World Orders and Africa Security in the Post-Cold War Era: A Theoretical Review

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Abstract

The globe is always dominated by a given order at one point in history or the other. Often regarded as world order: a very constant implication of world order has been its impact on the affairs of nations. This impact has largely been felt in Africa in so many ways. A major area of concern for Africa amidst the world order is the security sector. Against this backdrop, the paper seeks to theoretically reviewed the impacts of World orders on African security. It focused on ascertaining how the Africa security network, structure and task changed in the post-cold war era. To achieve this, the paper adopted ex post facto design. It explored archival and historical evidence on world order and challenges of Africa Security. The study was qualitative utilizing vital and related secondary materials to generate data for analysis. Thus, it used the combined approaches of realism and Marxism as its theoretical framework. The paper concluded that the security challenges confronting Africa in the post-cold war era were direct offshoots of various Europe's invented and propagated world orders. Thus, the security challenges staring Africa in the face, since 1990 include war/conflict, resource control crisis, identity politics, Great power, cold war politics, proxy conflict wars and globalization attack on sovereignty of African states amongst others.

Keywords: **World Orders, Africa Security, Post-Cold War Era**

Introduction

The challenges posed on Africa by world orders, including the globalization world order were the major problems of interrogation in this study. The study carried out an assessment of the roles African Union had played so far to checkmate the multifaceted security challenges confronting the continent in post-cold war era. Although, the main concern of this study is on the post-cold war era, however, we cannot understand the period outside the historical processes and political events that laid the foundation of the challenges we experience in the post-cold war era, which make the cold war period loom very large in world politics (Watson, 1981:4-8). The cold war was between America and Soviet Union and was executed through better ideological struggles and

two alliances, the NATO and WARSAW Pact from 1945-1990 (Mayalli, 1971 & Goldstein, 2003).

The end of the thirty years war (1618-1648) came about through the enactment of the treaty of Westphalia of 1648 which ended the war as well as created sovereign territorial states in world history, (Goldstein, 2003: 27). The emergence of sovereign territorial states in 1648 gave impetus to obnoxious Berlin conference world order of 1885 that ended the rapacious scramble for Africa, its partition and effective possession of territories that gave legitimacy to colonization of the continent by European great powers. This whole exercise created in colonial Africa problems of artificiality of African colonial boundaries/borders that endured to present time. Consequently, the inter states conflicts and wars in Africa since independence in the 1960s were results of the errors of world orders. The range of identity conflicts and wars of irredentism were all linked to the world orders errors of judgment. Arguably, the Treaty of Westphalia and Berlin Conference Agreements created security challenges for Africa in both the colonial and post-cold war periods.

Furthermore, African security challenges in post-cold war era was complicated by the changes that had taken place in the international arms markets, as the number of states importing, exporting, and producing Small Arms and Light Weapons and Ammunitions (SALWA) has risen (Neuman, 1989:1509-1529). Consequently, African security and socio-economic transformation have been seriously compromised by African appetite for arms imports and their reckless use in Africa conflicts (Nnoli, 2006). This Africa's security challenge is a product of both the cold war and globalization world orders. Therefore, the international arms market and proliferation of SALWA in Africa constitute serious security challenge on the continent. Another big threat to Africa's peace and security is the emergence and use of ravaging incidence of transnational and other organized crimes, piracy, drug trafficking, terrorism in the post-cold war international politics. In fact, Africa's water ways and gulfs have turned to hotbeds of amazing crimes – Gulf of Guinea, Gulf of Adem/ Somalia waters lines etc. are centres of high-profile littoral crimes in the world.

European slave trade in Africa for over 5 centuries depleted Africa's able bodied young people needed for food production and socio-economic development of the continent by over 50 million slaves, (Cooper, 1875 in Momah, 1993). Furthermore, the colonial world orders that disarticulated Africa underdevelopment, mass poverty, food insecurity and high level of youth unemployment (Ake, 1981). It resulted in youth radicalization and involvement in high profile criminal activists including terrorism, armed robbery, kidnapping, cultism, etc.

As a corollary to issues of hunger, food scarcity and youth unemployment, another issue of great concern to Africa which posed challenge to its economic development and survival is the global climate change/environmental crises. Consequently, this challenge had resulted in land degradation, desertification, massive droughts, flooding, and depletion of the Ozone layers/warming of the ecosystem. Another problem created by

globalization world order is its proliferation of transnational corporations that have taken over almost all sectors of economic activities in African states including agricultural sector by grabbing land of poor indigenous farmers through obnoxious policies of clientele African governments.

Thus, the various world orders laid solid foundation of political, economic, ecological, health and other challenges Africa is confronted with in the present time, and which the AU was established in 2002 to tackle effectively and decisively.

Conceptual Clarification
World Order

Trends in the transformation of world orders had shown how leaders of great power nations over the centuries had tried to entrench peace, security, stability, and development in the international system. The avowed desire of these great leaders was based on their experiences from the devastations of various conflicts and wars, as well as other major events with defining impacts on the matrices of global security which the international community and humanity experienced in the past.

