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GEO-POLITICS

LECTURE ONE – NIGERIA IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LECTURE NOTES FOR
SENIOR STAFF COURSE QUALIFYING EXAMINATION

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PART ONE

NIGERIA IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS

INTRODUCTION

1. Any meaningful appreciation of the foreign policy of Nigeria must take into consideration her geo-political environment as this has imposed on the country certain obligations, responsibilities which reflect her foreign policy objectives. Nigeria was one of the seventeen countries in Africa that obtained independence in 1960. Nigeria is a federal republic of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Nigeria has a total land mass of 924,000sq kms and estimated population of over 140 million people. Nigeria was not visible in the international arena immediately after independence, due to her weak socio-political and economic position. The Nigeria Civil War of 1967-1970 further delayed her full participation in international politics in the sixties. Immediately after the civil war, Nigeria took significant steps towards becoming a major player in regional and continental (African) affairs.

2. The guiding principle of Nigerian foreign policy is a reflection of her domestic pre-occupation and its perception of the international environment. Over the years, some guiding principles have informed Nigeria's foreign policy and the pursuit of her national interests both in her bilateral and multilateral relations. Although there have been variation in style and dynamism over the years, Nigeria's foreign policy considerations have remained fairly consistent.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this part, candidates would be able to describe and explain:
- a. The thrust of Nigeria's African policy.

- b. Mention some problems facing NEPAD.

NIGERIAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

4. Every nation engages in some kind of relations with other nations, hence the need for that nation to have a clear vision of what she seeks to achieve in formulating her foreign policy. The aim of any country's foreign policy is nothing but to further or achieve the national interests of the state, to better the lots of its citizens and boost its standing in the world scene.

5. Since independence, Nigeria's foreign policy has remained consistent with different leaders and administrations. Although there have been variations in style and dynamism over the years, Nigeria's foreign policy drive, since independence have centered on Africa.

6. The Balewa Regime of 1960-1966 laid the foundation for making of Africa the centerpiece of Nigerian foreign policy. He asserted, "We belong to Africa and Africa must claim first attention in our external affairs". The first of the litany of Nigeria's assertion of leadership role in Africa and Afro-centric foreign policy was in Congo.

7. A few months after Nigeria's independence in 1960, Nigeria contributed financially, materially and sent troops to quell the disturbances in the Katanga province of the Congo. The troops stayed for four years there, from 1960-1964, maintaining peace in the region. Nigeria kept her troops in that mission, when countries like Yugoslavia, Indonesia, UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Morocco and Mali withdrew their troops. Nigeria was one of the three countries that responded positively to the call by the then Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammerskjold, for the increase of troops to fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the countries named above.

8. It was argued that Balewa's administration was conservative and would not do much to actualize an aggressive foreign policy drive as it concerned liberation struggle. The administration was guarded and restrained in most of her foreign policy decisions in this area but contributed in peace keeping in conflict areas in the continent. Other feature of Nigeria's foreign policy under the Balewa Administration was its membership of and commitment to regional and continental organizations. Nigeria at independence became a member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations and Non-Aligned Movement. Balewa Administration played a prominent role in the establishment of Organization of African Unity (now African Union) in 1963.

9. The Aguiyi Ironsi Administration of 1966 witnessed no significant change from that of Balewa. The reasons were obvious, the regime was short lived as it lasted only for 6 months. The significant impact of the administration's foreign policy centered on her aggressive confrontation with the colonial and minority regimes in South Africa. The administration also closed down Portuguese mission in Lagos in line with the decision of OAU made in 1963. OAU made a policy not to allow Portuguese mission in member states as a result of Portugal's brutal colonial policy in Africa. The regime declared white South Africans and Portuguese prohibited immigrants in Nigeria. Ironsi openly criticized Western powers that were not opposed to colonialism and racism in the continent. The last three years of the 60s (1967-1970) was the period of Nigerian's civil war.

10. After the civil war, under Yakubu Gowon's regime, Nigeria renewed her commitment to African Unity and the eradication of apartheid and colonialism in Africa. As a continuation of the country's commitment to her Afro-centric foreign policy posture, Gowon campaigned tirelessly for the formation of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975, provided

assistance to some poorer African countries, fully supported the activities of Organization of African Unity (OAU), and contributed immensely to issues bordering on racism, border and economic underdevelopment in the continent. Gowon administration was criticized for recklessness in spending the oil money.

11. The regime of Murtala Mohammed (1975-1976) brought dynamism and activism to Nigeria's foreign policy. He set a panel under the chairmanship of Professor Abebayo Adedeji to redefine the country's foreign policy, and for the first time since independence, Nigeria's national interests were clearly spelt out in our foreign policy objectives. Mohammed's administration was fully committed to liberation and decolonization of Africa

12. The Murtala Mohammed administration's commitment to the liberation and decolonization of Africa was demonstrated by its patriotic management of the Angola crisis. Initially the government of Murtala Mohammed had supported the opinion and view of OAU on Angola. Organization of African Unity's view was to find ways of uniting the three liberation movements: Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA), the Frente Nacional de Libertugao de Angola (FNLA), and the Movimento Popular de Libertagao de Angola (MPLA) to form a government of national unity. However, when it became clear that the United States of America and South Africa, in particular, planned to install a puppet regime in Angola, Nigeria and other African countries with the support of Cuba and Soviet Union, resisted it. Murtala Mohammed gave full recognition to the MPLA on the 25 November 1975, and provided material and diplomatic support for the liberation movement needed to give it an advantage in the Angola civil war. This action by Mohammed administration was the most daring and responsible foreign policy decision taken by any Nigerian government since independence. The government of Murtala Mohammed mobilized other OAU members to recognize the MPLA as

the legitimate representative of the people of Angola which resulted in the recognition of Angola's membership of OAU in 1976. Murtala Mohammed was assassinated on 13 February 1976 and his administration's commitment to Africa's liberation and decolonization was sustained by his successor Olusegun Obasanjo.

13. During the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration of 1976-1979, Africa remained the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy, the country remained committed to the total liberation of oppressed people both on the continent and in diaspora. It was during Obasanjo's administration that the report of the foreign policy review panel set during Mohammed era was released. The panel identified five objectives of Nigeria's foreign policy. These were:

- a. The defence of our sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- b. The creation of the necessary political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which facilitate the defence of the independence and territorial integrity of all African countries while at the same time fostering national self-reliance and rapid economic development.
- c. The promotion of equality and self-reliance in Africa and rest of the developing world.
- d. The promotion and defence of justice and respect for human dignity, especially the dignity of the blackman; and
- e. The defence and promotion of world peace.

14. The administration pursued a strong policy on decolonization in Southern Africa (Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa). The Obasanjo regime adopted an open door-door policy for African exiles from Southern Africa, financed a number of manpower training programmes for people from Southern Africa who were nominated by different Liberation movements from the sub-region, and launched the Southern African Relief Fund in December 1976. Her physical

distance from Southern Africa notwithstanding, her commitment to the liberation struggle earned her an honorary award of ‘frontline state’.

15. As part of Obasanjo’s Afro-centric policy, on the eve of the Lusaka Commonwealth Summit in 1979, the administration nationalized the British Petroleum Company, a move that spurred the Thatcher administration to organize the Lancaster Summit, which resulted in the independence of Zimbabwe. Nigeria, in 1980, sent troops to maintain and restore tranquility in Chad. Out of the six countries that promised to send troops, at the request of the OAU, to Chad, only three countries –Nigeria, Senegal and Zaire, actually fulfilled their promise, Obasanjo’s regime was characterized by clear vision, well articulated policies and decisive actions.

16. Alhaji Shehu Shagari’s administration (1979-1983) continued the original principle of Nigeria’s foreign policy, making Africa the focal point of her foreign policy. The regime reiterated Nigeria’s commitment to armed struggle to liberate Namibia and support liberation fighters on the continent. The government of Shehu Shagari took a hardliner position against the United States of America’s policy of ‘constructive engagement’ which tied the independence of Namibia from South Africa to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Nigeria sent more troops at the request of the OAU to Chad in 1982. Shagari administration gave a grant of \$10 million to Zimbabwe to enable her acquire the Zimbabwe Herald from its white owner. However, the administration’s commitment to decolonization and eradication of racism deteriorated due to deepening economic crisis the country faced. The economic crisis caused the administration to introduce austerity measures which drastically reduced aids to countries in the sub-region and or cut short or stopped completely monetary contributions to some liberation struggles in Africa.

17. The economic crisis resulted in the expulsion of illegal aliens in 1983. These illegal aliens were mostly from Republic of Benin, Togo and Ghana. The

Shagari's expulsion of illegal aliens in Nigeria provoked spirited attacks and outright denunciation. This worsened the country's image and created hostility towards Nigeria. Nigeria's African policy during Shagari administration hardly lived up to the standards set by previous governments. By the end of the administration, Nigeria had little or no respect left in the international community.

18. The Mohammadu Buhari/Tunde Idiagbon Administration (1983-1985) strived to restore the vibrancy of Nigeria's foreign policy, purposefulness and credibility it enjoyed during Mohammed / Obasanjo regime. The administration came up with the 'concentric circle'. These 3 concentric circles clearly puts Nigeria's interest first, West Africa sub-region second and then the rest of Africa and the world, third. Buhari's administration pursued both domestic and foreign policies with great commitment and vigor that was anchored by purposeful leadership. The administration accorded recognition to POLISARO government of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) and aided her admission to the OAU despite opposition from some other African countries. In pursuit of her Afro-centric foreign policy, the administration paid the arrears of the country's contribution to the OAU Liberation Fund, which Shagari's government had failed to pay. The regime was condemned for high handedness.

19. Ibrahim Babangida's administration of 1985-1993 inherited a well focused and directional foreign policy and retained the traditional commitment to eradication of apartheid and liberation of the whole of Africa from colonialism as well as the promotion of African Unity. The administration played a leading role in the liberation struggle and made financial contributions to the liberation movements. For instance, in 1989, the administration gave South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) \$1.5 million, and the African National Congress (ANC) \$1 million. The administration also played a

prominent role in sub-regional peace and security, especially in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

20 In Liberia, Nigeria contributed 4,000 out of 6,000 troops sent to the troubled country and spent an estimated \$2 million in peace keeping efforts in Liberia, and contributed 70 percent of the total number of troops in the Liberia peacekeeping mission. Nigeria played the role of prime mover on Liberia peace initiative while the more immediate neighbours who are more directly threatened, did not contribute as many. The administration initiated the formation of Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and was the major financier of the institution.

21. The regime, lifted boundary closures and restored free movement within ECOWAS countries; intervened in Inter-African affairs and conflicts especially in West Africa – in the border between Mali and Burkina Faso and in the strained relationship between Sierra Leone and Liberia. The Babangida administration initiated the establishment of Nigeria's Technical Aids Corps (TAC) which provides highly trained Nigerian personnel (specialists) at little or no cost to needy African countries. The Babangida administration initiated the formation of the Lagos Forum of Medium Powers.

22. The Sani Abacha Administration (1993-1998) encountered the greatest opposition and hostility and hence was the reactive foreign policy. The administration faced oppositions from her membership of international organizations and was criticized for her violation of fundamental human rights. The hanging of Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other activists from Ogoniland, despite international outcry and plea for clemency, further eroded what was left of Nigeria's image. With the increase in oppression and flagrant violation of fundamental human rights in the country came the increase in the efforts of members of the international community to isolate Nigeria at major fora and to

frustrate the Abacha administration. On 11 November 1995, the Commonwealth of Nations suspended Nigeria's membership. It was South Africa that moved the motion for Nigeria's suspension. Abacha accused South Africa of meddling in Nigeria's domestic affairs and was labeled stooge of Western powers by Abacha Administration. South Africa and host of others temporarily withdrew their diplomatic representatives from the country. In response to isolation from the West and its associates, Abacha shifted from the capitalist West to Eastern bloc. Nigeria withdrew from the 1996 African Cup of Nations being hosted by South Africa. Sani Abacha unexpectedly died and General Abdulsalam Abubakar became the Head of State.

23. Abdulsalam Abubakar (1998-1999) attempted to redeem the Nigeria's bartered image especially at the human rights front. He freed all political prisoners incarcerated by Abacha, including General Olusegun Obasanjo. He also invited those who have been forced into exile to return and help to build the country. He had a transitional programme which was indicative of his willingness to hand over to a democratically elected government. In response, European Union and Commonwealth countries lifted the sanctions imposed on Nigeria.

24. Abdulsalam Abubakar Administration gave international observers unrestricted access to monitor the 1999 General Elections. His government specifically laid out the objectives and principles of Nigeria's foreign policy in Section 19 of 1999 Constitution. These foreign policy principles objectives are:

- a. Promotion and protection of national interest.
- b. Promotion of African integration and support for African Unity;
- c. Promotion of international co-operation for the consolidations of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discriminations in all its manifestation;
- d. Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the

seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication.

e. Promotion of a just world economic order.

25. The Olusegun Obasanjo Administration (1999-2007) major point of the foreign policy drive was the aggressive campaign for debt relief. His administration strengthened and diversified bilateral and multilateral relations with the outside world. he signed. Obasanjo Administrations made a shift from concentration of Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy to globally focused policy. He campaigned vigorously for poor nations of Africa, South America, the Caribbean and Asia to harmonize their efforts for a fairer deal from industrialized nations.

26. The Obasanjo Administration also pursued the affairs of her immediate neighbours and Africa as a whole with vigor and great commitment. He played a crucial role in transforming OAU into a more effective African Union (AU). Nigeria under Olusegun Obasanjo worked tirelessly for the creation of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). On conflict resolution and peace initiatives, Nigeria has been involved in an avalanche of peacekeeping missions in Africa in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Sao Tome and Principe and the African Mission in Sudan (AMIS).

27. In the pursuit of the African agenda which formed the basis for Africa being the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy, Nigeria's major concerns in Africa are as follows:

a. Promotion of peace, prosperity, stability and development of Africa.

b. Development of goodwill and understanding between African countries despite the cultural, linguistic and economic barriers erected by erstwhile colonialism.

- c. The discouragement of international intervention and presence in Africa.
- d. The development of rapid socio-economic development of Africa through regional economic integration, the strengthening of sub-regional economic institutions and reduction of economic dependence on extra-continental powers.
- e. The development of cultural cooperation as a means of strengthening political ties with all African countries.
- f. Eradication of all forms of racial discrimination in Africa.

NIGERIA'S ROLE IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA

28. Regional integrations, either economic or political are among the important factors in international relations. Nigeria's foreign policy objectives as they concern Africa, encourage rapid socio-economic development of Africa through regional economic integration. Since independence, Nigeria has championed the formulation of development frameworks which may enable Africa transcend her economic quagmire. Some of the landmark strategies/frameworks include the following:

- a. The Lagos plan of Action for Economic Development for Africa (1980-2000).
- b. Africa Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER) 1986 – 1990. This was later converted to the United Nations Programme of Action for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development (UN-PAAERD) – 1986.
- c. The African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP) – 1986.
- d. The African Chapter for Popular Participation for Development (1990).

- e. The United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa (UNN-NADAF) – 1991.
- f. The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) – 2001.

NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA’S DEVELOPMENT

29. The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) emerged from three parallel initiatives launched between 2000 - 2001. It is basically a merger of the millennium partnership for Africa’s Recovery Programme (MAP), inspired by Presidents Thabo Mbeki of South Africa, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Abdelazeez Bouteflika of Algeria and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, the Omega plan of Senegal’s President, Abdoulaye Wade and Compact for African Recovery initiated by the Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, K. Y. Amoako, in response to a mandate by African Ministers of Finance during the conference held in Addis Ababa in November 2001. Due to broadly similar goals which underpinned both MAP and the Omega Plan, efforts were made to consolidate them into one initiative, which resulted into the formation of New Africa Initiative (NAI) as Africa’s strategy for achieving sustainable development in the 21st century.

30. The culmination in the evolution of what we now call NEPAD, occurred on the 23rd of October, 2001, at the implementation committee of 15 Heads of State in Abuja, Nigeria, where NAI was renamed NEPAD. Since then tremendous efforts have been made by Mbeki, Obasanjo, Bouteflika, Mubarak and Wade to champion and sell this partnership to Africans and its development partners as a development roadmap.

31. NEPAD is basically expressed within five core principles constituting the pre-condition for Africa’s renewal. These principles include good governance, entrenchment of democracy, peace and security, sound economic policy making and execution, productive partnership, and domestic ownership and leadership.

The goal of NEPAD is to be able to achieve and sustain an average gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of above 7 percent annually for the next 15 years. It seeks to ensure that the continent achieves the agreed international development goals (IGDs) which include the reduction of the population living in extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2015, and ensuring sustainable development so as to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015.

32. NEPAD is seen as representing a pledge by African Leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction they (African leaders) have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively on a path of sustainable growth and development. African nations should utilize the NEPAD in exploring the strategy of “enhanced partnerships”. This partnership is in three levels, partnership at the level of government and its citizen, partnership at regional level and partnership between NEPAD and international communities.

33. NEPAD aims at genuine partnership under Africans leadership with willing partners, and African leaders holding each other politically and economically accountable for responsible governance, through the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). In exchange, industrialized countries will support identified projects.

34. NEPAD is faced with challenges and problems. Some of these problems include:

- a. The possibility that some countries may develop a sense of being marginalized in the process of implementing NEPAD.
- b. The question of the true ownership of NEPAD. Considering that the bulk of the funding is coming from outside the continent.
- c. The problem of real partnership between a donor and a recipient (between two unequal entities).

- d. The reality that global affair is based on asymmetric relationship.
- e. The problem of APRM. The APRM must be made to work.

CONCLUSION

35. Every nation engages in some kind of relations with other nations, hence, the need for that nation to have clear vision of that she seeks to achieve in formulating her foreign policy.

36. Nigeria's foreign policy between 1960 and 2007 had witnessed a beehive of activities. The period witnessed both successes and failures, as various administrations tackled the varieties of problems that rose in its relationship with other members of the international communities. Although, the countries diplomatic profile witnessed improvement as a result of the transition from military to civilian rule, much need to be done to improve on what we have now.

37. In Chad, between the 1960s and 1980s, Nigeria was a major player in ensuring that peace and stability was maintained. Nigeria, in 1978 and 1981, sent her troops to maintain and restore tranquility in that country. In Liberia, Nigeria contributes substantially to the troubled country right from the beginning of the conflict. Nigeria has been involved in an avalanche of peacekeeping missions in Africa from (UNAMISIL) in Sierra Leone, (AMIS) in Sudan, Togo, Sao Tome and Principe, Liberia, Congo Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, etc. The expenditure Nigeria incurred in these episodes run into billions of dollars. The summation of these involvements has prompted scholars to ask what are the foreign policy objectives that Nigeria seeks to achieve through all these interventions. Whether the cost of these involvements can be justified when related to the goals.

38. Nigeria has made tremendous impact on the socio-economic integration

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of Africa. This culminated to the formation of NEPAD. The shortcomings notwithstanding, NEPAD provides cohesive institutionalized framework for Africa's development. It is an opportunity for Africa to approach the international community with Africa's problems.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

1. Explain the foreign policy thrust of Nigeria.
2. Mentions 5 roles played by Nigeria in regional integration in Africa.
3. What are the aims and objectives of NEPAD.
4. Enumerate possible problems facing NEPAD.

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PART TWO

**ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN
STATES (ECOWAS)**

INTRODUCTION

1. Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) came into existence on the 28th of May, 1975, with the signing of the Lagos treaty by 15 states of the West African sub-region. The states were: Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Togo, Sierra Leone, Mali, Guinea Bissau, Republic of Benin, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Gambia, Mauritania, and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso).

2. Today, ECOWAS is made up of (16) sixteen countries of the West African sub-region with the admission of Cape Verde into the body after her independence.

3. The Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS is located at 6 King George V Road, Lagos Nigeria, while fund for co-operation, compensation and development, a very important provision of ECOWAS, has its location in Togo.

OBJECTIVES

4. After studying this module, the learner will be able to:
- a. Mention all the sixteen countries of ECOWAS.
 - b. State and discuss the aim and objectives of ECOWAS.
 - c. Identify and discuss the problems of ECOWAS.
 - d. Discuss at least six achievements of ECOWAS.
 - e. Mention and discuss the organs of ECOWAS.
 - f. Name and discuss the five protocols of ECOWAS.

- g. Discuss the concepts and history of ECOWAS.
- h. Mention and discuss the major political and economic groupings in West Africa before the establishment of ECOWAS.

5. The countries in West African sub-region did not have the same colonial experience. Before independence Liberia was under the United State of America, Guinea Bissau was a Portuguese Colony, while Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra-Leone belonged to the British government. The other ten states, Benin Republic, Guinea, Togo, Mali, Mauritania, Cameroon, Chad, Ivory Coast, Senegal and Niger were under French control. The differences and similarities of their colonial experiences influenced the major forms of groupings that emerged before ECOWAS.

6. The same reason accounts for the differences in their currencies thus dividing the sub-region into different currency zones. The Francophone countries had their currency based on French Franc. Liberia was tied to the US dollar, while British colonies before emerging with their indigenous currencies, operated the British pound sterling. It is pertinent here to note that the zoning of the currencies in accordance with their colonial experience culminated in a situation where the Francophone states had many groupings among themselves. As for the other states that were in the minority, they did not participate much in such groupings.

7. The union “ Monetaire de l’ Afrique de l’ Ouest” West Africa Monetary Union (UMAO) was formed in May 1962 by Benin republic, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso). The aim of this union was to bring these countries closer.

8. In December 1970, Mali, Niger and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) formed the “Anfora de developement interger du Liptako Gourma” for the purpose of

integrated development.

9. At a convention on 9th June 1959, Dahomey (Benin), Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania; Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta (Burkina Vaso) established a form of custom union known as “ Union de I’ Quest (West Africa Custom Union).

10. The whole concept of ECOWAS is based on social and economic development of the citizens of the West African sub-region. Two bodies that played the important role of motivators in the formation of the concept of ECOWAS were:

- a. The United Nation Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) or (ECA).
- b. The East Africa Community (EAC).

11. At its Seventh Session in Nairobi, Kenya, February 1965, the UNECA recommended that member states of the commission should establish as soon as possible on sub-regional basis an inter-government machinery for harmonizing their Economic and social development. The ECA sponsored many conferences in a bid to ensure the success of these economic groupings especially in West Africa. However, it appear that the only success achieved was the study of areas of cooperation by Nigeria and Guinea.

12. Since the ECA achieved some form of success in integration process with the East African Community, the West African sub-region felt motivated to adopt a positive disposition towards sub grouping.

13. In 1967, many West African countries signed an article of association for West African Economic countries in Accra. The following year, another conference was convened in Monrovia where a protocol that set up the West Africa Economic Grouping on paper was produced.

14. In view of much talked about benefits of the above mentioned association, the Francophone States in 1972 met in Ivory Coast and launched their own version of a West African Economic Community (WAEC). The Countries were Mauritania, Mali, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger, and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso). Benin and Togo attended as observers. Many observers saw the establishment of the WAEC as the handi-work of France to forestall any integration of the Anglophone and Francophone countries of West Africa.

15. Wiser counsel prevailed on the minds of African leaders and in November 1976, many West African Heads of state met to make the first decision of the organization in (Lome) Togo. There was a unanimous acceptance by all the fifteen West African states of the principle of creating ECOWAS. This marked a significant milestone in the history of regional integration in West Africa.

16. A close analysis of the membership shows the Francophone countries in the majority nine out of sixteen. They out-numbered the other countries put together. The other states comprised four Anglophone Countries, one Portuguese and the other United States.

17. The establishment of the Community was mainly for economic and social reasons. However, the heterogeneous nature of the composition in terms of currencies and cultures make it glaring that its success will not be an easy task.

AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF ECOWAS

18. a. **Aim:** To promote economic co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the field of industry, transport, telecommunication, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, as well as monetary and financial industries. In addition, to enhance social

and cultural matters for the purposes of raising the standard of living of its peoples, increasing and maintaining economic stability, fostering close relationship among its members and contribution to the progress and development of the African continent.

b. **Objectives:**

(1) To eliminate between member states, customs duties and other charges of equivalent effect in respect of the importation and exportation of goods.

(2) To abolish quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade among member states.

(3) To establish common custom tariff and a common Commercial policy towards their countries.

(4) To abolish between member states obstacles to free movement of persons, services capital.

