

ANALYZING POST-COLONIAL IMPACTS OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTIONS ON AFRICA'S NATIONAL AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

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The most intention of this paper is investigating the impacts of Post-Colonial External interventions in Africa's national and regional integration. The researchers employed qualitative research approach, and used secondary sources of data lastly thematic analysis technique was used. The paper addressed that external interventions through the lenses of history are not conducive for Africa's integrations. Though there is change of superpowers across time, most of Africa's place is the same—raw material supplier and market for dumping. The external interventions remain key challenges of the Africa's prospects for harmonization of state–society relations and ensuring regional integrations. External forces do continue in undermining Africa's long awaited aspiration for the establishment of United States of Africa. Any intervening foreign power, therefore, brings with its own interests, its own political value system, and could limit the success of Africa's integration. Addressing the root causes of obstacle not only to bring an end to existing functionality obstacles, but also to prevent new cycles of failure. The focus should be on building good state society relations and designing and implementing integration agenda across, strengthening regional integration at any cost possible, and take positive lessons from the past and present external interventions.

Keywords: *post-colonial, Africa, Integration, External Interventions, Neo-Liberal Policies*

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ANÁLISIS DE LOS IMPACTOS POSCOLONIALES DE LAS INTERVENCIONES EXTERNAS EN LA INTEGRACIÓN NACIONAL Y REGIONAL DE ÁFRICA

El objetivo de este trabajo es investigar los impactos de las intervenciones externas poscoloniales en la integración nacional y regional de África. Los investigadores emplearon un enfoque de investigación cualitativa y utilizaron fuentes secundarias de datos, finalmente se utilizó la técnica de análisis temático. El documento aborda que las intervenciones externas, a través de la lente de la historia, no son favorables para las integraciones de África. Aunque hay un cambio de superpotencias a lo largo del tiempo, la mayor parte de la posición de África sigue siendo la misma: proveedor de materias primas y mercado para el desecho. Las intervenciones externas siguen siendo desafíos clave para las perspectivas de África en cuanto a la armonización de las relaciones estado-sociedad y la garantía de integraciones regionales. Las fuerzas externas continúan socavando la tan esperada aspiración de África de establecer los Estados Unidos de África. Cualquier potencia extranjera que intervenga, por lo tanto, trae consigo sus propios intereses, su propio sistema de valores políticos, y podría limitar el éxito de la integración de África. Abordar las causas profundas del obstáculo no solo para poner fin a los obstáculos funcionales existentes, sino también para prevenir nuevos ciclos de fracaso. El enfoque debe estar en construir buenas relaciones estado-sociedad, diseñar e implementar una agenda de integración a lo largo de todo el continente, fortalecer la integración regional a cualquier costo posible, y tomar lecciones positivas de las intervenciones externas pasadas y presentes.

Introduction

A unified state, region and continent are in a better position to cop up with the development, governance, stability and nation hood (national integrations of states) challenges. Integration is good for peace, security; social, economic, and political sustainable development of the region and its members. Africa has strong aspiration for integration and it has many REI schemes and other organizations for that end. Regional integration initiatives in Africa have a long history, dating back to the establishment of the South African Customs Union (SACU) in 1910 and The East African Community(EAC)in 1919 and many have been created since 1970s.

However, it is a continent that has remained the least integrated of the world's major regions (Jibouk, 2015). Africa is one of the continent that has been hit by different types of inter and intra state conflict which are manifestation of failure in national integration (failure in nation building, democratic building, diversity management) (Kidane, 2011), in regional and continental integrations. In capitalizing the external environment Thomson rightly stated that "Africans are innately no more violent, no more corrupt, no greedier, and no more stupid than any other human beings that populate the planet. Not to believe this is to revive the racism that underpinned the ethos of slavery and colonialism" (Ibid). Therefore, the fate of Africa's integration endeavour is not totally under its arms but subject to the influence of external interests. This study deals with the impacts of colonial and post-colonial external interventions on Africa's long term aspiration of national and regional integrations. The principal objective of this study is, therefore, describing and explaining the impacts of colonial and post-colonial external interventions on Africa's move towards unity and the establishment of United States of Africa.

