

## GLOBAL POLITICS AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF FOREIGN AIDS FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

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### ***Abstract***

*Globalization has redefined the concept of (nation) independence, especially in terms of (absolute) sovereignty and economic dependence. Nevertheless, it has promoted the difference between developed and developing countries. African nations are described as developing economies and continually spoon-fed by the developed western nations. While the scramble for and partition of African nations is no longer about the physical presence and dominance of the countries by the 'developed' nations, global politics in foreign aids are engaged to perpetuate control and dictate governance and policies to African nations. Foreign aids support African nations' security, economic, environmental, social, and political development. Foreign aids are not limited to cash but could come in technical and operational support, including capacity buildings and long-term loans. However, history has shown the craving and determination of most African nations to receive cash donations or loans for nations' development. Most of these monies have also lubricated corruption as funds meant for the nations' socio-economic development ended up in bank accounts of most political officeholders. The situation has plunged many African nations into huge debts, thereby overtly submissive to the dictates and controls of countries in the western world. Aware of this, many of these foreign countries have exploited many African nations of massive mineral and other natural resources, determined to keep the giver-taker relationship's status-quo. Foreign aids are two-edged swords with both positive and negative impacts. Many papers have reviewed these impacts on national development with the people's well-being and the foreign dominance attributes of these aids. This paper looks at the trajectory of foreign aids, security, leadership, and development.*

***Keywords:*** Foreign Aids, Leadership, Security, Development

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## **1. Introduction**

In principle, there are independent nations in the world. In practice and reality, no country is independent. Globalization has affected the new sovereignty and has underpinned the need and support for economic assistance among nations. The level of support tilts from the *developed* countries in Europe, Asia, and America. These supports, in terms of contribution, are often classified as development or foreign aids.

These aids often come in the form of money (either grant or loans) to assist the economy, systems, infrastructural, agricultural, military, and governance development for African nations. Sometimes, there is also technical assistance in these regards. To some people, these aids are considered mere-handouts and, ostensibly, reparations for the long period of colonization of most African nations by the 'developed' countries. The colonialists presumably robbed African nations of their wealth and human resources during the slavery and colonization period. Hence, aids by the developed nations are desirable but meritorious for African countries to steadily gain economic stability and development (two key areas that disrupted by the foreign acts of slavery and colonization). Some others believe foreign, and development aids have translated African nations from being physically colonized and enslaved to being under the developed world's systematic control. They assumed that foreign and development aids come with conditions and conditionalities, most of which have made African nations a *beggar* and *receiver*, allowing most of them to depend mainly on these grants against looking inward for home-grown sustainable development.

For some groups of believers, foreign and developmental aids are not the problem of the African nations. Africa possesses the capacity and ability to be self-sufficient, economically stable, and physically developed with abundant human and natural resources at its disposal; foreign and developmental aids, if needed, ought to complement efforts to make the countries genuinely self-reliant. However, the major challenge is the leadership (government), who, through their miss-priority, greed and corruption, have continued to align to foreign aids not necessarily for their countries' development but to enrich themselves or perpetuate themselves in power.

Sadly, the issues raised above on African leadership have made governance lopsided, non-participatory, not transparent, non-accountable, and unpopular. These increased political instabilities in many African nations have become plaque with ethnoreligious wars, intra-tribal

and inter-tribal conflicts, and resource-control conflicts, including self-determination agitations. Similarly, as the leadership acquires more wealth in the face of the teeming poverty-stricken population, the need and crave for survival also increased the level of criminalities such as armed robbery, banditry, kidnapping, and arms-smuggling. With the high proliferation of illegal and unlicensed small arms and light weapons in civilians' hands, the rise of militancy and fierce opposition has also developed. In all, the situation has endangered most African nations, making governance inactive, the security of lives and properties not guaranteed; thus, people become more impoverished, vulnerable, exposed, and susceptible to an untimely death.

The situation above has made most African leaders prioritize national security more than human security. Hence, they budgeted a considerable fund for arms procurement and security maintenance at the citizenry's expense. These heightened the urge for more foreign/development aids. Similarly, with prevailing insecurity in most countries, foreign support in security areas becomes essential and critical.

