



Interuniversity Institute of Social Development and Peace

INTERNATIONAL MASTER AND DOCTORATE
IN PEACE, CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES



MASTER'S DEGREE FINAL DISSERTATION

Africa's Integration Agenda and its Implication for Peace and Development on the Continent

Student: Frank Djan Owusu

Supervisor: Dr. Sidi Omar

UNIVERSITAT JAUME I
Avda. Sos Baynat, s/n
12071 - Castellón (Spain)
Tel. +34 964 729 380
Fax: +34 964 729 385
www.epd.uji.es | epd@uji.es



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace

Dedication

“Africa Will Write its Own History,
and it will be, to the
North and South
of the Sahara, a History of
Glory and Dignity”

Patrice Émery Lumumba

Acknowledgements

I am profoundly grateful and indebted to Dr. Sidi Omar whose relentless patience and invaluable constructive comments made the production of this thesis possible.

The Administration – entire staff of Cátedra UNESCO de Filosofía para la Paz / Instituto Interuniversitario de Desarrollo Social y Paz.

The unsung champions of Africa's hope, justice and development.

My mum, dad and siblings: they deserve my highest admiration.

You are all most appreciated and worthy of my heartfelt appreciation.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AfDB	African Development Bank
AGR1	African Governance Report 1
AGR	African Governance Report
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
AERC	African Economic Research Consortium
CSSDCA	Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa
DESA	Department of Economics and Social Affairs
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOSOCC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
GCA	Global Coalition for Africa
IPA	International Peace Academy
IDP'S	Internally Displaced Persons
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission
NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
WB	World Bank
WGI	World Governance Indicators
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programs
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PSC	Peace and Security Council
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
USA	United States of America

UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
UNAMID	African Union/United Nations Hybrid Mission in Darfur
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Abstract

The focus of this thesis is on examining Africa's integration agenda and its implication for peace and development. The central question the thesis seeks to investigate is: will Africa's integration agenda be a recipe for its development? Qualitative research design and methodology is adopted in the thesis, and discussions are eclectic as much as possible. The epistemological frame espoused in shaping and guiding discussions is based on a social constructivist worldview. The thesis finds that Africa in the 21st Century is still riddled with a host of issues that mitigate its continental and development agenda including conflicts and wars, hunger and diseases, governance and institutional deficiencies all impacting negatively on its peace and development. The thesis argues that the extent to which these challenges are thoroughly addressed determine the way forward to peace and development in Africa. The thesis concludes that a Pan-Africanism, which is transformed into a praxis oriented towards Africa's integration, still holds a viable option for transforming Africa's political and development landscape if its true spirit – democratic governance - is implemented.

Keywords: Africa's Integration, Conflict, Development, Pan-Africanism, Peace

Table of Contents

Introduction: Setting the Scene

I	Introduction.....	1 - 4
II	Statement of Purpose and Problem Statement.....	4 - 7
III	Research Design and Methodology.....	8 - 11
IV	Policy Relevance of the Research.....	11 - 12
V	Chapter Organization and Structure.....	12

Chapter 1: The Evolution of Pan-Africanism, Birth of OAU and AU: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection

1.0	Introduction.....	13 - 14
1.1	How it Began: Pan-Africanism.....	14 - 15
1.2	Pan-Africanism – Roots.....	15 - 23
1.3	Pan-Africanism an Ideology: A Theoretical Reflection.....	23 - 26
1.4	Pan-Africanism: A historical Reflection – From Passion to Action.....	26 - 29
1.5	Institutionalization of Pan-Africanism.....	29 - 40
1.6	The OAU: A failed Institution?	40 - 54
1.7	The Africa Union.....	54 - 60
1.8	Conclusions.....	61 - 62

Chapter 2: Conflict, Peace and Development: A Theoretical Reflection

2.0	Introduction.....	63
2.1	Definition of Conflict.....	64 - 65
2.2	Causes of Conflict.....	65 - 69
2.3	The Organic Nature of Conflict or its Life Cycle.....	70
2.4	Peace.....	70 - 71
2.4(1)	Understanding Peace: Taxonomy of Definitions and Conceptions.....	72 - 74
2.4(2)	Idealism and Realism.....	75 - 81
2.4(3)	Kinds of Peace(s).....	82
2.4 (3: a)	Negative Peace (a).....	82 - 85
2.4(3: b)	Positive Peace (b).....	85 - 86
2.5	Dimensions of Peace.....	86 - 87
2.6	Mechanisms for Peace.....	88 - 90
2.7	The Concept of Human Revolution: Gateway to Peace(s).....	90 - 92
2.8	Peace a Concomitant to Development.....	92 - 93
2.9	Development: A Theoretical and Philosophical Reflection.....	93 - 94
2.10(1)	Definition – Development.....	94 - 97
2.10(2)	Historical Evolution of Development.....	98 - 99
2.10(3)	Theoretical Discourses in Development.....	99 - 106
2.11	Conclusions.....	107

Chapter 3: Constraints to Peace and Development in 21st Century Africa

3.0	Introduction.....	108 - 109
3.1	Peace and Security Challenges.....	109 - 118

3.2	Poverty and Indebtedness.....	118 - 133
3.3	Education, Research and Development.....	133 - 143
3.4	Governance and Leadership.....	143
3.4(1)	Introduction: Governance and Leadership.....	143
3.4(2)	Governance Peace and Security in Africa.....	143 - 152
3.5	Climate Change and Environmental Degradation.....	152 - 156
3.5(1)	Why Climate Change Matters for Africa’s Peace and Development...	156 - 163
Chapter 4:	Is Africa’s Integration a recipe for Peace and Development in 21st Century Africa?	
4.0	Introduction.....	164 - 165
4.1	Africa’s Integration History – A Brief Overview.....	165 - 169
4.2	The Objectives of the Africa Union.....	169 - 173
4.3	Role of REC’s in Africa’s Integration Process.....	173 - 174
4.4	Theoretical Approaches to Integration: Some Brief Reflections.....	174 - 177
4.5	Weaknesses of Political Integration as a Process.....	177
4.6	Economic Integration.....	177 - 178
4.7	Regionalism.....	178 - 180
4.8	An Overview of Regional Integration.....	180 - 182
4.9	Neofunctionalism.....	182 - 183
4.10	Intergovernmentalism.....	183 - 184
4.11	Conclusion.....	185
Conclusion:	Conclusions.....	186 - 188
	Recommendations.....	188 - 190

Areas for Further Research.....190

Bibliography:.....191 - 19

Introduction: Setting the Scene

I Introduction

Will Africa ever unite? This has been a fundamental question I have always pondered since my high schools years. The African Union national anthem reads:

Let us all unite and celebrate together
The victories won for our liberation
Let us dedicate ourselves to rise together
To defend our liberty and unity
O Sons and Daughters of Africa
Flesh of the Sun and Flesh of the Sky
Let us make Africa the Tree of Life
Let us all unite and sing together
To uphold the bonds that frame our destiny
Let us dedicate ourselves to fight together
For lasting peace and justice on earth
O Sons and Daughters of Africa
Flesh of the Sun and Flesh of the Sky
Let us make Africa the Tree of Life
Let us unite and toil together
To give the best we have to Africa
The cradle of mankind and fount of culture
Our pride and hope at break dawn
O Sons and Daughters of Africa

Flesh of the Sun and Flesh of the Sky

Let us make Africa the Tree of Life

Fifty years have elapsed since a majority of African countries regained their sovereignty by way of independence. Today, 55 (fifty-five) countries in Africa are independent and sovereign states with the exception of the Sahrawi Republic with a greater part of it still under Moroccan occupation. The question of whether most of these states are fully functional sovereign states is beyond the scope of discussion in this paper. The quest for independence and sovereignty was inspired by Pan-Africanism – ideologies, discourses, cultural and political practices that (Osei-Nyame, 1999) – were marshaled to fight colonial oppression, and to unite Africa.

Despite the manifold vision and approaches, what seems to be an overarching character of pan-Africanism is reflected generally in an integrative philosophy of Africa that seek to embrace, uphold and unify the different cultural values of Africa toward the goal of overcoming oppression and suppression. The first stanza of the Africa Union anthem states “let us all unite and celebrate together; the victories won for liberation; let us dedicate ourselves to rise together; to defend our liberty and unity”.

Paradoxically, African countries continue to remain divided both politically and economically, and the ideals of Pan-Africanism seem to be dormant if not already ambivalent ideology. A number of African governments who are supposed to be each other’s keeper have rather become enemies supporting rebel groups and movements in each other’s country, and destabilizing peace, security and development in those regions concerned. Again, some governments have turned against their own people by suppressing and oppressing the very people they are/were required to be protecting.

Under the banner of ending all manner of colonial influence and dominance, as well as seeking the independence for African states and the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity, the OAU became less relevant after colonization ended, whereupon most African states attained independence. The AU, the successor of the OAU, Charter differed remarkably from that of the OAU which seeks amongst others to “Achieve greater unity and solidarity among African countries and among the peoples of Africa” (Africa Union Charter). A decade has elapsed since the inception of the African Union in 2002 which replaced the OAU, and yet the prospect for Africa unity seems far-fetched.

The vicissitude of the ideals of pan-Africanism and its sluggish move towards a vibrant and continental region is a principal objective of this research in understanding why this has been so. Accordingly, some of the central questions that the thesis seeks to investigate is; have African countries abandon the ideals of pan-Africanism? Will African countries ever achieve the unity they have so rhetorically discussed and talked about, and is Africa’s integration a concatenation for Africa’s development?

Other equally important questions are: how can African countries meet the challenges of globalization, and live up to the expectations of good governance, promotion and human rights and rule of Law as well as promoting peace and security on the continent? Will the African Union meet the same fate as the OAU along the line? How can African countries overcome these challenges in the 21st century globalized world? These questions lead to a more fundamental question of this research paper - what are the prospects and challenges of Africa integration in the 21st century.

As an African, I have relentlessly sought answers to these questions. Invariably, the quest to seek answers to these questions unleashed my interest in peace and security issues.

Thus to me, understanding the dynamics of peace and security in Africa is not just a matter of scholarly inquiry but of a life-long passion, and interest to which I commit my whole life and for which this research paper is part of that commitment - to contribute to an informed understanding regarding peace and security issues and how these impact on development on the African continent as a whole.

II. Statement of Purpose and Problem Statement

No single part of Africa can be safe, or free to develop fully and independently, while any part remains unliberated, or while Africa's vast economic resources continue to be exploited...Unless Africa is politically united under an All-African Union Government, there can be no solution to our political and economic problems. The thesis of Africa must unit remains unassailable”

Kwame Nkrumah, 1970

Africa is replete with rich natural resources including gold, diamonds, iron ore, bauxite, big rivers with potentials for hydro-electric power, oil to mention but a few. In terms of human resources it has a high proportion of youthful population that makes for readily available labor and manpower. These repertoires of natural resource endowments can augment for rapid socio-economic development of the African continent if harnessed and used by Africans constructively and creatively.

Much to the contrary, despite the enormity of natural resources and vast potential of human resources, Africa has become epitomic of poverty, conflicts, diseases and of endless bizarre of sufferings in the midst of all these endowments. When one talks about Africa, the perceptions evoked are scenes of poverty-stricken people with a majority of the population living on less than one Dollar a day, children dying of preventable disease and starvation, epidemics such as the HIV-AIDS, Ebola - a continent besieged by, and engulfed in the wonton destruction of human life through civil and ethnic conflicts with its devastating

impact on human life and the environment and a backward continent entangled in sluggish socio-economic development.

The Peace and Conflict Report 2005 by Marshall and Gurr reported that “nearly eighty percent of all countries coded red (low) for peacebuilding capacity is located on the African continent” (Marshall and Gurr, 2005:39). How on earth could such a seemingly contradiction of poverty, conflicts and diseases exist in the midst of plenty resources that can facilitate socio-economic development? What are the reasons for these contradictions? The purpose of this thesis will be to explore and understand why such a contradiction exists in Africa as a whole.

The reasons accounting for some of these contradictions are many, varied and often very complicated. They include but not limited to following. The first can be seen through Africa recent past – its history which is externally induced. Africa has seen centuries of systematic brutalization of the continent through enslavement, followed by colonization, and in recent times, what could best be described as neo-colonialism that reinforces colonialism albeit in a disguised manner through donor controlled policies and conditionalities, although it ought to be pointed out that not all of these so called conditionalities are necessary bad in terms of institutional building.

Second, there are also reasons pertaining to brutal dictatorship, and despotic African leaders who remain a threat to their own people’s socio-economic development through their dismal disrespect for good governance, which often is exacerbated by greed through corruption. These conditions are internally generated although they arise from a complex interplay of internal and external socio-political dynamics. Another significant factor is that of conflicts, mostly ethnic and religious in nature, and which is often compounded by poverty.

There is also the untoward reliance, and dependence on natural resources whose unstable prices on the world market when they fall, plunges and shakes the socio-economic foundation of these resource dependent countries leading to social upheavals and unrest. There is also the issue of what has become known as “resource curse” (Collier, 2008) where countries solely rely on one commodity for most GDP earning such as say oil or mineral extraction.

In the chapters that follow, this thesis will take, as object of its inquiry, a thorough discussion and analysis of some of these contradictions raised. There is the other side of Africa though. Despite the unimaginable and despicable scenes of conflicts, poverty, diseases and governance deficits, a significant number of African countries have risen over these throes to become models of emerging power-houses in terms of socio-economic growth and development. In its quarterly report, McKinsey Quarterly, 2010, noted that “the rate of return on foreign investment is higher in Africa than in any other developing region. Global executives and investors must pay heed” (McKinsey Quarterly, 2010).

The McKinsey Quarterly continues further that “to be sure, Africa’s 50-plus individual economies face serious challenges, including poverty, diseases and high infant mortality. Yet Africa’s collective GDP was 1.6 trillion in 2008...and the continent is among the world’s most rapidly growing economic regions. This acceleration is a sign of hard-earned progress and promise” (McKinsey Quarterly, 2010).

A couple of factors can be ascribed to Africa’s rise in recent times amongst them; government’s effort to end armed conflicts, the institution of macro and micro economic reforms as well as the increasing quest by citizens to hold their governments accountable for their actions. These remarkable trends are significantly paying-off in the sense that “from

Ghana in the west to Mozambique in the south, Africa's economies are constantly growing faster than those of almost any other region of the world" (The Economist, 2011).

Africa as it stands today, despite the enormity of challenges yet to be scaled cannot still be seen as the Africa declared "the hopeless continent" a decade ago by The Economist. Over the last decade since 2000, significant changes have taken place in most African countries in terms of socio-economic developments. These unfolding transformations have to a large extent confirmed the need for Africans themselves to realize that they must awaken to the responsibility of lifting themselves out of the dire and despicable situation facing the continent if it were to achieve the socio-economic development desired.

Realizing that remaining fragmented and divided works against Africa in a globalized world in the 21st century, Africans today are stepping up efforts towards a continental integration, a move that reflects, and echoes the motivation of Pan-Africanism that seeks to promote good governance and enhance collective security and development through pooling resources together to resolve Africa's predicaments. While not discounting the emerging sense of hope and optimism in Africa, the thesis questions "Will Africa continue to rise, or is this merely a strong upswing in a boom-bust cycle that will inevitably come tumbling back down?" (The Economist, 2011).

The thesis will interrogate why Africa is beset with compelling challenges such as poverty, diseases as well as been ravaged with conflicts despite the enormity of resources available to help Africans move out of this dilemma. Ultimately, the concrete scholarly inquiry and research problem of this paper is to explore, examine and understand the prospects and challenges Africa faces in its quest for a continental integration and the implication a united Africa would have on peace and Development.

III. Research Design and Methodology

One of the essential characteristic features of most social science research is the fact that it is problem or question-driven as opposed to method-driven as happens in the *hard* sciences. A cutting-edge research should be informed by a carefully thought framed research questions; the purpose, and what the research seeks to achieve. These being the hallmarks of quality research, this section of the thesis will elaborate the overall research design and methodology adopted by this paper. The approach and method of research design used by this paper will primarily be based on social sciences tradition and largely based on a qualitative perspective.

In outlining the research design and methodology of this research, the thesis begins by acknowledging that most research, if not all especially those grounded in the social science tradition are “influenced by the researcher’s understanding of what reality and knowledge mean” (Gilson, 2012: 34). Accordingly, while not discounting the influence of subjectivity in the conduct of this research, the thesis strives to actively remain as critically objective as possible based on logical, empirical, reliable and valid engagement in the discussion of issues raised in this thesis.

The research design of this thesis will principally be that of qualitative research while striving to be eclectic in its approach as much as possible. Taking this approach the thesis seeks to comprehend the process of the research problem outlined in this paper. One of the interpretations of qualitative research is that:

[It] is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participants setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. Thus, a qualitative research honors

inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation (Creswell, 2009:4).

To the extent that qualitative research is essentially useful in analyzing complex social problems explains why this approach is particularly suited for this research paper. It is important to acknowledge that qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as polar opposite or dichotomies; instead, they represent different ends on a continuum (Newman and Benz, 1998). In his book *Research Design*, Creswell posits that “a study tends to be more qualitative than quantitative and vice versa, while mixed methods research resides in the middle of this continuum because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches” (Creswell, 2009:3).

The rationale for adopting qualitative research for this paper is based on the reasoning that:

whereas positivist research emphasizes validity and reliability – ensured through careful study design, tool development, data collection and appropriate statistical analysis, relativist research considers the trustworthiness of the analysis – whether it is widely recognized to have value beyond the particular examples considered (Gilson, 2012: 55).

The epistemological frame adopted in shaping and guiding discussions in this thesis will be based on a relativist and social constructivist worldview. Positivist research is grounded in the theorem that “phenomena or issues of investigation exist independently of how they are understood and seen by people” (Gilson, 2012:35). On the other hand, research grounded in relativism “focuses on people’s intentions, beliefs, values, reasons and how they make meaning. It acknowledges that the researcher also constructs knowledge through how they interpret what they hear and observe” (Gilson, 2012: 36).

To allow for a seamless analysis and interpretation, pragmatism is adopted to synthesize the relativist and social constructivist paradigm adopted by this paper. “[...]

pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as forms of data collection and analysis” (Creswell, 2009:11). Pragmatism as a worldview arises out of action, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions. There is a concern with applications – what works – and solutions to problems (Cited in Creswell, 2009). Within this framework, the research approach will employ pluralistic or multi-dimensional approaches to derive knowledge about the research problem outlined in this paper.

In a further explication for the choice of qualitative research as the methodology for this paper, the rationale has been based on the belief that sees the “viability of qualitative methodology in the study of objects of investigation of high levels of social complexity” (Valsiner, 2005). Thus this paper work with the understanding that, matters of peace, conflict and development entail high level of social complexity and dynamics. In order to simplify and understand the dynamics related to the complexities of peace, conflict and development, four research techniques will be utilized in this paper.

Whilst these four techniques - exploratory, hermeneutic, correlative-predictive, and explanatory – will be applied, the underpinning epistemology for this qualitative research methodology will thus be interpretive as opposed to positivist and critical paradigms as has been outlined above. Thus, in adopting a perspective commensurate with qualitative research, the thesis focus will involve a paradigm shift often based on seeking “irrefutable facts and universal truths”, to offering new insights in the discourse of peace and development with particular reference to Africa (LondonDeanery, 2012).

What are the sources of information for this thesis? This dissertation outlines its central themes as conflict, peace, and development as well as the integration agenda of the

Africa Union. Because of the theoretical disposition adopted in the discussion of the themes outlined above, discourse and hermeneutic approaches will be employed in the analysis of relevant literatures. Accordingly, renowned scholarly articles, books and journals in the area of conflict, peace and development will be used as the basis for discussion in this paper. Details of all materials used are credited in the bibliography at the end of this thesis.

IV. Policy Relevance of the Research

This dissertation has tasked itself with exploring the prospect and challenges of Africa integration and the implication of this process on peace and development. While this research paper is not a policy blue-print, its objective is to contribute modestly to the continuous quest in understanding the dynamics of peace and security issues in Africa. While most research papers on Africa treat the topics of conflict, peace and development from linear and narrow perspective, this paper takes a longitudinal perspective in discussing conflict, peace and development so as to inform further critical research and academic inquiry.

There are various approaches to policy analysis. Policy analysis from a technocratic perspective is conceived of as involving several stages including “getting a problem or issue prioritized for policy action, defining what the problem is and what objectives would present an improvement to it, identifying the causes of the problem and how they are interlinked, identifying possible interventions that would address the factors causing the problem, considering options for intervention and implementing selected options, evaluation and feedback” (cited in Gilson, 2012: 28).

On the other hand, from a political and organizational perspective, policy analysis is seen as a process in and of itself instead of seeing policy as the output of that process (Harrison, 2001; Thomas, 1998). For thinkers of this approach, the understanding is that “not

only is policy designed to change a given situation but the situation is changing anyway and giving rise to changing pressures for changes in policy. The fact that policy is constantly developing in this way makes it useful to think of policy as a process” (Thomas, 1998: 5). In a nutshell, the policy discourse raised in this research paper seek to contribute to the policy debates on addressing peace and security issues from a multi-dimensional perspective.

V. Thesis Structure

This thesis is organized and divided into four chapters and in addition to the introduction and the conclusion. The introduction deals with the research design and methodology which sets the scene for this thesis, and discusses the research, problem statement and policy relevance of the dissertation. Chapter one focuses on discussing the evolution of pan-Africanism, the birth of the OAU and AU based on a historical narrative, and theoretical reflection. Chapter two concentrates on discussing peace and development from a theoretical and philosophical perspective. In chapter three, the thesis delves into some of the critical constraints to peace and development in 21st century Africa. Chapter four focuses on discussing whether Africa’s integration is a concatenation for peace and development. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the overall discussion in the thesis.

1.0 Chapter One

The Evolution of Pan-Africanism, Birth of OAU and AU: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection.

Introduction

An important aspect of Pan-Africanism is the revival and development of the “African personality”, temporarily submerged during the colonial period. It finds expression in a re-awakening consciousness among Africans and peoples of African descent of the bonds which unite us – our historical past, our culture, our common experience, and our aspiration

Kwame Nkrumah (1962)

The objective of this chapter is to trace the historical narrative of Pan-Africanism, how it evolved and became an institutionalized agency for the promotion of African unity - the African Union being a concrete manifestation of this process. In doing this, a descriptive narrative and comparative discourse is employed to examine the process of Pan-Africanism, its ideological stance and its institutionalization process. Pan-Africanism as a discourse is treated here with a critical understanding that appreciates the fact that ‘African personality’ is multiple and complex. In this way, the thesis avoids an essentialist view of Pan-Africanism, and rather offers a holistic understanding of Pan-Africanism.

Based on the narrative and comparative discourse in the examination of Pan-Africanism, the chapter’s goal will be to highlight and examine the historical trademarks of Pan-Africanism, the strength and weakness of the institutionalized outcome of Pan-Africanism, the OAU and the AU, and how these institutions have fared in terms of

accomplishing the goals of Pan-Africanism. More importantly, discussions will also focus on assessing how the AU has been able to foster peace and security in Africa, which is an essential requirement in the 21st century for projecting and asserting the Africa personality.