(5) To harmonize agricultural policies and promote common projects in member states, notably in the field of marketing, research and agro industrial enterprises.

(6) To set up scheme for joint development of transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities as well as the evolution of a common policy in these fields.

(7) To harmonize economic and industrial policies and to eliminate disparities in the level of development of member states.

(8) To establish fund for co-operation, compensation and development.

(9) To carry out activities calculated furthering the aims of the community as the member states may jointly undertake.

c. **Protocols:** The Heads of states of the Community also approved five protocols in addition to the original charter.

- (1) Protocol relating to the definition of the concept of products originating from members states of ECOWAS.
- (2) Protocol relating to re-exportation within the community of finished goods from third world countries.
- (3) Protocol on the assessment of loss of revenue by members states.
- (4) Protocol relating to the contribution by member states of the community.
- (5) Protocol relating to the fund for co-operation, compensation and development.

ORGANS OF THE ORGANISATION

19. **The Executive Secretariat.** A brief note on this organ gives the following information:

- a. In 1975, an arrangement was reached in Togo in respect of the siting of the Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS. By unanimous decision Lagos, Nigeria was chosen. The permanent Executive Secretariat is in Lagos. Though plans are underway to move the Secretariat to the new Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.
- b. The Executive Secretariat's decisions are passed by the authority of Heads of state and the council of Ministers. The Executive Secretary of ECOWAS is the Head of the Secretariat. He is assisted by two deputies. There is also the controller of finance. This post is ceded to Nigeria on a permanent basis, because of her special economic status. All these officials are appointed for a fixed term. There is however, an exception in the case of the controller of finance who can continue in office for as long as his country desires. The first executive secretary of ECOWAS was Abubakar Daby Quattara from Ivory Coast. After serving for two

terms, he was replaced by a Sierra-Leonian, Mr Mumu.

20. **Council of Ministers.** This organ is next in hierarchy of authority to the assembly of Heads of State and Government. The council consists of two representatives from each member state. The Chairmanship is rotated among the countries.

21. **Authority of Heads of State and Government.** The highest body in ECOWAS is the authority of Heads of State and Government. The body is made up of the leader of each member state and it meets once a year. Where for any reason a Head of State is unable to attend the annual session, a representation is sent to play his exact role including the signing of documents. The Chairmanship of this body is help by the Head of States and Government in rotation.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS OF ECOWAS

22. **Fund for Co-operation, Compensation and Development.** The fund is expected to be used in the following ways:

- a. In accordance with the provision of the treaty, if any member state of ECOWAS is affected by the application of the provision of the community's treaty, it is entitled to compensation.
- b. If any member state suffers losses as a result of enterprises embarked upon by the community, such member qualifies for compensation.
- c. The fund should grant loans for feasibility studies, national or community research and general developmental activities.
- d. It should encourage development projects in the less developed member states of the community.
- e. It is to guarantee investment made in ECOWAS states especially

where such are in the pursuance of the provision of the treaty “on the harmonization of industrial policies”.

f. The fund is to reinforce the continuous mobilization of internal and external financial resources for the members states and the community. The take-off capital of the fund was 50 million dollars out of which Nigeria contributed 16.4 million dollars (32.8%). The seat of the fund in accordance with the Lome agreement of 1976, is at Lome. It is administered by a Board of Directors who run a four-year term in office renewable only once.

23. **The Tribunal.** The tribunal is responsible for the interpretation of the treaty of the organization should disputes arise.

24. **Customs Union.** The treaty prescribes a customs union phased over a 15 year period. The idea behind this is not only for free trade between member states, but also a common external tariff. It is the aim of the ECOWAS trade liberation programme to remove all barriers be it; customs, monetary and social by the end of 1989. In the same projection, it tends to establish a single custom union by 1994.

25. **The Economic Community of West African States’ Bank (ECOBANK).** At its summit in 1984, the Heads of States and Government discussed and approved the need for an ECOWAS Bank. This bank will perform roles similar to those of the funds. The major differences between this and the fund, however, will be in the area of funding. While the fund is sustained by the contributions of member states, ECOBANK will exist like any international Commercial Bank whose major interest would be to straighten and improve the economy of member states.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF ECOWAS

26. ECOWAS has so far succeeded in the following:
- a. Establishment of Secretariat and the fund.
 - b. There have been major economic surveys to determine the current economic potentials and projects for development.
 - c. Studies have been conducted in the areas of customs and trade flows, transport, telecommunications and free movement of nationals of member states from one country to another. In this regard, the department of trade has been busy organizing trade fairs, e.g. the Dakar International Trade fair, the Transport fair in Lagos, etc.
 - d. At its Lome meeting in 1980, the authorities of the Heads of State and Government adopted a motion on Community Transport Programme; the aim of which is to develop and co-ordinate a modern and efficient system of transportation to break down Colonial activities which has socio-economic interaction and rapport in the West Africa sub-region. It is also hoped that this will help in promoting the aim of the Community with respect to free movement of persons and trade liberalization. Although the transport programme involves rail, road, air and marine, distinct progress has been made in road links among member states.
 - e. A special fund for communication was created at Lome in 1980 during the session of Heads of state and Government. The objectives of the fund are:
 - (1) To guarantee loans to member states to develop their telecommunication network.
 - (2) To guarantee subventions to member states who so request to help improve the maintenance of telecommunications equipments, training and refresher of courses for technicians, procurement of spare parts and measuring instruments.

27. Perhaps the greatest singular achievement of the ECOWAS is the formation of Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). This is a force set up in August 1990, to restore peace in war-torn Liberia. Although this force took off on a very shaky ground, as many members were against it, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and Sierra Leone provided troops that forms the ECOMOG. It is gratifying to note that barely three months after its formation, the troop have done so well that peace is now being restored in Liberia.

PROBLEMS OF ECOWAS

28. All ECOWAS states are producers of raw materials most of which are exported to more industrialized countries, where such are converted into manufactured product and RE-EXPORTED to ECOWAS STATES. The problem associated with this is that there is scarcely any room for intra community trade. The raw materials are sold out in exchange for manufactured products and since the manufactured goods produced outside the West African sub-region, ECOWAS member states are compelled to trade with such countries.

29. This second problem is closely interwoven with the first. ECOWAS countries are consumers of manufactured goods most of which are not produced within the community. This imposes a situation where manufacturing countries can hold states within the community to ransom in terms of trade. In addition, the situation makes it difficult for the countries to trade with each other. If producers of some of the member states are manufactured goods, it would have encouraged intra community trade with raw materials and manufactured products being exchanged.

30. Being importer of manufactured products, the countries must have been realised much revenue from import tariffs. The abolition of this for member states as proposed in the treaty could cripple economic development in the states. This is especially true with countries that are still far behind in the areas of industrial development

31. The current wave of economic recession affects all member states including the generous big brother Nigeria. The situation has turned most of the states into beggars, running cap-in-hand for help from nations that dictate their economic tempo.

32. There is great population imbalance among the states, for example Nigeria's population is more than that of all the other states put together. This creates suspicion in other states who are afraid of domination by Nigeria. They also dread that Nigeria stands to gain most from the union.

33. The fact that most members had different colonial back grounds is still affecting the community. The most notable here is the creation of unconvertible currency zones. This explains why the Franco-phone countries found it easier to transact business with France or other French speaking member states.

34. There is the problem of member states and their various kinds of external links and alliances on political grounds. Since ECOWAS treaty concentrated only on socio-economic issues, one is not surprised to discover a member of the community transacting business with a nation easily sows seed of discord among the member states of the community.

35. It appears that nationals of some states have taken undue advantage of the clause of the treaty in respect of free movement. Due to drought, war, political instability and general economic recession, Nigeria for example has had to

grapple with the chronic problem of illegal aliens from affected member states. The resultant effect of this influx is the weakening of Nigeria's economy. This created the problem of mass unemployment where millions of qualified Nigerians find themselves competing with illegal aliens for job placement. This is in addition to the hideous crimes these aliens commit.

36. Most states of the Community are not politically stable with changes in Government occurring within short periods of time. More than half of the community is currently under military rule. This type of instability affects the implementation of the policies of the community even where they have been duly ratified by members.

37. At the moment, member states are guilty of not paying their contributions regularly. This has slowed down the pace of progress especially for the executive secretariat. Closely related to this is the problem of high rents being paid by the secretariat with much strain on its budget.

PROSPECTS OF ECOWAS

38. It is expected that ECOWAS will create a single market for about 130 million consumers in West Africa. This will create opportunities for specialization in patterns of production and encourage the establishment of large-scale industries through the national markets. The problem of small size national markets will be eliminated from West Africa.

39. If ECOWAS provisions are implemented to the letter, free trade can be undertaken with ease in the sub-region because barrier to free flow of goods and services among the countries will be removed. In addition, there will be free movement of capital between member countries.

40. ECOWAS envisages the harmonization of agricultural, industrial and economic policies among its members. There is the expectation that this would include the standardization of prices paid officially for agricultural products. Disparity in agricultural export prices by the different countries of the sub-region has been a primary incentive to smuggling. Above all, a joint development of infrastructural facilities such as transport and communication will boost the economy of the communities. If the ECOWAS succeeds in bringing the member countries together through an effective, reliable and fast means of transportation and communication, it would have gone a long way in replacing fears and suspicion with understanding among countries. Within a matter of time, the realization of the forecast for an eventual political union would be realized.

SUMMARY

41. The community has laudable scheme if fully implemented will liberate the sub-region from economic dependence and enhance its march towards industrialization. These can only be achieved through total commitment and dedication of member states to the ideals of the community.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

42. a. Mention the 16 member states of ECOWAS.
- b. Mention and discuss 2 political and 2 economic groupings in the West African sub-region before the establishment of ECOWAS.
- c. What is the concept of ECOWAS?
- d. Give the aim and 4 objectives of ECOWAS.
- e. Mention 3 protocols of ECOWAS.
- f. What are the main organs of ECOWAS?
- g. Discuss briefly the special provisions of ECOWAS and ECOBANK.

- h. List and discuss 4 achievements of ECOWAS.
- i. Do you think there is feature for ECOWAS? Give reasons for your answers.

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PART THREE

THE AFRICAN UNION

INTRODUCTION

1. The end of the cold war and the collapse of the coordinate system of the East/West confrontation and the competition around the world in general, and in Africa, in particular brought tremendous changes to the international political system. In the evolving new world order, Africa literary became an orphan. Because of this increasing unwillingness of the major powers to get involved in Africa's international affairs, freed from the dynamics of the political and ideological considerations and geo-strategic means of the Super Powers, Africa was left to its own devices.

2. Therefore, when the whirlwind of globalization came, Africa became completely exposed with serious implications for its political stability and socio-economic development. It was within this circumstance that the need for a rethinking of the structure and charter of the OAU became imperative.

3. The African Union, coming as a successor to the OAU is ostensibly predicated on the need for Africa to face the challenges of globalization with a re-energised and revitalised supernatural organization. It has dawned on the architects of the Union that a politically and economically disunited and fragmented Africa would never be able to cope with such problems as wide spread poverty, increasing unemployment and economic stagnation prevalent all over the continent. Against this background, one could say that the establishment of the African Union (AU) is a welcome development in Africa.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE AU

4. The AU has 53 member countries from all over Africa except Morocco which withdrew from the Union in 1985 after the disputed territory of Western Sahara was admitted as a member.

5. Articles 5 to 22 of the Union's charter deals with the institutional machinery as structure of the organization. What is more significant, at this juncture, is that while that OAU had 4 main organs, the AU has 10.

6. The organs of the AU are the definitive structure of the Union's objectives. These include:

- a. The Assembly of the Union - Assembly of Heads of States and Government (The Political Project Managers).
- b. The executive Council.
- c. The Pan-African Parliament (Democratic Control and Monitoring Organization).
- d. The Court of Justice (Judicial and Arbitration body).
- e. The Commission (Engine of the Union).
- f. The Permanent Representatives Committee.
- g. The Special Technical Committee.
- h. The Economic, Social and Cultural Council.
- i. The Financial Institutions.
- j. A 15-Nation Peace and Security Council which will be advised by a three-man committee of wise people.

BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF AFRICAN UNION

7. African Union came to replace its predecessor, Organization of African Unity. The OAU was created in 1963 as the spirit of independence and Pan-

Africanism swept across the continent. The Ghanaian leader, Kwame Nkrumah had dreamed for a strong union, akin to the United States, binding Africa's nations. However, this vision was raped by the policy of non interference in the internal affairs of member states which prevented it from resolving the many conflicts which have taken place on our continent.

8. The Leaders of the countries that make up the continent, OAU had not failed, it surely served the purpose for which the organization was formed, much of Africa was under Colonialism. Today, they are free. The popular view is that without the OAU, there would have been no common front to confront the colonialist. Besides, OAU championed the battle against the obnoxious apartheid system. South Africans are indeed ever grateful for this. President Olusegun Obasanjo commented on the gains of the OAU when he said:

“It held Africa together. It has not absolutely eliminated Conflicts, but it has completely eliminated colonialism, racism and apartheid. To that extent, it has succeeded. Where OAU has stopped, AU will take over.”

9. The OAU lived up to the mandate of eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa and this was one major achievement it cannot but be credited with. However, the story of Africa has not only been a story of failed promises and false starts; it has been a narrative of woes and wars, disasters and diseases. Many African countries were fractionalized, with the difference of the ethnic groups exaggerated by arbitrary drawn borders. Coupled with the divide and rule system of colonialism, few people were groomed for the important duties of statecraft. In fact, many of the countries were either invariable or were disasters waiting to happen. And the disasters did happen as characterized by repression, instability, *coup-de-tat*, war, famine and misery.

10. The “incapabilities” of OAU, therefore are a reflection of the “cruel” environment within which it operated/ OAU did not interfere in member states internal politics and focused instead on fighting apartheid in South Africa and

the remnants of British and Portuguese Colonialism. In 1980's, the African body pressurized the West to imposed sanctions on apartheid South Africa while devastating civil wars in Angola and Mozambique were virtually ignored. The OAU left the efforts to end the war in Sierra Leone to the Regional Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

11. OAU lacked the “necessary” powers as the establishing constitution emphasized the sovereignty of states which gave dictators opportunity to have a field day. The OAU did not stop dictators like Mobutu Sese Seko of the former Zaire from oppressing his people and looting the resources of his country. It was silent in 1984 as at least 500,000 people were killed in Rwanda's genocide. The body could not press seriously to halt conflicts in other boiling spots like the democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan.

12. It is on record that the OAU was hindered by the internal conflict and self-serving heads of states without addressing the real palaver. OAU being a product from these African leaders cannot be expected to have performed more than it did. Africa's problem was compounded by the nature of its leadership. Those that were not misguided and corrupt were just plain inefficient and mere replacement for their colonial masters. Either in military or civilian gabs they were of the same hue. They were more interested in power and wealth than in the emancipation of their people, furthermore such leaders pursued bogus policies and grandiose projects and turned the states into personal estates.

13. It is, therefore, a big relief when the OAU ceased to exist as the African head of States solemnly buried it. During the year 2000, an initiative among African states to transform the OAU into AU gained momentum. The AU was initially conceived by Libyan Leader Colonel Moamar Gadaffi, who proposed two years earlier than the continent needed to become the “United State of Africa”. It was further agreed that the 53 African States intergovernmental

organization. This resulted in the ratification of the constitutive Act and its adoption at the 36th ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government in July 2001 in Lusaka, Zambia. The AU was formerly established in September, 2001 in Sirte, Libya.

REASONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AU

14. The establishment of the African Union came like a thunder bolt to most African nationals. First of all, the African Union was formed primarily to find solutions to Africa's unique problems; unemployment, and mass poverty that have become endemic in Africa. These could be drastically reduced on the platform of the African Union. The African Union is designed to provide an all pervading institutional framework for closer economic and political interaction among African countries.

15. There is the need for African countries to work together, now on economic basis. The OAU, however did not cover this. More favourable terms of trade, the need to move along the increasing interdependence among nations and the exigencies of rapid economic development in individual African states are all new challenges of globalization that are beyond the scope, resources and management capacity of the OAU. The logic of the argument therefore hinges on the urgent need to have a more powerful organization than can cope with the challenges and problems that are thrown at Africa in the 21st Century.

OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES OF AU

16. It was argued that the objectives of the African Union would be similar to that of the OAU. That is, to promote unity, solidarity and international cooperation among the newly independent African States. Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the AU deals with the objectives of the AU. In Lome, Togo, the Constitutive Act was adopted, in terms of the Sirte Declaration of

September, 1999 and the 2000 Decision in Sirte, Libya. The Act became effective on May 26, 2001. The Act provides for mechanisms to address this change which stands between the people of Africa and their ability to defeat poverty, disease and ignorance.

17. The objectives of the AU are as follows:
 - a. To achieve greater unity: solidarity between the African countries and the people of Africa.
 - b. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member states.
 - c. Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent.
 - d. Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its people.
 - e. Encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights.
 - f. Promote and protect human and people's right in accordance with the African Charter on Human and People's Right and other relevant human rights instruments.
 - g. Promote peace, security and stability of the continent.
 - h. Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.
 - i. Establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations.
 - j. Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African people.
 - k. Coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the

objectives of the Union.

- l. Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology.
- m. Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.
- o. Respect for the sanctity of human life, condemnation and rejection of impurity and political assassination, acts of terrorism and subversive activities.
- p. Condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of government.

18. Unlike the parent body-OAU, the AU is for the changing of the continent towards aggressive economic development and enhancement of good governance. It is a departure from fight to end colonialism and apartheid rule to new empowerment. AU has the teeth to fight genocide, war crimes, bad governance and promote development of the stagnated African economic sector. In this pursuit, AU's charter approved a Peacekeeping Force, Central Bank and the Court of Justice, single market and currency.

19. Article 4 specifically states the principles on which the Union shall work in accordance with. The principles include:

- a. Sovereign equality and interdependence among member states of the Union.
- b. Respect of bodies existing on achievements of independence.
- c. Participation of African people in the activities of the Union.
- d. Establishment of a common defence policy for the African Continent.
- e. Peaceful resolution of conflicts among member states of the Union through such appropriate means as may be decided upon by the Assembly.

- f. Prohibition of the use of force or threat to use of force among member states of the Union.
- g. Non-Interference by any member state in the internal affairs of another.
- h. The right of the Union to intervene in a member state's affairs subject to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely; war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.
- i. Peaceful coexistence of member states and their right to live in peace and security.
- j. The right of member states to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security.
- k. Promote self-reliance within the framework of the Union.
- l. Promotion of gender equality.
- m. Respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance.
- n. Promotion of social justice to ensure balanced economic development.

20. The leaders also agreed on a Peer review Mechanism to facilitate good governance. Unlike what it was with the OAU, it means automatic loss of sovereignty. The review, an essential component of the economic recovery plan, is expected to audit or monitor any discrepancy and halt corruption.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AU'S OBJECTIVES

21. The strategy is to first build regional blocs in East, West, Central North and Southern Africa which will eventually merge into one big economy with a common African currency. The reason for this is because all African countries unlike Europe are countries at different levels of development. In fact, there is so much disparity in terms of productive base and living standards, hence the

economic unity will take longer process than political unity which has actually taken off and implemented in the instances of Cote d'Ivoire, Central African Republic, Comoro Island and Madagascar.

22. The AU will be closely linked with the New Partnership for African development, (NEPAD) the home grown plan which offers good governance and sound economic principles in return for increased foreign aid and trade opportunities. A very vital aspect of the AU is the NEPAD which is expected to usher in economic prosperity.

23. NEPAD is a pledge by African leaders, based on a common vision and a firm shared conviction that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and place all African countries, individually and collectively on the path of sustainable growth and development. They also wish to be active participants in the world economic and political issues. Through NEPAD, Africans hope to extricate themselves from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a fast globalizing economy. This will make it possible for African states to pull their resources together and tackle their peculiar problems without relying heavily on the Western Powers.

24. NEPAD will among other things:

- a. Seek better market access for African products.
- b. Seek increased private capital inflow into Africa, as an essential component of a sustainable long-term approach to filling the resources gap.
- c. Strive for better health of the people.
- d. Bridge education gap.
- e. Promote Agriculture.

OAU AND AU: THE DIFFERENCE

25. Unlike OAU, the AU will eventually have a common parliament, Central bank and a Court of Justice like the European Union. AU has included all of the objectives of the OAU, aside from mentioning the eradication of colonialism which obviously is irrelevant now. With this, Africa is expected to witness improved economic and political integration. It envisages a Customs Union. Members will be compelled to remove barriers, open their markets and allow for free movement of goods and services. The AU has however, gone ahead to emphasize some of the essentials in Article 3 of the Constitutive Act. These include: condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of government. That is, military rule is hence forth outlawed. Also, it is the right of the Union to intervene (upon the decision of the Assembly) in case of war, crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, limitation on the rule of non-interference in the internal affairs of all member states. Lastly,

26. A few important provisions of AU charter which were not in the OAU charter are listed below:

- a. Article 17, 18: which created Pan African Parliament and the Court of Justice.
- b. Article 19, 22: which created Central Bank and the Economic Social Security Council.
- c. Article 23(2): which legalized the imposition of sanction on members that fail to comply with the decision and policies of the Union.
- d. Article 30: which legalized the suspension of any government created through an unconstitutional means.
- e. Article 33(2) The SUPREMACY CLAUSE: which states that the provisions of the Act take precedence and supercede any inconsistent or contrary provision of the treaty establishing the African Economic

Community.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES OF AU

27. The reactions to the proposals and development of the last several months have been two-fold. On the positive side, people have said it has been wonderful so far owing to the fact that the African Union itself is a recommitment, a reaffirmation of something that started way back in the 50s from the Nkrumahs and others. With AU via NEPAD's quest for debt relief that eventually resulted in a victory and AU inter-Sudanese Peace Talks to resolve the conflict in the troubled western region of Dafur as examples, the organization could be said to be moving forward, not backward, considering that it is barely four years old.

28. On the other hand, most observers of African Unity and trends towards integration have talked about the problems AU is facing thus, concluding that the history has not been good.

29. According to the Annual United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) report released on July 04, 2002, the 27 poorest world. This review presents some major challenges and issues that must be dealt with if this dream is to be realised. NEPAD's relationship with external organizations, institutions and governments like G8 is an evidence of joint efforts for Africa's development and emancipation. As the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan asserted:

“That is what NEPAD is all about, An African model of development based on an investment-friendly climate... Africans need help from those who of late have been more successful or more fortunate than us.”

30. The AU is still made up of member countries of the former OAU who were not able to pay their annual dues. The media have pointed out that the

AU's financing "remains up in the air, it is being treated as a paper tiger". Since the goal of more effective continental unity is widely shared, there is the widespread skepticism whether the AU will prove more effective than its predecessor. Some of its challenges are to ensure a fair balance of trade among countries with varied economic powers, minimum economic standard for entering the AU. In this case, how then will it affect poorer nations in African States? Can the AU afford to grant loans to poorer countries?

31. Another issue is the problem of integrating member-states and Africa as a whole. It may be exciting to take the African governments at their words and draw a comparison with the forces of Europe which favoured integration and led to the creation of the AU. In other words, it is obvious that the condition(s) for successful integration whether economic or political are lacking in Africa. Almost every African country has been struggling with their own internal problems, whether it is consolidating the state, or economic problems or basic human rights. It is very difficult to look towards integration when countries are disintegrating at the local level.

32. There are still regional alliances that may hinder the goal of unity. For example, the historical Casablanca and Monrovia groups. The radical group Casablanca bloc-led by late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, wanted strong union because of the belief that Africa could only survive as a single entity and the conservative group Monrovia bloc-led by late Houphouet Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire and Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria held the view that the newly independent states of Africa must first build individual strong nations before they can talk of unity.

33. Still on the problem of integration, the biggest obstacle is that many African countries still conduct more trade with their former colonial masters than with each others. For instance, the Francophone countries like Senegal and

the Republic of Benin are practically still tied to France's apron strings.

34. Some analysts have pointed out that another problem of the AU is the "top-down approach" in the deliberation of issues which have been condemned stressing that one lesson to learn from the European Union is that a union of this nature evolved from a lot of common interests. People have to acknowledge, and to recognize that there are some benefits from the Union; it doesn't have to be a normative theoretical thing.