Perhaps, the security support from developed nations stemmed from the fact that Africa presents most of its natural resources and protects its investments. For instance, Nigeria, with its abundant affluence in crude oil, has many expatriates and foreign investments cum in the country. Agitation for resource control, which gave birth to groups like Niger Delta Militants and Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), became competitive livelihoods for conflict entrepreneurs. Simultaneously, foreign and development aids were committed to the Niger Delta Geo-political region to maintain peace and conciliate the militants, primarily to protect the developed nations' interests and sustain their investments. The Niger Delta militants' bunkering activities also see them receiving support from some other countries they trade in exchange for guns and ammunition.

Are foreign and development aids indeed done in good faith, or are there underlining conditions that affect development and wealth creations? Are African nations genuinely independent? Are the aids from developed countries justifiable? What have been the impacts or effects of these aids on the African continent viz-a-viz its (in)security? What is the nexus and conspiracy between African leaders and foreign aids? These are the questions to be reviewed in this essay.

## **2. Definition of Key Terms**

### **2.1. Foreign/Development Aids**

According to Sanjay Reddy and Camelia Minoiu (2009), “development aid or development cooperation (also development assistance, technical assistance, international aid, overseas aid, official development assistance (ODA), or foreign aid) is financial aid given by governments and other agencies to support the economic, environmental, social, and political development of developing countries. It further defined as "aid expended in a manner that anticipated to promote development, whether achieved through economic growth or other means."

The clause of cooperation underlined foreign and development aids presuppose a partnership condition between the giver and the recipient. The collaboration further elaborates conditions around the support given and should be monitored to ensure that funds/assistance meet their assigned purpose. Submissively, the term development cooperation, by the World Health Organization (WHO), is stated to express the idea that a partnership should exist between donor and recipient, rather than the legal situation in which the relationship dominated by the wealthy and specialized knowledge of one side.

In the current realities, the aids by the government of the developed nations to assist African countries; these are given directly to the government for the execution of projects or programs; at times, these supports are provided through and executed by (International) Non-Governmental Organizations. Today, organizations such as UNICEF, UNDP, European Union (E.U.), Department for International Development (DFID) are major international donors supporting (International) Non-Governmental Organizations and local Civil Society Organizations in executing developmental projects all over Africa. There was a considerable sum of money from the developed world to many African nations from the two direct payment channels to government and support services (I)NGOs and CSOs.

### **2.2. Leadership**

By leadership, this essay refers to heads of government in Africa. Most African countries embraced democracy with elected leaders who assume political leadership within a defined timeframe. In the past, most African nations are ruled by military dictators with citizens' fundamental rights grossly violated with decrees' pronouncement, which believed to have stiffened human development. However, by the turn of the late 90s, African nations have

adopted democratic regimes. Some military leaders successfully transmuted into civilians and used their power to sustain themselves in power through constitutional amendments or ill-conducted electioneering. Sadly, with the advent of democratic regimes and intending to assist African nations in their development strive, developed countries continued to give aids to these nations to heal the wounds of mal-administration. Occasioned by the government and return the nations to the apparent speedy lane of economic recovery and self-reliance.

### 2.3. Security

The term security is broad and requires some breaking down. Mandatorily, the leadership of any nation is responsible for the protection of lives and properties. While human security entails people's total well-being by creating an enabling environment, systems, and services that focus on the promotion, accessibility, and affordability of facilities to the citizenry, national security focuses on the defense of national integrity and sovereignty. Unfortunately, however, the realities of the present days remind one of the periods of military rules as many civilian governments have prioritized national security over human security. In part, this priority is to the unacceptability of many governments' operations, which has pitched it against many citizens, thus leading to insurrections, agitations, and demands for self-determination. The effort to 'maintain' security has resulted in substantial budgetary allocations for peacebuilding and peacekeeping. Due to the cacophony of violent conflicts in African nations, including criminalities, which are linked to the desire to overcome fear, needs, and wants by groups and individuals.

This paper, therefore, believes that these three key terms are interwoven and linked. It x-rays the consequences of bad *leadership*, which has increased the need for *foreign aids* due to low and porous *security* systems and architecture.

