

The Institutional Consequences of Domestic Politics on Africa's International Relations and Regional Cooperation

The African States recently resolved to establish a relatively new regional body called the African Union and pursue its goals and objectives. Former members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) constitute the Union. This composition is characterized by Varying social-cultural, economic, religious and political backgrounds-factors which could act as encumbrances to operational capacity of the new Union. Though this new Union might be a product of lessons from the successes and pitfalls of OAU and regional response to globalization process, the consequences on national decision making process of member states, their domestic sovereignty, structures and institutions could be worthy of subjects of analysis. Worthy of examination also are the impacts of domestic political environment characterized by various structures and processes, military capability, population and national wealth, and plural ethnic groups on the power play within and across the African Union.

At a general level, this paper examines the aims and objectives of the new African Union as against that of Organization of African Unity. The paper also examines prospects and challenges of the African Union. In particular it looks at the impact of domestic environment, structures and institutions, economic and socio-cultural factors as well as ethnic composition and how they have impacted or capable of impacting on the operational capacity of African States at international level and within the framework of the African Union.

The history of Africa is the history of colonialism and underdevelopment. It is the history of slavery, of wars, conflicts and hunger. It is also the history of the beginnings of man and civilization. However, while underdevelopment was as old as Africa itself, colonialism came about between 1885 and 1906. For most of Africa according to Akintoye (1976), colonialism lasted between six to eight years. At elementary level, colonialism is said to rule. This 'doctrine' manifested in Africa after the Berlin conference, during which African countries were balkanized and shared into areas of influence among European states in 1884. These areas of influence were tagged colonies and protectorates. Arguments have been generated as per whether colonialism was beneficial to Africa. But we are not into such argument since each side has its own merits. However, since we are constrained to examine the circumstances which led to formation of the Organization of African Unity, it becomes imperative to look at this

phenomenon even though briefly since again it features prominently at any attempt to explain efforts at the birth of the continental organization. Briefly on the other side, colonialism was not completely a bad event because whether one likes it or not, it brought with it western civilization with all its attractions. However, the critics of colonialism started with its method and ended up with its consequences. Africa was shared and conquered in most cases under force of arms. The method of governance was strange. It alienated African culture and tradition and ostracized both traditional and political elite. It was what many Africans perceived as a total loss of freedom. The culture of French territories were completely destroyed and lost in French tradition. Africans had little or no hand in the exploitation and management of their economic resources. Africans complained of racial discrimination and colour bar in many areas of human endeavor. In most cases the western system of governance negated the traditional institutional system and ran into problems, which in some cases led to resistance and war. In some other cases these traditional institutions of governance were utilized as the case of Northern Nigeria. Perhaps, two major issues stand out clearly among others, which have generated more problems than others in the wake of colonialism. One is the creation of national and international boundaries for Africans from which African states emerged and secondly the imposition of western system of governance on these states. According to Akintoye, these states were given name, official language and capitals cities. In some cases the boundaries divides a people into two or three and each posted to different states. In as much as the creation of these boundaries had its side advantage, the disadvantages appear monumental. This is why many students on African had attributed the increasing incidence of conflict in African long after colonialism to the dastardly effect of European rule

because by creating these boundaries permanent seeds of conflict were sown. The artificiality of these boundaries appear also to have created back-up zones for many guerilla groups harassing many legitimate African governments because they have their kits and kin across the border. These colonial generated boundaries also made it impossible for internal unity and common sense of identity to be generated among African States. This effect might however, not be the original intention of the colonizers, but the boundary wars in African are numerous.

On the issue of governance, the imposition of western system of governance has created more problems than they were designed to solve. The governance system deviated from the culture and traditions of Africa. It was strange and beats all that majority of Africans imagined. It has been my contention that the African culture is generally dictatorial. Starting from the family system, the man is the head of the family. His authorities are unquestionable. His view on family matter remains the final. The children are socialized into this authoritarian personality, which in most cases degenerate to tyranny. This particular personality is projected at various levels of personal and group interactions outside the family-clubs, organizations and even political parities. At the extreme, it is approximated to leadership level. Within this context, any opposition is perceived as a challenge to the constituted authority and must be dealt with absolutely. A great gap was created between the traditional system governance and the western model and no concrete efforts were made to seek for a blend. In effect, all efforts were towards replacing traditional system of governance which were considered as primitive and which were in line with a people's culture with the western system, which veered off from the culture and tradition of the people. This was the point where such ideas as democracy