In all, five sub-sections in this chapter with various themes are discussed. The chapter starts by tracing the roots of Pan-Africanism which is then followed by a discussion that examines the ideological stance of Pan-Africanism from a theoretical perspective. The chapter continues with a discussion on the historical aspect of Pan-Africanism, after which the institutionalization process is discussed, with an examination of the O.A.U and AU.

The chapter concludes by emphasizing that the institutionalized agency of Pan-Africanism, in the form of the AU can be gauged and accessed within the context and the extent to which it meets its mandate especially that of promoting peace and security which is a foundation and requirement that can enhance Africa's integration agenda and sustainable development in the 21st century globalized world.

1.1. How it began: Pan-Africanism

In the 21st century, the quest for continental unity in Africa has become more pronounced, and is gaining much currency than ever among Africans. This quest has been inspired by the belief that unity in the form of cooperation and harmonization, in economic and political terms is a necessary concomitant for Africa to become a key player in a globalized world of the 21st century. Various efforts and initiatives have been pursued over time, but the dominant driving force that has defined and shaped the quest for unity in Africa is that of Pan-Africanism. Principally, a thorough understanding of Pan-Africanism can be viewed through the prism of Africa's enslavement and colonial domination. Beginning in the 15th century, and later peaking in the 18th century, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade uprooted

millions of Africans who were sent to the fields in the Americas to labor on plantations against their own wishes. The enslavement of Africans which lasted for over a period of 500 years, demonstrated the grotesque cruelty which human beings could demonstrate when driven by greed and perverted views about others. The deracination of Africans to the Americas would however open a new page in the annals of human history, and help shape critical reflections on core universal values such as the dignity and sanctity of life, respect for human rights amongst others.

What kind of history did the Trans-Atlantic slave trade open to humankind? The answer to this could be broad and elicit different interpretations. Nonetheless, Pan-Africanism stands out as a dominant product of human agency to transform enslavement, and open the way for a new chapter in Africa's socio-political sphere. Pan-Africanism was a response to challenge the despicability of enslavement and racial discrimination, and would thus become an instrumental agency in helping Africans to self-assert themselves, take control of their lives, free themselves from oppression, and colonialism while at the same time calling for a continental unity both politically and economically to address the global challenges Africans face.

The objective of continental unity for Africa is a central tenet of Pan-Africanism, and during its evolutionary process the ideological frame of promoting and asserting African personality through liberation struggle was strengthened and will help define the socio-economic and political trajectory for the decolonization of Africa to project Africa on the world stage.

1.2. Pan Africanism – Roots

In discussion the roots of Pan-Africanism, the thesis contends that an appreciation and understanding of Pan-Africanism could best be understood within the historical retrospection of the deracination of African people by European colonial and the expansionist quest through Trans-Atlantic slave trade. This is particularly necessary if one is to avoid the trappings of mischaracterization of Pan-Africanism as a form of radical African ethno-centrism stepped in Afro-centrism.

It also ought to be pointed out that, some despotic Africa leaders driven by ego and self-aggrandizement, will under the pretext of Pan-Africanism, drumbeat and promote untoward nationalism, which often warps the correct interpretation of Pan-Africanism. Attitudes of these nature by some select African leaders, ultimately ended up driving their nations into failed states rented by intra-state conflicts which continue to cast a dark spell on the true meaning of Pan-Africanism, and its true intent even in present day 21st century Africa.

Beginning in the 15th century, Africans were *uprooted* from their continent as slaves, and sent into the *New World* to work and build the economies of rising European empires. Reflecting on this episode, Shahada contends that,

If justice is an inalienable right for all humanity then those millions upon millions who died deserve to be remembered and those who murdered, brutalized and betrayed them must be called into historical account. It is not to make others feel bad, but part of the process of telling the truth; a truth washed away in stolen and cultural domination... In addition, it is equally not fair, *actually preposterous* [my emphasis] for the victims' descendants to apply the same racism in reverse (Shahada, 2009).

The wonton destruction of human dignity and life through enslavement and colonization is a bitter lesson in the annals of human history, and it must never be made to repeat itself anywhere again. During the period between the 15th century and peaking in the 18th century when it flourished, Trans-Atlantic slave trade would mark the beginning of an

unprecedented and unimaginable perpetration of crimes against humanity by European colonial and its expansionist agenda.

The holocaust of this enslavement created and left a lethal legacy of “*civilization shock*” (Blake 2005:579), and its seismic impacts reverberate and reflect the dysfunctional socio-political and economic challenges that continue to afflict Africa today, and of which a significant part of this outcome has been facilitated by some African leaders themselves through disregard for governance and sustainable development.

The enslavement of Africans expressed itself in three basic ways: the morally monstrous destruction of human life, human culture and human possibility, whereby the destruction of human possibilities means “redefining African humanity to the world, poisoning past, present and future relations with others who only know us through this stereotyping and thus damaging the truly human relations among people” (Maulana, 2001).

This has been the painful reality, which the *African* was forced to experience during the time frame slavery flourished, and was viewed not as a crime but a viable and profitable business. But far from giving in to fear, hatred, and acrimony toward the oppression and suppression under enslavement, African slaves denigrated self-pity, and awakened within their lives a magnanimous state of life-force that ennobled them to champion a cause for freedom with the goal of re-asserting themselves as part of humankind, attaining political independence, and ultimately, uniting Africa as one people.

A retrospective examination of the historical episode characterized by the barbarity and heinous crimes meted on Africans can cause one to believe that “greatest trials” could inspire “greatest courage” (Ikeda, 2009). Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that, people need to suffer in order to muster courage. Accordingly, Gorbechev makes a striking

reflection that “suffering may be ennobling, but being happy does not always require living a life of suffering and deprivation” (Gorbechev and Ikeda, 2001:13).

The circumstances surrounding the birth of Pan Africanism attest to the veracity of this insight about the manifold nature of life. By relentlessly refusing to capitulate to oppression, racism and overt exploitation, enslaved Africans transformed their sufferings into vital energy to blaze a new path of humanism, giving birth to Pan-Africanism.

In most cases it is common to come across the issue of racism in the discourse of Pan-Africanism and often situates racism as originating from a certain category of people. However, one point that ought to be made clear is that, racism is not necessarily a product of European creation; rather it is a human nature that reflects the dark side of human beings irrespective of race. In this sense, racism cannot be *created* in the literal sense of the word. Racism true cause lies in humanity’s ignorance about the true nature of life, irrespective of one’s race.

It is this ignorance that must be fought against hardest, if the struggle against racism must be won. However, as Shahada notes, racism was “successfully explored and expanded” (Shahada, 2009) through European imperialist and neocolonialist agenda to dominate the Africans. Judging from this historic past, it can be argued to be morally correct that, for those who forget the lessons of the past they are fated to repeat past misdeed. It is no exaggeration therefore when one reads that “peace means struggling against forgetting” (Gorbachev & Ikeda, 2005: 15) in order not to repeat past misdeeds. Thus, within the contextual framework of avoiding past mistakes, the above reasoning cannot be far from truth.

One of the greatest human failings is to discount the lessons of the past, and walk head first into the same trap. This thinking underpinned the Pan-African agenda, firm in the

conviction that colonization, racism and oppression should not be repeated again. And this is the spirit, direction and goal towards which Pan-Africanism was pursued and continues till date. Viewed from the above perspective, Pan Africanism in its historical context and as a unifying force for Africans should not be misinterpreted or misconstrued as animus or reverse racism against Europeans. Rather, it reflects a continuous commitment to uphold freedom from fear, and to re-awaken respect for human dignity and sanctity for Africans by Africans themselves through their own struggle to liberate themselves from external oppression.

From a historical and spatial dimension, Pan-Africanism it can be argued started in the Diaspora, and latter to inspire hope and liberation sentiments on the African continent. Pan-Africanism was born out of an unflagging disposition to self-assertion by Africans rooted firmly in the belief of the dignity and sanctity of life of the African. Pan-Africanism was thus a response to quell the untoward oppression and suppression of Africans in the Diaspora, and which was re-engineered in scope and depth and which became an instrumental ideological and political framework that guided liberation struggles - the elimination of colonialism in Africa and to unite Africa as a whole.

Having cleared the ill-advised perception surrounding the interpretation of Pan-Africanism, and what it is not, the next focus is to discuss what Pan-Africanism is or entails. In striving to understand what Pan-Africanism is, one ought to be aware that, there is no singled-out definition of what constitutes Pan-Africanism. Rather, what becomes quite obvious in trying to understanding Pan-Africanism is the fact that one is confronted with a large swathe of definitions often saturated with competing perspectives and sometimes overt disagreements.

Principally, the lack of a universally acceptable definition of Pan-Africanism stems from the fact that Pan-Africanism has taken different forms at different historical moments, and spatial locations. In this regard, “Pan-Africanism can in a general sense said to encompass all the discourses, ideologies and all cultural and political practices which have been mobilized as a means of confronting the historical derogation of African peoples” (Osei-Kwadwo, 1999: 168).

In the Diaspora, Pan-Africanism first was used as a rallying force to agitate for freedom and dignity in the face of racial discrimination and prejudices. Thus, Pan-Africanism became instrumental in helping African Diasporas to unite around their shared African heritage. In Africa, it provided the groundswell for self-determination and to shake of the shackles of colonialism. Despite the manifold vision and approaches, what seems to be an overarching character of Pan-Africanism is reflected generally in an integrative philosophy of Africa that seek to embrace, uphold and unify the different cultural values of Africa toward the goal of overcoming oppression and suppression in what Geiss identifies as “those ideas or political movements, which have advocated, or advocate, the political unity of Africa or at least close collaboration in one form or another (Geiss,).

The often contending interpretations and perspectives of Pan-Africanism have led some leading scholars in Pan-African studies to reason that the lack of operational definition has led to a crisis of understanding. In particular, John Henrik Clarke is of this view point, and is actually not alone in this dilemma but joined by Ofuatey-Kodjoe who citing Young argues that “it is precisely this confusion that has been responsible for some of the most serious setbacks of the Pan-African movement” (Young, 2010:142).

In his work *Towards a Holistic Review of Pan-Africanism: Linking the Idea and the Movement*, Young, articulates the need to embrace a “holistic” interpretation of Pan-Africanism as that moves beyond the “traditional” conceptualization of Pan-Africanism which tends to view Pan-Africanism constricted to its interpretation as “ideas” and “movement” (Young, 2010). This outlook dubbed as “traditional” Pan-Africanism, and according to Young, draws distinctions between nascent reflections on Africa, and the modern structural activities that engaged Africa.

In the holistic view of Pan-Africanism, Young emphasizes the interconnectivity between a Pan-African consciousness, and organized political acts throughout the diaspora (Young, 2010). Further Young builds on the above premise, and argues that “the idea or sentiment and actual Pan-African activities are intrinsically, philosophically and historically linked” (Young, 2010:150). In a further explication, Young builds on J.H. Clarke’s holistic interpretation, and reasons that Pan-Africanism first should be seen as “a collective effort to preserve and reconstruct Africans’ nationhood, culture and humanity” (Young, 2010). This view, however misses the point that, Africa as a whole is big, varied and intrinsically complex with various cultures and identities that is difficult to completely pin-down as African.

Colin Legum in his outlook views Pan-Africanism as “a belief in the uniqueness and spiritual unit of black people; and to be treated with dignity as equals in all parts of the world” (Legum, 1969: 541). Pan-Africanism is also seen as a “movement and liberatory ideology” (Murithi, 2007) geared towards the recognition for socio-political equality, respect, and freedom from oppression and racial discrimination of Africans.

Murithi’s interpretation lends a clearer understanding when viewed within the context of Nkrumah assertion that, “the indivisibility of peace is staked on the indivisibility of

freedom” (Nkrumah...) which is inter-linked. Ofuathey-Kojoe also offers a simplified, and yet, a coherent perspective on Pan Africanism when he asserts that it is “the acceptance of a oneness of all people of African descent and the commitment to the betterment of all people of African descent” (Ofuathey-Kodjoe, 1986:388).

The word commitment as used by Ofuathey-Kodjoe encapsulates the ideological and uniting stance for Africans to work together to create an environment where free from oppression and the callousness of racism and colonization. From a critical perspective, and implicit in the above definitions, one can discern three levels of Pan-Africanism which is the reconstruction of identity; the quest to project human sanctity, dignity and equality, and finally, the right to self-government.

It is quite surprising to learn that although Pan-Africanism is much talked about, yet very little is truly known about its origins, development, ideology, and challenges it had had to face. This can partly be adduced to the different social and political barometers that defined the time and space during which it took shape. Furthermore, the subsequent rendition by later adherents of the likes of Kwame Nkrumah and others gave it a new meaning, taste and flavor suffused with strong African nationalism.

In summary discourses on Pan-Africanism entail vital norms of the idea or goal of liberation, self-determination and human dignity. Adherents of Pan-Africanism such as Nkrumah affectionately conflated Pan-Africanism to identity and freedom through the concept of African personality. Nkrumah’s understanding was that the spirit of a people can only flourish in freedom. This is captured in his remarks in which he asserted that “when the liberation of unification of Africa is complete, the African personality will find expression and be meaningfully projected” (Nkrumah...). Further still, and viewed from the integration

and identity dimension, Nkrumah also saw Pan-Africanism as a road-map to global status and recognition remarking that “a united Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world” (Nkrumah...). Implicit in his statement is that a divided Africa will remain weak and sidelined on the world state.

While there is an overarching essentialist treatment of Pan-Africanism, the thesis seeks to draw a critical attention to the fact that African identity is varied and complex and it is within this broad understanding that Pan-Africanism should be situated to afford a holistic and comprehensive understanding.

1.3 Pan Africanism an Ideology? A Theoretical Perspective

In following the trajectory of the evolution of Pan Africanism, it is important to understand the trademarks that inspired and shaped its foundations. To do this, the thesis examines Pan-Africanism as an ideology. Examining Pan-Africanism from an ideological dimension is not to posit Pan-Africanism in reductionist terms or to constrict the complexities of Pan-Africanism to mere existential argumentations.

The central focus under this sub-section is not to engage solely in the abstract intellection of what constitutes ideology per se as that is not the main concern of this chapter. Rather, the objective is to aid an informed and a critical reflection that complements an understanding of the theoretical dispositions that supports the idea of viewing Pan-Africanism as an ideology.

The term ideology emerged in the 17th century in France, and was started by Destutt de Tracy who was himself influenced by European Enlightenment. His keen motivation was to understand human nature, and how that understanding could be used to transform the social and political architecture to meet human aspirations. His influence by European

Enlightenment helped him in systematically analyzing ideas, which echoes traces of enlightenment influence in his thoughts which espoused the belief that, through systematic and scientific analysis, humans can control the world around them. The systematic analysis of ideas is what he explained as ideology.

In examining Pan-Africanism as ideology, the thesis adopts Lowenstein definition of ideology which portrays ideology as a philosophy and way of life, and argues that it is “a consistent integrated pattern of thought and belief explaining man’s attitude towards life and his existence in society, and advocating a conduct and action pattern responsive to and commensurate with such thought and beliefs” (Lowenstein, 1953:52). Lowenstein’s definition guides an understanding of Pan-Africanism as an ideology especially within its contextual interpretation of “advocating a conduct and action pattern....”. Halfway through the 20th century, after Pan-Africanism had been *exported* to Africa and its seeds had begun sprouting, Pan-Africanism became a dominant nationalist discourse for African liberation struggles.

After Pan-Africanism had widely been spread in Africa, gradually African leaders became convinced that Pan Africanism inspired a sense of Africaness, pride and respect in themselves to take control of their lives without outside interference. This nationalist tendency in political thought will define much of British West Africa political topography, and later much of Africa culminating in the formation of the OAU, and its transformation into AU.

As a renowned African nationalist and a principal ideologue who latter refined Pan Africanism, and set the unprecedented pace and space for independence in Africa, Kwame Nkrumah was of the view that “Though...ideology is the key to the inward identity of its

group, it is intent solidarist. For an ideology does not merely seek to unite a section of the people; it seeks to unite the whole society, when it becomes dominant” (Nkrumah, 1964: 57).

An appreciation and understanding of Nkrumah’s stance on ideology as “*solidarist*” can meaningfully be appreciated if this solidarist intention is juxtaposed to his popular acclamation that the independence of Ghana was meaningless, unless it was linked to the total liberation of the African continent. From this perspective, one can gauge his relentless push that sought to re-awaken a collective consciousness geared toward uplifting African personality through liberation struggles with the goal of self-determination and human dignity for all Africa’s irrespective of the varying differences.

Considered from another perspective, this same solidarist intend, began to raise false alarm as some of his African colleagues felt that he was driven by personal ambitions and therefore rather than helping to create a pool of solidarism among his peers, his actions caused a certain degree of dissention and stymied the quest for a continental unity of Africa. Nevertheless, in the face of such mistrust, Nkrumah’s call continued to drive home the idea that “the ideology of Pan-Africanism” become “a revolutionary movement” (Adogamhe, 2008:9) for Africa’s liberation despite being labeled as too radical by some of his colleagues. Thus, the ‘solidarist’ intent might not always work as a unifying force even when ideology becomes dominant as people can have their own subjective interpretation of phenomena.

The fact that Nkrumah was viewed with suspicion among some of his colleagues when the idea he espoused had become dominant, points to the fact that ideology’s intent might not always be solidarist. This is evidently clear and reflected in the intense rivalry among the different blocks – Brazzaville, Casablanca and the Monrovia, that espoused different routes and road map to continental unity of Africa.

Gerrings, argues that ideologies are action oriented (Gerring, 1997), as they “seek not merely to describe the world but also to mold it” (Gerring, 1997:972). And this assertion resonates very well with the idea of Pan-Africanism, which inspired lots of action to end colonialism and racial discrimination. Making a significant distinction, Gerrings however introduces a critical distinction of the fact, “that ideology is action oriented should not however be confused with the idea that ideologies are acted upon all the time, or that political action is primarily the product of ideology” (Gerrings, 1997).

Past historical facts about the O.A.U for instance remind us that ideologies are not always acted upon. Inspired by the ideals of Pan-Africanism the O.A.U passed various charters that were meant to transform the socio-political and economic challenges of the African continent, yet it became obvious that majority of these charters were flouted and never acted upon due to lack of commitment on the part of most African governments.

Again the obvious unwillingness to empower the O.A.U to function effectively by African governments makes Gerrings arguments quite understandable. Thus, can we see in Gerrings, an assertion that ideologies are not always acted upon, even though they are action oriented. Gerrings quoting Mullins, 1972, argues that “the significance of ideologies”... “is not that it causes one to do but that it gives ones cause for doing” (Gerrings, 1997:972). However as noted by Gerrings earlier, ideologies might not be acted upon even though it gives “one cause for doing”

Examining some of the principal motivations of Pan Africanism, (Blake, 2005) also noted that the ideology of Pan Africanism had been constructed around an “apotheosis of African history” (Blake, 2005:581) in concert with other factors, which sought to inspire a sense of Africaness. Thus through Pan –Africanism, based on the rich virtue and dignity of

the African people, plus the horrific reality of enslavement and racial discrimination, a sense of togetherness was effectively explored which helped to generate and unleash action toward the objective of struggling for freedom.

Finally, Mullin's definition of the concept of ideology, informs a holistic interpretation. According to him, ideology is:

A logically coherent system of symbols which, within a more or less sophisticated conception of history, links the cognitive and evaluative perception of one's social condition – especially its prospects for future – to a more program of collective action for the maintenance, alteration or transformation of society (Mullins, 1972:510).

When placed within the constructs of Pan-Africanism as a liberation ideology, and a movement focused on the “transformation of society” (Mullins, 1972:510) through the dismemberment of colonization, and the quest for continental unity, Mullins definition guides a purposeful understanding of Pan-Africanism as an ideology.

1.4 Pan-Africanism: A Historical Perspective - From Passion to Action

This sub-section will discuss the series of struggles and actions that were pursued by Africans to give Pan-Africanism form and shape as an institutionalized human agency with the objective of ending colonialism, promoting African unity, peace and sustainable development among others. The history of Pan-Africanism is more complicated than one could imagine, and although much has been said about it, the fact remains that it has been least explored because the milieu of its evolution is far more complex and often suffused with disagreements and contradictions in particular when examined from the “idea” and “movement” prism. In this respect, this sub-section strives to engage in a critical historical reflection of Pan-Africanism and how it became institutionalized. Thus the objective is to contribute an informed understanding of Pan-Africanism within its historical framework and

to lay a foundation for further discussion on how it opened the vista for the creation of O.A.U and the subsequent transformation of the latter into A.U.

From a historical perspective, the conceptualization of the ideology of Pan-Africanism is attributed to W.E.B Du Bois who initially thought of it as Pan-Negroism. However, as Walters chronicles, Du Bois himself nonetheless acknowledged and “*credited*” H. Sylvester Williams with putting the word *Pan-Africanism* first in the annals of history (Walters, 1997:38), an idea which metamorphosed into a political movement that will later incite African nationalism and liberation struggles.

The genesis of the Pan African movement dates back to the later parts of the 18th century. Three remarkable historical events during this era presaged Pan- Africanism as an idea and a political movement. In what has become famously known as the Pan-African Triangle, it represented the spatial cardinal points where slaves were first taken from the coastal areas of West Africa and then sent to the *New World* - Americas as slaves to work on plantation.

The output from these plantations in the form of goods produced were returned to Europe, and then as demand for those finished products like rum, sugar and others increased, it reinforced more demand for slaves from Africa, constituting the slave triangle which later became known as the Pan-African Triangle. The three events portending to Pan-African movement were emancipation activities organized by free Afro Americans beginning in 1787 culminating in abolitionism which began to gain momentum and currency in America. During this same period in the United Kingdom, the despicable and horrendous maltreatment of slaves had awakened in some people, who exercising their human conscience, could no

longer condone the nonsense of slavery, and called for the restitution of human dignity of slaves through abolitionist agitation.

In British West Africa, the conspicuous effects of these two events albeit indirect led to the founding of Sierra Leone helping sow the seeds of Pan-Africanism on African soil as well. An important historical account in Sierra Leone is particularly worth mentioning here. Repatriation of slaves who had re-settled in Sierra Leone had incited tension and had pushed the country to the brinks of “race war” (Adibe, 2001:15) between repatriated slaves and indigenous people.

In order to quell this divisiveness, the political elites wasted no time in reinforcing the idea of “common racial consciousness” (Adibe, 2001:15) to consolidate social cohesion within the West African region. The development of this “politico-cultural praxis” (Young, 2011:153) will generate further interest in Pan-Africanism on the African continent which will see the ideology later becoming a popular discourse in shaping political affairs in majority of West African countries.

These developments described above will continue amidst challenges by numerous unsung people of hope and conviction who never sacrificed hope for despair. Their unstinting efforts will lead to the emergence of great figures like the giants of W. E. B. Du Bois from America, Henry Sylvester Williams from Trinidad, George Padmore, E. W. Blyden amongst others, beginning at the second quarter of the 19th century and became the vanguards and protagonist for Africans liberation.