### 3. Types of Aids

There are three main typologies of foreign or development aids. The first one is the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) meant for multinational or transactional corporations. Africa continent is rich in mineral and material resources, which often attract the developed world's interests. In partaking in managing these economic growth resources, they always signed a memorandum, agreement, and partnerships between them and the developed world to operate on the African soil. An excellent example of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is Nigeria's crude oil exploration. At discovering crude oil in Nigeria, many developed countries with interests in

oil exploration came into Nigeria. These investments contributed immensely to economic growth to both the investing nations and host countries. It helps manage resources, creates employment opportunities, assists in physical infrastructure development, builds local capacities, and contributes to the countries huge economic earnings through direct and indirect payments. Although this type of investment has some underlining exploitation tendencies as engagements are always directly with the government. The assets' profitability to either party dictates leadership and the 'local experts that handle the negotiation and partnership. Recently in Nigeria, a signed contract on electricity production in Nigeria through foreign investment occurred. The agreement signed at that time gave substantial rights to the foreign investors at Nigeria's expense. Therefore, the reality is that engagement in FDI is technical and should be forward-looking to avoid incidents of compromise, short-falls, and placing the host partner at disadvantage positions in the future.

The second type is the commonly known type of foreign aids is the officially designed development tools funded by government agencies or other international non-profits organizations to help combat poverty-associated challenges and humanitarian assistance to under-developed nations. Due to the challenges of leadership, poverty has become endemic in most African countries. Most of the population are vulnerable and susceptible to many natural and human-made disasters because of the quest to earn a living. Most of these African nations are also plaque with decaying systems and crude beliefs. These include education, health, water, social amenities that are in a dilapidated state. Many armful traditional and religious beliefs and practices have also increased the poverty, inhumanity, and abuse of many people in the African continent. Hence, these supported interventions are done through government agencies or local and international Non-Governmental Organizations to address the challenges of strengthening and promoting good governance, gender equality, human dignity, access to affordable social amenities and facilities, infrastructural development, human empowerment, and peacebuilding.

The third type is almost invincible but facilitated by globalization. Globalization is about promoting foreign trades among nations that have supported local exportation and importation of commodities, empowering local actors to take advantage of the relationship in creating wealth, and supporting the national economy through tax payments and other transactional payments. For instance, in Nigeria, there is a local export of cocoa and timber to foreign countries. Similarly, many foreign business entrepreneurs have also added to economic growth

through companies and production industries in Nigeria, like many other African nations, closer to the raw materials. The established companies have also contributed to employment opportunities, capacity building for the locals, and contribution to the government earnings through tax payment. Inevitably, many Africans have established production businesses like foreign ones, thereby promoting competition and increasing the Africans' affordability and services.

### **Effects of Foreign Aids on Developing Countries**

In many economists' submissions and contentions, foreign aid is a two-edged sword with both positive and adverse effects on African nations. Jeffery Sachs (2001) opined that assistance had been the driver for African nations' economic growth and development. To Dambisa Moyo (2009), he contended that help does not lead to action but instead helps create problems including corruption, dependency, limitations on exports, and dutch disease, negatively affecting most African economic growth and development countries other developing countries across the globe.

For example, Nigeria has been substantial foreign aids and investments in the country since the discovery of crude oil in the mid-1960s. These investments and aids have boasted the nation's economy, systems and support infrastructures, human development, and enabling environment. Sadly, however, one can hardly point to any enduring impacts of these investments and aids either in physical, infrastructure and human developments in the country today despite the continued flow of these supports. Upon discovering crude oil and abandonment of agriculture, Nigeria moved to a mono-economy dependency nation with many foreign attractions and capitals. The direct translations would have been physical and well-being of the government and citizens, respectively.

However, the discovery and capital inflow led to a cacophony of coups within the military powers as individuals, and ethical sentiments arose intending to assert leadership and control the nation's wealth. Impunity became the order of the day as the people languished more in poverty and penury even amid discovered wealth. This improvisation is akin to Jeffery Sachs' (ibid) submission, which recognizes that policy members should be held accountable for understanding poverty's geographic effects. He argues further that for foreign aid to be successful, policymakers should "pay more attention to the developmental barriers associated with geography- specifically, poor health, low agricultural productivity, and high

transportation costs." Unfortunately, in Nigeria, like many other African nations, foreign aids and investments became the *un-ending* icing-cake that set the stage for corruption, mismanagement, abuse of power, and in-roads to poverty.

Lack of plan, re-investment, and focus by the African leadership enmeshed the nation in many negative consequences from the mismanagement of opportunities that these aids possess. Rahnama, M. & Fawaz, F. & Gittings, K. (2017). For assistance to be useful and remain beneficial towards economic development, there should be support systems or 'traction' that will ensure foreign aid to spur economic growth. Research has also shown that aid damages economic growth and development before 'traction.'

