, national questions as understood by a number of scholars, it similarly, points out how the issue of ethnicity deeply contributed to the re-occurring issue of national questions in African societies.

4.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of the unit students should be able to:

- Define national question.
- Explain ethnicity contributed on issue of national questions in African societies.
- Explain mechanism on how to manage ethnic conflicts.

4.3 Definition of National Question

The term national question is a multi-faceted concept, the exact meaning of the term might be relative to circumstance, and most also depend on the political space and time. It seemed as, there is scant of literature with regard to the precise meaning of the concept. In the language of Marxist scholars, national question could be found in exploitative class society, the national question arises with struggle of nations and peoples for national liberation and for the most favorable conditions possible for their social development (Wikipedia:

https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/National +Question).

The term national question has become just like a code name for all the controversies, doubts and experimentation, which surround the search for stability, legitimacy and development. National question concerns with the fundamental basis of political existence of countries as individuals and cultural groups within one political system or state. In fact, the term national question entails the perennial debate as to how to order the relations between the different ethnic, linguistic and cultural groupings so that they have the same privileges, access to power and equitable share of national resources; debate as to whether or not the state or nation is on the right course towards the goal of nationhood; debate as to whether the goal itself is mistaken and should seek other arrangement to facilitate the search for legitimacy and development (Ajayi, 2016).

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

Briefly define national question.

4.4 Ethnicity and National Questions

The national question usually focuses on the competition and conflict between different ethnic groups over the control of state resources and political power. The background to national question is the perceived domination of some ethnic groups by the other group engendered by the structure of the state. The national question is fundamentally related to the question of rights and privileges of nations and peoples, particularly in the context of oppression. The following are some of the issues that are usually regarded as national questions as it relate to Nigerian situation:

- i. What should be the component units and tiers of government in the Nigerian federation?
- ii. How should they be constituted based on ethnic contiguity or administrative expediency?
- iii. How should political power and administrative responsibilities be shared among the levels and tiers of government?
- iv. How should the ownership of economic resources be structured in the Nigerian federation?
- v. What should be the acceptable formulae for sharing federally collected revenue?
- vi. What should be the nature of inter-governmental relations in Nigeria? (Chukwu, 2017:1771-1772).

It is worthy to note that the aforementioned national question are not only found and applicable to Nigerian political space, it is equally, applicable to most, if not all, African countries where ethnicity vis-à-vis ethnic conflict become trending issue.

Self -Assessment Exercise 2.

Mention four (4) national questions that become a source of concern to Nigeria's quest for nation cohesion or nation building.

4.5 How to Manage Ethno-Cultural Diversity and Ethno-Cultural Conflicts in Africa

Ethno-cultural diversity as well as ethno-cultural conflicts, over the decades, undoubtedly, has been a trending issue, in fact, not only a trending issue but a viable source of national question in most African countries, and has been a serious threat to national cohesion. Of course is not easy to completely eliminate all forms of favoritism or partiality, but rather to establish political institutions and conventions which make all citizens feel secured and respected by the state, whatever their ethnicity, language or religion. It is therefore imperative to learn how to manage ethno-cultural diversity and ethno-cultural conflict in a constructive rather destructive way. As a result of this, African countries have to come up with measures or model that can assist in facing the challenges of ethno-cultural diversity and ethno-cultural conflicts. In this regard, Burman (2004: 15), points five models:

- i. *The difference-Blind State:* when asked how state should respond to ethno-cultural diversity, many tend or will want the state to ignore these differences. The state should allow people to develop and express their cultural practices and identities in private, in the home, church, mosque or private associations so long as they respect the rights of others to do the same. But the state should neither promote nor discourage cultural affiliations and practices.
- ii. *Jacobin republicanism:* This strategy accepts the premise that the state is unavoidably involved in promoting a particular language, culture, and identity but tries to turn this into virtue rather than vice. The goal on this view is for state to deliberately support and diffuse a common language and culture which will be defined as the national language and culture, to which all citizens should assimilate. This language and culture may historically have originated in a particular ethnic group; the state should redefine it as a universal language and culture belonging equally to all citizens. The goal is not to privatize culture rather to de-ethnicize it so that a particular language and culture becomes the official and public language. In fact, this is French model of citizenship, in which all citizens are expected to assimilate to a particular national language.

