DETERMINING THE NECESSITY OF LAW OF NATIONS IN NATION-BUILDING: ADDRESSING THE PECULIARITIES OF THE EMERGING NATIONS

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Abstract

The growing significance of the law of nations in nation building and the compelling need to address the peculiarities of emerging societies have led to rigorous efforts aimed at regulating institutions of international relations. This paper explores some of the challenges arising from different ratification of treaties, divergent interpretations of shared obligations and the recent wave of globalization and its impact on all aspects of global existence. It is against the backdrop driven by the desire to create stability in nation-building that law of nations system evolved. In this light, it becomes imperative that law of nations should be seen as a major driver in nation-building process. This is an important starting, point from which to reiterate the fact that nation-building cannot be guaranteed if the future of the law of nations are not taken into cognizance. It is argued that, the continued neglect of law of nations in nation-building process remained a clog in the development cooperation treaties. The paper adopted analytical and qualitative approach on current literatures, legislations and policies on the law of nations which is achieved by a synthesizing of ideas. Nevertheless, the paper concludes that in order to achieve nation-building agenda and the right to development through a legally-binding instruments.

Keywords: Law of Nations, Nation-Building, Necessity, Right to Development, Peculiarities

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1. Introduction

The above topic has been a source of concern to the writers since the concept of nation building centres on how indigenous peoples can pull together and implement the rules processes, and structures of governance needed to building future they desire. In this paper, among other things, the paper will examined the linkages between law of nations and nation building process. It argued that a more coherent law of nations frameworks is based on historical principles of liberalism, and a better form of promoting nation building prosperity and security.

However, it observed that law of nations has its roots in antiquity as ancient tribes struggled to come to agreement concerning the creation of territories and distribution resources (Schwabach, A and Cockfield, A.J :2009). Furthermore, in examining a complex interplay between nation- building and citizenship education , we need to draw a comparative and global discourses on other cultures (Stromquist, N and Monkman, K: 2000). Notwithstanding that a "nations conceptualized a "community of culture," to that where members are attached by emotional bond" (Kloskowska, A :1996, 70). It follows that global governance institutions, though created and sustained through treaties made by States are increasingly taking charge of the functions law making (Buchanan, A: 2010, 95). Thus, this argument was reinforced and sustained by the principal challenges to the legitimacy of the law of nations in nation -building such as the belief that the United Nations Security Council is primarily concerned about the security of the global community**.** It may be argued within the context of this research that comparative and global discourse surrounding other cultures in nation building oftentimes made us to identify and question the beliefs and assumptions that surrounds the questions on the "universality" of the law of nations.

In the same vein, it appears however, that there is no problem of incompatibility in principle, if states can, subject themselves to the principles of law of nations by following processes that accord with their constitutional principles. Basically, one way of accomplishing this is by creating new constitutions or amending an old one so that it recognizes the supremacy of international Law, or some types of international Law, such as human rights law. Moreso, in nation building, it a democratic state ratites a treaty and incorporates the relevant Laws into its domestic legal system through a process that statistics constitutional requirements them presumably it will be true to say that the State has a substantial content independent moral reason to comply and that the citizens of the democracy have a substantial-content independent reason to support their state's compliance because the law in question became the law of the land through constitutionally-sanctioned process. In light of the focus of this paper, it is worth mentioning that this paper is structured into three parts. Part one provides an overview the view point of nation-building a as well examines the basic concepts and terminologies relevance in this discourse. Part two justifies the role of the Law of nations in nation building process through the demonstration of the relationship of the right to development to existing substantive treaty regimes. The third section applies to multi-stakeholders agreement on the right to development and further describe how to achieve the right to development through a legally binding instrument. In the end, the paper concludes.