First, with foreign aids and investments, many local industries and standard means of livelihoods were ruined. The oil boom in Nigeria killed agriculture with its eternal values and as a source of economic growth and human development. Bandow. (2011) contended that:

Foreign aid affects local industries in developing countries. The aids come in the form of assistance given to developing countries and responsible for the death of local farm industries in developing countries. Local farmers unwittingly end up going out of business because they cannot compete with the abundance of cheap imported aid food shipped into developing countries as a response to the humanitarian crisis and natural disasters.

Rather than sustaining domestic economic growth, foreign aids became so attractive that the local trades and even consumptions became affected to date.

Furthermore, foreign aids and investment has continued to place most African nations under the control of the developed countries that grant them aids and investments. Naturally, the independence of most African nations is in theory and not in practice. After colonialism, foreign aids and investments have facilitated a situation of neo-colonialism. For instance, on many occasions, African nations have had their economic directions and operations dictated by donors, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF); these include devaluation of the currency and other strategic financial planning. Foreign aids and investments have directly influenced government policies (both in formulation and implementation). In his submission, Nkrumah K. (1966) noted that 'external powers and nations now control the political and economic affairs under neocolonialism from the Global North, who offer aid or assistance countries in the Global South or developing countries'. This situation has continued to erode initiatives and wisdom in managing African countries'



economies due to their continued dependency and directives on foreign aids and the developed world, respectively.

In the same vein, foreign aids and investment have revealed most African nations as *beggar-states* that can only survive on the developed world's hand-outs. It has increased the condition of total dependency and control. Vengroff, R. (1975) noted that 'foreign aid creates a dependency system where developing or developing countries heavily depend on western or developed countries for economic growth and development. As developing countries become dependent on developed countries, the latter further exploits the former. The developed world can directly control the economic activities of developing countries. Typically, the situation underscores the summation of Walter Rodney's *How Europe Under-developed Africa* as many African nations today have lost ingenuity and creativity but have, in practice, surrender their sovereignty and independence to the grant-given developed nations. Moyo, D. (2009) aptly summed the situation in the assertion that "foreign aid makes African countries dependent on aid because policymakers regard it as regular and consistent income. Thus they do not have any incentive to make policies and decisions that will enable their countries to finance their economic growth and development independently."

The most critical effect of foreign aids and investments in the African continent is the issue of corruption. However, this is linked not to the government but also to some local Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society Organizations. However, financial impropriety, caused by the political leadership and perpetrated by aids in implementing bodies across Africa. Indeed, foreign aids are critical and essential in addressing the flawed systems and structures in African countries. Still, most of these aids and investments have made little impact as funds meant for development are re-directed into the leaders' private coffers. Moyo, D. (Ibid) contended that

foreign aid encourages rent-seeking, which is when government officials and leaders use their position and authority to increase their wealth without creating additional wealth, at the expense of the citizens. Most African leaders and officials can amass huge sums of personal wealth for themselves from the foreign aid received - they enrich themselves. They do not use the aid provided for its intended purpose.

For instance, in Nigeria today, the federal government has shown much interest in non-governmental organizations' activities to oversee and control project implementation. A Bill was sponsored in the National Assembly to subdue (I)-NGOs and CSOs under the government.

The reality is the oversight control is commendable. However, the government's primary interest is on how to control the funds and grants received by these groups to extend corruption. Billions of dollars in subsidies expended in North-East Nigeria operations; both government and (I)NGOs, including CSOs, have been operating in this region since the beginning of the Boko Haram insurgency. However, the reality on the ground does not commensurate with the enormous investments. Many people are still displaced and in the proliferating Internally Displaced Peoples' camps with millions of people in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe state Nigerians are still languishing under collapsed systems, structures, and facilities. The question is: What has been the effect or impact of these foreign aids and investments in addressing the population's insurgency and well-being? The answer is in the vast and increasingly growing pockets of people in leadership and heads of (I)NGOs and CSOs.

#### **4. Foreign Aids and Economy Development in Africa**

One of the core objectives of foreign aids to African nations is to support economic development. The extent to which to achieve the purpose is not incredibly far-fetched. There has been a continued inflow of foreign aids and grants to African countries, but it has neither translated into physical nor human development in any form. China has been the new bride in this regard as it is obsessed with granting aids and loans to African nations for infrastructural development. Easterly (2001), in his overview of the challenges in the engagement of foreign aids for economic growth in Africa, stated that 'the major problems with foreign aid have been: (1) an inappropriate development model based on the "financing gap," and (2) mal-administration, caused by a lack of accountability for aid agencies to the people whom they are supposed to serve.