However, from historical records, scholars had argued that world orders have emerged most times from debris of wars - (Momah, 1994:109; Goldstein 2003:48; Nye JR, 2007: 11-12). It was in line with this view that Nye (2007), observed that after world war, a new treaty sets the new framework of order.

This Literature review covered the critical research questions posed after the statement of problem. We begin by answering the question: What is a new world order? How has various World Orders impacted on African security? The term "world order" though a nebulous and contested concept like most political science concepts, is not just a new catch – phrase but had always recurred in the efforts of man from time to find solutions to the scourge of wars that had devastated mankind and society over the centuries.

According to Longin (2004), "new world order" means defining the long – term economic, technological, military and socio - political trends that will decide the pattern of future international relations. The concept, according to Longin, includes all the dramatic transformations that had taken place as a result of the end of the cold war- the disintegration of the bipolar world system of conflict and co-operation between the two ideological adversaries. He stresses that the term 'new world order' also covers the emerging international system and the need to create a new balance of power, as well as new structures and institutions. Longin goes beyond the definition of the new world order and predicts that it will only be operationalized with a reformed United Nations adapted to the new world balance of power, and new challenges and threats as well as equipped with an effective instrument in the form of an international military force, strong enough to constitute a reliable deterrent to any potential aggressor who might think of using his army as a tool for pursuing political objectives. In summary, the new world order is often seen as a way or means of providing the world with more stability and security after the collapse of the old-world order.

In one of the 'popular issues' publications titled "New World Order Peace or Evil" (http//www.allabout.popularissues.org downloaded 14th July 2007), the influential board of editors of the paper conceptualizes the term as an accord of the world's superpowers to rule, secure and maintain the premise of ''Global peace''. The concept is designed to bring the world under submission to one Supreme Government, enforce one controlled common religion and one worldwide economic system. If applied to the western world, this definition seems to be in tandem with contemporary world dominated by the United States and its allies and premised on liberal democratic ideology, and capitalist economic growth strategy both encapsulated in the new wave of an all-encompassing "globalization" revolution which is driving the entire world towards a single- world society. Under the globalization regime, which some scholars have termed the new world order, the conventional autonomy of states and local societies was not eliminated, but ''set aside'' to ensure that the common directions and options were implemented through uniformity of practice.

Writing on the changing world order, Goldstein (2003:48) defines the term comprehensively as the rules that Govern important relationship of the interstates system in general and the world's great powers. He further highlighted aspects of world order to include, balance of power, sphere of influence, shared beliefs, key treaties, principles like sovereignty, practices like free trade, and so forth. He concluded by asserting that the rise of new world order have occurred after terrible great wars.

Goldstein (2003: 48) argues that historically, transformations of the world orders and the rise of new guiding principles have occurred after terrible great wars. The new guiding principles constitute the norms and ethical standard of behaviour of states in international politics. The end of the cold war, asserts Goldstein, brought a more powerful transition in world order than the aggressive policies of the United States - Soviet relations. Momah (1994), maintains that world order encompasses the political, social, economic and cultural rules of global international community or major global actors to govern them after major changes had taken place in international system in this vein, Longin (2004) defined new world order as the long-term economic, technological, military and Socio-political trends that will decide the shape of future international relations.

2.2   Chronological Trends of World Orders

Chronologically, world orders started with Universality World Order from the Treaty of Tordesilla of June 1494; then the Westphalia World Order of 1648; Congress of Vienna World Order of 1815; Berlin Conference Agreements of 1885; Treaty of Versailles World Order of 1918, Breton-Woods Orders of 1944 and Yalta and Potsdam/San Francisco World Orders of 1945 - 1989, The Post-Cold War/Globalization World Orders from 1990s and beyond.

Chronological Trends of World Orders/ their Impact/Effect on African Security

S/N	WORLD ORDERS	EFFECT/IMPACT ON AFRICAN SECURITY
1.	Universality World Order Treaty of Tordesillas-1494	Triggered the Trans-Atlantic African Slave Trade that lasted for 4 centuries and depopulated African population by 50 million young men and women of bearing age, when the American/Newfound land was shared between the Spanish and Portuguese.
2.	Westphalian World Order of 1648/ Treaty	Ended the 30 years religious war in Europe and established Sovereign Territorial States in world history. The development gave impetus to the rapacious European Scramble and Partitioning of Africa among European great power nations.
3.	Berlin Conference Agreement / World Orders 1885	The conference ended /resolved peacefully European rivalries for territories and partitioning of Africa and thus gave legitimacy for European colonization of African Continent with all its attendant consequences in boundaries/ border disputes/war
4.	Bretton Wood World Order/ Treaty – 1944	Created the major economic institutions that were to regulate and mange global economic activities and to revamp devastated European Economies from WWII and great depression that was the aftermath. Their operations have stagnated African Economic Development.
5.	San Francisco World Order/ Treaty -1945	Ended the WWII and created the United Nations Organization that have preserved the peace of the world on global scale since 1945.
6.	Cold War World Order 1947-1990	Impacted on every aspect of African life; in Politics, Economy, Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Development, Culture, etc.
7.	Post-Cold War/ Globalization -1990 -	Created poverty and deprivation in Africa, has disintegrated or disarticulated the industrial sectors of most, if not all polities in Africa. The globalization of national policy making, and mechanisms robbed African countries of their sovereignty and right to make independent choice on critical issues concerning them.