ran into a crossroad. The political institutions of governance have come to be outside the understanding of those entrusted with management of public affairs in Africa, even though they pretend to be purveyors of perfect knowledge of what governance system is supposed to be. No efforts have been made to blend the tradition with modernity. The European tradition was generally a democratic tradition with all the attendant institutions and values systems. That of Africa was authoritarian. These are two leadership models, which appear to run at parallel lines. The average European could define African traditional understanding of justice as jungle. A typical example might suffice. In Anambra State of Nigeria, there was an upsurge in armed robbery and crime. Armed robbers invaded residential buildings, raped and maimed their victims. In the evenings people would leave their houses and run to churches to pass their nights. Male children were made to rape their mothers and fathers were ordered to rape their daughters. The police was helpless as many of them either lost their lives or were even accomplices. The people lost complete confidence in the institution of regulation - the Police force. Armed robbers entered open markets places and raided traders at will. After an event where robbers attacked passenger buses killing about fifty passengers and robbed them, and some of the robbers were found to be members of the force, Anambra State Government in alliance with Market traders invited a traditional crime busting outfit called 'Bakassi Boys'. The Boys used the African Charm and magic. Machete was their major weapon. With Machete, they were able to dictate any vehicle carrying any armed robber or anybody who had shaded blood before. If a care-snatching incident had taken place, they will visit the venue and draw a circle. After some hours, the car snatcher will return the vehicle at the point where it was snatched. During their trial, they make the suspect

confess all the evil things he had done from childhood at the negation of modern institution of adjudication. After that, if the suspect was found guilty, the robber will be slashed with machete and set on fire. This sounded strange and fictitious but it was real and an account from personal experience. To the average European, this would appear barbaric, to the average African, instance justice is a tradition-the end justifies the means. The Bakassi Boys greet themselves with gunshots every morning before leaving for an assignment. If any one of them has soiled his hand in evil, the bullet would kill him but if ones hands were 'clean' when he is shot the bullet would fall off his body without hurting him. Through this method, the Anambra State became crime free and the State Governor recently won an award from the Federal government for eradicating violent crime in the state. This method was adopted because the institutions entrusted with system regulation and control proved ineffective and failed to match the traditional system of armed robbers. This development created a contradiction between tradition and modernity. This is because modern governance system and institutions would want criminals arrested, tried and punished if found guilty using the system of justice approved by western democracy. But since the regulatory institutions could not contain the wave of criminal activities, the traditional outfit which could contain them adopted a method not approved by modern governance. The option for the police was then to turn blind eyes to the operations of this traditional outfit. Most aspects of the modern governance system and institutions in Africa are facing this kind of dilemma because of divorce of tradition from modernity. There are also many other problems areas, which require collective thought and action. This makes it imperative for Africans to rally together to forge a common front and tackle such common problems as bad effects of

colonialism, disunity, cold war, inter ethnic and intra-ethnic and boundary wars. The problem of corruption has also made Africa ungovernable. Again, in as much modern literature would blame corruption on poverty, I blame it on the breach between tradition and modernity. Again, in as much poverty could be part of the causes of corruption, the jettisoning effect of tradition and their structures of governance in Africa, has been the major cause. The puzzle which this raises again would be where a man is the Chairman of a town union, he strives to be honest and accountable to the union because of traditional checks and balances are there even when they may not have emerged as visible structures, but the same man when given a government job, may be a governor, he will embezzle public fund and become corrupt. While he was the chairman of a town union, he was poorer and never touched the people's money but turns a rogue as a public office holder. The African tradition understands the concept of trust, good name and fairness.

Another issue worthy of consideration is the choice of those who govern African States. The traditional African Society selects leaders who have proven records of honesty, integrity and who are close to his people. The modern governance system creates electoral bodies and adopts western electoral processes, which are hardly understood by our people. This explains the corruption and abuse, which these processes have witnessed in selecting African leaders. The current case of Zimbabwe is too recent in memory. When in Nigeria, the electoral commission introduced what was tagged option A4, which emphasized bottom up approach to leadership selection, and standing in lines with verbal counting of voters, Nigeria witnessed sanity leadership selection because the system was close to the tradition of the people. Though that election was annulled, the cancellation

of what Nigerians and international community considered as the best ever had in Nigeria, threw the country into unprecedented crisis.

