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**Challenges of Nation Building in Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria:
A Comparative Study**

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This to certify that the thesis prepared by Sherif Keri Osman entitled: Challenges of Nation Building in Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria: A Comparative Study, is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of master of arts in Human and Economic Development in African and Asian studies complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Abstract

Despite the fact that both Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria are endowed with rich human and natural resources, the observable political, economic, and social phenomena of DRC and Nigeria indicates an absence of successful nation-building process, even after six decades of independence. There are abundant documents and related articles on the challenges faced by these countries in their efforts of nation-building. However, literature of comparative context, which deals with the challenges of nation building of DRC and Nigeria is unavailable. The current study shows the countries' efforts and challenges in nation-building. It also indicates their similarities and differences. In order to address the challenges of nation-building efforts of both countries, a qualitative comparative research design was adopted. Accordingly, the findings of the study indicate that the challenges of nation-building faced by the two countries include; challenges from colonial legacy, ethno-religious strife, weak institutions, corruption, poor governance, poverty and socio-economic inequalities, external intervention, leadership crisis, violence, and instability are among the various factors which deserve mention. The findings furthermore, suggest that there are significant similarities and differences between the challenges faced by DRC and Nigeria. For instance, the British colonial system provided better opportunity of political experience and civil servant role for the Nigerian elites as opposed to the Belgian Congo. In contrast to the smooth decolonization process of British Nigeria, the decolonization of Belgian Congo was abnormal, and the external intervention in post-independence Congo was more aggressive than that of Nigeria. Although both countries followed various nation-building policies, the challenges outweighed their endeavors. The findings of the study suggests that by implementing proper policy choices: establishing a national consensus of civic ideals rather than ethnic identity, carrying through a pro-people constitution, political, and economic policies, and by building an inclusive capable political, economic, and social institutions, it could be possible for the two countries to overcome the challenges of nation-building, and attain sustainable development.

Keywords: Nation, State, Nation-State, Nation-Building, State-Building.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<i>ABAKO</i>	<i>Alliance des Bakongo</i>
AEC	African Economic Communities
AG	Action Group
ANC	<i>Armee Nationale Congolaise</i>
A.U	African Union
<i>BALUBAKAT</i>	<i>Association Générale des Baluba du Katanga</i>
<i>CONAKAT</i>	<i>Confédération des associations tribales du Katang</i>
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel–Saharan States
CFS	Congo Free State
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
<i>CNS</i>	<i>Conférence Nationale Souveraine</i>
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECGLC	Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
E U	European Union
<i>FAC</i>	<i>Forces Armees Congolaises</i>
<i>FAZA</i>	<i>Forces Armees Zairoises</i>
FESTAC	Festival of Black Arts and Culture
FMG	Federal Military Government
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
<i>GECAMINES</i>	<i>Générale les Carrières et des Mines</i>
ICG	International Crisis Group
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Ijaw National Congress
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
<i>M N C-K</i>	<i>Mouvement National Congolais (Kalonji)</i>
<i>M N C-L</i>	<i>Mouvement National Congolais (Lumumba)</i>
<i>MONUC</i>	<i>Mission des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo</i>
MORETO	Movement for the Reparation to Ogbia
MOSIENO	Movement for the Survival of Ezon Ethnic Nationality in Niger Delta
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
<i>MPR</i>	<i>Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution</i>
NCNC-1	National Council of Nigerian Citizens
NCNC-2	National Council of Nigerians and the Cameroons.
NDPVF	Niger Delta People’s Volunteer Force
NNA	Nigerian National Alliance
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NPC	Northern People’s Congress
NYCOP	National Youth Council for the Survival of the Ogoni People
NYS	National Youth Service

OAU	Organization of African Unity
OPC	Oodua People's Congress
REC	Regional Economic Communities
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SD	Sustainable Development
SMM	Southern Minorities Movement
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPGA	United Progressive Grand Alliance
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
W B	World Bank
WWII	World War Second

CHAPTER I

Background

1.1 Introduction

Africa is a multiethnic continent with thousands of languages and cultures, different religions, rich natural resources, and history of many civilizations. Besides their diversity, the Atlantic slave trade and colonialism played a significant role on their current existing conditions. Following the scramble for Africa, colonialism created improper and arbitrary boundaries in Africa. The colonialists, in order to attain their colonial interest, deliberately created artificial divisions within different ethnic groups through their “divide and rule” policy (Alesina & Reich, 2012; Emmanuel, 2016; Laakso & Olukoshi, 1996; Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2013). The colonialists, while establishing their colonial boundaries, the ethnic diversities were not taken into consideration. The burden of nation building was to be addressed by the leaders of the post independent African states (Bandyopadhyay & Green, 2008; Mukwedeya, 2016).

Like the rest of African countries both DRC and Nigeria had been trying their level best to overcome the challenges of nation building in the last 60 years of independence. However, the observable contemporary data of both DRC and Nigeria indicates the prevailing of poverty, backwardness and instability (Campbell, 2011; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Hesselbein, 2007; Lewis, 2006; Trapido, 2015; Turner, 2007). Instability by itself does not only obstruct development but also poses a threat to successful nation building. The objective of the research will be identifying and assessing the multifaceted challenges of nation building encountered by Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria since gaining independence in 1960.

Based upon the available literature, in a comparative case study approach, the study will try to indicate the similarities and differences of challenges of nation building since gaining independence in 1960. To that end, the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial overview history of both countries is discussed as a background in separate sections.

1.1.1 Democratic Republic of Congo

The present day Central African region had been inhabited by the indigenous pygmy tribes thousands of years before the arrival of the Bantu migrants from western Africa. Through time the Bantus had their own civilization which developed into statehood such as the kingdoms of Kongo, Luba, Lunda, Mongo, Bakongo, and others. Agriculture, craftsmanship, and trade were

among the economic activities of these kingdoms. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to have contact with them in the 15th century. Like the rest of Africans, the Atlantic slave trade had a damaging impact on the political, economic, and social development of the Central African people (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007).

In addition to the trading companies and missionaries, it was the explorers who paved the way and provided the invaluable information about the rich potential resources of Africa for the European colonizers. The renowned explorer, Henry Morton Stanley, was the one who explored the Congo. Between 1879 and 1884, King Leopold of Belgium, after establishing the Association International du Congo, sent Stanley to lead an expedition to arrange the occupation of Congo for his covetous ambition. At the 1885 Berlin conference, the major European powers recognized the Congo free-state as a sovereign state. Subsequently King Leopold II declared himself as King Sovereign of the Congo in 1885 (Hochschild, 1998; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Reybrouck, 2014). Leopold run the Congo free-state as his private enterprise. During those 23 years of his reign over Congo he amassed hundreds of millions of Francs from ivory, rubber, and mining through his agents and various international companies who were granted monopoly of the business by him. Accumulation of capital was acquired through slave labor, terror, torture, murder, etc. which is considered as tantamount to genocide and holocaust. As a result of international outcry, the Belgian monarch was forced to relinquish the Congo free-state to the Belgian government to be administered as Belgian Congo between 1908 and 1960 (Hochschild, 1998; Reybrouck, 2014).

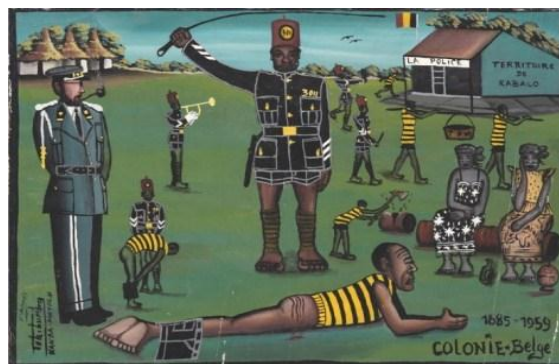
Fig 1. Congo Free State

The Rubber Terror

"The baskets of severed hands, set down at the feet of the European post commanders, became the symbol of the Congo Free State. ... The collection of hands became an end in itself. *Force Publique* soldiers brought them to the stations in place of rubber; they even went out to harvest them instead of rubber... They became a sort of currency. They came to be used to make up for shortfalls in rubber quotas... the *Force Publique* soldiers were paid their bonuses on the basis of how many hands they collected."
 - historian Peter Forbath



Fig 2. Belgian Congo



Source fig. 1: <https://image1.slideserve.com/2372277/the-rubber-terror1-1.jpg>

Source fig. 2: <https://i1.wp.com/negronews.fr/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/peinture-coloniale-two.jpeg?resize=473%2C340>

Belgian Congo was ruled under the policy of “Colonial Trinity”, which means the combination of the state, missionary, and private company interests. The Belgian Congo economy was based on raw materials and minerals exporting. The availability of rich mineral resources such as Diamond, Gold, Coltan, Tin, Copper, Uranium, etc. in Katanga and other parts of Congo attracted multinational corporations of Belgium, USA, UK, and the rest of the western countries. Besides, the revenue from Congo significantly subsidized the Belgian economy. The Belgians tried to follow the indirect rule policy. Unlike the British and the French colonies, education in Belgian Congo was very weak. However, the educated elites of Congo (*evolue*) were able to organize the anti-colonial movement after WWII (Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young & Turner, 1985). The anti-colonialist resistance movement started, though in a disorganized way, from the beginning of the Leopold era in 1885 (Hochschild, 1998; Reybrouck, 2014). But the Congolese resistance gained momentum following the post WWII international decolonization pressure, which forced the Belgians, though reluctantly, to abandon their richest colony in 1960. Consequently, when the moderate and federalist Kasa-Vubu became president, the radical and nationalist Patrice Lumumba became Prime Minister of Congo (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

The impromptu speech delivered by Patrice Lumumba on the Independence Day (June 30, 1960) ceremony was the greatest historical speech as all anti-colonialists agree. The gist of the speech was that independence becomes complete not only politically, but also has to be coined with economic independence. The speech was against the fundamental economic interests of the neocolonialists, capitalists, and imperialists of Belgium, USA, and other western European powers which they would never tolerate and forgive (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Zeilig 2008). The retaliatory measure was to destabilize Congo to get rid of Lumumba and to substitute him by pro-western Congolese. Consequently, Tchombe, with the help of the Belgians declared the secession of Katanga. By the request of the Lumumba government, the UN force intervened to prevent the secession of Katanga (Dobbins et al., 2005). Following the dispute between Kasa-Vubu and Lumumba, Mobutu staged a coup and put Lumumba under house arrest. Sadly enough, Lumumba, denied of UN protection, was tortured and murdered in Katanga, allegedly with Belgian and US involvement (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Hesselbein, 2007; Zeilig 2008). Finally in January 1963, UN intervention forced the Katangans to surrender (Dobbins et al.,

2005). During the crisis, various inter-ethnic conflicts and civil war took place including the secession attempt of South Kasai (Hesselbein, 2007).

Fig 3. Provinces of Belgian Congo

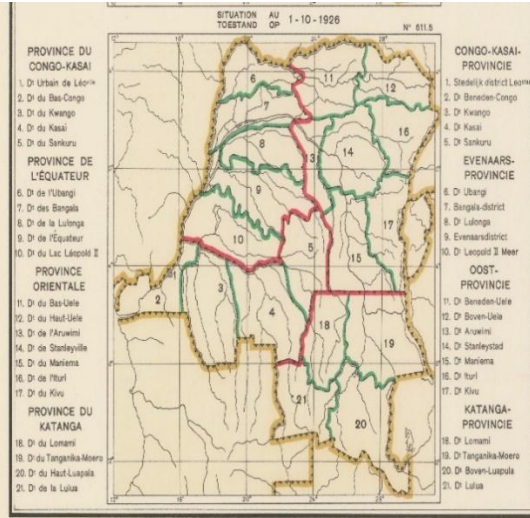


Fig 4. 26 Provinces of DRC



Source fig. 3:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/91/1926_provinces_Belgian_Congo_cropped_from_1950_administration_map_Atlas_General_du_Congo_611.jpg

Source fig. 4: <https://i0.wp.com/desc-wondo.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/RDC-26-Provinces.jpg>

1.1.2 Nigeria

With multi-ethnic and language diversities, Nigeria is located in sub-Saharan Africa. Long before the coming of Islam and European contact, the people of the modern day Nigeria developed agriculture, craftsmanship, iron working, trade, etc. Through time they established their own decentralized and centralized states such as those of Kanem, Borno, Benin, Ife, Oyo and Hausa city states, etc. (Falola & Heaton, 2008). Since 1100 AD, as a result of the coming of Islam, the Trans-Saharan trade flourished and strengthened the Sahelian Hausa city states of the north. The European contacts of the coastal states of southern Nigeria began in the 15th century. The trans-Atlantic slave trade has negatively affected the political, economic, and social institutions of the coastal states of Nigeria. The abolishing of the slave trade and the subsequent transition to “legitimate” trade paved the way for the establishment of British trading posts at the coast. The British protectorate of Southern Nigeria began in 1861 by the annexation of Lagos. The British colonization of Nigeria became complete after the fall of the Sokoto Caliphate of Northern Nigeria in 1903 (Ibid).

Nevertheless, in order to serve the British colonial interest, the hitherto independent conglomerate states became amalgamated to form the present day Nigeria in 1914. Before the amalgamation, the British administered the Northern and Southern protectorates as separate entities (Bourne, 2015; Gamgum, 2014). The Northerners were predominantly Hausa Fulani Muslims, and undereducated. The Southerners were predominantly Yoruba and Igbo, Christians, and well educated. Indirect rule was the British colonial policy in Nigeria. The economy was mainly based on the extracting of minerals, and the export of raw materials and cash crops (Campbell, 2011; Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Although the British colonialists introduced four consecutive constitutions between 1923 and 1954, the Nigerian's resistance against the British colonial system continued in various ways. Their resistance was limited at local levels until 1930. But after the 1930s, the educated Nigerian elites abroad tried to create pan-Nigerian national consciousness. The nationalist movement transformed to end the British colonial rule in October 1960 (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

According to Bogdandy et al: "Nation-building is the process of collective identity formation. Based upon traditions and customs it legitimizes public power to support the nation's claim to sovereignty and uniqueness" (Bogdandy et al., 2005, p.586). It is also a deliberate, keenly directed, energetic projection of national culture and collective action to develop viable political and economic system (Akoto, 2010).

A successful nation-building brings social homogenization and peace which is favorable for economic development. It facilitates proper utilization of human resources and reduces social and economic disparity among citizens. In contrast, lack of successful nation-building will lead to a situation of instability, conflict, and civil war, obstruction of economic development to continue in perpetual poverty. As a result of nation failure, due to the growing instability and civil war, external powers intervene, under the pretext of peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, etc. (Dobbins, 2005). Consequently, the future destiny of that nation will be manipulated to favour the economic and political interests of the external powers (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007). In spite of the blessings of rich human and natural resources, even after six decades of independence, the observable political, economic, and social phenomena of DRC and Nigeria imply a paradox of abundance and absence of successful nation building processes

(Lewis, 2006; Trapido, 2015). Based upon the research problem the following research questions were formulated:

- What are the challenges of nation-building efforts of DRC and Nigeria in the last 60 years of independence?
- How was the effect of external intervention on the nation-building process of Nigeria and DRC?
- What are the similarities and differences of nation-building challenges of DRC and Nigeria?
- What are the various types of nation-building programs and policies carried out by the elites of both countries in the last six decades of independence?

1.3. Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to explore and explain the challenges encountered by DRC and Nigeria in their endeavors of nation-building process since independence in 1960.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were to:

- Identify the challenges of nation-building encountered by DRC and Nigeria in the last six decades of independence.
- Find out the impact of external intervention and globalization on the nation-building process of Nigeria and DRC.
- Disclose the similarities and differences of challenges they encountered in their endeavor to attain successful nation building since gaining independence in 1960.
- Describe the various types of nation-building programs and policies carried out by the elites of both countries in the last sixty years of independence.

1.4 Significance of the Study

In order for countries to attain sustainable development, successful nation-building has to be accomplished. Impact of success or failure of nation-building of a given country is felt beyond its boundary, to neighboring countries, region, continent, and at global level. In addition to their rich human and natural resources, the combined population and total area of the two countries is

estimated to be more than one fifth and one-tenth of Africa's population and total area respectively. Neighboring with nine countries, DRC is located in central part of Africa. In the western part of Africa, Nigeria shares borders with four countries.

Besides their membership to African Union, they participate in the various Regional Economic Communities (RECs)¹, which are considered pillars of African Economic Communities (AEC)² of the African Union. For instance, DRC is member to Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)³, Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS),⁴ Southern African Development Community (SADC),⁵ and in 2019, applied to join The East African Community (EAC).⁶ Moreover, DRC is also member to The Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (ECGLC)⁷, which is not part of AEC. Likewise, Nigeria is party to The Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)⁸ and The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)⁹.

Based on its objectives, the African Union is aspiring to attain: sustainable development, meet the vision of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance, good governance and democracy, peace and stability, develop Africa's cultural value and ethics, people-driven development, and increase Africa's role in the global arena by the year 2063. Correspondingly, a successful nation-building entails; sustainable development, peace and stability, unity in diversity, good-governance, democracy, institutional capacity, and public goods provisions, etc.

The success or failure of nation-building efforts of DRC and Nigeria has a transcending impact on the RECs, which are pillars of African Economic Community of the African Union. In other words, success or failure of nation-building efforts of an African nation, significantly impacts the attainment of objectives of African Union.

As a result of the outcomes of this study, based on the multifaceted and non-static nature of challenges of nation-building efforts, the dynamic and holistic approach solutions can help to overcome the challenges of nation-building efforts of DRC and Nigeria. Besides, the study could be of importance to future researchers on challenges of nation-building, sustainable development, political, economic, and social problems of Africa in general and SSA in particular. Furthermore, the ideas suggested may be used by researchers and policy makers of African Union, as an input, to meet the visions of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance.

1.5. Scope of the Study

The scope of the study was limited to identifying the challenges of nation-building encountered by DRC and Nigeria since independence in 1960. Success or failure in nation-building effort of a given country significantly impacts the developmental endeavor of the subsequent generation. Moreover, due to the dynamic nature of the nation-building process, in addition to contemporary evidence of political-economy of both countries, the research tried to utilize historical data of colonial and post-colonial DRC and Nigeria.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

Due to time and budget constraints, the research was based on primary and secondary literary and audiovisual resources available on websites and in libraries. In order to broaden the data collection, this study intensively used extensive documents of all kinds of textual and multi-media products, ranging from television programs to websites on the internet.

1.7. Organization of the Study

This research paper is structured into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction part which consists of the background, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope, limitations, and organization of the study. The second chapter addresses the literature review. It deals with the concepts of: nation, state, nation-state, nation and state building and challenges. Besides Nigeria and DRC, relevant literatures of nation building of certain African countries are reviewed.

Chapter three describes the research design, research methods, research strategies, and methods of data collection, data sources and the data analysis part. Chapter four discusses challenges of nation building owing to the impact of colonialism and challenges of nation-building encountered after independence. The similarities and differences of nation building efforts and challenges are also compared and contrasted in this chapter. Conclusion and recommendations are provided in chapter five.

CHAPTER II

2. Literature Review

The newly independent African countries followed various types of nation-building programs in order to attain national integration and achieve sustainable development. The purpose of this research is to study the challenges of nation-building process encountered by the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria since gaining independence in 1960. Prior to dealing with the challenges of nation-building, based upon the available literature, it would be appropriate to discuss the concepts of Nation-Building and related terms such as; Nation, State, Nation-State, State-Building, State failure and Nation failure.

2.1 What is Nation?

Although there are academic debates on the definition of Nation, they can be summarized into three categories of Nationalist, Modernist, and Imaginist views (Utz, 2005). Nationalists like Renan and others considered nation as a “soul” a “spiritual principle “or a “moral conscious “which believed in the antiquity of nations which fulfil the criteria of territory, language, statehood and culture (Renan, 1990). Modernist scholars like Ernest Gellner claimed nations to be the result of the transition of social order from agrarian to the industrial society (Utz, 2005). In contrast to the above categories the Imaginist School of nation is represented by the renowned academician Benedict Anderson. According to Anderson nations are an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson, 2006). According to Greenfeld, the idea which lies at the core of nationalism is the idea of the nation. Thus, the importation, interpretation and application of the idea of nation or nationalism has to pass the structural, cultural and psychological phases to appear as a common national identity (Utz, 2005).

In other words these three stage models of importation, interpretation and application of the idea of the nation is termed as Nation Building (Ibid). And also it can be seen as an Ethnic Nation based on race or ethnicity, and Civic Nation based on common identity such as political and institutional ideals (Stephenson, 2005).

2.2 Nation State?

Malešević defined nation-state as: “a secularized social organization with a fixed and stable territory and a centralized political authority underpinned by intensive ideological particularism and the promotion of moral egalitarianism, social solidarity and cultural homogeneity among its populace” (Malešević, 2013, p.66). According to Giddens:

The nation-state, which exists in a complex of other nation-states, is a set of institutional forms of governance maintaining an administrative monopoly over a territory with demarcated boundaries (borders), its rule being sanctioned by law and direct control of the means of internal and external violence. (Giddens, 1985, p.121)

The nation state or nation building process of the majority of the European governments were gradual and evolutionary, whereas in the colonized countries of Africa and Asia the process were sudden and revolutionary. The European colonizers did not carry out similar process of nation state formation for their respective colonies (Alesina et al, 2015; Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2013).The state formation of the colonized African countries were not based on common identities. In this way, it is observed that in Europe the nation building evolved prior to state building. Contrary to this, state building preceded nation building in the newly independent African states (Mukwedeya, 2016; Stephenson, 2005).

2.3 What is a State?

According to Weber a state is “a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (in Fukuyama, 2004, p.6). Since there is a narrow difference between state and nation, likewise, a distinction has to be made between nation building and state building. While state building implements political institutions and legal frameworks, whereas “Nation-building, however, transcends the state and draws on many more sources than state building does because a nation is not a state and even nation states are not necessarily coterminous with nations” (Utz, 2005, p. 616).

Fukuyama defined state building as: “State building is the creation of new government institutions and the strengthening of the existing of ones” (Fukuyama, 2004, P.ix). On the contrary failure of public institution to deliver positive political goods for the citizens would lead to state failure (Bogdandy et al., 2005). Economic underdevelopment, poverty, corruption, violence and instability etc. are indicators of state weakness. In spite of these weaknesses of the

state, people are willing to obey the rules and decisions of the government. However if the people becomes unwilling to obey the basic common rule of laws of the nation, it would be the beginning of a situation of nation failure (Ibid). Nation failure follows when there is no consensus on the “Usable Past”, cultural traditions, customs, symbols, rituals etc. Consequently violence and civil war might lead to the disintegration of the nation state (Utz, 2005;Boughandy et al., 2005).

2.4 Nation Building

There are different understandings for the concept of nation-building among academicians and policy makers. Bogdandy et al., defined nation building as:

Nation-building is the most common form of a process of collective identity formation with a view to legitimizing public power within a given territory. This is an essentially indigenous process which often not only projects a meaningful future but also draws on existing traditions, institutions, and customs, redefining them as national characteristics in order to support the nation’s claim to sovereignty and uniqueness. (Bogdandy et al., 2005, p.586)

According to Alesina and Reich nation building is: “a process which leads to the formation of countries in which the citizens feel a sufficient amount of commonality of interests, goals and preferences so that they do not wish to separate from each other” (Alesina &Reich, 2012, p.3). Or as Mylonas put it: “Nation-Building, sometimes used interchangeably with national integration, is the process through which governing elites make the boundaries of the state and the nation coincide” (Mylonas, 2012, p.xx).

Usable past and its creators are central to nation building. Nationalism and democracy, elite consensus and the presence of symbolic institutions are imperative for successful nation building (Utz, 2005). Nation building is a deliberate, keenly directed energetic projection of national culture, and collective action to develop a viable political and economic system (Akoto, 2010).

On the other hand, recent explanation of nation-building among the policy makers of US Department of Defense puts nation-building as follows:

Nation-building, as it is commonly referred to in the United States, involves the use of armed force as part of a broader effort to promote political and economic reforms with the objective of transforming a society emerging from conflict into one at peace with itself and its neighbors. (Dobbins, et al., 2007, p. xvii)

What the US, UN, or EU, are doing into conflict affected countries is termed as peace building, peace keeping, stabilization etc., not nation-building. Because nation-building is an endogenous process, not exogenous (Utz, 2005). Without disregarding the impact of external intervention, according to Mylonas, Utz, and Wimmer, the decisive factor for the success or failure of nation-building process is internal, not external (Mylonas, 2012;Utz,2005;Wimmer,2018).

2.5 Nation-Building attempts through External Interventions

There are three research studies of nation-building attempts through external intervention. The first study focuses on the role of the US on nation-building from Germany to Iraq (Dobbins et al., 2003). The Second study focuses on the role of the UN from the Congo to Iraq (Dobbins et al., 2005). The third study focuses on the role of Europe from the Balkans to the Congo (Dobbins et al., 2008). As we can observe from the studies of the UN and Europe, Congo is among the countries on whom nation-building attempts was carried out during the Congo crisis and after the Congo wars of 1996-2002 respectively. In general, these studies focused on the nation-building attempts on the challenges of security, humanitarian, civil administration, democratization, and economic reconstruction (Ibid). However, despite the two time interventions of the UN stabilizing force, during The Congo Crisis and the Congo Wars, the instability in DRC is increasing rather than decreasing.