In his historical account of Pan-Africanism, Geiss engages us with key historical figures such as Ottobo Cugoano and Gustava from the United Kingdom but with African origin, Afro-Americans like W.E.B. Du Bois, George Padmore, E.W. Blyden from West

Indies but later to settle in Sierra Leone; J. B. A. Hurton also from Sierra Leone. Other key figures from Africa included but not limited to J.E. Casley Hayford and Rev. Atoh Ahuma from former Gold Coast, now Ghana; Nnamdi Aikiwe from Nigeria and Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana among to name but a few (Geiss 188-189).

Historical discourse is often wrought with representation of events that seem to capture the attention of interested parties in a particular fashion tailored to suit and satisfy certain trends. In this respect the thesis wishes to draw the attention to the fact that, it is by no means of neglect or disrespect to have left any key figure in Pan-African struggles as listed above. Those mentioned only reflect a tiny speck of the people who has fought for Pan-Africanism. Most importantly the vast majority of those not mentioned in history are the actions of unsung comrades whose effort and commitment often lay the foundation for every movement. The various actions of some of the figures mentioned above will set a motion of recursive reciprocity sentiments of liberation both in the Diaspora and on the African continent. In the next sub-section, the thesis will discuss some of the activities of these key figures that led to the institutionalization of the Pan-African movement.

1.5 Institutionalization of Pan-Africanism

In this sub-section, an attempt is made to look into the processes of how Pan-Africanism gradually evolved into a political institution, and provided a political roadmap that defined the overall policy framework that guided the achievement of the Pan-African agenda – that of liberating African people from oppression, colonialism and toward the quest for a united Africa.

The word institutionalization as has been used here refers to the historical evolutionary processes of Pan-Africanism and relies on the “ideas” to “movement” paradigmatic discourse.

The objective here is thus to trace the historical development of Pan-Africanism from its insipient “ideas” stages to its current level of a political institution “movement” stages manifested in the African Union. As had already been raised above, the discussion takes note of the fact that there had been different iterations of Pan-Africanism depending on the period and place.

The history of Pan-Africanism dates back to the struggles of Africans in the Diaspora. A noted historian on Pan-Africanism, Geiss argues that “formally” (Geiss, 1969:190), the launching of the Pan-African movement was associated with the Pan-African Conference of 1900. Nevertheless, it is vital to be aware that a host of controversy surrounds the use of the term Pan-African[ism]. Originally conceptualized as “Pan Negroism” (Geis, 1969:190) by W.E.B. Du-Bois - “father of Pan-Africanism” (Shepperson, 1960:353) in 1897, it was Henry Sylvester Williams who set the pace for establishing the “first Pan-African” (Geis, 1969:190) organization called “African Association” in 1897 (Geis, 1969:190), and at the Pan-African conference in 1900, it became, “Pan-African Association” (Geis, 1969:190).

There seem to be more disagreement surrounding what, and when the first Pan-African meeting took place. Renowned for his scholarly articles on Pan-African history, Esedebe offers a different opinion that is worth considering within the historical framework of Pan-African[ism] evolution and its institutionalization. Esedebe argues in support of his assertion that the first Pan-African conference was “the Chicago conference on Africa – 14th August 1893” (Esedebe, 1974:514) which lasted for a week. In his review of Langley, *Pan-African Reconsidered*, Esedebe even though he acknowledges that “the standard authorities” (Esedebe, 1974:513) – referring to much historically written documents – acknowledged 1900 as first Pan-African conference.

Esedebe's conviction and assertion was based on a quotation from the *Advance*, a Chicago newspaper that Esedebe cites in his review, "This great congress...We have had Pan-Presbyterian, Pan-Methodist, Pan-Anglican...but none signified more than this Pan-African Conference" (Cited in Esedebe 1974:514). In a further explication of his point, Esedebe forcefully argues that, the fact that "whites" attended the Chicago conference on Africa does not dismiss the conference as "no Pan-African conference" (Esedebe, 1974:514). This assertion seemed more valid in view of the facts given, as he argued that the other congresses of "1900, 1919, 1921 and 1923 meetings" (Esedebe, 1974: 514), had some participants who were none Africans by origin and whites.

Elsewhere; Walters also argues in a similar fashion tracing the use of the term with the "Pan African Conference" organized in 1893 in Chicago and reported by the *Advance Newspaper*. He goes further to indicate that in 1897, preparatory meeting for the 1900 was held in London, and only after 1900 did Pan-Africanism became popular. And in yet a further distinction of facts, Walter cites what he calls "Pan-African movement" (Walters, 1997:52) initiated by the Paris Conference of 1919 by Du Bois and thus establishes that Pan-Africanism was born in a definite sequence of events which went from "practice" to "concept" to the term "movement" (Walters, 1997:52).

In view of the arguments given above, one can ascertain the historical complexities of the term Pan-African[ism], and the effusive protestation as to when the term was first used. What holds however is the fact that, based on the above arguments, Pan-Africanism is demarcated to a given time period despite the disagreements with the various dates. However, this static time frame position de-links the various unsung activities that propelled Pan-Africanism to the point it began to be officially organized. In this regard, recasting Pan-

Africanism to incorporate all unsung struggles for Pan-Africanism in the Diaspora until the time it became official makes for a valid reasoning and embraces the *holistic* interpretation of Pan-Africanism as noted by Clarke.

Although Pan-Africanism started vigorously keeping in mind the dates outlined above, it becomes evident that, between the period 1900 when the first Pan-African conference was held, not much will be heard or is documented about the activities of this association until in 1919 when a series of Pan African congresses will be organized across various cities in Europe and in America. A landmark development that happened during this period, however, was the emergence of Marcus Garvey in the United States and the spread of Garveyism after he established the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Harlem in 1918 (Geiss, 1969).

In his article, *Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism"-1964*, Shepperson makes an intriguing distinction between Pan-Africanism and Garveyism. His key point as he chronicled in his article, was based on the bitter feud that ensued between Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois that sapped the energy of the Pan-African movement. In his analysis, the fact that Garvey promoted Garveyism with its "overt racialism" (Shepperson, 1964:348), makes Garvey and his U.N.I.A (Universal Negro Improvement Association) to be placed within the category of "cultural pan-Africanism" (Shepperson: 1964:347; Blake, 2005) with a small (p) as opposed to a big (P) as in Pan-Africanism.

In substantiation of his arguments, Shepperson argued that "When the Pan-African movement was in predominately American Negro hands, Garveyism was an embarrassment to it; but when Africans took over the leadership, it became almost an essential element" (Shepperson, 1964:348), and it is at this juncture of history that Garveyism can be said to

have been integrated in Pan-Africanism. The integration of Garveyism into mainstream Pan-Africanism begun during the Pan-African congress in Manchester in 1945, a period when the leadership of the movement was almost in the hands of African leaders and who tried to infuse Pan-Africanism with Garveyism, leading to what Shepperson called “Pan-African rehabilitation” of Garvey (Shepperson, 1964:347).

Within the spatial context African emancipation related to pan-Africanism and Pan-Africanism as Shepperson puts it, his assertion does not matter essentially, because after all, both Garvey and Du Bois were as it seemed, struggled for freedom of the black race. However, for intellectual purposes, such an easily drawn conclusion will be tantamount to historical treason as it will convey an incorrect account of the historical evolution of Pan Africanism in its true picture. Recasting Pan-Africanism history in its spotless decorum is thus necessary to enable a proper reflection of the past, present and the future with respect to Pan-Africanism narratives. Nonetheless, it is also important to acknowledge a very important achievement of Marcus Garvey while in the United States of America. This was his unparalleled “*Declaration of the rights of the Negro People of the World*” (Shepperson: 1964:347) in New York that promoted African nationalism.

Again, if we examine the impact Garveyism had on later generation of Pan-Africanist like Nkrumah, then the rhetoric and praxis of Garveyism constricted to cultural domains and time specifics in the historical evolution of Pan Africanism is not the key question to engage with, and the issue of Pan-African “*rehabilitation*” should be dismissed as suggested by Shepperson. Probing further, within the context of the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism, it is worthy to also take note of key developments in Africa, and in particular British West Africa during the early parts the of 20th century. This is particularly important if we are to

appreciate the extent to which Pan-Africanism became a potent force in shaping and transforming the political architecture of the region, and Africa as a whole through its evolutionary process.

During the 1920's influential West African leaders at that time formed a common political party called the National Congress of British West Africa. Quoting Joseph Casely-Hayford of Ghana, then Gold Coast, Adibe wrote "[the] desire..., as the intelligentsia of British West Africa, to promote unity among our people...Nigeria has joined hands with Gambia and Gambia with Sierra Leone and Sierra Leone with Gold Coast..., and it is our hope, by this combination, to express our view in a way that can be effective" (Adibe, 2001:19). Probing further, an examination of British colonial policies within the region will engender implicit opportunities for social cohesion within the region. As noted by Adibe, one of such policies was the formation of the West African Frontier Force (WAFF). Such bonding provided plasticity for "intellectual and emotional" (Adibe, 2001:19) bonds that facilitated a West African Anglophone Community.

This "flowering of institutional cooperation" (Adibe, 2001:19) will lay a solid foundation for the spread of Pan-African sentiments with the emergence of Kwame Nkrumah in the 1950's who promoted Pan-Africanism trenchantly for independent struggles. The above arguments notwithstanding, it is necessary to stress strongly that the implicit opportunities that British colonial policies paved for social cohesion in British West Africa as noted by Abibe, in terms of its contribution to the region, will be a complete travesty of justice and betrayal to West Africans to see British contribution in this fashion within the region.

This reasoning sounds logical when we conflate the wonton destruction of human life through enslavement and colonization of the region by the British colonialist empire. In

realistic terms however, the bonding that followed through the formation of WAFF was a good omen, and that cannot necessarily be discredited. The above interjection had been done to recast Pan-African history in the right context based on available historical documentary evidence. In order to appreciate the evolution of the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism, and as had been argued above; from 1900 until the first Pan African congress was held in 1919 was a period of low ebb and flow of the Pan-African stream.

However, following these congresses: “1919, Paris; 1921, London; 1923: London; 1927: New York; and 1945, Manchester” (Shepperson, 1964:346), a new vista of leadership will be infused into Pan-Africanism that will catapult Pan-Africanism to new heights on the African continent. Retrospectfully, the 1945 Manchester could be considered as ushering in a new juncture of the Pan-African movement. Various reasons account for this. Geiss remarked that it - the 1945 Pan-African Congress “represent[ed] a new era” (Geiss 1969: 192). This was because all the “historical elements of Pan-Africanism” (Geiss 1969:192) were present, and representatives from Africa, Caribbean and Africans from the United States were in attendance. Out of the 96 delegates who attended, 26 were delegates from all over Africa (UNECA, 2009).

Some of these figures included Peter Abrahams from South Africa representing the ANC – African National Congress; Hastings Banda, Obafemi Awolowo and Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya (UNECA, 2009). Others were George Padmore (Geiss 1969) whose leadership responsibility had been instrumental in convening the congress, and certainly W.E.B. Du Bois. A paramount policy that was chartered during these conferences, was to step up efforts geared towards “gaining independence” (Geiss, 1969:193) in the earliest possible time frame by exerting “moral and political pressure” (Geiss 1969:193) on the imperialist and colonizers.

The 5th Pan-African congress evoked a sense of urgency and unflagging passion in the African leaders present who firm in their commitment to end all dependencies politically and economically, will embark on political struggles for their country's independence upon going back to their respective countries (UNECA, 2009). Of the delegates present, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana will be the first to truncate colonialism in his country, and thus position Ghana as the first country south of the Sahara to achieve independence.

As the first country south of the Sahara to attain independence, it can be considered fair and appropriate to highlight some significant developments in Ghana, albeit not the whole picture, that led to Ghana's independence and how that is linked to igniting liberation struggles in the whole of Africa. It should also be remembered that while majority of the Pan-African struggles and activities had been focused in Europe and also during the era of the first world war and second war, this tendency began to change after post World war II especially after the 5th Pan African congress held in Manchester in the England in October 1945. These congresses saw elements from the African continent who unstintingly charioted the songs of liberation in their countries with Pan-Africanism.

Still focusing on Pan-Africanism evolutionary process in British West Africa, Geiss asserts that "profiting from the economic, social and political" environments of their countries, the intelligentsia of British West African countries had become quite popular through the articulation of their "political demands" (Geiss, 1969:192). This political demand for independence, and in the case of Nkrumah of Ghana; who once declared independence now or never, helped to position Nkrumah as a political vanguard among the ordinary Ghanaians in whom he had found their liking because of his assertive demands for independence.

With regards to Ghana's political independence, an important trademark instrumental in the acceleration of its independence was the shooting incident of war veterans. In protest against the then British government's failure to meet its war time promises after the end of World War II, Ghanaian war veterans decided to march to the seat of government, and present a petition for unpaid benefits promised them for fighting in World War II on the side of the British as West African Frontier Force (WAFF).

Although unarmed, three ex-servicemen were shot and killed on February 28th 1948 during their march. This shooting incident will spark, and encourage series of anti-colonial protest forcing the then British government to institute a committee to investigate the killings. The committee in its findings recommended self-government for Gold-Coast - the previous name for Ghana, eventually leading to Ghana's political independence in 1957, nine years after the shooting incident with Nkrumah as its first Prime Minister. Ghana will from this position become a beacon and champion of independence struggles in much of British West Africa and Africa, and Ghana will usher in an era of what Adibe described as "shuttle and personal diplomacy" (Adibe2001:21) especially in West Africa to promote Pan-Africanism for independence.

Recounting the challenges that Nkrumah knew he was to face with virtually all his neighbors still under colonial rule, he developed a strategic foreign policy and "*retooled*" (Adibe, 2001:20) Pan-Africanism to serve two foreign policy objectives of Ghana. According to Adibe, these two strategic foreign policy was to seek, "first, the unimpeded decolonization of Africa and second, the consolidation of freedom, once attained, through the establishment of an overarching continental institution endowed with supranational powers" (Adibe,

2001:20) which echoes the sentiment of Nkrumah that, what will Ghana's independence mean if it is not linked to the entire liberation of the Africa continent.

Kofina, sheds more light on the fact that Pan-Africanism became central to Ghana's foreign policy and "it was in consonance with Ghanaian and African interest" (Adibe, 2001:20) which is consistent with Nkrumah's conviction that there will be "no security for African states unless African leaders...realized beyond reasonable doubt that salvation for Africa [lay] in unity" (Nkrumah, 1967:9).

Sparing no efforts after Ghana's independence, as had been reflected above, in April 1958, a year after Ghana had attained independence, Nkrumah convened what has become known as the Accra Conference bringing together independent states to discuss common challenges centered on issues pertaining to socio-economic and political realities that Africa must grapple with during that era. The meeting brought together leaders whose countries were independent and it included Ethiopia; Egypt; Liberia; Libya; Morocco; Tunisia and Sudan (UNECA, 2009). In the same year in December 1958, and again at Accra, African leaders convened at the First All-African People's Conference under the theme, "*Hands off Africa! Africa must be free!*" (UNECA, 2009).

Acknowledging the unparalleled, and studios efforts of their forbearers, Nkrumah paid a glowing tribute to the vanguards of Pan-Africanism at this conference.

He stated:

Many of them have made no small contribution to the cause of African freedom. Names which spring immediately to mind in this connection are those of Marcus Garvey, and W.E.B. Du-Bois. Long before many of us were even conscious of our own degradation, these men fought for African national and racial equality. Long may the links, between Africa and the peoples of Africa descent continue to hold us together in fraternity. Now that we in Africa are marching towards the complete emancipation of this continent, our independent status will help in no small measure their efforts to attain full human rights

and human dignity as citizens of their country” (Kwame Nkrumah, cited in UNECA, 2009)

The second in series of the All-African peoples conference was held in January 1960 in Tunisia and the third in series in Cairo, Egypt in march 1961 (UNECA, 2009). It was especially at these meetings that the unquenchable quest for a united Africa gained momentum. These conferences unleashed a potent energy that inspired a re-awakening in African consciousness, and an unflagging commitment to decolonization toward the complete emancipation of the continent.

Independence struggle reached its heights and nationalist passions flared as it had become basis for renaissance and restoration of Africa dignity culminating in the formation of the Organization of African Unity on the 25th of May 1963 in Ethiopia by 32 African independent African nations. The formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 represented a concrete manifestation of the institutionalization of the Pan-Africanism with the objective of ending colonialism, - liberation, and to assert Africa’s right to manage and control its socio-economic and political objectives to consolidate development for its peoples through cooperation and unity, - integration. Thus liberation, integration and another important element, identity were key driving forces behind the formation of the OAU.

1.6. The Organization of African Unity: A failed Institution?

In this sub-section, an effort is made to scrutinize the Organization of African Unity and to point out its pitfalls and the reasons that accounted for this development. The discussion seeks to establish that the O.A.U was successful as an organization only the extent to which is managed to meet the challenges that it faced. The O.A.U indeed chalked some credits despite failing to meet its challenges as will be noted in the discussion, its importance

and purpose was lost, and there was the need to pave the way for yet another institutional establishment to redress the issues that the OAU hitherto could not address. This was how the African Union, the third phase of Pan-African institutionalization also came into existence.

The O.A.U was born out of the quest for a continental unity to address socio-economic and political challenges that wrought Africa through colonization. Pan- Africanism had become a rallying force to awaken human agency through the struggle for independence especially after the 5th Pan-African Congress held in 1945 which inspired African nationalism. Inspired by the quest to end colonialism and to give one voice to Africa through continental unity, Pan African nationalist like Nkrumah, and other leaders including but not limited to Sékou Touré of Guinea, Abdul Nassar of Egypt, Haile Sellasie of Ethiopia to name but a few became the founding fathers of the O.A.U.

The formation of the OAU had not been an easy path even though most governments in Africa wanted external influence and colonialism ended. Caught within the euphoria of maintaining national sovereignty and at the same time, the quest for continental unity of Africa, most African governments seemed to have been entangled within the frame of a *Scylla and Charbdis*ⁱ dilemma amid mistrust cloaked in political chicanery. In particular, Nkrumah had almost been singled out with having a personal and overriding ambition and agenda to become the leader of Africa. In Nkrumah's opinion however, a supranational cooperation involving unification of individual territories would facilitate and promote common interest and purpose for Africans socio-economic and political well-being.

The issue of holding fast to national sovereignty, mistrust, and power politics by some Africa states, lead to the emergence of different blocks proposing different routes to continental integration of Africa in post-independence era Africa during the 1960's. Three

blocks are discussed here but as noted by Van Walraven, these groups “very existence was ideological anathema against the background of anti-colonial euphoria” (Van Walraven, 2010).

The Brazzaville Group comprised of 12 Francophone countries which included: Dahomey - now Benin, Upper Volta – now Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central Africa Republic, Chad, Congo Brazzaville, Cote d’Ivoire, Gabon, Malagasy Republic – now Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal. The block’s first and second meeting was in Cote d’Ivoire in October 1960 and in Brazzaville in December 1960 respectfully, favored a pro-Western stance both on Congo and Algeria liberation wars, were forcefully opposed to Communists ideology gaining foothold in Africa, while emphasizing respect for exiting borders and non-interference in the internal affairs of countries and again maintaining a close political and technical cooperation built on continuing ties with their colonial powers as key principle.

The Casablanca bloc derives its name from the Moroccan city of Casablanca, where the group had its first meeting in January 1961. It comprised of the following countries: Algeria (although not independent at that time), Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali and Morocco. The block was premised on the foundations or philosophy of a supranational institution made proposals for a Joint African High Command – a common defence policy, and also the African Consultative Assembly to bring together African Parliamentarians.

The central philosophy of the Casablanca block was that of promoting a supranational entity, but quite frankly most states wanted an intergovernmental cooperation because of the fear of losing their state sovereignty. At its core, the ideological underpinning of the Casablanca group portrayed a more “militant” stance towards colonialism and neo-colonialism and was up against the continued influence of non-African powers in Africa.

This block adopted the African Charter of Casablanca confident in their determination “to promote the triumph of liberty all over Africa and to achieve its unity” (Cervenka, 1977: 1), and, strongly supported a political unity for Africa before any other cooperation. This concurs with Nkrumah’s thinking that for “economic unity to be effective, it must be accompanied by political unity” (Nkrumah, 1965: 30), and also his stance that “seek ye first political unity and the economic union shall be added thereunto” (Nkrumah....).

The Brazzaville group on the other, hand was more skewed towards fostering a continued cooperation among former French colonies and accommodating existing patterns of colonial influence. In their opinion, the Brazzaville block saw economic and technical cooperation as far more important and the building blocks for continental unity of Africa rather than through political means.

The third group, the Monrovia Group comprised of 20 Africa states: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo Brazzaville, Cote d’Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo and Tunisia. The Monrovia group took a somewhat “middle way” between the forceful Casablanca group and the conservative Brazzaville group, although believing in decolonization and positing a common African strategy toward peace and sustainable development.

Due to opposing ideological stance on the way forward to continental unity, disagreements were rife between these blocks. At the same time, the political barometer of the 1960s made it quite obvious that divisions weakened Africa’s voice in the global arena and endangered every African country’s security, since all regimes were vulnerable to foreign influence and domination.

These differences paradoxically drove African governments together based on the premise of mutual security against external influence and the outcome of this development – establishment of a Charter forming the OAU in 1963 - reflected an ideological compromise that reflected a more leaning of the Monrovia-Brazzaville group (Cervenka, 1977). The OAU charter if examined critically principally embodied a form of “State nationalism” and not Pan-Africanism because much emphasis was placed on such concepts as sovereignty, equality, member states, territorial integrity and non-interference.

However, Van Walraven notes that, the Pan-Africanist doctrine of unity did provide the OAU with a dualist rationale, to improve reciprocal security against especially domestic opposition, as well increase the global influence of Africa and its states and claim equality of states with non-African elites (Van Walraven, 2010). The subordination of differences came with a price, a pyrrhic victory which will jettison the institutional authority and legitimacy of the O.A.U. Zartman and El-Ayouty for instance note that, the O.A.U became a “victim of its own essential purpose” (Zartman and El-Ayouty, 1984:40) because of its creed to defend the integrity of its members through its non-interference principle. This subordination of differences is reminiscent of how right from the beginning the socio-economic and political affairs of Africans had been influenced by the East-West competition in the form of blocs belonging to east and west.

Another important development was that, at this stage of Pan-Africanism – the establishment of the OAU-, ordinary citizens had almost been completely alienated and under the guise of Pan-Africanism, statist agenda of oppression and suppression took place in many African countries. Rather than been a force for liberation, freedom, justice and equality, Pan-

Africanism was soiled with the same qualities it sought to fight against. This was partly due the uncompromising quest to hang onto power in the name of protecting national sovereignty.

What were the strengths and weaknesses of the OAU? In examining the O.A.U, its shortcomings and strengths, the thesis will start by probing the institutional authority granted the Secretary General of the O.A.U, and point out how the office was constrained in exercising executive power for the betterment of African governments. In order for appointed heads of various institutions to fulfill their mandate, there need to be clearly stipulated constitutional powers granted the office holder with well-defined guidelines as to how power will be exercised or constrained.

In the case of O.A.U, it should be remembered that, as an organization, the O.A.U represented governments and not people, and as parties to the O.A.U various government had varying degree of interest that reflected their colonial past. Again, given the fact that most countries that formed the O.A.U had just achieved their hard won independence as expressed by some governments, majority of them were not in any way prepared to cede power to any supranational institution in the name of unity that will undermine their own power.