- iii. *Civil Society:* This strategy seeks to avoid the flaws of top-down nation building by arguing nation-building from below. The idea here is that a common national language, culture and diversity will emerge not as a result of imposition from centralized and authoritarian state but rather as a result of the mixing of peoples in the institutions of civil society, such as churches, mosques, trade unions, women groups etc. Out of these every day and non-threatening interactions in the civil society, inter-ethnic trust will develop, as will a new pan-ethnic vernacular and identity. In this awy nation-building will occur as a result of gradual evolution and consensus-building in civil society, not the state.
- iv. *Multination federalism:* This is a federation or partnership of various groups each of which will retain its distinctiveness and its right to autonomy or self government. This multination state can take two forms. Where groups are more or less territorially concentrated, it is likely to take the form of federalism. In a multinational federal system, the country is divided into several sub-units whose borders are drawn in such a way that each of the various groups will form a local majority in one or more of the sub-units. In this system each group is able to feel a sense of security, and can use the levers of sub-state power to protect and promote its identity and culture.
- v. *Consociationalism:* In this type of system the state may be unitary and centralized, but there are guarantees that all ethnic groups will share power at the central level. This may be achieved through rules regarding representation of ethnic groups in the legislature, in cabinet, and in the civil service.

It is worthy to note these models seemed to offer partial answers to some of the national questions as agitated by various ethnic groups in the African societies. Parts of these models were adopted and worked successfully; such multination federalism was adopted in Canada, Switzerland, Spain etc. Consociationalism was also adopted and worked successfully in Netherlands, Austria and Belgium.

Self -Assessment Exercise 3.

1.	Mention three (3) models that were proposed by Berman for
	managing ethno-diversity and ethno-cultural conflicts in Africa.
2.	Give two (2) examples of models that were adopted and work
	successfully.

4.6 Summary

Considering the ambiguity or rather multidimensional nature of national questions, scholars in different fields tend to define the term in various forms depending on the circumstances. In view of this, in the unit there

were discussions on the definition of national question. It also highlighted how ethnicity contributed to the heightened debate on national questions, which majority of African countries are currently witnessing. The unit equally pointed out some national questions based on Nigerian political space that usually, for some decades, remain a contending issue in the Nigerian quest for national cohesion. Taking into cognizance the quantum of conflicts that were emanated from ethnicity, essentially, within African countries Berman proposed five models that could be used in managing ethno-diversity and ethno-cultural conflicts. Some of these models were adopted by some countries and worked successfully.

4.8. References/Further Readings

- Ajayi, J.F.A. (2016). *The National Question Historical Perspective*. Retrieved from <u>https://guardian.ng./sunday-magazine/c104-sunday-magazine/the-nati</u>...
- Burman, B. Etal (2004). Ethnicity and Democracy in Historical and Comparative Perspective. In Burman, B. Etal (ed.). *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*. Ohio. Ohio University Press.
- Chukwu, A.C. (2017). *Ethnicity and the National Question in Nigeria*. Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research, 25 (8). Retrieved from <u>https://idosi.org.mejsr</u>.
- Wikipedia:https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/National +Question

4.9. Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers

National Question

• national question entails the perennial debate as to how to order the relations between the different ethnic, linguistic and cultural groupings so that they have the same privileges, access to power and equitable share of national resources;

SAE Exercise 2: Answers.

Four (4) types of National Questions.

- What should be the component units and tiers of government in the Nigerian federation?
- How should they be constituted, based on ethnic contiguity or administrative expediency?
- How should political power and administrative responsibilities be shared among the levels and tiers of government?
- How should the ownership of economic resources be structured in the Nigerian federation?

