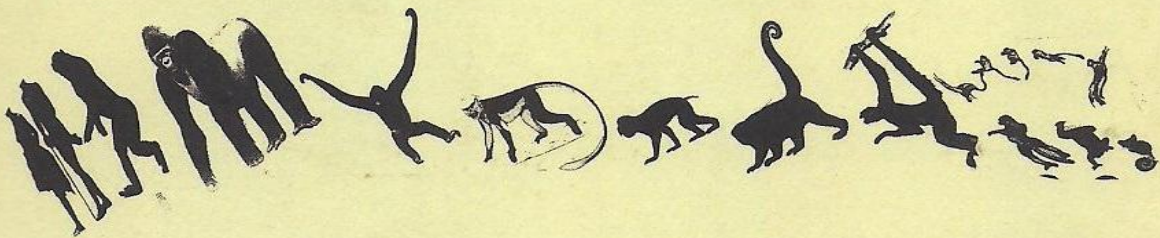


# Theory, Knowledge, Development and Politics:

What Role for the Academy  
in the Sustainability of Africa?



EDITED BY

Munyaradzi Mawere &  
Artwell Nhemachena

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**Editors**

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and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin pp. 217-231; Odeh E. L., (2013) *Sino-Nigeria Investments: Prospects and Challenges 1975 – 2010* in *Journal of African East-Asian Affairs*. The China Monitor Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University, South Africa Issue No. 4 December 2013 pp 24 – 49; Odeh E. L., (2010) “Sino-Nigeria Economic Relations 1990-2008” *African Renaissance* Volume 7, Number 1, 2010 (US – Africa Relations under Obama) Adonis & Abbey Publishers, pp. 43-56; Odeh E. L., & Aghalino. S. O (2011) “*The Moral Precepts of Chinese Confucianism and the Relevance to the Nigerian Society*” in *Ilorin Journal of Sociology* Vol. 3 No 1 July, 2011, Published by the Department of Sociology, University of Ilorin, Ilorin p177-183; Odeh E. L., (2012) “*A Comparative Analysis of Global North and Global South Economies*” *International Journal of Current Research in the Humanities* University of Cape Coast Cape Coast Ghana No. 14 June 2012 p67-82.

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## Chapter Nine

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### Challenges of Integration and De-coloniality in Africa: The Nigerian Experience

*Aboyeji Adeniyi Justus & Aboyeji Oyeniya Solomon*

#### Introduction

Nigeria, prior to its imperial mid-wifing, was a multi-national expanse of land with its plurality of states. In spite of the marriage of inconvenience and artificial imperial tinkering that coerced disparate ethnic nationalities together into a mega nation through the British administrative stance of miserliness, in the spirit of nationalism and optimism it was hoped that someday, they would either forget or understand their differences to the effect that they would accept themselves for what they really are and foster integration among the various heterogeneous groups. However, after a century of forced integration, following the 1914 amalgamation, and decades of experimented federalism, some have argued that Nigeria is still in the process of becoming or worse still, failing to become a nation. With all optimism, Nigeria is perhaps, at its best a tomorrow or futuristic nation. A century following stringent attempts at national integration, one great monster that has proved so impregnable to the problem of national integration in Nigeria is regionalism. What is more, Nigeria has become a terrorism-infested nation, having been enlisted by the U. S. A. as one of the 14 countries to be recognised as terrorist states world-wide. (Afinotan, 2010:302). Meanwhile, this same U.S. and its agencies, notably the CIA, and international banking organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, were set up and master-minded by the USA and its Western Allies to perpetrate all manners of malevolence against African and particularly Third World countries.

This chapter, therefore, delves into the challenges of de-coloniality and integration in Africa with particular reference to Nigeria in the light of the organised crimes, such as terrorism. The

study reveals that this could not be unconnected with the activities of organisations known collectively as the '**corporatocracy**' which are behind the new global empire. It is, therefore, necessary to state that until the battle against neo-colonialism in Africa is fought and won, the attainment of a laudable integration and de-coloniality is, at best, a fool's paradise. The chapter, which adopts the historical, narrative and analytical approach, and which relies extensively on personal observation, published works and the media, attempts the trans-disciplinary approach to modern historical studies.

### **Conceptual Clarifications**

Conceptually, *de-coloniality* is the political and epistemological movement aimed at liberation of ex-colonised peoples from global coloniality. (Ndlovu-Gatheni, 2015) It is used to depict the struggle for liberation from colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. It does not only refer to the liquidation of colonialism, which most African countries celebrated in the 1950s and 1960s, but a complete disconnect from the umbilical cord of developed nations and from all forms, trends and tendencies of colonialism. This encompasses the on-going struggle for a virile economy as there can be no meaningful political freedom without economic independence (FMI, 1990:7).