35. The establishment of NEPAD is a good case in point. NEPAD did not result from any participatory process and has therefore been criticized for its top-bottom origin and approach. This raises concern on the appropriateness of the programme to the particular concerns of the poor who make up a greater majority of the African populace and therefore raises the issue of commitment to participation. Only recently have NEPAD initiatives been widely known among the African populace and therefore it is feared that the absence of prior discussion and debate with citizens may influence the content and priority of the programme. This also is the source of the fear that assuming the future commitment of citizens to the vision may be problematic.

36. Again, political stability is a gratification to join the AU so as to avoid destabilization of other countries. If all African states automatically become members, it means that like OAU, there will be no democratic or political stability standard. War-torn states will destabilize others. Setting such standards may mean denying membership from many countries with well-defined democratic constitutions many have undemocratic tendencies that will hinder their recognition as a democracy, countries in the world are all African. Of 35 countries classified in the low human development category, 28 are from Africa. A continent reputed to have the potential to feed the world population; million of Africans still die of hunger and malnutrition-related diseases. The social,

economic and political crises ravaging the continent result in large number of world refugees while a sustainable percentages of people who live with HIV/AIDS is from the continent, not to talk of millions who still die from malaria, cholera and similar diseases.

37. In conclusion, it is abundantly clear that all areas of development are critical for Africa. However, for the sake of prioritization, areas of infrastructure, information, technology, human resources development, agriculture and diversification of economy are the few areas to be met head-on by AU. However, at the end of the day, finance is really the determinant of the challenges. Finally, it is of critical importance that member states are active for the design and implementation of the African Union. In this way, it will foster a sense of ownership and member states will be able to address those aspects of the day-to-day functions of the Union, which will streamline the implementation of decisions.

PART FOUR

THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS ORGANS

INTRODUCTION

1. The United Nations grew out of the ashes of a major conflict. Therefore, it has as its primary objective, the maintenance of international peace and security. This message is clearly conveyed in the UN Charter which states the determination of its signatories to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. In addition to this primary aim, the United Nations seeks to promote global economic and social development, human rights and the establishment of conditions under which justice and respect for international law could be maintained. The United Nations also takes effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and the suppression of acts of aggression in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. The United Nation adjudicates in the settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace, to develop equal rights and self determination, to cooperate in the solution of international economic, cultural and humanitarian problems, and to act as a centre for harmonizing the action of nations in the attainment of common goals.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

2. At the end of this part candidates would be able to:
 - a. Express the evolution of the UNO
 - b. Enumerate the purposes and principles of the UNO
 - c. Discuss the functions of the six organs of the UNO

EVOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

3. The United Nations was founded as a successor to the League of Nations, which was widely considered to be ineffective in its role as an international governing body, as it had been unable to prevent World War II. The term “United Nations” was first used by Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the 1942 Declaration by United Nations, which the United the allied countries of WW II under the Atlantic charter, and soon became a term widely used to refer to them. Declarations signed at wartime Allied Conference in 1943 espoused the idea of the UN, and 1944, representatives of the major Allied powers met to elaborate on the plans at the Dumbarton Oaks conference. Those and later talks outlined the organization’s proposed purposes, membership, organs and ideas in regards to peace, security and cooperation.

PURPOSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

4. The purpose of the United Nations is summed up in paragraph 1 of the Article of the UN charter as follows:

“To maintain international peace and security and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and the removal of the threats to peace and bring about the peaceful means of justice and international law, adjustments of settlement of international disputes or situation which might lead to a break down of peace”.

5. Hence, the purpose of the UNO can be summed up as follows:

- a. To maintain international peace and security and to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression.
- b. To develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of mutual respect, sovereignty, equality and self determination of all peoples.
- c. To achieve international cooperation in solving international

problem of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for fundamental human rights and discrimination.

d. To be the centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

PRINCIPLES OF THE UNO

6. The essential principles of UN were to guide its operations. These principles are contained in Articles of the Charter of the United Nations as follows:

- a. Sovereignty and equality of all nations.
- b. Settlement of international disputes peacefully.
- c. Members shall refrain from the use of force or threats of its use to violate the territorial integrity or political independence of other member states.
- d. There would be no United Nations Interventions in domestic jurisdiction.
- e. The members are to fulfill their obligations that are assumed under the charter in good faith.

THE THREE MAJOR GOALS OF THE UNO

7. The UN has three major goals as stated below:

- a. That the UN is dedicated to the building of conditions that will allow for peaceful and friendly relations among people. This is to be realized through the increased recognition of the dignity and worth of human beings. To this end, the UN is attempting to raise the world standard of living and to fight hunger, diseases, and literacy in all corners of the world.

b. The UN seeks to provide formal machinery for the adjustment of international tensions when the normal processes of diplomacy prove ineffective.

c. The United Nations is dedicated to the establishment of a programme of collective security under which all its members must come to the support of any member victimized by aggression.

8. On 25 April 1945, the UN conference on international organizations began in San Francisco, attended by 50 government and a number of non-governmental organizations involved in drafting the charter of the United Nations. **The UN officially came into existence on 24 October 1945** upon ratification of the charter by the five permanent members of the security councils, France, the Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and by a majority of the other 46 signatories. The first meeting of the general assembly with 51 nations represented, and the Security Council took place in West Minster Hall in London in January 1946.

ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

9. The organization is divided into five administrative bodies primarily:

- a. The General Assembly which is the main deliberative assembly.
- b. The Security Council which decides certain resolutions for peace and security.
- c. The Economic and Social Council.
- d. The Secretariat.
- e. The International Court of Justice.
- f. The Trusteeship Council.

10. Additional bodies deal with governance of all other UN system Agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF). The UN's most visible public figure is the

Secretary – General, currently Ban Ki-Moon of South Korea, who attained the post in 2007. The organization is financed from assessed and voluntary contributions from its member states, and has six official languages namely Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

11. The General Assembly is the main deliberative assembly of the United Nations. Composed of all the United Nations member states, the assembly meets in regular yearly sessions under a President elected from among member states over a two-week period. At the start of each session, all members have the opportunity to address the assembly. Traditionally the Secretary General makes the first statement, followed by the President of the assembly.

12. **The first session was convened on 10 January 1946** in the West Minster Central Hall at London and in attendance were representatives of 51 nations.

13. When the General Assembly votes on important questions a two-third majority of those present and voting is required. Examples of important questions include: recommendation on peace and security, election of members to organs, administration, suspension, and expulsion of members, and budgetary matters.

14. All other questions are decided by majority vote. Each member country has one vote. Apart from approval of budgetary matters, resolutions are not binding on members. The assembly may make recommendations on any matters within the scope of the UN except matters of peace and security that are under security councils consideration.

15. Conceivably the one state, one vote power structure could enable states

comprising just eight percent of the world population to pass a resolution by a two-third vote. However, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which a recommendation by member states constituting just eight percent of the world's population would be adhered to by the remaining ninety-two percent of the population, should they object.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

16. The Security Council is charged with maintaining peace and security among countries. While other organs of the United Nations can only make recommendations to member governments, the security council has the power to make binding decisions that member governments have agreed to carry out under the terms of charter article 2. The decisions of the council are known as United Nation Security Council Resolutions.

17. The Security Council is made up of 15 member states, consisting of 5 permanent members – China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States and 10 non-permanent members currently , Belgium, Burkina Faso, Costa Rica, Croatia, Indonesia, Italy, Libya, Panama, South Africa and Vietnam. The five permanent members hold veto power over substantive but not procedural resolutions allowing a permanent member to block adoption but not to block the debate of a resolution unacceptable to it. The ten temporary seats are held for two-year terms with member states voted in by the General Assembly on a regional basis. The presidency of the Security Council is rotated alphabetically each month and is currently held by France.

THE SECRETARIAT

18. The United Nations secretariat is headed by the Secretary – General assisted by a staff of international civil servants worldwide. It provides studies, information, and facilitates needed by the United Nations bodies for meetings.

It also carries out tasks as directed by the UN Security Council, the UN General Assembly, the UN Economic and Social Council and other bodies. The United Nations charter provides that the staff be chosen by application of the highest standards of efficiency competence and integrity, with due regard for the importance of recruiting on wide geographical basis.

19. The charter provides that the staff shall not seek or receive instruction from any authority other than the UN. Each UN member country is enjoined to respect the international character of the secretariat and not seek to influence its staff. The secretary general alone is responsible for staff selection.

20. The Secretary-General's duties include helping resolve international disputes, administering peacekeeping operations, organizing international conferences, gathering information on the implementation of security council decisions, and consulting with member governments regarding various initiatives. Key secretariat offices in this area include the office of the coordinator of humanitarian affairs and the Department of peacekeeping operations. The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that, in his or her opinion, may threaten international peace and security.

21. The Secretariat is headed by the Secretary – General who acts as defacto spokesman and leader of the UN. The current Secretary – General is Ban Ki-Moon, who took over from Kofi Anan in 2007 and will be eligible for reappointment when his first term expires in 2011.

22. Franklin D Roosevelt described the position of the Secretary-General as a “World moderator” while the UN charter defined it as the organizations “Chief administrative officer”. The charter also states that the Secretary-General can bring to the Security Council's attention “any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security” giving the

position greater scope for action on the world stage. The position has evolved into a dual role of an administrator of the UN organization and a diplomat and moderator addressing disputes between member states and finding consensus to global issues ⁽⁹⁾.

23. The Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly, after being recommended by the security council. The selection can be vetoed by any member of the Security Council and the General Assembly can theoretically override the Security Council recommendation if a majority vote is not achieved, although this has not happened so far. There are no specific criteria for the post, but over the years it has become accepted that the post shall be held for one to two terms of five years each that the post shall be appointed based on geographical rotation, and that the Secretary-General shall not originate from one of the five permanent Security Council member states:

SECRETARIES – GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

| Serial | Name | Country | Took office | Left office | Note |
|--------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| (a) | (b) | (c) | (d) | (e) | (f) |
| 1. | Trygve Lie | Norway | 2 Feb 1946 | 10 Nov. 1952 | Resigned |
| 2. | Dag Hammarskjöld | Sweden | 10 Apr 1953 | 18 Sep 1961 | Died while in office |
| 3. | U Thant | Burma | 30 Nov 1961 | 1 Jan. 1972 | First Secretary General from Asia |
| (a) | (b) | (c) | (d) | (e) | (f) |
| 4. | Kurt Waldheim | Austria | 1 Jan 1972 | 1 Jan 1982 | |
| 5. | Javier Pérez de Cuellar | Peru | 1 Jan 1982 | 1 Jan 1992 | First Secretary General South America |
| 6. | Boutros Boutros Ghali | Egypt | 1 Jan 1992 | 1 Jan 1997 | First Secretary General from Africa |
| 7. | Kofi Annan | Ghana | 1 Jan 1997 | 1 Jan 2007 | |
| 8. | Ban Ki-moon | South Korean | 1 Jan 2007 | Incumbent | |

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

24. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) located in the Hague, Netherland is the primary judicial organ of the UN. Established in 1945 by the UN's charter, the court began work in 1946 as the successor to the permanent court of international justice. The statute of the International Court of Justice, similar to that of its predecessor, is the constituting and regulating court.

25. It is based in the peace palace in the Hague Netherlands, sharing the building with the Hague Academy of International Law, a private centre for the study of international law. Several of the courts current judges are either alumni or former faculty members of the Academy. Its purpose is to adjudicate disputes among states. The court has heard cases related to war crimes, illegal states interference and ethnic cleansing among others and continues to hear cases.

26. A related court, the International Criminal Court (ICC), began operating in 2002 through international discussions initiated by the General Assembly. It is the first permanent international court charged with trying those who commit the most serious crimes under international law, including war crimes and genocide. The ICC is functionally independent of the UN in terms of personnel and finances, but some meetings of the ICC governing body, the Assembly of States Parties to the Rome Statutes, are held at the UN. There is a "relationship agreement" between the ICC and the UN that governs how the two institutions regard each other legally.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

27. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) assists the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and

development. ECOSOC has 54 members all of whom are elected by the General Assembly for a three-year term. The President is elected for a one-year term and chosen amongst the small or middle powers represented on ECOSOC. ECOSOC meets once a year in July for a four-week session. Since 1998, it has held another meeting each April with finance ministers heading key committees of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Viewed separately from the specialization bodies it coordinates ECOSOC's functions including information gathering, advising member nations and making recommendations. In addition ECOSOC is well-positioned to provide policy coherence and coordinate the overlapping functions of the UN's subsidiary bodies and it is in these roles that it is most active.

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

28. The Trusteeship Council was expected to take charge of the non-self governing territories, and to enable it perform this function, it was given specific powers of its own.

29. The Trusteeship Council has jurisdiction over the former mandates of the League of Nations over territories taken over from Japan and Italy at the end of World War II and over any other territory which as a state may voluntarily confide to its case. The Trusteeship Council also receives reports from the administrators of trust territories, makes annual inspections of their conditions and receives complaints and petitions from the indigenous inhabitants.

30. The United Nations because of its mandates under Article 1 Sections 2 and 55 of the Charter relating to the self determination of people and freedom for all has supported their aspiration for freedom and self government with the achievement of statehood for its territories, the Trusteeship Council is quietly working its way out of existence.

CONCLUSION

31. The United Nations (UN) is an international organization whose stated aims are to facilitate cooperation in international law, international security economic development social progress human rights and achieving world peace. The UN was founded in 1945 after World War II to replace the League of Nations, to stop wars between countries and to provide a platform for dialogue.

32. There are currently 192 member states, including nearly every recognized independent state in the world. From its headquarters on international territory in New York City, the UN and its specialized agencies decides on substantive and administrative issues in regular meetings held throughout the year.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

33. a. Write briefly on any two organs of the United Nations
- b. Why was the United Nations established?
- c. Narrate briefly the evolution of the United Nations.
- d. Security Council Assembly is the highest organ of the United Nations. Discuss.
- e. Mention the three main goals of the UNO.

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PART FIVE

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

INTRODUCTION

1. International politics or world politics are words that have come to stay since the congress system of 1820s in Europe which. Shortly after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo in 1815 and his eventual banishment to the Island of Helena, Europe had for a long period of time engaged in series of interceding and fratricidal struggle arising from the quest for expansionist ambition, territorial aggrandizements and political hegemony sought for amicable solution. The existence of great Napoleon Bonaparte from the political scene in Europe ushered in an era of Congress System. The first congress of Vienna was put in place in 1814-1815 to solve all the social, political and economic problems facing Europe. This later gave birth to Congress System otherwise known as Concert of Europe.

2. In its simplest form, the Concert of Europe means the coming together of European Powers periodically to solve and eliminate all matters of schism that were likely to plunge Europe into another era of political catastrophe. thus began the era of diplomacy and international systems or politics in the world.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this part, candidates would be able to:
- a. Give an account of the background to the evolution of world politics / international system.
 - b. Explain why it is imperative to study International Politics (significance).

- c. Identify how world politics affects economic life, living space and your very existence.
- d. Discuss the nature of politics.
- e. Explain how realist describes the nature of politics.
- f. Discuss the roles of power and justice as standards of international conduct as emphasized by Realism and Idealism.

BACKGROUND TO THE EVOLUTION OF WORLD POLITICAL SYSTEM

4. The evolution of the current world political system began in about the fifteenth century. It was then that modern states (countries) began to emerge. The emergence of the state as the focus of political authority involves two contradictory trends - one of integration, the other of disintegration, which transfigures the system that had existed for the preceding millennium.

5. The integration process began in part due to the weakening of small feudal units (such as baronies, dukedoms and principalities) and city states (such as Venice), which could not maintain their political viability and autonomy. They declined because of a series of changes in technology and economics that diminished their military and economic self-sufficiency. As these small units declined, kings gained enough power to consolidate their authority and to end the virtual independence of the feudal state and city –states.

6. The disintegration process involved the unwillingness of people to accept distant, overarching authority. Some of this has to do with the secularization of politics, especially the resistance in Europe to the political authority of the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church. More than any other event, the Treaty of Westphalia in (1648) has come to symbolize this eclipse of overarching authority and the founding of modern states. This treaty ended the Thirty Years War and recognized the independence of the ‘Netherlands; several German

states and a number of other protestant political entities from secular authority of the Holy Roman Empire and its Roman Catholic dynasty; and by extension from the religious authority of the Pope in Rome. The post Westphalian states became the primary actors in the international system. This leading role remains today.

CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

7. All the world is a stage, and all the men and women merely players; Shakespeare lines are used here because they help convey the drama of world politics. The characters are different, of course with Canada, China, Germany, Japan, Russia and the United State replacing those of his time and imagination. Beyond that though, there are remarkable parallels between international relation and the master playwright. Both are cosmic and complex. The action is always dramatic and often tragic. As with any good play; the audience was drawn into the action at the Globe, the London theatre where Shakespeare staged his works. Similarly, the global theater of international politics draws us in. Indeed, we are seated on the stage, no matter how remote the action may seem or how much we may want to ignore it. Like it or not, we and the world are stuck with each other.

8. The history and current state of world politics is not a peaceful scene. The interplay of international relations stems primarily from the world's political, economic and social fragmentation. The global drama has a cast of national actors that are often at odds with one another. Although these actors or countries are often at peace, and although there are many examples of cooperation and humanity that can be found in them, they are also full of ambition, self-serving righteousness and greed. It is sometimes pretty difficult to see some of the actor states (countries) not engaging enjoying in political brawls or open conflict.

IMPORTANCE/SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDYING INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

9. The coming together of sovereign states to mediate and proffer a way forward on all issues relating to mankind has a profound significance. Very few people think keeping up with political affairs is very important while majority have developed a lukewarm approach. In America for instance, public poll show that attention of politics should be focused primarily on domestic affairs. This domestic orientation is not confined to Americans. A general survey of (12) twelve European countries indicate that a majority of people in all but three of them agreed with the statement that their country should just concentrate on taking care of problems at home rather than worrying about world affairs.

10. The pertinent question to ask is whether this widespread lack of information about or interest in world events is justifiable. The answer is No! The message here is, the world drama is essential and it deserves our careful attention. We are more than mere observers. We are all on the stage along with everybody else, and we are all caught up in the web and flow of global/international events.

11. Significantly, however, efforts must be made to become knowledgeable about the world while trying to shape its course to your liking because international politics does matter. It plays an important role in individual and national life. The importance of studying international politics enables one to know how world politics affects economic life, living space and one's very existence.

NATURE OF POLITICS: REALISM AND IDEALISM

12. The disagreement between realists and idealists about the nature of politics is perhaps the most fundamental division in all political discourse. At

root, realists are pessimists about human nature; idealists are optimists about human nature.

REALISM AND THE NATURE OF POLITICS

13. Realism paints a rather grim picture of the world. Realists believe that political struggle among humans is probably inevitable because people have an inherent dark side. Many realists would trace their intellectual heritage to such political philosophers as Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679). He believed that humans possess an urge to dominate, “an animus dominande”, a natural, animal-like instinct to gain powers as an end in itself. Hans Morgenthau a popular realist scholar, wrote that an ubiquity of evil in human action inevitably turns churches into political organizations, revolutions into dictatorships and love of country into imperialism.

14. Morgenthau represents what might be called the classic realist school. This is joined in the realist camp by a more recent neo-realist school of thought. Neo-realists focus on the archaic nature of a world politics based on competition among sovereign states, rather than on human nature as the factor that shapes world politics. As one neo-realist points out, the international politics with its sovereign actors (states), which answer to no higher authority, is archaic with no overarching authority providing security and order. The result of such a self-help system is that each state must rely on its own resources to survive and flourish.

15. What leaves neo-realists firmly in the realist camp is that they doubt that there is any escape from the anarchist world. Some opined that international organizations do not promote co-operation. Instead they say “the most powerful states in the system create and shape international institutions so that states can maintain their share of world power or even increase it.

IDEALISM AND THE NATURE OF POLITICS

16. Idealists reject the notion that all or most humans are inherently political predators. Instead, idealists are prone to believe that humans and their countries are capable of achieving more co-operative, less conflictive relations. In this sense, idealists might trace their intellectual lineage to political philosophers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 – 1778). He argued in the Social Contract (1762) that humans had joined together in civil societies because they reached the point at which the obstacles (to bettering their existence) were greater than the resources at the disposal of each individual; like Rousseau, contemporary idealists not only believe that in the past people joined together to build a co-operative and peaceful global society. There is also a neo-idealist school of thought which ascribed much of world conflict to the same cause: the anarchic world system based on competition among sovereign states.

17. While neo-idealists and neo-realists agree that the anarchic nature of the system is the cause of most international conflict, they disagree about what can get done. Like all idealists, neo-idealists believe that humans can cooperate in order to achieve mutual benefits. Therefore, since neo-idealists also hold that the anarchic system hinders co-operation, they further believe that the best path to cooperation is through building effective international organizations. This prescription is why neo-idealists are often called liberal institutionalists. Typically, two theorists of this school contend that states can jointly benefit from cooperation. We expect governments to attempt to construct international organizations to facilitate cooperation. The two groups of scholars went further to argue that in turn, international organization add growth of cooperation by providing various benefits to member state that facilitate the operation of reciprocity.

ROLES OF POWER AND JUSTICE: REALISM AND IDEALISM

18. Realists and idealists also disagree in their description of and, especially their prescriptions about the roles of power and justice as standards of international conduct. Realist could be styled the “might makes right” school of thought. Idealist would contend that “right makes might”.

REALISM: AN EMPHASIS ON POWER

19. Realists believe that struggles between states to secure their frequently conflicting national interests are the main action on the world stage. Since realists also believe that power determines which country prevails, they hold that politics is aimed at increasing power, keeping power or demonstrating power.

20. Given the view that the essence of politics is the struggle for power, realists maintain that countries and their leaders, if prudent, are virtually compelled to base their foreign policy on the existence as the realists see it, of a supposedly Darwinian, country-eat-country world in which power is the key to the national survival of the fittest. From this point of view, the national interest can be defined for the most part as whatever enhances or preserves the state’s security; its influence, and its military and economic power. In the world that exists and probably has always existed, realist would argue, might makes right or at least it makes success.

21. This does not mean that realists are amoral. Indeed, they argue that the highest moral duty of the state is to do good for its citizens. As one of the scholars of realism put it, ‘Do good’ if the price is low. Contemplating intervention in Bosnia to stem the bloody conflict between Serbs and Muslims in the former Yugoslavia region, the scholar conceded that the carnage justified

moral outrage. Yet the scholar opposed intervening in Bosnia because doing so presented a “Scenario from Hell” that would dearly cost the United States and other countries foolish enough to throw themselves into the fiery pit of a several-sided civil conflict wherein, in real terms, everyone will lose.

IDEALISM: AN EMPHASIS ON JUSTICE

22. Idealists do not believe that acquiring, preserving and applying power must be the essence of international relations. One idealist scholar criticized realists for their tendency to discount scholar criticizes realists both the normative aspiration of the society and the normative potential of institutional arrangements that challenge the state system.

23. Idealists argue that, instead of being based on power, foreign policy should be formulated according to cooperative and ethical standards. President Jimmy Carter was an idealist in his approach to international politics. In his words he once declared himself ‘proud that our nation stands for more than military might or political might, pursuit of human rights is part of a broad effort to use our great power and our tremendous influence in the service of creating a better world in which in the human rights is the soul of our foreign policy’. Similarly, President Clinton is also an idealist in terms of his basic philosophy. This was evident in his address to the American people when he asked for their support in sending U.S. troops to Bosnia because “it is the right thing to do”.

24. The view of Carter, Clinton and other idealists do not mean that they are out of touch with reality. Carter himself admitted ‘that seldom do circumstances permit me..... to take actions that are wholly satisfactory but I tried’. Clinton too has had to temper his fundamental idealist predilections with the real politik demanded of presidents.

25. Idealists also dismiss the change of some realists that pursuing ethical policy works against the national interest. One discussion of U.S. national interest contends that a stable international order “is necessary in an age of global interdependence”. Therefore, Americans might redefine their concepts of interest to take into account the inextricable ties between the future of the United States and the global pattern of human development.

REALISM AND THE COMPETITIVE FUTURE: PROSPECTS FOR COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION

26. To reiterate a point, realists and neo-realists “generally accept the view that the international anarchic order is static- it has not and probably will not be changed”. As such, they tend to dismiss the growing number of international organizations and other evidence of what idealists claim to be significant movement towards greater global order. Waltz a neo-realist warns that in times of relative world calm, ‘the belief that power politics is ending tends to break out. . Once the (optimistic) bandwagon starts to roll, it collects by-standers’. The reality of realism soon returns as conflicts reoccurs. As for the idealist bandwagon, I would not bet on it” he argues.