Referring to the Secretariat of the O.A.U at the Addis Ababa Summit in 1963, Leopold Sengor of Senegal, a leader of the progressive bloc, who were often referred to as radical and belonged to the Casablanca Bloc once remarked “[the Secretariat] would be an administrative body and not a political one, a body which implemented decisions but did not make them” (Ministry of Information, Ethiopian, 1963:53). This stance poignantly reflects the fragile, and the disproportionate powerlessness the O.A.U Secretariat will and was to function right from its genesis.

In fact in drafting the O.A.U Charter, the function of the Secretary General was changed to Administrative Secretary General. Worst of all, articles that would have enabled the office holder to exercise power in office and to initiate action were glossed over from the draft (Meyers, 1976), which redolently points to the fact that, although Africans sought for a united Africa for the broad purpose and objective of development, by paradoxically failing to strengthen the O.A.U and its administrative structures, Africans leaders, consolidated the seeds of neo-colonialism to fester within because of their own political differences.

Even though the objective of this paper is to look at the O.AU as an organization in its own right, a brief comparative conjecture with the EU will suffice to aid our understanding of why the O.A.U failed. The EU though had its own daunting challenges from internal and external perspectives. The harsh realities of post-World War II, gave birth to the European Coal and Steel Community - E.S.C.S-, the parent organization for the EU. The EU it can be argued started fairly well in the sense that the E.S.C.S had a “High Authority” of appointed staff vested with supranational powers which were purposefully managed by a council of ministers from members states (Ross, 2009). Comparatively, the institutional authority of E.S.C.S examined side by side with the O.A.U mirrors a marked antithesis where African governments were not in any way prepared to surrender any level of power to a supranational authority. The following comments is worthy of consideration in this direction.

In the struggle against the colonial powers, the new African states, arbitrary and unrealistic as their original boundaries may have been, managed at least to mobilize the will of their citizen towards the attainment of national independence. Achieved at a great sacrifice, such a reward is not to be cast away lightly; nor should the national will, once unified, be diluted by the formation of nebulous political units (Olympio, 1961:51)

Arguable, Olympio's stance is not completely dismissible when considered from his overall contention that the immediate concern for the social and economic betterment of Africans should be sought and maintained "first and foremost in addition to an active policy of cooperation among other African countries" (Emerson, 1962:280). However, such comments, irrespective of their diplomatic rhetoric, demonstrated clearly how some African leaders drawing much of their strength from the principles of the O.A.U charter, were not prepared to dispense any power outside their territorial confines.

Probing further, Olympio's comments convey a lurking distrust that surrounded African leaders, and has much in common with comment by Abbé Fulbert Youlou, a past President of Congo Brazzaville. His opinion was that "those who talk about it [Pan-Africanism/African unity] should start by sweeping up in front of their own hut, before thinking of sweeping up before that of their neighbor" (Cited in Emerson, 1962:280). It is quite obvious, and an ordinary person needn't any sophisticated ability in thinking to understand the kind of divisiveness that prevailed in the O.A.U and its member countries judging from these comments.

From another dimension, Nkrumah of Ghana had a different belief and conviction concerning the direction that the O.A.U ought to have taken. According to him, "A loose confederation designed only for economic cooperation would not provide the necessary unity of purpose. Only a strong political union can bring about full and effective development of our natural resources for the benefit of our people" (Nkrumah, 1961: 11-14). Nkrumah's words proved prophetic when President Kaguta Yoweri Museveni of Uganda recently declared at a regional meeting that "The greatest enemy of Africa, the greatest source of

weakness has been the disunity and a low level of political and economic integration” (Yoweri Museveni; BBC, 2008).

To buttress the point above, a Malaysian maxim guides a purposeful understanding. “*Hendak Seribu daya, tak hendak seribu dalih* – when one truly seeks to achieve something, thousand fold power will arise; when one fails to do so, a thousand excuses will be found”. Again, “*Bersatu kita teguh, bererai kita roboh* – where there is unity there is strength, where there is division there is destruction (Cited in Ikeda, 2009). This resonates well with Nkrumah when he once asserted in reference to making the O.A.U effective for all, by transcending all differences. He stated:

Critics of African unity refer to the wide differences in culture, language and ideas in various parts of Africa. This is true, but the essential fact remains that we are all Africans, and have a common interest in the independence of Africa. The difficulties presented by questions of language, culture and different political systems are not insuperable. If the need for political union is agreed by us all, then the will to create is born; and where there’s a will there’s a way (Nkrumah, 1961:11-14)

Unfortunately, this was not the case, and it reflects the lack of commitment on the part of most government in Africa at the time. Haile Selassie once remarked that, “Throughout history, it has been the inaction of those who could have acted, the indifference of those who should have known better, the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most, that has made it possible for evil to triumph”. Most African leaders knew much better the benefits African unity might bring, yet quite a number of them failed to take the necessary action, and resorted to giving excuses for their position.

Shortage of manpower was another key institutional challenge that affected the O.A.U. The O.A.U. was riddled with the difficulty of meeting its manpower requirements to man the organization. What must be stressed here is that, the insufficiency of professional staff resulted not from lack of the right caliber of manpower, rather the fact was that, majority of

qualified professionals were also required to man various organizations in their respective “young” countries given that most of the African States had just attained independence. Further, given the fact that O.A.U had just been established, and prospects of its future remain skeptical, it was obvious that professionals preferred to secure themselves with jobs in their home countries rather than with the O.A.U.

Another key limitation of the OAU was speedy communication between governments and various committees. Instances of this dilemma are noted when “[...] Sub Committees called the attention of the Committee [Liberation Committee] to the fact that even when documents were provided by the...Secretariat, they were communicated late. Moreover the time allowed for submission of drafts was short” (cited in Scott and Bissell, 1972:32). Reports had to be sent through regular mail, and sometimes confidential reports of committees found their way into press. The lack of communication infrastructure curtailed rapid and effective communication between governments of the OAU.

Given the facts above, it is no shocking to hear various scholars and politicians voice sentiments that echo and resonate with disdain that the O.A.U represented things like “mere talking shop”, “toothless bull dog”, “dictators club” - Paul Reynolds of BBC - to name but a few. The OAU faced huge institutional and material constraints. If one further considers the flagrant impunity with which various despotic leaders in Africa behaved and the tetchy dissonance demonstrated in the name of non-interference, then one could have a fairer understanding of some of the weaknesses of the OAU.

Again the fact that the O.A.U watched with helplessness, abuses of human rights by leaders such as “Idi Amin of Uganda, Mengistu of Ethiopia, Said Barre of Somalia,” (Selassie, 2009), questioned the effectiveness of the O.A.U as continental body which could

assert its positive influence over its member states. Some examples come to mind. The Rwandan example in 1974, and refusal by the then government to allow its own citizens the right to return to their country makes for a good example when the O.A.U could not intervene. Again, it is noted that in 1994, the gross lack of response on the part of the O.A.U and other international organizations principally the United Nations, left almost 800, 000 people killed in Rwanda. Yet we find in the articles of the O.A.U Charter that states among other objectives to “coordinate and intensify their cooperation and the effort to achieve a better life for the people of Africa”. Doesn’t this failure on the part of the O.A.U thus reflect a travesty of purpose? Could one reasonably argue in this sense that the O.A.U was a success, given the facts above?

The Gross neglect of human rights violations however led the Assembly of Heads of States to adopt the Banjul Charter at the 1981 summit. This development is significant as it reflected a sobering and critical learning process within the OAU to reform its institutional mechanisms. This learning process by and large will lead to other positive reforms and transformation of the OAU. The African Charter on Human and People’s Right was born out of the despicable and deteriorating human rights abuses that plagued the continent. The African Charter on Human and People’s Right and the Grand Bay Declaration led to the adoption and establishment of the African Human right Commission in 1981 with location in Banjul in Gambia and which became fully established as the Africa Commission on Human Rights on July 29th 1987.

However, if reality was to be faced, and the facts separated from fiction, the fiction and mirage of states clinging to the so called cherished state sovereignty without any interference, then who was to be blamed for the failure of the O.A.U? - The O.A.U or African

governments? African governments must equally take full responsibility and the O.A.U cannot entirely be blamed as a failed institution, after all, the O.A.U was a representation of governments, and any failure on its part must lie with the members who constituted the organization.

The non-interference principle of the O.A.U was a problematic nomenclature, and left much to be desired in the O.A.U's quest for continental unity. As a matter of political realism, it could be argued that it made sense, yet in terms of achieving the essence of its own purpose, it was a reflection of mockery so to speak as most African government held strongly to it. Incidentally, the same principle is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The United Nations learning from its past mistakes had made a lot of institutional corrections that has enabled it to act forcefully when necessary in the name of protection of peace among states.

In his review, Welch commented on Edem Kodjo, a onetime Administrative Secretary General of the O.A.U who once asserted that "the O.A.U has been careful not to be drawn into territorial conflicts for the simple reason that doing so may exacerbate tension and create unnecessary conflicts all over the continent" (Cited in Welch, 1986:117). As noted by Welch, such an assertion was "hyperbolic" (Welch, 1986:117). It also needs to be mentioned that in 1993, the mechanism for conflict management and resolution was adopted in Cairo, Egypt, to help address the intractable conflicts that plagued Africa. It was a welcome idea, and a step in the right direction given the direct relationship between security and development. It also demonstrated the slow but carefully thought through learning process of the OAU to address its own problems in a way that was relevant to its own circumstances – in a sense, finding African solutions to African problems.

Political legitimacy was a key challenge to the O.A.U effective functioning as a continental body of governments. It will be noted with disparagement that “political questions [became] objects of rhetoric rather than substantive solution” (Scott and Bissell, 1972:29). One notable example was the Nigeria civil war and the O.A.U’s effort to resolve it. It must be stated fairly that latter, the O.AU fared well in striving to resolve the Nigerian crises. Again, Scott and Bissell document that the Liberation committee formed by the O.A.U to aid decolonization, was ineffectual in controlling nationalistic groups, and again failed to court support and resources for the Liberation movement.

Echoing similar sentiments, Welch in his review of El-Ayouty observed that decolonization effort in Zimbabwe and Lusophone Africa was not decisive due to the fact that the O.A.U was not able to bring strong military, financial and material support for the Liberation Movement (Welch, 1986:117). These comments may be over-blown but significantly, the OAU invariably fared well in supporting most liberation struggles. These various challenges outlined stoke our minds with questions, and beg a critical reflection on the spirit of Pan-Africanism that inspired a continental unity at this juncture. It is also worrying to note that, accretion of friendship with the *West* – France, Washington, Pretoria, (Scott and Bissell, 1972) - by some African countries was another critical obstacle to the effective functioning of the O.A.U which further dissipated the legitimacy of the O.A.U.

By asserting a disposition toward self-sustenance and sufficiency but paradoxically relying on the *West* without recourse to home-grown socio-economic and technological development, Africans hit the ground crawling rather than running, by relying on the *West* for their socio-economic development. This in no small way weakened the legitimacy and authority that the O.A.U could exercise in the direction of the continent’s development.

This is not to dismiss international cooperation as completely unnecessary. The point is that, and unfortunately, many African leaders were self-centered and had their own parochial interest. Dancing to the whims of the dominate powers was strategically designed to consolidate their own power base. If self-interest mattered most to the despotic leaders of Africa, why would they strive for continental unity, knowing very well that, such a path will weaken their personal ambitions?

Such has been the case of the O.A.U in many instances. Member states talked lavishly and yet at the same time callously of curbing outside influence in the form of colonialism, however they fail themselves to pursue the necessary modalities to stop outside influence and quite often, a number of governments were traitors in this direction. From the arguments above, it becomes obvious that the O.A.U failed in most cases to achieve the desired objectives as enshrined in its Charter. Nevertheless, it equally important to note that, the socio-economic and political topography of the times was much more complex and difficult to traverse. The problems and challenges that besieged African governments were too enormous, and so were the complex challenges that the OAU had had to grapple with at that time. To this extent, the OAU cannot be entirely dismissed as a failed institution.

It is also fair to argue that some significant successes were chalked which was no small measure or mean achievement, given the gravity of the problem Africans countries faced and the environment in which the O.A.U was to function. The end of Apartheid in Southern Africa is a key example that comes to mind. The fact that, African governments remained firmly united in their support for ending Apartheid in South Africa culminating in elections on 27th April 1994, when people of all races were able to vote. Other key achievements were the adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action to stimulate self-sufficiency.

The African Priority program for Economic Recovery (APPER) to address the economic crisis of the 1980's is also worth mentioning as well as the Charter on Popular participation adopted in the 1990, which reflected the O.A.U's quest to place African citizens at the centre of decision making. There are other initiatives as well that were put in place that have not been mentioned here. That notwithstanding, the O.A.U cannot be entirely ruled out as a complete failure.

Finally becoming aware of the shortcoming of the O.A.U and seeking to move beyond the realm of mere rhetoric, paved the way for a radical transformation of the O.A.U, leading to the establishment of the African Union; representing the third phase of the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism. The African Union came into existence following the Sirte Declaration in Libya on 9 September 1999, when 43 African leaders agreed to replace the O.A.U with a strong and an effective organization that will guide, direct and steer Africa in the global arena of 21st century globalized world for the betterment of its people.

In 2002 in Durban, South Africa, the AU formally came into existence replacing the O.A.U. It is worthy to know that, owing to its past mistakes, the AU is the world's only international organization that explicitly recognizes the right to intervene in its member states affairs on the premise of protecting humanitarian and human right as articulated in Article 4(h) and 4(j) of the Constitutive Act of the AU which states the AU will "intervene in a member state pursuant to a decision of the assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.

This position reflects a markedly radical departure of its predecessor – the OAU's statist policy orientation in the form of non-interference. Judging from this normative change in policy guideline, it can be argued that the AU by adopting the policy of "non-indifference"

marks a new juncture and crystallization of hope especially in the arena of peace and security in Africa. Rather than been responsorial, the principle of “non-indifference” reveals a visionary and an assertive policy orientation “conscious of the fact that the scourge of conflict in Africa constitute(s) a major impediment to the socio-economic development the continent and that peace, security and stability were irreplaceable prerequisites for Africa’s development and integration agenda” (Constitutive Act of AU, 2000/2001). A detailed discussion of the A.U, its organs and structure will be the focus of the next sub-section chapter.

1.7. The African Union:

The formation of the AU reflected a renewed quest to redeem Africa as a continent of hopelessness marked by governance deficits, peace and security challenges, poverty and hunger among others to a continent full of hope, offering opportunities for sustainable peace and development to its people. The African union is made of 55 African countries. With the exception of Morocco, all Africa countries are members of the AU. Morocco explains this position from the stand point that in 1984, the OAU granted membership to the Saharwi Arab Democratic Republic, which it considered part of its domain. There are however on-going negotiation efforts to resolve these differences.

The working languages of the AU are “African languages, Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese” (Articles 25, Constitutive Act, 2000/2001). The objectives of the AU are articulated in Article 3 of the constitutive Act that outlines 14 objectives that seeks among other objectives to promote broader political and economic integration, peace, security and stability on the whole continent for the benefit of all Africa people. Unlike the OAU which in most estimation were leagues of governments, the focus of the AU claims to be people-

centered. Established under the provisions of Article 5 and 22 of the Constitutive Act of AU, the ECOSOCC purportedly recognizes civil societies in Africa as active stakeholders, which interaction with the various organs and governments can influence policy decisions for the betterment of all in Africa. This means that the domain of governance within the framework of the AU and its member states is shifting from state-centric orientation to a concrete policy disposition that reflect principles of democratic governance. Nevertheless, mechanisms for promoting and enforcing social justice remain relatively weak as poverty, oppression of opposition parties; inequality, famine and conflicts are still common phenomena in continental Africa.

The key principles of the AU are articulated in Article 4 of the Constitutive Act and can broadly be categorized in four themes: good governance, social justice, peace and security and socio-economic development and they underpin the development and integration agenda of the AU as encapsulated in its vision a forward looking agenda, that of “an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena” (African Union...).

The structure of the AU comprises of 10 AU organs including: The Assembly, the Executive Council; Pan-African Parliament, the Court of Justice, the Commission, the Permanent Representative Committee; the Specialized Technical Committees; the Economic and Social Council, the Peace and Security Council and Financial Institutions. The AU Assembly is composed of Heads of States of member countries which meets twice a year and represents the highest making decision body of the AU.

A critical look at these organs point to similar institutions of the AU’s predecessor, the OAU, that there have been changes in names. Again the fact that the Assembly is composed

and comprises of Heads of States of member countries and is the highest decision making body of the AU points to or rather raises a pessimistic outlook of the AU, and questions if the AU is a new and progressive institution.

Some remarkable assertive responses by the AU to unconstitutional changes of government on the continent point to the fact that the AU is committed to the principles of democratic governance to ward off instability and consolidate sustainable peace and development. Some examples are noteworthy in this regard. In 2009, Madagascar was suspended after Andry Rajoelina ascended to power through unconstitutional means – coup d'état. It was the fate of Niger in 2010 which was suspended after a military coup and quite recently, Cote d'Ivoire was also suspended after Laurent Gbagbo reluctantly refused to cede power to the alleged winner Alassane Ouattara.

All these developments indicate that the AU is projecting itself as a credible institution that walks its talk as in “any government which shall come to power through unconstitutional means shall not be allowed to participate in the activities of the union” (Article 30, Constitutive Act of AU). This poignantly shows that the AU is radically moving away as from an elites and ‘league of talking shop’ to an institution to that means what it says and says what it means. Further, the AU has within a relatively short period of time promulgated and adopted key declarations that seek to advance the continent forward in terms of peace, security and development.

Some of these conventions include; the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption – 2003; Africa Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance – 2007; and the New Partnership For Africa's Development (NEPAD), among others. These developments with the formation of the AU have evoked a sense of optimism and the arrival

and dawn of a new era African *renaissance*. This new era or dawn of new hope within the context of the Pan-Africanism, represented is often referred to as *new renaissance* for Africa.

This new renaissance was/is an effusive response that sought to establish that the state of suffering for Africans was enough and that Africans themselves led by the people and underpinned by democratic governance must be the norm and way forward for Africa. One of the principal constraints to Africa's development and integration agenda is that of violent conflicts. Within the broader search for mitigating crises especially that of conflicts, NEPAD and its allied mechanism of African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) sought to ensure the adherence to the principles of socio-economic and political governance.

A collaborative initiative by the AU and NEPAD agreed in 2003 to coordinate and align peace and security issues in Africa and outlined the following:

AU/NEPAD Consultations on the African Peace and security Agenda which aims at:

1. "Developing mechanisms, institutions building processes and support instruments for achieving peace and security in Africa
2. Improving capacity for, and coordination of, early action for conflict prevention, management and resolution including the development of peace support operations capabilities
3. Improving Early warning capacity in Africa through strategic analysis and support
4. Prioritizing strategic issues as follows
 - i. Promoting an Africa definition and action on disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation and reconstruction (DDRR) efforts in post-conflict situations
 - ii. Coordinating and ensuring effective implementation of African efforts aimed at preventing and combating terrorism
5. Ensuring efficient and consolidated action for the prevention, combating and eradication of the problem illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons
6. Improving the security sector and the capacity for good governance as related to peace and security

7. Generating minimum standards for the Application in the exploitation and management of Africa's resources (including non-renewable resources) in areas affected by conflict
8. Assisting in resource mobilization for the African Union Peace Fund and for regional initiatives aimed at preventing, managing and resolving conflicts on the continent" (Compendium of Key Documents Relating to Peace and Security in Africa, 2006: 46).

The principal architect of the NEPAD vision was Thabo Mbeki, former President of South Africa. This is how especially NEPAD, the New Partnership for Africa's Development became the blue print for promoting Africa's development and integration agenda. The principal foundation of NEPAD is summarized below:

"This new partnership for Africa's development is a pledge by Africa leaders, based on a common vision and a firm and shared conviction, that they have a pressing duty to eradicate poverty and to place their countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development, and at the same time to participant actively in the world economy and body politic. The program is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment in a globalizing world" (NEPAD, 2001).

In no mean terms, NEPAD in the form of the new African renaissance offered an unparalleled opportunity to advance the continent forward in terms of sustainable development as the key principles of the NEPAD are anchored in the central trajectory of Pan-Africanism that Africa's development can be accelerated by integration and addressing peace and security challenges.

Despite the existence of this grand scheme of agenda to addressing peace and security issues, there is up to date no clearly defined institutional collaborative mechanisms between the AU and the NEPAD to addressing peace and security challenges. A critical interrogation of NEPAD structures also reveals that it takes an *old* stance that Africa's competitiveness needs to be built on regional competition and markets which somehow reflects the philosophical

disposition of the Monrovia block which believed that economic cooperation should be the building blocks for continental integration.

NEPAD also advocates for a paradigmatic framework that moves from a poverty-reduction paradigm to a growth-expansion paradigm. However, in the face of an ever expanding inequality, and poverty, the central question that critically demands attention is not growth per se, but what happens to the 'growth'. In this respect, AU and NEPAD collaborative network need a paradigmatic shift that only addresses sector challenges such as peace and security, trade, agriculture, migration, climate change to addressing socio-political challenges from an inter-sector, i.e. holistic perspective.

Finally, NEPAD stipulates ownership as the basis for all cooperative ventures with development partners, a philosophy that echoes the African voice for African solutions to African problems or challenges. In discussing ownership, the AU and its member states must demonstrate without reasonable doubt that they can manage their own affairs by providing sound and credible leadership especially in the broad arenas of governance and development.

On the issue of African solutions to African problems, what ought to be remembered is that in 21st century globalized world, there cannot be specifically such a phenomena as 'African problems/solutions' since most challenges are transnational and require cooperation and collaboration. In this respect, Pan-Africanism must move away from been a reactionary policy tool, to that of a visionary 'blue print' that provide concrete mechanisms for moving the African continent forward. Finally within the broader context of Pan-Africanism, one can read into an explicit lack of any provision for supra-national structure with the Constitutive Act of the AU which in a subtly betrays the principal agenda of Pan-Africanism, which is continental integration, which in a sense is no different from the OAU in this direction. It can

only be hoped that the dynamic and fast changing socio-economic and political barometer in a globalized will 'compel' the AU if it does not adjust quickly and pragmatically to integrate – politically and economically - to addressing its enormous development challenges.

1.8. Conclusion

This sub-section took as object of its investigation, the evolution of the Pan-Africanism and the birth of O.A.U and the A.U focusing on a historical and some aspects of theory throughout the discussion. The aspect of the discussion that focused on the historical dimensions traced the evolution of Pan-Africanism and tried to recast Pan-Africanism based on available documentary evidence, and indeed emphasized that Pan-Africanism represented a principal human agency for the transformation of enslavement, oppression and racial decimation.