1.2. Understanding Law of Nations

The political conception of the law of nations is committed to understanding the distinctive nature of the law of nations strictly in light of it's role in contemporary international political practices and relations. The thematic focus of law of nations is wide and all-encompassing. The scope of law of nations to a large extent represents a distinctive inter-relationship between the government and the public sector which must be regulated as the case may be. However, the scope and definitional content of law of nations can be derived from such regulatory frameworks. Basically, law of nations as a concept is a complex term. Importantly, in order to gain a full understanding of the concept of law of nations, five elements should be examined, namely (1) sovereignty, (2) recognition which allows a country to honour the claims of another, (3) consent which allows for modifications in international agreements in the the customs of a Country, (4) freedom of the high seas, and (5) self-defense which ensures that measures should be made in protecting the territorial boundaries of such State against external aggression. However , such an extensive conceptual approach to the understanding of law of nations contributes to the value of collective perception in clarifying the details on law of nations (Sellers, M.N.S: 2000). In this context, the concept law of nations is briefly summarized as follows:

> *It is an aspect of law that supports a community of free and independent States that comes together for the promotion of social justice and global governance through a regulatory framework. In this case, the nature and moral independence of States requires a well-established set of laws to govern their community, just as human nature requires certain laws to regulates human society. The end product of both is attainment of global justice (Wheaton, H: 1836).*

This paper posits that in order to have a better appreciation of the concept of law of nations , it is instructive to view it from definitive components, which according to Oppenheim (Oppenheim, L.F.L: 1906, 2) law of nations is construed as:

> *A body of customary laws and conventional rules that are considered as binding rules on civilized states in their intercourse with one another.*

It is noteworthy from the above definition that law of nations maybe considered as treaties, set of rules and agreements existing amongst countries of common interests for which the law have a binding effects on them. Apparently, law of nations governs the operations, and conduct the nation States as they interact with other. In whichever way law of nations and nation building are conceived and understood, they are currently very significant questions in the quest for global peace and security as at today. In this regard, the question worth asking is when does the issue of regulation of jurisdiction arises as people trade among different States? In this sense, the main purpose of law of nations is to promote justice, peace and common interest. It is also for this reason that the United Nations has been pursuing global peace, justice and security from a regional approach.

Again, the need for international rules to protect individuals from inhuman and degrading treatment by States admittedly gave rise to the emergence of law of nations. Drawing on the basis of acceptability of the law of nations, it may be argued that while the extent to which the rules that have developed to constitutes customary international law is recognized and acceptable by all States, it is however, still open to question as to its application in practice (Ibid). In other words, the present scope of the rules of the law of nations which serves to

protect individuals from ill-treatment that violates their basic human rights are as well addressed through another aspects of law of nations. While these and other arguments are undoubtedly compelling and deserves serious considerations, the conventional definitional approach, to the development of law of nations is one of the primary goals of the United Nations (Charter of the United Nations, 1945).

In a similar situation, it is clear that within the context and circumstances surrounding the conventional definitional approach to law of nations, and to the scope of this law as well as treaty law, has continued to expand making it difficult for regional practitioners of law to ignore its existence (Interpretation Statutes, 2016). This position suggests that States must respect law of nations at all times. This choice was made notwithstanding several requests regarding an enduring process that the law of nations may offer. Bearing in mind that all sovereign States are equal in rights as well as in their corresponding duties to respect the rights of other sovereign States (Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States, 1993), it therefore holds that if a sovereign State violates, fails or it's unwilling to fulfill its obligations under the law of nations, it should be held accountable for such breaches. While the above statement of the law seems straight forward on its face, it is posited that it States have the duty to respect law of nations as well as examined how National Courts interprets this body of law. In this sense, the question on how to resolve the controversies above is centered on advancing further arguments on the operations of the National Courts as it affects the applications of the law of nations which primarily focused on mapping the existing practice rather than on the normative legal and moral principles that must or should guide it. Pursuant to the judicial interpretations on law of nations, it is submitted that National Courts in their interpretations of law of nations, tends to accomplished national, and global responsibilities (Roberts, A: 2011, 68).

1.3. The Concept of Nation-Building

Under the law of nations, the concept of nation- building is fast becoming the basis for determining the economic, social and developmental objective. However, the development of States through law of nations regulations has been construed as part of the movement for global economic liberalization agenda (Mccrudden, C and Gross, C. G : 2006,153). In this line of thought, the fundamental question is how to the standard of living of certain population from a state of hopelessness to one of self-sustainance, self-governance; sustainable growth, and viable participations amongst global community**.** In this context , Michael Reisman, (Reisman, W. M : 1998, 249) has asked a question on what should be the strategies available for the emerging communities in an ongoing process of development, and what should be the role of the law of nations as a major driver in the process of nation building?. The paper however, revealed that nation-building is a process that gives rise to the emergence of nation States through which a citizen have a sense of belongings amongst it's members with commonalities of interests, goals; preferences and aspirations that will bind them together as one entity without any desire to separate from one another (Alesina, A: 2015, 3).