27. This view of a static, almost unchangeable, political world has many policy implications. Based on their views, realists advocate a relatively pragmatic approach to world politics, sometimes called real-politick. One principle of real politick is to secure your own country’s interests first on the assumption that other countries will not help you unless it is their own interest. This makes realists very wary of what is sometimes termed idealpolitik. Self-sacrificing politics are not just foolish but dangerous. According to Hans Morgenthau’s view, that country that shuns real politick will “simply fall victim to the power of others”.

28. A second tenet of real politick holds that countries should practice

balance of power politics. This tenet counsels diplomats to strive to achieve an equilibrium of power in the world in order to prevent any other country or coalition of countries from dominating the system. This can be done through a variety of methods, including building up your own strength, allying yourself with others or dividing your opponents.

29. A third realist policy prescription is that the best way to maintain the peace is to be powerful. Realists believe that it is necessary for a country to be armed because the world is dangerous. Idealists would reply that the world is dangerous because so many countries are so heavily armed.

30. It is important to say that this does not cast realists as warmongers. Instead, a fourth realist tenet is that you should neither waste power on peripheral goals nor pursue goals that you do not have the power to achieve. This frequently makes realists reluctant warriors. It is worth nothing, for instance that Morgenthau was an early critic of U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam. He thought it was a waste of U.S. resources in a tangential area; the wrong war, with the wrong enemy, in the wrong place. Prudence, then is a watchword for realists.

IDEALISM AND THE COOPERATIVE FUTURE

31. Idealists believe that humanity can and must successfully seek a new system of world order. They have never been comfortable with a world system based on sovereignty, but they now argue that it is imperative to find new organizational paths to cooperation. Idealists are convinced that the spread of nuclear weapons, the increase in economic interdependence among countries, the decline of world resources, the daunting gap between rich and poor, and the mounting damage to our ecosphere mean that humans must learn to cooperate more fully because they are in grave danger of suffering, a catastrophe of unparalleled proportions.

32. Idealists are divided, however, in terms of how far the need for cooperation can and should go. Classic idealists believe that just as humans learned to form cooperative societies without giving up their individuality, so too can states learn to cooperate without surrendering their independence. These idealists believe that the growth of international economic interdependence or the spread of global culture will create a much greater spirit of cooperation among the world countries.

33. Neo-idealists are more dubious about a world in which countries retain full sovereignty. These analysts believe that countries will have to surrender some of their sovereignty to international organizations in order to promote greater cooperation and of necessary to enforce good behaviour. This point of view holds that humans have found advancement by being non-sovereign members central of domestic societies governed through central authority.

34. The world has not come to what idealists believe it could be but they are encouraged by some trends in recent years. One of these is the growth of interdependence as favouring their goals.

35. Idealists also support their case by pointing to the willingness for countries to surrender some of their sovereignty to improve themselves. The European Union (EU) for instance now exercises considerable economic and even political authority over its member countries. They were not forced into EU, they joined it freely.

36. Idealists also condemn the practice of realpolitik. They charge that power politics leads to an unending cycle of conflict and misery, in which safety is temporary at best. This does not mean that idealists are unwilling to use military force, economic sanctions, and other forms of coercion. They are not so naive as to think that the potential for conflict can be eliminated at least in the

foreseeable future. Therefore, most idealists are willing to use coercion when necessary to halt aggression or to end oppression. They use of might restore right is especially acceptable to idealists if is accomplished through cooperative efforts such as UN peacekeeping forces or sanctions.

CONCLUSION

37. This part discussed detail background to the evolution of world politics and why it's highly imperative to study international politics. Similarly, it discussed and identified how politics affect the economic life of individual nation, the nature of politics and how realists perceive the nature of politics itself. The roles of power and justices as standards of international conduct as espoused by Realism and Idealism were also discussed.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

37. a. Why do we study international politics?
- b. Give an account of the evolution of international politics.
- c. Examine how realists describe the nature of politics.
- d. Discuss the roles of power and justice as standards of international conducts as emphasized by Realism and idealism.
- e. Give an account of the nature of politics as enumerated by idealists.

**ELECTION OF BARRACK OBAMA AS PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

INTRODUCTION

38. Barack Hussein Obama was born on 4 August 1961, at the Kapi'olani Medical Centre for Women and Children in Honolulu, Hawaii United States, to [Stanley Ann Dunham](#), a [European American](#) from [Wichita, Kansas](#), and [Barack Obama, Senior](#), a [Luo](#) from [Nyang'oma Kogelo, Nyanza Province, Kenya](#). Obama's parents met in 1960 in a [Russian language](#) class at the [University of Hawaii at Mānoa](#), where his father was a foreign student on scholarship. They however got separated and eventually divorced when Barack Obama was two years old. Obama's father later returned to Kenya and saw his son only once more before his death from an automobile accident in 1982 while his mother Dunham remarried to Lolo Soetoro and the family moved to Indonesia, the home country of Lolo. There Obama attended local schools in [Jakarta](#), until he was ten years old when he returned to Honolulu to live with his maternal grandparents, [Madelyn](#) and [Stanley Armour Dunham](#). He attended [Punahou School](#) in Honolulu from the [fifth grade](#) in 1971 until his graduation from high school in 1979.

39. Barack Obama is a graduate of Columbian University and Hawaii Law School, where he became the first black person to serve as President of the Hawaii Law Review. Obama entered [Harvard Law School](#) in late 1988. He was selected as an editor of the *Harvard Law Review* at the end of his first year, and president of the journal in his second year. After graduating with a [Juris Doctor \(J.D.\) magna cum laude](#) from Harvard in 1991, he returned to Chicago where he served as a professor at the [University of Chicago Law School](#) teaching [Constitutional Law](#) for twelve years. He worked at a twelve-attorney law firm specializing in civil rights litigation and neighborhood economic development

before serving three times in the Illinois Senate from 1997 to 2004.

40. Obama's brilliant performances spurred him to greatness and exposure. Even though he unsuccessfully bid for a seat in the US House of Representatives in 2000, he announced his campaign for the US Senate in Jan 2003. Also, in 2003, Obama became Chairman of the Illinois Senate's Health and Human Services Committee when Democrats, after a decade in the minority regained a majority. He sponsored and led a unanimous bi-partisan passage of legislation to monitor racial profiling/discrimination. Obama announced his Presidential campaign in February 2007, and was finally nominated as the Democratic Presidential nominee at the 2008 Democratic National Convention with Delaware Senator Joe Biden as his running mate.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

41. At the end of this part, candidates would be able to:
- a. Narrate Barack Obama's background.
 - b. Discuss Obama's Election Campaign that gave him victory at the US General Election of 2008.
 - c. Explain Obama's electoral promises that won him many followers.
 - d. Explain the implications of Obama's victory at the US General Election of 2008.

OBAMA'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN 2008

42. Obama announced his candidacy for President of the United States in front of the [Old State Capitol](#) building in [Springfield, Illinois](#) on 10 February 2007. The choice of the announcement site was symbolic because it was at the same site that [Abraham Lincoln](#) delivered his historic "[House Divided](#)" speech in 1858. At the time Obama indicated his interest to run for the presidential election, he was relatively unknown, young and deemed by many as

inexperienced. Most people believed that like other African-American candidates before him, he would not have a chance to get very far considering well known and powerful opponents competing with him and the ever menace of racism.

43. Throughout the campaign, Obama emphasized the issues of rapidly ending the [Iraq War](#), increasing [energy independence](#), and providing [universal health care](#). During both the primary process and the general election, Obama's campaign set numerous fundraising records, particularly in the quantity of small donations. On 19 June 2008, Obama became the first major-party presidential candidate to turn down [public financing](#) in a general election since the system was created in 1976.

44. A large number of candidates initially entered the [Democratic Party presidential primaries](#). After a few initial contests, the field narrowed to a contest between Obama and Senator [Hillary Clinton](#), with each winning some states and the race remaining close throughout the primary process. On 31 May 2008, the [Democratic National Committee](#) agreed to seat all of the disputed [Michigan](#) and [Florida](#) delegates at the national convention, each with a half-vote, narrowing Obama's delegate lead. On 3 June 2008, with all states counted, Obama passed the threshold to become the [presumptive nominee](#). On that day, he gave a victory speech in St. Paul, Minnesota. Clinton suspended her campaign and endorsed him on 7 June 2008 at the [Democratic National Convention](#) in [Denver, Colorado](#). On 28 August 2008, Obama delivered a speech to 84,000 supporters in Denver. During the speech, he accepted his party's nomination and presented his policy goals which were termed 'The 10 Points Agenda'. On 23 August 2008, Obama announced that he had selected [Delaware](#) Senator [Joe Biden](#) as his vice presidential running mate. From that point on, he campaigned for the general election race against Senator [John McCain](#), the [Republican](#) nominee.

45. After McCain was nominated as the Republican presidential candidate, there were three [presidential debates](#) between Obama and McCain in September and October 2008. On 4 November 2008, Barack Obama defeated John McCain in the general election with 365 electoral votes to McCain's 173 and became the first [African American](#) to be elected President of the United States. In his [victory speech](#), delivered before a crowd of hundreds of thousands of his supporters in Chicago's [Grant Park](#), Obama proclaimed that "change has come to America". On 8 January 2009, a [joint session](#) of the [U.S. Congress](#) certified the [Electoral College](#) votes, officially declaring that Obama was elected President. The [inauguration of Barack Obama](#) as the forty-fourth President, and Joe Biden as Vice President, took place on 20 January 2009. The theme of the inauguration was "A New Birth of Freedom," commemorating the 200th anniversary of the birth of [Abraham Lincoln](#).

ELECTORAL PROMISES

46. Obama being an opponent of the Bush administration's [policies on Iraq](#) addressed the first high-profile [anti-Iraq War rally](#) in [Federal Plaza](#) Chicago, speaking out against the war. It was not surprising that one of his electoral promises was to withdraw US troops from Iraq. Although Obama had previously said he wanted all U.S. troops out of Iraq within 16 months of becoming President, after he won the primary, he said he might refine plans as further developments unfold.

47. Even as he wanted phased redeployment of U.S. troops from Iraq, he canvassed for an opening of diplomatic dialogue with [Syria](#) and [Iran](#). He believed that the primary way to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons is through talks and diplomacy, although he did not rule out military action. Obama promised he would engage in "direct presidential diplomacy" with Iran without preconditions.

48. Detailing his strategy for fighting global terrorism in August 2007, Obama said "it was a terrible mistake to fail to act" against a 2005 meeting of al-Qaeda leaders that U.S. intelligence had confirmed to be taking place in Pakistan's [Federally Administered Tribal Areas](#). He said that as president he would not miss a similar opportunity, even without the support of the Pakistani government.

49. Obama vowed to work with old friends and former foes to reduce the nuclear threat and to "roll back the specter of a warming planet". He also reiterated his warning stance for terrorists that "our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken" "you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you".

50. The world economic meltdown affected the US economy so much that it created the most severe recession since the great depression of the 1930s. Consequently, Obama promised not only to bring the United States economy back on course but also stimulate the economy, remake America and if possible shift the pendulum back towards an era where the collective good took precedence over personal enrichment.

51. In 2008 alone, 2.6million jobs were lost in the United States. Unemployment rates soared to more than 7%. Some economists posited that real jobless rate, including discouraged workers and those working part-time, was about 14%. By the time Obama took over office on 20 January 2009, 11 million US citizens were out of work. During his election campaign, Obama signaled that his highest priority will be job creation. This is the main aim of his 800bn dollar economic stimulus plan, which he wants the US Congress to pass urgently.

52. Obama stated that if elected he would enact budget cuts in the range of tens of billions of dollars, stop investing in "unproven" [missile defense systems](#),

not weaponize space, "slow development of [Future Combat Systems](#)," and work towards eliminating all [nuclear weapons](#). Obama favors ending development of new nuclear weapons, reducing the current U.S. nuclear stockpile, enacting a global ban on production of fissile material, and seeking negotiations with Russia in order to make it less necessary to have [ICBMs](#) on high-alert status.

53. Obama proposes to reward teachers for performance from traditional [merit pay](#) systems, assuring unions that changes would be pursued through the [collective bargaining](#) process.

54. In the aftermath of [Hurricane Katrina](#), Obama had spoken out against government indifference to growing economic class divisions, calling on both political parties to take action to restore the [social safety net](#) for the poor. He promised to reinstate the fading out middle class drumming support for [universal health care](#) in the United States.

55. He planned to eliminate taxes for [senior citizens](#) with incomes of less than \$50,000 a year, repeal income tax cuts for those making over \$250,000 as well as the capital gains and dividends tax cut, close corporate tax loopholes, lift the income cap on Social Security taxes, restrict offshore [tax havens](#), and simplify filing of income tax returns by pre-filling wage and bank information already collected by the [IRS](#).

56. When Obama was announcing his presidential campaign's energy plan in October 2007, he proposed a [cap and trade](#) auction system to restrict carbon emissions and a ten year program of investments in new energy sources to reduce [U.S. dependence on imported oil](#). Obama proposed that all pollution credits must be auctioned, with no [grandfathering](#) of credits for oil and gas companies, and the spending of the revenue obtained on energy development and economic transition costs.

57. In fulfilling parts of his electoral promises, he, in his first few days in office issued executive orders and presidential memoranda reversing former President Bush's ban on federal funding to foreign establishments that allow abortions (known as the [Mexico City Policy](#) and referred by critics as the "Global Gag Rule"). He changed procedures to promote disclosure under the [Freedom of Information Act](#) while directing the U.S. military to develop plans to withdraw troops from [Iraq](#) and reducing the secrecy given to presidential records. He also issued orders closing [Guantanamo Bay detention camp](#) "as soon as practicable but not later than January 2010.

OBAMA ELECTION'S IMPLICATIONS

58. The election of President Barack Obama as the President of the United States of America is the first of its kind in American history. Several other African-Americans had at one time or the other contested elections but none had been able to achieve Obama's feat. The implications of this are:

- a. America's policies, especially foreign policy, will become more liberal. This manifested immediately he resumed office as the C-in-C when he changed the procedures to promote disclosure of information under the [Freedom of Information Act](#).
- b. There exists now a level playing field as against the era of racism and all manner of discriminations. Obama's election therefore means that African American aspirations for better opportunities for advancement can be actualized.
- c. There would be a radical departure from the way issues of security were handled by the Bush administration.
- d. Liberalization in policies by the Democrats might conflict with that of the Republicans who have a more conservative stand and are inclined towards the use of force.

- e. America is likely going to make more friends than enemies with the prospect of global peace and stability.
- f. America can make a quantum leap to mature as a nation regarding race i.e genuine relationships can now be built across racial and cultural lines.

CONCLUSION

59. The journey of the black man to America began sometime in 1619 when a ship docked at Jamestown, Virginia carrying Africans who had been captured in West Africa and sold to the highest bidder. The slaves endured the harsh realities of life in this new world until the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 by President Abraham Lincoln which ended legal slavery in the southern United States. With faith and determination, Africans in America survived reconstruction, second class citizenship, lynching, desegregation and discrimination for over 200 years. They kept their hopes alive as they led and participated in several social revolutions for change which cost many of them their lives.

60. Even before the doggedness of Rosa Parks by refusing to relinquish her seat for a white man on a public bus and Dr Martin Luther King, Jr famous 'I have a dream' speech of 1961, there had been countless Americans both black and white who had sacrificed, demonstrated, protested, been jailed, died, etc for the emancipation of the black man in America. Also in times past, many African Americans had taken long shots at important positions in the United States with very little success. It was not surprising that Barack Obama was not given any chance of winning at the polls when he officially announced his intention to run even though many people believed that one day an African American will become the President of the United States.

61. It was therefore a historic moment of great proportions when it was announced that Barack Obama would become the 44th President of the United States. Barack Obama won the election because he was not an African American candidate but a candidate for America. He represented a change for a nation desperately in need of going in a different direction. The ascendancy of Barack Obama as the President of the United States will bring about changes that would enable the US and indeed the rest of the world to experience peace, human growth and development.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

62. Candidates can practice on the following questions:
- a. What are the electoral promises Barack Obama made when he was campaigning for the post of the United States President?
 - b. Give a brief biography of Barack Obama.
 - b. Discuss Obama's Election Campaign that gave him victory at the US General Election of 2008.
 - c. 'The journey of Barack Obama to become number one citizen of the United States is a very long one'. Discuss.

CRISIS IN SUDAN

INTRODUCTION

63. Near the horn of Africa and close to the Middle East is located the Republic of Sudan, the largest African nation in land mass. It is bounded to the north by Egypt, on the east by the red sea and Ethiopia, on the South by Kenya, Uganda and Zaire, on the West by the Central African Republic and Chad and on the North West by Libya. It covers 2,503,890 square kilometers representing more than 8 percent of the African Continent and almost 2 percent of the world's total land area. Khartoum is the national capital and is located at the Northern part of the country.

64. The name Sudan is derived from the Arabic expression Bilad as Sudan ("land of the blacks") by which medieval Arab Geographers referred to the settle African countries that began at the Southern edge of the Sahara.

65. Sudan became independent in 1956 and since then marked the beginning of Sudans incessant internal conflicts successive regimes find it difficult to win general acceptance from the country's diverse political constituencies. A situation symbolized by lack of formal constitution until 1973. An early conflict arose between those Northern leaders who hoped to impose unity upon the nation through the vigorous extension of Islamic law and culture to all parts of the country. Those who oppose the policy are predominantly the Southerners and some few Northerners who favored a secular Government. From independence until 1972 there prevailed a costly and divisive civil war fought largely in the South but punctuated by violent incidents in the capital. The Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 ended the conflict only temporarily as the civil war resumed in 1983. By this time, the comparative lack of development in the

South had become a new source of regional grievances and Northern leaders continuing attempts to Islamize the Sudanese legal system proved and even more potent source of discord. The failure in the 1970s of an array of costly developmental projects in commercial agriculture left the national economy stagnant and debt ridden. As a result many Sudanese began to experience a significant decline in living standards and that has continued to the present.

66. The people of Sudan are highly diversified. They are divided among 19 major ethnic groups and 597 sub groups that speaks more than 100 languages and dialects. The North is dominated by muslims and most of them speaks Arabic and identify themselves as “Arabs” while the people of the South are “Africans” (blacks) who are either traditional religious worshipers or Christians. This lumping together of people of diverse entities that have no history of common association with one another, no economic justification for unity and no expressed desire to live together as one, evolved from no common institutions, had no common values and orientation that could cement their relationship once forcibly joined together by strong forces culminates in a situation of no lasting peace in Sudan. Sudan may not know peace for some centuries to come unless there is an internal ethnic group reconciliation one will be tempted to say that the occurrence of incessant fighting in Sudan can be traced to lack of basis for mutual co-existence as one nation.

OBJECTIVES

67. After reading this module the learner should be able to:
- a. Understand the remote/immediate causes of Dafur crisis.
 - b. Give reasons why Sudan conflicts cannot be easily resolved.
 - c. Mention and described the peace move by international communities with particular reference of African Union and the United

Nations.

- d. Outline the possible solutions to the nation remote and man made frequent crisis in Sudan.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CONFLICTS IN SUDAN

68. The earliest inhabitants of what is now known as Sudan are Africans (i.e Negroid) who lived within the vicinity of Khartoum. The hunters and potters. Early civilization was brought in through the Northern part of the country from Egypt. The country had been under Egyptian rule until when it was colonized by the British.

69. Civil war has raged Sudan for all about 20 years since its independence in 1956. Making Sudan the most troubled country in the African continent. Sudan is a home to 42 million people of many races, religions and culture, since the beginning of the most recent phases the wars from 1983 to date more than 2 million people had been killed and four million had been forced out of their homes.

70. Despite great potential of natural endowments, war has left Sudan as one of the poorest nations on the planet earth with its citizens prey to famine, diseases and widespread human right abuses. The recent discovery of oil and the completion of commercial pipelines have only intensified the struggle between North and South leaving most part of the South inaccessible, preventing humanitarian aid from reaching the areas where it is mostly needed. Sudan has long been dubbed “the forgotten war” and the longest humanitarian catastrophe in the world.

OPEN HOSTILITIES AND COUPS IN SUDAN

71. In 1956, the Sudanese parliament voted unanimously for independence and on Jan 1,1956, Prime Minister Ismail Al-Azhani declared Sudan a sovereign republic. The parliamentary politics in the republic were dominated by parties based on mass religious organizations. Political parties like the Umah were supported by the Mahdist and the National unionist party (NUP) by the Khatmiyah. Partisan politics became involved in sectarian disputes and the government was unable to manage economic problems. On November 17, 1985, the government was overthrown by senior military officers led by General Ibrahim Abbud.

72. The Abbud regime failed to address the economic problems, and instead pursued policies of Arabization and Islamization which led to open revolt in the South. As the regime became more repressive, Northern opposition grew as well. Unions, civil servants and professionals organized demonstrations against General Abbud's regime who resigned in face of what was a civilian parliamentary regime.

73. In the second parliamentary era the old sectarian political parties emerged. The most important of these were the Sudan Communist Party (SCP) and the Muslim Brotherhood.

74. The older parties remained in control, with the Ummah heading a series of coalition governments. Khantum still failed to end the civil war and instead relied heavily on military forces in the South. The high cost in prosecuting the war increased difficulties of the economy while sectarian rivalries added to the political ineffectiveness of the parliamentary regimes. In May 1969, younger military officers led by Col Gaafar Mohammed el-Nimeiri in a coup-de-ta took

control of the government and swore to save the country.

75. Nimeiri at first headed a relatively radical regime influenced by President Nasser of Egypt. A mahdist revolt was crushed in 1970 and after unsuccessful coup by leftist officer in 1971 Sudan Communist Party was suppressed. With his position consolidated in North, Nimeiri began to negotiate the settlement of the civil war. In 1972, an agreement was signed in Adis Ababa Ethiopia recognized special autonomy for the Southern Region.

76. Although the conflict in the South had lessened, opposition continued from Sadiq al-Mahdi the great grandson of the Mahdi and from the Muslim Brotherhood led by Hassan al-Turabi. In 1976 a major effort to overthrow Nimeiri failed and a period of reconciliation began. By 1978 the muslim Brotherhood had begun to work with Nimeiri in an attempt to create a state based on Islamic law and in 1983 Sharia law was imposed on the whole of Sudan.

77. Consequently, non Muslim Southern Sudan opposed the Sharia legal system which led to the Division of Southern Sudan into three provinces by the repressive regime of Nimeiri. This antagonism was expressed through the Sudanese People Liberation Movement (SPLM) led by John Garang. The SPLM which was not a separatist movement advocated a secular political system and revolutionary transformation of all of Sudan. As Nimeiri became increasingly repressive even banning the muslim brotherhood, he was overthrown in 1985 by senior military officers who handed over to civilian regime within a year.

78. All opposition groups except the SPLM accepted the authority of the transitional government and vied in elections in 1986. Although the Muslim Brotherhood made significant gains, the two major older parties won the most

votes and seats in the new parliament. Sadiq-al-Mahdi became Prime Minister and ruled through instable coalitions, partisan rivalries complicated the effort to resolve the conflict with the SPLM. As negotiations had failed, fighting increased in the South and spread to Western Sudan with the government arming local groups as popular militias. In this phase of political instability, economic problems the government seemed unable to cope with the country's mounting troubles.

79. In June 1989, the civilian government was again overthrown by military officers proclaiming a mission of national salvation. The new regime was led by Brigadier Umar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashar who proposed a Federal system for the country, but negotiations with SPLM failed, primarily on the issue of Sharia legal system. Continued fighting in many areas, coupled with the after effects of drought created famine condition by the early 1990s. The new government in Khartoum became increasingly identified with the muslim brotherhood and at the beginning of 1991 President Bashir reinstated Islamic punishment which had been suspended. The government faced continued problems of national disunity, economic difficulties and significant political opposition. There was shortage of essential commodities in sensitive urban areas, creating disturbances which were ruthlessly suppressed. The SPLM continued their fight in the South and Khartoum government continued with their support for militia like the Janja weed fighters (literally meaning devils on horseback).