2.6 Post-Independence Challenges of Nation-Building in Africa

Nation states, in order to achieve successful nation building they followed various types of nation building policies (Mylonas, 2012). Nation building policies become the priority agendas of the newly independent multi-ethnic states of Africa. The colonialists, while establishing their colonial boundaries, the ethnic diversities were not taken into consideration. The burden of nation building was to be addressed by the post independent leaders of African states (Bandyopadhyay & Green, 2008; Mukwedeya 2016).

Like the rest of African countries both DRC and Nigeria had experienced plethora of challenges of nation building. Since the process of independence was a sudden occurrence, issues of changing of the colonial borders were ignored by both the new African leaders and former colonizers. Without disregarding the negative impacts of Atlantic slave trade and colonialism, according to many African historiographers, the improper border design had a significant

challenge on the nation building efforts of post-independent African countries (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2013).

With regard to the challenges of nation-building or national integration of the countries under study, and other African states, abundant literatures are available for citation. Laakso and Oluksi (1996), in their analysis of the crisis of the nation-state project of post-colonial Africa, tried to generalize Africa as a continent of profound disorder. They cited few African countries as examples of genocide (Rwanda, Burundi), collapsed state paralysis (Somalia, Zaire, Cameroon), terrorism (Algeria, Egypt, Somalia), ethnic cleansing (Kenya), civil war (Sierra Leone, Sudan), political tension, ethnic/religious conflicts (Nigeria). Characterized by rigged elections, absence of good governance and popular participation, unresponsiveness to the national question, as well as copying European models of nation-statism, rather than African-based ones. The economic crisis of neo-liberal structural adjustment, associated with authoritarian dictatorship posed a threat to the nation-state project in Africa (Ibid).

The impact of globalization, tribalism and jihadism is well described in the ‘Crisis of the African States’. It focuses on how the security of Africa is threatened by religious radicalism and tribal conflict in the context of globalization. The absence of security leads to civil war, lawlessness, economic decline, and poverty which obstructs the process of nation-building. According to the book, 14 African countries are among the top 20 which are included in the 2014 World Fragile States Index (Celo & Nalbandoy, 2016).

The security of African states is threatened by the spread of radical Islam and Jihadism, which followed the “Arab Spring” in North Africa. The Revivalist movement of African Islam was influenced by: the Iranian Revolution, the Afghan Mujahidin, and the Saudi Wahhabi fundamentalism. The terror of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Bin Laden’s Al Qaeda affiliated Al-Shabab of Somalia in East Africa, the Islamic Salvation front in Algeria, the Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia, the Radical group in the Sahelian Belt complicates the security of the continent. The external intervention of the French forces in West Africa is mainly aimed to satisfy its neo-colonial interest rather than maintaining peace in the region. In general, African Jihadism and Tribalism is the result of a protest against the western-led globalization and democratization efforts (Ibid).

On the other hand tribalism, ethnic cleansing, ethnic-based rebel movements, and external intervention are among the various factors which threaten the security of the continent. The 1994 Rwandan genocide was typical example of ethnic cleansing committed by the Hutu government forces against the Tutsi and moderate Hutus. (Ibid) Neuberger in his work of 'Ethnic Groups and the State in Africa' emphasized the strong ethnic-state relationship in many African countries. Ethnic based politics, parties (whether multi-party or one party system), governments, coups d'états, etc. are manifestations of African politics and strong state ethnic relationships (Neuberger, 2000). Eritrea, Somaliland, and South Sudan are states of the result of separatist movements in Africa. The Bakongo in Cabinda enclave, Zambia's Lozi, the Tuareg in Mali and Niger, etc. are among the separatist movements of Africa. Violent clashes between ethnic groups in: Liberia, Rwanda, Togo, Chad, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa deserve mention. According to Neuberger, in addition to separatism and ethnic based violence and election, ethnicity poses a threat to the democratization processes (Ibid). Elaigwu and Mazrui emphasized that crisis of nationhood (collective identity) and crisis of statehood (crisis of authority), are the post-independence twin crisis of Africa. Moreover, the tension between the traditional chiefs, western educated elites, and military officers were challenges which confronts the new leaders of Africa. Post-colonial rulers of Africa did not embark on changing of the colonial institutions and structure for purpose of nation building, rather they used it for state building and strengthening of central power (Elaigwu & Mazrui, 1993).

The works of Acemoglu and Robinson describes how institutions impacts the development of a nation. The difference in income and standard of living between rich and poor countries depends on the efficiency of institution of a given country. Accordingly, the post-colonial challenges of African nations is aggravated as a result of weak institutions. Poor education, health, high fertility and mortality rate, lack of proper public goods, absence of democracy, poverty and inequality are the multitudes of challenges, which are the results of extractive economic and political institutions. Unlike the developed countries, who use inclusive economic and political institutions, African nations followed extractive economic and political institutions (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012).

John Mbaku discusses about constitution, citizenship, challenges of national integration and nation building in Africa. According to Mbaku, the increasing demand of the various ethno-

cultural groups for secession or autonomy is becoming a serious challenge for national integration and nation building in Africa. Since most of post-independence constitutions of Africa are elite driven, non-participatory, failed to address the issue of 'unity in diversity'. Moreover, many of the citizenship laws are manipulated to prevent political rivals from running for the presidency. The former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda was disqualified from running for presidency due to the 1996 citizenship law of Frederick Chiluba. Mbaku suggests that in order to succeed in national integration effort, African elites have to establish inclusive constitution with the option of Differentiated Citizenship rights namely: self-government, polytechnic groups, and special representation groups (Mbaku, 2018). There are multitudes of constitutional challenges in Africa. Africa is troubled by problem of implementing the constitutions, absence of the necessary institutions to check the implementation of the constitutions. Challenges of post-independence Africa's constitutional development is the issue of constitutional institutions which checks the implementation of constitutions (Fombad, 2016). Although changing or amending of constitution is plausible, based upon necessity, most of African independent constitutions changed or amended with the intention of satisfying the interests of certain groups or authoritarian rulers (Ibid).The post-independent constitutions started to be changed or amended to dilute its constitutionalism and democratic governance. The 1960 constitutions or democracies of African states were suppressed by rigged election, authoritarian, civilian or military rulers, etc. (Mbondenyei & Ojienda, 2013).

The comprehensive works of Thomson analyzes the internal and external political, economic, and social challenges of Africa since independence. The book deals with the impact of colonial legacy, nationalism, ethnicity, and religious identity. Post-independence African states are characterized by neo-patrimonialism, personal rule, Clientelism, undemocratic governance, corruption, loss of legitimacy and authority which led to the situation of state collapse. Besides, Africa experienced 88 military coups in the last 60 years of independence. Moreover, African politics is strongly influenced by external interests of: foreign governments, international organizations, and trans-national companies. The Cold War era, the New World Order, Neo-Colonialism, the social, economic, and political impacts of structural adjustment, aid, and debt, which are tied with conditionality are among the manifestations of external interests in post-colonial Africa (Thomson, 2000).

The international relation of African countries is discussed in the works of Clapham. According to Clapham, the era of decolonization paved the way for the new sovereign independent states of Africa to have international relation with the rest of the world in equal status. However, since these newly independent states are poor, weak, unstable, etc., their economic, political, and diplomatic interaction with the developed world becomes unbalanced. The African states, due to economic backwardness, poverty, instability, undemocratic and poor governance, coupled with the economic and political interests of the external powers, get into unfair international relations with the western world (Clapham, 1996). As Farah, Kiamba, and Mazongo emphasized in their article, economic and social effects of colonial legacy, foreign direct investment, external aid, and climate change debates are challenges which encounter Africa in the 21st Century (Farah, Kiamba, & Mazongo, 2011).

'Dead Aid', a book written by Dambisa Moyo (2009) criticizes the negative impact of aid on the development efforts of African nations. In the last sixty years of independence Africa received more than \$1 trillion dollar in various forms of aid (systematic aid, charity based, concessional loan and grants, etc.) through bilateral and multilateral channels. However, Africa is still a continent dominated by poverty, unemployment, inequality, disease, corruption, weak governance, instability, and aid dependency. Moyo stresses that aid, like a resource, is a curse: undermines domestic saving, discourages free entrepreneurship, and encourages corruption and conflict. Thus, Moyo concludes that unless aid finance is substituted by other income alternatives, aid dependency will continue to be major challenges of Africa's development (Ibid).

Africa, with a total area of 30 million square kilometer and with 13% of world's population is the second largest and most populous continent next to Asia, though, Africa has less than 1.6% of global trade and 0.1% of global investments. Although Africa is richly endowed with enormous natural resources such as minerals, oil, forests, rich bio-diversity, cultures etc., yet the people of Africa are unable to attain sustainable development. There are multitudes of factors for Africa's predicament. Population pressure, combined with environmental degradation, climate change, inadequate human and economic development, urbanization, weak governance, poverty and unemployment, conflict and violence and other phenomena are among the factors for Africa's underdevelopment (Nsiah-Gyabaah, 2003). According to the report of UNECA on Sustainable Development in Africa, weak institutions, poor economic performance, poor economic policies

which disregard due attention to social and environmental concerns, are among the challenges of sustainable development in Africa. Furthermore, high fertility and mortality rate, migration and rapid urbanization, poor infrastructure, instability and conflict which obstructs development, and lagging in strengthening regional integration negatively affects the success of sustainable development in Africa (UNECA,n.d).

In his work of state building and ethnic politics in Africa, Yakah (2018) poses the question: *Why are ethnic differences politicized in some African countries, but not others?* To justify his research objectives, Yakah tries to analyze the cases of Ghana, Botswana, and Tanzania during the 1950s and 1960s. According to the hypothesis of Yakah, the politicization or de-politicization of ethnic division is related to the presence or absence of highly centralized traditional chiefs. It is also related with whether or not the nationalist leaders are willing to share power with the traditional chiefs during the transition period to independence (Ibid).

The book states that both Ghana and Botswana had strong local chiefs. Ghana followed exclusionary strategy (unwilling to share power with the local chiefs), while the ethnic division was highly politicized during post-independence. On the other hand, Botswana followed inclusionary strategy (willing to share power with the lead chiefs), but the ethnic division was not politicized. Tanzania had both decentralized and centralized traditional chiefs in Tanganyika and Zanzibar respectively. Nevertheless, Nyrere, the nationalist leader of Tanzania followed exclusionary strategy but the ethnic division is depoliticized throughout the post-colonial period (Ibid).

The works of Mukwedeya (2016) discusses the post-colonial nation-building experiences of four African countries of Tanzania, Kenya, South Africa, and Namibia. According to Mukwedeya, although both Tanzania and Kenya have similar geographies and histories, they followed different nation-building policies. Tanzania utilized effective language and education policy to strengthen national identity. In addition to applying non-ethnic and non-religious census, the determination of the political leadership is responsible for the successful nation-building efforts of Tanzania. But in Kenya, the political leadership and political organizations were mainly ethnic-based. Besides, the Kenyan education and language policies were not prepared in a manner befitting to the promotion of national identity and unity of the country. Thus it is assumed that the nation-building efforts in Tanzania were more successful than in Kenya.

Moreover, according to Mukwedeya, the nation-building efforts of South Africa and Namibia is threatened by the developing economic inequalities among the citizens (Ibid).

According to Papaioannou and Michalopoulos (2013), the arbitrary boundary drawing of colonialists has a long run effect on the current tribal ethnic conflicts taking place in Africa. As a result of the arbitrary boundaries, many ethnic groups in Africa, reside in more than one country. The paper tries to show that irredentism, ethnic conflict, violence, battles, and civil wars are more frequent in areas where ethnicities straddle across different countries (Ibid).

Bandyopady and Green (2008) discuss the nation-building policies of post-independence African countries. In doing so, they studied nine different types of nation-building policies in former colonies of the British Empire. It is obvious that all newly independent countries adopted new flags and national anthems. The nine nation-building policies covered under this and other study are:

1. Changing state names: Gold Coast to Ghana, Southern Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, Nyasaland to Malawi, Upper Volta to Burkina Faso, etc. (Bandyopady & Green, 2008).
2. Changing capital cities' names and locations: Malawi's Zomba to Lilongwe, Chad's Fort-Lamy to N'Djamena, Mozambique's Lorenzo Marques to Maputo, Congo's Leopoldville to Kinshasa, etc.(Ibid).
3. Changing national currencies: Ghanaian pound with the Cedi, both Malawi and Zambia replaced the pound by the Kwacha, Leone became the new currency of Sierra Leone, Angola replaced Escudo by Kwanza, etc. (Ibid).
4. Conscription and National service: Many African countries promoted obligatory military service for secondary or university students. And others promoted non-military national service. Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, and Eritrea are among the countries who championed military service. On the other hand, Ethiopia, Guinea, and Zambia were among the African countries who promoted non-militaristic national service (Bandyopady & Green, 2008; Mukwedeya, 2016; Tripp, 1999).
5. Religious and linguistic homogenization: Many African countries declared one religion as a state religion. Mauritania, Comoros, and Sudan declared Islam as a state religion. Most African countries continued to use the language of colonizers as the official

language of the newly independent countries. However, some countries changed to new Lingua Francas. Tanzania changed to Swahili and Somalia to the Somali language (Ibid).

6. Republican and Centralization policies: Most of the nationalist leaders of Africa encouraged unitary governments. According to the nationalist leaders, ethnic or tribal identities, and ethnic based federal systems were considered as impediments to national integration. Nationalist leaders of Sudan and Cameroon were among the countries which discouraged federal systems of government (Ibid).
7. One-party state: Most African countries banned multi-party systems. Countries such as Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Cameroon, Ghana, and Zambia declared one-party systems, and banned ethnic and political organizations to avoid political factionalism (Ibid).
8. Non-ethnic census: Many African countries deliberately decided to avoid the ethnic data while conducting total censuses. Ghana, Malawi, and Tanzania (Mukwede, 2016; Tripp, 1999) are among the countries which skipped ethnic data in their censuses. Rwanda, which collected ethnic data in its pre-genocide census, avoided collecting it in its post-genocide census of 2002. In today's Rwanda one cannot say I am a Hutu or Tutsi, only Rwandese (Bandyopadhyay & Green, 2008; Mukwede, 2016; Tripp, 1999).
9. Land nationalization: In most African states, land rights were tied to traditional chiefs and ethnic identity. The newly independent African nationalist leaders marginalized traditional chiefs in order to de-politicize ethnicity, and carried out land nationalization program in Ghana, Tanzania, and Sudan (Ibid).

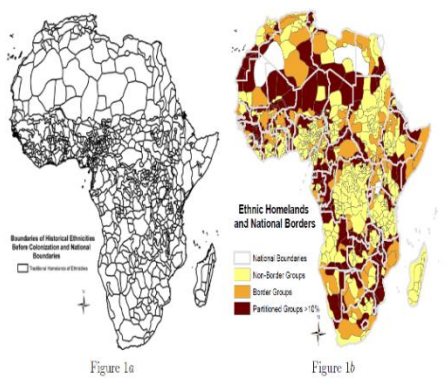
Among the African nations, in particular from SSA, Tanzania's relative success of nation building and stability is a point of interest. According to Tripp, the multi-ethnic post independent Tanzania followed various types of nation building programs under the leadership of Nyerere. Banning of ethnic and religious political organizations, making Swahili an official and national language of the nation, one-party system with the ideology of African socialism (however, multi-party system was followed after 1990), villagization and nationalization of industries, education system, national service, promoting national culture through the ministry of youth, are among the various nation building initiatives carried out by the charismatic leadership of Julius Nyerere. Tanzania while following unitarist system of government, it cautiously tried to balance the interests of the various ethnic and religious groups without compromising the nationhood interest (Tripp, 1999).

Mauritius is also a good example of African nations with a relative success in national integration and stability. The stability of Mauritius is ascribed to its motto of ‘Unity in Diversity’. The secular state of Mauritius recognizes equal status of religions in the country. The policy of free education to all citizens, national day celebration with various cultural activities, and democratic system of governance based upon majority rule without marginalizing the minority group, and power sharing principles among the various political parties are among the basis for stability. In principle, all political parties should represent the various ethnic groups of the country. In general, the motto of ‘Unity in Diversity’, as a value, is internalized among the citizens of Mauritius (Dinan, Nababsing, & Mathur, 1999).

Another example of success story of nation-building in Sub-Saharan Africa is Botswana. With multi-ethnic diversity and rich natural resources (diamond), land-locked Botswana is located in southern part of the continent and one of Africa's most stable countries. Equal political representation of all major ethnic groups and with equitable public goods provision (health, education, infrastructures, etc.), good economic growth, a government of free of endemic corruption, a leadership led by democratic governance are among the underlying rationale for Botswana’s’ success of nation-building effort (Wimmer,2018).

Fig 5. Arbitrary boundaries and ethnic groups.

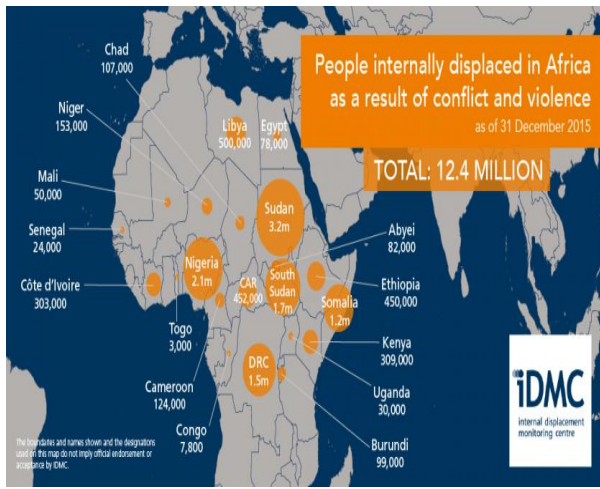
Fig. 6. Conflicts in Africa by State Borders



Source fig. 5: <https://www.alternatehistory.com/forum/attachments/africa-ethnic-borders-hq-png.160766/>

Source fig. 6: <https://pslaron2.files.wordpress.com/2011/01/conflictsbystate.png>

Fig 7. Internal Displacement Africa (2015) Fig 8. Corruption Perception Index of SSA, 2018



Source fig. 7: <https://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/inline-images/ResizedImage832416-IDMC-Africa-Report-total-IDPs-map.png>

Source fig. 8:
<https://th.bing.com/th/id/OIP.yndUALEG5vj3dfjTOiCvHAHaFd?pid=PersonalBing&rs=1>

CHAPTER III

3. Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter presented the review of the literature on the concept and notion concerning the case studies identified. This chapter discusses the research design and methodology. As it is a road-map for the research, it highlights the main issues related to the method, tools, and techniques used in the study. The purpose of the research was to address the challenges of nation-building efforts encountered by DRC and Nigeria since they gained independence in 1960. Both countries are part of SSA, and they are also blessed with natural and human resources.

3.1.1 Geography of Democratic Republic of Congo

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is located in the heart of Africa. With a surface area of 2,345,410 Km² extending from 5°30' north latitude to 13°50' south latitude and from 12°15' to 31°15' longitude, it is known to be among the giants of Africa, second largest next to Algeria. It is bordered by the Central African Republic in the North and Sudan, in the South with Zambia and Angola, in the East with Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania, in the West to the Republic of Congo. Its geography includes active volcanoes near the city of Goma, mountains in the east, and lowlands around the Congo River that experience seasonal flooding. The Congo River, with high hydrographic potential, irrigation, fishery, and navigable network, and the second longest river in Africa after the Nile and the fifth longest in the world is found in DRC. In addition to the Congo rain-forest, there are many lakes and abundant rainfall (Hochschild, 1998; Reybrouk, 2014).

The DRC is rich in precious minerals, having untapped deposits of raw minerals worth US\$24 trillion, including the world's largest reserves of cobalt (51% of known reserves) and significant quantities of diamonds, gold and copper. According to the 2018 estimation of the UN, The DRC is populated with 84 million people with more than 200 ethno-linguistic diversities. With regard to religion, Roman Catholic, 50%; Protestant, 20%; Kimbanguist, 10%; Muslims, 10%; other

syncretic sects and indigenous beliefs, 10%. With a Presidential Democratic Republican system of government, the country is sub-divided through 26 administrative provinces¹⁰ (Ibid).

3.1.2 Geography of Nigeria

Nigeria is the most populous country on the African continent. It is located on the west of Africa, bordering the Gulf of Guinea in the south, the Republic of Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and Niger in the north. With a total area of 923,768 km² (356,669 sq. mi), Nigeria stretches roughly 700 miles from west to east and 650 miles from south to north, covering an area between 3° and 15°E longitude and between 4° and 14° N latitude. Nigeria's longest river is the Niger River which is 4,100 km or 2,547 miles in length. The Niger enters the country in the northwestern part and flows southwards towards the Niger Delta of the Atlantic Ocean. The Niger Delta is about 100 km/ 62 miles in width (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Its geographical characteristics is tropical climate, ranging from tropical to arid. Mineral wealth includes large deposits of coal, iron, tin, and columbite, as well as lead, copper, and zinc, much of which is found in the hills and plateaus of the middle belt. Small amounts of gold, silver, and diamonds have also been discovered in various places. Nigeria's petroleum constitute over 90 percent of the country's export earnings, and over 75 percent of public revenues. Nevertheless, 70% of its population depend on agriculture (Ibid).

Nigeria, populated with 206 million people is endowed with more than 250 ethno-linguistic groups. The three dominant ethnic groups are the Hausa in northern, Yoruba in western, and the Igbo in the southern part of the country. Although many religions, the vast majority are followers of Islam and Christianity. The northern part is mainly Muslim, while the Christians are majority in the southern region. With a Federal System of Government, Nigeria is administered with 36 regional states and the states are grouped into six geopolitical zones, the North-Central (NC), North-East (NE), North-West (NW), South-West (SW), South-East (SE) and South-South (SS)¹¹ (Ibid).

3.2 Research Design

In order to meet the objectives of the study a research design, methodology of data collection, analyzing, and interpretation was applied. According to Yin, research design is a logical plan how a research is accomplished from beginning to the end (Yin, 2011). The selection of research

design depends upon world view, strategies of inquiry, and methods of research. Thus the study followed a qualitative research design, comparative case study approach, and research methods to collect, analyze, and interpret data collected from documents, audio-visuals (Creswell, 2009). As Patricia Leavy describes, qualitative research is a way of learning of social phenomenon. The qualitative approach to research are used to explore, describe, and explain the social phenomenon. Qualitative research is designed to explore the human element, the why and how aspects of the problem under study, raised by the research questions (Leavy, 2017).

Since the study intended to address the challenges of nation building efforts of the two countries, qualitative research method was found to be appropriate. In this study a comparative case study method was also applied in order to explore the similarity and differences of challenges of nation building efforts of both Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo since they gained independence in 1960. According to Creswell, in addition to theoretical world view and strategies of inquiry, the specific research method involves the data collection, analysis and interpretation for the success of a research. To that end the qualitative method applied for data collection from documents and audio-visuals. Furthermore, from the collected data, texts and audio-visuals are analyzed and themes and patterns were interpreted accordingly (Creswell, 2009; Leavy, 2017; Yin, 2011).

3.3 Sources of Data

Qualitative researchers utilize interviews, observation, ethnographic fieldwork, discourse analysis and textual analysis as a method of data collection (Travers, 2001). In the present study, documents were used as a source of data collection. Documents of literary and audio-visual materials available in libraries, archives, websites etc. were used as sources of data. The documentary materials were Primary Sources and, Secondary Sources.

3.3.1 Primary Sources

Primary sources provide a first-hand account of an event or time period and are considered to be authoritative. They involve the oral or written testimony of eyewitnesses. They are original artifacts, documents, and items related to the direct outcome of an event or an experience. Primary sources include: diaries, correspondence, ships' logs; original documents e.g. birth certificates, trial transcripts; biographies, autobiographies, manuscripts; interviews, speeches, oral histories; case law, legislation, regulations, constitutions; government documents, statistical

data, research reports; a journal article reporting new research or findings; creative art works, literature; newspaper advertisements and reportage and editorial/opinion pieces.

3.3.2 Secondary Sources

Secondary sources are data from letters, diaries, and account descriptions of persons who were not eyewitnesses of the event or who did not personally know the person who is the focus of the study. Secondary sources include: textbooks, encyclopedias, oral histories of individuals or a group, biographies, journal articles, newspaper stories, and even obituary notices, dictionaries and encyclopedias, political commentary, dissertations, criticism of literature, art works or music, etc. In general the textual and audio-visual data includes published and unpublished documents of historical books, autobiographies, biographies, chronicles, diaries, memoirs, letters, records of oral histories, newspapers, periodicals etc. from archives, official records, and reports of various governmental and non-governmental institutions.

3.4 Data Analysis

According to Bowen, “Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material” (Bowen, 2009, p.27). Bowen also emphasized that, documents are useful to indicate the path to the solution of the research problem (Ibid). Based upon the preliminary literature review, the pre and post-colonial histories of DRC and Nigeria on the one hand and concepts of nation, nation-building efforts and challenges and relevant documents on the other hand were explored to decide on the question, design, and method of the research. In the second phase of document analysis, regarding DRC and Nigeria in particular, and SSA countries in general, descriptions of content areas (such as, ethnic and religious based politics, conflict, instability, poverty, inequality, poor institutions and public service provisions, poor governance, corruption, resource management, etc.) were discussed in details.