The brief theoretical discussion on Pan-Africanism also tried to question whether Pan-Africanism constituted an ideology. The argument was in the affirmative in the sense that it helped shaped the way Africans perceived the social and political discourse, and by finding a way to deal with it, Pan-Africanism was a tool that was used as a respond to their environment. It nonetheless also agreed that, what constitutes an ideology has many contestations. Finally, the discussion concludes that through the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism in the form of the O.A.U, Pan-Africanism could have hoped to achieve continental unity for promotion of Peace and development for all Africans. However as the facts depicted, the enormity of challenges the O.A.U faced were many, complex and multifaceted. Meeting these challenges proved almost difficult, thereby rendering the O.A.U as a failed institution of Pan-Africanism.

The prospect for continental unity is not completely dissipated, as the O.AU has been transformed into the A.U. The key challenge for a continental unity lies in the extent to which the A.U could meet the challenges it also faces, and this will be the next discussion of the following chapter. As has been shown, the O.A.U failed in many accounts, one of the

principal reasons being the adherence to state-centric policies disconnected to the people that crippled and strangled the political legitimacy and authority of the O.A.U.

The viability of African unity and its implication for peace and development looks promising despite the challenges at hand. However, the success of continental unity depends to a large extent on the A.U, being the successor of O.A.U, effort to meet reconcile and harmonize its nagging political and economic challenges both at the regional and continental level. Only then will the way be paved for peace and development which is the primary desire of Pan-Africanism.

And again it should be remembered; given the fact that peace and development are not static destination, it is important for African governments to marshal all their resources and work together for the common goal and betterment of Africans, drawing lessons from the O.A.U to make the AU more effective. In doing this, the A.U will be poised to meet squarely the problems and challenges it faces and transform them into opportunities, and in this way, the Pan-African spirit that originally inspired a continental unity will become purposeful and meaningful for peace and development for all Africans in the globalized world of the 21st century.

Chapter Two

Conflict, Peace, and Development: A theoretical reflection

Introduction

This chapter focuses on discussing conflict, peace and development from a peace research perspective. It takes a critical reflection on some of the compelling interpretation of these concepts and how they help us in understanding their dynamics. The thesis will within the scope of peace research deliberate on some of the often conflicting and often vexing interpretation of these concepts especially within the academic and policy spheres, and strive to settle on an accommodating interpretation that finds common understanding with the academic and policy community.

The quest for deep knowledge and new paradigmatic discourses in all spheres of endeavors more so in the academic and policy circles is endless as human beings strive to better understanding about themselves and phenomena. In this respect, all readings into what have been discussed herein do not reflect definite claims or ‘ways’ to understanding but rather, it represents the continuous effort to build a broader knowledge base that contributes to the continuous zeal of humanity to better itself through academic inquiry and interrogation.

The first part of this section or chapter explores the conceptual definition and understanding of conflict, its forms and dynamics. Following the theoretical exploration into the life cycle of conflict, the thesis discusses mechanisms of its resolution to peace and the linkage thereof between peace and development which will be the second and third part of the thesis.

2.1. Definition of conflict

There has been the general tendency both within the academic and policy circles to conceptualize conflict within the domain of violence, which constricts conflict within the scope of behavior and hostilities which is grounded in attitudes. Conflict, however, entails more than behavior and attitudes. More inclusive in the definition of conflict is the issue of incompatibility “*positiondifferenzen*” (Czempiel, 1981: 198-203) – differences in issue position, which has gained more footing in peace research.

Christopher Mitchell (1981) conceptualizes conflict as the interaction of interdependent parties who perceive they have incompatible goals and interference from each other in achieving those goals. Central to Mitchell’s conceptualization of conflict is the issue of perception which in a sense leads to incompatibility. This incompatibility is what gives rise to conflict. According to Mitchell, (1981), conflict has a structure which is composed of attitudes, behavior and situation whose interaction create conflict between the parties involved.

In reality however, conflicts are not overly simplistic but rather manifest themselves in a mixed-motive relationship in a dichotomized context of competition and cooperation based on how parties perceive each other. In the opinion of (Deutsch and Krauss, 1962) the ‘*competitive component*’ creates conflict while the ‘*cooperation element*’ fosters willingness to negotiate. The element of perception in conflict is important in the sense that, how parties perceive each other’s motive can impact on the balance of incentives. In conflict situation therefore, “the balance of incentive to compete or cooperate is important in determining the direction the conflict interaction takes” (Folger, Poole et al, 1995:406).

Sandole (2007), argues from another perspective looking at conflict from an organic perspective that conflict is a process characterized by origins, escalations, controlled maintenance, de-escalation, and some kind of termination. As a process, Sandole argues that conflict may be latent by which he meant, not yet clear to the potential parties but on its way to becoming what he terms a (MCP) Manifest Conflict Process. Sandole explains that an MCP is a situation characterized by at least two parties pursuing their perceptions of mutually incompatible goals by undermining each other's goal-seeking capability (Sandole, 2007).

Conflict by its nature is not necessarily bad or evil. On the other hand, it becomes alarming when the parties involved pursue their perceptions of mutually incompatible goals by violent means; damaging, injuring or destroying one another as in the case of violent conflicts when violence is used to achieve one's goal. In this sense, a (MCP) to use the words of Sandole, transform itself into (AMCP) Aggressive Manifest Conflict Process (Sandole, 2007). The question here is what would cause for an example a (MCP) to transform itself into (AMCP)? This brings us to the causes of conflict.

2.2 Causes of conflicts

There is not a singled-out cause of conflicts. Conflicts do not occur in a vacuum. In conceptualizing a conflict, it ought to be borne in mind that a complex interplay of 'factors' or 'forces' come into play to start a conflict. Conflict is not static but a dynamic process in a continuum. Galtung, (1996) has reasoned that conflict is organic i.e. it appears, reaches an emotional, even violent climax, then tappers off – and reappears. Galtung (1996), reasons that there is logic behind this premise when one considers that individuals or groups such as nations and states have goals. When goals are incompatible, a contradiction, an issue is born. The thesis will adopt Darfur conflict as a point of reference. To avoid the trappings of

oversimplification, the thesis highlights the caveat that, the example used in this case represents just a fractional interpretation of the genesis of the Darfur conflict and does not in any way claim this as the sole cause of the Darfurian conflict.

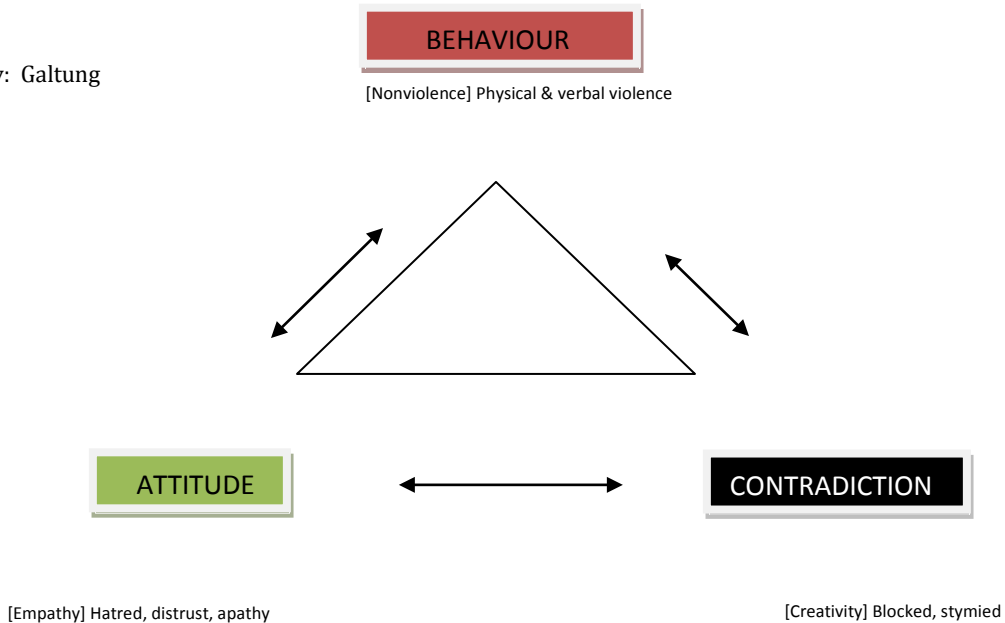
The Darfur crisis was started a result of competition over resource use – in this case, arable land and water resources. Triggered by drought, a natural phenomenon, the use of land became a central issue -“position”- as access to arable land and water meant survival – “meeting basic needs”. This also implied that control of land could enhance the balance of power enjoyed by one group. Given that Sudan is divided by religion, tribe and economic groupings, the struggle for control of land as a resource became strategic -“interest”- intense because of the drought – “only a trigger”.

Compounded by structural violence i.e. oppression and marginalization, and especially when the government replaced the traditional councils with his own programs which were pro-Arab, i.e. -“exclusion”- another trigger, the Sudanese Liberation Army Movement (SLM) -“a primary actor”- felt compelled and launched a violent attack -“direct violence”- “also explosion or escalation stage” - which , is a manifest expression of their inner resentment for the existing structures, more so when this denial is tied to their existence as a group – non-black Arabs.

As had been analyzed, frustrations of hatred and anger can find expressions as violent acts only when the necessary factors in this case ‘triggers’ offer the means for that expression - violence The above explanation has been represented in a diagram – conflict triangle which was postulated by Galtung.

Conflict triangle

By: Galtung



What is important here to note is that, the variables represented here all mutually reinforce each other and the way to address them are in parenthesis as depicted in the diagram and discussed above. Examining causes of conflict from another perspective, (Rubenstein 2001) drawing on insights from Freud and Lorenz argues that Conservative Personalist theories consider humans as creatures driven to engage in violent conflict by sinful rebelliousness, innate aggressive instincts, or a lust for power (Rubenstein 2001). From this perspective, a situational environment trigger - drought, oppression, suppression, and exclusion for example - merely provides a context for conflictive thoughts and activities that are primarily internally generated. Given that human impulses to sin, aggress, or dominate cannot be stamped out, they require control or balancing by countervailing force (Rubenstein, 2001).

Rubenstein forcefully and critically argues that if conservative personalist theories on conflict should hold, then non-violent, self-enforcing conflict resolution, what could be termed "peace by peaceful means" (Galtung, 1996) must be considered a utopian fantasy. Another consideration, a Burtonian apothegm that concludes, "deterrence cannot deter" (Burton, 1990: 34) reminds us to the inefficacy of coercive methods to modify behavior when individuals or groups are impelled to act on the basis of imperative needs.

In a further substantiation, Rubenstein argues that Liberal situationalist theories, on the other hand, seemed to have opened a new vista and sense of optimism for conflict resolvers. He reasons that, by highlighting the potency of social determinants rather than the intractability of individual instincts, conflict behaviors might be altered by altering the external situation. Strict behaviorism, Rubenstein quoting Skinner, (1965) argues, relegated instincts and other internal mechanisms to a metaphorical "black box," postulating that, given a certain environment or situation, people would act in predictable ways.

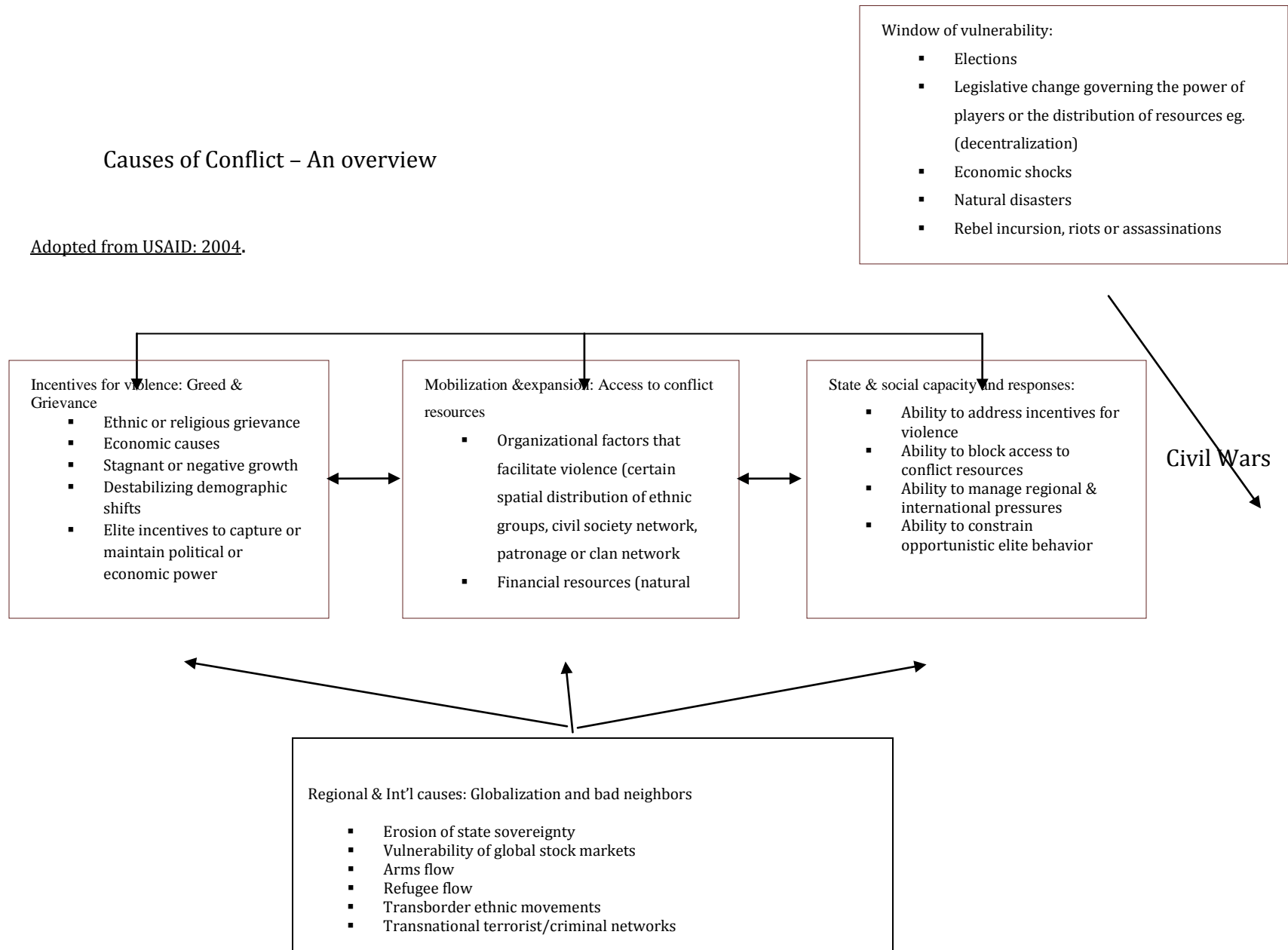
Conclusively, Rubenstein (2001) is of the view that frustration-aggression theorists, like Dollard, reduced the aggressive instinct to a mere potential for destructive action, with primary attention focused on situations that activate this potential by frustrating goal-oriented activity. Reinforcing his opinion, Rubenstein intimates that Social learning theory presented humans as cognizing creatures whose ideas and attitudes were largely determined by social conditioning and much of post-Freudian psychoanalytical theory moved analogously from the primacy of instinct to family - or culture-based situational determinism (Rubenstein 2001).

To make for a graphical understanding of conflict which incorporates all that have been discussed above, the schematic below captures and presents a systematic overview of conflict

which is helpful in comprehending the complexity and dynamics of what causes conflict albeit in a more generalized way.

Causes of Conflict – An overview

Adopted from USAID: 2004.



2.3 The Organic Nature of Conflict or its Life Cycle(s)

Conflicts have a life of their own, and as Galtung 1996 rightly puts it, a conflict is not static but a dynamic process in a continuum with the intensity level changing to reflect the stage of the life cycle. Galtung contends that conflict is organic i.e. it appears, reaches an emotional, even violent climax, then tappers off – and reappears. The need and reason to understand the life cycle of a conflict is important in guiding an instructive measure or mechanism of how, when and where to institute the necessary remedies and strategies of conflict prevention and management schemes.

Ample empirical evidence in peace research conclude that conflict demonstrate a cyclical pattern of phases beginning with escalation to crisis levels or say war, then tapering off or de-escalating to relative peace. Based on this general understanding, it can be deduced that conflict life cycles are broadly categorized into phases of what can be termed escalation and de-escalation. A careful understanding of the dynamics of each of these phases is necessary for the appropriate mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and its resolution.

In summary, conflict arises as a result of incompatibility of goals and becomes violent when direct force is used to achieve a goal arising out of incompatibility. Conflict is also not necessary bad which could open avenues for cooperation.

2.4 Peace

“There is not only one way to understand peace, but rather there are as many ways of making peace(s) as there are different peoples and cultures”

Vicent Martínez Guzmán

“Peace is the essential prerequisite because without peace we will be unable to achieve the levels of cooperation, inclusiveness and social equity necessary to solve our global challenges, let alone empower the international institutions needed to regulate the challenges”

Steve Killelea

This thesis examines peace from diverse perspectives exploring various paradigms and interpretations of peace in a multi-dimensional discourse of what the concept of peace embodies. A principal objective the thesis engages with in this discussion is - how do these definitions apply to contemporary peace research perspective? The question of peace as a bedrock for development is also given a critical reflection and interrogation as well.

The thesis in this sub-section has the objective of questioning some of the existing interpretation of peace. This paper takes as its point of reference that the concept of peace is viewed as a relative and hyperbolic term, very fluid and dynamic in nature. Whilst the discussion seeks a critical reflection on the understanding of peace and therefore takes a multidimensional approach in examining peace, it denounces the modernist absolute frames of perceiving reality in certitudes. Based on peace research perspective, the thesis argues that the universalistic notion of “one peace” as opposed to different peace(s) holds a swath that is inimical to the understanding and the quest for peace both in academic and policy circles.

As noted and cautioned by Dietrich, “The search for the “one peace” is identified as part of a larger universalist mode of thinking that in its totality rests upon disrespectful and therefore unpeaceful basic assumptions, so that the guidelines for action and the real politics that derive from it do at least have the potential for a continuous renewal of violence” (Dietrich, 2002:51).

The thesis will thus seek to deconstruct or unpack the utopian inerrancy of constricting *reality* to absolute terms.

2.4(1) Understanding Peace: Taxonomy of Definitions and Conceptions.

Because of the impossibility of absolute knowledge, we have no right to impose our version of truth on another by physical force. When we are confronted with a different interpretation of truth, we must be prepared to reexamine our own position and consider the merits in the other's position. If we disagree we must attempt to convince the other with persuasion and gentleness, not violence

David Cortright

Because of the dissimilarity and no commonly recognized theoretical field, the greatest obstacle that we all come up against as agents involved, in one way or another, in the building of Peace is the system of organizing and articulating the information at our disposal on the subject

Francisco Muñoz, 2006: 242

The concept of peace and what it means has been fraught with various contentions and has up to date met with little success in terms of a specified definition of what it means. This could largely be attributed to the fact that, the conception, understanding and application of peace are as diverse as there are humans and their cultures. Accordingly, people's conception and understanding of peace is informed and shaped by their psychological, cultural, religious and traditional interpretation and experience of reality.

Accordingly, it will be self-defeating to constrict the interpretation or definition of, or operationalization of peace from only one perspective. Obviously, and in drawing emphasis in the area of peace research, the thesis contends that there is not a universally acclaimed definition of peace, as any such an attempt would in itself nullify the notion of what peace is. If we can appreciate the fact that, there are different cultures, belief and philosophical systems, then it

cannot be difficult comprehending that “There is not only one way of understanding peace. There are many ways of making peace as there are diverse people and cultures” - Martinez Guzman.

Nevertheless, the common understanding that resonates with the interpretation of peace irrespective of the different cultural and philosophical dispositions that people hold is that peace is associated with values such as empathy, compassion, calmness, kindness, mutual respect, justice, harmony in the midst of diversity and the like. There also seem to be a general consensus that there is inner and outer peace. The thesis however cautions that the acceptance of plurality in the interpretation of peace is important though; it does not necessarily guarantee overcoming conflict or lead to a *peaceful* world.

What is peace? To answer this seemingly difficult question, the thesis explores various etymological trajectory concepts to shed a better understanding of what constitutes peace. It should be noted however that, “the emergence of interest in peace and its scholarly debate is a recent phenomenon” (Gregor, 1996: ix, Cortright, 2008:25) although it can be argued that peace in the broadest sense of the word has been sought by human beings over ages and ever will be. Gregor engages us to critically examine “*why*” (Gregor; 1996: x) peace has not been in mainstream research discourse until recent times, the past fifty years.

Peace research has been a “child of its times” (Maill, 2000), for it arose amidst a global quest to find new understanding and paradigms about issues of conflict and peace. As observed by (Maill 2000), the Cold War had been instrumental in shaping this agenda and interest. Thus, “Peace research set out to say something new and generic about conflict and peace, and to change the way we think about them” (Maill, 2000).

In a further articulation, Maill postulates that:

Now we are in a post-positivist, post-Cold War, post-Westphalian era, which seems likely to be dominated by conflicts over global governance. A liberal peace has been established and institutions and networks of global governance are emerging. But the rules and conditions of this new order are contested, and its birth is accompanied by violence, conflict and fragmentation. The era of conflicts over global governance calls for a synthesis of new thinking in peace research, politics and international relations, in place of the mutual suspicion that prevailed during the Cold War. (Maill, 2000)

For Maill 2000, the contestation of the “new order” is what has ushered in a new and urgent quest to find new approaches by synthesizing thinking in politics, international relations and other fields of study. This makes the area of peace research more inter/trans-disciplinary. For Gregor, and to answer his question raised above, his intimation is that “peace is hard to define and hard to find” (Gregor, 1996: x). The question that jumps to mind is, but why should peace be hard to define and find? The answer to this could be found in the thinking that, peace is a relative and a fluid word which could be interpreted differently by people at different places due to socio-cultural dynamics and other factors as well. Until quite recently, i.e. fifty years ago, the dominate interpretation of peace especially in the academic circles has been marked by framing peace as the absence of war.

But is the absence of war an effective indicator that there is peace? How do we explain socio-economic and political injustice? Can one assume that societies marked by extreme poverty, experiencing wanton destruction of the environment are peaceful simply because they are not at war? These and others hard questions are looked into in this paper, and the discussion begins by examining some of the theoretical paradigms and interpretations of peace. In the discussion of peace, the thesis is informed by the disposition that, the etymological interpretations of peace differs from one culture to another and therefore peace cannot be constricted to one interpretation.

2.4(2) Idealism and Realism

Idealism and realism have dominated the geo-strategic frame and architecture of international relations discourse regarding peace and security which influenced policy decisions for most parts of the 20th and into the 21st century. When examined critically, both idealism and realism share a statist or state-centric perspective of the international system. Nonetheless, the two paradigms have different conceptions and mechanism to achieve peace and security. The underlying principle and philosophy is that, realists perceive security - interpreted as peace - as a derivative of power while idealists are of the view that security is a consequence of peace.

The linchpin of the realist philosophy has been guided by Thucydides who asserts that “we recommend that you should try to get what it is possible for you to get...the standard of justice depends on the equality of power to compel and that in fact the strong do what they have to do and the weak accept what they have to accept” (Thucydides, 1910...). The Thucydidesian notion of power is encapsulated in what has become known as *realpolitik*.