This understanding of African tradition and its incorporation in the statecraft seems to be lost in the lexicon of modernity. It is therefore important for Africa to come together and address issues, which appear to elude solution. The attempt at this was started with the formation of the Organization of African Unity.

The Organization of African Unity

The Organization of African Unity (OAU), was created in Addis Ababa on the may 25 1963 by thirty Heads of State and Government. The OAU was the product of a compromise between two groups in Africa, which had earlier on made separate attempts at integration. The Monrovia Group was made up of 19 independent countries of Africa namely; Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomy, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo, Tunisia and Upper Volta. This group, which met at the invitation of President William Tubman on The 12th of May 1961, was a more conservative ideologically oriented group. The second group which emphasized socialist orientation was made up of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Libya, Egypt and Algeria met in Casablanca on 7th of January 1961 and was called the Casablanca group. One basic feature, which lies at the middle of these two groups, was the need for regional integration to solve common African problems. The approach might have differed but the objectives are similar. It was the coming together of these two groups made possible by Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia that led to the formation of the OAU.

It is also important to state here some other socio-historical factors that made the coming together of African States a necessity.

The events of Second World War, its lessons and way forward sparked off a wave of independence struggle among former colonial territories. These struggles culminated in the 1960s to independence for many countries in Africa. Faced with the challenges of the cold war, it became imperative that countries, which relatively share common problems of underdevelopment, poverty, dominance of major powers, colonial backgrounds should come together and unite to face their common challenges. It was against this background that regional integration became relevant and inevitable and ultimately a political issue in Africa. While one school of thought had been in favour of coming together of Africans to form a union, the other school preferred primarily sub-regional formations. The former belongs the continentalists while the latter falls within the functionalist's school of thought..

The founding of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa in 1963, by the African Heads of State and Government was meant to promote the unity and solidarity of the African States.

Through the Organization, African States were to attempt an intensification of their cooperation and efforts to achieve better life for their people. African States also sought through such Organization to eradicate all forms of colonialism and defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Organization was also to cooperate with the United Nations in defense of fundamental human rights. However, accomplishment of these objectives, require political and diplomatic cooperation. It also requires sharing of ideas on transport and communication, cooperation in areas of education, culture, Health, sanitation and nutrition, science and technology as well as defence

and security. The Charter of the OAU makes provision for sovereign equality of members, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence. Further more, the Charter insists that all disputes must be peacefully settled by negotiation, mediation and arbitration. It condemns in all its forms, political assassination as well as subversive activities on the part of a neighbouring State or any other States and implores African States to be fully dedicated to the emancipation of any territory still under colonial tutelage. It equally became absolutely important at the time the body was being formed to affirm a policy of non-alignment as the era was characterized by the cold war.

By making provision for the unity and solidarity of African States, it was hoped that African would be able to confront their common enemies if any and pursue their common objectives in the United Nations as evident in bloc votes. Such would also enable States of Africa to cooperate in solving the problems of poverty, environmental disasters, underdevelopment and bad governance. Many Heads of State of Africa, had at one time or the other made verbal commitments to the principles and objectives of this regional organizations, but implementation had not been any thing to be proud of. Laporte had noted that historical, political, economic and institutional factors had been the bane of African development.

It might be rational to subscribe a little extent to the school of thought, which bemoans the fate of Africa in the 21st century on its historical past especially the trappings of colonial heritage. Laporte writes that commercial and political links with Europe continue to be more important than links within Africa and that Communication and transport networks oriented towards colonial centers do not facilitate intra-regional Trade. Granted that

colonialism did some harm to a continent supposedly in the darkness of civilization, the Organization of African Unity has been wobbling in the implementation of its programmes because of colonialism-yes, but this time it is not colonialism of Europe but a new form of colonialism which exists within the States of Africa. The European colonialism was not completely disastrous because it brought its own benefits. But internal colonization had no benefits. If the European colonialism was linked to racial discrimination and colour bar, injustice, dis-infrichisement, politics of exclusion, exploitation of raw materials for the development of Europe, the new colonialism share worst characteristics.