This research paper tries to address the following questions. Why Africa was/is the hunting ground for external powers? How did/do external intervention impact Africa's national and regional level integration? Is it possible to have regional integration without having national integration or the otherwise? The research approach is qualitative and the research design is case study of selected African countries. Countries are selected purposively taking their exposure to external interventions into account to understand and explain the impacts of external interventions on the two level integrations. The data type is dominantly secondary published and unpublished sources. So document and content analysis used to gather required data so as to answer the research questions.

1. Understanding External Intervention

Intervention is any interference in the affairs of other agencies through violent or non-violent means, in traditional sense of the term, and under this ages of globalization all international interactions of political, economic and cultural natures

(McNulty, 1999). Intervention now takes so many political forms and understood as interference in the political, social and economic affairs of another political community (Ramuhala, 2010). It may have coercive and non-coercive governmental with military and non-military forms and transnational, intergovernmental and nongovernmental once (Ramuhala, 2010). Hence, who are interfering agents—state or non-state; what are the structures of interventions—coercive or non-coercive; and the domain of interventions—internal or external agents...are very critical issues in the discourse of interventions.

External interventionist the involvement of foreign powers in Africa through the use of military, economic, diplomatic or a combination of these to prevent or curate or shape some policy behaviour and action of the later basically for strategic, economic, ideological interests of the former. It is a policy of both reactive and proactive activity undertaken by external power either unilaterally or multilaterally for advancing the perceived or real interest of the intervening power. It may use both aggressive (violent) and non-aggressive (sanctions, information warfare, propaganda) to shape the behaviour of the subject of intervention. External involvement takes many forms, such as unilateral or bilateral military or economic or the more complex multilateral measures through international organizations (IOs) such as the UNs (Sousa, 2014). In many cases external interventions aggravate the causalities in the subject agency as compare with their absence (Sousa, 2014). Many of the wars fought before and since 1960 in Africa have not just been between competing African states or rival groups within a state, but involved external powers (McNulty, 1999).

External intervention simply refers to one state's intrusion into the domestic affairs of another through direct or indirect means to advance its national interests. Between 1989 and 1999, 69% of civil wars experienced some form of external intervention in Africa. The external community's interventions are normally of a military, economic or diplomatic nature or a combination of those and are executed by either state in unilateral/bilateral manner or multilateral organizations which may be either political or neutral interventions (Sousa, 2014). Somalia was one spot area for different external intervention policies tasted and the failed American intervention in the conflict led to a shift in the intervention doctrine at the time, resulting in a major international community troop withdrawal from Africa (Sousa, 2014).

As more fragmentation invite more foreign intervention and the latter then deepen the fragmentations created thereof. The creation of weak, client states and dictatorship in Africa, was in the interest of European colonizers for both colonial and neo-colonial periods (McNulty, 1999). For instance, European colonial interventions for economic and political purposes; Cold War interventions of the two super powers; international financial institutions (IFIs) (IMF and WB) interventions via Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) and Post cold war interventions of BRICs, USA via AGOA, EU via EPA. Throughout the cold war, mainly from 1960 to 1990,

France was given green signal by the west to influence in its exclusive African spheres and militarily interfere in Chad, Zair and Rwanda (McNulty, 1999). Hence, Military intervention was the most explicit manifestation of France's enduring post colonial involvement in Africa (McNulty, 1999). In addition, there were both unilateral and multilateral military interventions in Africa such as in 1992 Somalia; in 1994 Rwanda; in 2000 Sierra Leone; in 2003 Sudan and DRC; in 2008 Comoros (Ramuhala, 2010). In many cases big dictators calms their intervention as just by associating their deeds with humanitarian; peace keeping; state and nation building; war of terror interventions.

2. Analysing the impacts of Post-Colonial Interventions

In many post colonial and newly independent states of Africa, the idea of foreign domination by proxy or remote control, mainly through establishing a clientele or puppetized group in power who shamelessly agree to compromise African interests, was there as an instrument of neocolonialism and maintaining the national interests of foreign powers (Rodney, 1973; Tordoff, 2002). These external interventions affect Africa's integration efforts. In this sense Rodney rightly stated that "If economic power is centered outside of national African boundaries, then political and military power in any real sense is also centered outside until and unless the masses of peasants and workers are mobilized to offer an alternative to the system of sham political independence" (1973:46). In this period too the three failures (national integration, regional integration, sovereignty) have been observed in Africa because of external interventions.