In one of his works, Snow 2004, articulate six propositions of realism including but not limited to the fact that; “the exercise of power is the principal means of conflict resolution” and “one political instrument of power is military force, which is one option for resolving differences between states” (Snow, 2004). But these are grounded in unilateralism which often leads to a zero-sum outcome. However, how could zero-sum outcomes help produce peace, in which the victory of a party means the loss of the other? As Vasquez 1996 points out, because they see anarchy and power politics as prevailing, realist underestimate the possibility of peace, and in

furtherance Waltz argues; a structure of anarchy makes war possible, and because anarchy is endemic, power politics dominates (Vasquez, 1996: 279-80).

For the idealist, the conviction is that the international system is characterized by anarchy where there is no governing body regulating the behavior of states. Accordingly, the conventional wisdom has been for states to generate and maintain the means in meeting their interest. A principle called balance of power evolved based on the realistic calculation of power a state has in relation to others. It is achieved when a state has the military capability to deter other states from military confrontation because they both have relative military strength. The ensuing peace that results from balance of power has come to be known as peace through strength, often associated with military strength.

The idealist doctrine has become a key international security policy in international relations despite its weaknesses - its insidious nature if viewed from peace research perspective. Affirming his conviction in the principle of peace through strength, Henry Kissinger once noted:

Throughout history the political influence of nations has been roughly correlative to their military power. While states might differ in the moral worth and prestige of their institutions, diplomatic skill could augment but never substitute for military strength. In the final reckoning weakness has invariably tempted aggression and impotence brings abdication of policy in its train... The balance of power has in fact been the precondition for peace (Kissinger, 1979....).

The doctrine of peace through strength is suggestive but not necessarily a viable guarantor or mechanism to achieve, build or maintain peace. The realist perceives security attained through military might to be a guarantee for peace. But could states bank their hopes and quest for peace on military might in an era when new security threats – poverty, climate change, drugs and transnational crimes - have become a widespread around the world? Moreover, the concept of security constricted to military power to deter others falls short of meeting others dimensions – human, citizen, etc., - of what is security in the 21st century should entail and a

Burtonian apothegm reads “deterrence does not deter”. To achieve peace, the *Realist* assumes that, building military strength and/or alliances with other states is a pragmatic choice of policy as a way of achieving state interest, stability and peace.

Further impetus to this doctrine has been consolidated by the Machiavellian apothegm of the end justifies the means. The modality of social control most congenial to the proponents of the peace through strength is threat. Arguable “deterrence” is seen “as the most important...only effective, preventative of war“(Rapoport, 1995:142). The dominant psychological state induced by the peace through strength conception of peace is pugnacity and its obverse, fear, that... reliance on threats induces a feeling of being threatened (Rapoport, 1995).

In sum, Rapoport 1995 argues that the *balance of power* idea is most compatible with the philosophy of political realism – because the identification of power as the supreme value in international politics finds its clearest expression in that philosophy – secondly *prudence and rationality* – central tenants of political realism point to balance of power as a guarantee of stability, and presumably, of peace. A prudent and rational political leader will not readily engage in military adventures if he is aware of the risks involved in attempting to increase his own power at the expense of others who possess comparable power (Rapoport, 1995: 145).

If one concurs with the reasoning of Burton, that the deterrence doctrine is not impeccable, then it could be understood that “deterrence cannot deter” (Cited in Rubenstein, 2001...) because the more weaponized and militarized states become, they inadvertently cause other states to do the same, causing unnecessary arms race and an endless misuse of resources that could have been channeled to fight hunger, diseases and infrastructural development that could impact positively on the well-being of people in a country.

In a further critical reflection, Udayamakumar observes that, the dormant discourse in peace research have been pervaded by realist and idealist conceptions – ideas, primarily seen as *Western* interpretation of peace. Udayamakumar argues that peace concepts as is known in most academic circles are primarily Western. He notes:

Prevailing theories of peace are mostly Western as the academic discipline of peace research/studies itself is of the West. As modern socioeconomic-political system is Eurocentric with the Holy Trinity of 'scientism, nation-statism, and developmentalism,' so is peace research/studies. Peace is always seen at the backdrop of modernity, industrialization, Westphalian framework, security concerns, power struggles and order building. Peace scholars are mostly Westerners or Western-educated, or trained in Western colonial educational system. The scholarly quest for peace thus far has been preoccupied with "European imperialisms" (both Capitalist and Communist), their expansionist schemes, and preparations for nuclear annihilation. Peace, for many, still means nuclear peace (Udayakumar, 1999, 13-14).

However, Cortright contends that "because of the impossibility of absolute knowledge, we have no right to impose our version of truth on another... When we are confronted with a different interpretation of truth, we must be prepared to re-examine our own position and consider the merits in the other's position" (Courtright, 2006:15-16). In this regard, Udayakumar's critique of the *Westernized* interpretation of peace shakes the core of the Western intellection founded on rationalism which usurp a universalistic interpretation. It is no surprise therefore that based on these reasoning, controversial concepts and state centric foreign policies such as *Just war* has been advocated and defended, all in the name of achieving and maintaining peace. As Udayakumar observed, Western cosmology of peace has tended to see peace as a "security concern" where peace is not an "issue of justice" but of "interest that seeks to maintain the status quo" (Udayakumar, 1998:2).

Galtung also notes that the Westphalia "peace" of 1864 acknowledges states "right to war" (Galtung, 2002: xiii) in the pursuit of national interest which again echoes sentiments strongly shared by Morgenthau. According to Morgenthau states are actors with "interest"

geared toward “attaining, preserving and increasing its power” (Rapoport, 1995: 144), power thus become a central theme in international relations. In adopting a paradigmatic approach, Udayakumar recommends that peace must be seen as “living” concept and not a “synthetic product” to be produced in a laboratory and commercialized. The need therefore for a great deal of creativity in the understanding, quest and search for peace both in the academic and policy circles is urgently needed (Udayakumar, 1998:4). Thus viewed from the perspective of its *organic* nature in the sense that peace must be seen as “living”, great deal of care and attention in terms of nurturing must continuously be maintained to sustain peace as a “living”.

In a further epistemic frame that sheds a holistic understanding, interpretation and the quest to comprehend peace, Dietrich argues that “peace can neither be produced nor exported”, and to be viable and potent, peace argues Dietrich, must have relevance and meaning to the localities concerned; otherwise it “will never have any social power and remain an abstraction in the brain of peace researchers” (Dietrich, 1997:15). Peace imposed “from above or from abroad” is “conflict provoking” constraining alternatives and creativity (Galtung, Jacobsen, Brand-Jacobsen 2002:74).

Another alternative perspective to the theory of peace on building a peaceful society was that of the socialist thinking propounded by Karl Marx who believed that the quest and search for peace must be grounded in equality and economic justice. A necessary concomitant for peace socialist argues is social justice in the broadest sense. Although socialists agree that interdependence promotes peace, a thinking shared by neo-liberalist, they staunchly denounce capitalism and criticize its bellicose nature as the cause of “imperialism and war” (Courtright, 2008:261).

In light of the reasoning above, the socialist interpretation of peace calls for a more egalitarian framework encompassing economics and politics. In a post-Marxist thought, Galtung reasoned and brought into peace research what he termed structural violence “which completely discarded the realist idea of negative peace and was far more comprehensible than the idealist concepts” (Dietrich: ...). Galtung from this perspective believed that structural violence arises where political – economic structures impede individuals or groups from unfolding their mental and somatic skills. This inspired the claim for positive peace and a paradigm shift with peace research argues Dietrich.

Peace can also be examined from another dimension by incorporating ideas from quantum physics. Proponents of quantum peace argue that peace could also be understood in quantum terms as things that cannot be necessarily broken down superficially or ends points in themselves but an unending and evolving process through time and space. That is why Cortright, a renowned peace scholar argues drawing insights from Gandhian outlook that “ends and means are not distinct categories of analysis but complementary components of the same reality” (Courtright, 2006:17). Viewed this way, peace from the quantum perspective could be viewed as a continuum.

Further, comprehending peace from the quantum dimension, parallels can be drawn from Diarmuid O’Murchu who explains that “at the heart of the quantum vision is the conviction that all life forces are interdependent and interrelated. In fact, we experience life, not in isolated entities, not in separate unites, but in bundles of experience (quanta)” Diarmuid O’Murchu (1998: 86). If we operationalize the understanding of peace in quantum terms based on O’Murchu’s quotation, then one realizes the necessity based on quantum theory perspective that it is important to recognize the need to transcend the polarity and illusion of proctology i.e. the

study of first things, and eschatology – study of last things, when we strive to understand peace in the sense that peace is more interconnected and inter-dependent and thus this interconnectedness and inter-independency does not make sense to separate. From the above reasoning, quantum physics illuminates our understanding of peace that helps in transcending the ambiguity about where a thing starts and where it ends, as any such attempt to constrict thinking in terms of proctology and eschatology is but futile.

Lastly and viewed from a broader continuum process, peace as envisioned by Lederach argues that, “[...] metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct. Such a conceptualization requires a process of building, involving investment and materials, architectural design and coordination of labor, laying of a foundation, and detailed finish work, as well as continuing maintenance” (Lederach, 1997: 20).

Arguably, one can reason why, it is quite difficult to exactly define what peace is. The narratives and analysis explain above support why there is the need to subscribe to “many peaces” – according to (Dietrich and Sützl, 1997: 16) more so in the area of peace research. The understanding that this sub-section had sought to share is that to attempt defining peace in a universalistic manner will amount to what can be best described as academic chauvinism. Muñoz notes that individuals, groups or institutions have their different conception of what constitute peace “[...] nearly all have a concept of peace based on different experiences acquired in different ways and at different times” (Muñoz, 2006: 242).

The quest for peace therefore should be informed by the fact that “the tasks are endless” in our quest for and understanding of peace. Most importantly, the key questions we should constantly engage ourselves with is “whether we are up to them” (Galtung, 2002: xi). In this respect, it is important to “Let us look for our place and act in accordance with it! Let us talk

about the many peace(s)!” in our understanding of peace (Dietrich and Sützl, 1997: 16). The next focus of the thesis discusses the kinds of peace known in peace research.

2.4 (3) Kinds of Peace(s) Negative and Positive Peace

2.4(3: a) Negative Peace

Academic inquiry and the quest to comprehend peace in a much broader perspective have led to what in peace research is called Negative and Positive Peace pioneered by Johan Galtung. In much of peace research discourse, peace has been categorized and institutionalized as positive and negative peace (Gregor: 1996: xviii). Negative peace connotes the absence of direct violence in peace research. Thus, the underpinning frame of Negative peace is marked by the absence of violence – direct or physical. While this interpretation is quite limited, in it is instructive in helping us comprehend peace, albeit in a very restricted manner. The thesis starts an inquiry by asking: what is violence whose absence leads to negative peace?

In Galtung’s point of view, violence “is the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is” (Galtung, 1969: 168). Obvious manifestations of violence in its classic form are both physical and mental as in the case of killings, maiming, rape, denigration of others through insults and the like. However, when one conflates the understanding of Negative peace as marked by the absence of violence and Galtung’s theory of peace that “peace is the absence of violence”, then one comes to realize that “Galtung’s is much a theory that defines violence as it is a theory about peace” (Barnett, 2008: 77).

With regards to the above reasoning, one can deduce that Galtung's theory of peace centers on his definition of violence. This interpretation leads to an oversimplification. As Barnett notes, "this peace/violence dualism tends to simplify the continuous nature of social conditions to polar opposites and so lacks sensitivity to the rather more dialectical character of social change" (Barnett: 2008: 77). A discerning interrogation of Galtung's theory of peace reveals that, it speaks more of structures than agents (Boulding, 1977, Patomäki, 2001). Using the military industrial complex as a point of reference and in this case 'structure', Barnett argues that, Galtung theory is much silent on "choices" – agent that people make. He states:

His theory of violence accommodates the military-industrial complex, for example, but says little about the choices that people within these processes make; for example, is an unemployed migrant who joins the army in the absence of alternative career prospects an agent of violence? If (s)he smokes and this causes him/her to have a reduced life expectancy (a difference between the actual and potential), is this product of structure (circumstance, environment, tobacco marketing) or agency (personal choice)? (Banett, 2008:78).

As can be seen, there is a clear limitation with the theory of violence which in most cases, ignores agency and focuses more on structures. A critical reflection on the limitations of the peace/violence dualism, led Galtung to posit that "I have long argued for an expanded peace concept, building on a violence concept beyond direct violence so as to include structural and cultural violence" (Galtung, 1996: 256). Thus, limited as Galtung's interpretation might seem, it is still very relevant and instructive as it helps in comprehending the "theoretically significant dimensions of violence" (Galtung, 1969: 168).

To capture violence in a much broader perspective we can say that, "violence is any physical, emotional, verbal, institutional, structural or spiritual behavior, attitude, policy or condition that diminishes, dominates or destroys ourselves and others" (Turningthetide, 2011...). Thus, this definition captures and also encompasses Galtung's conceptualization of structural and

cultural violence. Further, it is essential to note that, there is a kind of mutual and recursive relationship between cultural and structural violence on one hand and direct violence.

Cultural and structural violence are the cause and source of direct violence, and in turn, direct violence, reinforces cultural and structural violence. At the apex of violence, we see direct violence, but beneath it are cultural and structural violence which are often invisible. In his book *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, James Gilligan defined structural violence as "the increased rates of death and disability suffered by those who occupy the bottom rungs of society, as contrasted with the relatively lower death rates experienced by those who are above them." (Gilligan, 19987:89)

Gilligan largely describes these "excess deaths" as "non-natural" and attributes them to the stress, shame, discrimination and denigration that results from lower status. Gilligan draws on Sennett and Cobb, who examine the "contest for dignity" in a context of dramatic inequality to shed an understanding of structural violence. In a succinct manner, a twisting of Cortright's definition of positive peace as "transcending"... "conditions that limit human potential and assuring opportunities for self-realization" (Cortright 2008:7) will be worthwhile. This is so if we remove the word *transcending* from Cortright's definition.

It becomes apparent that structural violence is conditions that curtail human possibilities. It is indisputable that structural violence constrains human agency. While structural violence helps us in comprehending the unseen operational dynamics of societies – socio-economic, cultural and political, what it does miss is its inability to capture the failings of individual weaknesses. There is also a cultural twist to violence, and it refers to aspects of culture that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence, and may be exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (Galtung, 1990: 291-305).

Cultural violence thus legitimizes direct and structural violence (Galtung, 1990: 291). Understanding cultural violence sheds insight into the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimized and thus made acceptable in society. One mechanism of cultural violence is to change the "moral color" of an act from "red/wrong" to "green/right," or at least to "yellow/acceptable"(Galtung, 1990: 292).

On a concluding note on Negative peace, the thesis maintains that a critical interrogation of negative peace reflects the realist thinking or school of thought which posits that this peace – Negative peace - is maintained through very surreptitious socio-economic and political oppression. This oppression is often not apparent, yet potent enough to deny the equitable well-being for all. In most cases, reactive responses such as peacekeeping, conflict management are some of the mechanisms to restore this peace. Viewed this way, negative peace is not enduring and durable enough in the quest for peace.

Finally, in discussing *Negative peace*, it is essential to realize that the use of the term *Negative Peace* in peace research does not mean or reflect a pejorative or a denigrating peace but it reflects a peace which could even be better ontologically. Rather than the superficial none existence of violence and war, peace could mean more and go even deeper. More importantly, the absence of war is necessary precondition if any meaningful socio-economic and political progress is to take place.

2.4 (3:b) Positive Peace

Positive peace on the other hand, reflects the absence of indirect and structural violence. Positive peace reflects a situation that is characterized by harmony, equity, wholeness, well-being for all people. Its approach to the maintenance of peace is more pro-active rather than reactive, and focuses more on what in peace research is called peacebuilding. Positive peace

however from its theoretical interpretation sounds and looks more abstract in practical real world terms.

To make it a little easier to comprehend, one can envision a world in which there is no social, economic and political injustice. It is in this regard that Barash notes, Positive Peace is “more difficult to articulate, and possibly more difficult to achieve” (Barash and Webel, 2002: 8). In a nutshell, a reflection on Galtung’s *Negative and Positive* peace no doubt helps in providing a good understanding about peace especially in peace research. Galtung’s argumentation however tends to, or is inclined to the outer dimension of peace which is external and institutionally - structures - focused.

What is missing though is another dimension of peace, which cannot be ignored, and that is inner peace. Inner peace cannot be ignored in the sense that one cannot talk of institutions and ignore the principal agent of that institution which is the individual. In this respect, the thesis tries to delve briefly into inner and outer peace, which takes us to a discussion on dimensions of peace.

2.5 Dimensions of Peace

By looking at the dimensions of peace, the thesis focuses on the scope of peace from the inner and outer perspectives. Inner peace is characterized by “mental or spiritual condition marked by freedom from disquieting or oppressive thoughts or emotions as well as calmness of the mind and heart: serenity of the spirit” (cited in Barash and Webel, 2009: 5). This kind of inner peace as described by Barash and Webel even though it reflects inner peace, points to a mere state of mental stability or tranquility which can best be described as passive. What is even more essential is that, inner peace must also embody an unshakable state or condition that is magnanimous enough, and able to withstand internal contradictions and or conflicts.

Outer peace on the other hand is defined as “freedom from civil clamor and confusion and as a state of public quite” (Barash and Webel, 2009:4) It continues further to state that it is “a state of security or order within a community provided for by law, custom, or public opinion” This reflects a *political* order within or among states. This is made more clear as “a state of mutual concord between governments: absence of hostilities or war”, which evocatively reflect sentiments of negative and positive peace as highlighted above (Cited in Barash and Webel, 2009:4). The conventional understanding of peace is found in this interpretation.

Nevertheless, it cannot be claimed that the two, inner and outer peace can stand on their own as both must complement each other. Inner peace and outer peace are thus not mutually exclusive. There is the need for grounds that mediate the two to achieve a holistic peace. Interpersonal peace or intersubjective peace is what bridges the two in a functional expression of peace. As Webel notes, “being-at-peace is possible but improbable in an environment that is impoverished. Being peaceful is an enormous challenge when others with whom one interacts are hostile, aggressive, very competitive, and violent. And living in peace is almost inconceivable in desperately poor and war-ridden cultures” (Webel, 2007: 11). Table 1 below describes some dimensions of peace.

Table: 1
 Intrapersonal peace, Interpersonal peace, Transnational peace: community, nation-state, international.

Dimension	Content: What can be explored	Process: How to go about exploring it
Inner	Comparisons of what different traditions say about inner peace.	Exploration of some simple techniques for developing mindfulness.
Inter-personal	Examination of some common differences in groups that can affect the quality of communication and (mis)understanding.	Exploration of the use of cross-cultural communication tools such as active listening to improve communication and reduce misunderstanding.

Communal	Describe the various perspectives that might be found in a group and how and why they might differ. Consider ways in which groups become communities and how to encourage that.	Use a practice such as <i>the way of council</i> to create a safe space in which each perspective can be heard by all and contrast this with a debate format to discover which processes work best for which situations.
Global	Explore global issues with the intention of 'humanizing' (making the human experience that is part of each issue real and immediate).	Find people to come and tell the story of their experience in (war, poverty, disease) as a starting point for exploring these topics and giving them a human face. Seek out video as an alternative to live visits.

Source (.....)

2.6 Mechanisms for Peace

What are the mechanisms for peace? Can peace be built? Who builds peace, and for whom? These are practical questions that both scholars and policy makers cannot ignore in the quest for peace. There are host of approaches or mechanisms for peace. What is quite intriguing, and at the same time troubling is the fact that various concepts have been propounded, and that these concepts or approaches often overlap in their interpretations. The thesis will not go into much detail on these overlaps but strive to condense these approaches or mechanisms into three broad thematic terms, which encompass some of the concepts that are often discussed in peace research. These are conflict prevention, conflict resolution and conflict transformation.

First, conflict prevention can be described as short to medium term policy engagements in potentially hostile or unstable situation, consisting of measures instituted to avoid escalation of conflicts. It might include actions such as preventive diplomacy, Early-Warning Mechanisms and clarion calls for social cohesion by religious groups, corporate bodies and the like. Conflict resolution on the other hand, focuses mostly on policy options that seek to build, consolidate and enhance relationships by targeting the factors in society that sustain and escalate conflicts and try

to minimize their potency. It is normally short to medium term focused. Conflict transformation however is comprehensive in nature, and encompasses conflict prevention and conflict transformation. According to Berghof foundation, it is;

A generic, comprehensive term referring to actions and processes seeking to alter the various characteristics and manifestations of violent conflict by addressing the root causes of a particular conflict over the long term. It aims to transform negative destructive conflict into positive constructive conflict and deals with structural, behavioral and attitudinal aspect of conflict. The term refers to both process and completion of the process. As such, it incorporates the activities of processes such as conflict prevention and conflict resolution and goes farther than conflict settlement or conflict management. (Berghof Foundation...)

Broad and comprehensive as the above definition is, the fact that it highlights “completion of process” makes it sound ambiguous. If we take outcomes as destination, then that peace - outcome by definition becomes problematic, as from the arguments already developed above, peace cannot necessarily be a destination; for peace is a dynamic phenomenon. Moreover, despite the elaborate nature of these concepts, one can discern what the thesis will describe as the *Negative peace framing* - the absence of war as peace – has influenced the semantics of these processes by adding the prefix *conflict* to prevention, resolution, and transformation.

In this regard, Boutros Boutros-Ghali “*Agenda for Peace*” is worth mentioning as a concept that goes beyond what is described in this paper as *Negative Peace Framing*. His use of pro-peace words is encouraging and forward looking although not necessarily different from previously advocated concepts. He is fondly remembered in the policy and even academic circles, because of his introduction of the concept of *peacebuilding* that has gained much currency in recent times – since the 1990’s. Boutros Boutros-Ghali Agenda for peace included measures such as preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding (post conflict).

What is meant by peacebuilding? In articulating what peacebuilding is, Lederach is of the view that peacebuilding

[...] is more than post-accord reconstruction. Here, peacebuilding is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords (Lederach, 1997: 20 b)

Thus we see in Lederach's, a constructive mechanism and effort that "emphasizes the importance of building right relationships and social structures" (Lederach 2003:4). Here, Lederach articulate the 'process' nature of peacebuilding as a continuum. The metaphoric use of 'building' in Lederach explanation is instructive. First, it conveys a somewhat misleading conjecture as if peace can be constructed and completed as a building. However, within this same seemingly misleading analogy or contradiction, we can make a compelling argument that even if a building is completed, its needs consistent maintenance. In this respect, Lederach's metaphoric use of 'building' is instructive and enlightening in helping us comprehend the mechanism to building peace.

In a further novel outlook, Lederach calls for an atypical approach to peacebuilding that goes beyond the conventional idea of building peace which focuses on classical *hard* or military security concerns. He argues for the "need for a set of concepts and approaches that go beyond the traditional statist diplomacy" (Lederach, 1997: xvi). In his opinion what is quite crucial in peacebuilding is the "restoration" and "rebuilding" of relationships (Lederach, 1997).