SAE Exercise 3: Answers

Three (3) models for managing ethno-cultural conflicts.

- The Difference Blind State.
- Jacobin Republicanism
- Multination Federalism. Example of the models that was adopted and worked successfully.
- Multination federalism adopted and worked successfully in Canada and Switzerland.
- Consociationalism was adopted and worked successfully in Netherlands and Austria.

Module 5 Peace and Security in Africa

Introduction

Violent conflicts posed a significant political and societal challenge throughout African countries poor governance, the side effect of corruption and the lack of socio-economic participation are some of the causes of insecurity in Africa. Poor governance for its part to a large extent goes hand in hand with the loss of legitimacy and authority, offering fertile ground for violence and further conflict. The nature of conflict in African countries has changed; it is no longer for ethnopolitical struggles or conflicts over distribution of power and state resources, but rather transnational violence by terrorists acting together with organized crime are increasingly undermining the nation system (https://www.fes.de/en/africa-department/peace-and-security). In addition to all these, insurgency, banditry and kidnapping become the order of the day, particular in Nigeria, which is the giant of Africa. It is against this background the module discusses continental responses to the menace of insecurity, in essence through the African Unity (AU). The efforts of sub-regional organizations, such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) would be discussed. Equally, the module addresses some contributions of international community towards achieving sustainable peace and security in African. The module comprises the following units:

- Unit 1 The Nature and Scope of Africa's Security Challenges.
- Unit 2 Continental Response on Peace and Security in Africa.
- Unit 3 International Response on Peace and Security in Africa
- Unit 4 The Response of Some Sub-regional organizations on Peace and Security in Africa.

Unit 1 Nature and Scope of Africa's Security Challenges

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcome
- 1.3 Nature and Scope of Africa's Security Challenges
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 References/Further Readings
- 1.6 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

1.1 Introduction

In the 2017, Global Peace Index, the Institute for Economics and Peace reported deterioration in peace in North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, with the largest deteriorations occurring in Ethiopia, Burundi, Mali, Libya and Lesotho. Six of the reported ten least peaceful countries in the world-Syria, South Sudan, Somalia, Sudan, Central African Republic and Libya are equally from Africa. In fact, despite the reduction in the number of external aggressions, Africa continues to suffer from internal conflicts in the forms of ethnic tensions, electoral violence and terrorism (Adeyoose, 2017). As pointed out earlier, there are cases of insurgencies, banditry and kidnapping, which significantly contributed to deterioration of peace and security in Africa, particularly, in Nigeria. In fact, Africa's security challenges is a convergence of a number factors that put together translate the extent of deteriorating security situation in the continent. This unit addresses these challenges.

1.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of the unit students should be able to:

- Explain security challenges in Africa.
- Enumerate some security challenges in Africa.

1.3 The Nature and Scope of Africa's Security Challenges

The nature of security challenges/threats confronting African countries since the end of Cold War has generally remain the same, although focus has been shifted to specific areas of insecurity. Africa's security threats result fundamentally from a breakdown in governance systems, manifesting in varying degrees of violence and armed conflict across the continent; a proliferation of small arms and light weapons; and a rise in nonstaturtory security bodies, all of which exacerbate insecurity and instability on the continent. Programs designed to address these threats have, in some cases, compounded the security situation. These include, for example disarmament and demobilization programs that unleashed thousands of ex-combatants without alternative means of livelihood on the already traumatized communities. Africans perceived their security threats as more than failure to reform security institutions, as they confront the daily reality of the youth exclusion and unemployment, famine, mismanagement of natural resources, which threatens to deplete the much needed human capital crucial to maintaining the continental security.