2.1. Cold War Interventions

The Cold war, ideological and geopolitical confrontation, started in Eastern Europe and split over to the rest of the world (Manyok, 2008) in course of time. The majority of Africa states gained their political independence between 1955 and 1975, where the world was dominated by the Cold War. During this period, the two superpowers and their allies interfered in the affairs of African states, supporting factions with funding, military aid, troops perceived to be aligned with masters' interests (Thomson, 2010). In the communist east categories mainly USSR and followed by Cuba and China some countries had got support such as Angola, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe for their strategic alliance with the east (Thomson, 2010). In the liberalist west category mainly USA and followed by France and Britain involved in Angola, DRC, Morocco, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi to provide support without giving due attentions for their human right record (Ibid:2010). From the

colonial powers France was dominant in Africa during the cold war mainly for its people, finance and force and had established military agreements almost with its all colonies and had military bases in Djibouti, CAR, Togo, Senegal, Gabon, Coted'Ivoire(Ibid:2010). During the Cold War, therefore, the super-powers supported any client state they could win to their side whether democratic or not. This balkanization of the continent affect both national and regional level integrations.

For example, backed by foreign intervention, Siad Barre(former president of Somalia) destroyed institutions of government and democracy, abused human rights, committed corruption in terms of favouritism and embezzlement for himself and his sub clan where all of the major clans and sub clans became alienated (Rotberg, 2004). Instead of winning the battle of ideas, the military tried to use might where populism shifted to militarism and politicization and militarization of clan politics (Khayre, 2017) and the military was removed from power in 1991 via coup where the super powers involved for their interests. Consequently, civil war, terrorism, lawlessness and piracy plague the country which is in perpetual turmoil and national integration was in question yet (Khayre, 2017). Since then, because of colonial legacies of dived and rule policies, hostile clan politics and other external influences Somalia is among the most weakest state with strong national integration failure.

External interventions during the cold war, the SAPs impositions by IMF and WB, the war of terror affects both state to state and state-society relations in Africa (Kidane, 2011). As the OAU was established during the period of the Cold War and as this war intensified between the two powers, individual African countries became relevant in the rivalry and divided on several issues as per the interest of the super powers of the time (Jiboku, 2015). Foreign interventions affect the works of OAU, for instance, during the Algeria –Morocco conflict(1963-1964) Russia and Egypt supported Algeria and USA, France, Spain and other North African states supported Morocco by doing creates hostility and mistrust among Arab North African states (Murithi, 2008).

The cold war competition between the east and the west, in which loans and aids were seen as instruments for constructing political alliances with the countries of the south, was one of the hindrance factors for both national and regional integrations in Africa (Olukoshi and Laakso, 1996). Though there was a third pole in the name of Non- Aligned Movement (NAM) to protect the south countries from Cold war rivalries, Africa was the battle field between the two super powers. The role of external powers was evident in many inter and intra state conflicts in Africa. Murithi rightly state the context that “Interventionist manipulation was promoted by the political leanings and temper Africans who were regards as hostile to the vested economic and strategic interests of the former colonial powers and the United States” (2008:34). The foreign powers contributed a lot in toppling down leaders they dislike and appointing those they like and in doing negatively affect state-society relations and then national integrations in Africa. For example, assassination of Lumumba, the leader of Democratic Republic of the Congo

(DRC), repeated attempt on Nasser, second president of Egypt, the overthrow of Nkrumah, President of Ghana and Benbella, head of government of Algeria, and the attack on Sekou Toure, first president of Guinea (Murithi, 2008). They were also participating in many military coups such as in Zanzibar, Gabon, Ivory Coast, and Senegal which undermine state sovereignty and national integrations.