*Terrorism* as a phenomenon is the use of violence or the threat of it to create a euphoric climate of fear in a given population. It also involves the use of organised violence in the pursuit of political, religious or socio-economic intents. It may also take the form of global structural economic violence, as well as violence in terms of structural inequalities and interventionisms by some states. These, however, are also descriptive of concepts such as guerrilla warfare, insurgency or other forms of violence. From a purely Western and liberal perspective, any group that seeks to oust any liberal democracy (Western political institution, however oppressive or repressive) through violence, will be considered a terrorist group, especially if in the process, the group resorts to unconventional forms of violence in the pursuit of their political objectives. From a purely Marxist perspective, however, such a radical or revolutionary group would simply be considered a liberation movement and the struggle seen as

patriotic or nationalistic. This underscores the candour in this statement that perspective determines position just as position determines perspective. Terrorism is a universal phenomenon, not just domestic or regional. In this sense, although terrorism may occur in regions, it is not regional but also international. It is much broader than the regions within which we see the conflicts happening. Furthermore, it is not only perpetrated by the global south but also by the global north. The violence of western epistemologies on African epistemologies or what other scholars have called *epistemicide*, cultural genocide and so on constitute violence by the global north on peoples of the global south.

*Mercantilism* (or the mercantilist approach) first developed as a fiscal policy prevailing in Europe between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18th centuries. This early modern European economic theory and system actively supported the establishment of colonies that would supply materials and markets, and therefore, relieve home nations of dependence on other nations. It also connotes commercialism—the principles and methods of commerce (Encarta, 2009). The word '*mercantilism*' is used here to depict the contemporary entrepreneurship of terrorism in the world. Indeed, the spate of the commercialisation of terrorism has today become increasingly nauseating.

### **Antecedents to De-coloniality and African Integration**

E.W. Blyden (1832-1912) is reputed as the pioneer of the “Back to Africa” movement and an advocate of the Pan-African concept or the philosophy of African nationalism. W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963) and Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) were two other giants of Pan-Africanist thoughts whose movements held sway outside Africa from 1919 to 1927. Following the lull in the activities of Pan-Africanism between 1927 and 1945, the years 1945 to 1963 indeed marked a significant milestone in the course of the development of Pan-Africanism in Africa. The period witnessed the African continental phase and awakening of African political consciousness and the strong expression of Pan-Africanist ideas in Africa itself by young educated Africans who became the driving force for African nationalism and advocates for African integration. George Padmore, a committed Marxist and radical activist whose social outlook and

orientation attracted the attention of young African students, such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Sekou Toure of Guinea, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria, to mention but a few, became the source of motivation for de-coloniality—fight for liberation from colonialism and imperialism—and African integration (Oyegoke, 2002:128).

In the early 1960s, after some African states had attained independence, the moves towards African integration became intensified. Africa became polarised into two ideological power blocs. The *Brazzaville Group* of moderate states which came into existence in 1960, comprised most of the former French colonies in West and Central Africa and Madagascar. The *Casablanca Group*, formed in 1961 and led by Ghana, was a group of radical states, which included Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Morocco and Algeria. However, by 1961, a more conservative faction dubbed as the *Monrovia Group* sprang up, led by Nigeria. It comprised Liberia, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Togo, Libya, Somalia and Nigeria, in addition to the former Brazzaville states to subsume the Brazzaville Group.

The Casablanca group which represented revolutionary Pan Africanist thought advocated for political integration which would snowball into the formation of a United States of Africa, the Monrovia-Brazzaville favoured the principles of Sovereignty, Equality and Non-interference in the internal affairs of one another. The eventual formation of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) in May 1963 recorded thirty-two independent African states. The challenges of African integration and de-coloniality had always been evident. For instance, the Brazzaville Group, which was influenced by their colonial connection and heritage with France, was still tied to the apron string of France, while African economy and states were/are still largely controlled by powers by 'remote control' far beyond the shores of Africa.

Terrorism came as a later introduction through a systematic indirect (economic) rule system. There are obvious indications of invisible matrices of global powers operating in Africa. They fuel crises, organised criminality and terrorism. Hence, as colonialism divided colonial subjects, so also neo-colonialism and European powers, with palpable fears, seek to prevent national unity and

regional integration among their colonial subjects. They therefore insist on localities and other immediacies among them. It is our contention, in this chapter, that colonial authorities create and indeed benefit from different vices of divisiveness and by setting one African state against the other. This is clearly evident as demonstrated during the cold war era. On the whole, this chapter looks at de-coloniality, terrorism and other challenges of African integration with particular reference to Nigeria.

## **Nigeria and the Challenges of Integration**

The Nigerian nation has been sitting on a socio-political gun keg and trying to patch-up with the unholy matrimony that accompanied the British amalgamation that birthed Nigeria one hundred years ago. *‘If the foundation is bad, what can the righteous do?’* says the Holy Scriptures (Psalms 11:3). Diagnostically, heterogeneity, state plurality, regional sectionalism, multi-culturalism, mutual suspicion and chauvinism, among other things, form part of the foundation blocks of the Nigerian nation.