Reviewing his submissions, one tends to agree with him. The fundamental challenges foreign aids meant to address are at times not clear-cut and succinctly domesticated. Most of these aids came with often rigid and not flexible conditions to meet the targeted population's contemporary realities. In most cases, foreign aids and accompanying project implementations have failed to address some underlining issues that facilitate surface challenges. For instance, to address the challenges of health care delivery services, it is not just about building and equipping hospitals but strategically working to change people's attitudes and behavior towards health-services seeking. Thus, promoting both the supply and demand sides of improved health systems. Some project interventions faced inadequate funding based on the timeline, lack of sustainability plan, and continuity ability in the same vein.

Equally, aids and grants are marred by poor handling both in the planning and implementing projects meant to transform lives and birth development. Continually, this is a common practice for both governments (leadership), their agencies, and other implementing private groups and organizations. Alberto Alesina and Beatrice Weder (2002) opined that 'more corrupt governments receive just as much foreign aid as less corrupt governments that the United States government even gives more aid to more corrupt governments, and that the level of aid a country receives tends to increase corruption in the future.' Typically, the growth of local NGOs/CSOs, purportedly non-profit organizations seeking and getting foreign grants for project implementation, is a red-flag. Most of these local *partners* thrive on these aids and gifts for personal usage; so, funds diversion is a usual practice. Sadly enough, there are inadequate monitoring, evaluation, and assessment mechanisms from the donors' side, making it even easier for the implementing bodies to divert monies without achieving their allocation goals and purpose. For the above reasons, Easterly submitted that development aid had not increased the investment share of gross domestic product (GDP) in the vast majority of countries. Growth in the investment share of GDP has not caused subsequent increases in GDP per capita.'

Peter Boone (19. Growth trends that aid goes mostly toward wasteful public consumption. Jakob Svensson (2000) corroborated this position and corroborated stated that support inhibits beneficial policy reforms. In her submission, Karen Remmer (2004) finds that foreign aid not only increases government spending but it also reduces revenues, presumably because aid-dependent governments feel less need to promote the kinds of economic growth that generate tax revenue. Craig Burnside and David Dollar (2000) maintained that aid has a slight positive effect on economic growth when the recipient country has good policies. Sadly enough, most African governments hardly implement policies. The challenge is not about the lack of promising approaches but the implementation of such policies.

Most African nations are under the dictates and control of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It has not only restricted home-based economy growth and independence but has placed many of the nations in Africa under the burden of debts inhibiting economic growth. As James Vreeland (2003), noted 'IMF programs reduce economic growth by one and a half percentage points for each year the country remains under an IMF agreement.' He stated further that 'IMF programs redistribute income from labor to capital and therefore increase income inequality.' It shows how Africa countries continue in deep gaps between the rich (mostly in leadership positions) and the poor (mostly the citizenry)

Foreign aids in actual and reality would have contributed to the economy and human development in Africa but for the challenges of inadequate operational mechanisms (formulation, implementation, and monitoring), non-domestication, continuity, sustainability, bad policies, governance, over-dependence, and corruption at both levels of government and private organizations and individuals. It is politics that facilitates nations' economies. Most under-developed economies have political and economic systems that are extractive. The ruling class has a stronghold on political power to channel financial resources for selfish reasons to benefit themselves and their cohorts. Foreign aids are often conducted through such extractive systems and seldom reach the most vulnerable society.

#### **4.1. Leadership and Foreign Aids in Africa**

African countries are sitting atop the recipients' ladder of foreign assistance since their independence. Most of them received their independence after a long period of been colonized by a particular developed country. These colonial masters still maintained a level of control in their formal colonies' governance as they operate a mentor-mentee relationship. In most instances, the colonial masters created platforms and ensured their formal colonies become members to exact their influence and power despite their independence. The French government maintained a close affinity with its formal colonies in Africa through assimilation and co-opted the former colonies into this platform.

A vivid example is Nigeria's membership of the Commonwealth of Nations established by Britain, the former colonial master. The developed nations further established platforms to extend their power worldwide and beyond to other under-developed and developing countries.