In the late 1950s, Cold War Competition between USA (in support of the secessionist group and Belgium) and USSR (in support of the ruling regime–Lumumba–democratically elected), mainly for their own strategic, economic and ideological interests, turned the Congo as one of the most volatile regions of the world affected by chaos and civil war for at least four decades (Souleyman, 2013; Manyok, 2008). The Congo became not only the epicentre of the East–West competition in Africa, but also one of the most dangerous battlegrounds in the world (Souleyman, 2013). Behind the assassination of the leader of Congo, Patrice Lumumba, in 1961 both USA and Belgium were the major actors and brought unelected dictator –Mobutu to power (Souleyman, 2013; Manyok, 2008; Francis, 2010). When the superpowers brought small firearms, Congo embarked into darkness, and human suffering everywhere (Manyok, 2008). This affected not only its national integration but also its smooth relations with adjacent states (Angola and Namibia–supporting the government; Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi–supporting rebel groups) (Manyok, 2008) and the regional economic community to mention example The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).

Similarly the two superpowers interfere in the Angola crisis of civil war in 1975 conducted with in their respective national interest, mainly taking into account their ideological orientations (Thomson, 2010). Since the cold war began, Angola had been in constant war with itself for at least three decades. It was another centre of proxy war between the two blocks (Manyok, 2008). In addition, Cuba and South Africa were involved by supporting USSR and USA respectively and war was escalated at higher level and brought huge human miserable suffering, destruction of infrastructures and social and economic repercussions (Manyok, 2008). The superpower patronage affected the internal state stability mainly when the two superpowers had interest in a single state like they did in Angola for 27 year. On several instances of the cold war, rival domestic political forces came to be supported by competing powers from outside (Thomson, 2010; Francis, 2010). This hugely undermines national and regional integration attempts; especially it affected the relations among its adjacent states.

These and other interventions measures during the CW period brought fear among many leaders of the newly independent states of Africa and forced to adopt their own policy towards either of the two superpowers of the time (Souleyman, 2013). Therefore, it was period of ideological domination, comparable to European direct domination, of Africa by external powers which affected national integration in Congo, Angola and other similar cases throughout the continent. Other external powers too (Germany, Japan, Scandinavian countries, Arab States and international

financial institutions have played in a post colonial Africa by having bilateral and multilateral agreements with individual African countries(Thomson, 2010). For instance the social security agreement between Japan and Sweden will make it easier for Swedes working in Japan to qualify for a Japanese pension and they will also be able to receive Japanese pension payments in Sweden if they move back to Sweden to settle permanently which accodede in 2020.

2.2. SAPs Interventions

In 1980s and 1990s, when Africa lacked the opportunity to borrow, IFIs introduced conditional lending-SAPs in Africa (Thomson, 2010). The debt crises, crisis of foreign exchange, decline of terms of trade have been the most important factor for Africa's vulnerability to external penetration through IFIs where they dictate public policy making and erode the economic sovereignty of Africa states. This was a continuation of colonial rule that forced Africa to export oriented agricultural produces and mining primary sectors without giving due attention to the secondary and tertiary sectors. It is also part of the continuation of mono-crop export traditions which denied Africa the opportunity of diversification of export products and diversify its markets. By these programs, like colonial era, Africa's market for its export products were totally abroad and integrate Africa with unequal exchange of trade which intern resulted in debt crisis.

The donor countries and their institutions have given priorities for their own interests- to get raw materials, free markets and in doing so they have tried to weaken the African states, mainly developmental states (Thomson, 2010). Bilateral and multilateral donor agencies, from whom many African states seek economic assistance, forced the African states to withdraw from the economy via different conditional ties and the imbalance terms of trade between Africa and the north have affected the welfare system in Africa. The privatization of state owned enterprises and different public goods and services resulted in massive transfer of resources from Africa to the west (Murithi, 2008). So the big ex-bosses are worried about the move towards integrations for fear of denial of uncontrolled access to the milk's of Africa. Their worry is attributed to "... the fact that Africa is home to various strategic minerals, energy, and other natural resources" (Murithi, 2008:40). The very purpose of SAPs was to integrate LDCs into the world trading systems in line with the prescriptions of modernization theory (Kendie, 1998).