The collected data was intensively analyzed to see if the findings are in the form of themes, categories, concepts or theories. The collected data were organized, comparatively analyzed, explained and qualitatively interpreted.

3.5. Evaluation of Data

The collected data came through two types of evaluations, namely external criticism and internal criticism. Careful evaluation of the external and internal value of the data guarantee valid and reliable information and viable data analysis. The data was verified through external criticism in order to establish its validity, authenticity or genuineness. The reliability of the data was established through internal criticism before getting into the content of the document (Berg, 2001). Thus, in order to validate the authenticity and reliability of the data, various aspects of the document has to be scrutinized. The types of document, credibility of the author, time and place of writing, verification of the contents from another sources, etc. has to be thoroughly examined.

CHAPTER IV

Presentation and Discussion of Results

4. Processes of Nation Building in DRC and Nigeria

In this chapter, the process and challenges of nation-building in post-colonial Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria is described and discussed in relative detail. In order to underpin the discussion, an overview of the colonial and post-colonial history of both countries is presented as a background. Following the background, challenges of nation-building efforts, similarities and differences of DRC and Nigeria are compared and contrasted.

4.1 Background

4.1.1 Anti-Colonial Resistances

4.1.1.1 Democratic Republic of Congo

a) Armed Resistance

The anti-colonial resistance of the Congolese people started during the era of the Congo free-state. The tortures, amputations, castrations, rape, burning of villages, murder and Holocaust committed by the force publique of King Leopold II were indicators of the strong anti-colonial resistance of the Congolese (Hochschild, 1998; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Reybrouck, 2014; Young & Turner, 1985). The anti-colonial resistance can be categorized into armed and 'peaceful' resistance. Although the earlier kingdoms of Kongo, Luba, and others were weakened or decentralized by the time the Belgian colonialists arrived, some remnants of old kingdoms were able to raise arms and carried out the resistance. The traditional leaders or warriors armed resistance in 1892-94, the Kanyok resistance in 1895, the Luba Katanga Kingdoms of Kabongo and Kasongo Nyembo in 1907-1917 were among the various anti-colonial armed resistance which deserve mentioning. Misri, the Nyamwezi king of the Yeke People of Katanga was one the most famous traditional rulers of Congo who refused to surrender to the Belgian colonialists (Ibid).

The army mutiny of the Congolese force publique were among the early manifestations of violent protests against colonialism. The 1895 Kananga Mutiny of force public, the Ndirfi Mutiny of 1897, the 1900 Shinkakasha garrison mutiny at Boma, were among others. In addition to the Belgian atrocities and terror, exploitation of agricultural forced labor to collect ivory, rubber, tax, labor recruitment and conscription etc. are among negative social and economic consequences of colonialism which triggered passive and armed anti-colonial resistance (Ibid).

b) ‘Peaceful Resistance’

Prior to WWII, any type of political organization (except for religious or cultural) was strictly prohibited under the Belgian colonial administration. The forced labor, mandatory cultivation, tax, labor recruitment system, the traditional chief’s loss of autonomy, etc. were among the various factors that accounted for Congolese discontent. The resistance was expressed in the forms of religious protest (Kimbanguisim)¹², peasant rebellion, workers’ revolts, etc. It was by the alliance of the peasants, workers, daily laborer, and *evolue* (Congolese petty bourgeoisie/elite) that the struggle for independence was carried (Borghols, 2018; Hesselbein, 2007; Hochschild, 1998; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Reybrouck, 2014; Young & Turner, 1985).

To create a Belgo-Congolese community, in the post WWII period, the Belgians introduced a “social merit card” or “matriculation” for Africans who were said to be “evolved”, so that they may be treated as “Europeans”. The criteria to attain the status of “evolue” (civilized African) was to speak French, be a Christian, eat on a table, etc. At the beginning, the aspirations of the evolue were to be treated better than the rest of the “Congolese masses”. However, when this was not attained, they joined the masses and led the struggle for independence through political organization though most of them were organized on ethnic and regional bases. The only nationalist party was that of Lumumba: the M.N.C-L (Ibid).

Despite international pressure, which favored decolonization, the Belgians had been planning to give the Congolese their independence after 30 years (the 30 years plan). Eventually, it was the people’s spontaneous revolt which brought immediate independence, not the evolue that forced the Belgians to the round table talks regarding independence. When the Belgians agreed to grant unconditional independence, the evolue discussed only the political aspects, and not the economic ones (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

4.1.1.2 Nigeria

a) Armed resistances

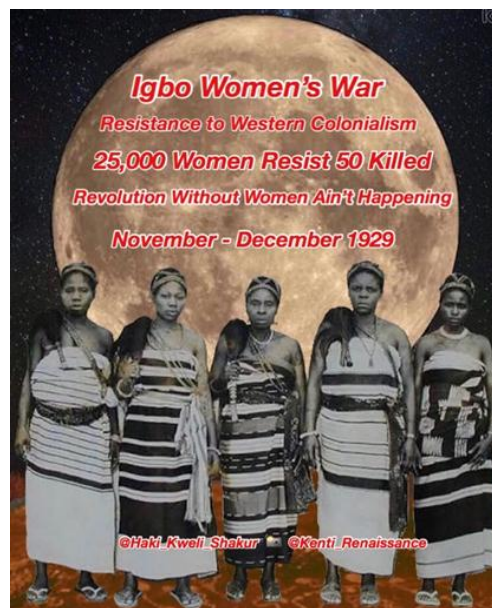
The loss of traditional culture and institutions, exploitation of labor and natural resources were among the various factors which ignited the anti-colonial resistance. The Nigerians resisted British colonial rule right from the beginning. The British colonization of Nigeria was completed after the fall of the Sokoto Caliphate of Northern Nigeria in 1903. It took the British Empire 40 years to completely colonize the territories of present-day Nigeria. However, the armed

resistance continued in the interiors of the protectorate until the first decade of the twentieth century. In the Niger delta, the anti-colonial armed resistance of the Urhobo, Isoko, and Ukwuani communities lasted until 1914. Furthermore, the Ekumeku movement of western Igbo area around Asaba and Onitsha on Niger continued their armed disobedience in the years between the 1880s and 1909. In general, all pre-colonial states of Nigeria (North-South) did not give up their sovereignty without fierce resistance. It was the military superiority, which enabled the British to colonize Nigeria (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

b) “Peaceful” resistances

The earlier resistance to colonial rule was not organized at a national level. The resistance was limited at a local level, and it was mostly a demand for a reform within the colonial rule. But in between the two World Wars, some basic developments redirected the nationalist movements from reform towards complete independence (Lovejoy, 1992; Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Fig.9. Aba Women’s War (1929)



Source fig.9: <https://newafrikan77.files.wordpress.com/2017/12/d80200d2-1da5-411a-9a9a-685416049c07.jpeg>

Two major developments took place: first, the Nigerian economy was affected by the 1930s world economic depression. Secondly, new generations of European educated Nigerians joined the anti-colonial nationalist movements for independence. The anti-colonial political oppositions

were organized in ethnic and religious frame. There were also non-political associations, unions of trade, teachers, lawyers, labor unions, women, and ethnic kinship organizations. Among the popular anti-colonial resistance, the ‘Women’s War’ or ‘Aba Riot’ of 1929 deserve mention. The National Youth movement also played an important role in developing a nationalist consciousness among the future leaders of Nigeria. With regards to the formation of nationalist parties, their foundation was based on ethnicity and regionalism. The major parties were the Hausa and Fulani backed by Northern Peoples’ Congress (NPC), the Yoruba supported Action Group (AG), and the Igbo dominated National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) (Egharevba, & Iruonagbe, 2015; Emmanuel, 2016; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992).

.However, these nationalist parties followed different strategies to attain independence. The moderates (NPC), sought for gradual independence while the radicals (AG and NCNC) sought immediate independence. As the anti-colonial struggle continued, the colonial administration tried to pacify the resistance by conceding many reforms. The colonial administration tried to improve the infrastructure, health, and education, increase the number of Nigerian civil servants in the bureaucracy, etc. In response to the nationalist resistance, four constitutions were promulgated which established a federal system of government prior to independence (Ibid).

4.1.2 Colonial Legacies

4.1.2.1 Democratic Republic of Congo

a) State Boundary

Colonial rule in the Congo is divided into two periods: the Congo free-state (1885-1908) and the Belgian Congo (1908-1960). The Congo Free-State, after 23 years of brutal subjugation, following the humanitarian disaster, King Leopold II was forced to relinquish the Congo free-state to the Belgian government (Hesselbein, 2007; Hochschild, 1998; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young & Turner, 1985). The Belgian parliament approved a colonial charter to administer the Congo free-state by the Belgian government. The Belgian Congo (1908-1960) was ruled under the policy of “Colonial Trinity” (State, Church, and Companies). Although the “colonial charter” proclaimed the cessation of forced labor, it was not implemented.

The Colonial State is associated with the name Bula Matari (Young & Turner, 1985). (Bula Matari in the local language means ‘He who breaks rocks’, and initially referred to the explorer Henry Stanley. During his exploration, Stanley used dynamites to crush rocks so that the road would be cleared to continue his travels). The expression was used as a metaphor to indicate that

it was impossible to resist the Colonial State, and so became synonymous with the Colonial State, as it remains to this day (Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Wamba-Dia Wamba, 1996; Young & Turner, 1985).

It was the Bula Matari (Colonial State) which kept together the vast area of Congolese territory. The coercion of Bula Matari, the ‘Civilizing Mission’ of the Catholic Church, and forced labor exploitation by the companies, or the ‘Colonial Trinity’ (State, Church, and Company) of Congo were the basis for the maintenance of the Colonial State. Nevertheless, as the demand for decolonization increased, the Belgians were unwilling or unable to transform the Bula Matari into a viable nation-state. Thus the task of nation-building became the responsibility of the newly independent leaders of The Republic of Congo (Ibid).

The hierarchical structure of the colonial administration was (top to bottom) from provinces to districts, to territories, and to chiefdoms. The chiefdoms were administered by traditional chiefs who were appointed by the Belgian administration. Under the colonial charter no political activity was allowed. In general, the colonial charter was intended to incubate a colonial mentality in the minds of the Congolese; “civilized whites”, versus “savage natives”, “white human” versus, “less human black”, and “superior, modern” law for the whites, versus “inferior, customary” law for the natives, etc. (Ibid).

b) Parliamentary democracy and Creation of State Elites

The Congo Crisis has a significant impact on the history of post-colonial Democratic Republic of Congo. The political elites (*evolues*) who joined, organized, and led the nationalist independence and struggle movement can be categorized into two groups. The first nationalist group was the radical and unitarist, and the second nationalist group was the moderate and federalist. Upon independence, while the moderate and federalist Kasa-Vubu became President, the radical and unitarist Patrice Lumumba became Prime Minister of Congo. In order to maintain their imperialist interest, the Western powers were backing the moderates to control political power (Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Souleyman, 2013; Young & Turner, 1985).

Another important incident which took place within a week was the army mutiny demanding promotion, and didn’t want to see Belgian officers leading the army. The mutiny was provoked by a Belgian Army General who gathered the troops and told them “before independence = after independence”. As a result of the army mutiny, what followed was the flight of European civil

servants and settlers followed. In July 1960, with the support of the Belgians, the mineral rich Katanga region announced its independence under the leadership of TShombe (Ibid).

Under the pretext of protecting the safety of European settlers, the Belgian soldiers and mercenaries intervened. At the same period, the other rich province of South Kasai seceded under the leadership of Albert Kalonji. Following the Katanga and South Kasai secession, the government of Patrice Lumumba appealed to the UN to intervene. Even though the UN responded by sending its peace-keeping forces to Congo, the UN mission was not serious enough to engage in expelling the Belgian forces and end the secession of Katanga. In response, Lumumba appealed for military assistance from the Soviet Union. Consequently, President Kasa-Vubu (who was a pro-west moderate and anti-communist) hastily dismissed Lumumba from premiership. Following the dispute between Kasa-Vubu and Lumumba, Mobutu, a protégé of the CIA¹³ staged a coup and put Lumumba under house arrest. Finally, Patrice Lumumba, the democratically elected Prime Minister of Congo, denied of UN protection, was tortured and murdered in Katanga, allegedly with Belgian and US involvement. However, the removal and murder of Lumumba couldn't have succeeded without the collaboration of the pro-west moderate Congolese such as Mobutu, Kasa-Vubu, Tshombe, Kalonji, etc. (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Hesselbein, 2007; Souleyman, 2013; Zeilig, 2008).

Fig 10. Areas of Secessionist Katanga (1960-63)



Fig.11.Lumumba forced to eat his speech



Source fig.10:

<https://th.bing.com/th/id/OIP.wHOxgSL0XrCnXMh9IkOjdQHaHD?pid=Api&rs=1>

Source fig.11. <https://www.wsws.org/en/media/photos/legacy/2011jan/j22-lumu-arre-300.jpg>

Following the murder of Lumumba, a pro-Lumumbist movement erupted in the country. A Simba and Kwidu rebellion in Eastern and Central part of Congo respectively. These rebellions were also crushed by the moderate Congolese leadership assisted by the western powers in particular by the US and Belgian forces (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Zeilig, 2008).

c) Authoritarian Dictatorship and Looting of Resources

During the Congo crisis, Mobutu staged two coup d'états. The first coup was in 1961 to remove Patrice Lumumba from power. Following the growing instability throughout the country, Mobutu staged his second coup in November of 1965. In the first decade of his authoritarian rule, there was relative stability, economic activity, and good international relations, particularly with the Western powers (Hesselbein, 2007; Les Films de la Passerelle, Les Films d'Isi, & Michel, 1999; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thompson, 2000; Young & Turner, 1985). Once in power, Mobutu tried to establish a strong, centralized, stable state. The Congolese people welcomed Mobutu in the beginning due to their weariness, experienced over the preceding five years of the Congo crisis (Ibid).

In order to legitimize his usurpation of power, Mobutu introduced 'Zairianization'¹⁴ of foreign-owned business enterprises, changing of Congo's name to Zaire, and his name to Mobutu Sese Seko, etc. On the other hand, to centralize his power, he reduced the number of provinces from 21 to 8. According to Nzongola, the security forces, the party, finance, and foreign support were sources of power for Mobutus' authoritarian dictatorship (Les Films de la Passerelle, Les Films d'Isi, & Michel, 1999; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thomson, 2000; Young & Turner, 1985).

In general, Mobutu's 32 years of authoritarian dictatorship was characterized by economic decline (wrong economic policy), crisis of governance, and eventually state collapse (Thompson, 2000). The failure of the Maluku steel mill, the Inga-Shaba power scheme, and many other white elephant industrialization programs were the result of wrong economic policy choices. On the other hand, development of the agricultural sector was neglected (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thomson, 2000; Young & Turner, 1985).

After banning multi-party democracy, Mobutu introduced a one-party system. Mobutu's absolute power is expressed in that he was the legislative, judiciary, and executive. He was, at the same

time, President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and Defense Minister of Zaire. Moreover, the informal economy was more dominant than the formal economic activity of the country. It is not only the ordinary people, but also the government officials who benefited from the parallel economy (Ellis, & MacGaffey, 1996; Thomson, 2000). Corruption, Kleptocracy, Patrimonialism, and Patron-Client networks were among the major factors for the decline of the Zairian state. Consequently, the state was unable to pay the salaries of most of its military, leading the latter to depend on the utilization of the informal economy, and the state became unable to exercise its power throughout the country (Ellis & MacGaffey, 1996; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thomson, 2000; Young & Turner, 1985).

Nevertheless, in spite of the atrocities, the Congolese people continued their resistance against the authoritarian dictatorship of Mobutu. A combined struggle of students, internal political oppositions, and Congolese diaspora, coincided with the end of the Cold War and international pressure demanding liberalization and democratization. In response to the international pressure (Western powers, IMF, WB, etc.), Mobutu, reluctantly allowed a multi-party system. Consequently, many political parties were established, and a sovereign National Conference was convened in 1992 to discuss the future of Zaire. The participants decided to change the country's name from Zaire to the Democratic Republic of Congo. The conference adopted one transitional, and one permanent constitution, and decided that Mobutu would remain as a ceremonial head-of-state for the following two years (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thomson, 2000; Young & Turner, 1985).

However, ironically, the Western powers, who proclaim themselves to be the protectors of democracy, failed to recognize the democratic decision of the Congolese National Conference. Thus Mobutu, by capitalizing on this indifference of the Western powers, managed to remain in power until he was forcibly removed by the rebel forces of Laurent Kabila, who was backed by the external forces of Rwanda and Uganda, during the First Congo War in 1997 (Hesselbein 2007; Les Films de la Passerelle, Les Films d'Isi, & Michel, 1999; Trapido, 2015; Turner, 2007).

As a result of the Second Congo war (1998-2002), or as it is called, "The African World War", nine African countries and around twenty-five armed groups were involved. According to The International Rescue Committee, the death toll of the Second Congo War is estimated to be 3.8 million people for the period 1998 to 2004. The real motives of the belligerent countries or rebel

groups of both sides of the first and second Congo wars were to plunder and exploit the rich mineral resources of the Congo. For instance, Laurent Kabila, prior to his seizure of power, reached to an agreement of concession with European, Canadian, and American MNCs for the extraction of Congolese minerals such as; copper, cobalt, diamond, gold, zinc, etc. Likewise, the business agreement was not limited to European companies, but also with the neighboring African countries such as; Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, etc. In general the Congo wars and conflicts are the manipulations of western companies and global interests, but implemented by Africans (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007, Turner, 2007).

d) Extractive Economy

The force publique army (composed of Congolese), under a Belgian command, maintains order. The colonial economy was based on extraction and export of resources such as rubber, copper, diamonds, gold, etc. The atomic bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the product of Congolese Uranium. The economic income from colonial Congo considerably subsidized the Belgian government in exile during WWII. The rapid urbanization increased the rural-urban migration affecting the rural labor force. Workers for the mines, construction of railways, etc. were recruited from the densely populated areas of the country (Ibid).

e) Official Languages

With regards to education, it was mainly carried out by missionaries. Four local languages (Kikongo, Lingala, Tshiluba, and Swahili) were taught in elementary schools. Nevertheless, education was not encouraged in Belgian Congo. During independence there were only 20 Congolese who were college or university graduates. In the army, no Congolese were allowed to rise above the rank of a non-commissioned officer. Even in the bureaucracy, the Congolese were not allowed the positions of manager and/or administrator (Ibid, Dunkerley, 2009; Geboers, 2016).

f) Divide and Rule

Based upon the indirect rule colonial policy, the Belgians used the traditional chiefs to meet the basic objectives of the colonial interest. The obligations of the traditional chiefs were tax collection, mobilization of labor force for portage, mining, plantation, mandatory cultivation, facilitation of the administration of quotas levied for the army, etc. Failure of cooperation would

lead to replacement by another, more cooperative chief, who would be rewarded with the status of “native authority”. The status of “native authority”, which allowed the ownership of land had a detrimental impact on the categorization of post-independence Congolese’s status of citizenship: indigenous or non-indigenous group. Moreover, recruitment in colonial Congo, be it into the army, civil service, or the labor force was based on tribal identity (Decrees of 1906, 1910, and 1931). The Belgians deliberately created hierarchies among the various ethnic groups by categorizing them into “collaborators”, “supporters”, or “suitable” and “non-collaborators”, “non-supporters”, or “non-suitable” ethnic groups, which is a typical example of the “Divide and Rule” policy (Hesselbein, 2007; Mamdani, 1996, 2002; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: Wamba-Dia-Wamba, 1996). The divide and rule policy of colonialists became a lesson for the emerging authoritarian dictators of Africa.

4.1.2.2 Nigeria

a) State Boundary and Amalgamation

The British protectorate of Southern Nigeria began with the annexation of Lagos in 1861. The British colonization of Nigeria became complete after the fall of the Sokoto Caliphate of Northern Nigeria in 1903 (Falola &Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992). In order to better serve their colonial interests, without the consent of the subjects, the British colonialists decided to amalgamate the three British territories of Lagos colony, the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1898. But the actual amalgamation took place in 1914. Before the amalgamation, the governors of the three territories followed separate systems of government, laws, and methods of administration. The three governors acted as though they were representing separate states, not colonies belonging to the British Empire (Adejumo, A.2009; Lovejoy, 1992).

b) Parliamentary democracy and Creation of State Elite

The Colonial Constitutions of Nigeria. In response to the nationalist resistance, four constitutions were promulgated which established a federal system of government prior to independence. In the period between 1914 and1960, colonial Nigeria adopted six constitutions through an order-in-council of the British Monarch. The amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria carried out following the 1914 colonialist constitution of the British Empire (Eleanya, 2018). Lord Frederick Lugard was the first Governor-General of amalgamated Nigeria. The first constitution was replaced in 1922 by the Clifford (successor to Lord Lugard) Constitution. The

Clifford Constitution introduced the election of representatives to the Legislative Council to the Lagos colony and the Southern provinces. The 1946 Arthur Richard constitution divided colonial Nigeria into Northern, Western, and Eastern regions, all of which were represented in the legislative council. The 1951 McPherson constitution amended the Richard constitution by allowing for regional autonomy and Federal Union. The 1954 Lyttleton Constitution firmly established a federal system of government and paved the way for independence. Although Nigeria won its political independence, the 1960 constitution was enacted by the British order-in-council and the title of head of state was by the British Monarch. In general, the colonial constitutions were promulgated by the colonial administrators. However, Nigerians were consulted in the '51, '54, and '60 constitutions, and were able to gain experience of parliamentary democracy. (Bourne, 2015; Eleanya, 2018; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992).

The 1957 Willink Commission. The colonial constitution divided Nigeria into Northern, Western, and Eastern regions. Nigeria is endowed with more than 250 ethnic groups. But the majority groups are: Hausa-Fulani in the North, Yoruba in the West, and Igbo in the East. As the colonial constitutions allowed (increased) political participation of Nigerians in the legislative council, the regional councils were doomed to be dominated by the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo in their respective regions. Thus the minorities feeling insecure requested of the colonial administrators not to be marginalized by the dominant ethnic groups. Following the petition by the minorities, the Willink Minority Commission was formed in 1957 by the British government. But the commission, contrary to the findings, proposed only a Bill of Rights, basic Human Rights and Freedoms to be included in the constitution (Akubor, 2017; Bourne, 2015; Oduntan, 2017).

Nigeria's First Decade of Independence. In Oct. 1960, the British parliament approved the independence of Nigeria. A coalition government of NPC (regionalist, Muslim, aristocratic) and NCNC (nationalist, Christian, populist) was formed under the leadership of Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister and Nyamdi Azikiwi as the first Governor-General representing the British Monarch, as head of state of Nigeria. But in 1963 the First republic of Nigeria was established in the Northern, Western, and Eastern regions with a federal system of government, and autonomy prevailed. The constitution of the Northern region tried to harmonize with Islamic law and

custom. Following the 1961 referendum, while the Northern Cameroons decided to remain with the Northern Nigerian region, the Southern Cameroons decided to join French-administered Cameroon (Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992. Osaghae, 1992).

Events which took place in the first decade might have had a significant impact on the political economy of post-colonial Nigeria. The ideological difference between Awolowo and Akintola¹⁵ led to the split of the Action Group, which was the official opposition in the federal parliament. Since the Action Group was the dominant party in the Yoruba-dominant western region, the instability created in this region had a significant impact on the stability of the other regions of post-colonial Nigeria as a whole (Ibid).

The minorities' demand for more state formation, which dates back since the promulgation of colonial constitution of Richards, continued to press (in more violent forms) during the post-independence Nigeria. Among the various minority organizations, the Middle Belt state movement in the Northern region, the Mid-West state movement in the western region, and the Calabar-Ogoga-Rivers state movement in the Eastern region deserve mention. Nevertheless, it was only the creation of the mid-western region which was approved in the 1963 referendum (Omaka, 2017; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992. Osaghae, 1992).

According to the 1952 census of colonial Nigeria, the Northern region was more populous than the Western and Eastern regions combined. Since political power representation in the federal parliament, and budget allocation were based on the population figures, the regionalized parties tried their level best to manipulate the census. Consequently, after the cancellation of the 1962 census, another census was carried out in 1962 which maintained the status quo of the Northern region's population majority (Cohen & Goldman, 1992; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992. Osaghae, 1992).

One of the major events which took place in post-independence Nigeria was the 1964-1965 election. Two groups of alliances contested for political power: the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) vs. the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA). The NNA was composed of the National People's Congress (NPC), Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), and minority parties from the South. The main objective of the NNA was to maintain the status quo. On the other hand, the UPGA was composed of National Council on Nigerian Citizens (NCNC-1), Awolowo's Action Group (AG), and minority parties in the Northern region. The main goal of

the UPGA was to change the status quo to take control of the federal government from NPC, and restore control of the Western region to Awolowo's AG. Although the NNA achieved the majority vote, (and UPGA becomes official opposition, the management of the 1964-65 election had a detrimental impact in the history of post-independence Nigeria. It was an election characterized by low voter turnout, corruption, rigging, violence, and many other irregularities. As a result of the growing violence, corruption, political abuse, election rigging, minority dissatisfaction, the North-South cleavage, etc. led to the collapse of the First Republic. The military attempted to intervene under the pretext of correcting the failure of the civilian government of the First Republic. (Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992. Osaghae, 1992; Ojo, 2017).