Finally, Lederach advocates for a move beyond the prescriptive nature of addressing conflict to an "*elicitive*" conflict transformation, a fundamental approach that recognizes and incorporate the unique socio-cultural imperatives of any given societies in trying to address conflict. In articulating and reflecting on mechanisms to peace, the thesis proposes a novel

dimension which is often not discussed in both academic and policy discourses in the quest for peace. The thesis therefore introduces the concept of what it called *human revolution* – a transformation within the human self as the gateway to peace(s).

2.7 The Concept of Human Revolution - Gateway to Peace(s)

Finally, the thesis suggest a paradigm shift which focuses on changing structures to reaching resolutions to a transformation in the human self - a transformation which could be called human revolution advocated by Daisaku Ikeda, President of the Soka Gakkai International. This paper argues that human revolution is the greatest of all revolutions because human beings, who are the principal architects of change, if they change, could transform their situation. The change that is been emphasized here is that of a positive transformation in mind – consciousness and action.

As Ikeda notes, “A great human revolution in just a single individual will help achieve a change in the destiny of a nation and, further, can even enable a change in the destiny of human kind” (Daisaku Ikeda...). This self and inner-motivated change can positively affect the larger web of life and result in the rejuvenation of human society. This transformation, which is inner directed and human centered, is achieved without incurring any humanitarian disaster or financial cost yet; its benefits transcend the confines of financial benefits and benefits society as a whole.

The idea of human revolution cannot be utopian after all, when we consider for example figures like, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. and the like who in one sense or another believed in the principle of *be the change you want to see*. This conviction is reinforced when one thinks of Complexity theory which states that, everything is connected to everything else (Waldrop, 1992) including nature and nurture (Sandole, 1999) which explains the inter-

dependency of life. Thus, when a person changes positively, that transformation reflects positively in that person's environment.

In this wise, when people change, everything changes, because the human being is at the center of all affairs. To make human revolution feasible and practical, a humanistic education that emphasizes the mutual inter-dependency of life, and respect for the dignity and sanctity of life is urgently needed. This is because, when a people come to understand that, their life is the extension of the others and vice versa, and that by hurting others, they hurt themselves, human beings we will begin to examine critically their actions – this is the gate way to peace(s).

To sum up, the thesis has striven to share some insights on mechanism to peace and stressed to need for a positive transformation in humans as the practical means building peace(s). Developing the argument and need for peace further, the thesis seeks to ask the question: why do we need peace, and could peace be a necessary concomitant for development? This takes us to the next topic of engagement in this paper that reflects briefly on peace as a concomitant of development and paves that way for a full discussion of what is development.

2.8 Peace a Concomitant of Development?

The thesis took as its focus an effort in shedding understanding of peace from a multidimensional and peace research perspective. Within the context of development, the essence of peace manifested in the form of harmony, equity, social justice, and freedom are some of the necessary foundations for development. While these attributes are the linchpins for development, the thesis does not claim that, these are certitudes whose mere presence will automatically guarantee peace and vice versa. However, what is quite clear is that there seem to be a strong correlation between peace and development thus where there is peace, all other things being equal there will be development.

To illustrate empirically, the thesis argues that there is a strong correlation between lack of peace and the subsequent low levels of development. In one of its reports - *“The Challenges of Restoring Governance in Crisis and Post-Conflict Countries”*-, quoting a research by the World Bank, - DESA, 2007, argued that about 80 per cent of the world’s poorest countries have experienced serious violent conflicts since the early 1990s. Further, the report argued that the Crisis Prevention Unit of World Bank monitored more than 40 countries considered “conflict affected” in the early 2000s, and found that between 1992 and 2002, 80 per cent of the countries that the World Bank categorized as “low income countries under stress” experienced serious civil conflict. (DESA: 2007). Suffice to however that “poverty may not lead directly to war, but it certainly is not conducive to peace” (Barash and Webel, 2009:420).

Building on further empirical evidence, a World Bank Report noted that “poverty rates are 20 percentage points higher in countries affected by repeated cycles of violence over the last three decades. Every year of violence in a country is associated with lagging poverty reduction of nearly one percentage point”. Interestingly, the report further found that “no low income fragile or conflict-affected country has yet achieved a single Millennium Development Goal” (World Bank, 2011). These empirical evidences evocatively inform our understanding that, violent conflicts impact negatively on development agenda of countries, and in particular those engaged in conflicts. The above discussion thus leads us to explore more on the meaning and understanding of development within the broader context of peace, and to finally synthesize the relationship between peace and development. This takes us to the next sub-section of the thesis.

2.9 Development: A Theoretical and Philosophical Reflection

“It matters little how much information we possess about development if we have not grasped its inner meaning”

Denis Goulet

“The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people’s choices...The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives”

Mahbub ul Haq

"Human development, as an approach, is concerned with what I take to be the basic development idea: namely, advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it."

Amartya Sen

Gone are the naïve illusions of development as an endeavor in social engineering towards a brave new world. Multiple goals have now replaced the initial single focus. There is now a greater understanding of the profound interaction between international and national factors in the development process and an increasing emphasis on human beings and the human potentials as the basis, the means, and the ultimate purpose of the development effort.

Soedjatmoko, Former President, United Nations University, Tokyo

2.10 (1) Definition – Development

Like peace, development is often spoken in general terms and if not suffused with strong ideological interpretation. There are many interpretations to development some of them conflicting. The thesis under this sub-section focuses on a discussion of the meaning of development especially as used in peace research perspective, with the broader intention of contributing to a holistic understanding of what it means when one talks about development. In doing this, this paper argues and is guided by Singers assertion that “the story of development,

the lessons of development experience, the evolution of development, all these things [...] can be written from many different angles” (Singer, 1992:1).

Since the end of World War II, the socio-economic and political upheavals of most post-colonial societies have drawn the attention of scholars, researchers and policy makers to help address the challenges of development, and since then this quest has been endless, and plagued with different interpretations and paradigmatic trajectories on how to *do* or achieve development. Being very diverse and complex, the field of development is often engrossed in a crisis of ideologies, and as Pieterse aptly puts it, the field “reflects wider paradigm of crisis” (Pieterse, 2001:4) and “war of paradigms” (Berma and Suleha 2004:46).

This is due in part to the very broad nature of what is entailed in the field of development [studies] more so when issues associated with development – such as income inequality, poverty, environmental degradation, demography – cannot necessarily be separated from problems such as politics, institutions, governance, culture, religion and the like (Berma and Suleha, 2004). If we take poverty as an example within the domain of development, it can be discerned that poverty is not just a problem of lack of income but highly correlated with “poor access to resources and skills, policy biasness, attitudes towards wealth...” (Berma and Suleha 2004: 49). Berma and Suleha assertion that development problems are so complex that no single discipline can possibly explain and respond to them effectively concurs with Singer view that the development story can be written from “many different angles” (Singer 1992). Thus, to address issues related to development, there is therefore the need to adopt a more holistic, multidimensional, and multidisciplinary approach involving areas such as economics, sociology, anthropology, political science and the like.

The term development, which is often associated with modernization, westernization and industrialization, is believed to have gained much currency in the 20th century especially after the demise of feudalism and the rise of capitalism. Since its advent, the field of development has seen the rise of various development theories that offer justification for policies, and thus the answer to what is development in a sense often determines which strategies, frames, policies, projects or to say what type of industry or organization is in line with developments goals (Kuhnen, 1987).

So what is meant by the term development, and as questioned by Hettne, “What kind of development would facilitate the emergence of more peaceful economic, social and political structures?” (Hettne, 1983: 340). Hettne (1983) and Sørensen (1985) drawing insights from “*Another Development*” propounded by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (1973) sees “development as need-oriented, endogenous, self-reliant, ecologically sound and based on structural transformation”. As has been already highlighted above the thesis’s objective is not to outline the “right” definition of development but to aid in a holistic understanding of the term.

A cosmopolitan outlook in defining development offered by Peet lends an in-depth understanding about development despite his brevity in conceptualizing the term. He notes that development stands for “improvement in a complex of linked natural, economic, social, cultural, and political conditions” (Peet, 1999: 1). A critical look at Peet’s definition highlights a progressive advancement in the aforementioned dimensions, but falls short of highlighting the mechanisms that can facilitate this process. Peet’s definition sheds a descriptive understanding and it is less scrutinizing on the process of development.

The integrative approach to development as propounded by UNHCR, sheds an instructive understanding of the term development. Accordingly, this paper finds the Rights approach to development more fulfilling, practical, and enduring. According to UNHCHR definition,

Development is people-centred, participatory and environmentally sound. It involves not just economic growth, but equitable distribution, enhancement of people's capabilities and widening of their choices. It gives top priority to poverty elimination, integration of women into the development process, self-reliance and self-determination of people and Governments, and protection of the rights of indigenous people (UNHCHR, 2009).

At the heart of this integrative approach to development lies the well-being of all without necessarily compromising individual's right to freedom and choices which is a central hallmark of what can be called development. The integrative approach to development resonates well with the widely acclaimed understanding of Sen's that "development is not so much something that can be done to others, but is instead something people do for themselves" (cited in Barnette, 2008:79). The reason behind Sen's proposition stems from failed experiences since post 1945 development era which saw programmatic social engineering policies implanted to *do* development onto others. Unfortunately, and in most cases, these development agenda due to their lack of sensitivities to localities tend to marginalize many – the same people intended to be *developed* – and caused wide spread environmental and cultural damage (Barnette, 2008).

These failed experiences culminated in Sen's thinking, his thesis of world acclaimed – *Development as freedom* that people will develop as they see fit given "sufficient economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education and the encouragement and cultivation of initiative" (Cited in Barnette, 2008). Thus for Sen, these opportunities are *freedoms* – enabling conditions -, and these freedoms are both the means – how to; and the end – goal of development.

Whilst Sen's insight bridges many gaps in development theories and discourse, there is much silence or a fundamental lack of explanation on the relationship between freedom and development. Further, Sen's does not offer much explanation or is less scrutinizing on power relations that cause and reproduce underdevelopment often institutionalized at national and international political domains. Foucault's analysis of power relations could have been instructive but is beyond the scope of this paper in this regard.

In most definitions of development one finds a tendency to define it in broader and general terms raising the question: is development everything such that it becomes nothing or still further, is development an apotheosis? It is undoubtedly true that development must be a living and thriving phenomena with attributes such as: "change", "growth", "progress", "advance" and the like. However, if development is seen as an *end* in itself then it ceases to be an objective to strive for, because the human society is phenomenal, dynamic and ever changing, and so must development. Singer reminds that:

The development story is clearly a mixture of good and bad, of progress and regress, of success and failure... The scenario which is perhaps, the most fruitful approach to an understanding of the development story and to drawing proper lessons from it... is to live up to the scenario of development as a learning process and create a new "splendid story" (Singer 1993, 35; 38).

2.10(2) Historical Evolution of the Term Development

A couple of scholars (Pietese, 2001:5, Escobar, 1995:3-4, Sachs,1992:26, Tucker, 1999:7) among others argue that the evolution of the term development as used in economic circles today commenced and gained popularity after World War II. Others including Enderlman and Haugerud (2005) position its commencement within the Enlightenment era. Jan Nederveen Pieterse is however of the view that, "the term 'development' in its present sense dates

from the postwar era of modern development thinking. In hindsight, earlier practices have been viewed as antecedents of development policy, though the term development was not necessarily used at the time” (Pieterse, 2001: 5).

In discussing the historical evolution of development, the thesis point of reference will be limited to Henry Truman’s four-point declaration. Estava Gustavo captures the development vista as opinioned by Truman four-point declaration when he noted that, “a new era was opened for the world – the era of development” (Estava, 2006:183) by Truman’s four-point declaration. Truman’s statement influenced significantly the development policy circles especially after post World War II and conveys two epistemological world views of development, *developed* and *under-development*:

In addition, we will provide military advice and equipment to free nations which will cooperate with us in the maintenance of peace and security. Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people (CBS, 2009).

Truman’s speech laced with its controversies, nevertheless ushered in an era of categorization where countries were labeled as either *developed* or *developing*. For Truman, the economically strong countries – developed- would help and assist the less economically strong – developing countries – to develop through development assistance envisaged in the Marshall Plan drawn at the time. Truman’s development policy reinforced the modernization frame of thinking where development is *done* unto others by those perceived developed.

Further Truman's development policy elicited enormous criticisms especially from the Critical school of thought who were of the view that Truman's view was hegemonic in nature. Other schools of thought especially Development advocates saw the human element in Truman's policy that sought to assist and support others. These differences in the outlook of development continue to date with varying ideological positions. It is worthy to note that the different schools of thoughts emerged as a result of the limited scope of thinking of these schools coupled with changes in the socio-economic and political dynamics associated with globalization. To understand the dynamics of development, the discussion takes us to further to examine some of the underlining theoretical discourses in development.

2.10(3) Theoretical Discourses in Development

A number of theoretical discourses underpin development. Under this sub-section, the thesis discusses some of these theoretical foundations. There are various angles or prisms through which the theoretical debates about development could be examined such as from economic theories, sociological theories, anthropological theories and the like. Due to the diversity and multiple dimensions of looking at development theories, the thesis will limit itself to delving into some of the economic discourses that shed insights about development and its processes.

In going about this, the thesis takes a retrospective look at development theories that have emerged since post World War II. A scan of a significant number of literatures based on economic perspective discussing the development debate has been shaped by four major strands of thoughts since post World War II. These are the linear stages growth models, theories of patterns of structural change, dependency theories and neo-classical free-markets models.

Post World-War II era around the 1950's and 60's perceived the development process as stages of economic growth through which countries would thread. The underpinning rationale of this economic frame of thinking was that, given the right mix of savings, investment and foreign aid, economic growth could be accelerated by developing countries. This mood of thinking describes the liner-stages of economic growth to development during this era. Some of the dominate models of these theories that come to mind are the Rostow stages of economic growth who stated:

It is possible to identify all societies, in economic dimensions, as lying within one of the five categories: the traditional societies, the pre-conditions for take-off into self-sustaining growth, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption"...These stages are not merely descriptive. They are not merely a way of generalizing certain factual observations about the sequence of development of modern societies. They have an inner logic and continuity... They constitute, in the end, both a theory about economic growth and a more general, if still highly partial, theory about modern history as a whole (Rostow, 1960: 1, 3, 4 and 12)

For Rostow, the path to development was thus to progress steadily by following a set of rules at each stage to become developed. In his opinion Rostow argues that, the path to development seen as economic modernization follows a systematic trajectory of first, a traditional society; precondition for take-off; take-off; drive to maturity; and finally an age of high mass consumption. Rostow's theory was primarily gleaned from Western patterns of development which is remarkably different from the patterns in developing countries.

Thus, to assume that Rostow's theory will be applicable to developing countries is to over generalize as is already reminiscent in his theory. Another limitation of Rostow's theory is the difficulty in clearly identifying the stages in reality. Essentially, Rostow's theory is growth focused and does not necessarily shed deep insight that explains development from broader context.

Another prominent theory of the linear growth models is the Harrod-Domar model. This growth model espouses the idea that a right mix of savings, both domestic and international will stimulate the necessary conditions for investment which will lead to economic growth. To achieve growth therefore, policy makers needed to institute and pursue policies that would encourage savings and promote technological advancement. The linchpin of this model is that more investment would lead to growth.

The principal constraints or limitations of the linear growth models are that they oversimplify the path to development, and reduce the dynamic process of development to mere transitions from one stage of development to another. Further, some of the conditions propounded in these theories of development are necessary but not sufficient enough to explain a complex process such as development. For instance, to implicitly argue that accumulation of saving and investment would lead to growth is misleading in the sense that factors such as governance deficits, protracted conflicts, lack of necessary man power and the like can constrain growth when they are present. Thus these theories do not cover enough grounds and is limited in scope to describe the process of development given the diverse backgrounds of many developing countries.

Some of these shortfalls prompted the quest for new paradigms into the process of developments. The debates about development discourse in the 70's took a rather ideological stance into the process of development. During this era, the predominant theory was the theories and patterns of structural change which adopted modern economic theory and statistical analysis to explain the path to economic growth (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

The patterns of structural change model highlighted the mechanisms whereby underdeveloped economies could transform their economic structures from traditional

subsistence agriculture to industrialized economies and service oriented economies. The two well-known theories of Structural Change are the “two-sector surplus labor” model by W. Arthur Lewis and the “*patterns of development*” by Hollis B. Chenery (Todaro and Smith, 2009). The central hypothesis of the structural–change models is built on the premise that “development is an identifiable process of growth and change whose main features are similar in all countries” (Todaro and Smit, 2009...). This assumption however fails to take into consideration the unique particularities of different countries especially those of the complex circumstances of most developing countries.

Principally, factors that influence development agenda can be grouped as domestic or endogenous and international/external or exogenous. Some of the domestic factors that affect development include the resource endowment and size of a country, the government policies of the particular country. Some of the external factors include international trade environments and policies, availability of external capital and technology to name a few (Todaro and Smit, 2009).

These factors combined, affect the rate of a countries development and these factors do vary from one country to another and cannot necessarily be same for all countries. In short, for those inclined to the Structural Change and patterns of development frame of thinking argue that “the correct mix of economic policies domestic and external (emphasis mine) will generate beneficial patterns of self-sustaining growth” (Todaro and Smit, 2009).

The third of theoretical concept discussing development is the International-dependence theory which became popular with Third world intellectuals in the 1970’s due to what these adherents claim were the apparent failings of the stages and structural change models of development. The central premise of the international dependency-revolution is based on the argument that Third world countries are constrained by institutional, political, economic

rigidities at domestic and international levels and entangled in a dependency and dominance relationship to rich countries (Todaro and Smit, 2009).

Three streams of thoughts encapsulate the International dependency-revolution thinking. These are the neocolonial dependency model; the false paradigm model, and the dualistic-development thesis (Todaro and Smit, 2009). The neocolonial school of thought reasons that the cause of Third world underdevelopment is due largely to “historical evolution of highly unequal international capitalist systems of rich country-poor country relationship” (Todaro and Smit, 2009).

Within the frame of the international dependency-revolution, the understanding is that unequal power relations between rich and poor nations, - centre (developed), and periphery (LDC's), underdevelopment is caused by externally induced factors rather than internal or domestic constraints and that the actions of rich countries are “intentionally exploitative or unintentionally neglectful” (Todaro and Smit, 2009). The False-Paradigm belonging to the same Dependency school of thought even though adopting a less radical approach, still emphasize that underdevelopment persist in the developing world due to unrealistic and impractical policy advice superimposed on developing countries by international governments, development and financial agencies that has little relevance to the socio-economic development of most LDC's.

Leading critics of this *handed-down* or policy prescription approach includes figures like Joseph Stiglitz, William Easterly, Dani Rodrick and the like. From the perspective of the Dependency school of thought, the way forward to development is that there is the need to acknowledge the power imbalances between developed and developing countries and to address this by instituting genuine “economic, political and institutional reforms”(Todaro and Smit, 2009).

Much as reforms are required as postulated by Todaro and Smith, these changes will all be but cosmetic if there are no fundamental changes and transformation within individuals and institutions that drive these changes through reforms. Succinctly put by Collier, “thinking needs to change” (Collier, 2008: xii) for development to take place. The need for change in thinking must first and foremost start with individuals since they are the primary drivers of change. These changes which the thesis calls fundamental, when combined with institutionally reforms – politically, economically will real change that drive development take place.

The final of the development theories discussed in this paper is the Neo-classical theory or counterrevolution. Proponents of this theory include Anne Krueger, Julian Simon, Bela Balassa, Jagdish Bhagwati and the like. The Neoclassical theorists take a radical shift away from International dependence theory and argue forcefully that under-development is the result of inefficient state intervention in the allocation of resources in economic activities. The clarion call of the Neo-classicals is that governments should not intervene in the economy through statist planning and government regulation of economic activities.

The Neo-classical adherents believe that resources will be effectively allocated and utilized if left to be guided by invisible hands of free market without any government interference. There are three approaches to this frame of thought – the free market approach, public-choice theory and market-friendly approach. Their underlining arguments are that, resources are efficiently allocated and utilized in a free market environment, meaning that markets alone are efficient. This is the premise of the free market approach. The Public-choice theory dismisses outright the role of government in economic development and posits that governments are inefficient and can hardly steer meaningful and sound economic activities to promote growth.

It ought to be pointed out that, the abysmal failure of free market policies engineered and super-imposed on many developing countries cast doubt on the efficacy of unfettered free market policies. In his book *Globalization and its Discontents* Stiglitz recounts that “even seemingly well-intentioned efforts have often backfire” (Stiglitz, 2002: 8) under so called neo-liberal market policies. Stiglitz reference to the failure of shock-therapy in Russia, the 1997, and 1998 Asian crisis and in Latin America (Stiglitz, 2002), not forgetting the structural adjustments failed policies in Africa, evidently show that, the Neo-classicals cannot have a definite claim to prescribing free market policies as the best approach to development especially in developing countries.

Perhaps Dani Roderick instructive advice in his article *Goodbye Washington consensus, Hello Washington confusion...* is worth mentioning. Roderick calls for humility in approaches to growth rather than overt arrogance of knowing it all as well as the need for policy diversity, selective and modest reforms to achieve growth (Dani Roderick, 2006). The last of the three approaches within the Neoclassical frame of thinking is the Market-friendly approach which has evolved during the 1990’s while upholding free market policies recognizes imperfections in markets of many developing countries and therefore argue that some degree of government intervention is necessary in addressing such imperfections.

Summing the discussion on development theories, the thesis notes that there is and cannot be any perfect and impeccable road to development. Rather a good mix of economic policies that suits the particularities of the countries involved is what matters most in pursuing development. In a nutshell, development in its broadest frame is organic, evolving and transforming itself from time to time based on the prevailing conditions and circumstances. On the conceptual level, one cannot pinpoint any universally accepted paradigm of development as

insights and understanding are continually changing and evolving. What could be strongly argued is that most of the theories of development are replete with their own unique strengths and weaknesses.

2.11 Conclusions

The thesis set out to critically and candidly reflect on some of the theoretical dispositions on conflict, peace and development from the perspective of peace research. One of the central questions of this paper has been to find ways in which peace contributes to sustainable development process. A general and an unequivocal explanation can be that the existence of war/conflict its apparent effect of lack peace drains and constrain resources that could otherwise have been used to facilitate people's well-being.

There is an increasing realization in development studies that “There is a strong negative correlation between conflict and human development. For instance in 2005, it was noted that most of the countries with the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) rankings were also those immersed in conflict or had recently emerged from it” (Encyclopedia of Earth, 2011).

Chapter Three

Constraints to Peace and Development in 21st Century Africa

3.0 Introduction

“Africa is beyond bemoaning the past for its problems. The task of undoing that past is on the shoulders of African leaders themselves, with the support of those willing to join in a continental renewal. We have a new generation of leaders who know that Africa must take responsibility for its own destiny, that Africa will uplift itself only by its own efforts in partnership with those who wish her well”

Nelson Mandela

In the 21st century, Africa a continent well-endowed in terms of rich natural resources and possesses the potential for large scale human resources is still riddled with numerous challenges that slow the quest for peace and sustainable development on the continent. Some of these constraints have been identified here, and discussed under five broad thematic themes which explore how the intricate relationship between these themes impact on peace, sustainable development, the political and economic integration agenda for Africa.