THE DAFUR CRISIS

80. The long conflicts between the nomadic Arab Tribes and the African farmers over scarce resources intensified when a revolt broke out in February 2003 at the Dafur Region. The SPLM accused the government of al-Bashir for

arming the Islamic militants known as Janjaweed.

81. Janjaweed is an Islamic word meaning Devils on horseback. This rebel group drawn from Arab nomadic tribe stand accused of rape, murder and burning of crops and African homes in Western Dafur. A situation which some NGOs operating in Dafur described the act as scorched earth policy.

82. The death toll as reported stands at 300,000 while 1,000,000 people are being starved to death and more than one million people have been displaced.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION BY NGO AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION IN SUDAN CRISIS

83. The United Nation Secretary General, Mr Koffi Anan visited Sudan with aim of reconciliating the rebels. Similarly the African Union chairman Chief Dr Olusegun Obasanjo President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was in Khartoum where he had a close door meeting with the Sudanese Prime Minister Al Bashir with the view to ending the conflict in Dafur. The African Union had earlier deployed peace keeping force to the troubled region.

84. The centre for conflict resolution program has worked for more than a decade to mediate conflict in Sudan and try to improve the climate for just and lasting peace agreement. The reasons for this conflict enduring are various and highly complicated. To date no formular has been found to reconcile these different interests, leaving most southern Sudan feeling deeply marginalised and many in the North feeling a groaning record of broken agreements and military Government, leaving Sudan deeply divided mistrustful and profoundly scared by the trauma of war.

85. In 2002, however, regional and international parties particularly the United States, African Union, of recent made a tremendous effort to push the

parties towards peaceful agreement. These to date with the signing of the peace treaty and cessation of hostilities, in Abuja Nov 2004. Many may bring lasting peace to Sudan.

86. It was revealed new evidence of mass ethnic cleansing and rape in Kindiyir village of Dafur adding to fears of genocide in the region. Janjaweed militia and Government troops Bombed Kidinyir while the Arab militias attacked fiercely in their cal vary. The attack on Kidinyir were very similar to other attacks in Dafur where massacres were still going on. Almost 400 non Arab villages had been burnt down or attacked signifying a systematic and planned extermination of non Arabs in the region. The African union observers in Dafur said that the Government had been arriving and directing the Janjaweed militias. The BBC discovered that the militias were carrying government Military Identity Cards. The America has called the killing in Dafur Genocide because of the ethnic nature. Britain and many other nations were awaiting the outcome of UN lengthy investigation.

CESSATION OF BAKASSI TO CAMEROUN

LEGAL, POLITICAL AND SECURITY PERSPECTIVES

INTRODUCTION

87. It is an acknowledged fact that one of the essential elements upon which a modern-state is built is the existence of well-defined boundaries. Yet in most cases these boundaries are not only products of power politics, they are often arbitrary and are sometimes ill-defined. Ill-defined boundaries have the potential for conflict and if not properly handled can lead to full scale war. Therefore, the stability of inter-state boundaries determines to a large extent the level of peaceful co-existence among neighbouring states. States boundaries are significant in a number of ways. These range from mere prestige and national pride to strategic interests, either economic or military. The interplay of these factors often times defines the relations between neighbouring states. The state of affairs could either be described as peaceful co-existence or hostile stand - off. It is in this context that dispute between Nigeria and Cameroun over Bakassi has defined their relationship on the international stage.

88. The major themes in this study shall be; Historical background to the Bakassi crisis, nature of the crisis, Nigeria's foreign policy behaviour on Bakassi (relation prior the Bakassi dispute and Bilateral Relation), legal, political and security implications of the cessation of Bakassi to Cameroun.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

89. At the end of this part, candidates would be able to:
- a. Explain the historical background to the crisis
 - b. Describe the nature of the crisis.
 - c. Analyse the legal and political implications of the cessation.

- d. Identify the implications of the cessation.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS

90. What started as an agreement between two sovereigns: the Obong of Calabar in council – Eyo Hinesty III-together with his chiefs and the representatives of His Majesty’s Government HMG in September 10, 1884 ended up as a betrayal of confidence. The treaty signed by the Obong on behalf of Efiate, Idiombi and Efik (which includes Bakassi) kingdoms was to oblige the HMG’s offer of protection. It stands to reason that the Obong’s consent was not a manifestation of outright weakness, but a case of trust, more so at a time when various European powers were hovering over Africa’s land space. However, as it was unveiled subsequently, what belied this “benevolent” British initiative was a scheme to stave off other European rivals away from the Obong’s domain, as well as an imperialist play to deprive the latter, the sovereign claim of his domain.

91. This spate of treaty extortions became a source of intra European clashes in Africa, which were not clearly resolved by the Berlin Conference of 1884 that led to more arbitrariness in boundary demarcation of African colonies by European powers. Although the 1885, 1886 and 1890 Anglo-German pacts intended to put Rio-del-Rey as the demarcating line between Nigeria and Cameroun, the maritime nature of the area worsened the confusion about the boundary.

92. However by 1893, the problem was sorted and the agreement (under article 1 & 2) indicated that the bank of Rio-del-Rey was the dividing line between “the old River Protectorate and re-affirmed Bakassi as being under the British oil protectorate. The intents and purpose of Berlin Conference of 1884 was to nip in the bud among the European powers areas of conflict especially arising from shares /partition of Africa but unfortunately this aim was defeated

as Germany was not pleased by the outcome of 1893 pact as a matter of after-thought. Similarly, it was also observed that the Germans had to push for a re-organization of the boundary for purely economic consideration.

93. Even though the North-Eastern factor was included in the negotiation and consequent agreement of March 11, 1913, it did not cause German colonialists as much anxiety as the maritime area of the South-East. By the time they rose from the negotiation table, the course of history had been reversed, the interest of the future nation of Nigeria and the sanctity and history of the Efik Kingdom had been sacrificed for the benefit of Pan European administrative convenience in Africa. In fact, article 21 of the treaty assets in clear terms that:

For the purpose of defining this boundary, the navigable channel of the Akwayafe River shall be considered to lie wholly to the east of the navigable channel of the Cross and Calabar rivers.

94. Opinion in some quarters especially Bassey Ate, described this imperial misconception of Akwayafe as an independent River rather than as ‘a tributary of the Cross River’ as a misnomer and unfortunate as this made “independent Nigeria to lose a strategic chunk of territory as well as a sizeable population to Camerounian control, without any compensation.

95. The import of the disadvantages as highlighted by Bassey was illuminated by the revelation that the Rio-Del-Rey is the corridor on the Atlantic which has always served as the coastal boundary of Nigeria on the South East. It is also the only access to the sea from the all important Calabar port, beside the 50 islands of the Bakassi are inhabited mostly by Efiate and Efik peoples of today's Akwa Ibom and Cross River states and Ilaje fishermen of Western Nigeria. In fact the name ‘Bakassi’ is an Efiate phrase “Bekesse which translates to go over there” but with the passage of time “Be kesse” metamorphosed to Bakassi. Of particular note here is that since Efiate and Efik were part of the kingdoms on behalf of whom the Obong in council signed a

treaty with the British in 1884, it is therefore, in-controvertible that they are indigenes of Nigeria.

96. In an illegal benevolent gesture towards Germany in Article 20 of the treaty the British conceded to a shifting interpretation of the maritime boundary in favour of Germany. Meanwhile, article 28 made provision for rectification of possible error in the conception of sections of the treaty. It empowers the representatives of the two colonial powers, while effecting physical demarcation from the boundary to make minor deflection from the boundary as theoretically laid down in the treaty but such deflections must not exceed 1¼ miles (2 kilometers) in case where it is considered desirable.

97. However, the outbreak of World War 1 in Europe a year after the treaty neither made the ratification of the treaty possible nor allowed the actual occupation or control of the area by German-Cameroun. At the beginning of this incidental development, the war rendered the treaty ineffectual, its outcome precluded Germany from returning to its erstwhile colonial possession. So together with France, Britain partitioned Cameroun after the war.

98. By 20 July 1922, the League of Nations had “conferred the Mandate over Northern and Southern Cameroun on the Great Britain United Kingdom. In the same manner the successor organization to the league, the United Nations (UN) converted the Mandate to a UN Trust territory in 1947.

99. The observation that between 1951 and 1954 the Northern Nigeria governed Northern Cameroun while Southern Cameroun was merely administered by the central government and Eastern region was later to acquire explanatory importance. This was in the context of the dissimilarities in the attitudes of Northern and Southern Cameroun towards Nigeria. A phenomenon which underlined the negative psychological environment of Nigeria/Cameroun imbroglio. This leads to the nature of the crisis

NATURE OF THE CRISIS

100. The crisis according to German view started as a low tempo “positional dispute” which arose from incomplete boundary evolution. And incidental to this is an inherent defect in the conception of the maritime line. The sign posts of such dispute are essentially legal and geographical in nature. The economic underpinning of Germany’s rejection of the 1893 agreement aggravated the dispute to a territorial one. Similarly, the quality of the maritime area underlaid the strategic overtone of the dispute. A profile that was to be heightened by the 1967 discovery of oil in the Calabar swamp by Cameroun. The significance of the discovery was explicitly expressed as follows, that

Bakassi peninsular is an oil rich area of creeks and swamps...if not as productive, as those in the Persian Gulf recently it is discovered that “Cameroun’s oil industry is declining, producing an average 125,000 barrels per day (dpd in 1993 The reserves is expected to dry up by the year 2000.

101. For all intents and purposes, regardless of the consequences, the urge to occupy this disputed area became, for Cameroun, a matter of exigency albeit, after this discovery. Physical occupation of the Islands became a viable and logical option. what Cameroun aimed to accomplish by establishing 32 off shore oil platforms and other oil industry related constructions including laying of pipelines in the Rio-Del-Rey basin off Bakassi was to use effective occupation to strengthen her claim.

102. To reinforce this scheme, Cameroun unleashed cultural warfare on the islands and the 90% Nigerian population on the peninsula. In 1971 and 1973 Cameroun ordered the obliteration of their cultural identities by replacing their traditional names with new Camerounian ones. Above all, the dispute was blown to the level of full blown crisis when in May 1981, Cameroun gendarmes shot and killed five Nigerian soldiers on patrol along Nigerian borderline. Since

then incessant harassment of Nigerians at the Maritime borderland became rampant.

RELATIONS PRIOR TO THE BAKASSI DISPUTES

103. The popular notion that there was an initial period of cordial bilateral relation between the two countries remains unsubstantiated by history. This popular belief even among some scholars could not have been given certain national peculiarities which exercised an overbearing influence in shaping Nigerian foreign policy toward Cameroun. In fact, Sardauna, the premier of the then Northern region, was said to have warned Ahmadu Ahidjo over the latter's expression of displeasure on the outcome of the plebiscite in the erstwhile Northern Cameroun that the Sardauna had ambitions to recover for Nigeria those parts of the Cameroun Republic that were part of former Fulani empire. Although the Eastern region did not express an outright interest to appropriate Southern Cameroun, however, the latter's decision in 1961 to be part of Cameroun attracted a backlash from the Eastern region. This led in effect, to calls by National citizens of Nigeria and Cameroun (NCNC) to the effect that punitive measure should be taken against Cameroun.

104. Cameroun on her own part did not only elect to victimize the Ibos who dominated the medium scale businesses in parts of the country, she even resorted to the deportation of Nigerians. Ahidjo traveled to Paris to seek Franco-Cameroun collaboration in the face of Nigeria aggression.

105. Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa's refusal to be swayed by the domestic opinions of taking a tough stance, particularly by that of regional governments, was a manifestation of paucity of harmony in the regional and the central governments perception of what ought to be Nigeria's attitude towards o Cameroun. However, the fact that the prime minister did not withdraw at once all the Nigerian civil servants serving the southern Cameroun contrary to the

Nigeria's domestic environment expectations, was not only a measure of a friendly gesture to Cameroun but also a validation of the argument that the prime minister determines the thrust of the country's foreign policy behaviour.

106. Ahmadu Ahidjo, in 1964, declared June 1 as a National Day of mourning. To further deepen the tension, the southern Cameroun government declared 300 Nigerians working in the Ndia oil palm estate redundant and expelled them. Although the Nigerian government dispatched a military contingent to the border area to protect the inhabitants she did not issue out any threat.

THE BAKASSI DISPUTE AND BILATERAL RELATIONS

107. While Nigeria exhibited contentment on the status quo, Cameroun was obsessed with its revisionist ambition. Thus, it aimed to bring the islands on the Peninsula under its control, focusing especially on the Enong and Bakassi peninsular east and west of the Rio-Del-Rey and the Calabar channel. Particularly the situation becomes exacerbated with the inability of the joint committee of experts set up in 1965 on border demarcation to complete their task. Coupled with the unprecedented threat to Nigeria's corporate existence as a result of the civil war, Cameroun saw an opportunity which she explored to its fullest by way presenting a posture of a champion of the Federal cause. The irony of Cameroun's good neighborliness towards Nigeria could be the high point of the Nigerian civil war. Cameroun went about exploring for oil in the disputed Calabar swamp.

108. Therefore, if any fundamental lesson was learnt during the Nigerian civil war in the realm of policy it was the need to foster good neighborliness among nations. Unfortunately, this was misunderstood and misinterpreted by the Gowon administration to mean capitulation to Camerounian territorial ambition, all under the guise of appearing to be grateful for the latter's show of solidarity during Nigerian civil war.

109. The line of 1971 purportedly marked the maritime boundary between Nigeria and Cameroun as determined by experts from the two countries which denied Nigeria's legitimate ownership and control of the Calabar channel and transferred same to the Cameroun.

110. Meanwhile, on assuming office, Murtala imprinted his strong assertive character on Nigeria – Cameroun relations over the Bakasi dispute. For once, a Nigerian head of state placed national interest over the above other plausible consideration as contra-distinction from Gowon's regime. Against this backdrop Murtala refused to ratify the Maroua declaration. In fact, he threatened to go to war rather than accepting an outrageous agreement. Even popular opinion and strong political opposition then nullified the pseudo-legal premises on which the Maroua agreement was based. Despite Babangida's regime rapprochement with its neighbours including Cameroun by 1991 and 1992 about six incidents of border attacks were experienced by Nigeria and up to thirteen of similar assaults were also recorded.

JUDGMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ)

111. Both Nigeria and Cameroun had for long been engaged in overt diplomatic and military disputes over the peninsula. In asserting their individual ownership over the peninsula however, both countries because of the strategic importance of the peninsula, invoked the concepts of territorial defence and political geography in backing up their claims. The inability to find a lasting solution to the perennial crises in the area, had not only resulted in a frosty relationship between the two countries, but had also brought in its wake the militarization and internationalization of the conflict.

112. The crisis generated by the political disagreement and military confrontation between Nigeria and Cameroun over the Bakassi peninsula led

Cameroun on March 29, 1999 and on June 6, 1999 to file an application instituting proceedings against Nigeria at the International Court of Justice (ICJ). In October 2002, the decision of the International Court of Justice to award the sovereignty of the peninsula to Cameroun changed the scenario in the peninsula from that of the use of force to settle the dispute to that of mutuality, assured good neighbourliness and shared responsibility.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CESSATION

113. Legal luminaries in Nigeria and scholars have argued that the International Court of Justice (ICJ) judges were not objective in their decision. An eminent jurist, Afe Babalola, for instance, argued that Nigeria should have challenged the incompetence of France, Germany, Switzerland and Britain to sit on the ICJ panel on the ground of bias, prejudice and pecuniary interest in Bakassi. He opined that the failure of the ICJ judges to physically visit the disputed territory in order to gather indispensable facts before the ruling was tantamount to fatal error. Similarly, the wrong interpretation placed by the ICJ on the treaties signed by the colonial masters (Britain and Germany) especially on the protectorates, was not only completely misplaced, but also violated the settled principles of law that you do not give what you do not have.

114. **Legal Implication.** These include:

- a. The legal implication here is that the norms and conventions under which a referendum should be conducted to allow people of the area to decide which of the two countries they prefer to live in have been violated.
- b. Nigeria would therefore be unable to fulfill her obligations to Nigerians living in Bakassi – over 90% (ninety percent of the population).
- c. In addition, the law of the sea convention and final act already signed on behalf of Nigeria in Jamaica in December 1982, which

guaranteed twelve nautical miles of territorial sea and two hundred nautical miles of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) from baseline would be rendered useless as a result of the cessation of Bakassi to Cameroun.

115. **Political Implications.** The political implications are as follows:
- a. Politically, the wish of Nigerians in Bakassi to remain in Nigeria has been truncated (violation of right of existence).
 - b. The integrity of Nigeria's international borders would be at risk.
 - c. Nigeria's oil interests in Bakassi have been surrendered to Cameroun.
116. **Security Implications.** The security implications of the cessation include:
- a. First and foremost, the Bakassi peninsula is indispensable to the security and safety of Nigeria.
 - b. The cessation of Bakassi to Cameroun means Nigeria would have to maintain buoys within Camerounian territorial waters in order to keep our Calabar port open to navigation by merchant shipping.
 - c. The cessation would mean Nigeria's loss of the Eastern access to the Atlantic as Nigerian naval ships heading to Southern Africa can only do so with the permission of the Cameroun Navy. This obviously would mean loss of naval control over the approach to Calabar port and the Eastern Naval command.
 - d. The cessation of economic activities and loss of sovereignty over Bakassi will have enormous financial loss for Nigeria.
 - e. Economically, the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) in Calabar will become redundant and useless once the Federal Government is no longer in control of the peninsula.
 - f. Camerounian ownership of the area would mean that any ship

going to and from Calabar would first have to seek permission from the Camerounian government.

CONCLUSION

117. The first few paragraphs of this part have dealt adequately with the introductory, nature of the crisis and in depth background to the Bakassi crisis, while the latter part espoused the legal, economic, political and security implications of the cessation of Bakassi to Cameroun.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

118. Solve the following:

- a. Briefly discuss the background to the Bakassi Peninsula crisis
- b. Highlight the nature of the crisis
- c. Describe the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy behaviour towards Bakassi.
- d. List five legal and political implications of the cessation of Bakassi to Cameroun
- e. Discuss the security and economic impacts of the cessation on Nigerian.

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PART SIX

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

INTRODUCTION

1. Students and Commentators on International affairs are always preoccupied ruminating over issues, events and problems of international nature.
2. In the Gulf, for example, the situation has been fuzzy and the manoeuvres of the super powers have become obvious since 2 Aug 1990, when hundreds of Iraqi troops, tanks and warship moved safely into Al-Kuwait, the Kuwait capital with little or no resistance and seized key installation in the capital city.
3. The remote and immediate causes of this imbroglio will be explained in this write-up.

OBJECTIVES

4. At the end of this module, the learner will be able to:
 - a. Give a geographical appraisal of the Middle East.
 - b. Explain briefly the historical relationship between Iraq and Kuwait.
 - c. Explain the remote and the immediate causes of the Middle East crisis.
 - d. Expatriate upon the implication of Kuwait and annexation on oil markets.
 - e. Expatriate upon the implication of the invasion on world economy.
 - f. Expatriate the implications of the invasion within the context of International Law.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

5. a. **Sovereignty.** The exercise of power over a territory by a governmental authority to the exclusion of any other governmental authority.
- b. **Sheikhdom.** The rightful government of Kuwait.
- c. **Imbroglia.** Complicated, confused or embarrassing.

GEOGRAPHICAL APPRAISAL OF THE MIDDLE EAST

6. The Middle East is a region situated mainly between the Southwestern part of Asia and Northern Africa. It is strategically the most important geographical area in the world, joining the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa. It is related to strategic water like Dardanelles and the Suez-canal and is washed by the Mediterranean sea, Red, Black and Caspian seas and also the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Its oil reserve constitutes 2/3 of the world's oil reserve. The total area of the Middle East is 3,509, 284sq. miles and the estimated population in 1959 was 116,663,000. Population distribution is very uneven. The Nile Delta has one of the highest population densities in the world whereas the desert of steppe areas of Egypt, Arabia, Iran, Eastern Syria and Western Iraq and parts of Anatolia are almost vacant. The area is predominantly Muslims in region.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

7. The long-standing conflict between Iraq and Kuwait started when Prime Minister, Al-Qasim (Kassim) in 1958 said that Kuwait was part of Iraq land. He argued, "Ethnically, Geographically and Socially, Kuwait and Iraq were one country that had been arbitrarily divided by Britain" (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1981 P.547).

8. Literature reveals that Kuwait first caught the attention of the super power at the tail end of the 19th century when German was seeking to extend the Berlin-Baghdad railways to the part of Kuwait. In an attempt to frustrate Germany's plans, the Kuwait ruling Sheikh, desirous of protecting himself against the Ottomans Empire's suzerainty, concluded an agreement in 1899 whereby Britain assumed control of Kuwait foreign affairs and established a protectorate over Kuwait in the wake of the war with the Ottomans- in 1914. It's Northern frontiers with Iraq was agreed upon in 1923.

9. Six days after the British Government, backed by the Arab League, announced it's recognition of the sovereignty of the Sheikhdom on 19 Jun 61, Qasim threatened to invade and annex Kuwait. His move was countered by the Kuwait ruler who appealed to Britain for Military aid. British troops subsequently landed in Kuwait in early Jul, and on 20 Jul 61, the Arab League admitted the Sheikhdom to its membership, thus recognizing Kuwait's independence and refusing to accept Iraqi claim to it.

10. From the above, it becomes obvious that Kuwait's sovereignty has been procured mainly by British military presence, and particularly, strengthened by means of pacts by Kuwait's Sheikh with Britain. These pacts were strengthened by Iraqi recognition of Kuwait's independence in Oct 1963. Nevertheless, Kuwait seemed to have obtained some respite to self-development after the overthrow and subsequent execution of Qasim on 9 Feb 63 by a military junta headed by Col Abdal-salam Mohammed al-Arif. A bonus to Kuwait in this event was the decision of the new regime to follow a policy of neutralism and co-operation with Syria and Egypt and to improve relationship with countries in the region.

11. The crisis, which started with the invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq on Aug 90, symbolizes Iraqi's rise from its protracted war with Iran to

adjust the context of power in the Middle East. Israel has been a powerful nation in the Middle East. Iraq thought that there should be considerations for Iraq's debut as a superpower in the Roumalia region. Unlike the remote causes of the invasion, the immediate causes could for the most part be based on conjectures.

12. Historically, every nation that has engaged in the rigours of war has always come out of it military stronger and more sophisticated. This was true of Japan, the Germans, the United States of America, Russia and the British today. During the 10 years Iraq-Iran imbroglio, Iraq was presented with the opportunity not only to test its firepower, but also to exploit more deadly and sophisticated means of armed aggression. Backed by its allies in the West, such as France and German, Iraq amassed military arsenal that may seem underrated, but which scarcely could be matched by any other country in the Middle East. Numerically, Iraq is said to have 1,000,000 soldiers, 5,500 tanks, 900 warplanes, and guided missiles in the range of surface-to-surface, surface-to-air and air-to-air. It has both chemical and nuclear weapons, all coupled with highly sophisticated military intelligence. Kuwait has only 20,300 soldiers supported by 275 tanks. All these could have given Iraq's strongman, Saddam Hussein, the leverage to take up the gauntlet where Qasim left and to threaten to turn Kuwait into a grave yard should any external power come between him and the invasion and annexation of Kuwait. In spite of the presence of six American war ships and a tanker at full alert in the Gulf, Hussein still threatened to embarrass America should it stand in its way. Hussein, the time has finally come and for the entire 30 years dispute over sovereignty of Kuwait.

13. The Iraqi's action, which culminated in the invasion and annexation of Kuwait on 2 Aug 90, began on 16 Jul 90 when Saddam sent a memorandum to the Arab League Headquarters in Tunisian capital, threatening that he would use military force on Kuwait and the United Arab Emirate. His reason was that the

two states had shot up their oil production quotas with the indirect effect of hurting Iraqi oil sales. He accused Kuwait of installing military equipment on Iraqi soil. Political commentators said that based on the above reasons Saddam's march on Kuwait was puzzling because a fortnight earlier at the instance of the organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) meeting, both Kuwait and the United Arab Republic had agreed to cut their oil out-put in claims with OPEC stipulation. The issue of "stealing" oil is seen as a case of claims and counterclaims over underground oil deposits. While not denying drilling activities on the 160kilometer long common border between them, Kuwait also accused Iraq of exploiting oil from the same source. It is argued that Saddam was simply finding reasons to support his intention to invade and annex Kuwait.