Nevertheless, the high expectations of independence started to be eroded by corruption, undemocratic governance, and rigged elections, which led to the First military coup d'état of 1966. Between 1960 and 1999, Nigeria has adopted 5 constitutions and 4 republics. However within those 39 years of independence, Nigeria fell under the various military juntas of dictatorship for 29 years. Moreover, between 1967 and 1970, Nigerians suffered from a secessionist Biafran civil war which had a detrimental consequence on the subsequent nation-building process of Nigeria (Ibid).

Nigerian Civil War, Biafra War (1967-1970). In January 1966, Igbo military officers attempted a military coup and killed Federal Premier Tafawa Balewa, Northern region premier Ahmado Bello, Western region premier Akintola¹⁶, and many Northern military officers. Eventually, Major General Ironsi (from Igbo origin), who was the commanding officer of the Nigerian army, became the first military ruler of independent Nigeria. General Ironsi abolished the federal system and established a centralized unitary government. But in July 1966, Northern (non-commissioned) officers staged a retaliatory counter coup, and after executing General Ironsi and other senior Igbo officers, selected Colonel Yakubu Gowon (Northern origin) to become the Commander of armed forces and the new Head of State. Subsequently, Colonel Gowon restored the federal system (Dummar, 2002; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992. New Africa, 2020; Osaghae, 1992; Osha, 2017; Usuanlele, 2017).

However, Colonel Ojukwu, the Eastern region's military governor, refused to recognize Gowon's leadership. As a result of a pogrom carried out against the Igbos residing in the

Northern region, Colonel Ojukwu claimed that the Federal Military Government was not capable of protecting the safety of Igbos. What followed was a two-way exodus of populations; Igbos towards Eastern region and non-Igbos out of the Eastern region. Despite a series of negotiations, the Federal Military Government and the Eastern region failed to come into a conclusive agreement. Following the Eastern region's Consultative Assembly's decision to secede, the Federal Military Government declared a state of emergency and sub-divided the existing four regions into twelve states. Consequently, following the declaration of independence of the Republic of Biafra, the Nigerian civil war broke out between the Federal Military Government and the Eastern region of Nigeria between 1967 and 1970 (Ibid).

The driving force of the civil war for the FMG (North and West) was that it believed in the unity of Nigeria, the Eastern part is the region where most of the country's oil is produced, and not to set a precedence for other minority groups to follow the way of the Biafra. On the other hand, the Biafrans believed that they were fighting for the survival of the Igbos (Falola & Heaton, 2008; New Africa, 2020).

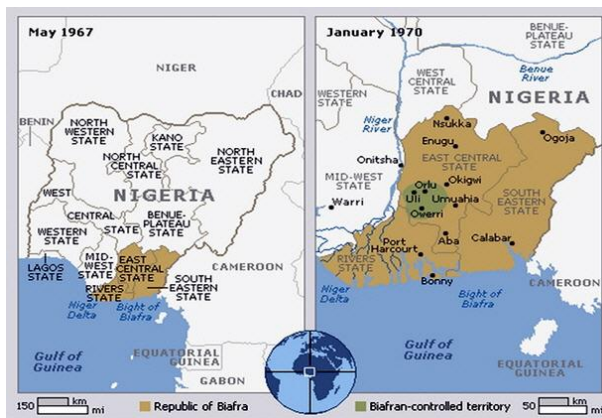
As a result of the creation of new states, non-Igbo minorities of the eastern regions sided with the FMG (Usuanlele, 2017). The FMG blocked access to the sea and controlled the oil producing fields, and due to the blockade, no shipment, except for relief goods, were allowed into or out of Biafra. Moreover, the FMG changed the Nigerian currency, so that the Biafra would be unable to utilize the old one. Besides the military pressure, the economic sanctions greatly affected the Biafrans. Involvement of the international community on behalf of both sides prolonged the duration of the civil war. With the exception of Tanzania, Gabon, Ivory Coast, and Zambia, all OAU member states supported the FMG. Outside the continent, the international community was divided between supporting the FMG or the Biafra. Nevertheless, overrun by the FMG, the Biafrans were finally forced to surrender unconditionally on Jan. 12, 1970, thus the danger of disintegration of the Nigerian state was averted (Bourne, 2015; Campbell, 2011; Falola & Heaton, 2008; New Africa, 2020; Osaghae, 1992).

The Biafra war lasted for two and a half years. Negatively impacted the loose federal bondage. Nurtured fear of domination by one region, i.e., North by South or vice versa. As a result of the civil war, between 1 and 3 million people lost their lives. But the issue of National Question is still on the table, waiting to be resolved (New Africa, 2020; Olukoshi & Agbu, 1996; Usuanlele

& Ibhawoh, 2017). Another major impact of the civil war was that the size of the Nigerian military increased from 10,000 to 250,000. Moreover, the army gained sufficient experience to play a significant political role in post-civil war Nigeria (Dummar, 2002; Lovejoy, 1992. Osaghae, 1992).

Fig.12. Area of former secessionist state of Biafra

Fig.13. Biafra Civil War (1967-70)



Source.fig.12: <https://www.igbofocus.co.uk/The-Biafran-War/Nigeria-Biafra-war-driven-by-a/Biafra-Map.jpg>

Source fig.13: <https://businessday.ng/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Biafra-war-1.jpg>

c) Authoritarian Dictatorship: Military Rule in Nigeria (1966-79 and 1983-99)

In the years between 1966 and 1999 Nigeria witnessed 29 years of military rule. As I have discussed earlier, the beginning of the Jan. 1966 coup of Southern officers marked the collapse of the first Nigerian republic. Seven months later a counter coup was carried out by the Northern military officers and Colonel Gowon became the Second military leader of Nigeria. In 1975, General Gowon was overthrown by General Murtala Mohammed. After a failed coup, Murtala Mohammed was assassinated and succeeded by his deputy General Olusegun Obasanjo. Then, in 1979 Obasanjo facilitated power transition to Shehu Shagari who became the elected civilian president of the Second Republic (1979-83) (Bourne, 2015; Dummar, 2002; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Osha, 2017).

But after an interval of four years, Shehu Shagary, the president of the second republic was toppled by General Mohammedu Buhari in 1983. In 1985, General Ibrahim Babangida staged another coup and became the sixth military ruler of Nigeria (Ibid). Following the annulment of

the 1992 election, General Babangida refused to transfer power to the President-elect Abiola. Instead, he temporarily handed power to an interim head-of-state, Ernest Shonenkan, in 1993. However, Shonenkan was ousted by another military dictator, General Sani Abacha. After 5 years of dictatorship, following the death of General Abacha in 1998, General Abubeker Atiku succeeded as the last military ruler of Nigeria. He dedicated himself to facilitating a peaceful transfer of power to the Fourth Nigerian republic, to be led by President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999 (Bourne, 2015; Dummar, 2002; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992; Osaghae, 1992; Osha, 2017).

d) Indirect Rule

The British colonial administration followed indirect rule policy. Indirect rule policy is to administer the colony through the traditional chiefs. But the indirect rule systems applied in the North were different from the Southern part of Nigeria. In the Northern part, the status quo of the Emirs was preserved as long as the Emir recognized the colonial authority through indirect rule system. Also, limited modern education harmonized with Islamic religious education (Madrassa) was given. Christian missionaries were not allowed. The Hausa Language was recognized as the official language in the North. The federal and regional government relationship of post-colonial Nigeria is among the colonial legacies of indirect rule policy (Adejumo, A.2009; Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992).

e) Official Language

Where as in the South, the indirect rule was implemented through traditional chiefs (Obas), but Christianity and modern education spread unhindered. English was employed as the official language. In the Eastern region, in the absence of traditional chiefs, warrant chiefs were appointed, who lacked the legitimacy of the traditional chiefs (Adejumo, A.2009). In general the vehicles of indirect rule policy were the traditional chiefs. The government bureaucracy needed local educated Nigerian elites.

f) Extractive economy

The colonial economy was mainly based on the extraction of minerals, and the export of raw materials and cash crops. Nigerians were introduced to cash economy of British Currency. The colonial infrastructures were built to facilitate the extractive nature of the colonial economy.

Moreover, the colonial economy made Nigerians to be dependent on the export economy and the indigenous enterprises of Nigerians became unable to compete with the Europeans (Adejumo, A.2009; Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992).

4.1.2.3 Summary of Major Events of Post-Colonial Settings

One of the major tasks of development in post-colonial countries of Africa was to embark on nation-building programs. In the past six decades of independence, Nigeria and DRC strived to attain successful nation-building. However, the nation-building efforts of both countries were not free of pitfalls and challenges, which engender conflict, violence, civil war and instability. Prior to the subsequent description of the challenges of nation building efforts of post-independence of Nigeria and DRC, major events or incidents which exacerbate the instability will be discussed as follows. Key incidents which took place in the first decades of independence of DRC and Nigeria have significant impacts on the following 50 years of nation-building of Nigeria and DRC.

Major events which took place during the Congo-Crisis (1960-1965) were: the schism of the political elites (*evolue*) into Unitarian and Federalist, Radical and Moderate; the mutiny of the army, demanding promotions and other privileges which provoked the intervention of Belgian soldiers and mercenaries; the secession of mineral-rich Katanga and South Kasai which enabled the intervention of the UN peacekeeping force to prevent the secessionists; the Independence Day speech of Prime Minister Lumumba, and the retaliation of imperialist powers who orchestrated, the removal and assassination of Lumumba in collaboration with Congolese Sellouts; and the coup of Mobutu Sese Seko, aided by Western powers, particularly the US, which marked the beginning of his authoritarian dictatorship for the next 32 years.

On the other hand, in the first decades of Nigeria's independence: the split of the AG (official opposition party), due to the ideological difference between Awolowo and Akintola which led to growing instability in the Yoruba-dominated Western region; the creation of the mid-Western region (approved in the 1963 referendum), due to the minority groups growing demand for more state formation; the controversial census of 1962; the 1964-65 election; the double coups of 1966; the pogrom and the Biafra War of 1967-70 are among the significant events with a long lasting impact. The 1964-65 election was full of irregularities and considered a rigged election. Whatever motives it had behind, the January 1966 [coup] was responsible for the collapse of the

First Republic and pioneered the subsequent 29 years of military rule in Nigeria. Following the pogrom carried against the Igbos residing in the Northern region, the Eastern region, under the leadership of Ojukwu declared the secession of Biafra, and the Nigerian Civil War (1967-70) broke out between the Eastern region and Federal military government of Nigeria.

The 32 years of authoritarian dictatorship of Zaire's Mobutu, the Sovereign National Conference, and the First and Second Congo wars were among the major post-independence phenomena which had a monumental impact on the challenges of nation-building efforts of the DRC. Likewise, the 29 years of military rule, the corrupt civilian government of the Second Republic, the annulment of the 1992 election by General Ibrahim Babangida, the adoption of Sharia law in the 12 states of Northern Nigeria, and the terror of Boko Haram¹⁷ are among the major events, which influenced the nation-building efforts of post-independence Nigeria.

In general, the challenges to the nation-building efforts of both Nigeria and Congo can be associated with the above mentioned major incidents. Challenges of ethnic conflicts, leadership crises, external intervention, constitutional challenges, resource curse, corruption, poor governance, rigged election, conflicts and instability, etc. are manifested in the incidents of the last six decades of independence.

Fig.14. Boko-Haram Militants



girls

Fig.15. Boko Haram Kidnaps Chibok School



Source fig.14: <https://www.lavozdelsandinismo.com/wp-estaticos/2014/11/boko.jpg>

Source fig.15: <https://images.wsj.net/im-273506/social>

4.2 Efforts of Nation Buildings

Nation-Building was one of the major tasks of the newly independent African Countries. What the colonialists did during the colonial era was state-building, and not nation-building. They didn't apply their European nation-building policies to their colonies in Africa. Thus, at the time of independence, it can be said that state-building preceded nation-building in Africa. (Alesina & Reich, 2012; Bogdandy et al., 2005; Bongdandy, Mukwedeya, 2016; Stephenson, 2005).

Successful nation-building brings social homogenization and peace, which is favorable for economic development. It facilitates proper utilization of resources and reduces social and economic disparity among citizens. In contrast, lack of successful nation-building will lead to a situation of instability, conflict, civil war, obstruction of economic development resulting in the perpetuation of poverty. The newly independent African states followed various types of nation-building policies. Some of these policies appear banal or ordinary, but have subtle impact on building national integration. Changing the name of the state, capital city, or currency, National dress/attire and rituals such as national holidays, national anthems, and daily flag-raising ceremonies, which inculcate the national idea into the public awareness (Ibid). On the other hand there are nation building programs which are more overt and profound policies such as; changing the education curriculum, the creation of one-party states, religious and linguistic homogenization, non-ethnic censuses, land nationalization, national service, etc. (Ibid).

But a distinction has to be made between the formation of nation-states and nation building. Creating an independent nation- state with a flag, an army, an anthem, newly minted money, and freshly printed passports did not guarantee that citizens identified with the nation or that they accepted the authority of the state (Wimmer, 2018). On the other hand, a longer period of relative 'stability' or 'peace' does not necessarily imply that there is a nation-building success. Most of autocratic leaders of Africa stayed on power for more than three decades. Mobutu of Zaire, Haileselassie of Ethiopia, Paul Beya of Cameroon, Idris Debby of Chad, and Yuweri Museveni of Uganda, are among many other African countries, characterized by poverty, underdevelopment, external aid and debt dependency, etc. (Ibid).

4.2.1 Nation-Building Efforts of Democratic Republic of Congo

Although Congolese resistance to colonization was present throughout the colonial era, it was strengthened to a nationwide movement during the late 1950s. While the leaders of the anti-

colonialist movement were divided between Unitarists and Federalists, yet all of them were nationalists. Following the five year crisis of the First Republic, Congo fell under the dictatorship of Colonel Mobutu. The eras of Mobutu (1965-1997) had their pros and cons; the policies and efforts of nation-building certainly count among those. When Mobutu staged the coup in 1965, it was carried out under the pretext of restoring peace and stability. To revive the patriotic feelings of the Congolese, Mobutu declared Lumumba to be remembered as the ‘Congolese National Hero’. That was the first indication of nation-building efforts of Mobutu (Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thomson, 2000; Wamba-Dia Wamba, 1996; Young & Turner 1985).

4.2.1.1 Changes of names: State, Capital, Currencies

At the dawn of independence, the national flag, Coat of Arms, Anthem, and currencies were changed. The countries’ name changed from Belgian-Congo to Republic of The Congo, and in 1964 to Democratic Republic of Congo. The Belgian currency, the franc, was replaced by *zaire* in 1967. President Mobutu, in order to legitimize his authority, founded a party, the *MPR* (Popular Movement of Revolution), with the ideology of ‘authentic Congolese nationalism’, which was later renamed ‘Authenticité’, a return to African tradition. Based on the ideology of Authenticité, all activities were designed to be associated with African traditions. Names such as Congo, Leopoldville, Stanleyville and Joseph Desire, changed to Zaire, Kinshasa, Kisangani, and Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga respectively. Colonial statues were removed, the dress code obliged women to wear the Pagne, and men the Abacost¹⁸. Music and arts were expected to reflect the African style (Borghols, 2018; Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thomson, 2000; Wamba-Dia Wamba, 1996; Young & Turner 1985).

4.2.1.2 One-Party Political System

With regard to political aspect, Zaire came to be ruled by the one party system. The ideological basis of the MPR was a combination of ‘Authenticité’, and ‘Mobutism’. Which was documented in the Manifesto of N’sele in May 1967. According to the N’sele Manifesto, Zaire is a one-party state striving for Congolese nationalism (rejecting tribalism and regionalism), which aspires to attain economic independence (Ibid).

4.2.1.3 Land Nationalization

The economic aspects of nation-building affairs of Zaire were manifested in various areas. The ambitious economic projects were the Inga Dam project, the 1800 km Inga-Shaba electric power transfer scheme, rail and road construction projects, and other industrial and mining projects deserve mention. Based on the N'sele manifesto of MPR, 'Zairization' was intended to support the idea of attaining economic independence. Accordingly, the Bakajika Law of 1966, the nationalization and privatization of foreign-owned industrial and mining enterprises were carried out in pursuit of attaining economic independence (Ibid).

4.2.1.4 Religious, Education, and Linguistic homogenization

The nation-building effort was not limited to the Zairian state, but also the Catholic Church played a considerable role in the process of nation-building effort. Education and religion are instrumental in facilitating the nation-building effort. In 1974, 61.7% of primary and 42.1% of secondary education of Zaire was run by the Catholic Church. Since education and religion are instrumental in facilitating nation-building effort, it can be said that the role of the Catholic Church was significant. French being an official language, Kituba (Kikongo), Lingala, Swahili, and Tshiluba are considered as the national language of DRC (Borghols, 2018; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young & Turner, 1985).

4.2.1.5 Impact of Sovereign National Conference

The end of the Cold War, the coming of the New World Order, and the growing internal (domestic) opposition forced Mobutu to cease a one-party state system, and allowed a Sovereign National Conference (CNS) to take place in 1992. About 2842 delegates of all parts of the Congolese people were represented in the conference. The objectives of the conference were to discuss the situation of Zaire, draft constitution¹⁹, lay the groundwork for the peaceful transition of power, and decide on the future of the country. The conference lasted for 8 months. The proceedings of the conference were on live transmission. The conference had a strong impact on the new generation, and strengthened national unity. As Nzongola-Ntalaja put it, "Moreover the CNS strengthened the bonds of citizenship and the commitment to national unity among the Congolese. While there is strong commitment to a large decentralization of political authority in this vast land, including a passionate belief in Federalism within the political class, nearly everyone wants to keep the country within its colonially inherited boundaries." (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002, p.197)

4.2.2 Nation-Building Efforts of Nigeria

On the eve of Nigeria's independence, Tafawa Balewa was elected as the First Prime Minister of Nigeria. Thirteen years prior to independence Tafawa Balewa, in his speech to the 1947 legislative council, had said that the unity of the amalgamated Nigeria "...is just on paper." (Bourne, 2015, p, 71) In contrast to this, Prime Minister Balewa, in the Independence Day speech said that "...history will show that the building of our nation proceeded at the wisest pace: it has been through, and Nigeria now stands well built upon firm foundation" (Falola & Heaton, 2008. p.156). Independence by itself lays the foundation for the beginning of nation-building. Thus, following independence, Nigerians engaged into various nation-building efforts.

4.2.2.1 Changes of State, Capital, and Province Names

Although it was not the intention of the Nigerians, the 1914 North-South amalgamation was the basis for the foundation of present day Nigeria. Moreover, the anti-colonial resistance also had a significant impact on the nation-building process of Nigeria (the post 1929 anti-colonialist resistance became on a more Pan-Nigerian level) (Falola, & Heaton 2008; Ibietan, & Itodo, 2015). However, independent Nigeria continued with the colonial name but, with the title of 'Federation of Nigeria' between 1960-63 and 'Federal Republic of Nigeria' since 1963. Furthermore, it also adopted its own Flag, Coat of Arms, and National Anthem upon independence. With regard to changing of location of capital cities Lagos and Abuja can be mentioned as a good example. Lagos was a coastal capital of Nigeria since the time of British colonialism. But Abuja, which is located in the center of the country was established as a new capital in 1991 (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

4.2.2.2 Changes of National Currencies

So as to reflect the status of its independence, inscriptions of 'FEDERATION OF NIGERIA' and 'FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA' were inscribed on the colonial pound banknotes. Later on in 1973, the pound was replaced by Naira with portraits of national heroes of Nigeria namely; Tafawa Balewa, Nyamede Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Murtala Mohammed, and many others.

4.2.2.3 National Youth Service and Unity Schools

The National Youth Service and the Unity Schools were among the famous Nigerian nation-building programs. The National Youth Service was intended to involve every university

graduate under 30 years of age in the program for one year. The Youth were to be assigned in areas not of their origin. The Unity Schools were also organized to nurture national unity by bringing together the students of different regions of the country, so that they could get to know one another and familiarize with other parts of the country. There were about 104 unity schools built in the Northwest, North Center, Northeast, and South-South, Southwest, and Southeast regions of the country. Moreover, in addition to the provision of public goods such as education and health, the government tried to support the nation-building efforts through spreading infrastructure. Last but not least, the national anthem, flag, currency, national football team, various nation-building themed songs, etc. were areas in which the nation-building program were exercised (Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Ibietan & Itodo, 2015; Umoh & Adeyi, 2019).

4.2.2.4 Federal System of Government

Although the federal system of government was established before independence, retaining it was the first measure considered as a nation-building effort. Within the federal system, the introduction of the Federal Charter Principle was also introduced in an attempt to distribute the natural resources, revenues, and job opportunities, etc. in a balanced manner, both at the federal and regional levels (Africa Report N°119.,2006; Ibietan, & Itodo, 2015; Umoh & Adeyi,2019).

The Biafra War, the civil war between the Federal Military Government and the Eastern region, can be viewed from two aspects. While the Biafran side was fighting to secede, the FMG (Northern and Western region) was fighting to maintain the unity of Nigeria. When the war ended, General Yakubu Gowon said in a speech that there would be “No Victor and No Vanquished”, and proclaimed a program of ‘Reconciliation, Reconstruction, and Rehabilitation’ (Bourne, 2015.p.125). These gestures were good nation-building decisions (Bourne, 2015; Ibietan & Itodo, 2015).

4.2.2.5 Creation of More States

At the time of independence, the Federal Republic of Nigeria was a combination of three regions each dominated by an ethnic group, namely the Hausa-Fulani (North), Yoruba (West), and Igbo (East). However, among the remaining minority groups (more than 250 ethnic groups and languages), due to a feeling of being marginalized, there had been a demand for the creation of more states. Thus, starting in 1963, the consecutive governments responded by forming additional states, so that they became 4 in 1963, 12 in 1967, 19 in 1976, 21 in 1987, 30 in 1991,

and 36 in 1996. Although the demand for additional states did not abate, these were considered as nation-building efforts and were helpful in preserving Nigeria’s integrity (Bourne, 2015; Emmanuel, 2016; Imuetinyan, 2017; Omaka, 2017).

Fig.16.Nigeria under British Administration



Fig.17. Regions of Nigeria 1963-67

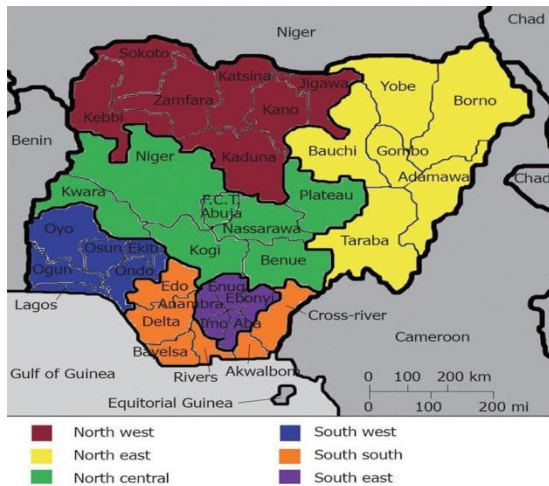


Source fig.16:

<https://th.bing.com/th/id/OIP.hWYxHbFv35MBZCfrZffTmwHaFe?pid=PersonalBing&rs=1>

Source fig.17: <https://grimotnane.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/mw-nigeria.png?w=337&h=371>

Fig.18. 36 States and 6 Geopolitical Zones of Nigeria



Source fig.18: <https://i2.wp.com/media.premiumtimesng.com/wp-content/files/sites/2/2017/06/Six-geopolitical-zones-of-Nigeria.jpg>

4.2.2.6 Renaissance of Arts and Culture

The creation and development of a national identity was widely spread in the areas of national culture, arts, theatre, film, music, literary work, etc. Intellectuals like Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, and Amos Tutuola were among the famous writers who contributed to Nigeria's nation-building efforts. FESTAC 77 (World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture 1977) was hosted by the Nigerian government to display Nigeria's rich cultural tradition to the rest of the world, and to strengthen Black Arts and cultural solidarity. In addition to its international aspect, the festival created good opportunities for the various ethnic nationalities of Nigeria (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

4.3 Challenges of Nation-Building Efforts of DRC and Nigeria

4.3.1 Impacts of Colonial Legacy

The people of Africa were disrupted as a result of colonial aggression. Like the rest of the African people, the Congolese and Nigerians were negatively impacted due to colonial aggression followed by the arbitrary demarcation of boundaries, coupled with the deliberate hierarchization and creation of artificial ethnic-tension fomented by colonialists. The presence of the Kongo ethnic group in Angola and Congo-Brazzaville; the Nigrbadi, in Central African Republic; the Zande, in Sudan; the Alur, in Sudan and Uganda; the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa in Rwanda and Burundi; the Bemba, in Zambia; and the Lunda in Zambia and Angola, are typical examples of the arbitrary boundary demarcation in Central African countries. It is one of the major factors for the present day ethnic conflict and irredentism (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002). Likewise, the separation of Yoruba and Bariba ethnic nationalities between Nigeria and Benin, some parts of the Hausa between Nigeria and Chad, the Mandara, the Sukun, the Chamba, and the Efik between Nigeria and Cameroon are the results of the colonial improper boundary demarcation (Aluede, 2017).