2.3 Understanding the Dynamics of African Security

Security is a contested concept among writers on international relations. There is a consensus among the leading writers: Brown et al (1998), Baylis and Smith (2001) that it implies freedom from threats to core values (for both individuals and groups). There is, however, a Major disagreement about whether the focus of inquiry should be an individual, national, or international security. For much of the cold war period, most writings on the subject were dominated by the-idea of national security which was largely defined in militarized terms. The main area of interest for both academics (Morgenthau, 1948) and statesmen (Kennan, 1951) tended to be on the military capabilities that their own state should develop to deal with threats that face them. In fact, part III of Morgenthau's classic contains three chapters not only on the essence of national power, but also on capability analysis of the elements of national power as well as the necessity of evaluation.

This conception of security has been criticized for being ethnocentric and too narrowly defined. Buzan (1983) argues for a view of security, which includes political, economic, societal, environmental as well as military aspects. This, according to him, involves states overcoming "excessively self-referenced security policies" and thinking instead about the security interests of their neighbours (Buzan, 1983: 214-242). Buzan's conception of security broadly defined raises questions that seem to complicate the provision of security; namely, questions that the compatibility of national and international security considerations and whether states can think on more co-operative international and global term the ability of resolving tensions and convergences between national and international security.

Some writers - Wrever, Buzan, Kelstrup, and Lemaitre (1993) argue for the need to de-emphasize state and inter-state centred definition but instead to focus on the fundamental changes in the post-cold war world politics. They stress the dual process of integration and fragmentation, which characterize post-cold war international politics and call for much more attention to be given to "societal security" (Wrever et al., 1993: 196).

Additionally, security can be conceptualized as comprehensive, and multi-dimensional, whose core goal is the achievement of well-being, whether of the region, the nation-state, the society, the community, or the individual. It has military, economic, socio-psychological, cultural, and ecological dimensions (Hermandez n.d).

One of the most articulate conceptions of security from the standpoint of Africa is provided by Nnoli (2006). For him, national security is used as synonymous with security, and is a cherished value associated with the physical safety of individuals, groups, and nation states together with a similar safety of their other most cherished values. For Nnoli, security denotes freedom from threats, anxiety or danger., He distinguishes the "objective" sense in which security is used from the "subjective" sense: while the former can be measured by the absence of threat, anxiety and danger, the latter can be measured by the absence of fear that threat, anxiety or danger will materialize.

The present researcher found this categorization very useful in any discussion of national security in Africa, where knowledge or information regarding a threatening situation, whether from within or from without is hardly available. "Hear-say" plays an active part in individuals or group's perception of danger, thereby increasing the fear of any such eventuality.

There is also an additional kernel of truth in Nnoli's definition of national security in Africa. This has to do with his distinction of five critical elements embodied in the concept. These are:

1. the military power sufficient to dissuade or defeat an attack.
2. non-military elements.
3. protection of the environment from reasonable degradation.
4. the revival of the United Nations and the revival also of the collective security system; and
5. an assault on poverty in all its ramifications.

Some of these elements appear contradictory and utopian. But there is a merit in putting them even if as a checklistpointer.re- security-conscious African states should bear in mind in foreign policy decision-making in war and peace.

In the context of the last point above and to smoothen the path towards security analysis, Nnoli emphasizes the importance of methodology. In what he refers to as "a radical new perspective" on national security Nnoli, (2006: 223-226), calls for urgent need for new thinking, since the old thinking has failed the African peoples. He warned of the danger in believing that once the nuclear question and the cold war were resolved, peace would be realized within the African states. He asserts that the same problems of internal conflict, which dominated the African security scene during the era of the cold war and nuclear confrontation, would continue to dominate the era of post-cold war and post-nuclear confrontation.

According to Nnoli, what Africa needs today is an overriding security consciousness in theory, practice, policy and research. This re-conceptualization (or "a radical new perspective") shifts African security away from narrow focus on defence against external threats and anchors it on threats from the domestic environment. In so doing, a re-conceptualization will capture new elements that are usually associated with good governance, human rights and democracy, as well as human security and common security which he considers the tactical point of view of the force mission of the military and development (Nnoli, 2006: 230).

The irreducible element of national security in Africa is democracy. This sums up Nnoli's conception of African Security. The same is true of writers like Ake (1990, 1991, 1993), and Adeniji (2000). Adeniji writes: "there are identifiable elements on which some degree of consensus has emerged in the definition of African security. Among these is democratic government as the preferred system, with its attendant features of multiparty-ism, freedom of choice and of expression, respect of human rights, accountability, and tolerance of opposing views ... " Adeniji (2000: Ch. 7, pp. 111 – 120).

A "re-conceptualization" of national security in Africa, argues Nnoli (2006: 228), should include within it "elements that are usually associated with good governance, human rights and democracy". All of these elements have emerged much more profoundly in discourses of the post – cold war new world order, and many African scholars and statesmen have assimilated them into their writings of national security in Africa as a fashionable symbol of change, or what Herz (1950) aptly characterized as "idealist internationalism and security dilemma".