One such decision is for African countries to embrace democratization as part of foreign aids and support conditions. The birth of democracy in most African nations brought about a lot of insecurity and challenges. It started from assuming power by the leadership and by the operations and governance in most African countries. Political leaders across the continent, having fulfilled the wish of the developed nations to democratize, were exposed to an unprecedented flow of money in the form of aids and grants. In their submissions, Thompson Ayodele, et-al (2005) noted that: 'the record of Western aid to Africa is an abysmal failure. More than \$500 billion in foreign aid – the equivalent of four Marshall Aid Plans – was pumped into Africa between 1960 and 1997. Instead of increasing development, aid has created

dependence. The budgets of Ghana and Uganda, for example, are more than 50 percent aid dependent'.

The flow of this free money is one of the key facilitators of corruption among African leadership and why they have tried to sustain themselves in power on the one hand, and the violent consequences emanating from electioneering, on the other hand. Kunle Aderinokun (2003;324) briefly captured the situation when he opined that:

Much of the aid received was looted. Speaking at the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, in December 2003, the former British secretary of state for International Development, Lynda Chalker, complained about 40% of Africa's wealth invested outside the continent. "If you can get your kith and kin to bring the funds back and have it invested in infrastructure, the economies of African countries would be much better than what they are today," she said. The chairman of the session and president of the African Business Round Table, Alhaji Bamanga Tukur, agreed: "It is complicated to ask foreign investors to come and invest on our continent when our people are not investing here. There is no better factor to convince foreign investors than for them to see that our people, both those based at home and those in the Diaspora, invest in Africa.

The total amount of capital laundered by African leaders is staggering. Percy Mistry (2005) of the Oxford International Group noted that 'out that the external stock of capital held by Africans overseas could be \$700 billion to \$800 billion. In a World Bank report, Karen DeYoung (1999) estimated that 'nearly 40 percent of Africa's aggregate wealth has fled to foreign bank accounts. According to Peter Goodspeed (2005), focusing on Nigeria, contended that: 'in July 2005, Nigeria's Economic and Financial Crimes Commission revealed that a succession of military dictators stole or squandered \$500 billion – equivalent to all Western aid to Africa over the past four decades. Sadly, it has become a mysterious competition as looted funds recovered have been described as audio-money for no sooner recovered than someone else step up to re-loot them. Ayittey G (2005, 439), in agreement, stated that "the recovered loot is quickly re-looted. The Nigerian state has recovered \$983 million of the loot of the former president, General Sani Abacha, and his henchmen. However, the Senate Public Accounts Committee found only \$12 million of the recovered loot in the Central Bank of Nigeria".

Thompson Ayodele (op. cit) noted that 'the more aid poured into Africa, the lower its standard of living. The per capita GDP of Africans living south of the Sahara declined at an average annual rate of 0.59 percent between 1975 and 2000. Over that period, per capita GDP adjusted for purchasing power parity declined from \$1,770 in constant 1995 international dollars to

\$1,479. The evidence that foreign aid underwrites misguided policies and feeds corrupt and bloated state bureaucracies is overwhelming'.

So, leaders of government across the African continent see control of power as an excellent opportunity to make money quickly. Hence, they become more interested in retaining power. When they are to leave, they often plant *their person* in government so that their corrupt practices will not be investigated and reviewed. While governance is about policies and operations, African leaders mostly have even failed to meet the donor bodies' reform policies concerning economic development as they are most interested in looting funds. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development stated that: "Despite many years of policy reform, barely any country in the region has completed its adjustment program with a return to sustained growth. Indeed, the path from adjustment to improved performance is, at best, a rough one and, at worst, disappointing dead-end. Of the 15 countries identified as 'core adjusters' by the World Bank in 1993, IMF classified only three (Lesotho, Nigeria, and Uganda) as 'strong performers.'" George Ayittey (2004;7),

Are Nigeria, Lesotho, and Uganda still strong performers as considered by IMF over a decade after? The answer is no; these countries have gone through many transitions that have continued to affect internal stability, human and national development. Dependency on foreign aids has continued unabated, and so the level of impunity with which corrupt practices have grown. In 2002, President Aboulaye Wade of Senegal contended that "I have never seen a country develop itself through aid or credit. Countries that have developed — in Europe, America, Japan, Asian countries like Taiwan, Korea, and Singapore — have all believed in free markets. There is no mystery there. Africa took the wrong road after independence" Norimitsu Onishi (2002)