The Belgians applied deliberate hierarchy between the various ethnic tribes or regions through their 'divide and rule' policy. They categorized the subjects between "hard-working" and "lazy", and forged artificial tribal mentalities and identities, preferring a certain tribal language over the other, etc. In cases of tribal conflict, the colonizers would side with one group over the other. As Nzongola-Ntalaja describes about Lulua-Baluba "There is no better example of the invention of ethnicity or, in other words, of how artificial ethnic identities can be than the Lulua-Baluba conflict" (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002, p.103).

On the other hand, the British indirect rule policy was not applied uniformly in both regions. In the Northern region, the Emirs were instruments of indirect rule. Under the British rule, the Northern Emirs were allowed to exercise their autonomy to implement Sharia Law, Islamic education (Madrassa), the Hausa language, etc. On the other hand, in the Southern region, under warrant chiefs, modern education, English language, and Christianity were widely exercised. The British colonialists deliberately nurtured the ethnic and regional mentality among the subjects through the colonial constitutions, via indirect rule, and divide and rule policies (Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992; Osaghae, 1992).

Based on the colonial constitution, Nigeria was divided into Northern, Western, and Eastern regions, each dominated by the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo respectively. As a result of this regionalization, each region tried its level best not to be dominated by the other party (North vs South). The political organizations were also based upon ethnicity or region. Moreover, ethnic minorities in the three regions were also afraid of being marginalized. The British colonialists exploited these divisions to their advantage by favoring one side over the other (Ibid).

Belgian Congo was ruled under the policy of ‘Colonial Trinity’ (State, Companies, and Church). In order to better serve the colonial interest, traditional chiefs were instrumental in facilitating the indirect rule policy. In the 75 years of colonization, the Belgians plundered the rich natural resources of the Congolese people. Cotton, Rubber, Ivory, Gold, Copper, Diamond, Cobalt, and many other natural resources were exploited via slave and forced labor. Moreover, the income from the colonial economic exploitation of Congo significantly subsidized the Belgian government during WWII. Culturally, a colonial mentality is inculcated under the guise of “civilizing mission” to colonial subjects such as “civilized whites” versus “savage natives”. “White human” versus “less human black” etc. (Turner, 2007; Wamba-Dia-Wamba, 1996; Young & Turner, 1985).

Although the colonialists discouraged the spread of education, it was mainly carried out by the missionaries. At the time of independence, there were only twenty Congolese who were college or university graduates. No Congolese were able to rise above the rank of non-commissioned officer within the army (Dunkerley, 2009; Geboers, 2016; Young & Turner, 1985).

In an attempt to create a Belgian-Congolese community, the colonizers through time introduced a ‘social merit card’ or ‘matriculation’ for the natives so that they could be good advocates of the

colonial system. Those who meet the criteria would be considered “civilized” and were named “Evolue” (evolved). According to the colonial charter, until the late 1950s, no political activity (with the exception of cultural and religious associations) was allowed in Belgian Congo. When the political parties were formed, with the exception of Patrice Lumumba’s MNC, all of them were ethnic-and region- based (Turner, 2007; Wamba-Dia-Wamba, 1996; Young & Turner, 1985).

Education for Congolese during colonial times was limited to the elementary level. Since political activity was prohibited by the Colonial Charter, at the time of independence, the political leadership experience of the evolue was limited. Last but not least, the income from the economic exploitation significantly subsidized the Belgian government. Thus the Congolese post-colonial conflict, leadership crisis, and the Belgian attempt to maintain the status quo through neo-colonial approaches are among the various colonial legacy challenges of nation-building for the Democratic Republic of Congo (Dunkerley, 2009; Geboers, 2016; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

Before the amalgamation, the Northern and Southern protectorates were administered by different governors-general of the British Empire. The purpose of the amalgamation was aimed at meeting the colonial interests of the British Empire. It was amalgamated without the consent of the Nigerian people. As Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a notable nationalist from Yoruba, said in 1947, “Nigeria is not a nation; it is a mere geographical expression (Bourne, 2015). Moreover, Abu-Bakr Tafawa Balewa²⁰, who became the first Prime Minister of Nigeria said in 1947, “Since the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern provinces in 1914, Nigeria has existed as one country only on paper. It is still far from being united. Nigeria’s unity is only a British invention for the country.” (Ibid) The amalgamated Nigeria is heterogeneous.²¹ Even the three regions themselves are not homogeneous. They are historically, culturally, linguistically, and ethnically different. Thus, the absence of consensus on the usable past history is a major challenge of nation-building effort (Utz, 2005; Falola & Heaton, 2008). In general, the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates by the colonialists created a State of Nigeria, but not a Nation of Nigeria. Thus, the process of nation-building was to take place in post-independence Nigeria.

4.3.2 Ethnic and Religious Conflict

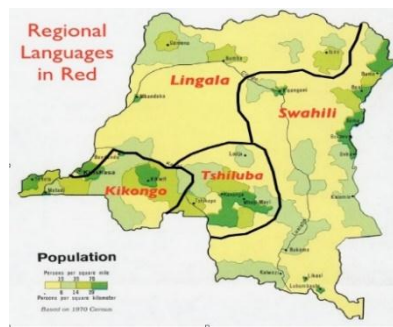
The presence of ethnic, religious, or cultural diversity by itself is not a problem. It becomes a problem when a certain ruling body, civil society, elite group, etc. manipulates these differences to negatively affect a given society. Like the rest of the African countries, Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo are rich in multiethnic diversity. Although ethnic and/or tribal differences did exist in the pre-colonial period, the colonial administration deliberately exploited these differences for the promotion of colonial interests²² (Laakso, & Olukoshi, 1996; Turner, 2007; Wimmer, 2018).

The Belgian colonialists used ethnographic maps for effective administration of their subjects (Turner, 2007). Through these maps, they could understand the distribution of the people, their traditional institutions, etc. Armed with that knowledge, they implemented their colonial policy of indirect rule and ‘Divide and Rule’ system. By the ‘Divide and Rule’ policy, they categorized the subjects between ‘Collaborators’ vs. ‘non-Collaborators’, ‘clever’ vs. ‘lazy’, etc. In the event of ethnic clashes, they preferred and supported one ethnic group over the other (Laakso, & Olukoshi, 1996; Turner, 2007; Wimmer, 2018).

Fig. 19. Ethnic Map of DRC (Zaire)



Fig.20. Four Regional Languages of DRC



Source fig. 19:

<https://i.pining.com/originals/9d/42/05/9d420580ae903bff2b55ce179dd95a74.jpg>

Source fig.20: <https://tracingafricanroots.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/drc441.jpg?w=869>

Moreover, four languages (Kikongo, Lingala, Tshiluba, and Swahili) were chosen to be used as instructional media in the Catholic religious schools. Since political activities were not allowed by the Belgian ‘Colonial Charter’, the Congolese civil society started to be organized along ethnicity, religion, or cultural lines to demand for reforms. Likewise, when political activity was allowed, most political activity was organized on an ethnic basis. The post-colonial instability of

Congo can, at least partially, be ascribed to the manipulation of the ethnographic maps of Belgian Congo (Mamdani, 2002; Turner, 2007; Young & Turner, 1985).

Similarly, Nigeria comprises more than 250 ethnic groups. Although the federal system was expected to hold the various ethnic, religious, and regional groups together, the prevailing ethnic and religious conflicts are challenges which the Nigerian people were encountering during the post-colonial period (Egharevba & Iruonagbe, 2015; Emmanuel, 2016). Due to the prevalence of political, economic, and social inequalities, each group feared to be dominated by the other (North by South, Muslim by Christian, (ethnic) majority by minority and vice versa) (Gambari, 2002; Oxfam, 2017). The 1957 Willink Minority Commission was established to assess the status of the minority groups (Akubor, 2017; Oduntan, 2017). Moreover, ethnic or region-based political parties and other civil associations dominated the political, economic, and social struggles (Egharevba & Iruonagbe, 2015; Emmanuel, 2016; Falola & Heaton). The Northern People's Congress was overwhelmingly composed of the Hausa-Fulani and Northerners. The Action Group mainly comprised members from the Yoruba and Western region. On the other hand, the National Congress of Nigerian Citizens majorly consisted of members from the Igbo and Eastern region. Almost all activities which were taking place in Nigeria were strongly ethnic-related (Cohen & Goldman, 1992; Egharevba & Iruonagbe, 2015; Emmanuel, 2016; Falola & Heaton; Lovey, 1992).

One of the area where the post-colonial ethnic based conflict taking place is in the eastern part of Congo (North Kivu and South Kivu). The Kivu region was subdivided into North Kivu, South Kivu, and Maniema in 1989. The majority ethnic groups were the indigenous Nande (North Kivu) and the Barega (South Kivu). The other minority groups are the Banyarwanda, who speaks Kinyarwanda, the language of Rwanda. According to Mamdani, the Banyarwanda living in Congo are divided into three groups: Nationals, Migrants, and Refugees (Mamdani, 2002). The Nationals, who calls themselves, Banyamulenge settled in Congo prior to Belgian colonization begins. The Migrants were who came during the period of Belgian colonization to work (forced or voluntary) in the colonial plantations. The Refugees are those who fled to Congo following the post-independence instabilities in the region (Ibid).

Following the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, the Tutsi and Hutu refugees flooded into Eastern Congo (Kivu), which led to the refugee crisis of the Great Lakes Region in East Africa. Besides

Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo had been witnessing multitudes of ethnic conflicts since independence. The conflicts in Ituri region, the ethnic Mai faction, the clashes between the Pygmy and the Laba people, the Kamwina Nsape Rebellion, the Dongo conflict, and the Yumbi massacre deserve mention (Ibid).

Nigeria's first military coup of January 1966 was carried out by Igbo military officers, who felt that the government was dominated by Northerners (Hausa-Fulani). Seven months later, a counter coup was carried out by Northern officers against the Igbo military ruler General Ironsi. Following the pogrom carried out against the Igbos in the Northern region, the Igbo majority Eastern region seceded from the federal government. Thus the 1967-70 Nigerian Civil War, Biafra War broke out (Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovey, 1992; Osaghae, 1992; Usuanlele, 2017). The 29 years of military dictatorship of Nigeria was also influenced by ethnic tensions. It was even assumed that the military dictatorship was dominated by the Northern Hausa-Fulani leadership (out of 8 military leaders, 6 were from the Northern region) (Bourne, 2015; Campbell, 2011; Dummar, 2002, Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovey, 1992; Osaghae, 1992).

In 1993, Mosheed Abiola (Yoruba origin) won the presidential election. Nevertheless, General Ibrahim Babangida (Hausa origin) annulled the election, and set up an interim civilian government to arrange for another election. Within months, General Sani Abach (Hausa-Fulani) seized power in a palace coup. Consequently, the president-elect Mosheed Abiola was jailed, and simultaneously ethnic violence erupted between the Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani (Ibid).

Other ethnic and religious conflicts are being witnessed in the civilian government of the Fourth Republic (1999-). In addition to ethnic conflicts, various armed militias took part in the ethnic and religious conflicts. The Oodua People's Congress (OPC) strived on behalf of the Yoruba interest. The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) claims to represent the Igbo interest. The Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) struggled for the independence of Ijaw. In general, these are proliferations of armed militias of various ethnic groups throughout Nigeria (Azad, Crawford, & Kaila, 2018; Bourne, 2015; Campbell, 2011; Emmanuel, 2016; Egharevba & Iruonagbe, 2015; Igboin, 2017; Taft & Haken, 2015).

On the other hand, the conflict is not limited to ethnicity, but there is also a manifestation of religious clashes. In 1999-2000, the Islamic Sharia Law was implemented in twelve Northern states of Nigeria. Also, Christian Revivalism spread in the Southern regions. While the Muslim

fanatics view the rest of the country as corrupt, the Christian fanatics consider the Islamic community as fundamentalists. In addition to ethnic conflicts, religious tensions are significantly impacting the stability of Nigeria. The Maitatsine crisis, the Sharia Law crisis, the Boko Haram crisis, and the frequent Muslim-Christian clashes are worth noting (Ibid). In Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo, almost all major incidents which took place in the post-colonial period are colored with ethnicity.

Fig.21. Ethnic Group Map of Nigeria

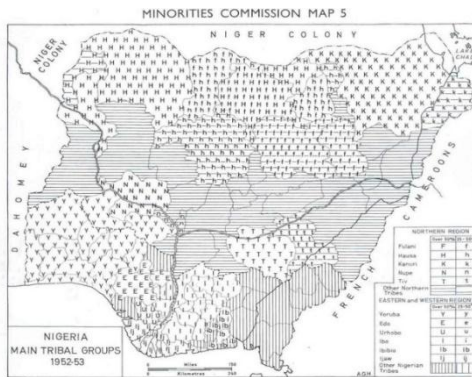


Fig.22. 12 Sharia states of Nigeria



Source fig.21:

https://www.nairaland.com/attachments/2636413_map2_jpeg0c2aa5afc1f2aeac6996d79fcaed6198

Source fig.22:

https://news.bbc.co.uk/media/images/36554000/gif/36554313_nigeria_states8_300.gif

4.3.3 Constitution and Constitutionalism

During the colonial era most of the African countries were being administered by authoritarian colonial constitutions. After independence, the African leaders adopted new ones, or amended the colonial constitutions. Almost all independent African leaders promised democracy, good governance, and popular participation, and political, economic, and social development. Such achievements were supposed to be attained through effective constitutions and constitutionalism, among other factors. Nevertheless, in spite of the presence of constitutions in most post-independence African countries what we are witnessing up until now is quite the opposite. As a result of the absence of constitutionalism, the African people are suffering from the absence of good governance, democracy, violation of human rights, rigged elections, coup d'états, poverty, conflict, instability, etc. (Fombad, 2016). Like the rest of the African countries, Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo, in an effort to avoid or mitigate these problems, have made (and

still are making) many attempts to amend or change their constitutions while disregarding constitutionalism. Implementation of authoritarian constitution against constitutionalism, directly and/or indirectly affects nation-building efforts (Mbaku, 2018; Mbondenyi, Ojienda, 2013).

Between 1855 and 1908, the Congo Free State was ruled by the Royal Decree of King Leopold II of Belgium. After the Belgian government took over the administration of Belgian Congo in 1908, the governing rule was the Colonial Charter, which was approved by the Belgian parliament (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; UNECA, 2015; Young & Turner, 1985). During the past 60 years of independence, the Democratic Republic of Congo has adopted 5 constitutions. The first constitution was the *Loi Fondamentale*, which was prepared by the Belgians based upon their constitution, and intended to create independent Congo in the Belgian model. This constitution lasted until 1964. The *Loi Fondamentale* created the parliamentary system, with the executive led by the President and the Prime Minister. The citizenship or nationality issue was not clearly addressed by this constitution, and rather was left pending to be addressed in the future (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; UNECA, 2015; Young & Turner, 1985).

The Luluabourg Constitution of 1964 named the country the Democratic Republic of Congo. It was promulgated by the Congolese in the aftermath of the Congo Crisis (assassination of Lumumba, secession attempt by Katanga, series of revolts and conflicts, etc.). With regard to citizenship, it was stated that Congolese citizenship would be granted if the person's ancestors migrated to the country before the creation of Belgian Congo (1908). Following the 1965 coup of Mobutu Sesse Seko, the Luluabourg Constitution was terminated and substituted by the 1967 constitution of Mobutu, The 1967 constitution established a Unitary Presidential system. (Ibid)

Drafted by the presidency, the 1974 constitution institutionalized the one-party system under the ideology of Mobutism. According to the constitution, Mobutu would be the political leader, leader of the Council of Ministers, the legislative, and the judiciary. In spite of the [nominal] provision of basic human rights, every citizen of Congo was obliged to be a member of the ruling party, MPR (Hesselbein, 2007; UNECA, 2015; Young & Turner, 1985). The current constitution of 2006, which was approved by a referendum, establishes Presidential rule over a semi-federal/ decentralized unitary state. In general, all the post-independence constitutions of Democratic Republic of Congo have their own weaknesses. While there are a multitude of factors for the

instability, conflict, and under-development of post-independence Democratic Republic of Congo, the weaknesses of the constitutions have contributed their fair share (Ibid).

Although Congo is endowed with more than 250 ethnic groups, the constitutions were not designed in a manner to address the common interests of these various ethnic groups. The tensions between Federalists and Unitarians was not solved wisely. Without disregarding other factors, the secession attempts of Katanga and South Kasai was a direct result of the weaknesses of the first constitution (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; UNECA, 2015; Wamba-dia-Wamba, 1996; Young & Turner, 1985). Moreover, the *Loi Fondamentale* gave duplicate executive powers for the President and the Prime Minister. Based upon Article 22 of the *Loi Fondamentale* (“The President names and dismisses the Prime Minister”), President Kasa-Vubu dismissed the democratically elected Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba. Although this measure was politically defensible, the consequences that followed were detrimental in the political history of independent Congo (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; UNECA, 2015).

Moreover the 1974 constitution was a typical example of a constitution trying to legitimize arbitrariness, repression, dictatorship, etc. In the 1974 constitution, the principles of power-sharing, rule of law, and basic citizenship rights were undermined. The party leader, Mobutu, at the same time, was Head-of-State, head of the legislative, executive, and judicial. The party (MPR), under the ideology of Mobutism, was the only institution recognized by the constitution. Besides, all Congolese citizens were obliged to be a member of the ruling party (MPR) (Wamba-dia-Wamba, 1996; Young & Turner, 1985).

On the other hand, the history of Nigeria’s constitution can be divided into two periods: colonial and post-colonial. The pre-Independence constitutions were the Amalgamation constitution of 1914, the Clifford constitution of 1922, the Richards constitution of 1946, the Macpherson Constitution of 1951, the Lyttleton constitution of 1954, and the Independence constitution of 1960. Furthermore, the post-Independence constitutions were the 1963, 1979, and the 1999 constitutions (Bourne, 2015; Chima, 2013; Eleanya, 2018; Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Influenced by the preceding colonial constitutions, the 1960 independence constitution of Nigeria followed a federal system of government, while the British monarch continued to act as the Head of State. Under the 1963 constitution Nigeria became a Republic. Instead of the British monarch, Nnyamdi Azikiwe became the Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The

First Republic of independent Nigeria was characterized by; ethnic politics, power struggle at the federal level, regional constitutional crises which led to the split of the official opposition party of AG and the subsequent rebellion of the Yoruba-dominated Western region. This paved the way for the 1966 coup to take place. The new military government, by Decree 34 of 1966, declared a unitary government, and abolished the federal structure. Military governors were assigned to every region, and political parties were banned. However another coup took place after 7 months, and General Gowon became the Second military ruler of independent Nigeria, restoring the federal system by another decree (Lovejoy, 1992; Osaghae, 1992).

After 13 years of military rule, the 1979 constitution was promulgated to form the Second Republic of Nigeria (1979-83). However the Second Republic, along with the 1979 constitution, was removed and substituted by yet another military dictator in 1983. Disregarding the interruption of the interim government of Shonekan (27 Aug-17 Nov, 1993), the second military government lasted for 16 years. Thus after the promulgation of the 1999 constitution, the civilian government of the Fourth Republic is continuing without being interrupted by a military coup. Except for the 1979 constitution, all pre- and post-independence constitutions of Nigeria were enacted with insignificant popular participation. In the first decade of independence Nigeria faced a multitude of problems. The ethnic, regional, and political strife, rampant corruption, rigged election (1964-65), two military coups, the secession of the Biafra (Eastern Region) and the subsequent civil war, etc. can be ascribed to the constitutional crises of 1960 and 1963 (Ibid).

Moreover, the 29 years of military rule explains how the constitutions were undermined and military decrees became superior to the constitutions. While the decree of General Ironsi abolished the Federal system, the other decree of General Gowon restored it. The creation of additional states, which rose from 4 to 36, was also done by the decrees of military rulers. Similarly, the annulment of the June 12, 1993 election result and the setting up of the Interim National Government was carried out by the military decree of General Ibrahim Babangida (Bourne, 2015; Chima, 2013; Eleanya, 2018; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992).

4.3.4 Acquiring Citizenship and Indigeneity

In addition to lack of constitutionalism, the constitutions of Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo have difficulties in addressing or reaching consensus on issues of citizenship/nationality, and indigeneity. For instance, one of the major problems of the post-independence constitution

was its failure to properly address the question of Congolese nationality (citizenship). The citizenship issue goes back to the colonial period of Congo free-state (1885-1908) and Belgian Congo (1908-1960). Among the groups, who are living inside the territory of Congo and at the same time who have difficulties obtaining citizenship are the Banyarwanda, in North and South Kivu and Kasaians residing in Katanga deserve mention. If we take the Banyarwanda as an example, we can categorize them into three groups: those who became residents of Congo before, during, and after the colonial period (Mamdani, 2002).

Then the post-independence constitutions and various laws were enacted to determine the citizenship status of the Congolese were not free of drawbacks. Following the Congolese independence, the 1964 'Luluabourg Constitution', which succeeded the *Loi Fundamental* (Congo's independence constitution), granted the status of nationality for the Migrants. It was the first post-independence constitution which discriminated against and denied the Banyarwanda (who migrated to Congo during 1908-1960) the privilege of citizenship status. In article 6 of this constitution, those who migrated to Congo before October 18, 1908 could apply for citizenship. Moreover in 1972, Mobutu (influenced by one of his Banyarwandan advisors) promulgated another constitution, which might have benefited the Banyarwanda, who migrated before 1950 (Mamdani, 2002; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Turner, 2007; United Nations Economic Commission for Africa [UNECA], 2015; Young & Turner, 1885).

But another nationality code was adopted in 1981, which moved the migration date back to 1885. The 1992 National Sovereign Conference supported the 1981 nationality law. In addition to other factors, these citizenship laws disaffected the Banyarwanda (Ibid). In general, a failure to apply a more inclusive and indiscriminate nationality law further aggravated the instability and insecurity of the country, in particular in North and South Kivu. In the absence of stability, development efforts will be negatively affected, and lagging behind in development is in itself a challenge to nation-building (Ibid).

In the same way, problems of reconciling the status of citizenship and indigenes are among the various drawbacks of Nigeria's constitution. In sections 33-43 of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, there are provisions which clearly state that any citizen of Nigeria is protected from any kind of discrimination. All Nigerians have equal rights regardless of their sex, religion, ethnicity, place of Origin, etc. (Constitutions of Nigeria, 1979, 1999). On the other hand, according to the

objectives of the Federal Character Principle (which began in 1979), all appointments to public institutions, at the federal and regional level, should fairly reflect the linguistic, ethnic, religious, and geographical diversity of the country ²³. The proper implementation of the federal character principle was supposed to be monitored by the Federal Character Commission. In general the Indigeneity Clause was endorsed by both the 1979 and 1999 constitutions (Ibid). While the Federal Character Principle legitimizes the concept of indigeneity, the constitution on the other hand declares that no citizen of Nigeria shall be discriminated based upon sex, religion, ethnicity and place of Origin, which contradicts the implementation of the Indigeneity Clause (Ibid). As Edosa put it:

Citizenship is more or less synonymous with indigeneship at the state level in virtually all the states of the Nigerian federation. Thus, in many states or communities in the country, a Nigerian citizen (officially so-called-from other component states of the federation) may be seen as a non-citizen or a non-indigene, and therefore may not enjoy (all) the rights and privileges available to those regarded as bona fide citizens or indigenes of the state or community in question. (Edosa, 2017, p.186)

Generally, the concept of indigeneity is the source of ethnic, regional, and religious conflicts of post-independence Nigeria. The North vs. the South, Muslims vs. Christians, the various ethnic pogroms, civil war, military coups, etc. are among the manifestations of the concept of indigeneity, which obstructs the efforts of national integration and nation-building (ICG, 2006). Moreover, absence of elite consensus on the core values of democracy, federalism, and inclusive government are among the constitutional challenges of nation building in Nigeria (Gambari, 2008).

4.3.5 Resource Curse

Availability of natural resources is beneficial where there are proper and efficient state institutions present. But resources in the absence of functional institutions will have negative overall impacts, as they inadvertently decrease economic growth, erode good governance, lead to conflicts and civil war, and challenge the process of nation-building. As a result of ‘resource curse’, autocratic regimes disregard tax collection efforts and depend on external assistance to suppress local opposition. In general states which are dependent on resource income are vulnerable to corruption, autocracy and absence of democracy, neglecting the provision of public goods, conflict and civil war (Burgis, 2015; Mahler, 2010; Norman, 2012).

Resource curse can be explained economically and politically. The Dutch Disease is one of the major economical explanations of the resource curse. The high capital inflow from the exported resource leads to currency appreciation or inflation. Consequently, export of manufactured or agricultural products weakens. In order to invest on huge, ambitious projects, the government borrows excessive loans from international financiers. When international prices fall for the resource, the projects fail to continue, and debt crisis follows. On the other hand, neglecting tax collection, failing to protect private property rights, absence of effective state institutions, flourishing of armed rebel groups, external influence, and looting of natural resources are among political explanations of resource curse (Ibid). Since Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo are among the resource rich countries of Africa, in the absence of resilience, they are vulnerable to the impact of resource curse. The following descriptions of major political, economic, and social occurrences can elucidate the impact of resource curse on both countries.