The historic statements credited to two legendary Nigerian political patriarchs may be a good starting point here. In 1953, Chief Anthony Enahoro moved for Nigeria’s self-governance by 1956, to which the north amended with the words, “as soon as practicable” (Fwatshak & Ayuba, 2014:7-8). Following this, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, in a rather nationalistic tone, reportedly implored: *‘Let us forget our differences’*. He was alleged to have been nabbed prestissimo by Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, saying, *‘We cannot forget our differences. We can only understand our differences. You are a Christian and a Southerner. I am a Moslem and a Northerner.’* As much as one may want to applaud the candour and wit in this statement, it unravels the concealed spirit of nepotism, sectionalism and regionalism as well as the shaky foundation upon which the Nigerian federalism was built. This notwithstanding, at independence, in 1960, as revealed by General Yakubu Gowon (Rtd.) in a public lecture in 2006, Nigeria’s founding fathers had a very clear vision for the Nigerian nation upon which subsequent leaders were expected to build. They saw:

*...a united, indivisible nation, a melting point of cultures and religions, where everyone expressed and exploited his/her potentials without any inhibition. Nigeria, by its size and population, a Giant of Africa, taking the lead in socio-economic growth and development; a stable polity with a buoyant, rapidly developing economy; a disciplined and highly civilized society, devoid of corrupt and other social vices, a truly independent nation that is self-sufficient and able to manage her resources efficiently (Aboyeji, 2006).*

One question that ensues from this is "How much has been built upon the aspirations of the founding fathers and well-meaning patriarchs?" Or better still, "How many miles from the realisation of this noble vision?"

### **Regionalism, Federalism and Nigeria's Plurality of States**

Considering the heterogeneity of the peoples of Nigeria, and the historical upheavals in the making of the Nigerian nation, one needs to applaud the level of sacrifice, teamwork, blendings, harmonisations, reconciliations, assimilations, enculturations, etc. that have taken place to bring the heterogeneous peoples to this point of nation-building. This understanding should foster better willingness to fight for the unity of the country and to remove inhibitions such as regional sectionalism, nepotism, religious fanaticism, political gangsterism, electoral opportunism, social chauvinism and terrorism now standing like the rock of Gibraltar in the way to the actualisation of genuine nationhood in Nigeria and African continental integration (Ozumba, 1999:98-99). Indeed, an invisible matrix of global power operates on Africa. As such, crises in Africa are often sponsored by the empire and global coloniality.

Among other things, the ecological complementarity of the Nigerian vegetation zones and inter-group co-operations seemed to have prepared a conducive atmosphere for the amalgamation and knitting together of these disparate states. The ascent of Lord Lugard in 1914 as the new Governor General, with his administrative wizardry, only exploited the existing bond of political unity. However, the colonial policy of indirect rule which came more by the dictates of political convenience and imperial miserliness, than anything else, completely snubbed the question of heterogeneity and

put no viable mechanism in place which could mediate in the conflicting group interests of an artificially consummated entity described by Chief Obafemi Awolowo as a mere geographical expression of the British (Fwatshak & Ayuba, 2014:5).

Subsequent British Colonial Governor-Generals built upon the Lugardian structure, thus promoting sentiment by fashioning constitutions which emphasised sectarian loyalties. For instance, between 1939 and 1946, the British decided inter alia, to restructure the country into a sort of 'tri-national' state structure (Agi, 1999:115). The Macpherson Constitution of 1951 particularly intensified this process of sectarian loyalty by dividing the country into three main regions along geo-cultural divides—Hausa/Fulani in the North, Yoruba in the West and the Ibo in the East. This particularly gave birth to *regionalism* in Nigeria. The arrangement began with three regions and subsequently the Mid-western Region. The 1953 London and 1954 Lagos conferences birthed the formal adoption of the federal principle in Nigeria, at the instance of the British authorities.

Nearly all the countries of the world practicing *federalism*, (Germany, Canada, Brazil, Nigeria, etc.) have it modelled after America; although the Americans also patterned it after that of the indigenous Iroquois whom they subsequently dispossessed, sought to extinguish, and subjugated. Benjamin Franklin had made swift to publish the translated account of the official transcript of the proceedings of the meeting of the envoys from Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia with delegates of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Indians in 1744. There, the Iroquois leader, Canassatego advocated the federal union of the American colonies, which their (Indian) fore-fathers had established among the [original] Five Nation, thus making them formidable (Cynthia Feathers & Susan Feathers, 2015). Today, federalism is still one of the most classic modes of political arrangement in the world. Federalism presumes that national and regional/state governments should stand to each other in a relation of meaningful autonomy resting upon a balanced division of powers and resources. The desirability of federalism hinges upon its perceived integrative propensity, which makes it capable of serving heterogeneous societies well in situations of crisis (Omotoso, 2010:141).