SAP was part of the tools to maintain the asymmetrical relations between the North and the South. It was based on an argument that distanced the state from the economy and exposed the weak market, private sector and infant industries to the west MNCs (Kendie, 1998). As the very intension of SAP was to force the African countries to repay their debt in the short term and integrating Africa

to the unfair trading system of the world in the long term, the program was not towards Africa's favour at the end (Kendie, 1998). Hence, the SAPs prescriptions have brought neither growth nor debt relief but national and regional integration and sovereignty failures. In addition to direct colonial administration, SAPs of 1970s, 1980s and 1990s has contributed to the erosion not only of the capacity of the state but also its legitimacy that impacted state society relations (Olukoshi and Laakso, 1996). One of the external causes of national integration failure, therefore, was the structural adjustment programs being implemented by the support of IFIs from 1970s to 1990s in Africa.

During the era of SAPs, the state capacity, state and nation building agenda was not given nearly as much thought or emphasis as state downsizing agenda and pave the way for neo-patrimonial and predatory regimes in Africa that undermine national integrations (Fukuyama, 2005). In addition to IFIs, many African states have developed deep economic relations with non-African partners, including with comprehensive trade agreements like AGOA, EPAs, and with emerging powers of India and China (ICTSD, 2016). In March 1998, USA passed AGOA aimed at expanding USA's markets for Sub Sahara African Countries and it came with the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) (Francis, 2010). However, this arrangement too emphasize on market liberalization and global economic integrations rather than ensuring and encouraging sustainable development in Africa (Kendie, 1998). It has similar policy orientation, market oriented policy, and conditions similar to IMF and WB. Africa's engagement with the outside world by far dominant as compare with what it does at home. For example, intra Africa trade is less than 15% of the total, while it is above 55% and 62% in Asia and Europe respectively in 2013 (ICTSD, 2016). The conclusion of the EPAs with EU has negative impacts on Africa's long term derive for integration by undermine the REIs schemes of the continent.

2.3. Post-Cold War Interventions: the NWO

When USSR disintegrated in the early 1990s, cold war was ended. This resulted in the end of superpower proxy war and put Africa in a less strategically significant geopolitical map from the west (Thomson, 2010). The end of the cold war has not resulted in any appreciable reduction of foreign troops stationed in Africa but has given space to IFIs in African politics and economics which reduced the autonomy of decision making of African states again. Some powers like USA come up with the idea of humanitarian, securitization, nation building and war of terror as issues of interventions. Hence, in the name of good governance, democratization and human rights external powers from the west mainly USA, France and Britain with their institutions interfere in Africa (Thomson, 2010). At the end of the Cold War African countries become "Cold War Orphans," devoid of their internal capacity and super-power support (Ncube, and Basil 2013; Brooks, 2005). The support of the

super power during the cold war hides the real features of African states, but when the cold-war was over and the big boys deny their support, African states reality had been disclosed. With the end of the Cold War, this support was sometimes suddenly withdrawn which further weakening the quasi-states of Africa and aggravate national integration failures (Hentz, 2004).

Due to the Chinese interest, Africa is / will come an economic and strategic battlefield under the geopolitics of post-cold war era between China and the west. In this perspective, Murithi boldly mentioned that "The concern about African continental unity is also heightened among the rich countries of the west by China's coming to Africa as a serious contender for markets and investment in Africa's strategic resources" (2008:40). China is now Africa's second most important export destination behind EU and India has surpassed the US to become Africa's third largest export destination (ICTSD, 2016). Of all the major powers, it is China that has worried itself most in Africa's affairs for both market and raw materials, mainly oil (Thomson, 2010). Like what it did for Europe during slave trade and colonialism, Africa has contributed significantly for the emergence of China as super power of the new world order or the new cold war. As the west powers controlled the Western Asia oil, China has a strong zeal for Africa's oil control and production.

In some cases, western external actors consider state failure in Africa as a security peril in the new cold war geopolitics. In line with this, these actors have dogmatic assumption and wishful thinking that all states shall follow a model of Western liberal democracy either through soft or hard power (Hagmann, and Markus, 2009). Their intervention is shaped by Rostow modernization model where one fits for all and as if there is similar paths and ways to build/rebuild states in Africa. In terms of ideology it is the same with the ideology of colonialism- the civilization mission (Moe, 2010). In addition, the alignment between the external actors and the political elites marginalized the governed and affected state society relations in Africa (Moe, 2010; Francis, 2010).