What is the "security dilemma" and how do African states protect themselves from being prisoners of this predicament? To do so, they should toe the path of realism. States remain the recognizable sovereign actor, more than most other non-state actors. They should take care of their national security and not leave it in the hands of other states. Thus, the view that war is a constant historical feature of international politics and is unlikely to disappear is based on the notion that states face what has been described by Herz (1950) as a "security dilemma". According to this view, first articulated by Herz, "a structural notion in which the self – help attempts of states to look after their security needs, tend, regardless of intention to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets its own measures as defensive and the measures of others as potentially threatening. In a self – help environment, like the international system, asserts Herz, states are faced with an "irreversible uncertainty about the military preparation made by other states. Because the uncertainty is irresolvable, states are likely to remain mistrustful of each other. Thus, at the root of security dilemma is mistrust and fear (Wheeler and Booth, 1992; Baylis and Rangger, 1992; Butterfield, 1951, Art and Jervis, 2007). The "security dilemma" of African states in the post – cold war new world order will remain an "unresolvable uncertainty" if national security in Africa is defined in terms of an underpinning ideology of liberal democracy. Here lies the root of the difficulties and opportunities for co-operation between states. For most contemporary neo-realist writers like Kenneth Waltz (1979) and John Mearsheimer (2001), there is little prospect of a significant change in the nature of security in the post-cold war world. So, why divest states of the primary responsibility for national security, and why place such great premium not only on common security agenda of international organizations, but also on liberal democracy with its checklist of values rooted in western political theory.

Nweke's (1985, 1998) approach to African security seems unassailable in theory and practice in the post – cold war world order. His thesis, which foreshadowed the ending of the cold war, was that the state remains, and would continue to remain, in the foreseeable future, the embodiment of sovereignty belonging to politics as well as to law (Charles de Visscher (1968: Ch. III), but with growing predominance of the political realm since the Treaties of Wesphalia (Nnoli, 2006:19, Chapter Two). Sovereign states have interests and aspire to achieve them by such means as power and diplomacy. It will be naïve to assure that internationalism or globalization has divested states of this important political and legal attributes; and not the least, the primary function of providing security. Thus, in the post – cold war world order, this function becomes critical for both the individual African states and the member states of the African

Union. It is in this way that the African security dilemma can be resolved, regardless of whether a regime is democratic or otherwise.

It is also important that we conclude views on the issue of African security with McNamara's definition of security. To him, "security means development. Security is not military hardware, though it may include it; security is not military force, though it may involve it; security is not traditional military activity, though it may encompass it, security is development and without development, there can be no security" (Jinadu, 2000: 180).

Pragmatically, this paper tends to deconstruct old orthodoxies and move from militaristic – state centric conception of security to a more holistic conception of security in African studies. In view of this, the definition of security by McNamara provides a vivid perspective of the approach adopted in this study.

Methodological and Theoretical Exposition

Methodology
The study adopted ex post facto design as its research design to examine the cause and effect that existed between the independent and dependent variables, where x represented the independent which is world order and y, the dependent; African security in a post-cold war era. Thus, its method of data collection anchored on documentary evidence utilizing secondary and archival materials. It was analyzed using qualitative approach to deduce the fact.

Theoretical Exposition

It is pertinent to highlight at this juncture, the various approaches such as (1) realism, (2) liberalism, and (3) Marxism that have been used in the study of international relations and foreign policy, as well as in explaining the security challenges that are the inescapable features of participation in international politics. Theoretically, these challenges began with the 'idealist' and 'realist' debate of the inter-war years ably described by Carr (1939). Idealists focused on understanding the cause of war with a view to finding a remedy for it. They were, in fact, utopians who according to the realists were chasing the shadows by for instance, ignoring the role of power and believing that nation- states shared a set of common interest.

Foremost among the advocates of realism were Carr (1939) and Hans Morgenthau (1948). The three key elements that are identified with realism as a theory of international relations are statism, survival, and self - help. Outside the boundaries of the state, realists argue that "international politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power". Therefore, the primary role of state leaders is to ensure the survival of their state, power, and national interests. This is crucial for understanding African security. For, if African states have various interests such as economic, environmental, humanitarian, democratic governance, and if their existence or survival stands

jeopardized, then these other interests would be suppressed. Pursuit of power and promotion of national interest constitute the iron law of security in international politics. Job and Ekwureke (2007) have argued that paradigm is relevant in certain cases in explaining the African security challenges mostly where the cause is inter-state conflicts in which the role of the military in resolving and conditioning some of them can be noted as in the case of Ethiopia-Eritrea war. But realism may not adequately explain Africa security challenges in the post-cold war era as the nature of African conflicts had shifted from the normal rules of warfare. In fact, during the cold war era, regional conflict patterns and security complexes were structured by global designs and competition of the East – West security communities. This goes to support the postulations from traditional realist thinking that the "struggle for power" between great powers lead to a struggle for influence among lesser powers in the pursuit of wining them to their side. The conflicts and wars in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Namibia and Angola before the end of the cold war in 1990 were good examples of the above notion.