After the Cold War, security in Africa became so apparent. In West Africa, for example, the cumulative effect of the breakdown in governance systems under successive military and civilian regimes created conflict and mounting insecurity, which by the end of Cold War resulted in relatively peaceful transition in places like Benin and Mali; armed conflict in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire; and the relative instability in Nigeria. The following are some of the security challenges that confronted African countries:'

- Collapse of state institutions, exemplified by developments in countries like Liberia, Somalia, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).
- Increase in communal conflicts, emerging mainly from rising tension in intergroup rivalry.
- Increasing prominence in conflicts involving the ownership, management, and control of natural resources.
- Massive influx of small arms and light weapons coming mainly from Eastern Europe, which is now compounded by activities of nonstate actors and local manufacturers in some cases.
- Emergence of new actors in the politics of conflicts, including mercenaries, warlords, and informal militia groups.
- Increasing prominence of new forms of security threats, including money laundering, human trafficking, drugs, cyber crimes (Olonisakin, 2009: 232-233).

It is worth noting that the fluidity of the boundaries between African states always make spillover of armed conflicts more easier from one state to another.

Self -Assessment Exercise 1.

Mention four (4) security challenges confronting African countries

1.4 Summary

African countries are confronted with variant security challenges and these challenges cut across, if not all, most African countries. As highlighted by a number scholar that these challenges emanated from numerous factors part of which were discussed in this unit. The security challenges are the resultant effect of breakdown of governance and side effect of corruptions, which in fact precipitated violence conflict in many parts of African. The unit spelt out some major challenges confronted by African countries.

1.5 References/Further Readings

Olonisakin, F. (2009). Challenges of Transforming Africa's Multilateral Security Institutions: ECOWAS and African Union. In

Adejumobi, S. & Olukoshi, A. (ed.). *The African Union and New Strategies for Development in Africa*. CODESRIA & DPMF.

1.6. Possible Answer to Self -Assessment Exercise

SAE Exercise 1: Answer

four (4) security challenges confronting African countries.

- Collapse of state institutions, exemplified by developments in countries like Liberia, Somalia, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).
- Increase in communal conflicts, emerging mainly from rising tension in intergroup rivalry.
- Increasing prominence in conflicts involving the ownership, management, and control of natural resources.
- Massive influx of small arms and light weapons coming mainly from Eastern Europe initially, which is now compounded by activities of nonstate actors and local manufacture in some cases.

Unit 2 Continental Response on Peace and Security in Africa

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcome
- 2.3 African Union/NEPAD Response on Peace and Security
- 2.4 UN Response on Peace and Security in Africa
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings
- 2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

2.1 Introduction

African countries bedeviled with myriad security challenges, ranging from ethno-cultural, and ethno-religions conflicts. There is also proliferation of small arms and light weapons across the African countries, human trafficking, money laundering are also parts of security challenges facing the continent. Terrorism, insurgency in some parts of Africa, such as Nigeria and Somalia, significantly contributed to the menace of security challenge on African countries. African leaders realized the imperative of security, without which no any meaningful development can take place on the continent. In view of this, quite a number of efforts within the continent were made with a view to addressing the daunting security challenges faced by African countries. The unit discusses the contributions of African Union, which is a continental union towards realization of sustainable peace and security within Africa.

2.2. Learning Outcome

At the end the unit students should be to:

- Identify some of the reasons for creation of AU,
- Enumerate efforts made by the AU/NEPAD in addressing security challenges facing African countries

2.3 African Union/NEPAD Response toward Sustainable Peace and Security

The launching of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in Lusaka, Zambia, in July 2001 and its subsequent endorsement by African leaders at the establishment of the African Union in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002 ushered in a new era of Africa's search for security and sustainable growth and development. African leaders realized the fact that sustainable cannot be achieved in the absence

of peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management. This signifies African leaders' commitment to finding effective and efficient ways to address the regions security and development crisis. In order to strengthen existing conflict prevention mechanism, and sub-regional institutions, NEPAD places emphasis on four key areas:

- Prevention, management and resolution of conflicts.
- Peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement.
- Post- conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction,
- Combating the illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons and landmines (Olonisakin, 2009: 239).