Citizens desire and actually deserve good governance. One key impetus to the adoption of the federal system in Nigeria was the colonial government's façade of amalgamating the various nationalities in a manner that would achieve higher levels of mutual, national identity and consciousness, for their own ends. As events unfolded, however, it became evident soon after independence how each region struggled to dominate the others in an attempt to gain the 'federal might' for the benefit of the region. Nigeria's federalism, at inception was bottom-heavy, with regions being apparently stronger than the centre. However, with the protracted militarisation (and politicisation) of Nigeria's federalism, it had become top-heavy by the restoration of power to the civilians in 1999. This transmogrified Nigeria's federalism to one of supremacy of the centre over the regions.

Given the concentration of resources and real powers at the centre, the competition for the control of the federal government has tended to be brutal, corrupt and politically volatile. Although dependency theorists such as Nwabueze (2010), and Walter Rodney (1971) in his *"How Europe Underdeveloped Africa"* have revealed inherent contradictions of states without civil order and colonialism's efforts towards undermining Africa's capacity for development. This unmediated brawl for power and influence at the centre has elicited the advent of a governing elite class that has elevated primordial and self-interest over and above the common good and general will of Nigerians (Omotoso, 2010:141).

### **Ethno-Regional Political Structures**

The British had consummated a 'geo-political marriage' which already characterised the relationship of the peoples of pre-colonial Nigeria. Ever since then, political articulation has always taken on regional and sectarian colouration. Following this blazed trail, the elites who became the vanguards of nationalism had promoted primordial loyalties by appealing to egotistic sentiments in order to gain, regain or retain power. Political activities, had thus, been geared towards securing loyalty from one's own group. Little wonder therefore that political parties in Nigeria have often been shaped along regional delineations. The major political groups in the First

Republic, for instance, had no national (but ethnic-cum-regional) outlooks—Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), Action Group (AG) and National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), for the Hausa (North), Yoruba (South-West) and Igbos (South-East) respectively.

This trend continued into the Second Republic when out of the five political parties approved out of over fifty that sought registration by the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO), three of them were rooted on regional grounds—National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and Nigeria People's Party (NPP) (FMI, 1990:28). Even the state-constituted political parties of the Third Republic—National Republican Convention (NRC) which had its stronghold in the north and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) which had its stronghold in the southwest did not present any significant difference. The annulment of the 1993 Presidential Election came as a result of a shift of power base from the Hausa/Fulani in the North to the Yoruba in the South. As this was perceived as a serious threat to the interests of the elite elements of the Hausa/Fulani who controlled the military, an election that was destined to foster and consolidate national integration in Nigeria was given an artificial political capsizing. Traces of the formation and composition of political parties along regional and sectarian groupings are still manifest even till date. For instance, there have been indictments against the APC as Yoruba-based, being a progeny of the Yoruba-based defunct Afenifere Group—Alliance for Democracy.

Sectarianism has always been a means to an end, not an end in itself. In most of Africa, Nigeria inclusive, the state, is thought to be the source of financial resources. The various segments of the elite class had thought that any group that captures the state power gets direct access to the resources of the state, which can be used to further their own selfish interests and that of their groups. Moreover, since its stake is considered high, the struggle for state power has been extremely fierce. It is against this background that sectarianism and regionalism have become serious impediments to national integration (Irele, 1999:104). However, drawing inferences from the neoliberal retrenchment of the state and the international tapestries of control over the African states, the real power, it could be said, lies at the global level which has overthrown the states. Obviously, with

the multinational corporations, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, states have lost their control of the source of financial resources in Africa. States cannot even sell their exploits, such as oil, or trade in their wildlife without the approval of the United States and other powers or their agents. It is thus plausible to argue that power is no longer concentrated in the states even though African states have condemnations concentrated on them.

Obiyan (2010:156) has indeed described Nigeria's Federalism with the words, "Decentralization in disarray". This has snowballed into such hysteria as sectarian militancy and terrorism almost through the length and breadth of the country. As it is with most of the African countries that emerged from colonial rule, perhaps Nigeria's foremost impediment to national integration yet remains the phenomenon of sectionalism and regionalism. This and many more complex factors such as the contradictions and anomalies in the state system brought to Africa via colonialism (Nwabueze, 2010) explain the paradox inherent within the Nigerian society whereby in spite of the immense resources (both human and material) the country yet remains stuck in the quagmire of retrogression. Nigeria has tremendous potentials for development if it could only achieve a national integration of its constituent groups. There is greater loyalty and allegiance to the sectarian groups than to the nation-state. Ever since Nigeria became an independent sovereign state on October 1<sup>st</sup> 1960, her greatest challenge has been how to weld together a unified national entity from the rather incongruent communities whose members retain primary loyalties to smaller units at the regional levels. Their leaders have more often seen these sectarian and other divisions as an advantage to themselves and their followers.