Consequent on this analytical shortcoming of realism when applied to African security study, the need to explore other approaches become imperative. One of such theory is liberalism. It has become a conventional wisdom that while realism is the dominant theory of international relations; liberalism has a strong claim to being the historic alternative. "The essence of liberalism", according to Hoffmann (1987: 396), "is self-restraint, moderation, compromise and peace", whereas: the essence of international politics is exactly the opposite: troubled peace, at best, or the state of war" (Hoffmann, 1987:396). Clark (1989: 49-66) points to the main feature of liberalism in the theoretical literature of international relations as "the tradition of optimism" the belief in the possibility of progress is one of the features of the liberal approach to politics; but there are other general propositions that unite the various strands. Three propositions should be noted: the liberty of the individual, the liberty of the states to serve as a necessary instrument for preserving liberty and collective will, and the creation of democratic institutions that would guarantee liberty and collective will. Thus, liberalism is a theory of government - one that seeks to reconcile order (security) and justice (equality). It is through these ideas that liberal democracy has come to be regarded as an essential element of security.

Liberalism seems adequate in explaining the African security challenges and various sources of the challenge. Its potential to break into the state, unlike realism that treats the state as a 'black-box', enables it to expose elements of the security of the State to liberal researchers. The analytical relevance of this theory becomes very rewarding and useful in the post-cold war era when threats to state security is caused by intra not inter factors.

Liberalism sees the conflicts in most African States from four factors –
  a) Multi-ethnic nature of the States and the competition generated among the ethnic groupings.
  b) The regime/government lack of both vertical and horizontal legitimacies from the citizens because they represent not the interest of people but that of a few

elites within and their foreign partners; thereby, creating for itself the problem of popular legitimacy to the existence and security interest of the regime.

c) Most African states lack effective institutional frameworks and capacities to provide peace and order for the population; and

d) The interplay of the above stated three factors led to a sense of threat to and from the regime in power rather than to the state itself. Yet liberalism and neo-liberalism are theories for international politics. They are theories of globalization, multilateralism and protectionism. They advocate for openness of national economies so as to foster free trade, labour and capital mobility and curtailed powers of the states as regulators.

The ending of the cold war has witnessed resurgence in the propagation of liberal democracy in Africa and other parts of Eastern Europe, led by the US as the main proponent, in collaboration with the IMF and the World Bank. The West manipulates these financial institutions, including the WTO, to exploit the third world through promotion of globalization, regardless of its devastating consequences to the increased impoverishment of the third world and African peoples. Globalization has clearly proved to cause conflicts and wars in African states in the post – cold war era (Nnoli, 2006; Aja-Akpuru-Aja, 2007).

To make-up for the limitation of the liberal theory in the analysis of effects of external intervention in African security challenges, inadequate political systems and economic underdevelopment we explored the Marxist theory both in its classical form and the new directions it has explored - World System theory, Dependency theory. We believe that if we understand the essential elements of Marxist Theories of world politics, the correct place of African states and the African Union in the UN politics of international peace in the post-cold war world order will be unmasked. Rather than use just Wallernstein's world system approach, we go for a 'holistic' framework of analysis in which Wallernstein's key categories are well accommodated. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the seeming global triumph of free market capitalism, it became fashionable to assume that the ideas of Marx, and his numerous disciples, could be dismissed as no longer relevant. This seems an unfortunate sentiment to harbour. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that Marxist theory still remains the most formidable analytical tool, and that the vast bulk of his theoretical efforts on a painstaking analysis of capitalism as a mode of production and the basic elements of his account have so far not been bettered. Most importantly, Marxist theory remains the beacon of hope for the pillaged countries, workers, and masses of the world to unite so as to free themselves from exploitation and unequal exchange of the global political economy. Thus, compared with realism and Liberalism, Marxism presents an entirely different view of international relations. It not only exposes the deeper, underlying truth, namely that the familiar events of world politics - wars, treaties, international aid, etc. - all occur within structures which have an enormous influence on these events; it also argues, quite correctly, that the effects of global capitalism are to ensure that the powerful and wealthy will continue to prosper at the expense of the powerless and the poor. Lenin (1916) considerably advanced Marx's ideas and doggedly put them into practice in the Russian Revolution.

Thus, the six elements shared by Marxist and neo-Marxist theoreticians are as follows:

1. The view that the social world should be analysed as a totality (our choice of a "holistic" framework of analysis, based on Marxist theories seems justified).
2. The materialist conception of history - the view that processes of historical change are ultimately a reflection of the economic development of society this irrefutable aspect of Marxist theories known as the ''historical materialism'' is masterfully summarized in Marx's 'preface' to his critique of Political economy (1857:19-22)
3. The central dynamic of change is identified as tension between the "means of production" and "relations of production", both of ''economic base'' of a given society.
4. Developments in the economic base act as a catalyst for the economic base ultimately leads to change in the "legal and political superstructure".
5. Emphasis on the critical role of "class" in Marxist analysis; in contrast to liberals who believe that there is harmony of interest between various social groups, Marxists hold that society is systematically prone to class conflict; Marx and Engels manifesto of the Communist Party (1848) declared: ''the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle'';
6. Commitment to the cause of ''emancipation''; the commitment to the pan-African unity has been a long process that began outside Africa, but the processes became refracted after it touched the African continent and African leaders of different ideological persuasions turned themselves into elements of anti-'emancipation' until May 1963.