Six priority areas were identified by the NEPAD Heads of State and Implementation Committee supported sub-committee on peace and security:

- i. Early warning and data base systems aimed at developing early warning information capacity.
- ii. Strategy analysis assessment to provide capacity for effective response to early warning indicators and information.
- iii. Post-conflict construction and development, to ensure effective action for disarmament and demobilization that leads to rehabilitation, reconciliation and reconstruction in post-conflict environments.
- iv. Illicit proliferation, circulation, and trafficking of small arms and light weapons, aimed at the consolidation of African and international initiatives to curtail the proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons, as well as the development of national and regional action plans for arms management and disarmament.
- v. Policy and institutional reforms, aimed at reforming security sector in the ways that would ensure democracy and respect for human rights.
- vi. Mobilization of funds for peace and security interventions in Africa leading to well funded African Union Peace Fund, thus ensuring the implementation of this program of action as well as other peace and security agenda in Africa ((Olonisakin, 2009: 240).

The clarification of the AU-NEPAD relationship has placed the peace and security role of the AU in the right direction in accordance with its objective of promoting peace, security and stability on the continent. Under the constitutive Act of the AU, African leaders are committed to the establishment of a common defense policy for the African continent. The AU will coordinate and harmonize policies between existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of objectives of the Union. In fact, at the heart of this peace and security agenda is the objective of a permanent armed force, an idea that predates the AU. The idea of evolving a common defense and security policy for Africa is geared toward attaining this objective. The initial conceptualization of a common defense and security policy for Africa has led to several proposals, which include the following:

- Establishment of an African Stand-By- Force to enhance African peacekeeping capacity, with a common peacekeeping doctrine.
- Establishment of stand-by units in member states with the total of a brigade size in each sub-region to form the basis for an African force.
- Creation of sub-regional centers of excellence in peacekeeping training, which will focus on military operations, civilian policing and covering various peace support operations.
- Counterterrorism.

As part of the continental efforts for ensuring prevalence of peace and security in Africa, in 2005 African Common Position to the Review Conference on Progress Made in the Implementation of the 'UN PoA to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects' not only reaffirmed the Bamako declaration but also expanded on it. The outcome document stated that the Conference reaffirms that ensuring the reduction of the availability, supply and demand for small arms and light weapons is critical to the well -being of its Member States and can be achieved through actions/initiatives at the national, regional, continental and international levels in that respect in general, but in particular through:

- Political commitment and action to address the root causes of conflict in a comprehensive manner;
- Preventing, combating and eradicating the illicit manufacture, possession, stockpiling and trade in small arms and light weapons;
- Placing emphasis on public awareness and education;
- Engaging in effective collection and destruction mechanisms for both surplus and illicit arms;
- Effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration measures in peace agreements as may be applicable;
- Providing for rehabilitation and reintegration assistance to demobilized soldiers, ex-combatants and in particular child soldiers as referred to by the PCRD debate in the African Union; and
- Recognizing the need for small arms and light weapons programs to continue beyond post conflict and transitional stages, through mainstreaming of small arms reduction and management in all national and local action plans related to development, crime prevention, and reconstruction.

The declaration also influenced subsequent developments both at international and sub-regional levels. It has also shaped the development of the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons as explicitly recognized in the preamble to this Convention (Bah, 2014: 77-78).

Self- Assessment Exercise 1.

1.	Enumerate three (3) areas spelt out by NEPAD for conflict
	prevention mechanism.
2.	Outline Three (3) proposals by AU for common defense and
	security policy for Africa.

2.5. Summary

In the unit we have discussed briefly how African Union was established in 2002 at Durban, South Africa, it was during the conference Africa leaders endorsed the creation of AU, which replaced OAU. As continental organization peace and security take center stage in the objectives of the AU, because African leaders recognized the fact that without peace and security no meaningful development could be actualized on the continent. In view of this, the unit highlighted some of the giant efforts made by the NEPAD and AU in ensuring sustainable peace and security in Africa. It equally discussed Africa's Common Position to the Review Conference on Progress Made in the Implementation of the 'UN PoA to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons, among others. The unit also stressed the contributions of UN in peacekeeping in Africa.