14. It was on record that during the Iraq war with Iran, Iraq ability to manage its oil business was drastically hampered. It therefore, had to rely on friendly neighbors like Kuwait, which readily provided it with the political and financial means to prosecute its cause. It is believed that the amount involved runs into billions of dollars. Commentators opined that President Hussein might be unwilling to pay such a debt to a country whose territory sovereignty he disputes. To him, the best way to execute his intentions was to annex Kuwait in order to settle all outstanding issues. Iraq knows that she is already strong militarily but not rich because she had wasted her resources on her bitter romance with Iran. Kuwait is small and although she is weak militarily. Iraqi annexation of Kuwait will enhance Iraqi territorial status and improve Iraqi economic base. Viewed against this background, it is easy to understand Iraqi intransigence on the issue of withdrawal from Kuwait.

IMPLICATION OF THE CRISIS

15. At a meeting in Vienna, Austria, just before hostilities broke out in

Middle East, OPEC countries had agreed on oil production quotas for member states, The ceiling was agreed upon with a view to stabilizing the price at 21 Dollars per barrel. Financial Times reported that Iraq and Kuwait had a combined allocation of 4.5 Million Barrels per day last year, which is about one fifth of the world output (i.e. 3 million for Iraq and 1.5 million for Kuwait). As at now, a UN trade embargo has been placed on Iraq and Kuwait to prevent the two countries from exporting oil. Iraq has found itself without customers for its oil which account 90% of its exports. The first implication, therefore, is a short fall on the total crude oil supply to the world oil market. At present, the price for a barrel of crude oil fluctuates between 26 and over 30 dollars as 21 dollars it was selling before the countries obey the economic law of demand and supply, they would increase production resulting in over production and flooding of the oil market, and in the end the oil producers may not be better off. To fill the missing gap, the Saudis are preparing to rise production by two million barrels a day to please the West who are helping her out militarily. Venezuela is also reported to be getting ready to pump an extra 400,000 to 500,000 barrels a day to make for the shortfall in world crude oil supply. Nigeria may likely join in opening up oil taps to keep the wheel of the western economies running. Non-OPEC Countries like Mexico, Britain, Norway, Soviet Union, Ecuador etc would move in and pump whatever deficit there might be into the crude oil market. All these will not only force down crude oil prices but will also lead to increase of oil revenue accruing to the non-OPEC Countries.

16. On the world economy, if Iraq succeeds in invading and taking Kuwait, Saddam will be in control of about 40% of the world oil reserves. The international community whose economies depend on oil from the Middle East is afraid that Gulf oil would not be sold at prices set by the oil market but by the personal whims of a dictator. It is feared that the global economy of 1990's might soon resemble those inflationary days of the 1970's when sharp increase in oil price of 1973 and 1979 resulted in the world's sluggish growth and

inflation which haunted policy makers. Experts however, expressed some optimism that global economy cannot go in the 1973 way as the industrialized economies these days depend far less on oil, and that there is enough oil conservation to blunt the pain of higher prices of oil. In all, there is no denying the fact that oil prices could slow down the world's economy. The concern of all about the going-on in the Middle East is the fear of how much the current oil prices would affect their economic growth.

17. Increase in price may mislead financial planners into the disastrous trap of planning on the temporary boom. Such situation may lead to inflation in Western economies and in case the production does not meet demand, the main consumers may embark on large scale conservation of energy (see the African Guardian Sept 24, 1990 p. 11). The economies of the countries of Eastern Europe e.g. Poland, Czechoslovakia etc who buy oil from the open market at the prices will be hard hit by Saddam's action. Nigeria is likely going to face a unique problem because she sells her oil on "term contract basis". This means that she signs her contracts to last at least one year on a particular price as of the time of signing. To review prices upwards, Nigeria will have to renegotiate with her customers who may or may not be willing to co-operate. Conservation or investment of any extra funds earned through the present situation is the best option available to Nigeria.

18. With reference to the international law, two issues are involved in the Iraq Kuwait imbroglio. These are the acts of invasion and Hussein's annexation of Kuwait and his declaration that it is now Iraqi's 19th province after ousting the ruling Al-Sabah dynasty. In the international law, four possible options for peaceful settlement of issues are open to the two Nations. These are; Arbitration, judicial settlement at the world court, at the Hague, Negotiations including mediation lobbying, and conciliation, and settlement under the auspices of the United Nation Organization.

19. Iraq could argue that its action against Kuwait is a reprisal. But since it did not exhaustively explore any of the four options, this argument would be a weak one. A case of reprisal could only be sustained if the culprit was involved in an act of international delinquency. Even though Saddam clings to the reprisal argument in desperation, the clear evidence of his expansionist motive shall be considered. A state can acquire sovereignty over another territory by annexing it, especially if the annexing country has conquered or subjugated the annexed territory. This is what Saddam is attempting to do to Kuwait. Although he has come close to succeeding merely overrunning Kuwait and declaring his intention to annex it is not enough to legally make Kuwait part of Iraq.

20. According to J.G Starke in his Introduction to International Law, on annexation, which results from gross aggression (contrary to the provision of the UN charter) ought not to be recognized by other states. All that Saddam has done amounted to an illegal aggression. His argument that Kuwait was historically a part of Iraq is a spurious claim, because international law has for long recognized and condoned the fact that historical ties between several countries had been distorted by colonial boundaries, most of which were drawn by the Berlin conference of 1885, Saddam's aggressive annexation could eventually become lawful despite its initial violation of the international law, if the nations of the world recognize the annexation. It is this recognition that the US and her allies are using the forum of the UN to prevent. The annexation cannot also be taken as a reprisal because Kuwait is not a delinquent country which could be punished by a reprisal in the international term. Thus Saddam's adventure in Kuwait on August, 02 1990, is not justified. It is said to be the gravest threat to world peace since the Second World War.

SUMMARY

21. Saddam is now in a dilemma, if he backs down and is subsequently

humiliated, he might not last long on the throne. All peaceful settlements have failed. Even though, he would certainly be defeated, no one can create a complete scenario of the after effects of the war on the Middle East politics. If the world backs down, then the moderate Arab States will certainly witness upheavals as Saddam will push his luck to be in a position to unseat many leaders of government all over the world including the US, Western and Eastern Europe, Africa and the Middle East. Saddam will definitely not be allowed to get away with his adventure.

22. A wiser action on the part of OPEC would have been to summon an emergency meeting to discuss sharing Iraq Kuwait quotas among the remaining 11 members in order to maintain the OPEC production ceiling of 22,419 million barrels per day rather than losing it to non-OPEC members until the crisis is settled when Iraq and Kuwait would be compensated by the other members in conceding higher production quotas to them. The Gulf Crisis will surely affect International Law, so that if the crisis is peacefully resolved the laws of the Nations will more than ever accommodate all the States, big or small, strong or weak equally.

ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

23. a. Write briefly on the geographical location, population and economic importance of the Middle East.
- b. What is the historical relationship between Iraq and Kuwait?
- c. The immediate causes of the imbroglio between Iraq and Kuwait are based on conjectures; Explain any 3 of such conjectures.
- d. Mention any 5 implications that the Middle East crisis has on oil market and world economy.
- e. Discuss the implication of the invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq within the context of the international law.

HINTS ON SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

24. a. Forming a bridge between 3 continents. Importance of its waterways for movement of people and trade. Sparsely populated except Cairo. High oil reserve depot.
- b. The claim of Qasim in 1958 over Kuwait. Resemblance between the two countries - ethnically, socially, economically and religiously. Lack of defined boundary between the two countries.
- c. Iraq has risen militarily strong and wants to become financially richer. Saddam wants to enhance his territorial status. Iraq does not want to pay the debt owned to Kuwait during Iraq Kuwait war. Iraq wants to be reckoned with as a super power in the Middle East. Iraq wants to end once and for all the territorial dispute between her and Kuwait.
- d. Shortfall in oil output. Rise in the price of oil leading to inflation. Illegal increase in oil production by both OPEC and non-OPEC countries. More money accruing to oil producing countries and industries. Danger of financial policy planning on the temporary boom. Slow growth in economy owing to high cost of oil price in open markets.
- e. The invasion and annexation has received a worldwide condemnation. Iraq does not explore any of the possible legal means of settlement with Kuwait. The invasion and annexation constitute an aggressive act which is not sanctioned by international law.

THE GAZA STRIP ISSUE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

25. The Gaza strip is a piece of land that is administered mostly by Palestinians. It lies on the Mediterranean Coast where Egypt and Israel meet. The Gaza Strip covers 146 square miles (378 square kilometers) and has a

population of about 1.4 million. Most of its land is sandy and flat. The vast majority of the people are Palestinian Arabs, including many who became refugees from Israel after the state of Israel was created in 1948. Israeli settlers make up a small percentage of the population.

26. In ancient times the Gaza strip was ruled by the Pharaohs of Egypt. Later at various times it was ruled by Palestines, Jews, Arabs and Turks. From 1920 to 1948, it was part of the British-ruled mandate of Palestine. Egypt gained control of the strip during the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, while Israel took control of the strips after the 1967 Arab –Israeli war. The various occupations of the strip by these countries led to its fragmentation. For instance, Israel still controls the strip air space, territorial waters and offshore maritime access including its side of the Gaza – Israel border. Egypt, due to its occupation from 1948-1967 still controls the southern border between the Gaza Strip and the Sinai desert.

BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT IN GAZA STRIP

27. The combined attack on Israel by the five (5) Arab States of Egypt Jordan, Iraq Lebanon and Syria between 1948 and 1949 stemmed out of their dissatisfaction with UN intervention to resolve the Palestine problem. It would be recalled that the United Nations (UN) voted to divide Palestine into two states, one Arab and the other Jewish. The Jews accepted the solution and established the state of Israel on 14 May 1948, while the Arabs, who make up about two-thirds of the population of Palestine rejected the plan. When the ensuing war ended in favour of Israel in 1949, Israel had about half the land that the UN had assigned to the Arab state. Subsequently, about 700,000 Palestinian Arabs fled the land newly acquired by Israel and became refugees in Gaza, the West Bank, Syria and Lebanon. These events led to continuing conflict in the region to date.

28. The 1950s and 1960s were years of radical change in the Middle East

which witnessed the enthronement of new leadership in many Arab states, who were resolutely determined to bring about a political unification of the Arab world and to remove any European influence. They overthrew leaders who had cooperated with the Britain and France and founded the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964. The PLO is a confederation of Palestinian Arab groups that want to establish an Arab state in Palestine. It includes association of lawyers, teachers, labourers and other groups as well as guerilla fighters who staged terrorist attacks and commando raids against Israel. Further attacks on Israel in May 1967 led to Israel's seizure of the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip from Egypt including other Arab controlled territories of the Golan Heights and the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), which brought almost one million Palestine Arabs under Israeli's rule.

29. However, there was an attempt to make peace in 1978 by the Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and US President Jimmy Carter. The discussions resulted in an agreement called the "Camp David" Accords. In the accord, Israel, agreed to withdraw from Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, Egypt and Israel pledged to negotiate with Jordan and Palestinians to grant some form of self-rule to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. A peace treaty signed by Egypt and Israel in 1979 led to Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai but no immediate progress was made in deciding the future status of the Gaza strip. Further violence erupted again at the end of 1987 when Arabs in Gaza strip began demonstrating against Israeli's occupation.

30. In October 1991 after the Gulf War, a peace conference began between Israel and Middle East Arab Nations including Arab residents of the Gaza strip. In 1993 and 1995 Israel and the PLO signed agreements that led to the withdrawal of Israel troops from the Gaza strip and most cities and towns of the West Bank. Palestinians immediately took control of these areas and by 1996, Palestinians in Gaza and the Palestinian controlled parts of the West Bank

elected a legislature and a President (Yasser Arafat), to make laws and administer these areas, thereby ushering in the control of Gaza and the West Bank by the Palestinian Authority.

31. This rule by the PA of Gaza and the West Bank under the leadership of Arafat suffered from serious mismanagement and corruption. Exorbitant bribes were demanded on passage of goods in and out of the strip. While heads of the preventive security service apparently enriched themselves in the importation of gravel and cement to construct industries. This led to serious economic downturn in the Gaza strip. Israeli's intervention through naval blockages and control of the borders further inflicted more hardship on Gazans leading to series of conflicts.

32. However the victory of Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) at the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, brought about another chapter of political unrest with the rival Fatah (Palestine Liberation Movement) group. The Hamas control was characterized by the following:

- a. Its refusal to recognize Israel.
- b. It's refusal to honour agreements previously made by the PLO, Israel, United States and Canada.
- c. It attracted economic sanctions by the European Union which viewed Hamas as a terrorist organization.
- d. The ensuing economic and political stagnation led to the fleeing of many Palestinians from Gaza strip. Unemployment levels became high as thousands of Gazan on Israel's employment were laid off.
- e. Violent clashes between the Fatah and Hamas, the worst of which occurred in Gaza where Gen Muhammad Gharib, a senior commander of the Fatah dominated Preventive Security Force was killed along with his two daughters and body guards. In a retaliatory attack Fatah fighters also stormed an Hamas – affiliated university in Gaza strip.

- f. Complete domination of the Gaza strip. The Hamas proclaimed itself to be the legitimate government of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), removed all Fatah-linked officials from positions of power and authority in the strip and gained control of all smuggling tunnels. It also resumed periodic rocket attacks on Israel.
- g. The above mentioned development infuriated the Palestinian President, Mahamoud Abbas, who reacted by declaring a state of emergency dissolving the unity government and forming a new government without the participation of Hamas.

RECENT VIOLENCE

33. The Hamas led government in the face of serious economic sanctions by the international community resorted to provocative measures against Israel. Series of rocket attacks often led to disproportionately retaliatory deadly bombing raids on Gaza by Israel. In November 2008, Israel declared a full blown war on Gaza named 'Operation Cast Lead'. The stated objectives of the assault on Gaza were to:

- a. Degrade Hamas's capacity to fire/launch rockets into Israel.
- b. Destroy smuggling tunnels on the Egypt-Gaza borders.
- c. Incapacitate Hamas by destroying its administrative structures.

34. At the intervention of international community, the three-week war was brought to an end leaving about 1,300 Palestinians and 13 Israelis killed and more than 5,000 people injured.

THE PATH TO PEACE

35. In the wake of the 22 days war between Israel and Palestine, European and Middle East leaders held a summit in Egypt on 18 January 2009 aimed at ensuring peace between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. At the summit which took

place in the Sea Resort of Sharm el-Sheik Sheikh were Palestinian President Mahammud Abbas, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and UN Secretary General Ban Kin Moon. Germany, Britain, France, Italy and Turkey were also represented. Even before the summit, the two factions had opposing ideas as regards the conditions necessary for achieving peace. Israel had demanded a halt to Hamas rocket attacks into southern Israel. She also called for a strict security arrangement to be put in place by the UN if the borders were to be reopened in order to forestall further smuggling of weapons into the territory by Hamas.

36. On the other side, Hamas through its Syrian-based leaders Khaled Mashaal demanded unconditional and immediate reopening of the border crossings into Gaza and called on the Arab nations to back their positions by cutting off ties with the Jewish state.

CONCLUSION

37. The question of how to achieve peace in the Middle East is an open ended one. Hamas has become a ‘recognized’ entity in the political scene in the region making reconciliation a difficult phenomenon. With pressure mounting on Israel and Hamas to find a way of ending the war in Gaza, the Egyptian proposals for phased truce or ceasefire will serve as a prelude to a more lasting solution to the Gaza problem. The UN recently dispatched a team to assess the level of damage in the area, it also observed that some Israeli actions reported in Gaza might warrant its prosecution for war crimes.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

38. Tackle the following questions:
- a. Write briefly on the geographical location, composition, religion and socio ethnic set up of the Middle East.

- b. What strategic importance is the Middle East to the outside world?
- c. What is the region's most important mineral product?
- d. What is the major language of the Middle East?
- e. Give a brief account of the various foreign occupations of the Gaza strip.
- f. Account for the various contenders in the Gaza strip conflict.
- g. Expatiate on the remote and immediate cause (s) of conflict in the Gaza strip.
- h. What are the characteristics of the Hamas political control of the of the Gaza strip.
- i. Comment briefly on the role(s) of the Hamas in the political scene of Gaza strip.
- j. Comment on the recent 'Operation Cast Lead' and its stated objectives.

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PART SEVEN

TERRORISM

INTRODUCTION

1. Terrorism has become a major danger to humanity and the maintenance of nations' sovereignty. It undermines the foundation of society and is fast developing its techniques for the destruction of lives and property, it is negating international peace and security as well as threatening the survival and sovereignty of independent states.

2. Terrorists generally send ideological or religious messages by terrorizing the general public through the choice of their targets, which are often symbolic or representative of the targeted nation. Terrorists attempt to create a high profile impact on the public of their targeted enemy or enemies with their acts of violence, despite the limited material resources that are usually at their disposal. In doing so, they hope to demonstrate various points, such as that the targeted government(s) cannot protect its (their) own citizens, or that by assassinating a special victim they can teach the general public a lesson about espousing view points or policies antithetical to their own.

TRAINING OBJECTIVE

3. At the end this lecture candidates will be able to:
- a. Define terrorism
 - b. Give a background history of terrorism
 - c. Discuss on the type of terrorism

- d. Identify and discuss on the classification of terrorism
- e. Discuss on who becomes a Terrorist and why?
- f. Discuss on Implication of terrorism
- g. List and discuss the manifestations of terrorism
- f. Discuss Measures of combating terrorism

DEFINITION

4. Defining terrorism has become so polemical and subjective an undertaking as to resemble an art rather than a science. Most attempts to arrive at a workable definition have ended to revolve around three interrelated factors; namely the terrorists (or persons being termed terrorist) motives, identity and methods.

5. Terrorism could be defined as “the use of force or violence against persons or property in violation of the criminal laws of the nations for purposes of intimidation, coercion or ransom” or as the “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non combatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. A more graphic definition describes terrorism as the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage” (Nwolise 2001).

6. Most definitions of terrorism have common elements, which includes; the systemic use of physical violence, either actual or threatened, against noncombatants to create a climate of fear to cause some religious, political or social change.

BACKGROUND HISTORY OF TERRORISM

7. Although the word terrorism first appeared in the “Reign of Terror” during the French revolution, its activities date back to the first century. According to Adler et.al (1998), terrorism dates back to the first century (48AD) when Zealots, a Jewish sect, fought against Roman occupation of what is now Israel. In the 12th century Iran, a group of Shiite Muslims committed terrorist acts against religious and political leaders of Sunni Islam. Through the 18th century, most terrorist movements were based on religious beliefs.

8. During the 19th century and into the 20th century, terrorist movements continued to be politically based. In the 1930s Germany’s Adolf Hitler, Italy’s Benito Mussolini and the Soviet Union’s Joseph Stalin, all used terrorism to discourage opposition to their governments.

9. In the United States of America, during the late 1800 and 1990 the Ku Klux Klan advocated violence to terrorize blacks and their sympathizers. From 1978 to 1995, the anarchist and terrorist known as the ‘Unabomber’, using homemade bombs mailed or planted, killed 3 people and wounded 23 other environmentalists and those opposed to the effects of industrialization and technology, targeting university professors, computer professionals and corporate executives.

10. The United States support of Israel resulted in several acts of terrorism against Americans by Palestinian radicals or supporters including the 1983 attack by Shiite Muslim suicide bombers on the US embassy in Beirut, Lebanon and on the US marine barracks in Beirut, killing nearly 300, mostly Americans. In 1988 a bomb destroyed Pan American flight 103 over Scotland, killing 259

including 189 Americans, 2 Libyan terrorists were later charged with the act.

11. In the late 1980's the Animal Liberation Front used arson to terrorize in Davis, California; Tucson, Arizona; and Lubbock, Texas. In 1990 the Popular Party used arson and bombed Puerto Rico. Islamic radicals used a crude bomb made from agricultural fertilizer in 1993 to attack the World Trade Center in New York which killed nearly one thousand people with an estimated damage of 600 million dollars. This blatant foreign-sponsored terrorism was viewed with alarm and disbelief, yet because the towers still stood, Americans went on with life with a suppressed sense of invulnerability, and the fear of terrorism faded rapidly.

12. In 1995 a 4,800 -pound truck bomb exploded in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 and injuring 500. Not only was this the deadliest terrorist attack the United States had

13. In 1996, another truck bomb destroyed a barracks housing American Military personnel in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 service men. In 1998 two US embassies in East Africa were bombed killing more than 200 people, including 12 Americans. In October 2000, 17 sailors died when two suicide bombers attacked the USS Cole while it was refueling in the Yemeni Port of Aden. Then came September 11, 2001, the worst terrorist attack in the history of terrorism, when terrorists hijacked 4 commercial airliners. Two of the planes were crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, leaving 4,815 people missing and 417 confirmed dead including the 157 passengers aboard Flight 11 and Flight 175. An hour later, Flight 77 crashed into the Pentagon leaving 189 dead, including everyone on board. The 4th flight, (Flight 93) presumably heading towards the White House or US Capitol building crashed into a rural area in Pennsylvania, killing 44 aboard.

TYPES OF TERRORISM

14. Just as there are different types of terror, so do we have different types of terrorism based on different variables. For example, in terms of the objectives of terrorism, one can talk of political terrorism and criminal terrorism. Terrorism can also be organized or unorganized. Using the source of the terrorist action, there can be state terrorism, group terrorism, or individual terrorism. On the scale of special scope, there can be domestic or international terrorism. There is also repressive terrorism, revolutionary terrorism and sub revolutionary terrorism. Some of these types of terrorism need to be elaborated upon.

- a. **Political Terrorism.** Political terrorism is geared towards the achievement of political objectives; and could be carried out by either a government, (those in power), the opposition (those aspiring to be in power), a liberation movement or terrorist body.
- b. **Criminal Terrorism.** Criminal terrorism is regarded as “the systematic use of acts of terror for objectives of private material gains. This type of terrorism is often carried out by an individual or a few individuals, and is geared towards personal enrichment or satisfaction, with no gains for the masses or people, and no bearings with the struggle for reforms, social justice, and human rights in the society.
- c. **Repressive Terrorism.** The repressor here may be the state, its rulers, agents or a part or faction; and the repression may be directed against the whole population or a selected group or part of it. e.g state terror, police terror, colonial terror (where the state uses the army as a terror tool), prison terror, slave terror, ideological terror and counter insurgency terror. All these are forms of repressive terrorism.
- d. **Revolutionary Terrorism.** Revolutionary terrorism is defined as

the resort to systematic tactics of terrorist violence with the objective of bringing about political revolution. The features of revolutionary terrorism include;

- (1) Collective rather than individual action.
- (2) Existence of a guiding revolutionary ideology or programme.
- (3) Existence of leaders who mobilize for terrorist activities.
- (4) Creation of alternative institutional structures to those of government.
- (5) Acquisition and use of weapons.
- (6) Acquisition of competence in terrorist methods and skills.
- (7) Secrecy of Operational plans.
- (8) Some degree of population support.

e. **Sub Revolutionary Terrorism:** Sub revolutionary terrorism is employed for political motives other than the pursuit of revolutions or governmental repression. Examples are attempts to force a government to introduce a greatly policy, law or programme; revenge or punishment or warning against specific officials; waging terror in a feud with rival groups or retaliation against invasion of land or cultural interference.

f. **State Terrorism.** A state can terrorize its citizen or other states. Typical examples are the terrorization of Africans in South Africa in the days of apartheid; and the American invasion of Panama during which its defense was humiliated and the head of state, President Noriega was captured by the US, tried in the court and jailed 40 years in a foreign land by a foreign government which claims to be champion of democracy in the world.

CLASSIFICATIONS OF TERRORISM

15. There are broadly two classifications of terrorism
- a. **Domestic Terrorism:** This involves groups or individuals who operate without foreign direction. They are entirely within and target elements of the home government or citizens. They represent extreme right or left wing and special interest beliefs. They are also anti-government, anti-taxation policies etc. who engage in survivalist training to perpetuate a nation and its cause.
 - b. **International Terrorism:** International terrorism is foreign based or directed by countries or groups outside one's country. International terrorism is divided into three categories. The first threat is foreign state sponsors of international terrorism using terrorism as a tool of foreign policy. The second threat is formalized terrorist groups such as Lebanese Hezbollah, or Bin Laden's al-Qaeda. The third threat comes from loosely affiliated international radical extremists who have a variety of identities.