Nigeria for instance has just survived a long period of military regime, a regime of terror and tyranny during which abuse of human rights was the rule rather than exception. Citizens of some ethnic extractions are treated as second-class citizens in other parts of the country. The use of Army to quell civilian demonstration even in the present democratic dispensation has been regular occurrence in Nigeria. In February 2002, Catholic Women on a peaceful demonstration over non-payment of teachers' salary for over five months were dispersed with tear gas for daring to express their views (in a Democracy). A town called Odi in Nigeria witnessed in the year 2000 a taste of barbarism of Soldier when the Federal Government drafted them to quell civilian demonstration. Mortars and bullets of tyrants razed the whole town down. Only recently the federal government set up the human rights investigation and reconciliation Tribunal, to investigate human right abuses during the military Administration. The opportunity enabled Nigerians to unveil atrocious cases of mans inhumanity to fellow men, a kind of thing never for once witnessed during the colonial rule. Many States of the Northern Nigeria are ruled under the Sharia Muslim Laws. This law hardly

accommodates non-Muslims by guaranteeing them basic fundamental human rights. Unfortunately, some Muslims also who belong to the lower strata of the society have at one time or the other been pushed by poverty to become victims of their own religion and in the process lost their limbs and arms. Internal colonialism appears also rampant in many other African members of the OAU. The abuse of human rights in Liberia, the use of child soldiers in Sierra-Leone and severing of limbs of innocent young girls and boys and ethnic problems in Rwanda, Congo, as well as intra-ethnic conflicts in many parts of Africa all present features reminiscent of colonialism. In fact many African Countries have more problems of intra-ethnic than inter ethnic today. In Nigeria, for instance, intra-ethnic conflicts have been more violent oriented than inter-ethnic conflicts. There are the cases of Ifes and Modakekes, Oyo and Ogbomoso all of Yoruba extraction, the Umuleri and Aguleri Conflict of Igbo extraction. It is the same story across the Middle belt region. In all these cases modern weapons of war were used to fight domination. These are problems, which characterize the domestic environment of member nations of the OAU, and this creates an uncomfortable platform to be actively involved in continental assignment. Resources, which should be devoted to continental assignments, are utilized in fighting crimes at home and paying compensations occasioned by domestic conflicts.

Some other issues have been raised contributing to the slow rate of progress in African nations getting together in pursuit of common objectives. These range from reluctance to accede sovereignty in some areas especially those areas that would not serve the personal interests of domestic actors to domestic economic problems and such social problems as poverty and crime. Peter Oesterdiech Hoff, in his thesis on regional integration, outlined

what he called the deficiencies of regional schemes. In the first instance, he observed that production structures of member countries are deficient and do not complement each other. In addition to this there is lack of tradable goods for regional exchange. The very sector able to boost regional exports, manufactured goods production, tends to be weak and not competitive. The problem of revenue losses was also considered high among the factors that contribute cold feet to the zeal to integrate. Since lowering of tariffs is bound to be one of the immediate outcomes of integration, the revenue loss associated with this is usually enough to discourage especially economically weak members from strongly supporting an integration project. According to Oesterdiech, between 50 –70% of African countries depend on this aspect of revenue for survival especially when it is considered that integration hardly have immediate benefits for such economies that are less internationally competitive. To ameliorate this problem, Oesterdiech suggested the establishment of compensation schemes. This he noted, will help avoid disincentives to intra-regional trade as was evidenced by ECOWAS's scheme which rigidly penalized net exporters. The belief that integration is always in the interest of the more industrially advanced countries is often one of the factors that have slowed down the road to integration. This Oesterdiech sadly noted was the among the primary causes of the collapse of East African Community in 1977 and the Adecan Pact as well as the ASEAN and UDAO and UDEAC. The problem is also facing the SADC.