2.5 References /Further Readings

- Olonisakin, F. (2009). Challenges of Transforming Africa's Multilateral Security Institutions: ECOWAS and African Union. In Adejumobi, S. & Olukoshi, A. (ed.). *The African Union and New Strategies for Development in Africa*. CODESRIA & DPMF.
- Bah, A.S. etal (2014). *The African Peace and Security Architecture: A Handbook.* Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Retrieved from htpps://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/aesthiopien/10779.pdf.'
- Moss, T.J. (2011). African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors. London. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

2.6. Possible Answers for Self -Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers.

NEPAD conflict prevention mechanism.

- Prevention, management and resolution of conflicts.
- Peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement.
- Post- conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Three (3) proposals by AU for common defense and security policy.

- Establishment of an African Stand-By- Force to enhance African peacekeeping capacity, with a common peacekeeping doctrine.
- Establishment of stand-by units in member states with the total of a brigade size in each sub-region to form the basis for an African force.
- Creation of sub-regional centers of excellence in peacekeeping training, which will focus on military operations, civilian policing and covering various of peace support operations.

Unit 3 International Response to Peace and Security in Africa

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcome
- 3.4 UN Response on Peace and Security challenges in Africa
- 3.5 United States Response on Peace and Security Challenges in Africa
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 References/Further Readings
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self -Assessment Exercises

3.1 Introduction

Africa is a continent endowed with both human and material resources, quite a number of developed countries, Africa is the major market for their products and not only that is among the suppliers of raw materials to most of the industrialized nations. In view of this, prevalence of peace and security in Africa is imperative to African countries and rest of the globe. Deterioration of peace and security in Africa will in no small measure affect the global landscape. Therefore, as a result of security challenges that bedeviled African countries international community responded positively toward ensuring sustainable peace and security in Africa. This unity highlights the contributions of UN and United States in addressing security challenges facing African countries.

3.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of the unit students should be to:

- Enumerate some contributions of UN on Africa's security challenges.
- Mention contribution United States on security challenges on African countries.

3.4 UN Response on Peace and Security challenges in Africa

United Nations (UN) was established in 1945 with the sole aim of global security, however, at later time development and other related issues became part of the UN mandate. African countries by virtue of being members of the UN benefited significantly benefitted from activities of UN. As part of the international community responses on Africa's security challenges Security challenges, UN has played enormous role in that respect.

In 2005, the UN launched a new Peacebuilding Commission that is supposed to coordinate the UN's prevention and peacebuilding activities. The UN had been very active in trying to discourage the resumption of the Ethiopia-Eritrean border war. In fact, UN peacekeeping has also been very active in Africa with twenty two different operations over the twenty years or so and eleven of the sixteen active UN peacekeeping operations in 2010. One of dearest example of UN involvement in conflict resolution in Africa is the Sierra Leone crisis, the UN operation consisting of eighteen thousand troops kept the peace from October 1999 until December 2005, at a total cost of \$2.8 billion (Moss, 2011: 70).'

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

- 1. Enumerate two (2) major contributions of UN to security challenges in Africa.
- 2. How many US Dollars spent by the UN in peacekeeping in Sierra Leone

3.5 United States (US) Response on Peace and Security Challenges in Africa

The United States and others have been providing assistance to African countries for making that there is, to some extent relative peace and security in Africa. US in collaboration with other countries provided training for African militaries with the aim of creating a standby peacekeeping force for rapid deployment. In addition to this in 2008 the US military established the 'Africa Command' which was known as Africom. This move placed a single four-star general in charge of overseeing a large twelve hundred person staff to manage any US military operations on the continent. Although some African leaders interpreted it as militarization of relations.

Self – Assessment Exercise 2

- 1. Mention one major contribution of US on security challenges in Africa.
- 2. In which year US established Africom?