Africa has experienced the most conflicts in the post-Cold War era, with more than one third of the world's total conflicts between 1989 and 2010 (Sousa, 2014). At the same time, Africa has attracted the most significant number of external interventions, mainly diplomatic and multilateral, for example, UN peacekeeping operations deployed 77% and 75% of their forces and budget respectively in Africa in 2005 (Sousa, 2014). For example, mineral rich DRC was depended on external assistance in particular from the U.S., to maintain patronage network, authoritarian, divide and rule policy during the cold war (Townshend, 2007; Hentz, 2004). With the end of the Cold War, however, both bilateral and multilateral aid declined and the IMF and WB were no longer as willing to engage in the debt relief with DRC (Hentz, 2004). In the post cold-war era the DRC lost its strategic significance to the West owing to the latter shift to a greater interest in human rights. As both the armed forces and the state depended on foreign aid for survival, these dramatic reductions signalled the final stages towards national integration failure. In addition, regional

insecurity fuelled by providing refuge and support to insurgent groups in neighbouring Angola and Uganda pushed the latter to act to remove leaders from power which affected regional integration moves.

The AGOA with the USA, the EPAs with European Union and the BRICs in one hand and the regional tripartite free trade area and the continental free trade area on the other hand impacted the Africa's integration quest across levels (ICSTD, 2016). For instance, the member states of SADC trade more with partners outside their organization than among themselves where EU and China are their principal trade partners. In 2014 it was only 25.4 % of the trade links connect one SADC member to another, compared to 74.6% connecting the member with the non member partner mainly china and EU (Ratsimbaharison, 2017). Here, post cold war globalization seems to work against regional integrations by opening up the market to the whole world and becoming more complex and intense (Ratsimbaharison, 2017).

In the post-cold war era, although strategic imperatives have changed, the DRC remains strategically important in the global fight against terrorism. It is also the epicentre of the global scramble for natural resources driven by the ever-rising demand for energy and industrial raw material. In this context, the stability and consolidation of the state's control over the territory has a major global public good dimension. Hence the urgency for concerted efforts at regional and global levels to support the Congolese government and people to find solutions to the conflicts and move to a path of strong, sustained and shared economic growth (UNs, 2015) as the area is very rich in minerals so EU and USA are interfering in DRC.

During the Cold War, superpowers continuously courted Somalia and Ethiopia to come into, or stay within, their sphere of influence due to their strategic geographic location for the ideological warfare of the period. Because of the end of the Cold War and the outbreak of the first Gulf War, no significant external mediation effort was channelled to address Somalia's deepening crisis. A perceived bias of United Nations and the United States antagonized clan warlords and disputes soon emerged over the interpretation of different agreements reached. Military and diplomatic interventions of both USA and UNOSOM withdrew and failed to achieve reconciliation and revive state collapse in Somalia. For example, TNG of Somalia was supported by Egypt, Libya, Eritrea, Gulf States and UN but failed to win the backing of Somalia land, Put-land and neighbouring states (Malito, 2011). As a counter in 2001 those opposed to this plan formed a coalition against the TNG called the Somalia Reconciliation and Restoration Council (SRRC), supported by Ethiopia and United States (Malito, 2011). This further highlighted how the interests of regional and external powers had become a hindrance to reconciliation and nation building in Somalia. Ethiopia and Western actors encouraged a decentralized approach, while competing Arab initiatives (sported the Arab League) supported a centralized approach (Malito, 2011).

Most African countries rely on export of primary agricultural produces (coffee, cocoa, tea, fruit and vegetables) and minerals (oil, gold, copper, Uranium Niger case, coltan DRC case) where their markets available outside Africa mainly EU, China, India and USA (ICTSD, 2016). So this dependence on external markets (both export and import) with their invisible hands to determine the prices of Africa's products is a challenge for RIs schemes, export growth and the overall development of Africa. The integration agenda in Africa is task extremely complex because of multiplicity of process and factors involved.