The skilful integration of all six elements by Marx in the ''Preface'' to his classic of Political Economy (1857), portrays him as an enormously gifted thinker and writer:

> The general conclusion which I arrived at and which, once reached, became the guiding principle of my studies can be summarized as follows. In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which arise a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political, and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness (Marx, 1857; 20-21).

In other words, the above argument has clearly highlighted the dynamics of Marxism which was stated summarily in the above posited assertion by Marx. It gave clear view of the application of Marxism in understanding the dynamics of world order especially, its manifestations in the contemporary Africa state.

Impact of World Orders on Africa Security in the Post-cold war era
Forty-five years of the Cold War (1945-1990) between the United States and Soviet Union and their allies have had considerable impact not only on the politics of

international peace and Security, global political economy, but according to Lefeber (1980), also on regional conflict pattern and development strategies in Europe and the Third World, most especially Africa (Rees, 1967). Although no third world war erupted as Gaddis 1986 asserted, the Cold War was a long period of uneasy peace characterised by several violent regional conflicts, bitter ideological struggles and military build ups between the two leading superpower blocs; yet these were by no means purely bilateral issues as they were projected into international organizations like the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and regional political and economic unions.

However, the profound changes in international relations brought about by the ending of the cold war haven been acclaimed the world over as constituting of the most significant signal of the emergency of a new world order in which international peace and security, justice, human, rights, freedom, and equality of nations and races will be enthroned and sustained (Chernoff, 1991 and Momah, 1993). Fleming (1961) argues that although the conditions that gave rise to the Cold War, principally the Soviet conquest of Eastern Europe and American reaction to perceived threat of further Soviet expansion with a policy of 'containment' seemed at least up to the late 1980s to have disappeared, yet a new form of international crisis, namely – global crisis of the capitalist growth economy, worse than the economic crisis of 1929-1932 of the League of Nations World Order, explored (Watson, 1979:73-74 & Momah, 1993: 131). It was a multi-dimensional crisis where economic, political, social, ideological and ecological dimensions defied structural adjustment therapy prescribed by capitalist development and financial institutions (the World Bank and the IMF). The political economy of the Welfare States of the capitalist economies not only became irrelevant in the late 1980s and 1990s but also defied all form of "restructuring" experiments both in the developed capitalist economies and the fragile political economies of Africa, where crisis of economic adjustment combined with the crisis of security and development to place African mechanisms and institutions for meeting the challenges of the Post –Cold War era under very serious stress and strains (Momah: 131-132).

This brings us to the last aspect of the problem. Since African states are lurked in within the vortex of the politics of international peace and security, they shoulder directly and indirectly enormous responsibilities, which the security Scenarios of the Post-Cold War inevitably impose on states, which compete and co-operate with others to achieve their national interest and aspirations (Nweke, 1985). Africa States cannot fold their arms or standby as mere on-lookers. Thus, the Post-Cold War era poses a contingent problem not only of strengthening the capacity for control and efficient management of the foundations and contradictions of African social-economic development problems and security, but also of evolving national and collective institutional mechanisms for influencing the character of international peace and security so as to reduce and/or eliminate the present asymmetry in international stratification, thereby fostering the dynamics of unity and transformation. The transcendence of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to an African Union (AU) is a clear manifestation of Africa's recognition of the problems.

The implications of the ending of the Cold War for African security and development cannot be fully assessed outside the contexts of the United States and Soviet antagonism. For so long as anarchy, as Schwarzeberger (1964), Morgenthau (1973) and Aron (1966) have shown in their classic works, remains the main feature of the international system, each state or group of states must be alert to the possibility of threats of attack or intervention by the militarily stronger states. There is no supranational authority to restrain them. Two recent collections of studies edited by smock and Nyongo (1993), clearly demonstrate the implications of external involvement in Africa's internal affair and civil wars, and particular, the difficulty of achieving stability once intervention has become a fait accompli.

a.   The Rise of New Powers and Second Scramble for Africa

The above could not be understood without recourse to understanding western powers and the formative influence of the first scramble. Therefore, the rise of the merchant capitalist classes in the womb of the totting feudal relations of production signalled the beginning of the end of feudal order in Europe. This historical development that blossomed at first in Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Denmark and later in England and France was to revolutionise history and indeed the development of the productive forces (human capital, material capital and the relations of production). It gave birth to the precursor of capital, the mercantile order which was the interlude between the decaying feudalism and the rising capitalism. It drew the earth from the feet of the feudal order and placed it at the service of the rising capitalism. The rise of mercantilism in the bowel of feudalism became the acid through which the old feudal order was dissolved. Thus, the mercantilist era was the period of the so-called discoveries of Africa, the Asia, and the Latin America. The rise of mercantilism and consequently the development of capitalism intensified accumulation on individual scale. This was the period of accumulation without production or what Marx called primitive accumulation. This became the first stage of the global historical distortion of the historical process of what would later become the underdeveloped world, that is, the third world countries (Tedheke, 1998).