3.6 Summary

In summary the unit pointed out some contributions UN toward security challenges facing African countries. UN created Peacebuilding Commission in Africa and also it established peace keeping operations with to view to making sure that there is relative peace and security on the continent. On Sierra Leone crisis only UN spent \$2.8 billion. In furtherance to maintenance of peace and security on the continent, US also organized training for African military, it equally established African Command known as Africom.

3.7 References/Further Readings

Moss, T.J. (2011). African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors. London. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

3.8. Possible Answers on Self -Assessment Exercises.

SAE 1: Answers

Two contributions of UN in peacekeeping.

- Launching Peacekeeping Commission in 2005
- Peacekeeping operations in Sierra Leone

Amount spent by UN.

• 2.8 Billion US Dollar.

SAE 2: Answers

One major Contribution of US

- Establishment of African Command known as Africom Year of establishing Africom.
- 2008

Unit 4 Response of Some Sub-regional Organizations on Peace and Security in Africa

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcome
- 4.3 ECOWAS Response on Peace and Security in Africa
- 4.4 SADC Response on Peace and Security in Africa
- 4.5 Summary
- 4.6 References/Further Readings
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self Assessment Exercises

4.1 Introduction

As pointed out in some sections African countries are consistently facing intense conflicts in a varying degree. The escalation coupled with spillover of the conflicts, over the decades has become an issue of major concern by the African leaders. The effect of the conflicts stagnate socioeconomic activities on the continent. Realizing the concomitant effect of the conflicts, African leaders thought of using variety of measures (i.e. ECOWAS and SADC) with a view to curtailing the menace of the violent conflicts. There are two major sub-regional organizations; Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC). The unit dwells on the measures adopted by these giant sub-regional organizations with a view to achieving sustainable peace and security on the African regions.

4.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of the unit students should be able to:

- Enumerate some of the measures/efforts used by the ECOWAS in ensuring lasting peace and security on the African countries.
- State some of the contributions of SADC in achieving lasting peace and security in the African regions.

4.3 ECOWAS Response on Peace and Security in Africa

It is worth of noting that ECOWAS was, primarily, established to promote economic integration among member states. However, passing through a large scale of time intense violent conflicts started penetrating, particularly, by the beginning of 1990s, such as the cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone, these unfortunate events forced ECOWAS to vigorously review its mandate and made a shift in its mandate by including conflict resolutions mechanism and other related measures for curtailing violent conflict in the West African sub-region and beyond.

In fact, one the early instruments, which set the scene for the development of normative frame-wok for achieving a more secured environment for development in Africa, was the 1991 ECOWAS Declaration of political principles, which sought to promote multi-party politics in each state. This was closely followed by a revised ECOWAS Treaty in 1993, which emphasis the importance of democracy and the role of the rule of law. The far-reaching instrument in West Africa's pursuit of peace, security and good governance is the ECOWAS protocol on democracy and good governance that supplemented the protocol relating to the Mechanism for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping and security. A major innovation here is the agreement of the leaders to impose sanctions in situations of massive violations of human rights by a member within the borders. There is also a regional movement toward harmonizing security policy and standards as well as joint regional training for the military. Three military training institutes in Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria have been designated as regional training centers (Olonisakin, 2009: 234).

The ECOWAS Mechanism established several institutions, organs, and strategies, all with defined responsibilities and aims that address peace and security in the sub-region. The most important institutions are as follows:

- The Mediation and Security Council: The council operates at the level of heads of states, ministers, and ambassadors, charged with the responsibilities of taking decisions that impact peace and security, including the authorization of deployment of mission. The council also charged with responsibilities of taking decisions on peace and security matters; implementing policies designed to achieve conflict prevention, resolution, and peacekeeping among others.
- *The defense and Security Commission:* The commission is made up of defense chiefs and security officials charged with the responsibilities of dealing with the technicalities of military intervention.
- *ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).* The group was initially established as a multi-purpose stand-by force ready for immediate response. However, ECOMOG task were; observation and monitoring; peacekeeping and restoration of peace; preventive deployment; peace building, among others.
- *Early Warning System:* This is regional observation program, it was charged with responsibilities of collecting data ranging across economic, political, security and social sectors to be analyzed with a view of detecting early warning signals.