Nigeria's problem of national integration is both historical and multi-dimensional. Crawford Young's *"The Politics of Cultural Pluralism"* reflects Nigeria's political dilemma in that the country has yet to free itself from Awolowo's designation of it as being a mere "geographical expression"; (Agi, 1999:114) hence, still groping for a cohesive social order.

Heterogeneity is not Nigeria's bane. Irele (1999:104) contends that the organic conception of nation (that is, a homogenous nation that is bound by a common language and attached to a clearly defined territory as its material possession, invested with significance as the

expression of its identity) files against historical realism. As a matter of fact, most countries of the world are multi-cultural and multi-national. As such, Nigerians need not perceive themselves rather ill-fated about their heterogeneous character or as a mere artificial legacy of European colonialism. It is our contention that nations are created; they don't come as a natural phenomenon as in the Herderian sense. Hence, a nation, as a concrete reality can only be a creation as there has never been a natural nation. Nations do not arise as a result of any instinct or experience of any culturally homogeneous set of people but as an invention in the mind. Nationhood involves feelings of affinity, shared identity and a common destiny. Nation is therefore, a community of people who feel bound together in the double sense that they share deeply significant elements of a common heritage and a common destiny for the future (Agi, 1999:110).

Plato, in his classic, *The Republic*, theorised that both the soul and city have three analogous parts: *the id* (a desiring part representing the lower class in the society); *the ego* (a spirited part, something like the will depicting the middle class) and *the super-ego* (a rational part portraying the higher class and the intellectual members of the society, typified of the thinkers, the philosophers). Plato insisted that the two non-rational classes must be administered by the rational, (i.e. the elite group), who alone can with their mental magnitude acquire knowledge of the forms—governance. The ideal state or society, he maintains, requires that the wisest and most philosophical persons rule the pleasure-seeking and passionate populace. Essentially, African societies do not have to be culturally homogenous before achieving the status of a nation. All that is required is a conscious effort on the part of the various component groups to invent the nation. The onus, in this regard, falls on the elite class.

Irele (1999:100) bemoans the fact that after some decades of independence, hardly can any nation in Africa be considered viable. Although he argued that the nation-building experiment in virtually all the African states had crumbled so tremendously, it must be argued here that Africans had for long built virile nations prior to colonisation. He contends that these elites are to blame in addressing the problem of sectionalism in Africa as it affects the issue of national integration. The elites have often frustrated the nation-building

efforts in Africa by exploiting propagandist sectionalism in their power fracas. The effect of the sectarian conflicts among the elite class in respect to state power has often taken the form of sectarian divisiveness, cleavages and violence (Irele, 1999:103). The problem of this *centrifugal nationalism* often arises when the principle of national self-determination is applied by all component nationalities within the state, thus greatly weakening the authority of the central government (Agi, 1999:113).

### **'Terrorism' and Mercantilism in Nigeria**

Right from independence, Nigeria's commitment to world peace as a foreign policy objective and as an element of national interest and cherished domestic values has never been in doubt. This was demonstrated by the Obasanjo's regime (1999-2007) via his relentless combat against drugs trafficking and terrorism in all forms. Lamentably, as it has been observed, Nigeria's foreign policy and international voice rarely have been at such a lacklustre state as they were under the last two regimes. Yet, the challenges facing the nation both at home and abroad have become more self-evident. Perhaps one of such most debilitating challenges at the moment is that of terrorism and its impact on national integration and the image of Nigerians within the global society.

In Nigeria, terrorism is neither a novel nor an uncommon phenomenon. It could be traced back to the colonial era when state terrorism was employed to coerce and intimidate citizens to succumb to the unpopular policies of the colonial administration. A popular case was the Nwanyeruwa-led Women's War of 1929 in South-eastern Nigeria, often called the Aba Women Riot (God's presence 2014:21-25). The massacre of female civilians by security operatives of the colonial regime during this popular protest was one of the numerous acts of terror perpetrated against the citizenry. Hence, terror, as a political instrument, can be employed both by the oppressor and the oppressed. However, whereas the techniques used in liberation struggles may be described as creative, the use of violence in any guise and for any reason can hardly be described as humane. Meanwhile, in the real sense of it, what is seen by one as

liberation struggle may well be viewed by another as terrorism (Afinotan, 2010:304-309).

Afinotan (2010:310) further submits that *domestic terrorism* may be directed towards the attainment of political, religious, ideological or economic objectives. Such acts of terror include pipeline vandalism, politically induced kidnappings, hostage taking, attacks on oil installations, bombing and destruction of public utilities, premeditated attacks on political office holders and their relatives, military coup d'état, attack on military and police personnel and politically motivated assassinations as we presently witness in the country.