The development of trade was because of the increasing division of labour which led to the development of transportation which gave impetus to new craft, new knowledge about the workings of metal and new specification and to new forces of production. Thus, great wealth was accumulated by individual merchants. Moreover, with the huge profits made in the capitalist setting, capital attained a stage of constancy with marginal diminishing returns within the European locality. This was necessitated by what Ake (1981) calls over saving, over production and under consumption. There was need for a new market where export will be made. This prompted their invasion of Africa which was done with Bible on one hand and sword on the other hand. On their entrance into Africa, there was resistance from the local inhabitants. They were opposed by nationalist movements which include attempts made by the likes of King Jaja of Opobo, etc. Those resistances were watered down by the metropolitan forces or powers who invaded the people with sophisticated weapon that instilled anxiety in them to a point of surrendering and retreating. With the invasion of the colonial masters in Nigeria, the

traditional administrative structures and values suffered destruction. Oddih (2000:35) states that,

> Studies in pre-colonial African political economy indicate that Africa societies were rather egalitarian and social oriented, caring for each member of the family as a member of the society. Complete alienation from the schemes of the society was not tolerated.

But, with their invasion into African territory, they introduced some underdevelopment programmes which included the devastating trans-Atlantic slave trade that lasted up till the middle of 19th century. It was arranged to alter the development process in the African region. The British made us believe that they spearheaded the end of slavery and for such they were civilized and want to institute civilization (Aderinto and Uba, 1998).

In 1861, Britain took over Nigeria's hinterland commercially. At this stage, imperialism has taken a centre stage in the make of things. The Royal Niger Company (RNC), a British company became the forerunner of British actual domination and colonialism. It was against this backdrop that we consider it germane to present Lenin's argument on imperialism to aid in the understanding of the various applications of capitalism. To that extent, Lenin (1965) defines Imperialism as,

> Capital in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of the world among the international trust has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the capitalist powers has been completed.

In the same vein, Amilcar (1980:125) defines imperialism as the worldwide expression of the profit motive and the ever-increasing accumulation of surplus value by monopoly financial capital in two regions of the world; first in Europe later in North America.

Based on the above, it is imperative to note that it is at this stage that the emergence of Trans-national Corporation (TNC) and the distortion of Nigerian developmental process surfaced. The essence of Royal Niger Company was to prepare a beneficial atmosphere for the actual colonization of Nigeria and Africa.

In 1900, actual colonialism kicked off in earnest with full domination, integration, subjugation of Nigeria politically and economically for administrative convenience. At this time, Royal Niger Company from whom British government took over metamorphosed into a company called United Africa Company (UAC) and embarked on commercial ventures to ensure the consolidated of their economic base. It emerged to replace Royal Niger Company (RNC). Altogether, other international companies started emerging on the shore of Nigeria because of the fact that the country is heavily endowed in natural resources. They came in various sectors which include Oil Transnationals such as Shell, Chevron Elf, Mobil, Gulf, Agip, Safrap, Tenneco Oil, Union Oil, Total, Exxon,