Democratic Republic of Congo is blessed with rich natural resources of Gold, Cobalt, Coltan, Diamond, Copper, and other non-mineral resources like timber, coal, and hemp. Nevertheless, according to the 2015 Human Development Index report, the Democratic Republic of Congo was ranked 176th poor country out of 188 world countries. In 2018, more than 72% of Congolese lived on \$1.90 a day or under. The natural resource potential of Democratic Republic of Congo is estimated to be around \$24 trillion. However, the Congolese, even after 60 years of independence, are paradoxically still living in extreme poverty (UNICEF, 2017; World Bank, 2020).

During the colonial era, the Belgians exploited the natural resources of Congo. Although the Belgians were eventually forced to cede their richest colony, they were resolved to maintain the status quo by any means, so as to keep secure their economic interests. To that end, the Belgians, Americans, and other Western powers, in collaboration with the Congolese elite, destabilized the newly independent country. That was followed by an army mutiny, the secession of mineral-rich Katanga and South Kasai. Moreover, as a result of Belgian and American conspiracy, the democratically elected radical nationalist and pan-Africanist Patrice Lumumba was removed from office and murdered (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Lierde, 1963; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007).

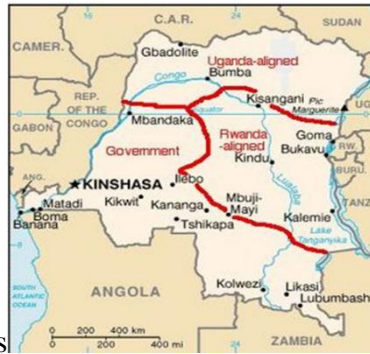
Following Lumumba's murder, Mobutu Sese Seko, with the help of the CIA and other Western backers, staged a coup in 1965 and established a dictatorship that lasted until 1997. Mobutu's regime depended on the extraction of natural resources, leading to a rentier state. Besides, Mobutu's regime was characterized by autocracy, kleptocracy, corruption, and led Congo to state collapse. (Norman, 2012; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007; Young & Turner, 1985).

During the first Congo war, the rebel leader Laurent Kabila, assisted by the invading forces of Rwanda and Uganda, overthrew Mobutu in 1997. But in the Second Congo War, the armies of Rwanda and Uganda invaded Congo to remove Laurent Kabila. In retaliation, Kabila requested the assistance of other African countries, which turned out to be The Second Congo War (1998-2002). During these long years of war and instability, the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of Congo were being exploited by the Congolese army, local and foreign armed groups, local companies, several neighboring countries, and Western and Asian multinational corporations (Ibid). In 2001 the UN panel of expert's report confirmed that, Congolese minerals were plundered by Congolese elites, foreign forces (Rwanda, Uganda, Multi-national companies...), and local armed groups. According to the report of The UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of Congo:

Foreign companies 'were ready to do business regardless of elements of unlawfulness.... Companies trading minerals which the Panel considered to be the engine of the conflict in the Congo, have prepared the field for illegal mining activities in the country. (In Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007.p, 204)

It is estimated that 60% to 70% of the Coltan exported from Congo passed under the supervision of the Rwandan military commanders (Ibid). Despite the disclosure of the UN report, the international community didn't take serious measures to halt the plundering of Congolese resources. In addition to other factors, based up on the patterns of conflict and violence, the natural resources of the Congo ironically contributed to the perpetuation of instability, corruption, authoritarian rule and poverty of the Congolese people. Thus the resource curse argument is also a challenge to the nation-building efforts of Democratic Republic of Congo (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Lierde, 1963; Norman, 2012; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007; Turner, 2007; Young & Turner, 1985).

Fig.23.Congo War.



Computers

Fig.24. Blood Diamonds to Blood



Source fig. 23: <https://www.historyguy.com/congo-map-2003.jpg>

Source fig. 24: <https://agente0011.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/blood1.jpg>

In the same manner, Nigeria is the first, and largest, oil-producing country in Africa, and the tenth in the world. And yet it is one of the 25 poorest countries, and the 3rd with the largest poor population, next to China and India. In 1997, 69.2% of its population were living with under \$1 per day. In 2005, 54.4% of its population were said to live in poverty. In the years between 1977 and 2002 (the average oil revenue was 74.6%. Between 1975 and 2006, petroleum export percentage was 96.8. The inequality rate puts Nigeria among the top 20 countries (Onyeukwu, 2007). It is said that Nigeria's under-development, in addition to other factors, is the result of resource curse, expressed in rampant corruption, wrong economic policies (where 70% of its population depends on agriculture, the government refrains from investing in agriculture (Bourne, 2015.), neglect of education, etc. In 2007 Nigeria's executive borrowing was \$32.9 billion (Onyeukwu, 2007).

Niger Delta covers nine states (Abiu, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo, and Rivers) with about 33 million inhabitants. It is the place where most of Nigeria's crude oil is located. Niger Delta is a place of violence. People feel that they are not benefitting from the oil, but suffering from its ecological impact. The Delta is the origin of several armed rebel groups such as Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Ijaw National Congress (INC), National Youth Council for the Survival of the Ogoni People (NYCOP), Southern Minorities Movement (SMM), Movement for the Reparation To Ogbia (MORETO), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), and Movement for the Survival of Ezo Ethnic Nationality in Niger Delta (MOSIENO) (Akubor, 2017; Campbell, 2011; Igboin, 2017).

Fig.25.Niger Delta oil spill pollution.



Fig.26.Niger Delta Militants.



Source fig.25: <https://fuckingtonpost.files.wordpress.com/2014/08/1139-nigerian-government-and-shell-continue-to-ignore-horrendous-pollution-in-niger-delta.jpg>

Source fig.26: <https://www.opinionnigeria.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Militants-of-the-Niger-Delta.jpg>

Fig.27. Pipe line theft in Nigeria.



Fig.28.Oil Bunkering Procedure (Nigeria)



Source fig.27: <https://i0.wp.com/economicconfidential.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/pipeline-explotion-300x278.jpg>

Source fig.28: <https://www.bunkersurveyors.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/ship-1024x576.jpg>

The conflicts in the Niger Delta are intra-community, inter-community, inter-ethnic, community vs. companies, and states vs. federal government. As a result of the conflicts political institutions decline, corruption becomes rampant, and oil is traded illegally with neighboring and East European countries. In general, Nigeria, being the largest oil exporter in Africa, generated \$300 billion between 1970 and 2000. In 2005, Nigeria's net oil export revenue was \$45.1 billion.

However, in spite of amassing such a huge sum, Nigeria is considered amongst underdeveloped countries, with increasing conflict and violence in the oil-producing Delta region. Thus, resource curse is among the various challenges of nation-building in Nigeria. Lastly, worth mentioning as a typical example resource curse is the secessionist Biafra/Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970. In addition to other ethnic factors, the Biafra secession movement began after the Federal Military Government's decision to nationalize oil revenue (Akubor, 2017; Bourne, 2015; Collier & Hoeffler, 2002; Igboin, 2017; Lewis, 2006).

4.3.6 Globalization and External Interventions

Globalization (economic, cultural, and political globalization) is understood as the increase and expansion of global inter-connection of: trade, investments, ideas, values, governmental, and inter-governmental organizations, which brings the world into a 'village'. Since globalization has a positive and negative impact, its success or failure depends on the management capability of the individual country (Muhumed, 2015).

Globalization and external interventions are among the multifaceted factors which impacted the nation-building efforts of the post-independence African countries. The fate of the newly independent countries was determined by not only domestic, but also external factors. The external interests' role is played by foreign governments, international organizations, and trans-national corporations. The political and economic stability of African countries were significantly affected as a result of the Cold War rivalry between the Super Powers (USSR and USA/ Communist and Capitalist Bloc). Moreover, during the time of the New World Order (Post-Cold War), the African-International relations were changed. Following the disintegration of the communist bloc, areas of interest of the capitalist block were also shifted to other issues. External assistance of World Bank and International Monetary Fund to African countries were attached with political and economic conditionality. Neo-colonialism, Neo-liberalism, structural adjustment programs, privatization, liberalization, etc. were among the expected conditionality to be met by the African States (Clapham, 1996; Ibrahim, 2013; Thomson, 2000).

In spite of the growing post-WWII pressures of decolonization, Belgians were not prepared to relinquish their rich colony. Instead, in the 1950s, they were planning to continue for another 30 years before granting independence to the Congolese. But, forced by the 1959 Congolese revolt for immediate independence, the Belgians carried out a hasty decolonization process. Besides

other factors, the post-independence political and economic history of Congo is significantly influenced by international intervention (Geboers, 2016; Gerard & Kuklick, 2015).

Neo-Colonialism: Once independence became inevitable, the Belgians tried to maintain their economic interests through neo-colonial methods. To that effect, what the Belgians did during the political and economic round table conference (Apr-May 1960), was indicative of the substitution of colonialism by neo-colonialism. The Belgians achieved their neo-colonial interest at the economic round table conference. Nzongola describes the conference as follows:

Negotiating with university students and other politically insignificant delegates relying on Belgian experts to make sense of the complex issues at stake, the Belgians laid the groundwork for the transfer of much of the enormous state portfolios in colonial companies to Belgium through privatization, while leaving virtually all the public debt to the new state. (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002, p.88)

The army officers and the civil servants were dominantly Belgians. The Belgians continued as a major trade partner of Congo, and most of the Congolese mines were heavily influenced by Belgian interests. Besides, the secession attempts of the mineral-rich provinces of Katanga and South Kasai were backed by the Belgians and trans-national corporations. The Belgian intervention was so immense that the Belgian army, under the pretext of protecting their citizens, intervened in the sovereign territory of Congo, and Katanga in particular (Renton, Seddon, & Zeilig, 2007; Turner, 2007; Young & Turner, 1985).

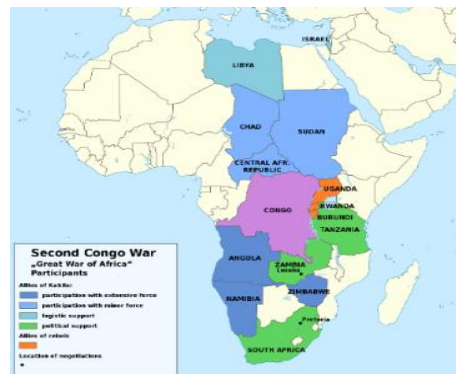
Cold War Rivalry: Following the failure of smooth decolonization process, Congo got deep in turmoil and civil war, resulting in the Congo Crisis (1960-63). When the mineral-rich provinces of Katanga (backed by Belgian army and advisors) and South Kasai, declared independence, the government of Lumumba requested the UN intervention. However, as an indication of cold war rivalry, alarmed by Lumumba's tendency towards the soviets, the western block manipulated the removal and murder of Lumumba. Subsequently, Colonel Mobutu, who was a protégé of the CIA, staged a coup in September 1960. Following the coup Mobutu closed the embassies of the USSR and Czechoslovakia in Congo (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Gibbs, 1992; Lierde, 1963; Souleyman, 2013; Zeilig, 2008).

Without disregarding other factors, it can be said that the Mobutu regime (1965-1997) was established and sustained by external support. The collapse of the regime began when the external support was interrupted, for which the minimum condition to win the support of the

west was to stand against the Communist Bloc, and facilitate the economic interests of the Western Powers and Multinational Corporations. The collapse of the Soviet Union marked the end of the Cold War, and the beginning of the New World Order. During this new era, conditions for external assistance changed to compliance to the conditions of Structural Adjustment Programs, Liberalization, Privatization, Democratization, Good Governance, Multi-Party systems, Neo-Liberalism, etc. (Gibbs, 1992; Thompson, 2000; Young & Turner, 1985).

External interest/intervention, however, was not limited to the Capitalist and Western powers. During the First and Second Congo Wars (1996-2003), also called the African World Wars, many African countries, for whatever reasons, fought alongside or against the Congo/Zaire. In addition to the Congo Wars, there have been a multitude of armed groups fighting each other or against the Zairian state (Berwouts, 2017; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon, & Zeilig, 2007; Rufanges&Aspa, 2016; Turner, 2007). The abundance of natural resources (which are termed as ‘Conflict Minerals’ is strongly associated with the mushrooming of armed groups who perpetuate instability. Armed conflict demands human power, finance, ammunition... and the provision of natural resources, whether legally or illegally, attracts the involvement of transnational corporations, who provide the armaments necessary for conflict (Ibid).

Fig 29. Second Congo War Belligerents



Source fig.29:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/bd/Second_Congo_War_Africa_map_en.svg/1525px-Second_Congo_War_Africa_map_en.svg.png

In general, in the past 60 years of independence, in addition to internal factors, the external interference has also played a significant role in shaping the political and economic history of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The first impact of external intervention was the Congo Crisis and the collapse of the First Republic of Congo. The usurpation of power by Mobutu, and his

establishment of an authoritarian regime that lasted 32 years was another product of the intervention. The armed conflicts, the Congo Wars, the pillaging of natural resources etc., are also the other negative consequences of external intervention. Last but not least, neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism, debt crisis, external dependence, poor governance, corruption, poverty also count among its numerous impacts of the other side of globalization: impacts which are the bases for instability. Where there is no peace there can be no development, and lack of development is one of the challenges faced during nation-building endeavor (Ibid).

Although Nigeria's decolonization was relatively smooth, it was based on a fragile federal system. The federalism was vulnerable to the negative impacts of regionalism (North-South), religious cleavage, ethnicity, marginalization of minority groups, rural-urban disparity, etc. The political independence was not attended by economic independence. In order to attain sustainable development the above mentioned political obstacles, domestic and foreign, needed to be overcome through committed leadership of the Nigerian elite (Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008, Usuanlele & Ibhawoh, 2017).

Sixty years after independence, in spite of Nigeria's blessing of rich human and natural resources, more than 50% of its population are still living below the world's standard of poverty. A combination of domestic and external factors are the reason behind the Nigerian predicament. Following is a description of the effects of Globalization, Neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism, structural adjustment programs, oil dependency, etc., which are among the reasons influential in the underdevelopment of Nigeria (Ibrahim, 2013; Lewis, 2006, Olomola, 2010).

Neo-colonialism: Although Nigeria gained political independence in 1960, it was economically dependent on its former colonizers, in particular the United Kingdom. The economy was dependent upon the export of agricultural products in earlier years, but later on shifted to oil export. Even the existing manufacturing industries were controlled by European companies. The prices for the exported items were fixed by international market system. Almost all oil industries are controlled by multinational corporations like Exxon Mobil Unlimited, Agip Petroleum Company, ELF Nigeria Limited, Total, Oando Oil, Chevron, Shell Petroleum Development Company, etc. (Bourne,2015,Gamgum,2008;Lewis,2006;Onyeukwu,2007).

The Biafra War (1967-1970), which was also known as the Nigerian Civil War has a detrimental impact on the subsequent nation building efforts of the Nigerian people. Although it was a war

between the Federal Military Government and the Eastern region, both groups were being assisted by external entities with political and economic interests. Since most oil extraction was done in the Biafra region, multinationals such as ELF (France-based Company) had interests in supporting the Biafran side (Bourne, 2015; Clapham, 1996; Falola &Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992).

Other than the Biafra Civil War, Nigeria witnessed numerous violence and conflicts (armed groups, insurgent groups, separatist groups, etc.), which affected the stability of the country. The Boko Haram terror group in the North-East, the Separatist group of MASSOB in the South-East, the OPC in the South-West, the MEND in the Niger Delta, etc. are among the various armed groups that deserve mention. For these conflicts to take place, there needs to be a domestic or international source of finance and supplier of ammunition. Boko Haram, for example, is believed to be assisted by international terrorists groups such as Al- Qaeda and the Islamic State Group in the Middle East (Bourne, 2015; Campbell, 2011; Falola &Heaton, 2008; Igboin, 2017).

The Niger Delta is the oil rich region in Nigeria which consists of nine oil producing states that hold an estimated 23% of the population. Since this area is the source of the oil and natural gas wealth of Nigeria, the violence in the Delta is directly or indirectly related to the international oil companies. The environmental degradation (which is one cause of conflict) is mainly caused by oil companies. Moreover, the companies provide financial assistance to militant groups to ensure protection. The Niger Delta is the area where regular oil bunkering (associated with oil theft and illegal exporting) is practiced. Since 2000, it is estimated that between 3-12% of the total oil produced is smuggled through oil bunkering. This oil is smuggled to neighboring and East European countries through international brokers in exchange for finance and ammunition (Ibid).

Since the 1970s oil boom, Nigeria's economy became dependent on oil revenue. Following the 1980s and 1990s fall of oil prices, Nigeria got into a serious economic crisis. On the other side of the world, the market-oriented neo-liberalism was on the rise, and the role of the state began to decline. As a result of the fall of oil prices, Nigeria fell into deep economic and debt crises, and gave way to poverty and unemployment. In order to mitigate the crisis the Babangida regime (military ruler of Nigeria between 1985 and 1993) had to turn to international donor agencies such as IMF and WB (Bourne, 2015; Campbell, 2011; Ibrahim, 2013. Olomola, 2010; Olukoshi & Agbu, 1996; Thomson, 2000).

Although Africa has a long history of economic contact with the outside world (e.g. slave trade, colonialism, etc.) it was not carried out in a manner that benefits both parties, rather Africa was unable to take advantage from these economic relations due to absence of investment and industries which can produce processed commodities for export. Africa joined the global economy energetically but unfavorably to its benefits. Africa's role in the international trade is mainly focuses on the exportation of unprocessed materials of which the request and prices are externally decided. This results in the creation of economic imbalance and marginalization of African economy (Muhumed, 2015).

The IMF and World Bank, which are the vehicles of the ideology of neo-liberalism, manifested in the era of globalization, were to extend their assistance through structural adjustment programs. The conditions for the implementation of SAP were economic stabilization and political and economic liberalization. However the structural adjustment programs failed to stabilize and the Nigerian economy declined. Economic decline leads to income inequality, poverty, unemployment, poor governance, corruption, failure to provide sufficient public goods, etc. In general, poverty provides a fertile ground for the breeding of conflict and violence, which leads to instability and national disintegration. The economic, social, and political impacts of the structural adjustment programs widens the gap between the people and the state, and causes the state to lose its legitimacy. Consequently, people alienate themselves from national affairs, and this is a challenge for nation-building (Ibid).

4.3.7 Absence of Sustainable Development

Sustainable development, which comprises the economic, social, and environmental aspects of development is that human societies must live and meet their needs without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs. The objective of sustainable development can be achieved by the reduction of poverty and hunger, unemployment, socio-economic inequality, etc. Moreover sustainable development requires economic development, provision of public goods, building capable institutions, good governance, rule of law, and preventing instability. In addition to other factors, failure to achieve the various objectives of sustainable development will be a challenge of nation-building efforts. In order to attain the objective of sustainable development, a country needs the appropriate plan or road map. This can

be effective if there are proper institutions, good governance, and stability (Ehigiamusoe, Kanayo, & Patrick, 2013; Kamaldeen, 2011; Olomola, 2010).

In order to understand how Nigeria and DRC are exerting their potential to attain sustainable development, the economic performance and poverty reduction efforts of both countries be compared and contrasted as follows. Democratic Republic of Congo is a country blessed with human and natural resources. Located in the center of Africa neighboring nine countries and with a total surface area of 234.5 million hectares, its wealth of natural resources includes one of the largest Congo rain forest, 80 million hectares of arable land, and marine resources. Moreover, mineral resources of Copper, Cobalt, Coltan, Diamond, Gold, Tin, Iron, and oil etc. The paradox is that in spite of the abundance of natural resources, Democratic Republic of Congo is still among the underdeveloped countries in the world. 16% of the world's diamond deposit is found in Congo and in 2015, a million tons of Copper was produced. Had DRC effectively utilized its agricultural potential, it could have been self-sufficient, and yet DRC was unable to meet the MDGs of 2015. In fact DRC's poverty rate is higher even among the Sub-Saharan African countries (World Bank, 2018).

According to the data available of 2012, 63.9% of the population live below the poverty line and 76.6% of Congolese live on less than \$1.90/day. As part of the least developed countries, poor economic growth, poor public service delivery, inequality, extractive institutions, poor governance, corruption, social discontent, conflict, instability, etc. are common (Ibid). Without disregarding the negative impacts of the crisis of the First Republic, I will discuss how wrong political and economic policies of Mobutu's regime dragged Zaire into decay and a situation of state collapse. The following are typical examples of wrong economic policies followed by Zaire. The \$250 million worth Maluku steel smelting plant was financed from the state budget. It was not cost-effective. The scrap metal (raw material) was to be imported from abroad. The Maluku mill was producing 10% of its capacity and the product was unable to compete in the international and local markets. The Inga Dam project, the Inga-Shaba power transmission line (1800 km), and other high white elephant industrial projects were the results of wrong economic policies (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zielig, 2007; Thomson, 2000; Young & Turner, 1985).

The other economic measures of the 1970s was “Zairianization” and “Radicalization”. By Zairianization, all foreign-held financial enterprises were to be transferred and be run by the Congolese nationals. Once under the control of the Congolese nationals, they ended up in bankruptcy. Although, more than 70% of the livelihood of the people depends on farming, the economic policy did not give the appropriate attention to the agricultural sector (Ibid).The marketing boards for agricultural products were intended to fix lower prices for the agricultural products, which resulted in the declining of agricultural products. Cotton harvest which was 60000 tons at independence, declined to 8500 tons in 1976. The country was forced to import staple foods from abroad. Farmers preferred to sell their products to the informal economy (Ellis & MacGaffey, 1996; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thomson, 2000; Young & Turner 1985).

As a result of the wrong economic policies, while the GDP declined, the informal economy surpassed the official one by far. In the 1980s and 90s, the informal economy was three times greater than the official economy. In the 1970s, 60% of coffee export was carried out through the informal economy (one kilo of coffee was 7 cents in the official market, but was being sold for 42 cents at the informal market). Due to the economic collapse, poverty, unemployment, corruption, and poor governance citizens tended to distance themselves from the state. The growth of the parallel economy was coupled with inflation, trade deficit, external debt, and eventually, even government officials and civil servants turned to benefit from the informal economy. The collapse of the Zairian Air Force was a typical example of corruption, poor governance, and failure of institutions, etc. Members of the Zairian Air Force first used it as an unofficial transport company, and then sold the fuel and spare parts of the military aircraft, and finally ZAF ceased to exist (Thomson, 2000).

Moreover, capital flight is an indicator of the failed economic policy and poor governance. In the years between 1970 and 1996, about \$25 billion of illegal capital flight occurred, and ironically it was greater than Zaire’s external debt. And also the state failed to pay the salaries of civil servants and the army. As a result of economic collapse, the Zairian government failed to provide the proper public service (education, health, clean water, sanitation, road, electricity, telephone, etc.), transparency and justice, peace and stability. When the government fails to guarantee the security of its citizens, it became evident that a situation of state decay was on the

making. This causes the government to lose legitimacy and authority (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thompson, 2000; Young & Turner 1985).

In like manner, Nigeria is endowed with rich natural and human resources, is the leading oil exporter in Africa. Apart from oil and gas, Nigeria has the potential to develop its mineral, agricultural, and marine resources. In spite of the potential availability of these natural resources, a significant number of its population are living in extreme poverty. According to a 2016 World Bank report of a survey based on the international poverty line of \$1.9, 43% (about 80 million) of Nigerians live in extreme poverty (World Bank Group, 2019). Currently Africa's leading economy is Nigeria, but the economic growth did not bring about development. The underdevelopment can be ascribed to many factors. Although there are other potentials for economic exploitation (agriculture, manufacturing, mining, marines), running of an oil dependent economy is the major factor for the predicament. Ninety percent of Nigeria's export is dominated by oil. Moreover, 70% of the federal revenue is collected from oil and gas production (Bourne, 2015; Diana, 2017; Ehigiamusoe, Kanayo & Patrick, 2013; Kamaldeen, 2011; Olomola, 2010; Oxfam International, 2017).

Besides oil dependency, the spill over effect of non-oil investment is considerable. The fluctuation of oil prices have a negative impact on the country's economic performance. While 70% of Nigeria's population is dependent on agriculture, due to wrong economic policy choices, agriculture is not carried out and assisted with appropriate technology to make it competitive and sustainable (Ibid). High population growth is also a major challenge of development efforts. The demographic pressure and rapid urbanization limits access to education, healthcare, clean water, and sanitation. Rapid population growth leads to conflict, due to the scarcity of land, among the people who depend for their livelihood upon farming and livestock. In the absence of job opportunities, high population growth increases unemployment (Ibid,)

Economic growth with no shared prosperity and without pro-poor policy leads to wide spread poverty and widening of socio-economic inequality. The inequality is the disparity between the rich and the poor, regional disparity between the North and the South, gender inequality, etc. The gap between the rich and the poor is widening. There is a visible disparity between the North and the South. Nigeria's Gini index of 2018 is 0.39. With regard to the North-South inequality, the Southern part has more access to education, health care, and clean water than the Northern parts.

The same is true to the rural urban disparities. The urban is more privileged than the rural area (Oxfam International, 2017; World Bank Group, 2019).

For the successful implementation of an efficient and inclusive economic growth policy, appropriate institution building and provision of proper public goods are indispensable. Institutions are mandatory to foster public integrity, for public service delivery, to avail proper judiciary, and for economic governance. Institutions are decisive for the successful achievement of developmental objectives. In order to perform proper economic growth, internal conflict and instability have to be avoided. With the threat of instability, attracting investment (foreign or local) would be difficult (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012; Wimmer, 2018). The Niger Delta, North East Nigeria, Middle Belt, etc. are areas in which insurgents are creating violence. As a result of the riots, in the Northern part around 15 million people are affected. Infrastructure damages worth of \$9.2 million have occurred as a direct result. Moreover, other unmeasurable human capital losses have happened due to conflict (Bourne, 2015; Emmanuel 2016; Taft & Haken, 2015).