Are African leaders to be blamed, or are some conspiracies between the donors and the African leadership? Despite the colossal corruption, mismanagement, and misappropriation of the donated funds cum capital flights, why are there no strict measures and guidelines for disbursements and the donors' monitoring? Africans remained pauperized despite huge capitals, infrastructure, and systems have remained non-functional and decayed. Foreign aids are not a problem. The challenge is the African leadership and the seemingly compromising status of the developed countries that continuously use the aids to manipulate, dictate, control, and pauperize the Africa continent, intending to make it remain vulnerable, dependent, and

susceptible. David Karanja, a former Kenyan member of parliament, cited George Ayittey (1998; 275), aptly capture and summarise this when he stated that:

Foreign aid has done more harm to Africa than we care to admit. It has led to a situation where Africa has failed to set its own pace and direction of development free of external interference. Today, Africa's development plans are drawn from thousands of miles away in the IMF and World Bank corridors. What is sad is that the IMF and World Bank experts who draw these development plans are people completely out of touch with the local African reality.

#### **4.2. Foreign Aids and Security Implications in Africa**

The primary mandate of any government of a nation is the security of lives and properties; this is human security. (Ochoche, 1998), stated that national security focuses on the amassment of the military armament, personnel, and expenditure. Africa has become the theater for insecurity, especially concerning human safety. Under this umbrella, Africa is a plaque with the typology of insecurity. These include food insecurity, health insecurity, education insecurity, fear of dominance, identity insecurity, and many more. Submissively, Africa's national security in its conceptualization is not a challenge. Hardly do we have nations rising against another; Africa's major insecurity challenge is human insecurity, and one major trigger of this human insecurity is the government (leadership). Despite its richness and availability of human and natural resources, Africans still wallop in abject poverty and socio-political and economic instability. The upsurge in terrorism, spread and proliferation of small arms and light weapons, environmental degradation, accumulation of violent conflicts, (international) crimes are all manifestations of poor governance strive by the citizenry to escape poverty. These human-made situations have increasingly exposed the African nation as insecure and many Africans vulnerable.

In seeking survival and meeting their wants and needs, most Africans are involved in many illicit and illegal activities either as individuals or groups. The government (leadership) results fail to provide social security and prioritize the citizenry's well-being. Levels of insecurity have exposed the ineffectiveness, inefficiency, and demonstration of African leaders' capacity and capability to manage and govern their people. Insecurity created by the people's activities has led to millions of early death, displacement, and wanton destruction of property—loss of livelihoods, coping capacity, structural displacement, and a gloomy future. In one part, the situation has increased foreign aids intending to build systems and structures in Africa that will support human, techniques, and infrastructural development. In another way, it has undermined

the independence and sovereignty of most African nations who now depend on foreign technical experts and security architecture and assistance to manage insecurity across the continent. According to *The Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management* (2000,57), Security assistance is a

group of programs authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) of 1961, as amended, and the Arms Export Control Act (AECA) of 1976, as amended, and other related statutes by which the United States provides" economic support and military assistance to sovereign nations with similar values and interests vis-à-vis "defense articles, military training, and other defense-related services by grant, loan, credit, or cash sales in furtherance of national policy objectives" and common defense goals.

With some focus on Nigeria, civilian leaders right from the fourth republic's birth have prioritized national security above human security. With democracy comes some levels of freedom and rights which the citizens enjoy including freedom of speech. Despite various agitations and efforts at influencing policies, successive governments have shown various acts of incompetence and poor security handling, with which came the craze for self-reliance, resource control, and insurgencies. Banditry and kidnapping have also joined the sad situation even with the national crises on farmers and herdsmen conflict.

Intending to address the negative upsurges, governments have continually expended huge national income and savings on security management, which has become a conduit pipe. Many of the people in leadership and security circles have continued to siphon money for themselves. According to Premium Times of September 2015, 'the \$2 billion arms procurement deal in Nigeria resulted in an alarming embezzlement of the funds through the National Security Adviser's office'. The paper also revealed the illegal deal through a presidential investigations committee's interim report on arms procurement under the previous administration. The committee report showed extra-budgetary spending to the tune of N643.8 billion and an additional expenditure of about \$2.2 billion in the foreign currency component under the Goodluck Jonathan administration'. In 2014, a report further exposed the fund mismanagement when it reported that 'notably, part of government response to combat Boko Haram challenge is increasing the defense budget from 100 billion-naira (\$625 million) in 2010 to 927 billion-naira (\$6 billion). In 2011 and 1 trillion-naira (\$625 million) naira in 2012, 2013, and 2014 relative to expenditure allocated to other sectors of the economy (CGA,2014 p.30)'.