In a nutshell, under the new cold war, Africa is becoming destination of industrial products, supplier of raw materials, place for external emigrants mainly Chinese, subject of productive capital extractions, its infant domestic industries are becoming out of services. The objective of establishing partnership with Africa is to realize Chinese development at the expense of Africa's infant industries (Thomson, 2010). In the construction sector, china has brought its materials and in some case labour to Africa which negatively impacted both industries and job creations. Hence, china is creating and maintaining the same unequal relations with Africa like the period of colonialism and Africa is contributing for it willingly under neo-colonial doctrine where Africa supplies agricultural produces and minerals and in return brought industrial products.

Therefore, in the new world order Africa is following the same path of colonialism but with different power which hider Africa's regional integrations by affecting trade, investment and capital transfer among countries of Africa and national integrations by giving deaf ear for democracy, human rights and good governance. This create conducive environment to be a battlefield under the new international economic order or the new cold war between the BRIC and the west (USA and EU). This intensified Africa's underdevelopment and its domination by external powers and their allies. Generally, external interventions by resource suckers are a big challenge in the past, present and the future integration efforts of Africa.

Conclusion

The same path was followed during the cold war (military, ideological and strategic rivalry that made Africa a battlefield), the super powers interventions negatively affect both national and regional level integrations efforts. The structural adjustment program of the IFIs, bilateral and multilateral trade agreements were also had a negative impact on Africa's integration efforts by forcing them to downsize their capacity in the name of privatization and free market economy and also forcing them to specialize on mono-crop and mining materials for their export in the expense of import substitution and export diversification strategy. External interventions under the new world order are also driven by the interest of foreign powers and pushing Africa towards its peripheral position in setting the price of commodities, getting alternative markets and commodities for export. In short like the previous stages, under the NWO Africa is forced to focus on primary sectors for export and to open its markets for external industrial products.

Africa has continued to be on the margin of the global economy, because of the nature of the system and the interest of partners that Africa has. The nature of African economy is turned towards external powers and their donor institutions that pushed Africa as provider of low-priced primary agriculture and mining raw materials in exchange for the more expensive finished industrial goods. Not only the price disparity between the two exchanged commodities, but also the power of adjusting the price of these products inclined towards external powers that made Africa vulnerable to external influence. However, across time, Africa is more integrated with the external partner /global economy than at continental and regional levels within its soil.

Under all stages of interventions, external powers came to Africa to be benefited from it and not the other way round. Africa has contributed for the development of the west mainly Europe and the east mainly China India and the countries of the Arab peninsula. However these relations contributed a lot for Africa's underdevelopment. For example, the failure of a decade of reconciliation among various clans and state and nation building efforts in Somalia is an external interest driven national integration failure (Menkhaus, 2003). The above and other similar cases like Angola, DRC showed that integration problems in Africa are attributed to the various forms and dimensions of external interventions. In short what is changed across time is the power at the centre, but Africa has remained the same position and subjected to unequal exploitative partnership. And all external interventions undermine Africa's different forms and dimensions of national, regional and continental integration efforts. This is a strong testimony that the existence of a strong national integration is imperative for the realization of regional and also continental integrations.

Generally external interventions through the lenses of history are not conducive for Africa's integrations. Though there is change of superpowers across time, Africa's place is the same—raw material supplier and market for dumping. The external interventions remain key challenges of the Africa's prospects for harmonization of state–society relations and ensuring regional integrations. External forces do continue in undermining Africa's long awaited aspiration for the establishment of United States of Africa. Any intervening foreign power, therefore, brings with its own interests, its own political value system, and could limit the success of Africa's integration.

Finding solutions to the existential problems of integrations requires addressing the root causes of problem not only to bring an end to existing functionality problems, but also to prevent new cycles of failure. The focus should be on building good state society relations and designing and implementing integration agenda across levels, strengthening regional integration at any cost possible, and take positive lessons from the past and present external interventions. Therefore, the process of national integration in many African countries requires a partial decline in the power of group symbolism and confrontation by creating new economic, class, national identity. It has to be also clear that it is impossible to have regional integration without finishing nation building missions at state level. Otherwise the aspiration and struggle for better social, economic and political integration would be hard and too long.

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