In general, Nigeria, as a result of the oil-dependent economy, high population growth and rapid urbanization, unemployment, instability, socio-economic inequality, inability to build institutions, failure to provide the necessary public goods, etc., the efforts of economic growth could not direct to reduction of poverty. All the above mentioned problems, among other factors, erode the citizens' trust in the state, which becomes an obstacle for building Nigeria's national integration (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012; Oxfam International, 2017; Wimmer, 2018; World Bank Group, 2019). Likewise, Democratic Republic of Congo has passed through multiple problems starting from the Congo Crisis of the First Republic, Zairian, and post-Zairian period. In addition to other factors, wrong economic policies, poor governance, and poor public service delivery, weak and extractive institutions, and last but not least, corruption put the country into political instability and led the country into the group of fragile states. All these fragilities are challenges to the attainment of sustainable development and successful nation-building endeavors (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thompson, 2000).

4.3.8 Leadership Crisis

Without disregarding other factors, successful nation-building is achieved by the combination of personal and collective leadership of the elite. For success in its building, a nation has to be led

by competent political leaders, independent of external pressure, and accountable to the populace. The nation-building process can end in failure if led by incompetent, corrupt, and/or puppet (of neo-colonialists, and imperialists) leaders (Bariledum, & Serebe, 2013; Olumuyiwa, Oyedele, & Waliu, 2017).

The nature of Belgian colonial administration had a significant impact on the leadership quality of the *evolué* of post-colonial Congo. As a result, the Belgian colonial administration, provision of education for the Congolese was very limited, such that at the time of independence there were no more than 30 Congolese who were University and Diploma graduates (Berwouts, 2017; Dunkerley, 2009; Gibbs, 1992). Most of the civil service was occupied by the Belgians. In the army, no Congolese had been allowed to rise above the rank of non-commissioned officer. And until the 1950s, no political activity was allowed in accordance with the Belgian colonial charter. In an attempt to create a Belgio-Congolese community, the Belgians introduced a “matriculation” system which would allow the educated Congolese to attain the status of ‘*evolué*’. The *evolué* is one who speaks good French, is Christian, has post-primary education, lives a European lifestyle, etc. The Belgian intention was to use the *evolué* as a colonial propaganda tool. Initially the aspiration of the *evolué* was to not be treated like the “uncivilized savages”. Eventually however, they joined the anti-colonial struggle, and took the leadership responsibility in independent Congo. Most of the political organizations who ran for political power were ethnic-based, and had insufficient political and self-government experience. On the eve of independence, while discussing the process of decolonization with the Belgians, the Congolese nationalists discussed the political aspects only, not giving the economic part due attention (Berwouts, 2017; Dunkerley, 2009; Geboers, 2016; Gibbs, 1992; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

At the time of independence, the Congolese army and civil service were dominated by Belgian officers and civil servants respectively. Dearth of educated Congolese, disagreement between the president and prime minister, assassination of Lumumba and usurpation of power through the 1965 coup of Mobutu are among the various manifestations of leadership crisis of post-independent Congo (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Hesselbein, 2007; Zeilig, 2008).

In the 1950s, the Belgians were planning to rule the Congolese for the coming 30 years. However, due to the growing anti-colonialist struggle of the Congolese and international

pressure, they were forced to surrender their colony back to the Congolese. Independent Congo however, soon faced a leadership crisis. The first leadership challenge was that political organizations were ethnic-based. Second was that the *evolués* or political party leaders were split between Moderates and Radicals, or Federalists and Unitarists. The third was that the new government bureaucracy (civil servants) and the army were dominated by the former colonials, the Belgians (Berwouts, 2017; Dunkerley, 2009; Geboers, 2016; Gibbs, 1992; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

One of the worst leadership crisis was that some of the moderate leaders of independent Congo were direct puppets or agents of the Western powers of Belgium and USA. As an archetypal representatives of puppets of Neo-Colonialists, one can take Tshombe, who instigated the secession of Katanga to protect the economic interests of the Belgians and mining corporations of Katanga (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young & Turner 1985; Zeilig, 2008). On the other hand, Mobutu staged two coups, in 1961 and 1965, in both cases supported and backed by the CIA. The removal and murder of Patrice Lumumba was carried out with the blessing of the Belgians and the American government (Ibid). Patrice Lumumba, the first democratically elected Prime Minister of independent Congo, was removed from power and murdered by the combined conspiracy of imperialists and African collaborators. The crime committed against Lumumba was the beginning of the leadership crisis for independent Congo (Ibid).

Correspondingly, although Nigeria is the leading economy in Africa, however, it is categorized among the underdeveloped countries of the world (Bouchat, 2013). There are a multitude of factors for Nigeria's predicament, of which leadership crisis warrants mention (Bariledum, & Serebe, 2013; Bello, 2018; Gambari, 2008; Olumuyiwa, Oyedele, & Waliu, 2017; Thomson, 2000). In 1914 the British colonialists amalgamated their Northern and Southern protectorates to create what is present-day Nigeria. The British indirect rule policy was not uniformly implemented in the Northern and Southern regions. In the North, the Islamic tradition and education, and the Hausa language was preserved, whereas modern education, Christian missionaries, and the English language was established in the South (Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992; Omaka, 2017; Osaghae, 1992; Thomson, 2000).

Elite consensus on the usable past of a country is among the prerequisites for successful nation-building process (Utz, 2005) which most of the earlier nationalists of Nigeria lacked. Although the anti-colonialist struggle was led by the elites, they were in disagreement on the relevant history of Nigeria. In 1947 Obafemi Awolowo, one of the nationalist leaders of the Yoruba said that the amalgamated Nigeria “existed as one country only on paper”. Furthermore, Ahmadu Bello, who was then the premier of Northern Region used to say that the ‘amalgamation of 1914 was a mistake’ (Bourne, 2015; Emmanuel, 2016; Igboin, 2017).

On the other hand, the anti-colonialist leaders formed numerous parties based on ethnicity or regional affiliation. To that effect Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Igbo who became the first President of independent Nigeria, said “the Igbo were endowed by God to lead Africa”. (Igboin, 2017, p.238). What’s interesting regarding the speeches of those earlier leaders of Nigeria is, while lacking a consensus on the nationhood of Nigeria, they, ironically served independent Nigeria in various leadership positions. Tafawa Balewa served as the first Prime Minister, Nnyamdi Azikiwe as the first President, and Obafemi Awolowo as the Finance Minister of the federal military government during the Biafran war (Gambari, 2008; Gamgum, 2018; Falola&Heaton, 2008; Igboin, 2017; Lovejoy, 1992; Omaka, 2017; Osaghae, 1992; Thomson, 2000).

The crisis of the first decade of independent Nigeria can be ascribed to the failure of leadership among other factors. The leadership schism of Action group (between Awolowo and Akintola), the census manipulation of 1962-63, the rigged election of 1964-65, the Yoruba revolt in the Western region, corruption, the coups and counter-coups of 1966, the anti-Igbo pogrom and the following Biafran war of 1967-70 are worthy of note (Gambari, 2008; Gamgum, 2018; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992; Omaka, 2017; Osaghae, 1992). People like Tafawa Balewa, Ahmadu Bello, Samuel Akintola, Awolowo, Azikiwe, General Ironsi, Gowon, Ojukwu, etc. were among the Nigerian elites who gained sufficient political and professional experience during the colonial period. With that experience, they could have avoided or mitigated the negative impacts of the crises of post-independence. But if a leader is putting personal benefit above the interests of the public, he will likely be corrupted. Manipulation of national census and rigging of elections are other variables of leadership crisis, while usurpation of political power and extra-judicial killings of democratically-elected leaders is the worst form (Ibid). Almost all of the political leaders of the three regions (North, West, and East) had preferred ethnic federalism over

civic federalism. The threat of secession wasn't unique to the Eastern Igbos, but also to the Yoruba of the west threatened to follow suit if the east is left to secede. On the other hand, the Northern Hausa-Fulani threatened to secede if denied a majority seat in the federal government (Gambari, 2008; Gamgum, 2018; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992; Omaka, 2017; Osaghae, 1992; Thomson, 2000).

The leadership crisis of DRC and Nigeria was not limited to the first decade of independence, but drag on in the subsequent years, in different styles. While the military general Mobutu of Congo staged a coup in 1965, the Nigerian military officers made a bloody coup in 1966 against the civilian government. The 32-year authoritarian era of Mobutu is a typical example of leadership crisis for post-colonial Congo (Zaire). Mobutu, backed by external support, seized power through the 1965 coup d'état. Prior to independence, Mobutu had been an informant to the Belgian Intelligence Service. Then he became a protégé of the CIA and protector of the interests of the West, and the USA in particular. Once in power Mobutu, as King Leopold had before him, considered the Congo his private property. He prohibited a multiparty system, and declared only one party (*MPR*) led by the ideology of "Mobutism". Besides the Office of Presidency, Mobutu's portfolio also included the Offices of Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Defense Minister, Head of Armed Forces, Head of the only Party, etc. (Gibbs, 1992; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007; Thomson, 2000; Turner, 2007; Young & Turner 1985).

Under the pretext of achieving national integrity, Mobutu introduced various policies such as 'Authenticité', 'Zairization', 'Nationalization', 'Radicalization'²⁴, and his ideology of 'Mobutism'. Through these policies, the nationalized and privatized big mining companies came under the direct control of Mobutu and, under his patronage for his relatives, aides, ministers, governors, cronies, etc. This led to a kleptocratic system of leadership. Since Mobutu's regime was dependent on external support and income from the export of resource extraction, it disregarded the provision of basic needs for the society, and denied them democracy or good governance. The privatization (personalization) of the state led to the collapse of the economy, resulting in corruption and failure of the state's institutional capacity, etc. (Ibid).

On the other hand, in the last 60 years of independence, Nigeria spent 29 years under military rule, and 31 years under a civilian governance. Among these 31 years of "civilian" government leaders such as President Obasanjo and the current President Muhammadou Buhari, both of

whom were former military rulers of the country, specifically from 1976 to 1979 and 1983 to 1985 respectively. And either way, both civilian and military governments of Nigeria have been characterized by rigged elections, rampant corruption, patron-client networks, absence of democracy and good governance, while their rule has been hallmarked by ethno-religious conflict, instability, inequality, and poverty. Last but not least, behind either the military or civilian rulers there are groups of powerful former politicians, military generals, and wealthy men, who are nicknamed “Ogas”, Big Men, or King Makers. These elite groups had proved that they can influence the success or failure of nation building process of Nigeria (Bourne, 2015; Campbell, 2011; Gambari, 2008; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992; Omaka, 2017; Osaghae, 1992).

4.4 Similarities and Differences

Besides the arbitrary boundary demarcation and colonial state building, the European colonialists did not bother to follow nation-building policies in their respective colonies (Alesina & Reich, 2012). Thus the tasks of nation-building programs were the responsibilities of the newly independent African leaders of Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria. Although post-independence Congo and Nigeria carried out various programs of nation-building, both countries had their own peculiarities while encountering the challenges of the nation-building process. In this section I will try to show differences and similarities of the challenges of nation-building efforts of Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria.

4.4.1 Similarities

Endowed with multiple ethnicities, diverse languages, pre-colonial civilizations, and rich natural and human resources, both Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria are located in sub-Saharan Africa.

With regards to pre-colonial civilizations, the Nigerians established their own decentralized and centralized states such as Kanem Bornu, Benin, Ife, Oyo, Hausa city-states, etc.(Falola & Heaton,2008). On the other hand, pre-colonial Congo had their own civilization which developed into statehood such as the Kingdoms of Kongo, Luba, Lunda, Mongo, Bakongo, etc. (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

Both Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo suffered colonial dominations under the British Empire (1861-1960) and Belgians (1885-1960) respectively. Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo are negatively impacted by the improper border design of the colonialists. For instance the presence of ethnic groups of the Kongo in Angola and Congo-Brazaville, the Nigrabadi in the Central African Republic, the Zande in Sudan, the Alur in Sudan and Uganda, the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa in Rwanda and Burundi, the Bemba in Zambia, and the Lunda in Zambia and Angola are results of the arbitrary boundaries committed by the Belgian colonialists (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002). On the Nigerian side the separation of Yoruba and Bariba ethnic groups between Nigeria and Benin, some parts of the Hausa between Nigeria and Southern Niger, the Kamuri nationalities between Nigeria and Chad, the Mandara, the Jukun, the Chamba, and the Efik between Nigeria and Cameroon are also the results of the arbitrary boundary demarcation of the British colonialists (Aleude, 2017).

Besides the arbitrary boundary creation, economic exploitation and other colonial suppression, the 'Divide and Rule' policy of the colonialists negatively affected Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria. The implementation of the British 'Indirect Rule' policy was not uniform in the Northern and Southern regions of colonial Nigeria. The British colonialists deliberately nurtured ethnic and regional mentalities among the subjects via their Divide and Rule policy (Emmanuel, 2016; Falola & Heaton, 2008), whereas the Belgians applied the Divide and Rule policy by categorizing the subjects between 'hardworking' and 'lazy', 'collaborators' and 'non-collaborators', aside from forging artificial tribal mentalities and identities. A typical example of the creation of artificial ethnic cleavage is the Lulua-Baluba conflict (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Wamba-Dia Wamba, 1996).

Like the rest of the majority of African countries, political activities of Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo were colored with ethnicity. Not only political activity, but also of ethnic conflict. For instance, the political parties of Nigeria such as Action Group (AG) were dominated by the Yoruba, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) were dominated by the Igbo, and the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) were dominated by Hausa-Fulani ethnic groups (Bourn, 2015; Falola, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992). Similarly, with the exception of the MNC of Patrice Lumumba, the majority of political parties were ethnic-based. The ABAKO, the cultural association of the Bakongo was founded on the aim of restoring the ancient Kongo Empire. The

CONAKAT was a party in Katanga. And the BALUBAKAT was formed by non-Balunda tribe under the leadership of Jason Sendwe (Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young & Turner, 1985).

Ethnic-based conflicts were also common to Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo. For instance, the ethnic conflicts of Kivu (Eastern Congo), the conflicts in Ituri, the ethnic Mai faction, the Kamwina Nsapu rebellion, the Dongo conflict, and the Yumbi massacre are among the various ethnic conflicts of Democratic Republic of Congo (Mamdani, 2002; Turner, 2007; UNECA, 2015). On the other hand, the Oodua People's Congress (OPC) strives on behalf of the Yoruba interest. The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) represented the Igbo interest. The Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) struggles for the independence of Ijaw (Emmanuel, 2016; Egharevba, & Iruonagbe, 2015; Thomson, 2000). In general both Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria are vulnerable to ethnic-based politics and conflicts (Neuberger, 2000; Olayode, 2016).

Both Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria encountered a failed secessionist civil war in the first decade of independence. The mineral-rich Katanga region attempted to secede from Congo between July 1960 and January 1963. The oil-rich Biafra of the Eastern region attempted to secede from the Federal Government of Nigeria between July 1967 and January 1970. Besides the ethnicity motives of the secessionist movements, the Nigerian Biafra and the Congolese Katanga were richly endowed with oil and mineral resources, respectively. However, even though they survived the secessionist attempts, both countries still face pressures of secessionist rebellion from different minority groups. The unresolved issue of the protection of minority rights (national question of both countries) is still waiting on the table to be addressed democratically (Agbu & Olokushi, 1996; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Laakso & Olukoshi, 1996; Neuberger, 2000; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Olayode, 2016; Wamba-dia-Wamba, 1996).

The issues of citizenship and indigeneity are problems which need lasting solution in both the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria. One of the major problems of the post-independence Congolese constitution was its failure to properly address the questions of nationality and citizenship. The Banyarwanda in North and South Kivu, and the Kasai in Katanga are among those who had difficulties in obtaining Congolese citizenship. In relation with citizenship, the categorization of indigenous and non-indigenous ethnic groups is a factor

for the destabilization of the country (Mamdani, 2000; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007; Turner, 2007; UNECA, 2015).

The citizenship and indigeneity crisis are also the causes of recurrent violence that continue to take place in Nigeria. Issues of citizenship and the Federal Character Principle (which favors the idea of indigeneity) were endorsed in the 1979 and 1999 constitutions of Nigeria (ICG, 2006). Although they have their own peculiarities, issues of citizenship and indigeneity are common challenges to nation-building in Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria. As resource rich countries (Nigeria with oil and Democratic Republic of Congo with precious minerals), both countries suffer from the negative impacts of the 'resource curse'. The prevailing corruption, oil export dependency, growing external debt, and violence in oil-producing communities (Biafra civil war, Niger-Delta violence) are the manifestations of the resource curse in Nigeria (Akubor, 2017; Bourne, 2015; Collier & Hoeffler, 2002; Igboin, 2017; Lewis, 2006).

Whereas, in spite of the availability of rich natural resources, DRC is considered among the poorest nation in the world (UNICEF, 2017). The crisis of the last 60 years of independence: the secession of Katanga and Congo Crisis (1960-63), the mushrooming of armed groups, the First and Second Congo wars (1996-2003), and other conflicts were, directly or indirectly, the impacts of the resource curse. In addition to other factors, the rich natural resources of Congo ironically contributed to the instability, corruption, authoritarian rule, and poverty of the Congo and the Congolese people (Norman, 2012; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007; Turner, 2007; Young & Turner, 1985).

Poor governance, Corruption, leadership crises, etc. are the challenges encountered by DRC and Nigeria in the past six decades of independence. Without disregarding other factors, a nation-building process can end up in failure if it's led by incompetent, corrupt puppets of neo-colonialists. Both DRC and Nigeria have had experiences with bad leadership in their history. For instance, under Mobutu Sese Seko's corrupt and authoritarian leadership which lasted for 32 years (1965-1997), Zaire fell into economic decline and collapse as a state (Berwouts, 2017; Dunkerley, 2009; Geboers, 2016; Gibbs, 1992; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

On the other hand Nigeria, in over a half a century of independence, has spent 29 years under eight military dictatorships (Bariledum, & Serebe, 2013; Bello, 2018; Gambari, 2008; Olumuyiwa, Oyedele, & Waliu, 2017; Thompson, 2000). In general, both DRC and Nigeria, in

their efforts toward nation-building, encountered multitudes of challenges, both dissimilar and alike. The challenges mentioned in this section only address the similarities in challenges faced by the two countries.

4.4.2 Differences

Both the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria had been under Belgian and British colonial domination for 75 and 99 years, respectively. However, the two colonizers had their own peculiar characteristics of colonial system. To start with, Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi were the only countries under the Belgian colonial administration. Between 1885 and 1908 the Congo free-state was under the personal rule of King Leopold II of Belgium. In the years between 1908 and 1960 Belgian Congo continued under the Belgian colonial administration. The trusteeship mandate to administer Rwanda and Burundi were given to Belgium after the German surrender at the end of WWI (Campbell, 2011; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Hesselbein, 2007; Mamdani, 2001; Young & Turner, 1985).

Whereas, the British Empire had more than a dozen colonies in Africa, namely Egypt, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, British Somaliland, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Gambia, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and [South] Sudan (Crowder, 1993).

In the years between 1861 and 1914, the British colonialists administered the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria separately. But the Northern and Southern regions were amalgamated in 1914 to create the present-day Nigeria, and to be governed under one Governor-General. However, although the British colonialists implemented an indirect rule policy, it was not uniformly implemented in both regions. In the Northern part, limited modern education was harmonized with Islamic religious education (Madrassa). Christian missionaries were restricted or not allowed in most parts, and the Hausa language was recognized as the official language of the region. On the other hand, in the South the traditional chiefs or 'Obas' were allowed to hold power. Christianity and modern education spread significantly, and English was the official language in the region. In the Eastern region, in the absence of traditional chiefs, Warrant Chiefs were appointed, who lacked legitimacy as the other traditional chiefs (Adejumo, 2009; Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992).

During the 1914 amalgamation and independence of Nigeria, the British colonialists promulgated 6 constitutions, namely, The Amalgamation, Clifford's, Richards, MacPherson, Lyttleton, and independence constitutions. Through those pre independence constitutions, Nigerians were able to be represented in the legislative councils and enabled to exercise regional self-governance, which laid the foundation for the Federal System of Government. Throughout the colonial era, there had been anti-colonial resistance, though in a disorganized fashion. However, when the resistance transformed to a pan-Nigerian level in the 1930s, the movement was to be led by European-educated [Nigerians] under various civic and political organizations. Among the various social and cultural developments in colonial Nigeria was the growing number of educated Nigerians who played a significant role in the civil service, economy, and in the nationalist movements against British colonialism. As a result of the growing anti-colonialist movement, a smooth decolonization took place, and Nigeria became a sovereign independent state in 1960 (Bourne, 2015; Campbell, 2011; Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Before Congo was transferred to the Belgian government in 1908, it had been the personal property of King Leopold II of Belgium under the name of Congo free-state. During those 23 years of the Congo free-state, King Leopold amassed hundreds of millions of Francs from ivory, rubber, etc. The accumulation of capital was acquired through slave labor. Any refusal to provide slave labor was punished by terror, torture, amputation, murder, etc. As a result of the holocaust (genocide) committed by Leopold's army, millions of Congolese were killed. Following international humanitarian outcry, the Belgian monarch was forced to relinquish the Congo free-state to the Belgian government (Hochschild, 1998; Reybrouk, 2010). In contrast to the British Empire, who had dozens of colonies, the Belgian government had only colonized Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, with little colonial experience. Belgian colonization of Congo was carried out through the combined interests of the state, companies, and missionaries, which was termed as the 'Colonial Trinity'. The Colonial Charter of Belgian Congo banned all political organizations except for religious and cultural associations. Moreover, the provision of education, particularly higher education in Belgian Congo was insufficient when compared with the British colony of Nigeria (Clapham, 1996; Gibbs, 1992; Dunkerley, 2009).

During their administration of Belgian Congo (1908-1960), the Colonial Charter was the only constitution used by the Belgians to rule the Congolese. Whereas the British promulgated 5

constitutions in the periods between the amalgamation and independence of Nigeria (1914-1960). The civil service and bureaucracy of Belgian Congo was dominated by Belgian and European nationals. Since the Colonial Charter prevented political activity, the *evolués* of Congo, in contrast to their counterparts of Nigerian elites, were unable to develop the experience of self-governance and political leadership (Hesselbein, 2007; Hochschild, 1998; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young & Turner, 1985).

In contrast to British Nigeria, the decolonization of Belgian Congo was not smooth. In the 1950s, despite the post WWII growing pressure for decolonization, the Belgians were planning to extend the colonial administration for another 30 years. When decolonization became inevitable, the Belgians were determined to keep their economic interest through neo-colonialism (Gibbs, 1992). With no experience in self-governance and political leadership, the Congolese *evolués* were unable to manage the bureaucracy, and prevent the domestic uprising and external intervention of the Congo crisis in 1960-63 (Geboers, 2016; Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Hesselbein, 2007; Souleyman, 2013; Zeilig, 2008).

Although post-independence Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria encountered bloody secessionist attempts, both attempts had their own peculiarities. The Biafra Civil War (1967-70) broke out after seven years of independence. In those years, the Biafrans (Igbos of the Eastern region) were part of the Federal Government of the First Republic. When the war broke out, the civil war was fought between the Federal Military Government (Northern and Western region) and the Biafran side (Eastern region). As for international involvement, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and member countries, with the exception of Ivory Coast, Gabon, Zambia, and Tanzania, did not recognize the Secessionist Biafra (Dummar, 2002; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992; Osaghae, 1992; Osha, 2017; Usuanlele, 2017).

Outside of Africa, the big powers such as the UK, USA, USSR, and others directly or indirectly sided with the Federal Military Government. France, Portugal, South Africa, and China, as well as oil companies sided with the Biafra. In general, the international support for either side was driven by the need to attain political and economic interests of involved countries and the business groups (Ibid).

Unlike Biafra, the Katangan Secession (1960-63) was declared 11 days after Congolese independence on the 30th of June. There are a number of evidences which indicate the different

natures and occurrences of the attempted secessions of Katanga and Biafra. Katanga, being the richest province of Congo, had been privileged with relative autonomy until 1933 (Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002). Upon independence, there were thousands of Belgian or European residents in the province, and the majority of the civil service and mining companies were dominated by them. In order to maintain their economic interests through neo-colonialism, the Belgians directly intervened and instigated the secession of Katanga, and fueled the Congo crisis, even by providing military support to the Katangan army. In addition to the Belgians, the South African Apartheid government, the Rhodesian government, the British and French governments, and Multinational corporations protected their economic interests in Katanga. Unlike the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, due to the absence of a strongly organized and equipped national army, the Lumumba-Kasa-Vubu government requested the intervention of the UN (peacekeepers) to prevent the secession of Katanga (Geboers, 2016; Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Hesselbein, 2007; Souleyman, 2013; Zeilig, 2008).