In the same vein, Sam (et al.) (2016:7) stated that 'while Nigeria military expenditure fell by 25 percent between 2014 and 2015, the onslaught against Boko Haram ranges. In late 2015(The



incumbent Buhari regime), a government committee report claimed extra-budgetary intervention' amounting to \$6.6 billions over the period 2007-2015, which, if accurate, means that actual Nigerian military expenditure was more than 30 percent higher than reported'.

Under the Buhari administration, the situation has remained the same, with the military budget continuously rising in the guise of war against the insurgent. According to Daily News (March 2, 2020), it reported that President Muhammadu Buhari had in 2017 sought the National Assembly's approval for the withdrawal of \$1bn from the Excess Crude Account for the fight against insecurity. Buhari, who revealed to the national parliament that the National Economic Council had approved withdrawal, had announced that he had already ordered a \$496m payment to the United States government for the Tucano aircraft ahead of legislative approval. The jets billed for delivery in 2022'. The spending has continued, yet, the insurgents are yet undefeated. From the Obasanjo's to the Yara'dua/Jonathan and Buhari administrations, insecurity situations have continued increasing. Udeh SC and Ihezue UR (2013) summed up:

since the past decade or more, Nigeria has witnessed an unprecedented security challenge occasioned by the activities of militants in the south-south region, kidnappers in the southeast, incessant armed robbery in various parts of the country, various unresolved political assassinations, ritual killings, and more recent activities of Boko Haram in some parts of the northern region, especially northeast. The aggregate social menace impinges on the security of lives and property of both Nigerian citizens and foreigners living or even trying to invest in the country.

Billions of dollars have been expended as part of foreign aids and donated towards security management in Nigeria. Aside from these aids, Nigeria has also received some debt relief packages from lenders who, see the damages caused by insecurity to its economy, have decided to support some economic recovery measures. According to Watch List 2017, 'the E.U. most recently announced a €143 million support package for early recovery and reconstruction, bringing its total support in Borno state alone to €224.5 million for 2017. Delivering this package requires safe access, but many humanitarian aid agencies complain that convoys are not effectively secured, exposing them to ambushes and abduction'.

With so much unaccountable-for money and obvious misappropriations and management of foreign aids, one tends to ask what the motivation is and what continues to sustain the developed world's interests in Africa and, perhaps, Nigeria. The reasons are apparent in the parts of the developed world in Africa due to its abundant human and natural resources. The more insecure African nations like Nigeria is, the more challenge faced by the economic growth

of the developed world. Hence, the expanded world security assistance enveloped *the global politics of clientelism*, which underscores cooperation and partnership in others to achieve primary aims. Kenneth Lee Michael Prendergast, Jr. (2003), in support of this summation, posited that 'the fundamental purpose of the United States Security Assistance program is to promote United States foreign policy and national security interests.' Therefore, it is in U.S. national interests to enhance the Security Assistance program in Nigeria by taking advantage of this unique opportunity to strengthen ties with the most dominant economic and political power in West Africa.". Perhaps, the African leaders are aware of this theory; hence, to remain relevant and position themselves in total control of domestic and foreign funds. They are willing to dance to any tune play by the western world even at the detriment of human and economic development, including security in their home countries.

## **5. Conclusion**

Foreign aids are useful; indeed, if transparently and effectively put into use and domestic revenues and initiatives, under participatory and accountable governance African countries, would have transformed into developing/under-developing nations to autonomous, independent, and economy-viable nations. African leadership assumes power in most dramatic means and has abandoned the citizenry's welfare, therefore facilitating many societal crises.

Corruption has also led to the collapse of systems, services, and structures, thereby making African nations dependent on aids. With the recent global COVID19 pandemic, the global collapse of crude oil prices, and the continued trade wars between America and China, it is evident that there will be a drastic decline in the volumes of aids to African nations due to the looming global economic recession. Therefore, African countries' urgent need to re-strategies in their engagements, acts, and dependency. Priority and attention should focus on humans, as against blanket national security. It will not only cut down on social vices and insecurity but bring about some level of stability upon which investment and re-investment can be made for the growth of local business, industries, and initiatives.

The government should ensure proper accountability and transparency in its governance while ensuring a mechanism is put in place to repatriate all funds laundered abroad by individuals and groups with such money re-engage in physical, infrastructural, human, and economic development.

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