If the Niger-Delta struggle in the **South-South** geo-political Zone of Nigeria had begun as a legitimate protest against state victimisation, economic deprivation or marginalisation and oppression against a sect, it did degenerate into criminality and terrorism in that geographical enclave. In the course of time, terror was unleashed upon members of other cultural groups in the region by the Ijaw. Different groups of primarily Ijaw stock were formed, popular among which are the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Niger Delta Vigilantes (NDV), and the Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC). The degeneration into terrorism and criminality was thought to have been triggered off, as revealed by Asari Dokubo, by links between local militias and international terrorist organisations providing funds, arms and ammunitions to the local terrorists, like the Al-Qaeda and the Taliban Movements. The **South-East** Zone, at a time became a no-go area as some Bakassi Boys, a vigilante outfit and aggrieved unemployed folks embraced terrorism as a viable entrepreneur (The Punch, 2015<sup>B</sup>).

In the **Northern Region** of Nigeria, terrorism dates back to the years of the holocaust of Southerners, especially Igbos, by Northerners in Northern Nigeria between May and September 1966. The killings led to a mass exodus of Igbos from the north to their homelands in the east (FMI, 1990:15). This was among the series of events that snowballed into the Nigerian Thirty Months Civil War, from 1967 to 1970. Ever since, terrorism has been masterminded and perpetrated by members of radical Islamic movements such as the *Maitatsine* under the leadership of Mohammed Marwa against non-

members. This group's unwholesome activities cut across virtually all the Northern states and spanned five whole years between 1980 and 1985.

The Nigerian militant Islamic group, BOKO HARAM, founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf, seeks the imposition of Sharia law throughout the thirty-six states of Nigeria. BOKO HARAM does not only abhor Western education but the entirety of Western culture and modern science. Yusuf, for instance, reportedly condemned such beliefs as the sphericity of the earth, social Darwinism and the theory that rain comes from water evaporated by the sun, as incompatible with the Islamic teaching (Afinotan, 2010:313). Besides the religious camouflage they often poise, this might have come as a counter measure to the abhorrence of Western epistemology to Islamic groups, like the Al Qaeda, ISIS and Boko Haram. It is thus apparently a mutual hatred between the West and the Islamic States.

The Nigerian Taliban emerged in the Northern State of Borno early in 2003, structured and organised along the lines of the Afghan Taliban (Afinotan, 2010:311). In July, 2009 a militant Islamic group dubbed as BOKO HARAM clashed with the Federal security forces in a sectarian violence which flared up in Wadil, Maiduguri, Potiskum and Bauchi, all in North-East Nigeria. Between 26<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> July 2009, over 700 deaths were recorded. Another factional upheaval broke out in Jos in January, 2010 in which people died like hordes of flies. This compelled the deployment of Federal troops to halt the terror unleashed on the people of Plateau state.

It was in the midst of this that Nigeria's image became battered internationally with the attempt of Umar Farouk Abdul Mutallib, a young Nigerian, to blow up Northwest Airline Flight 253, mid-air over Detroit, USA, in a suicide attack on the United States citizens *inter alios* on Christmas day 2009 (Afinotan, 2010:303-314). Albeit the attempt was foiled, the ripple effects therefrom have continued to be discussed in ever wider circles across the globe. Nigeria has since been enlisted by the U. S. A. as one of fourteen countries to be recognised as terrorist states world-wide. To this effect, ever since, among other things, Nigerians have to be subjected to intense and humiliating bodily search at airports all over the world. There have been both political and intellectual discourses for and against the U.S.

listing of Nigeria as a terrorist state (Afinotan, 2010:302-30) as well as its moral justification in view of the breath of terrorism in the world, today.

Odediran (2014:5) has decried how the security situation in Nigeria has today assumed a frightening and worrisome dimension. Between April 2014 and present day, he maintains that the Boko Haram terrorist group had declared a total war on the citizens through brutal killings, fatalistic maimings, and inhumane abductions. The brutality of the dastardly acts of this terrorist sect has so dazed the international community to the extent that a comity of nations such as the U.S.A., Britain, France, and China have waded in to help in the recovering of the 219 abducted school girls at the Government Girls' Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2014 (Odediran, 2014:5 & The Punch, 2015<sup>A</sup>). The unprecedented dimension that insecurity in Nigeria is taking through indiscriminate bomb explosions, twice in Nyanya, Abuja, in April 2014, Kano and Jos in May where over four hundred countable victims were recorded are all a pointer to the state of regional terrorism in Nigeria. Undoubtedly, the pandemic of regional terrorism has become obviously anathematic to Nigeria's survival as one nation with diverse nationalities.

In spite of America's acknowledgement of Nigeria's counter-terrorism war as documented in the 2010 American Annual Report on global terrorism, Nigeria has not been exculpated from the terrorism list. This is because apart from the cantankerous BOKO HARAM group's activities, the Niger-Delta insurgent groups in the *South-South*, the *Bakassi* and *MASSOB* boys in the *South-East*, the *OPC* in the *West*, and the *Maitasine*, *Taliban* and *Al-Qaeda* groups in the *North* are not only alive but seem to be re-gathering more explosive momentum (Afinotan, 2010:317). Lamentably today, the politico-religious crisis that has put the hitherto peaceful and serene Jos communities on the Plateau has claimed hundreds of lives and the embers are still blazing beneath the apparent calm.