MANIFESTATIONS OF TERRORISM

17. Nwolise (1997) gives analysis of how terrorists can manifest in different forms. Some of these manifestations include:
- a. Bombing and laying of mines at strategic places.
 - b. Arrests, kidnapping and detentions.
 - c. Beating and torture.
 - d. Murder and assassination.
 - e. Arson.
 - f. Sabotage of installations.

- g. Mysterious phone calls.
- h. Intimidation.
- i. Hijacking and piracy.
- j. Bank raids and other forms of armed robbery.
- k. Bio-chemical warfare.

MEASURES IN COMBATING TERRORISM:

18. Some of the measures adopted in combating terrorism include:
- a. Good intelligence network is crucial to nip (criminal) terrorism in the bud. Such intelligence network must be well coordinated between the Police, Military and other units.
 - b. Positive social programmes and social reforms relevant at any time in the history of society need to be carried out without waiting for revolutionary terrorism to move onto the scene to force government hands. This early action of voluntary government reforms will isolate terrorists from the population.
 - c. Security of premises, installations, airports and airlines must be ensured applying electronic searches.
 - d. Punishment of convicted terrorists to should serve as deterrent to others.
 - e. Incase of international terrorism, the relevant treaty provisions should be followed.
 - f. The Police and Military need to establish specialist anti-terrorist squads. The Military squad will be unleashed against any terrorist group that is heavily armed and ready to shoot and kill.
 - g. Governments and the society need however to always study each

phenomenon of terrorism and apply appropriate solution. Prevention it is said is better than cure.

h. Research on known terrorists and terrorist groups leading to computerized data banks on them are important.

i. Intensive propaganda, public enlightenment and education are useful instruments against criminal terrorists, and other terrorists that do not pursue collective goals of society. These will tune the public for vigilance against unknown faces and strange movements and objects around them.

j. Above all, there is need for a national anti-terrorist policy formulation to guide citizens, government and security agencies in this matter, e.g. in Israel, there is the policy of no deals with terrorists who are seen by law as criminals. Such policy promotes international cooperation against terrorists.

k. The rule of law must be enthroned in society, and no individual or group of individuals must be allowed to be above the laws of the land.

l. Legal sanctions must be in force and whoever violates the laws of the land should pay the price.

m. The judiciary must, with the support of the people, preserve fundamental rights and freedoms and protect society against arbitrary rule, police brutality (terror) and martial terror.

n. Terrorists must not, in any way, be allowed to wage battle against popular governments, nor must criminal terrorist be allowed to wage war against society in pursuit of their selfish private ends. For this purpose, both the Police and the Armed Forces need to be trained and equipped accordingly especially where terrorists apply guerrilla tactics. Government need to develop the culture of never giving in to terrorists.

WHO BECOMES A TERRORIST AND WHY

15. Individuals who become terrorists often are the unemployed, socially alienated individuals who have dropped out of society, youths with little education may join a terrorist group out of boredom. Some individuals may be motivated mainly by a desire to use their special skills, such as bomb making. The more educated youths may be motivated by genuine political or religious convictions. Usually, disenchanted youths (educated or uneducated) engage in occasional protests and dissidence. Potential terrorist group members often start out as sympathizers of the group. Recruits often come from support organizations such as prisoners or student activists. Often violent encounters with police or other security agents motivate already socially alienated individuals to join a terrorist group.

IMPLICATIONS OF TERRORISM

16. Terrorism can also lead to break down of law and order, and discourage Investors both foreign and domestic. In this way, development and national productivity become threatened. Since national leaders will always do their best to ensure the security of the nation, terrorism can stimulate the diversion of funds from socio-economic development to defense and security tending. The country's international image can also be adversely affected by terrorist activities, and this in turn affects tourism and expected national revenue from it. Terrorism also weakens government resolve and ability to govern effectively, and retards its momentum of developmental and administrative efficiency. Terrorism has great implications for national security. Apart from the killing of citizens and destruction of life and property, terrorism can subvert defense and security agencies' operations and this puts a nation at great danger. Again, it can demoralize security forces, and a nation to have demoralized security forces is a bad omen for national security.

CONCLUSION

19. In conclusion, it is necessary to state that every nation or society must study and understand the terrorist so that his activities could be predicted and controlled. Terrorists are generally organized and well funded, skilled in military tactics; and weapon manipulation; and are dedicated to their assignment. They may be angry or frustrated over one form of injustice or the other or want to change the political system by force. It must also be added that under - developed and other oppressed and exploited nations of the world must start doing their home work against what is called advanced International Terrorism as manifested by the 'misuse' of military strategy by imperial world powers. The bombing of Sudan and Pakistan by US in 2000 on the excuse of their backing terrorist without transparent evidence is terrorizing and 'uncalled-for' as the nuclear bombing of Japan's Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. This view is strengthened the more by the fact that Pakistan whose air space was violated in the year 2000 bombing, is today an ally of USA in its war against terrorism in Afghanistan. Afghanistan in turn was an ally of the USA in the days of the cold war against the USSR. In short, in defense of Afghanistan, the USA imposed sanctions against the USSR in 1980 for invading Afghanistan in 1979. The point must be made clear that, most of those people called terrorists today, including Osama bin Laden were all allies of the USA in war against communist Soviet Union. Many of the training camps being bombed today in Afghanistan 'in the name' of terrorist training camps were established in days of battle against the USSR by Afghan Mujahedeens with US support, including trainings by the CIA. The long standing terrorist experience of Israel and the recent most horrifying terrorist attack against the USA, the September 11 attack on New York WTC and the Pentagon outstandingly demonstrate that terrorism is really a deadly threat against democracy, human liberty, sustainable

development, good governance, personal and material prosperity, as well as national security in the 21st century and beyond.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

20. Attempt the following:
- a. Define terrorism
 - b. Give a background history of terrorism
 - c. Discuss on the types of terrorism
 - d. Identify and discuss on the classification of terrorism
 - e. Discuss on who becomes a Terrorist and why?
 - f. Discuss on Implication of terrorism
 - g. List and discuss the manifestations of terrorism
 - f. Discuss Measures of combating terrorism

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PART EIGHT

GLOBALISATION, ICT AND INFORMATION REVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

1. Globalisation, ICT and Information Revolution are terminologies or words often used to illustrate the phrase ‘the world as a Global Village’. The global village is mostly used to describe the internet and World Wide Web (www). The Internet globalizes communications by allowing users from around the world to connect with each other with the aid of computers (Hardware) and appropriate programming (Software). Similarly, web-connected computers enable people to link their web sites together. This feat enables interaction between countries, regions and continents.

2. This new reality has implications for forming new socio-economic structures within the context of governance, society and commerce. An example of this phenomenon is the Global Stock Exchange Market. The World Wide Web is only a few years old and has witnessed explosive growth in terms of the number of people connected and the amount of information available on it. This is because the technology makes it possible for a person in the remotest of areas to have access to the same information base on the internet as someone located at the heart of the most developed cities.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

3. At the end of this part, candidates would be able to:
- a. Explain the word “globalization “as it relates to ICT.
 - b. Discuss the concepts of Information, Communication and Technology.

- c. Discuss various Internet services available.

CONCEPTS OF INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY

4. The concepts of Information, Communication and Technology are briefly discussed hereunder, in order to give an insight into the meaning of Information and Communication Technology (ICT):

- a. **Information.** Information is referred to as refined data i.e data that has been put into a meaningful and useful context, and communicated to a recipient who uses it to make decisions. Information is a resource and indeed the backbone of any organization. Information could be ideas, facts and emotions using words, letter and symbols (Appleby 1994). The role of information in today's age cannot be over-emphasized. It appraises and notifies, reduces uncertainty, reveals additional alternatives or helps in eliminating irrelevant or poor information, influences and stimulates the [information into] action. It also helps managers and nations make the best decisions.

- b. **Communication.** Communication is a dynamic activity concerned with the sharing of information in a meaningful way. It is a process of sharing and imparting information by one person or group to another person or group so that there is clear understanding of one another (Udall & Udall 1979). Therefore, communication is said to be at its best when messages are sent/received and interpreted as intended. Communication must take place in a setting using a medium or channel and has key participants. Communication process begins with the selection of messages out of all possible messages. A message can be in form of spoken words, pictures, symbols, logic, body movements, facial expression etc. The transmitter operates on the message to produce a signal suitable for transmission over a channel. The message exists only

between the source and the transmitter, and between the receiver and the destinations. Thus, when we use the telephone, the channel is the wire. For radio and TV, the signal is an electromagnetic wave. For printed information, the printed words and illustrations on the pages are used as signal.

c. **Technology.** Technology as relates to ICT, means using modern equipment in processing, storing, recalling and disseminating information in such a way that the world is reduced to a global village. This modern equipment have brought about speedy, timely and efficient information processing which is very significant to people. It is pertinent to mention that the modern equipment are computerized to allow for speedy and accurate transmission of large volumes of information (data).

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY REVOLUTION

5. In the late 20th century, there was a revolution of advanced information and technology. This revolution ushered in a world of greater data flow, computer interconnectivity and shrinking of national boundaries. The force fuelling this rapid transformation of remote and isolated information units into global inter- connected super highways is Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

6. Relying on the advances in the development of the microchip and computer, ICT has completely restructured the global socio-economic equation and has led to the transformation of the world into a global, knowledge based society referred to as GLOBAL VILLAGE. According to Jegede (2002), ‘The world has become a global village linked and networked together by technology and in which Army formations all over the world especially those of developed countries have integrated digital technology, e-training and simulations as well as computer literacy as part of their daily routine’.

COMPUTER AND THE INTERNET

7. Computer has continuously been making tremendous impact on virtually every aspect of human endeavour since the time it was invented to date. The development of technology and networks, together with advancement in database have placed the computer systems in a higher position. Computer is a device endowed with the power of processing data. It accepts data in one form and processes it to produce data in another form. The advantage of computer lies in its high speed of solving multiple variable problems in a short time and capability of storing large amount of data with unfailing accuracy and precision. Application of computer is in every sphere of life e.g Medicine, Aviation, Communication, Manufacturing, Education, Engineering, etc.

8. The growth in electronics over the past quarter of the century has been phenomenal such that society, business, homes and leisure activities have been transformed. Modern electronics is based upon the microprocessor(s), one form of microchip, which consists of miniature logic circuits etched onto the surface of the silicon. These tiny circuits replace the enormous banks of glass valves used in the earliest computers of 1940s and 1950s. Another form of microchips is the memory chip used to store information. Nowadays, the main parts of a computer i.e the memory and the logic units can be held in a single chip to form a usable system. Where memory and logic units are situated on one chip, the chip is officially as microcomputer.

9. Modern computers are more powerful and can handle information in many forms including graphics and speeches. The main differences between the computers of 30 years ago and microchips of today lie in the fact that the latter are very small, cheap, reliable and very powerful. Since the first chips were made in the early 1960s, their power has increased every year while their cost decreases. This situation made basic ICT equipment readily available at

affordable prices thus aiding speedy acceptance and acquisition of ICT equipment. Microprocessors are now incorporated not just into computers, but into a wide range of other products from camera to washing machines and cars. The microprocessor is used as control mechanism in many of these products. Microprocessors are so cheap and small that they can be incorporated into any device that can benefit from the power of computer.

10. The Internet does not only provide opportunities for people to be properly informed about the true activities of the governments of nations, their culture, norms and their private sector, but the enormous resources in it stand to provide knowledge for national development. It has also made it easier for interaction between countries, regions and continents.

11. Internet means International Network; a network of computers in the world. Internet started from a research (being) conducted by the United States Department of Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) in 1969. The initial motive for ARPANET was to build a network that is capable of carrying military and government information from one point to another in case of nuclear war. ARPANET was later opened to non-military users in 1970. Nowadays, anyone could use the Internet as it has evolved into the “Information Super Highway”. The Internet enables a person to sit at his computer and exchange information with other computers and computer users on numerous topics such as military, medicine, science, arts, social sciences, technology etc. Users of computer can also tap into large libraries and data banks gaining access to up-to-date information on a wide range of subjects that the libraries of their own organization could never afford to maintain.

12. ICT has indeed revolutionized information in the world as a result of continuous invention of sophisticated equipment and materials that serve as medium of transmission of information to every nooks and crannies of the

world. These equipment and materials are as discussed below:

- a. **Computer Hardware/Software:** Computer is an electronic device that accepts data through input device, process the data and yields result through output device. It is a well established fact that the value of computer lies solely on its high speed and capability to store large amount of data with accuracy and precision. Software are sets of instructions or programmes through which computer system operates.
- b. **CD RAM/CD ROM:** CD RAM means Compact Disc Random Access Memory while CD ROM means Compact Disc Read Only Memory. Both are devices for storing information. However, the difference between the CD RAM and CD ROM is that information stored in CD RAM can be read and copied while CD ROM can only allow the information to be read.
- c. **Flash Drives/Diskettes/Memory Cards:** These are all devices for storing information. With the advancement in technology, the use of diskettes is gradually being phased out.
- d. **Video/Audio Cassettes/Films:** Video/audio cassettes and films are used to store visual and audio information. They are particularly, useful not just for entertainment but for academics and manufacturing processes. Simple and complex manufacturing processes of items can be recorded in them and air to people in need of such information. Also, academic programmes can be stored in these medium and available to anyone in need of them.
- e. **Telecommunications:** Telecommunication equipment include telephone, Fax machine, Internet etc. Telephone can be used to relay information in a fastest way. Fax machine is a special copying machine which is linked to a telephone. Any form of documents and drawings can be transferred and received by Fax machine.

- f. **Satellite:** As a result of increasing sophistication on ICT, transfer of information on a massive scale by satellite broadcasting networks such as BBC, CNN etc is made possible. Thus anyone anywhere in the world could get informed through cable network.
- g. **Radio/Television:** Radio stores and transmits auditory information while television store and displays pictorial information. Both devices are effective for entertainment and education.

FACILITIES AVAILABLE ON THE INTERNET

13. As a result of the invention of Internet, various forms of electronic communication such as e-learning, e-banking, e-commerce, e-trading, e-library, e-newspaper, e-mail, e-governance etc were evolved. Consequently, communication between people, organization, countries etc become cheaper and quicker. Distance between people is no longer a hindrance. Various forms of electronic communication Internet offer are as explained below:

- a. **e-learning.** e-learning involves teaching and learning on the internet. Many colleges and Universities have Internet connections that open doors to vast amount of information on the World Wide Web. This development facilitated the introduction of Distance Learning in the Nigeria educational system and in many nations of the world.
- b. **e-banking.** e-banking such as Electronic Cash Transfer, Electronic card, Internet banking and Automated Teller Machines are carried out with the aid of computer and Internet.
- c. **e-commerce.** Trading can be carried out electronically without meeting the trading partner.
- d. **e-trading.** This is applied mostly in stock exchange activities. It involves stock order processing and electronic data interchanging that

links customers, suppliers and banks to facilitate efficient order of obligations and electronic payments.

e. **e-newspaper.** e-newspaper allows people to use their computer to subscribe to newspaper through the Internet.

f. **e-mail.** Electronic mail is a kind of database used to send messages to people in a network. The sender computer adds a message to the database and the receiver computer searches the database for the mail. If the receiver has a message, the receiver computer gets a copy and displays it on the screen.

g. **e-library.** Research students make use of e-library to obtain research findings that will support their literature review.

h. **e-governance.** The operation of government agencies using electronic means (computer) is called e-governance. Given the extraordinary pace of changes in the ICT industry, the term e-governance implies upgrading the efficiency and effectiveness of the administrative machinery of the government through the combination of ICT and sophisticated multimedia to deliver better, cost effective and speedy services to the citizens.

IMPACT OF THE INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY REVOLUTION

14. Advancement in Information Technology has indeed, turned the world into a global tiny village. Easy access to information has facilitated acquisition of knowledge, which is the main source of power. The information age has made knowledge a major instrument for creating economic and technological growth. Presently, appliances are invented in such a way to control themselves so that minimum human intervention is required. This has had an obvious impact on people as it has brought about enormous improvements in efficiency and productivity as well as affecting our pattern of work and our leisure. The

impacts of Information Technology revolution can be felt in all spheres of life as stated below:

- a. **Home.** Remarkable improvements have been achieved in recent years on the technology of radio/TV broadcasting, facsimile, e-mail, Internet, ret-a-doc, oracle, video and audio system etc.
- b. **Office.** Computers are now used for many office jobs e.g. writing letters and reports, keeping records producing charts, graphs and controlling projects.
- c. **Factory.** Factory equipment and processes are often controlled by the microchips including machine tools, assembly lines and industrial robot.
- d. **Transport and Communication.** Cars, fax machines, telephone network, railway and underground systems are some of the devices and systems now controlled by microprocessors (computer).
- e. **Society.** Computer based learning materials including video materials stored in videodiscs or videotapes are growing in popularity. Computer and softwares are widely used by many people either individually or collectively.

PROBLEMS

15. In spite of the benefits ICT and indeed the Internet offer, some problems may hinder or reduce optimal realization of these opportunities especially in developing and under-developed countries. The problems are as stated below:

- a. **Cost.** The purchasing and maintenance costs of ICT equipment are high.
- b. **Model/Software Obsolesce.** The hardware and the software may be technologically obsolete because of speedy development of new technology in the electronic field.

- c. **Virus Problem.** Due to stiff competition In the ICT market and the urge to attain supremacy in the ICT world by some programmers, computer viruses that can destroy files (documents) stored in the computer abounds on the Net.
- d. **Unemployment.** There could be reduction in staff numbers as more sophisticated equipment is being introduced into the market.
- e. **Electricity.** Epileptic power supply may frustrate the use of ICT equipment. The cost of running power generating sets is prohibitive hence ICT services are only available for few hours in a day.
- f. **Dearth of Skilled Man-Power,** Due to continuous improvement on ICT, there is the need to also develop various competencies for ICT integration to be successful. These competent hands include technical support specialists, content developers, system analysts etc.

CONCLUSION

16. The World Wide Web has witnessed explosive growth in terms of the number of people connected and the amount of information available on it. It is now possible to make available an enormous amount of information to anyone with access to the Net and, increasingly, to carry out a variety of transactions from filling in and sending forms to ordering and paying for goods and services on-line. Similarly, as a result of the enabling force of the ICT, citizens of nations no longer need to interface directly with government officials in order to secure a particular service like domicile certificates, driving license, payment of property tax, electricity and water bill, etc.. They also do not need to know which agency is the service provider, as the service can be easily obtained from the Net through a kiosk or personal computer.

17. Special attention should be taken to ensure that the use of ICT does not create a new class of ‘‘haves and have-nots’’. It should be assured that ICT

equipment are accessible and functional even in rural or remote areas since the technology makes it possible for a person in the remotest of areas to have access to the same information base on the internet as someone located at the heart of the most developed cities. It is wise to take the enormous advantages ICT by utilizing the technology for development, promoting education, building the capacities of civil society to ensure good governance, and promoting science and technology.

SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

18. Practice the following questions:
 - a. Briefly discuss the underlisted as it relates to ICT:
 - (1) Information.
 - (2) Communication.
 - (3) Technology.
 - b. The Computer has turned the world into a global village. Discuss.
 - c.
 - (1) Discuss various areas ICT has impacted on human lives.
 - (2) What are the problems that may hinder the benefit derivable from ICT in developing and under-developed countries.

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PART NINE

THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS AND NIGERIA

INTRODUCTION

1. The global financial crisis otherwise referred to as Global Financial Meltdown, is a gradual decline and crumbling of the world's largest economies particularly of the western world and especially United States of America and the United Kingdom. The problem, noticed early in Asia with economic alerts by Asia stock markets was over looked out of assumption that it wouldn't escalate to a global recession. This act, has however, led the whole world into the worse economic recession ever that renowned economists see as even worse than the world economic recession of 1929 and the great depression of the 1940's. Had early warnings been accepted and precautions taken, the crisis wouldn't have happened.

2. The global financial crisis points to the problems attached to the free market economy as operated by capitalist economies led by the United States. No wonder therefore that social scientists contemplate the viability of capitalism and its main operator, the United States of America. The fact is that the global financial crisis has dealt a heavy blow on the US financial system leading to doubts on the US status as the only leading super power in the world. This is further amplified by the challenges the US faces in Iraq and Afghanistan and its image decline in Europe, Asia and the less developed countries. John Gray aptly observed in the same thinking that the era of American global leadership, reaching back to the Second World War is over. The American free market creed has self destructed itself while countries that retained over control of market have been vindicated.

3. Another school of thought was however quick to dispel Grays assertion when it opined that the recession is better seen globally as even socialist and communist countries are partly affected. Robin Nibleth argues that even “China is in a desperate race for growth to feed its population and avert unrest in 15 to 20 years. Russia is not exactly a paper tiger but it is stretching its own limits with a new strategy built on a flimsy base. India has huge internal contradictions. Europe has usually proved unable to jump out of the doldrums as dynamically as the US. This stresses that the financial meltdown is a global phenomena that cut across the US, capitalist economies and the entire globe with the probable mild effects on the less developed countries in the short run and more severe effect in the long-run. The mild effect on LDC’s assertion was agreed upon by Professor Soludo (Nigeria’s former Central Bank Governor), who claims that the Nigerian economy, despite the global financial crisis is sound and as such Nigerians have nothing to fear. Despite Soludo’s assurances, however, the Federal Government found it more convincing to take some steps that could assist to avert any possible effects on the Nigerian economy rather than keep its power dry. Consequently, a team of experts was drawn to effectively study the global financial problem as it might affect Nigeria.

TRAINING OBJECTIVES

4. At the end of this part, candidates would be able to:
 - a. Mention the causes of the global financial crisis.
 - b. Understand the historical antecedents of the crisis.
 - c. Mention the effects of the global financial crisis.
 - d. Discuss the global responses to the crisis.
 - e. Discuss Nigeria’s responses to the global financial crisis.
 - f. Mention the effects of the global financial crisis.
 - g. List some solutions to the global financial crisis.

THE CAUSES OF THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

5. The global financial crisis started in mid 2007 and into 2008. The crisis became more visible in September 2008. There were so many reasons given as the causes of the global financial crisis. These include:

- a. The dwindling financial stability of leading US and European investment banks, insurance firms and mortgage banks.
- b. Sub-prime mortgage crisis. Some investment banks like Lehman Brothers of the US got into mortgages, buying securities and sales them off.
- c. Deflation and reductions in shipping resulting in a number of European Bank failures.
- d. Decline in stock indexes arising from the large reductions in the meltdown value of stocks and commodities.
- e. Global credit crisis which in the US, was exacerbated by section 128 of the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act 2008 which allowed the Federal Reserve system to pay interest on excess revenue requirement balances held on deposit from banks thereby removing the directives from the banks to extend credit instead of had cash on deposit. This led to liquidity problem and decrease in international shipping and commerce. The Bank of England reported loss of \$2.8 tr as a result of credit crisis.
- f. Bad loans arising from borrowing of money by some Banks from other Banks to lend out in order to create more securitization.
- g. Some banks loaned more than allowed to have an excuse to securitize those loans.
- h. Purchase of security by some banks from other banks.
- i. Lack of capital reserves. As a result of disinvestments, banks exhausted their capital reserve and therefore had to solicit for recapitalization from the governments.

6. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has summarized the causes of the global financial crisis in her Trade and Development Report 2008 as:

- a. The global fallout from the financial crisis in the United States.
- b. The busting of housing bubbles in the US and other large economies.
- c. Soaring commodity prices in the world.
- d. Increasing restrictive prices monetary policies in a number of countries.
- e. Stock market volatility.

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

7. The global financial crisis brewed for a while after being noticed by Asian countries from failing stock market index. It started showing its symptoms in the middle of 2007 and finally manifested in September 2008. The problem started with the fallen stock markets and extended to the collapse of large financial institutions that had to be bailed out for financial rescue plans of the various governments all over the globe. In what follows, therefore, a month – by-month review of the happening would be made from September to December 2008 as historical antecedents of the global financial crisis.