A Council of Elders: In other words it is known as The Panel of the Wise. This is part of the ECOWAS mechanism to ensure a role in mediation, reconciliation, and negotiation. This is made up of 32 eminent persons drown from within and outside the region with mandate for preventive diplomacy, and it is convened as and when required by the Executive Council of ECOWAS, which is now known as the Commission (Olonisakin, 2009: 236).

It is important to stress that there are quite a number of measures and mechanisms adopted by the ECOWAS with a view to ensuring prevalence of peace and security within Africa.

Self -Assessment Exercise 1

Briefly explain three (3) institutions used by ECOWAS in its effort for ensuring sustainable peace and security in Africa.

4.4 SADC Response on Peace and Security in Africa

Although Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) was established, fundamentally to promote economic cooperation and integration, however, as a giant sub-regional organization, the SADC played and continue to play enormous role in sustaining peace and security within the member countries, and perhaps Africa in general. At the initial stage there was disagreement among member states on strategies of security cooperation through the 1996 SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS). It is imperative to point out that since the early part of 2001, there was positive response toward some form of consensus among the SADC member states regarding the preferred format for regional security cooperation through the OPDS within the SADC structure.

In March 9, 2001, SADC member states resolved that the OPDS will become an integral part of the SADC Summit. This decision was endorsed by the SADC Summit of August 2001. Since then OPDS operates as an integral part of SADC Summit, and prospects for successful strides toward security cooperation in Southern Africa look so brighter.

Taking into cognizance that most of the civil conflicts in Africa emanated from political instability, which usually, as a result of electoral malpractices. SADC developed a number of institutions/forum with a view to ensuring free and fair elections across the member countries. Prominent among them are:

- Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and observation (PEMMO).
- Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA).
- Electorate Commissions Forum (ECF).

There are also other institutional frameworks that were established by the SADC in order to curtail rigging during and after elections, just to ensure a free and fair election within the sub-region. The institutional frameworks include:

- a. Constitutional and legal framework.
- b. Election Systems.
- c. Election management; and
- d. Conflict management (Olonisakin, 2009: 281).

Self- Assessment Exercise 2

Mention three (3) major institutional framework established by the SADC for ensuring free and fair elections within the sub-region.

4.5 Summary

There are two major sub-regional organizations; Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC), although these organizations were established fundamentally, to promote or foster economic cooperation as well as regional integration within their respective sub-regions, but in the later time, due to the rampaging security threats across the African countries they felt the need for responding to security challenges confronting the continent. In the unit we have vividly seen the various response measures adopted by the ECOWAS in order to address the daunting security challenges facing the sub-region and Africa in general. Prominent among the measures are; establishment of Mediation and Security Council, the Defence and Security Council, among others. Similarly, the unit pointed out some responses of the SADC on the security situation in the su-region, essentially, as it relates to elections within the region, some which include, creation of institutional frameworks and a number commissions for ensuring free and fair elections with a sole view of ensuring political stability within the political space of member states.

4.6 References/Further Readings

Olonisakin, F. (2009). Challenges of Transforming Africa's Multilateral Security Institutions: ECOWAS and African Union. In Adejumobi, S. & Olukoshi, A. (ed.). *The African Union and New Strategies for Development in Africa*. CODESRIA & DPMF.

4.7. Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

SAE Exercise 1: Answers

Three ECOWAS Institutions in response to peace and security.

- The Mediation and Security Council.
- The Defense and Security Commission.
- ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG)

SAE Exercise 2: Answers

Three (3) major institutional framework established by the SADC.

- Constitutional and legal framework.
- Election Systems.
- Election management.