Also, it has been observed in this paper that the term "nation-building" has remained a controversial and contested concept. In most of the policy document and research papers, its meaning also remained diversified rather than a definite interpretations. Also, the term "nation-building" can be used interchangeably with "state-building". What may be interesting to note is that as the two concepts are closely related "state-building" and "nation-building" are distinct

processes (Dinner, S :2006). Moreso, it is important to recall for the purposes of this paper that the whole essence of nation- building is to ensure that resources of the nation States are properly harnessed and managed by its citizens and as well utilized for the sustainable economic and political developments of the nation States. Also, to enable its people to live in harmony and to guarantee peaceful co-existence amongst them and other nations that shared boundaries with them (Oyewole, T. G and Adegoke, J. A : 2018: 25-34).

In addition, it may be argued that the two principal objectives of nation-building centered on establishing a representative government and setting conditions that will guarantee economic growth and the prosperity of the individuals within the nation states (Ibid: 26). Given the above analysis, it is posited that nation-building process will be more successful if the State has had an experience in self-governance that creates stable and viable economic growth and development (Ibid, p. 33). In a different context, the process of nation-building involves interventionist approach on States that have suffered from internal violence or armed conflict situations and for the purposes of rehabilitations and reconstructions of the failed government (Ibraheem, A. A :2018). In the views of the authors, under the law of nations as it stands today, the issues here bothers on what ought to be the correct usage of the concept of nation -building in relevant disciplines. The question raised in this respect specifically centered on matters of language, pedantry or robust academic discourse.

In other words, it would not be far-fetched, however, to imagine that such a situation could arise. That said, it is obvious that scholars associated with theories of nation-building have made attempt either to ignore the questions of ethnic diversity or to address the issues of ethnic identity loosely as merely a very minor issues in achieving a strong and effective State integration desired (Connor, W:1972, 319-355). While there is no mathematical formula for pin-pointing the exact definition of nation- building, it has been revealed that in an attempt to achieve nation- building agenda, several efforts are made to address issues multi -ethnicity and cultural differences existing amongst individuals within such regions considering the dual demands of social cohesion and diversity (Weinstock, O :2004, 51-68). In a similar vein , it seems, however, that nation- building is a process of socio-political development which allows closely knitted communities to be integrated as a common society having the attributes of a nation- state (Hippler, J: 2005). In light of the above definition, it can be argued that nation-building connotes the different perspectives through which diverse segments of the society is fused into a functional whole which has within it economic, integration, cultural integration; political centralization; bureaucratic control; democratization and establishment of common citizenship (Ibid). From these different dynamics and discussions, it must be emphasized that the focus here is not on “nation- building” in the literal sense of building a shared sense of community, rather it is about regime change on democratization as well as reconstruction of States that have colasped or been seriously weakened as a result of internal conflict, as in the cases of Afghanistan, Iraq and Southern Sudan. Therefore, and in accordance with the law of nations provisions, scholars on this version of nation-building suggests that nation-building can be organized from outside through global compliance with the principal strategic objectives that will enhanced regional (Ottaway, M: 2002, 16-24) and global security.

2. Law of Nations: A Driver in Nation-Building

The nature of law of nations is one that should be of enormous concern to both States and international organizations in their international relations with one another, and with private individuals, minority groups and transnational companies. Be that as it may, the key language in this regard is that it is therefore useful to examined different perspectives of nation–building. However, it is interesting to note that in international relations, the term nation is a common concept which suggests that, there is no international agreement that unilaterally provided a definition of the concept. Conversely, definition of the concept "State" does exist and is provided in the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of the States (Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, 1993). In this sense, Article 1 of the Convention provides that:

> *The State as a person of the law of nations must possessed a permanent population, a definite territory; government; and capacity to enter into relations with other States (Ibid, Article 1).*

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that sovereignty is pivotal in nation- building project and without this a nation has no existential legitimacy which the theory of nation – building must state by putting people at centre stage. Also, the interactions between sovereignty and law of nations in nation-building project appears to be mutually advantageous. Indeed, it is important to note that the unifying force mostly aligned with law of nations in nation-building process is multi-talented, encompassing and are designed to encourage economic development, governance in education, infrastructural growth; an improved environment ; human rights protection and strict adherence to rule of law (See The Report of the Secretary-General of March, 2005: 25-73).