However the Abuja agreement of 1991 created grounds for sub-regional integration schemes such as ECOWAS, COMESA AND SADC to act as building stones for a greater African Union. What ever is the case, one important factor worthy of note is that for African, regional integration and cooperation had always been perceived as a way of promoting regional

stability, and guaranteeing African influence in international negotiations (to use the word of Geert Laporte, 1995). The view of such scholars as Laporte that coming together was a way replacing links with former colonial powers is contestable, because African will not be able to sever complete links with such powers especially now that boundaries are collapsing and states are withering

There is also the problem of institutionalization at the national level of most African States. Huntington was prominent in addressing the issues of institutional weaknesses especially in developing societies. But we adopt the definition given by Douglas North (ND); *Institutions are set of rules, compliance procedures, and moral ethical behaviour norms embedded in those rules and compliance procedures designed to constrain the behaviour of individuals in the interest of maximizing wealth, social order, and the well-being of a society. Institutions establish the cooperative and competitive incentives in society by virtue of their norms, rules and procedures.* These institutions write Laporte are indispensable for implementing the large and increasing number of conclusions and recommendations formulated at regional levels.

It against this background that one should examine the proposed African Union. In doing this, one would first of all be confronted with few basic questions. One is why African Union? Is it different from the OAU? Is it going to be made up of the same countries, which constituted the OAU? Are the Organs, structures and functions going to be the same or has it different objectives? Has African problems changed thereby requiring a change in the name of the Organization. Are there going to be new problems or will the new Union through its structures and procedures going to tackle those

problems that could not effectively be handled to the satisfaction of its founding fathers of OAU?

The point one thinks should be the take-off board is to begin to ask and observe the concern of academic discourse and liberal scholars in the 1980s and 1990s of the deep evolution and speedy transformation which supercedes the theories of interconnectedness into the growing strength of what the Marxists Scholars prophesized as international capitalism which has inevitably opened up new markets, redefined social relations both at domestic and international levels. This being referred here as globalization. This informs Scholte (1996) assertion that globalization refers the emergence and spread of a supra-territorial dimension of social relations. According to Held (1997,253), in Raimo (1999,89), it denotes a shift in the spatial form of human organization and activity to transcontinental or interregional patterns of activity, interaction, and exercise of power. It involves a stretching and deepening of social relations and institutions across space and time such that, on the one hand, day-to-day activities are increasingly influenced by events happening on the other side of the globe, and on the other the practices and decisions of local groups of communities can have significant global reverberations. What we saying is that there is a movement to globalization, to a global economic, social scale. The world is today linked up and brought together in a village. There is a desire for a respectable degree of political and economic independence, coupled with high welfare expectations of the ruled. Nations states come together to forge a new arrangement that enable them make joint decisions or delegate these decisions to a new body.

The new African Union is a continental response to globalization, to formation of such organizations as the European Union. The Union, which

was declared, by the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government on the 1st of March 2001, from the documents of the declaration is not a second OAU but meant to replace the Organization of African Unity. Upon declaration, the members gave a lot of prominence to what should be its Economic and Social Council because it appears like what gave the Union its peculiar character from the OAU may be found not the formal organs like Assembly of Heads of States and Government or its Security Council but in the Economic and Social Council. Consequently the members decided that in view of the establishment of Economic Social and Cultural Council, in the Constitutive Act of the Union, as well as of the Specialized Technical Committees that report to the Executive council of the African Union, the ECOSOC provided for in the Abuja Treaty will cease to exist at the of transition period.

On the issue of conflict prevention, Management and Resolution as an Organ of the Union, the members consider that the objectives and principles stipulated in the Cairo Declaration establishing, within the OAU, a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution constitute an integral part of the declared objectives and principles of the African Union. The members also decided to incorporate the Central Organ of the mechanism for conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution as one of the Organs of the Union.

One basic fact worthy of note is that the African Union is inheriting all the assets and liabilities of the OAU, therefore needless examining the organs one after another.

Tasks and Prospects.

One may be saddled with another major task of a critical examination of the prospects of the Union. There does not appear to be a candle at the end of the tunnel as what is likely to be witnessed is old wine in the new bottle.

Conflicts of various dimensions have rendered Africa impotent making it unable to move forward and utilize its abundant human and material resources for the benefit of her people. These include ethno religious and boundary wars. But the one assuming dangerous dimension today is intra-ethnic wars. In prosecuting these conflicts, scarce resources, which should have been used in development, are deployed into purchase of weapons of war. The map below portrays the spread of conflicts in Africa.