8. In the 1st week of September, 2008 it was reported that the crisis in subprime mortgage had reached a critical stage. The crisis was characterized by severe contraction of liquidity in the global credit market, insolvency and threats to investment and other financial institutions. Consequently, series of antecedents happened in the financial system of the world as shown in table 1, below:

TABLE 1TABLE SHOWING ANTECEDENTS OF THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

| Serial | Date | Antecedent |
|--------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) | (b) | (c) |
| 1. | 7 Sep 08 | The United States Director of the Federal Housing finance Agency (FHFA), James B Lockhart announced the placement of 2 US Government sponsored Enterprise (GSE) Fannie Mae (Federal National Mortgage Association) Freddie Mac (Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation into conservator ship run by FHFA. |
| 2. | 14 Sep 08 | Federal Reserve Bank failed to provide Layman Brothers with financial support facility. |
| 3. | 14 Sep 08 | Beginning of extreme instability in global stock markets |
| 4. | 15 Sep 08 | Dramatic drop in market values of stock. |
| 5. | 16 Sep 08 | American International Group, the major insurance company in US suffered a liquidity crisis following the downgrade of its credit rating. |
| 6. | 18 Sep 08 | Money market sell orders from institutional investors total led \$0. 5tr out of a total market capitalization of \$4tr, but a \$105 billion liquidity injection from the Federal Reserve averted immediate collapse. |
| (a) | (b) | (c) |
| 7. | 19 Sep 08 | A plan, Troubled Assets Relief Programme (TARP) later incorporated into the Emergency Economic Stabilizations Act, 2008 was proposed by the secretary to the Treasury, Henry Paulson. |
| 8. | 21 Sep 08 | The 2 remaining Investment Banks in US, Goldman Sacha and Morgan Stanley converted to Bank holding companies for readier access to capital. |
| 9. | 25 Sep 08 | Washington mutual, the US largest savings and loans bank, was seized by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and most of its assets transferred to JP Morgan chase. |
| 10. | 28 Sep 08 | US secretary of Treasury announced that \$700 billion is proposed bail out with provision for the option of creating a scheme of mortgage insurance. |

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| (a) | (b) | (c) |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 11. | 28 Sep 08 | Forties, a huge Benelux banking and finance company was partially nationalized with Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg investing a total of \$16.3 billion in the bank. |
| 12. | 29 Sep 08 | Stock fell dramatically in Europe and the US despite infusion of funds into the market for short term credit. |
| 13. | 30 Sep 08 | \$9 billion was provided by the French, Belgian and Luxemburg governments to the French –Belgian bank Dexia. |
| 14. | 2 Oct 08 | Greece guaranteed all bank deposits. |
| 15. | 5 Oct 08 | A major banking and financial crisis emerged in Iceland with its currency, the Koran, dropping 30% against the Euro. |
| 16. | 7 Oct 08 | Taiwan outline plans to double the guarantee to \$92,000 and European Union agreed to increase guarantees across the EU to at least \$50,000 per saver. |
| 17. | 8 Oct 08 | British Government announced it was making €25 billion available as per market interest- bearing security (PIBS) to Abbey, Barclays, HBOS, HSBC Banks Plc, Llyods TSB, Nationwide Building Society, Royal Bank of Scotland and Standard Chartered Bank as part of Bank rescue plans. |
| 18. | 8 Oct 08 | The European Central Bank, Bank of England, Federal Reserve Bank of Canada, Swedish Risks and bank and Swiss National Bank all announced simultaneous cut of 0.5% to their base rates. The Central Bank of the Peoples Republic of China also cut its interest rates. |
| 19. | 9 Oct 08 | Heavy loses were recorded in the US stock market. The Dow dropped below 8600 reaching a five year low. |
| 20. | 10 Oct 08 | Within the first 5 minutes of trading on wall street, the Dow Jones Industrial Average plunged 697 points falling below 79000 to its lowest level since march 17, 2003. |
| 21. | 11 Oct 08 | The US government announced a change of rescue plan from buying illiquid assets to recapitalization banks in exchange for preferred equity and purchase of mortgages Fannie Mac and Freddie Mac. |
| 22. | 12 Oct 08 | European leaders announced at a meeting in Paris France plans for recapitalization of Europe's banks. |
| 23. | 13 Oct 08 | Markets were closed in Japan as well as Stock Bond markets in the US. |

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| | | |
|-----|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 24. | 13 Oct 08 | Germany announced a c400b plan. IMF announced plans to assist Hungary which suffered the crisis in Euro, Dollar and Swiss Franc dominated investments. |
| 25. | 14 Oct 08 | The US government announced a plan to take over an equity interest of \$250 billion in US bank with 25 billion going to each of the 4 largest banks. |
| 26. | 14 Oct 08 | The UAE Ministry of Finance added a \$19 billion liquidity injection to domestic banks bringing the total dollars injected to \$32.7 billion. |
| 27. | 15 Oct 08 | The London stock exchange (FTSE) 100 fell substantially surrendering over 34 points to slip down 7.16%. This precipitated more losses in the US, as the Dow Jones industrial Average suffered its largest drop since 1987, falling over 733 points. |
| 28. | 16 Oct 08 | A rescue plan was announced for the Swiss Bank UBS and credit Suisse Recapitalization involved Swiss government funds, private investors and government of the Netherlands bailed out ING, the Dutch bank with a €10 billion capital rescue plan. |
| 29. | 20 Oct 08 | The government of Belgium rescued the insurance company Ethias with a €1.5 billion capital injection. |
| 30. | 20 Oct 08 | France announced a €10.5 billion rescue plan for 6 of its largest bank including credit Agricole, BNP and Society General. |
| 31. | 24 Oct 08 | Stock markets plummeted worldwide amidst growing fears among investors that a deep global recession is imminent if not already settle-in. The panic was partly fueled by remarks made by Allen Greespan that the Crisis is “once –in-a-Century credit Tsunami” and comments made by Prime Minister Gordon Brown during a speech admitted essentially that Great Britain is already in recession. |
| 32. | 26 Oct 08 | Hungary and Ukraine made tentative arrangements with the IMF for emergency aid packages |
| 33. | 26 Oct 08 | In Poland, the value of stocks has fallen 50% for the year. |
| 34. | 26 Oct 08 | South Africa recorded falling price of platinum, a commodity used in automobile factories. |
| 35. | 26 Oct 08 | Iceland, Ukraine, Hungary, Belarus, and Pakistan were in emergency talk with IMF. Pakistan had growing balance of Payments crisis. |
| 36. | 26 Oct 08 | The US Treasury funded 22 banks with \$38 billion in a second round recapitalization. |

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| (a) | (b) | (c) |
|-----|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 37. | 28 Oct 08 | In Russia, the \$50 billion rescue programme administered by the State Development Bank, Vnesheconom Bank (VEB) is assisting Russian firms controlled by Russian oligarchs who gave ownership of portions of their companies as security for loans from Western financial institutions. |
| 38. | 30 Oct 08 | Japan announced its second economic stimulus plan of \$51 billion. |
| 39. | 31 Oct 08 | The Bank of Japan cut interest rate to 30% |
| 40. | 7 Nov 08 | 500,000 jobs were lost in the United States between September and October 2008 with unemployment rising to 6.5% |
| 41. | 6 Nov 08 | The Bank of England, citing a reduced danger of inflation due to failing commodity prices lowered its base rate by 1.5% from 4.5% to 3% |
| 42. | 9 Nov 08 | The Peoples Republic of China announced a \$586 b domestic stimulus package for the remainder of 2008, 2009 and 2010. Economic growth has slowed in China with sharp drop in property and stock values. |
| 43. | 10 Nov 08 | The US Treasury announced investment of \$40 billion in preferred stock of AIG. |
| 44. | 13 Nov 08 | The Dow Jones Industrial Average market another dramatic session with the index opening at 8,282.66 but tumbled below 8,000 mark to allow of 7,965.42 but reserved the trend and gained 900 units in less than 3 hours closing at 8,835.25 with a net gain of more than 550 point (third largest ever). |
| 45. | 15 Nov 08 | At the instance of president George w bush, leaders of the G-20 held the initial session of the summit on financial marker and the world economy. They agreed to cooperate with respect to the global financial crisis and issued a statement regarding immediate and medium term goals and actions necessary to support and reform the international economy |
| 45. | 19 Nov 08 | Automobile sales were down in Europe and + Bailouts were under consideration particularly for subsidiaries of General Motors such as Opel in Germany and vauxhall in the United kingdom especially with the failure of the bailout plans for the automakers in the US |

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| (a) | (b) | (c) |
|-----|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 46. | 21 Nov 08 | The Dow Jones industrial average recovered about half of the loss for the week and closed above 8000, however stock of Citibank, Bank of America and JP Morgan Chase continued to decline. |
| 47. | 23 Nov 08 | For Citigroup rescue, the US Treasury Department, the Federal Reserve and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation announced that in exchange for preferred stock valued at \$27 billion paying 8% interest, a further \$20 billion would be invested into the company and that the government would limit loss on \$306 billion in risk loans and securities to \$29 billion plus 10% of any remaining losses. |
| (a) | (b) | (c) |
| 48. | 9 Dec 08 | The Bank of Canada lowered its interest rate by 0.75% to 1.5%, the lowest it had since 1958. |
| 49. | 9 Dec 08 | The Bank of Canada officially announced that the Canadian economy was in recession. |
| 50. | 15 Dec 08 | The US Government had announced that it will give \$17.4 billion in loans to help 3 of the nation's automobile markets: Chrysler, General Motors and Ford in a way to avoid bankruptcy. |
| 51. | 29 Dec 08 | The Slovakia replaced the Koruna with the Euro as its official currency but with effect from 1 Jan 09. |

GLOBAL RESPONSES TO THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

9. The global financial crisis dealt a heavy blow to the economies of the great countries, particularly capitalists. Though the effects were not much felt in socialist, communist and mixed economies, the entire world responded positively. While most actions were in the forms of bail out in the case of those institutions in countries that were already in recession, others were in the forms of precautionary measures as a means of averting the effect of the economic recession. In the same way, most international financial organizations play great roles in rolling back the global financial crisis. This includes the IMF, World Bank, the European Union and ADB. The following are some of the responses:

ASIA AND PACIFIC

10. In Asia, like other part of the world, different countries responded differently.

- a. In china interest rate was cut the first time since 2002.
- b. Indonesia reduced its overnight repo rate at which commercial bank can borrow overnight fund from the central bank by 2% point to 10.25%.
- c. The reserve bank of nearly 3 times as the market estimated requirement.
- d. The Reserve Bank of India added almost \$ 132 billion into the banking system nearly 3 times as much as the market estimated requirement.
- e. The government of the People Republic of China had on 9 Nov 08 announced an economic stimulus plan of \$ 596 billion to stop the global financial crisis from hitting her economy. The package was to be invested in key areas such as rural infrastructure, housing, transportation, health, education, environment, industry, disaster relief, tax cut and finance.
- f. In Taiwan the central bank said it has cut its required reserve ratio for the 1st time in 8 years. The central bank added \$ 59 billion into the foreign –currency inter- bank.
- g. The Bank of Japan pumped \$ 3.35 billion into the financial system.
- h. The Reserve Bank of Australia added \$3.35 billion as part of its reaction to the mortgage crisis.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

11. The United States of America and Britain were worse Hit by the Global financial crisis. This was the reason for their prompt response to absorb the crisis. The problem had cast doubts as to the viability of capitalism. Secondly,

the crisis had brought down the only super power status of the US in the eyes of the world. In order for the US government to redeem her image, it had to face the global financial crisis head on by taking the following actions:

- a. The US Treasury announced a \$50 billion programme to insure investment stimulus to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) programme.
- b. The Securities and Exchange Commission announced termination of short selling of 799 financial stocks.
- c. Action against naked short-selling as a part reaction to the mortgage crisis.
- d. The US Treasury and Federal Reserve Bank announced that banks could obtain funds via the Federal Reserves Discount Window using Asset Backed Commercial Paper (ASCP) as collateral. This was in order to assist with liquidity throughout the system in view of significant withdrawals of fund by private investors.
- e. The Federal Reserve lowers interest rate by 50 basis point.
- f. The Secretary of the US Treasury and President Gorge Bush proposed legislation for the government to purchase up to \$700 billion of “troubled mortgage –related assets” from financial firms.
- g. The US Federal Reserve announced plans to double its term Auction facility to \$300 billion in order to increase funds for commercial banks and lower the federal fund rate.
- h. The US Federal Reserve announced it was to increase its swap facilities with foreign Central Banks from \$290 billion in order to make available US Dollars in Europe.
- i. As at 24 Dec 08, the Federal Reserve had spent \$1.2 trillion on purchase of financial assets and making emergency loans above the \$700 billion approved for it, all in a bid to convert the financial crisis in US.

THE EUROPEAN UNION

12. The European Union members also responded promptly to the global financial crisis. Mention needs be made of:

- a. The injection of \$99.8billion in one-day money market auction by the European Central Bank.
- b. The Bank of England injected \$36 billion as first installment of the British government's bailout package.
- c. The Belgium, Luxemburg and Dutch governments partially nationalized Fortis.
- d. The German government bailed out Hypo Real Estate, a giant Estate firm.
- e. Germany announced a bail out plan €400 billion to recapitalize her financial institutions.
- f. Belgium rescued the Insurance company-Ethias with a €1.5 billion capitalization.
- g. France announced €10.5 billion rescue plan for 6 of its largest banks.

AFRICA

13. African countries also responded against the global financial crisis individually and collectively. Collectively at the instance of the President of Africa Development Bank, Donald Kaberuka, 10 African Ministers of Finance and Central Bank Governors met in Cape Town in December 2008 and discussed the effects of the current global financial crisis on Africa and the agenda of the G20. The committee was convinced by heads of the African Development Bank, African Union Commission and the UN Economic Commission for Africa following a meeting of Africa, Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors in November 2008 in Tunis, Tunisia

14. Individually, African countries responded to the global financial crisis in different ways, it was reported that Morocco for instance used property development to convert the global financial crisis.

15. The country's leading real estate developer Addolia has acquired 2 Moroccan units from failed Spanish developer Fadesa and is completing the project on time. Similarly, it is also moving into selling of affordable houses, a change that is regarded as being the best way forward as sales of luxury property decline. Morocco could withstand the global financial recession through giant public infrastructure projects, rising public sector wages, falling income taxes and premising start to the farming season.

NIGERIA'S RESPONSE TO THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

16. Nigeria's response to the global financial crisis was not seen as proactive. According to this school of thought, this is demonstrated by Professor Soludo's continuous claim that Nigeria's economy is sound as to defy the global financial crisis. But to another school of thought, Nigeria had long prepared itself against the global financial meltdown based on stock market indexes and economic indices that manifested before the meltdown. For this school of thought, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) did what it should have done at the right time than awaiting the financial meltdown:

- a. Consolidation of the Banking Sector in which banks were asked to recapitalize to a minimum capital of N25 billion.
- b. Consolidation of insurance companies.

17. However, Nigeria doesn't operate in isolation and with the falling price of crude oil and stocks like in other countries; the Federal Government of Nigeria saw the need for additional precautionary measures against the financial crisis. Though believing Soludo, the additional measures were to address any

eventuality. The most notable measures include:

- a. Provision of N10 trillion set aside from excess crude account in case of any eventuality.
- b. Suspension of monthly sharing of excess crude oil revenue by the Revenue Mobilization and Fiscal Commission with the intention of using same against the financial meltdown.
- c. Appointment of a 14-member Presidential Steering Committee on the financial crisis headed by the President, Umaru Musa Yar'adua

The Presidential Steering Committee has the following members:

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | President Umaru Musa Yar' Adua | - | Chairman |
| (2) | Mr. Babatunde Fashola | - | Governor Lagos State. |
| (3) | Alhaji Isa Yuguda | - | Governor Bauchi State. |
| (4) | Mr Adams Oshimhole | - | Governor Edo Sate. |
| (5) | Dr Bukola Saraki | - | Governor Kwara State. |
| (6) | Dr Mansur Mukhtar | - | Minister of Finance. |
| (7) | Dr Shamsudden Usman | - | Minister of National Planning |
| (8) | Dr Rilwan Lukman | - | Minister of Petroleum. |
| (9) | Dr Tanimu Yakubu Kurfi | - | Chief Economic Adviser to the President |
| (10) | Prof Chukwuma Soludo | - | Governor CBN |
| (11) | Mr. Sam Oluabunwa | - | President of the National Economic Summit Group. |
| (12) | Mr. Bsimark Rewanne | - | Economist. |
| (13) | Mr. Tony Elumelu | - | Rep Bankers Committee. |
| (14) | Alh. Aliko Dangote | - | Rep Industrialists. |

18. The committee has the following as its Terms of Reference:

- a. Assess the impact of the global economic crisis on Nigeria with particular reference to the nation's annual budget, financial and commodity markets.

- b. Recommend appropriate macroeconomic policy responses that can further stimulate the economy.
- c. Identify more practical measures aimed at shoring up the confidence of investors and increasing production in the real sector.
- d. Examine other related issues such as unemployment, poverty alleviation, food availability and ensuring a sustainable debt position.
- e. Make recommendations on any other issues and actions that may be required.

EFFECTS OF THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

19. The effects of the global financial meltdown is already being felt in the advanced economies such as the US, Britain and other capitalist oriented economies. Some of the socialists and communists have been affected. It should however be noted that severity of the effects depend largely on the country. It has however been observed that for now most of the developing economies of the world are not affected at least in the short run but probably in the medium or long-run. The effects of the global financial crisis could therefore be divided into general effects and those that are applicable only to Nigeria

GENERAL EFFECTS

20. Some of the general effects are as follows:
 - a. Downward drift in equity price and fall in volumes of stock trade.
 - b. Slow economic growth of nations resulting from falling price of commodities, stocks and crude oil. This would affect mostly those who have direct dealing with the US.
 - c. Falling prices of crude oil.
 - d. Falling price of stocks and commodities
 - e. Increase in inflationary rate.

- f. Dwindling confidence in the free-market economy
- g. Mass closure of companies, industries and financial houses.
- h. Heavy loss of jobs thereby increasing the unemployment rate and poverty levels.
- i. Diminishing status of the US as the world's only superpower.
- j. The rise in food prices.
- k. Instability in international financial, currency and commodity markets.
- l. Gradual devaluation of local currencies in respective countries in the world.
- m. Foreign investment in Africa would reduce due to credit squeeze.
- n. Reduction of foreign aid to Africa.
- o. Governments of African countries could face increasing pressure for debt repayment.
- p. As the crisis deepens, the financial institutions that lend money to Africa would need to shore up and therefore are likely to exert pressure for debt repayment.

EFFECTS ON NIGERIA

21. The effects of the global financial crisis to Nigeria according to Professor Soludo are minimal because “the economic fundamentals remain very strong and therefore the impact of the global financial tumult is expected to be limited”. Invariably, Nigeria may not feel the effect in the short-run but in the medium-run and long-run. Dr. Mansur Muktar accepts that Nigerian economy was already in recession but has already been healed at least in the temporary. According to him, “the global financial crisis has shaken us but we have wriggled out. It would be worse in the middle and long term”.

22. Some of the effects of the global financial crisis as they specifically affect

Nigeria include:

- a. Lower demand of crude oil whose price have tumbled down from \$147 in July, 2008, to \$35 in January 2009.
- b. Depreciation in the value of the naira with attendant increase in the rate of inflation.
- c. Falling foreign reserve due to fall in the price of crude oil and export commodities.
- d. There might be infrastructural deficit due to non-availability of resources.
- e. Mass closure of industries due to rising cost of production.
- f. There might be fall in consumer purchasing power.
- g. The manufacturing sector might be worse hit especially the industries that depend on important raw materials.
- h. There might be increase in the prices of goods. When the cost of obtaining loans increase, the tendency is to affect the cost of production that would be transferred to consumers in form of increased prices.-
- i. There could be a worse effect of relocation of industries of neighboring countries if access to loans and raw materials would be easier there.
- j. Increase in the cost of running transportation sector especially aviation fuel jet A1. This might eventually lead to closure of most aviation companies who could not afford to run at minimal profit.
- k. There could be reduction of foreign investment.
- l. There could be reduction of foreign aid and grants to Nigeria.
- m. Fall in the price of stocks and commodities could be recorded.
- n. There might be mass unemployment due to heavy loss of jobs resulting from closure of industries or scaling down of production.
- o. Decline in infrastructural development by governments due to dwindling revenue accruing to the government that executes them

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS TO THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

23. In times of global recessions and other global problems, there is the need for experts to meet, brainstorm and proffer solutions that could remedy or solve the problem once and for all. Many countries have adopted many strategies to convert the effects of the global financial crisis in various ways. The following are some solutions for consideration:

- a. Governments need to cut interest rates at least to facilitate borrowing and in effect revive the banking system.
- b. Governments need to recapitalize the financial houses in their countries either through purchase of stocks or bonds.
- c. Financial houses could recapitalize through sales of shares in the open markets.
- d. Governments could provide loans as a direct intervention to financial houses and manufacturing sector.
- e. Internationally, there could be comprehensive reform of the financial and monetary system and policies.
- f. The US could relinquish its veto power at the international monetary Fund to allow the emerging economies have proper say at the IMF.
- g. Standard macroeconomic policies could be designed. These should include policies to increase borrowing, reduce interest rates, and reduce taxes.
- h. Governments could increase spending on public infrastructures. This would employ many people thereby reducing unemployment rate.
- i. Governments could provide stimulus – packages and bailouts to companies in distress.
- j. Governments should re-examine the free market economic system with a view to reforming its application.

- k. Governments should re-examine the concept of mixed economy as a system where both public and private sector are major stake holders.
- m. Governments should revert to the Gold as means of international currency exchange than depending on the US dollar.

CONCLUSION

24. The global financial crisis emanating from the failure of the free-market economy resulted to failure of most financial houses in the banking, insurance and mortgage industries in the US and Britain with trickle-down effects on developing countries started in the middle of year 2007 but manifested fully in September 2008. The need to put all hands on deck to roll back the crisis seen to be world's worse ever became paramount. This accounts for the immediate intervention of various governments of the US, UK, Germany, France and other member countries of the European union, Asia and Pacific countries as well as African countries alike.

25. In most of these countries, governments were left with no option but to inject more capital into the financial systems as a way to rejuvenating it. These interventions were in the form of loans as bailouts. In the US, the Federal Reserve had to spend \$1 trillion dollars as loans to financial houses to assist them recapitalize. The Russian government provided over \$50 billion stimulus package rescue plan for 6 of its largest banks. Invariably, the governments of most countries, UK, Ukraine, China, Japan, Hungary, Poland, Germany, Canada, Iceland, Belarus, Switzerland, Morocco, South Africa and Nigeria have all taken measures against the global financial crisis. The paper examined the trends of events as the crisis loomed up to 29 Dec 08.

26. It was seen that virtually most of the countries that had a relationship with the United States of America took immediate precaution to guard against the

multifaceted effects of the global financial meltdown. At least 2 schools of thought were studied. One linked the causes of the crisis to the failure of the free market economy and the changing status of the US as the only superpower in the world and the second see the global financial crisis as a normal phenomena happening at the tune of every century even though the present is worse than the recession of 1929 and the great depression of 1940's.

27. The responses of the world to the crisis were considered cutting across Europe, Asia, Pacific, Africa and specifically Nigeria. The Federal Government of Nigeria, though believing Prof Soludo that the economy is sound, would not want to keep its powder dry as such set aside the sum of N1 trillion from the excess oil account in case of eventualities. In addition, the government set up a Presidential Steering Committee to examine the effect of the global financial crisis with Mr. President, Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'adua as the Chairman. This was in addition to the earlier consolidation of banks, insurance and other financial houses that were carried out prior to the crisis.

28. In order to convert the crisis by way of suggestions, some points were enumerated with a view to stimulating discourse as well as assist governments in neutralizing the effects and re-incarnation of the global financial crisis at least not in the near future.

SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQ)

29. In order to evaluate yourself, you could answer the following questions:
- a. Mention 5 causes of the global financial crisis
 - b. Mention 3 causes of the global financial crisis given by the UN Conference on Trade and Development.
 - c. Discuss the responses of the Asia and Pacific countries to the global financial crisis.
 - d. Discuss the response of the US to the global financial crisis.

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- e. Discuss the response of Nigeria to the global financial crisis.
- f. List 4 general effects of the global financial crisis.
- g. List 5 effects of the global financial crisis on Nigeria
- h. List 5 suggested solutions to the global financial crisis.
- i. Suggest and discuss 5 solutions to the global financial c

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