Accordingly, the paper revealed that the issue of nation- building through the process of law of nations may appear simple on the face of it, but can be a very complex phenomenon in practice. In furtherance of this, the paper however, argued that to the extent that law of nations is construed as a complex phenomenon, it has remained a major driver in nation-building projects. In this sense, law of nations, with its unique structure and binding languages represents the the fulcrum upon which the process of nation-building revolves.

It may also be pointed out that nation-building activities guided by law of nations would strongly provide a better platform for economic development and growth for the emerging nations. Also, it may likewise be argued that at the conceptual level, the engagement of the law of nations appears to be a story of legal principles, economics, politics and social theories. Oftentimes, it has been difficult to separate these concepts completely. Over the years, there has been a significant commitment on the part of global community in establishing primary rules to guide nation-building projects. However, it must be stressed that in recent past, specific intellectual and programmatic movements in the form of "new international economic order" (NIEO) were made which was framed largely in terms of the relationship between developed States and those emerging from decolonization or otherwise categorized as "undeveloped" or "developing" nations.

In advancing this efforts, it should be noted that the United Nations held a Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972, (United Nations Conference on Human Environment, 1972) which this interactions focused largely on the concept of sustainable

development, with law of nations serving as the main source of the principles of inter-generational equity, communalism and differentiated responsibilities and precaution, among others. Moreso, this discourse shitted slightly to incorporate a specific right to development in 1980 which reflected in the Genereal Assembly's declarations on the right to development bordering on nation- building project (See General Assembly Resolution 41/28 1986). Progressively, it should be noted that attention has now been shifted to the relationship between the rule of law both at the national and global levels of nation- building projects (See General Assembly Resolution 67/1 2012). It can be said that these interactions have contributed to the emergence of what may be considered an evolving global shift on development law in nation-building (Sakar, R : 2009).

Due to growing global concern in nation- building and development, it is thus important in the United Nations context to understand that the test for the law of nations has continued to be identified and leveraged on an enduring structured nation-building projects. Accordingly, law of nations remained a major driver in nation-building project which necessarily involves engagement on projects, programmes and investments that necessitates trans-national movement of financial and other resources as well as the establishment of institutions and other bodies capable of assisting the developing economies. However, law of nations achieved all these through international trade, investment; financial and monetary laws and policies in which a corpus of rules are provided to guide such actions in nation building. Law of nations also provides mechanisms to assist in the settlement of disputes through various institutions such as World Bank, World Health Organization; United Nations Development Programmes and the United Nations Children Fund. T0 be fair, one should recognize that, in principle at least, law of nations as a driver in nation building is capable of fortifying the world's resilience to disasters and emergencies, such as armed conflicts and other acts of terrorism that has remained an intractable problem around the globe today.

Evidently, despite the relatively conservative language used in the interpretations of the concept "nation-building, it must be emphasized that the relationship between nation–building and law of nations has rarely been clear and simple (Friedman, W : 1966, 1). Regardless of this and other arguments, law of nations in it's significant role in nation-building through Charter of the United Nations is essential a starting point on the examination of the Post- World war II global legal order which attached an integral importance to nation building by requiring the Organizations (Charter of the United Nations 1945, Article 55) in its Article 55 to promote high standards of living, full enjoyment; and conditions for economic and social progress. It also encourage development as a vital solutions to global economic, health problems; inter national cultural and educational co-operation.

In addition, Article 56 of the Charter (Ibid, Article 56) also emphasized on social developmen where member States are obliged to "pledge themselves in taken joint and separate actions in co-operating with the Organizations for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55. Following the precedents set by this Charter, some advocates and academic writers have likewise been supportive of this and have confirmed that the recent declarations on the rule of law at the regional and national levels, adopted by the General Assembly, also represents a notable example of the interactions between law of nations and nation-building development. At a deeper level, the declaration provides that "rule of law and nation building development are strongly inter-related and mutually reinforcing. In this case, the advancement of the rule of law at the national and global levels is essential for a sustainable and all inclusive economic

growth, development as well as on the eradication of poverty, hunger; full realization of all human rights; fundamental freedoms, and the right to development (Ibid, para. 7). Furthermore, law of nations through the activities of the international organizations have also propelled the development agendas in line with the bilateral and regional arrangements that evolved as a result of this.