Contemporary conflicts Map in Africa

A glance at the Map will reveal the enormous task, which confronts the African Union. The test of its ingenuity and operational efficiency, which may distinguish it from the parent organization, will largely depend on the extent it able to go in tackling these conflictual issues and areas, which have dotted the map and image of the continent. Robert D. Kaplan wrote about the coming anarchy, which centered on how scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet Cities. In West Africa according Kaplan (1994), are some of the unsafest places in the world are to be found. Streets are unlit; the police often lack gasoline for their vehicles; armed burglars, carjackers, and muggers proliferate. A minister in Sierra-Leone refused to blame the fate of Africa on colonialism. He blamed on the African who fail to manage everything they

had well after colonialism. The Minister was quoted as having referred to the coup in Sierra Leone. According to him, ‘the boys who took power in Sierra Leone come from houses like this.’ Jabbing his finger at a corrugated metal shack teeming with children, he continued ‘In three months these boys confiscated all the official Mercedes, Volvos, and BMWs and willfully wrecked them on the road. When the US State Department embargoed the Nigeria’s international Airport at Lagos, the reason was connected with crime and corruption. Extortion by both the Police and Immigration officials featured prominently. Kaplan writes that in Abidjan, capital of Ivory Coast, restaurants have stick-and gun-wielding guard who walk you the fifteen feet or so between your car and the entrance, giving you an eerie taste of what he says America might be in future. An Italian Ambassador was killed by gunfire when robbers invaded an Abidjan restaurant. The cause of violent conflicts are legion. They are economic, sociological and political. We are not going into it but suffice to note that Africa today is becoming what Kaplan called the symbol of world wide demographic, environmental, and societal stress, in which criminal anarchy emerges as the real strategic danger.

The problem of disease has been compounded by the ravaging threat of Aid Virus. The problems of Africa’s health sector were summarized by the depiction by Kaplan in Ivory Coast of place called ‘Chicago’. ..Like more and more of Abidjan, is a slum in the bush: a checker work of corrugated zinc roofs and walls made of cardboard and black plastic wrap. It is located in a gully teeming with coconut palms and oil palms, and is ravaged by flooding. Few residents have easy access to electricity, a sewage system or a clean water supply. The crumbly red laterite earth crawls with foot-long

lizards both inside and outside the shacks. Children defecate in a stream filled with garbage and pigs, droning with malarial mosquitoes. In the stream, women do the washing. Young unemployed men spend their time drinking beer, palm wine, and gin while gambling on pinball games constructed out of rotting wood and rusty nails. These are the same youths who rob houses in more prosperous Ivorian neighborhoods at night. Apart from crowded nature of cities in Africa, most have no habitable residence, portable drinking water are luxuries, refuse are disposed at will just any where leading to flooding. Sometimes the refuse is set on fire, thereby polluting the environment and health workers fold their arms and watch. Corruption at high places handicapped efficiency of government and mortality rates continues to grow at alarming speed. Fund donated by international agencies are seen as another way of making personal gains by who ever grabs it. Death rate increases while life expectancy decreases. Kaplan noted that Africa today may be more dangerous than it was in 1862 before antibiotics, when the explorer Sir Richard Francis Burton described the health situation on the continent as deadly, a Golgotha, a 'Jehannum' Of the approximately 12million people world wide whose blood is HIV, 8million are in Africa. The problems of Malaria, tuberculosis and Aids are challenges for the African Union. Restating the problems of governance agains is like saying the obvious. If these problems are even properly handled by the African Union, how will the Union handle sit-tight syndrome, which has posed to be strongest threat to democracy in Africa. From Emperor Hale Salessa, Abacha, Bokassa, Idi Amin, Mobutu, Etienne Eyadema who has been in power since 1967, to Mugabe, and as Nigeria's President is sacrificing every thing to coming back in 2003 for a second term, the African Union is confronted with problems of succession of