The Katangan Secession and the Congo Crisis (1960-63) were also battlegrounds for the Cold War rivalry of the superpowers. The Congolese moderate leaders such as Tshombe of Katanga, Kasa-Vubu, Mobutu, and others were supported by the Western powers, whereas the radicals such as Patrice Lumumba and his followers were supported by independent African countries or Pan-Africanists; Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sékou Touré of Guinea, and the Soviet Block (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015). After being toppled from power by General Mobutu, Prime Minister Lumumba was tortured and humiliated, before being handed over to Tshombe, the Katangan President, to be executed by Belgian soldiers (Ibid).

Post-independence Nigeria followed a federal system of government. However, between January and July 1966, the federal system was abolished and replaced by a centralized military administration (Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992. Osaghae, 1992). But in the last six decades of independence, despite the need to follow federal system of government by ABAKO and other politicians, Democratic Republic Congo has not yet had a proper federal government system (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young & Turner, 1985).

Since the 1966 coup d'état, Nigeria has had 8 military Junta dictatorships that lasted a cumulative 29 years, within the two periods between 1966-79 and 1983-99 (Bourne,2015;Dummar, 2002; Falola & Heaton, 2008). On the other hand, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a military coup was staged by Mobutu in 1965. However, the dictatorship that followed, despite starting out as a military one, turned into the personal autocracy of Mobutu, and lasted for 32 years till the decline of the Zairian state in 1997 (Nzongola-Ntalaja,2002;Thomson,2000; Young & Turner, 1985).

Although violence and conflict were among the various manifestations of post-independence Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo, there are a number of distinctions between the countries. The conflicts ranged in nature from ethnic, religious, regional, political, and economic to terrorism and military conflicts. The 1964/65 rigged election, the January 1966 first coup d'état and its July 1966 retaliatory counter coup, the anti-Igbo Pogrom and the subsequent Biafra Civil War of 1967-70 are among other factors which dominated the conflicts of the first decades of post-independence Nigeria. The 29 years of military dictatorship were among the major causes of violence and instability in Nigeria. In general, the Nigerian Civil War (1967-70), the 29 years of military rule of 1966-79 and 1984-1999, conflicts in the Niger Delta (South), and terrorism of Boko Haram (North), etc. are among the various manifestations of violence and conflicts of Nigeria (Egharevba, & Iruonagbe, 2015; Emmanuel, 2016;Odozi & Oyelere, 2019;Taft & Haken, 2015).

On the other hand, the Congolese versions of violence and conflict shall be contrasted as follows. The 1960-65 Congo Crisis is one of various manifestations of violence and conflict in post-colonial Congo. The major events which took place during the Congo Crisis are the secession of Katanga and South Kasai, the assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, the rebellion of pro-Lumumba radical groups and their suppression by the moderate groups, and the collapse of the First Republic of Congo following the 1965 coup d'état of Mobutu Sese Seko deserve mention. Furthermore, the 32 years of authoritarian dictatorship of Mobutu dragged Zaire into state collapse. Moreover, as a consequence of the Zairian state failure and the Great Lakes Refugee crisis of the 1990s, the First Congo War (1996-97) took place between the Zairian state and the rebel group leader Laurent Kabila, backed by the aggressing forces of Rwanda and Uganda. The Second Congo War (1998-2002), which is called 'Africa's World

War' was a war fought between the neighboring countries of Africa in support or against the Democratic Republic of Congo (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thomson, 2000; Turner, 2007; Young & Turner, 1985).

The major contrasting factor between the countries' abilities of resilience to ameliorate the challenges of violence and conflict is the success in maintaining the territorial integrity of the country. In this regard, Nigeria was successful in protecting its territorial integrity against the aggression of neighboring countries (Campbell, 2011). On the contrary, the territorial integrity of Zaire/Congo was violated by Rwandan and Ugandan backed rebel forces. In reality, while the Congolese/ Zairian central state controlled one-third, the remaining two-thirds of the territory was under the control of the Rwandan and Ugandan-backed rebel groups. Furthermore, the external influence of the crisis or violence and conflicts of Democratic Republic of Congo are more visible than the Nigerian one (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Thompson, 2000; Turner, 2007; Young & Turner, 1985).

There are significant differences in the role of external intervention in exacerbating the violence and instability of post-independence Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo. While the British colonialists facilitated the smooth decolonization of Nigeria (Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy & Osaghae, 1992), the Belgians were forced to relinquish the Congo, making the decolonization sudden and abnormal (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young & Turner, 1985). The threat of disintegration posed by the secessionists of Katanga (Congo-Crisis) and Biafra War (Nigerian Civil War) were avoided in different approaches. The Biafrans were vanquished by the army of Federal Military Government of Nigeria (Ibid). On the other hand, the Katangan and South Kasai secessionists were defeated by the direct intervention of the United Nations peacekeeping forces. Furthermore, the Katangan secession was initiated and manipulated by direct intervention of the Belgians. Besides, the removal from power and assassination of Prime Minister Lumumba was committed by the combined conspiracy of the Belgian and American imperialists, in collaboration with the moderates (Moise Tshombe of Katanga, army General Mobutu Sese Seko, President Kasa-Vubu, and others) of Congo (Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Gibbs, 1992; Hesselbein, 2007; Lierde, 1963; Souleyman, 2013; Zeilig, 2008).

In the history of Democratic Republic of Congo, Tshombe and Mobutu were typical examples of African leaders proven to be pawns of foreign powers. Tshombe of Katanga, for his political

ambition, was assisted and financed by the Belgian government and multinational mining companies of Katanga. Mobutu, who was the army-general during the Congo Crisis, with the backing of Western powers (the USA in particular), was able to seize power (coup d'état of 1965) and establish 32 years of authoritarian dictatorship in Zaire (Congo). The Cold War rivalry of the superpowers was evidently exercised in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Soviets tried to assist the radical groups of Patrice Lumumba, and the Americans supported and financed the moderates of Mobutu and President Kasa-Vubu (Ibid).

Both Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo are vulnerable to the impacts of resource curse. But the magnitude of the impact differs from each other. For instance, the oil bunkering (oil theft and illegal export) business of Nigeria is carried out by the local population, militant groups, government security forces, oil company officials, etc. (Bourne, 2015; Burgis, 2015; Mähler, 2010; Onyeukwu, 2007).

With regard to the Zairian state, the artisanal exploitation of the natural resources was managed by rebel groups who were being supported by the armies of neighboring countries (Rwanda, Uganda, etc.), multinational corporations, etc. Since the authoritarian reign of Mobutu dragged Zaire into state collapse, the state was limited to controlling about one-third of its territory. The rest two-thirds was controlled by the rebel groups who were supported by the governments of Rwanda and Uganda. The Rwandan and Ugandan forces practically invaded the Congolese territory under the pretext of protecting their national security. In general, the Great Lakes refugee crisis (which followed the Rwandan genocide of 1994), and the First and Second Congo Wars were typical examples of the negative impacts of the external intervention on the security and instability of the Zairian state. Thus, the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of Congo were plundered and pillaged by the direct intervention of external forces, such as neighboring African countries and multinational corporations (Norman, 2012; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig, 2007; Turner, 2007; UNECA, 2015).

4.5 Summary

Efforts and challenges of nation-building, and the similarities and differences between the challenges of nation-building of Nigeria and DRC are summarized as follows. Improper boundary demarcation, deliberate hierarchization and artificial invention of tribal identities and ethnic tensions were the manifestations of the divide and rule policy of the Belgian and British

colonizers of DRC and Nigeria, respectively. In addition to other factors, the current conflicts, violence, and instability are also the results of the legacy of colonialism of both DRC and Nigeria.

Constitutions without constitutionalism, discrimination of citizens as a result of marginalization of minority groups, and discriminatory nationality laws are among the challenges of nation building efforts which are worth mentioning. Like the rest of the African countries, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo are multi-ethnic nations. But the ethnic and religious diversity of both countries are not exploited to the benefits of both countries. Ethnic-Religious violence and conflicts are common features of the DRC and Nigeria.

Despite the abundance of natural resources, both Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo are negatively impacted due to the absence of functional institutions and the elites misuse or abuse of the revenue of the natural resources for their personal benefits. Challenges of nation-building efforts of both countries are impacted by the combination of domestic and external intervention. The external interest's role is played by foreign governments, international organization, and transnational corporations.

The prevalence of poverty, unemployment, socio-economic inequality and instability, coupled with poor governance, corruption, and weak institutional capacity are obstructing the attainment of sustainable development in DRC and Nigeria. In the absence of sustainable development, the journey to successful nation-building becomes arduous and difficult.

In the last six decades of independence ethnic and religious conflicts, external intervention, resource curse, absence of constitutionalism, underdevelopment, poor governance, corruption, institutional failures, and many other factors have been destabilizing both DRC and Nigeria. All the above crises are the results of ineffective performances of incompetent, dependent, and undemocratic leadership of both countries. Like the rest of the African countries, post-independence Nigeria and DRC have encountered multitudes of challenges. However, the efforts and challenges of both countries have their own peculiarities of manifestations.

CHAPTER V

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

One of the major legacies of colonialism, which has long lasting impact on Africa's instability is the improper boundary demarcation of the European colonialists. The 1914 amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates into one Nigeria was the work done by the British colonialists without the consent of the people living inside the amalgamated territory. The perpetuation of violence, instability, and irredentism in Congo (particularly in Eastern Congo), is also a result of arbitrary boundary demarcation of Belgian colonialists.

The British and Belgian colonialists held their heterogeneous subjects together through coercion, indirect rule, and divide and rule methods. At the time of independence, what the African leaders inherited was a colonial state and the task of nation-building was the home work left to be accomplished by the African elites. Since the nation-building process isn't a onetime effort, the challenges are also dynamic. Although they have their own peculiarities, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo encountered common features of challenges of nation-building in the last six decades of independence.

Challenges from colonial legacy, ethno religious strife, constitutions without constitutionalism and incapableness of state institutions, leadership crisis, bad governance and corruption, resource curse, external intervention, and failure to attain sustainable development, the growing number of armed militant groups and instability are among the multitudes of factors challenging the post-independence nation-building efforts of Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo.

Unlike the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria kept its territorial integrity intact despite the prevalence of violence and instability. In contrast to Nigeria, about two-thirds of the Congolese territory (particularly Eastern Congo) was under the control of the Rwandan and Ugandan army or by rebel groups who were backed by the Rwandan and Ugandan forces.

With regard to the anti-colonial nationalist movement, Nigeria experienced smooth decolonization process. In the contrary, the Congolese decolonization was sudden and abnormal. With regards to external intervention, the impact of foreign interference was more evident in Congo than Nigeria. The Congo crisis and the murder of Lumumba, Mobutu's 32 years of

authoritarian dictatorship, the first and second Congo wars, etc. were manifestations of indubitable foreign intervention in the DRC. Although the looting and plundering of natural resources were common to both countries, oil bunkering is carried out by Nigerians, but in DRC, the looting of minerals is carried out by both internal and external forces, including the neighboring countries.

The combined and continuous challenges such as; colonial legacy, ethnic-religious conflict, constitutional and citizenship problems, inefficient institutions and poor-governance, resource curse and external intervention, inability to attain sustainable development, leadership crisis, etc. has detrimental effect on the process of nation-building endeavors of DRC and Nigeria. Nevertheless, taking a single challenge to be responsible for success or failure of nation-building could be misleading. Furthermore, in spite of the presence of heterogeneous society during the pre-colonial period, people were living in relative harmony. Diversity becomes a problem as a result of mismanagement carried out by colonialists or post-independence undemocratic African elites. Thus, regardless of their having heterogeneous society, Botswana, Tanzania, and Mauritius are typical models of success stories of nation-building in Africa. On the other hand, homogeneity cannot guarantee national integration. A homogenous Somalia is a good example for nation failure.

Abundance of natural resource is a blessing if properly managed, and can be a curse if not utilized in favour of the public at large. In addition to other factors, the leadership bears the responsibility for the predicament encountered by post-colonial DRC and Nigeria. Among other factors, conditioned by colonial mentality or mental colonization (which values everything of the colonizers as 'superior', and everything of the colonized as 'inferior'), the elites dragged their countries into a situation of external dependency, exercise of futile sustainable development, and unsuccessful nation-building.

The resilience and commitments of the leadership of DRC and Nigeria to ameliorate the challenges of nation-building discussed in this paper, can significantly impacts the stability and developments of the neighboring countries, the region, and the continent of Africa in general. Moreover, attainment of sustainable development and nation-building success of DRC and Nigeria, decisively helps for the success of visions of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance in particular and the visions African Union in general.

5.2. Recommendations

The writer believes that preventing or avoiding the challenges mentioned above can help to attain successful nation-building efforts. To that effect, prior to dealing with the challenges of nation-building, in the first place, the leadership of Nigeria and DRC must strive to free themselves of colonial mentality. Since the nature of nation-building effort is not static or a one-time task, the solution also has to be continuous and dynamic. Having given the precedence from other developmental agenda, the perpetual nation-building efforts should impact all citizen (male-female, adult-young), throughout the nation, and at all times.

Without disregarding the motto of 'Unity in Diversity', elites of both countries should plan, in the long run, to build a national identity based on civic ideals rather than ethnic identity. So far there is no country, which politicized ethnicity and which has attained successful nation building, whether Federalist or Unitarist. Ethnic politics is detrimental to sustainable development and national integration.

A pro-people constitution and constitutionalism that can address the common interests of the multi-ethnic, diverse people of Nigeria and DRC has to be implemented. In doing so, a democratically drafted constitution should address the minority groups' nationality and citizenship questions with a firm resolution.

The building of capable inclusive economic, political, and social institutions is indispensable for the successful nation-building endeavor. Capable institutions are decisive for the successful implementation of rule of law, good governance, prevention of corruption, transparency, and accountability of leaderships, etc.

Economic policies should be planned to meet and reflect the domestic problems. Economic policy which can help to reduce poverty, unemployment, and socio-economic inequalities, etc. Economic policies which could enhance the provision of public goods, which could encourage domestic and foreign investment, and in general an economic policy which could bring, not only growth, but development so as to be able to attain sustainable development.

International Relations. Since no country is an island in the globalized world, the economic, social, cultural, and foreign relations have to be done in a balanced way without compromising the long run national interests of a given country. The international relation has to be carried out

in a manner of utilitarian approach. As Mesay put it: “What can we adopt and adapt from the West? What has the West adopted from Africa? What must we reject as detrimental? How can we integrate what we borrow into our own continuities?”(Mesay, 2011, p.114)

While maintaining international relations with the rest of the world, Nigeria and DRC has to primarily cooperate with neighboring countries in particular, and the SSA countries in general. Strengthening political, economic, social, and cultural cooperation with the neighboring countries will significantly boost economic and cultural development, and ameliorate threats of instability which could challenge the process of nation-building efforts.

Endowed with rich human and natural resources, the combined population and total area of the two countries is estimated to be more than one-fifth and one-tenth of Africa’s population respectively. The success and failure of nation-building efforts of DRC and Nigeria has a significant impact on the rest of Africa, and in the regions of Sub-Saharan Africa in particular.

End Notes

- ¹ The Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa group together individual countries in sub regions for the purposes of achieving greater economic integration. They are described as the "building blocks" of the African Union (AU) and are also central to the strategy for implementing the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).
Wikipedia. [Regional Economic Communities - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regional_Economic_Communities#Background)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regional_Economic_Communities#Background
- ² The African Economic Community (AEC) is an organization of African Union states establishing grounds for mutual economic development among the majority of African states. The stated goals of the organization include the creation of free trade areas, customs unions, a single market, a central bank, and a common currency (see African Monetary Union) thus establishing an economic and monetary union.
Wikipedia. [African Economic Community - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Economic_Community)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Economic_Community
- ³ The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) is a free trade area with twenty-one member states stretching from Tunisia to Eswatini. COMESA was formed in December 1994, replacing a Preferential Trade Area which had existed since 1981. Nine of the member states formed a free trade area in 2000 (Djibouti, Egypt, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe), with Rwanda and Burundi joining the FTA in 2004, the Comoros and Libya in 2006, Seychelles in 2009 and Tunisia and Somalia in 2018
Wikipedia.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Common_Market_for_Eastern_and_Southern_Africa
- ⁴ The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) is an Economic Community of the African Union for promotion of regional economic co-operation in Middle region of Africa. It "aims to achieve collective autonomy, raise the standard of living of its populations and maintain economic stability through harmonious cooperation".
Wikipedia. [Economic Community of Central African States - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_Community_of_Central_African_States)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_Community_of_Central_African_States
- ⁵ The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is an inter-governmental organization headquartered in Gaborone, Botswana. Its goal is to further regional socio-economic cooperation and integration as well as political and security cooperation among 16 countries in southern Africa.
Wikipedia. [Southern African Development Community - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_African_Development_Community)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_African_Development_Community
- ⁶ As an integral part of the African Economic Community, The East African Community (EAC) is an intergovernmental organization composed of six countries in the African Great Lakes region in eastern Africa: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.
[East African Community - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_African_Community)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_African_Community
- ⁷ The Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (ECGLC) is a sub-regional organization with multiple purposes created by the signing of the Agreement of Gisenyi in Rwanda on September 20, 1976. Consisting of Burundi, DRC, and Rwanda, with its main purpose is to promote regional economic cooperation and integration.
[Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_Community_of_the_Great_Lakes_Countries)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_Community_of_the_Great_Lakes_Countries

⁸ The Community of Sahel–Saharan States (CEN-SAD) is established to achieve economic unity through the implementation of the free movement of people and goods in order to make the area occupied by member states a free trade area.

[Community of Sahel–Saharan States - Wikipedia](#)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Community_of_Sahel%E2%80%93Saharan_States

⁹ The Economic Community of West African States, also known as ECOWAS, is a regional political and economic union of fifteen countries located in West Africa. Collectively, these countries comprise an area of 5,114,162 km² (1,974,589 sq mi), and in 2015 had an estimated population of over 349 million.

[Economic Community of West African States - Wikipedia](#)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_Community_of_West_African_States

¹⁰ The country is currently divided into the city-province of Kinshasa and 25 other provinces. The provinces are subdivided into 145 territories and 32 cities. Before 2015, the country had 11 provinces. [Democratic Republic of the Congo - Wikipedia](#)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo#Government

¹¹ Nigeria is a Federal Presidential Republic. It is divided into 36 states, and Abuja, which has the status of Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The 36 states and the FCT are grouped into six geopolitical zones:

- North Central (7 states): Niger, Kogi, Benue, Plateau, Nasarawa (Nassarawa), Kwara and FCT
- North East (6 states): Bauchi, Borno, Taraba, Adamawa, Gombe and Yobe
- North West (7 states): Zamfara, Sokoto, Kaduna, Kebbi, Katsina, Kano and Jigawa
- South East (5 states): Enugu, Imo, Ebonyi, Abia and Anambra
- South South (6 states): Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom, Edo, Rivers, Cross River and Delta
- South West (6 states): Oyo, Ekiti, Osun, Ondo, Lagos and Ogun

[General remarks | EUROPEAN ASYLUM SUPPORT OFFICE \(europa.eu\)](#)

<https://www.easo.europa.eu/country-guidance-nigeria/general-remarks-1>

¹² Another religious movement that should be studied here is Kimbanguism, or the Église de Jésus Christ sur la Terre par le Prophète Simon Kimbangu (Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu). This movement traces its roots to the colonial era, having been founded in 1921 by catechist Simon Kimbangu, and remains popular to this day, with approximately 10 percent of the contemporary Congolese population declaring itself to be professed believers of this strand of Christianity. In characterizing Kimbanguism as a religion and its place on the Congolese/Zairean religious plane, Van Reybrouck describes it as "an African form of imported faith", since it sought to distance itself from precolonial religious customs and practice (Nzongola, p34). Began prophetic ministry in 1921, influence course of events leading to independence. Preach gospel of liberation from all sorts of oppression, including, sorcery, negative customs and white domination. Alarmed by his preaching of racial pride, liberation and self-reliance, the colonial trinity (state, church, and companies) arrested him on charges of preaching ideas of Pan-Africanism and sentenced him to death. Kimbangu died in 1951, after serving 30 years of life imprisonment.

(Borghols, 2018; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

¹³ In 1959 Mobutu formed a profitable friendship with financier Maurice Tempelman, and a close connection with Lawrence Devlin, the CIA operative, who was then posted in Brussels

to develop Zairian contacts. Mobutu was believed by well-informed Belgians to have been recruited as an informer by Belgian security services. He also established contacts with the small cohort of Zairian university students in Belgium, many of whom were to serve him later. He had developed a friendship with Lumumba dating from the latter's arrival in Kinshasa in 1957; by early 1960 Mobutu had been designated as head of the MNC/L office in Brussels. He attended the Belgo- Zairian political and economic round table conferences on independence preparations in the first quarter of 1960, returning to Zaire only three weeks before independence.(Young & Turner, 1985.p.176)

(Gerard & Kuklick, 2015; Gibbs, 1992; Hesselbein, 2007; Souleyman, 2013; Zeilig, 2008).

CIA activities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo – Wikipedia

- ¹⁴ Authenticité, sometimes Zairianisation in English, was an official state ideology of the Mobutu regime that originated in the late 1960s and early 1970s in what was first the Democratic Republic of Congo, later renamed Zaire. The authenticity campaign was an effort to rid the country of the lingering vestiges of colonialism and the continuing influence of Western culture and to create a more centralized and singular national identity. The policy, as implemented, included numerous changes to the state and to private life, including the renaming of the Congo and its cities, as well as an eventual mandate that Zairians were to abandon their Christian names for more "authentic" ones. In addition, Western style attire was banned and replaced with the Mao-style tunic labeled the "abacost" and its female equivalent. The policy began to wane in the late 1970s and had mostly been abandoned by 1990.

[Authenticité \(Zaire\) - Wikipedia](#)

- ¹⁵ Akintola, Chief S. L. (1910–66) Born in Ogbomosho. Akintola was a journalist. Involved in the Yoruba-dominated Egbe Omo Oduduwa and the Action Group, serving as deputy leader of the latter from 1955 to 1962 and as premier of the Western Region from 1959 to 1966. The violence which followed the 1964-65 contested election was among the factors which led to the military coup of January, 1966. Akintola was killed in this coup.

Awolowo, Chief Obafemi (1909–87). Founder of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa and the Action Group, both Yoruba-dominated organizations that pushed for Nigerian independence. Awolowo contested the post of prime minister in the 1959 general election, but the AG lost to the NPC–NCNC coalition, and Awolowo became the leader of the opposition.

In 1962 a split in the Action Group forms between those who want to work with the federal government (Akintola & followers) and those opposed (Awolowo & followers). In May 1962 a parliamentary crisis ensued when Awolowo broke with Akintola and tried to have him removed as premier and replaced by Awolowo's ally, Chief Adegbenro.

Following the crisis in Yoruba, federal prime minister, Balewa, declared a state of emergency and suspended the AG government in the western region. Awolowo and his groups were put on trial for corruption and treason. He was later pardoned by Yakubu Gowon and became a federal office- holder in the military regime. He ran for the presidency of the Second Republic in 1979 and 1983, but lost both times to Shehu Shagari. He died in May 1987 (Falola & Heaton, 2008; Lovejoy, 1992. Osaghae, 1992).

- ¹⁶ Ibid.

- ¹⁷ Initially non-violent, Boko haram (literally translated as 'Western education is forbidden') was founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002. The group's insurgency started since 2009 under the leadership of Abu-Bakr Shekau. It is active in West Africa namely; Northeast Nigeria,

Northern Cameroon, Niger, Chad, and Mali. The ideology of Boko-Haram is based on the principles of Salafism-Wahhabism, which advocates strict adherence to Sharia law. Ever since the beginning of the insurgency, tens of thousands of people killed and about 2.3 million people displaced from their homes. Boko Haram has also contributed to regional food crises and famines. Internationally Boko-Haram has affiliation with fundamentalist and jihadist groups such as Al-Qaida, Al-Shabab, and others. The 2014 kidnapping of 276 school girls at Chibok, Borno State, draw international attention, followed by an online hashtag campaign to ‘Bring Back Our Girls’ and demonstrations in Abuja, Lagos and elsewhere (Boko Haram – Wikipedia).

¹⁸ Refer to note XIV.

¹⁹ CNS is unique from its predecessors.

Although there has been constitutions prior to 1992, there are significant justifications to consider the uniqueness of the 1992 Sovereign National Conference. A conference of popular will and participation, its transparency and visions of basic democratic ideals, producing a visionary document which could be referred as a bench mark for future generation, etc. indicate the distinctive nature of the CNS (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002, p.197).

²⁰ Despite their respective discordant speeches of 1947, while Tafawa Balewa became first prime minister of independent Nigeria, Obafemi Awolowo became the official opposition leader of the first republic and served as a minister of FMG of Nigeria during the Biafra War of 1967-70 (Bourne, 2015; Falola & Heaton, 2008).

²¹ So as not to commit a hasty generalization, heterogeneity should not necessarily be equated with failure of nation-building, and conversely, homogeneity could not be taken as a guarantee for a nation-building success. Homogeneous Somalia (ethnically and linguistically) is a good example of nation failure, and heterogeneous Botswana (multi-lingual and ethnically diverse) is an ideal model for a nation- building success (Wimmer, 2018).

²² Ibid.

²³ Although the Federal Character Principle was enacted with the intention of enhancing national integration, it has its own drawbacks of meeting the basic requirements of civil service recruitment and provision of efficient service delivery and productivity. (Justine, Cinelo & Ogamegbulam, 2015).

²⁴ Refer to note XIV.

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