AP, Texaco, etc., which specialize in oil explorations. In the Oil Servicing Companies we have Schlumberger, Baker Hughes, Halliburton, Atlas, ConocoPhillips, Hyundai Heavy Industries (HHI), Daewoo Consortium, Technip Consortium, SKEC/SUMATEC, JGC/SAIPEM Consortium, etc., they are companies that are on contract for oil drillings. Food and Cosmetic sector: Unilever, UAC, Mac Tonnel, PZ, Lever Brothers, CFAO, United Africa Company (UAC) Food, Cadbury, Hot Shoppe, Peak, A.G. Leventis, John Holt, etc., these companies are into the production and processing of food, canned products and cosmetics; for the pharmaceuticals, we have May and Baker, Beecham, chemmica and Allied Products Limited, Drugfield, Neimeth, Glaxo Wellcome, Dr, Meyer's, Penicillin, etc. In the construction sectors, we have Reynold Construction Company (RCC), Strabag Construction Company, Intel Services, Centreline construction, Setraco, Julius Berger (JB), Niger Cart, Trilacta, etc., they specialise in the construction of roads, drainages, damps bridges, houses, etc. In breweries: we have Coca Cola, Guinness, NBL, Pepsi, Green Sandshandy, St. Raphael, etc.; they deal in the production of soft drinks, beer and hot drinks. In the area of banking, we have First Bank which was formerly known as British bank of West Africa and was renamed Bank of west Africa and then to Standard Bank and Barclays bank which is today known as Union Bank of Nigeria, Glanvil Enthoven and Co Nigeria Limited, etc., shipping companies like Maersk, Euro Star, Amer Whitney, Desert Sky, Safemarine Duala, Pavillion, nedlolloyd Valentina, Hannes and Co, dubai Guardian, Ocean Wind, Prolin Viktoriya, Pattaya Navee, Pilatus, Parat, Sai Kung MSK Varberg, etc., Wood Companies which were concerned with the shaping of woods to various frames and for building purposes and also those that provides services like, P&T which performed the functions of messages and parcels delivery and has been overtaken by Nigerian Postal Services and there are some other sectors that really impacted in the economy of Nigeria, for the automobiles, we have BEWAC limited, Leyland Nigeria Limited, John Holt, etc. In the Engineering and Manufacturing sector, we have COSTAIN, DUNLOP, George Wimpey, and Co, Metal Box Nigeria Limited, Metal Toyo Glass Limited, Paterson Zochonis Industries Limited, Tate and Lyle Nigeria limited, Taylor Woodrow, Thermcool Engineering Company, Crittall-Hope Nigeria Limited, etc. Thus, as time progresses, the above quoted companies increased in their finances and bases, thereby moving from multi-million-dollar companies to multi-billion-dollar companies. We have some other new companies that emerged in the late 20th and early 21st century that are busy exploring the market at a very fast rate, both in the telecommunications and mobile phone subdivisions. We also have in the area of mobile phones companies like Samsung, Nokia, Motorola, Ericson, Sagem, Siemens, etc. They specialise in the making of cell phones of which Nigeria is one of the biggest markets in Africa. On the other side, we have telecommunication industries which include, MTN-Nigeria, Globacom, Reltel, Starcoms, Rainbow net, Multilink, Celtel now Zain, etc. They are network service providers that provide coverage for the Nigerian masses in the emerging global communication system. There are also so many others technological development that emanated from the Transnational Corporations both in the past and present, which include PEAGEOT, VOLKSWAGON otherwise Known as BEETLE, etc. But the unfortunate scenario remains that we are trapped in the debacle of technological deceit. The industrial capitalists retail in ruses and lies and have sold to us that it is more expensive to bring the technology down to Africa. To that extent, the option for shipping down of finished goods remains saleable.

The unfortunate scenario that attended the scramble was spelt aberration for the development of Africa. This reflects Europe's scramble for Africa, which led to the partitioning of the continent in 1885 at the Berlin Conference. In doing so Europe considered Africa as their God-given inheritance. They partitioned Africa with no consultations with the indigenous people of Africa, who later suffered at the hands of the imperialists. Africans suffered slavery and forced labour in the construction of roads, in mines and on farms. European occupation of Africa robbed the continent of its right to decide its political and economic destiny. The continent lost its legitimacy to control the exploitation of its economic resources for its people. In due course, the Africans took up arms to fight the colonial system in the continent. With the help from China, Russia and America Africa attained political independence from Europe from the 1960s. The last country to attain political independence in Africa was South Africa, which liberated itself from apartheid in 1994. Despite the removal of the colonizers in the continent, economic structures like roads and railway lines set up to exploit Africa by the Europeans are by and large still serving the same purpose. Much of Africa's business entities are foreign owned. English and French continue to be the official languages in most former European colonies in Africa. Today, both the West and the East are fighting over Africa's resources. This is a new scramble for Africa (Osita, Eze & Anigbo, 2010).

The predicaments of Africa remained a contest of extension as the end of first scramble that left African states in a pitiable condition was overtaken by another scramble for the African states. The Sino-African relation is also an advancement of this exercise. The two (Africa and China) are developing regions of the world. The Sino-Africa relationship links a continent with a country. Africa has 55 countries, which is 33% of all the developing countries in the world. It also constitutes about 25% of the total membership of the United Nations (IMF, 2006a). Africa is the second largest continent in the world and the least developed continent. It has one third of the world 's unutilized arable land. The continent is rich in minerals, oil, and gas. Yet, the continent's economies largely rely on China, India, Europe, and America for development. The above statements about Africa mean three things: first, the continent can feed herself; second, Africa could be net supplier of food to the rest of the world and third, the underdevelopment problem in Africa is structural, which arise because of a culture of foreign aid dependency. The dependency has disincentivised Africa from implementing policy reforms that could set the continent on a path to sustainable development. Aid and development programmes, set up ostensibly to support and benefit the recipient countries, have all too often effectively brought their greatest to investors (Osler 1994).

China, the second fastest growing economy in the world is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. The country has a large population (1, 3 billion people), low per capita income, and a large agrarian sector which accounts for a significant contribution to the economy's gross domestic product GDP). The country has forged strong economic and political relations with Africa. The Communist Party of China (CPC) is the vanguard party in building and maintaining the Sino-Africa relationship. The current discourse explores China's foreign policy in the scramble for Africa's wealth.

17

Conclusion

From the revelations in the study on the security Challenges confronting Africa in the post war era, it is germane to note that Africa is faced with lots of problems occasioned by the series of world orders over the past years. It has to a large extent undermined the very essence of African security through the violation and abuse of her sovereignty. The security challenges confronting Africa in the post-cold war era are offshoots of the various Europe's initiated and propagated World Orders. The world orders were the root cause of multifaceted security challenges staring Africa in the face over the years which include war/conflict, resource control crisis, identity politics, Great power, cold war politics, proxy conflict wars and globalization attack on sovereignty of African states amongst others.

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