The unabated wars in the creeks of the Niger-Delta has *terroristic* tendencies, especially as it affects some of the smaller nationalities in that region, as well as the international oil companies and their foreign staff. This, of course, is not unconnected with some forms of structural violence or terrorism perpetrated by these international oil

companies in terms of inequalities arising from their activities and policies in Nigeria. There is also no end to the issues of internecine violence and uprisings in Northern Nigeria often camouflaged under religion. Worse still is the realisation that the existing Nigerian Laws do not specifically recognise terrorism as an offence. The Terrorism (Executive) Bill of 2006 presented to the Senate had been discarded for whatever reasons.

Among the conditionalities listed by the U.S.A. since 11<sup>th</sup> February 2010 for Nigeria to be de-listed from the global terrorists' list included the need to fast-track the legislation on terrorism before the National Assembly and the tightening of security at the nation's airports (Afinotan, 2010:318). It however behoves us to query America's moral right to enlist countries and set conditionalities when the advances of terrorism go beyond the sway of such countries but from global military industrial complex.

Rather unfortunately, Nigeria particularly and most of Africa in general have been discovered to possess all it takes to be terrorist breeding grounds: they are resource-rich but democracy-poor. Corruption is rife and almost legally, free for all. Anarchy, economic distress and criminal activities abound. What is more, the swelling populations of unemployed and underemployed youths make them easy preys to those who seek to hire resentment and despair to achieve their own ends. Regional and religious conflicts abound. Security is lacking for the civil society. Sub-Saharan Africa has often been considered almost solely as a site of poverty and conflict (Cravo 2014:1). As such, there is a sombre connection between poverty and organised crimes, such as terrorism. This could not be unconnected with the activities of organisations known collectively as the '*corporatocracy*' which are behind the new global empire—engineering, consulting, construction, accounting and banking industries and most prominent of all, oil companies. The U.S. government and its agencies, notably the CIA are the master-minders. Besides, there are also international banking organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, set up by the USA and its Western Allies to perpetrate all manners of malevolence against these states. Together with the big corporations and the U.S. government, they have been portrayed as the 'three pillars' of the global empire-building project (Nwabueze, 2010: 297).

The present conundrum and state of consternation the Nigerian society has been plunged into ever since her 50<sup>th</sup> Independence Anniversary in which criminality, terrorism and insecurity have become nothing more than a political game and very viable business is rather worrisome. Perhaps having seen the big life the MEND boys now live, after the Federal Government had negotiated with them, the BOKO HARAM apparently faceless monsters came on board. And is it not being foreseen, today that the Yoruba socio-political organisation, O'odua People's Congress (OPC), or another sectarian belligerent group may also consider coming up with a fresh brand or version of what seems a legitimate quest for National Cake Rights? This may come up after seeing the 'sense' in the Terrorism Business bid of the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) or BOKO HARAM sects. The Federal Government had perhaps out of frustration, openly confessed her readiness to employ any means including negotiation to appease this cruel Islamic religious sect. Today, every section of the country seems to see Terrorism not only as a potent instrument of coercively taking her portion of the 'National Cake' from the Federal Government, but also as a profitable stock-in-trade (i.e. mercantilism). The Niger-Delta experience, the on-going Boko-haram odoriferous saga, etc. are instances of recent regional terrorist tendencies which do not only threaten Nigeria's Federalism but may also spark-off other sectional reactions along the same line. Or how can one explain a situation where the security of the number one man in the country is being openly threatened by seemingly faceless folks? Is Nigeria not heading towards anarchy as well as total collapse and national disintegration?

Rumours going round the town of the involvement and role of some big Whigs of Nigerian politics in pre- and post-election crises in Nigeria are rather unfortunate (Aboyeji, 2012:7). There is an urgently dire need for an atmosphere of peace and absolute serenity for any meaningful development and genuine national integration to take place.

The *findings* of this study reveal, among other things, that Nigeria became a nation through an imperial edict which only marked the beginning of the making of Nigeria. However, the genuine and true Nigerian nation is still in the making. In furtherance, Nigeria's peregrination into nationhood was borne out of optimism and

nationalism, which its heterogeneous peoples have not been able to transform into realism. Hence, with increasing criminality, intolerance for national integration, terrorism, sectional protests and agitations such as the on-going Biafran secessionist bid, the transmutational process which attempted to evolve different kingdoms, empires, states, caliphates and kingdoms into a united geographical entity called Nigeria, over the last century seems to have failed *abinitio* and proved a total fiasco. However, with sustained doggedness to surmount her monumental challenges, both internal and external, indications are that Nigeria is beginning to fare well with a strong capacity for sustainability. Indeed, in view of the recommendations below, Nigeria possesses a strong prospect for actualising the dream of a *Pax Nigeriana* in Africa.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made as pragmatic measures out of this socio-political debacle:

i. To achieve national and regional integration in Africa, we must sink our sectarian, religious, regional, sentimental, ideological, social differences and political affiliations, which becloud our transcending national interests (Ozumba, 1999:98-99). Religious, party and ethnic divisions should be accorded with more curious avoidance.