Interestingly, some Regional Development Banks such as African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank; European Bank for Reconstruction and Development; and the Inter-American Development Bank have been particularly active in financing development projects in areas of health, education; infrastructures; public administration; agriculture; environmental and natural resources management, among others. It is therefore clear that law of nations would contributes to ensuring that nation-building commitments are fulfilled by establishing institutions with mandates to assess compliance with the basic principles and generally accepted standard (See General Assembly Resolution 60/251 2006). In this respect, law of nations could operate from the general, technical and to the operational standard in the fulfillment of the objectives in nation- building agenda. This however, will represents a level of growth and development opportunities in global development law. It is the view of the authors that the issue of developing nations subscribing to several global framework either on monetary or human rights policies is hinged on the level of control that the developed economics exercise over these governments.

2.1. Challenges of Nation-Building

The idea of addressing the peculiarities of the emerging nations in nation-building project has often be construed as a big task in global development law. The focus here is not on "nation-building" in the literal sense of building a shared sense of community, but about the challenges arising from democratization, as examplified in Afghanistan, lraq and Southern Sudan in the reconstructions of States that have collapsed or been seriously weakened as a result of internal conflict, as in the case of Timor-Leste or Solomon Islands. Taking into cognizance the challenges that may arise in the review of several global instruments that dictates the process of nation –building, it may be argued that the peculiar needs of emerging nations needs be treated as soft laws. This is advanced on the basis that soft law offers several of the advantages of hard law, and avoids some of the costs of hard law as well as having a distinct advantage on it's own (About, K. W and Snidal, D: 2000, 423). Thus, it is hard to find any references that addresses the practicalities of external assistance to the building of national identities . This is largely because nation- building in this sense, has not been a major focus in development assistance.

Furthermore, where it has arisen, it has often been implicit or otherwise subsumed within broader state-building programs. Despite its newly acquired prominence in contemporary law of nations and politics, the practice of nation-building has a lengthy history. In the same vein, it can be said that in the process of nation- building, internal divisions and conflict sometimes threatened the national integrity of newly independent Countries, such as the attempt made by Biafra, a secessionist group to secede from Nigerian government in recent years. The division of Pakistan into Pakistan and Bangladesh is another example, where ethnic and religious differences, aided by geographic distance gave rise to disintegration. Also, the absence of commercial law which is a component of the legal architecture of nation- building

(Stepek, M. J: 2008, 487) has led to failed and post- conflict States reconstructions. That said, there is a dire need for legal standards to hold public institutions accountable. This accountability is a very vital instrument in economic growth and development of any emerging nations through a well-structured legal institutions that will enhanced the engagement of commercial partners in a more viable transactions (Ibid, p. 494).

Another notable challenge is lack of healthy banking system. It should be noted that the component of the legal architecture of nation- building is critical because a healthy banking system does not only helps in building a nation, but it helps in building such a nation in the areas it is in dire need (Douglas, J. L: 2008, 513). Another challenge is on the issue of capacity –building. It has been observed that most nation-builder lacked the basic capacity as the paper posits that capacity building recognized the fact that people should have the latent capabilities needed for a certain development. However, those latent capabilities need to be nurtured and brought to fruition if the desire of the people in attaining their expected goals, aspirations, or promises is to be achieved (McGill, L. D: 2008,538). Generally speaking, the dire need to ensure the inclusion of peculiar perspectives of emerging nations is capable of addressing the challenges faced by them. This is advanced on the basis that the horrible experience of the vast majority of third world Countries on the existence of the law of nations informed their perceptions of law of nations as universal law for the developed nations in the last six decades, and these has compelled a new generation of scholars to revisit the history of law of nations in a bid to find a siutable answer.