leadership in Africa. Traveling along African Coasts is usually a nightmare. During the Abacha's regime in Nigeria, there were 47 checkpoints between Lagos and Benin Republic. In each, a passenger vehicle must stop for checks. Still most of the vehicle carry and reach either Lagos or Cotonou with contraband good. The magic is the one has to settle. If you settle any thing goes. The security men at these check points were super rich. The more Nigeria imposes stricter import policies; avenues will be opened for money for security men at the borders. If Nigeria bans the importation of used vehicles, they must find their ways into Nigeria primarily for some reasons. One is that Nigeria is import-oriented economy and cannot produce these vehicles. Secondly, people must buy vehicles and the average citizen cannot afford the one assembled in Nigeria. Even the Politicians who make the policies still go across the borders to buy their own private vehicles with police and army so that no one can check them. The third reason is the artificiality of boundaries separating the countries. Kaplan wrote he had to bribe a Togolese immigration official with the equivalent of eighteen dollars before he would agree to put an exit stamp on his passport. This is a common tradition at African borders. The porousness of the West African borders has been attributed to the horizontal population belts which goes contrary to vertical boundaries erected by colonial masters which came at cross purposes with its demography and topography. The corruption at the borders is a small tale when one examines the corruption of the African leadership.

Conclusion

International relations among nation states to a large extent reflect what happens at the domestic environment of such states. These range from

politics, economy, culture and religion. These aspects of national life, does not only structure international politics, they also determine the nature of domestic politics. Secondly, every nation state has a history, which plays a major a role in shaping its present for the future. We have therefore noted in this paper that the history of Africa is history of slavery and colonialism. It is a history of conflict and wars. These have played major roles in shaping the Africa's today for the future. In shaping today of Africa, African has been able to come together with one voice and determined efforts to solve their common problems. This was started in 1963 in Ethiopia with the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the idea of African Union. Formation of the union definitely is a form of integration, which serves as a response to the new global trend, in which the world has come into one global village. It is a response to formation of such body as the European Union. The primary aim is to be able to respond effectively to the challenges of globalization. The African Union will definitely witness more collapse of national boundaries, impact of national sovereignties, and domestic policies of African Nation States. Impacting on domestic sovereignty is not a mean challenge, because as a dictate of globalization, the impact will be seriously challenged by civil society organizations, and human rights activists. The new African Union will definitely be faced with further challenges of democratization not only of the political system but the economic systems of African States. There are also going to be further challenges of alliances and coalition in the international scene. How such will affect Africa's position in such crisis areas as exist in the Middle East and Sudan remains to be scene especially when one considers the Muslim and Christian make up or if one would say the multi-religious nature of the Union. Attack on World Trade center was an attack on the United States, which prides itself as the

World custodian of democracy. Most Africans refused to see the attack as attack on democracy as the US response was not a response against Muslims. The attack on World trade center was attack against the US policies, after all Britain is a democracy and an older one for that matter. These pose challenges of interpretation and diplomacy for the African Union. The problems of hunger and starvation, health, crime, environmental degradation and depletion of Africa's natural resources by such natural disasters as erosion and desertification pose further challenges. The policies of the African Union should therefore be designed to face these challenges especially that two worlds created by globalization- the richest and poorest.

Bibliography

Akintoye, S.A. (1976) Emergent African States. London. Longman Group

OAU-The Charter.

Bangura (1994) Ethnic Restructuring, Coping Strategies ad social Change: Implications for Institutional Development in Africa. Discussion Paper No. 2 . <http://www.unrisd.org>

Jones Barry (2000) The World Turned Upside Down. Manchester. Manchester University Press.

Kaplan, Robert. D (1994) The Coming Anarchy. The Atlantic Monthly. Vol. 273. No. 3. 44-47

Khor, Martin. (2001)Globalization and the South. Ibadan. Spectrum Books

Olusanya, G.O. and Akindele, R.A. (1986) Nigeria's External Relations. Ibadan. University Press.

Olusanya, G.O. and Akindele, R.A.(1990) Structures and Processes of Foreign Policy Making and Implimentation in Nigeria, 1960-1990. Ibadan. Vintage Publishers International.

Uwachue (1991) Africa Today. London. African Books Ltd.

. Vayrynen, Raimo (1999) Globalization and Global Governance. Lanham. Rowman and Littlefield.

OAU (2001) Decisions and Declarations by the 37th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government/5th Ordinary Session of the AEC.

OAU (2001) Report of the 73rd Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers

OAU (2001) Decisions Adopted by the 5th extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Sirte, Great Jamahiriya. March

OAU (2001) Speech of the Secretary-General on the Opening Ceremony of the 74th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers. Lusaka. July.