i. Although the African states are believed to have lost effective policy space snatched by international institutions, there is yet an urgent need to rethink the idea of national integration where every component group would have a sense of belonging. The integration of the different nationalities into a nation could be achieved in Nigeria as elsewhere in Africa, through the medium of culture. The elite class should define the phenomenon of nationalism as a "civic religion" to unite together the mass society of nations (Irele, 1999:104).

ii. There must be a *will* among the people *to live together* as a nation (Agi, 1999:113). Nigerians, for instance, seem to have lost the will to live together. It took a fierce thirty months' civil war to keep the Igbo nation within the Nigerian nation till date. Yet, efforts have

not yet been relented on the actualisation of the Biafran Republic. Nigeria is indeed already partitioned or fractionalised on paper into the Oduduwa, Bayajjida, Biafran Republics, etc. Whereas undoubtedly the attendant coerced unity brought some quarrels, it has become rather imperative that the artificiality of the country must be allowed to work. Hence, Africans need to stress those things that bind them together. And as such, there must be some values that must cement the unity for the welfare, good and development of the good people of Africa.

iii. The force of *Centripetal Nationalism* could be successfully harnessed to the institutions of the state to birth a single political community of enormous significance. Pan-Africanism and Nationalism constitute an explosive force which can provide a uniquely powerful instrument of integration, if positively articulated; or disintegration if wrongly employed (Agi, 1999:113).

iv. Governments at all levels should also demonstrate all astuteness in fighting crimes, terrorism and everything capable of precipitating the extinction of African nations built upon the sacrificial blood of some legendary political martyrs.

v. Concerted joint-efforts should be launched by all African and so-called Third World countries against neo-colonialism in Africa. Until this battle is fought and won, the attainment of a laudable integration and de-coloniality is, at best, a fool's paradise.

## Conclusion

Sub-Saharan African has since independence, been bedevilled by enormous internal challenges and external upheavals. These include administrative problems, corruption, criminality, terrorism, neo-colonialism and other vices of divisiveness and integration, most of which are sponsored by outside forces. This chapter is therefore an attempt to deal with the historical challenges as well as the contemporary challenges and thrusts towards African integration, Pan-Africanism, African renaissance and de-coloniality with particular reference to Nigeria, the accredited 'Giant' of Africa.

From the outset, Africa had been polarised by socio-political chauvinism, religious sentimentalism and sectarian nationalism. Feelings of sectional *Afrophobia* and nostalgia have ever since become

increasingly heightening. The once-upon-a-time peaceful atmosphere of this democratic dispensation has been diverted to launch national and regional violence through organised and trans-boarder crimes, since terrorism has come to be employed as profitable stock-in-trade. Is it not plausible to conclude, at this juncture, that Nigeria (and by extension, the continent) has become really dishevelled in a hysterical blight and historical blot? Nigeria might have achieved a 'strong' Nigerian state, which perhaps has won it the appellation 'Giant of Africa'; but it is yet to achieve full nationhood, going by some palpable parochial loyalties and particularistic attitudes (Agi, 1999:123).

Such was it that the "House that Lugard Built", called Nigeria, (Fwatshak & Akinwumi, 2014) grew in leaps and bounds to become the "Giant of Africa". However, in the words of Falola (1991:90), the independence granted by the colonial powers was a sham. All the colonial structures and institutions were left intact as they ensured that they handed over to politicians who guaranteed that colonial economic and other interests continued un-interfered with. Little wonder that soon after the celebrated independence, African economies were not only dominated by foreigners, but were drained by British, French and other Western countries. Following Africa's political independence, the reality that followed was one which plunged the former colonies into a new phase of economic dependency, aptly described as neo-colonialism. Its main purpose, according to Nwabueze (2010:269-271) is

*...the maintenance of the independent country's economic dependency, of the continued domination of its economic affairs by the former colonialists...aggravated by the power and influence exerted over African economies by the three economic institutions created under the Breton Woods Agreement of 1945—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (otherwise known as the World Bank), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which began operations in 1946, 1947 and 1948 respectively.*

Altogether, these forces, by the economic policies foisted on African governments, have been attributed by Africans, as accountable for the exacerbation of Africa's financial and economic

malaise. However, other scholars such as Areoye (2002), Nwabueze (2010) and Aboyeji (2015) have argued that whereas foreign influence might have been truly very devastating and destabilising, but aroused a re-think of Rodney's (1971) *"How Europe Underdeveloped Africa"* by raising a fundamental conundrum—*For how long do we over-emphasise how Europe or foreign influence undermined Nigeria specifically, and Africa in general?*

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