This dominant view suggests that the question of universalism of law of nations doctrines to a large extent still takes into cognizance the interest of the already developed economies. It is paramount therefore, that there must be a shift from this believe or practice which primarily centered on the sentiment on the so-called sovereign super powers which does not accommodate the peculiarities of the emerging nations (Chimni, B. S: 2007). In the same vein, according to Mutua (Mutual, M.W: , 340), the essence of bringing the peculiar perspectives of developing economies like the African region is to reconceptualized or take into cognizance their inadequacies in nation-building agendas. He further argued that the introduction of a well narrowed concept of western ideologies into the governance structure of the developing economies cannot adequately addressed the demands; the historical reality and the political and social needs of the region of Africa (Burke-White, W and Slaughter, A. M: 2006, 2). It is widely accepted that the emerging nations are desirous in participating actively in the development and growth of the global society. In this context, it must be emphasized that the developing economies upon its emergence as an independent States always strived to established a Foreign Affairs Ministry and a diplomatic service in compliance with international relations and law of nations guidelines.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the emerging nations on their own part have acknowledged the efforts made in the improvement of their knowledge of law of nations. For instance, as a complimentary effort, the United Nations inaugurated several programmes aimed at improving the teaching of law of nations at national, regional and global levels (United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1816 (XVII), 1962). Therefore, it is clear that there are many reasons on the emphasis that the emerging nations are so much bothered on their state-building agenda under the law of nations. One may argue that while parliamentary diplomacy has evolved to become more sensitive to emerging nations concerns, especially in the

expressions of their views on global issues, it is highly questionable as to whether their opinions or views would be acceptable by the developed nations of the world.

Be that as it may, the development of the law of nations co-operation (Friedman, W: 1959, 460-461) has made such participations a rewarding one in several perspectives. Indeed, it worth noting that non- participation or exclusion in global activities today by any sovereign State attracts sanctions aimed at ensuring compliance by member States in order to enforced the standards and rules made by global institutions (Friedman, W: 1963, 747-753). In light of the above, it must be emphasized that the global Perspectives of States have become far more important, rationally as well as emotionally, as it has been before (Castneda: 1961, 38-40). While it would indeed be advantageous to emphasized that Western States are no doubt aware that the right to development under nation-building agenda should be seen as one of the universal fundamental human rights, it should be noted that the Western States are reluctant in allowing poor developing Countries to practically exercise these rights which includes the right of assertion in any form such as through the platform of New International Economic Order. That said, it should be noted that the concept of sustainable development in this regard which evolved from the built-up tension between the developed and developing Countries in the areas economic growth and development (Al-Nauimi, N and Meese, R : 1995), has become a convenient tool for the developed economies to undermined the aspirations of developing economies primarily on demands for the right to free development, as conceptualized by the principles of the New International Economic Order and the United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development. It is further argued that the Western Countries have severally used or worked through the auspices of sustainable development to further frustrate the emerging nations efforts towards achieving free economic growth and development within their respective regions (Mancebo, F and Ignacy, S: 2015). In order to meet the requirements of the emerging nations in nation-building agenda, it may be argued that there must be some relevant fundamental principles or rules of the law of nations connecting global development with its underlying assumptions and actions. This position is realizable if they are based on the common consent of virtually all the States involved around the globe.

Drawing from the above, one might be tempted to ask why nation-building under the law of nations? Recognizing the transparent inequalities existing between the developed nations and the emerging nations as a result of unabated exploitations and injustice by the developed nations through the encouragement of increased foreign borrowing and heavy taxation. That said, it is important to take into account the activities of the Western States through the so-called liberal economic global policies that has contributed to the alarming debt crisis found in Third World States which has adversely increased the resources and development gaps in those respective regions (Ikejiaku, B. V: 2008, 4). In addition, this view which holds that the activities of global financial institutions guided by the norms of liberal economic internationalization seems not to enhanced development activities in the emerging nations and these ugly situations have led to a denial of their right to development (Okafor, C :2004).

3. Conclusion

In light of what has been discussed above, it is hoped that this article will contribute to clarifying an essential aspect of nation-building under the law of nations. The authors are aware

of the several challenges that confronted the present discourse of the law of nations in adapting to the peculiarities of emerging nations particularly with regards to institutions and funding. However, this article proposed an examination into the changing trends in the scope of the law of nations that necessitated the incorporation of hitherto perspectives. It is argued that this central aspect of the law of nations is relevant and provides the sole basis of understanding that the process of nation-building starts with appreciating the primary purpose of a nation.

The article also emphasized that sovereignty is pivotal in nation-building process and without it a nation has no existential legitimacy. It also argued that in nation-building process, the imposition of the western ideologies into the governance structure of the emerging nations cannot be said to be adequate in responding to the historical reality, political and social needs of the emerging nations. Finally, the article has shown how this practical challenges can be addressed.

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