The constraints discussed herein have been chosen since they reflect the overarching challenges that affect peace, sustainable development, and the continental integration agenda of Africa. The focus therefore is not to look into the institutional constraints that impede peace, sustainable development and the integration agenda of Africa per se. Nevertheless, some of the institutional constraints that obstruct peace, sustainable development and the economic and political agenda of Africa are reflected upon, albeit in not much of a comprehensive manner.

At the start of the 21st century in the year 2000, five institutions committed to development met for a discussion on Africa. These institutions were: African Development Bank (AfDB), Global Coalition for Africa (GCA), African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the World Bank (WB). The question they asked

was “Can Africa claim the 21st Century”, and the response was a “Yes” but premised on *if* clause. The *if* clause underscores the fact that Africa holds viable prospects for transforming its predicaments only to the extent that it can meet the challenges it faces. The objective of this chapter is to explore some of the key constraints and challenges that militates Africa’s quest for peace, sustainable development and continental unity of Africa.

The thesis argues that continental unity of Africa both politically and economically have far reaching positive implications for peace and sustainable development if necessary mechanisms including strong political will, and functioning institutional frameworks are concretely instituted and consolidated to reduce these constraints. In essence, the hypothetical argumentation in this chapter establishes that peace and development is possible and feasible, to the extent that African countries can meet the problems and challenges it faces and transform them into opportunities that reinforce peace and fosters sustainable development.

A further argumentation in this chapter compellingly allude that by taking advantage of unity, African countries can harmonize their policies and pool their resources together and can thus speak with one voice and purse grand socio-economic and political programs which hitherto cannot be pursued soundly and successfully by individual countries given the scale of globalization in the 21st century. African leaders can also subdue unwarranted outside influence and interferences when they are united together.

3.1 Peace and Security Challenges

Conscious of the fact that the scourge of conflict in Africa constitutes a major impediment to the socio-economic development of the continent [...] African Heads of States reiterate [...] “the need to promote peace, security and stability as a prerequisite for the implementation of our development and integration agenda (AU, 2000)

Peace, security, and development are interlinked, interdependent and mutually reinforce each other. Long term development requires sustained security and sustained security is dependent on lasting and uninterrupted development. With a decade already elapsed in 21st century Africa, unstable peace and security concerns remain a critical challenge to the development and integration process of African countries.

The importance of peace and security to Africa's development and integration agenda cannot be overemphasized. Drawing on empirical data, the thesis seeks to demonstrate that the existence of positive peace have a positive correlation to development which in turn reinforces sustainable peace. On the other hand, the lack of stable peace and the presence of instability – socially, politically and economically is a strong catalyst that can stall peace, sustainable development and Africa's integration agenda.

History has taught our human generation that wars and violent conflict are a bane of peace and development because it has the potent capacity to disrupt the socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics of nation/states, and thereby reverse development backwards and sunder unity. Countries entangled in wars and violent conflicts suffer from the wanton destruction of human life, the environment, socio-cultural, economic and physical infrastructure. Worst of all, during violent conflicts human beings are objectified to make easily amenable for manipulation and traded for socio-economic and political gains which often lead to unacceptable violation of human rights and the demise of human dignity and sanctity.

Africa in the 21st century abounds, and is a scene of violent conflicts experienced on a scale that is disproportionately higher to other continents. Violent conflict and wars have inimically disenchanting the overall peace, stability, development and integration agenda of the

African continent, and thus the issue of violent conflicts need urgent and critical attention if peace, development and integration agenda of African countries are to be realized.

Although violent and armed conflict has significantly declined in Africa in recent times, the overall pictures remain a grim one. It remains important therefore that African governments are not disillusioned about the challenges that still plague the continent in terms of violence and armed conflicts. In an address on conflicts in Africa in Berlin 2007, Gareth Evans, President of International Crisis Group argued that from 2002-2005 armed conflict shrunk by 15% from 66 to 56 with the greatest decline in sub-Sahara Africa.

The number of state based conflicts in Sub-Sahara Africa during this period declined by 60% or from 13 to 5 and non-state conflict from 24 to 14. In 2003, 46 out of 89 armed conflicts were based in Africa and by 2005; it had dropped to 25 out of 71 cases. Unfortunately, although the statistics seem to present a remarkable decline in conflicts, the stark reality is that people continue to die from the short and long term effects of violent conflicts especially in Sub-Sahara Africa.

The fact remains that, a single life lost in a violent conflict is worth too much a price, since it is human beings who are the agents and drivers of peace and development. The horrendous effects of violent and armed conflicts in Africa have negative implications for peace, development and integration agenda. Today in Africa, the Great Lakes Region remains a theater for bloodshed; equally is the Horn of Africa especially Somalia, and some West African countries which evocatively call for urgent redress without delay if peace and development are to be achieved in these regions.

The humanitarian catastrophe in the Democratic Republic of Congo as a result of violent conflict has claimed well over 4 million lives according to UNDP 2005 statistics and led to large

displacement of people. The genocide in Rwanda claimed over 800,000 human lives, destroyed properties and social and political infrastructures. The conflict that engulfed the West African Region –Liberian civil war, Sierra Leone, Guinea, saw brutal destruction of human lives, looting and environmental degradation and left thousand as refuges and IDP's.

The violent conflict in Darfur is only one of the ongoing conflicts in mainland Sudan. Varying records have it that well over 400,000 to 500,000 lives have tragically been wasted through direct death from bullets, hunger, starvation and diseases since the war began in 2003. Again more the 2.5 million Darfurians are estimated to have been uprooted and displaced, leading to social disintegration and placing undue burden on the socio-economic and political process in the regions where they are settled as refuges and IDP's.

The constant skirmish in Somalia is a nightmare and a threat to regional security and world peace at large. The negative implications of armed and violent conflicts in Africa on peace, development and the integration process in Africa could thus not be far-fetched. The repercussions of violent conflicts in Africa are numerous, intricately interwoven and have far-reaching perilous implications on peace and development and integration agenda for Africa in the 21st century.

The insidious effects of violent conflicts illustrate that, they are inimical and a bane to development and human progress. To begin with, the loss of human lives during violent conflicts can never be replaced – they are the drivers and agents of peace and development itself. Families lose their bread-winners, loved ones – husbands, wives, children, and women and children most of the times are made to bear the brunt. Vulnerable and impressionable, children are often drafted and conscripted as child soldiers curtailing not only their future prospects but the overall well-being of the nation involved.

Psychologically, child soldiers are abused and indoctrinated, and because of their impressionable nature, it becomes difficult reintegrating them into society after civil and violent conflicts are over. In the end, they are impaired and psychologically traumatized making them misfits in their communities. Women on the other hand also often become tools of manipulation and sex slaves, compounding the fight against HIV-AIDS pandemic in most patriarchal war torn societies in Africa.

Viewed through economic prism, armed conflict and wars destroy infrastructure base of countries reversing economic gains achieved over years. During violent and armed conflicts, productivity comes to a halt, education, health care and other key social services are abruptly disrupted. In their article, Copenhagen Consensus, Collier and Hoeffler estimated that a typical civil war in poor countries stand at USD 46 Billion (Collier, 2007).

As is the case with many states in Africa, violent conflicts turns states into semi-quasi or failed states, breaking down governments, state machinery and institutions, the effect of which is mass criminality, lawlessness, and rampant abuse of human rights and the like, Somalia been a typical example. Such states become a haven for rampant human rights abuses, criminality and grounds for terrorist organizations. In Somalia for instance violent conflict and the subsequent failure of the state, has made maritime piracy a lucrative business in the region with telling socio-economic consequences.

In 2008, almost 80 or more ships were hijacked by Somalia pirates. Maritime piracy is estimated to have direct economic cost of between 5.7 billion and 11.2 billion and the global effort to contain piracy is estimated at between 1.7 and 4.5 billion USD in 2010 (World Bank, 2011). All other things been equal, this huge money can reap good return on investment if it had been invested in productive ventures.

Another colossal effect of violent conflict is displacement of people. Displacement of people as a result of violent and armed conflicts intricately compounds complex emergencies of hunger, diseases and worst most IDP's are de-linked from their cultural roots. A common phenomenon which is becoming alarming is the growth of IPD Cities as evident in Darfur and DRC. Unfortunately, the physical infrastructures in these so called cites are built bearing in mind that they are only temporal but only turns out to permanent and the people living in them will have to endure and live with such sub-standard facilities like hospitals, schools and the like for a long time than anticipated. This has many socio-economic, cultural and political implications.

Another apparent and worrying scenario in most post conflict societies particular in Africa is interventions, and how they their impact on the conflicts they intend to resolve or transform. International communities have in recent times stepped up efforts as an important response to violent conflicts which mostly are three-fold: humanitarian operations, peace support operations and political mediation. What seems to have emerged from these responses is a paradox. The reality is that, interventions which was meant to be a response to most crisis situation has almost always become part of the problem. Darfur and Somalia are practical examples when we consider peace support operation such as UNAMID and AMISON.

The rampant burgeoning of so called *cartel of good intentions* – international aid and reconstruction institutions could in part be attributed to violent conflicts. Reconstruction aid and packages are not bad in themselves, however, what is worrying in most of these interventions are that, these aids are normally tied to certain conditionalities that take precedence over real and honest reconstruction of these conflict ridden countries.

The outcome is that, these interventions woefully undermine and deny the countries involved the freedom to pursue policies that is of local significance and value. Further, the risk

is that, such outside help often undermine and interfere as in the case of Africa, the continental quest to Africa's unity, as most of the developed countries and their donor agencies vie to maintain their turf and dominance on those countries they give financial support. Some of the bilateral agreements that are signed become inimical to continental unity in Africa.

In what has become a critique of post-conflict reconstruction, the 'post conflict agenda' is seen as "using international aid to promote peace and reconciliation in recipient countries" (Uvin 1997:177-178). However, Uvin reflectively questions issues such as prioritization – who decides what, how results are measured, among others. He argues that donor agencies might be faced with difficult questions and positions in post conflict situations and are sometimes caught up in politics of the country they intend to help. He chronicles such a dilemma using Rwanda as his case study. In most cases, the overriding national interest of the donating countries tend to undermine the post conflict reconstruction efforts, which if care is not taken, sows seeds of violent conflict in the very effort post-conflict reconstruction was meant to help these countries overcome.

Gordon, another critique of the post conflict agenda, is of the view that, such post conflict reconstruction effort carries traces of neo-colonialism and often has the condescending attitude that the "other" – the developing country - is inferior or incapable helping itself, and therefore needs to be civilized or helped. Using a race prism she argues that, United Nations Trusteeship of failed states are neo-colonialist schemas camouflaged in the name of reconstruction efforts and rather calls a dialogue facilitating role for the donor *West* while proposing that "people are quite capable of governing themselves" (Gordon, 1997:18).

These pessimisms about the post conflict agenda and questionable intentions discussed above, contentious as it might sound, and sometimes lacking substance and depth, still points out

the very controversial schema of outside intervention and its associated pitfalls, as often they are driven most of the time by national interest rather than by humanitarian concerns and stabilizations and consolidation for peace and security.

On a more positive note, these criticisms raised above do evoke a sense of awakening and calling that Africans themselves –governments, business communities and civil societies - to initiate and work to secure peace and security for themselves. Failing to do that provides a leeway and ticket that will facilitate an outside intervention, and when it does happen, such outside intervention cannot necessarily be blamed, a stance echoed in Responsibility to Protect-R2P¹ Act.

Notwithstanding the above negative impacts of armed and violent conflicts, countries and their people could learn through the bitter experience of war, never again to fight against each other. Europe today is a glaring example, which after years of bitter acrimony and war, decided to build the fortress of peace through cooperation. In Africa however, the dynamic and complexities of armed and violent conflicts are so polarized that often many Africans countries within their states are caught in the grievance-greed trapping fuelled by ethnic schemas, poverty and the like thereby entangling these countries in intractable and repeated cycles of violence armed conflicts.

Burgess for instance argues that Conflict is the engine for social learning (Burgess, 2004) but it could as well be said that it could be socially corrupting if constructive means for resolving conflicts are not preferred over violence. Conflict per se is not bad but how it is handled is the

¹ “The Responsibility to Protect”, the idea that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their own citizens from avoidable catastrophe – from mass murder and rape, from starvation – but that when they are unwilling or unable to do so, that responsibility must be borne by the broader community of states. (ICISS, 2001: VIII).

most deciding factor (Brahm, 2004). It is pertinent to realize that the intractability nature of most conflicts in Africa stems from the fact that the dynamics of the conflicts are simultaneously played out at different levels which have local, sub/national, national, regional and global geo-political dimensions and repercussions.

Each of these dimensions has their own conflict issues, stakeholders and dynamics. To address this requires a thorough understanding and appreciation of these actors/factors so that the 'right' mechanism could be applied to manage, resolve and transform the conflict. In this regard, if African countries can constructively and amicably end their violent conflicts, considering the fact that armed and violent conflict are a bane to peace and development there could be greater prospects for resuscitation of the socio-economic and political process in most African countries.

To this end, the establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union to address conflict which came into force in 25th May 2004 is a commendable action. The AU identifies peace, security and stability as vital for sustainable development and as such peace and security issues form a principal mission of the AU. The PSC is a proactive collective security and early-warning framework designed to enhance rapid and efficient response to instability and crises situation in Africa. What is worrying is that, the numerous conflicts are sapping much of scarce financial resources, time and energy that could otherwise have been used to advance the continent as a whole. Besides, the institutional mechanism by which policies regarding peace and security are addressed remains more rhetorical, reactive rather than proactive.

In a nutshell Peace and security remains a big problem and challenge to African countries in 21st century, and is a constraint to peace, sustainable development and continental unity in as much as it continues to be rampant. The AU needs to step up efforts and strengthen institutional

mechanisms for its effective operationalization. The PSC is a welcomed step in the right direction and needs to be incorporated into all facets of the socio-economic and political process.

In addition, the African Post Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework details a comprehensive approach involving all stakeholders, including citizens, national governments and international bodies and institutions that seek to work together to address post-conflict issues in Africa. It represents a concrete policy framework that offers hope for African solutions to African problems and more effort should be made to strengthen its effectiveness.

In addressing its peace and security issues, what is significantly required is that the AU and African governments must assiduously work together to consolidate and effectively enhance the operational mandate and mechanism of the AU, PSC and, only then should African leaders complement their effort by outside support and help. Unless African countries do this, spearheaded by an effective AU, peace and security will remain a utopian ideal that will be out of reach to most African countries and for which peace, development and continental unity will be compromised. Africans governments must not wait for peace and security to be secured from outside help without themselves making cogent effort to establish the structures for peace and development.

3.2 Poverty and Indebtedness

[O]nly with poverty reduction will peace be possible: an unequal planet will be a planet of war and violence.

Wolfensohn

“There can be no sustainable peace while the majority of world’s population lives in poverty”

Earth Dialogue Brisbane, 2006

There is no such thing as *poor* countries in the true sense of the word. Rather, it is the result of ineffective and corrupt institutions that sets in motion and exacerbates poverty in most

states and nations. In 21st century African poverty and debt crisis is a huge constraint to socio-economic and political well-being of Africans in general and remains a major constraint, and challenge that undermine human development, security and viable prospects for sustainable development in Africa.

In its research paper – “Poverty in An Age of Globalization” – the World Bank affirms that poverty is a global “*bad*” (World Bank, 2000:1). This is explicated by the insidious nature of poverty because of the “negative externalities associated with poverty such as conflict, spread of communicable diseases, and harm to the environment” (World Bank, 2000:1). Although Africa been a cradle of wealth replete with virtually all manner of minerals and human resources it continues to be the most ravaged by unimaginable poverty, and on top of that entangled in debt trap. Could there be a plausible explanation for Africa’s poverty stricken situation in the midst of plenty? How does this situation affect the peace, sustainable development and integration agenda of Africa in general?

To start with, Africa is home to almost half of the world reserves of cobalt found in the Democratic Republic of Congo; a quarter of world reserves of Bauxite, with majority in Guinea; contains half of world reserves in gold, with major concentrations in South Africa, Ghana, Zimbabwe and elsewhere throughout Africa. Africa again holds major world reserve of Tantalum, with largest deposits in the Democratic Republic of Congo; Germanium, another major World Reserve found in the DRC, the Congo River basin holds the world’s largest diamonds reserves, with other locations in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Ghana (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2009).

In terms of water resources, the Congo River alone has an annual flow of 44 trillion cubic feet, home to the world’s largest man-made lake in the world – the Volta Lake, the longest river

in the world, the Nile. Further, “Africa contains over 40% of the potential water power of the world, as compared with about 10% in Europe and 13% in North America” (Nkrumah, 1961: ...). Africa is also home to a rich diversity of tropical rainforest with tropical timber and forest resources, game including water Buffalo, elephants and wide expanse of Savanna for tourism. Africa has relatively large expanse of arable lands for food production for local consumption and export – Cocoa just being one typical example. And a detailed listing of Africa’s resources can continue over and over, yet as Nkrumah noted “we have in Africa the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, and scarcity in the midst of abundance” (Nkrumah, 1961...).

In respect of the above, why then is poverty – especially material well-being, very rampant in Africa which has virtually all the material resources to facilitate the socio-economic well-being of its people? Some diverse explanations are explored in varying ways to shed understanding into such a puzzling fact about Africa’s material and economic poverty. Independence struggles in Africa were to a large extent shaped and influenced by Pan-Africanism that sought to liberate the African continent from colonial domination, oppression and exploitation and to unite Africans for rapid socio-economic and political development. That has been the ideal of Pan-Africanism.

Fifty years have passed since a number of Africa nations achieved political independence, although some achieved political independence in recent times. However, a closer look into the socio-economic and political realities of most African countries points to a displeasing scenario marked by extreme economic poverty, wars and conflicts, hunger and starvation, diseases, political acrimony, corruption, state collapse, to mention but a few, which defies human imagination, and the ideals inspired by Pan-Africanism.

Some explanations to Africa's staggering poverty can be argued from a factual position that documents that much of African states inherited its debt crisis almost immediately after post-independence era as African governments strove to pursue political and economic stabilization programs. These programs were either grounded in socialism or capitalism. "The problem of debt in [Sub-Saharan Africa] - my emphasis, must be examined from a historical perspective" (Guissé 2004:4) due to its colonial past.

Guissé for instance argues that at the time of independence a total sum of US\$ 59 billion was unjustifiably transferred to newly independent African states by colonial powers with a unilateral interest set at 14% (Guissé, 2004:4). The above points to the fact that right from independence, quite a number of Sub-Saharan African countries, had started their political, social and economic life with huge debts constraints that impacted negatively on their economies through debt servicing, which otherwise could have been spent on other productive investments.

The colossal effect of this debt is that it reinforces poverty as funds are diverted to debt servicing which could otherwise have been used for development programs, thereby undermining the economic, social and political rights of a people. One of the major compounding factors which seriously affected Africa's development agenda, and its downward spiral into debt crisis, it could be argued was the fact that unfortunately, African leaders could not necessarily pursue, a new development path that was different, unique and tailored to their local circumstances. Rather most of these new states pursued the dominate discourse of capitalism/democracy or communism/socialism after post-independence era.

The "African development problematic" as Cecil (2005:574) chooses to call it, reflects a missed opportunity where Africans leaders whether by commission or omission failed to institute or pursue African led approach to development that could have address their unique

circumstances. Unfortunately, by pursuing the Eurocentric approach of either capitalism or socialism, African leaders paradoxically gave the green light to extend colonialism, albeit in a new form best described as neo-colonialism. Two scenarios can be considered in explaining the African development problematic.

First, those African leaders who chose to go the Eastern way – Communism and Socialism reinforced the fear from the West that Communism might gain a foothold in Africa and threaten world peace and security. It is important to bear in mind that, the era in which most African states gained independence, was the same period in which the two super powers were engaged in intense competition for global dominance both politically and economically. Given this background, it made practical sense for the super powers from a geo-strategic and hegemonic perspective to support regimes that did agree with them ideologically even if not in practice. In this situation one can gain a certain level of appreciation about the complicated east-west competition and geostrategic balance of power struggles in Africa.

Substantiating the argument for the African development problematic, it could be further stressed that even Nkrumah of Ghana who cherished the ideal of *consciencism* or scientific socialism, Nyerere's development model of *Ujamaa*, Kaunda's *Humanism*, and Senghor's *African Socialism* were of all socialist orientation, and lacked traces of locally engineered mechanisms that sought to inspire African driven development agenda.

In respect of the above historical reflection in political terms, it is not difficult to map-out how the east-west competition negatively impacted on Africa especially on the political and economic fronts. Prominent outcome of this east-west geo-strategic competition catalyzed the emergency of kleptocratic African leaders who cared the least about their own people. Mobutu

Sese Seko of Zaire comes to mind and was believed to have stashed over \$ 5 billion in Swiss Banks. Sani Abacha of Nigeria had well over \$ 4 billion personal fortunes in banks in the West

What is very disturbing and mind-boggling about these events were that, those stolen monies were saved in Western banks in the full glare of Western governments who often times turned blind eye. They only pretended to see it when those despotic leaders turn their backs on them. The inimical activities of these criminal collaborators - both African leaders, and their super-power friends meant that, quite a number of African countries accumulated huge debts that will impinge on their peace and developmental goals.

Another factor worthy of consideration in understanding Africa's debts crisis was the economic downturn in the 1980's that ravaged majority of Sub-Saharan African countries. Rising oil prices and falling export earnings had sent majority of African economies in abysmal economic mess in the 1980's. During this period, it is noted that the ratio of foreign debt to the continents Gross Domestic Product (GDP), increased from 51% in 1982 to 100% in 1992 and as a result debt quadrupled to export income ratio in the 1990's (Colgan, 2001). In 1998, the stock of debt in Sub-Saharan Africa stood at \$ 236 billion positioning Sub-Saharan Africa with a debt burden twice that of any other region in the world and in this way Sub-Saharan Africa was shouldering 11% of developing world's debt with only 5% of its income (Colgan, 2001).

It is estimated that 34 out of the 49 countries measured in economic terms, representing 70% of world poorest countries are found in Africa where daily living is one of a constant struggle to survive. It is further noted that since the 1980's poverty levels in Africa have doubled to 300 million and it is expected to increase to over 400 million by 2015 (Madavo, 2005:1). Paradoxically, the 1980's saw the World Bank instituted its Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) policy guideline to African countries to *lift* them out of poverty. Unfortunately, stretching

from the 1980's to present-day first decade of the 21st century, it is undeniable that poverty remains much unchanged, and has become even worse in real terms, with majority of people living below the poverty mark in Africa.

The SAP – Structural Adjustment Program was an economic policy response from the *West* led especially by multilateral institutions to help Sub-Saharan African countries stabilize their countries both economically and politically. The reasoning was that economically sound economies would complement the growth of political institutions, while these political institutions would further consolidate and hasten economic growth. Theoretically this makes sense but in reality these policies produced little results as the one-size-fits all rationale and prescription was employed without carefully taking country specific requirements and level of development into due consideration.

Considered from another dimension, a thorough dissection into the Africa's poverty and debt crisis is marked by glaring rhetoric both at the bi-lateral and multilateral levels especially if one considers the so-called self-anointed position taken by developed countries to help Africa rid itself from devastating poverty. Unfortunately, promises to help African countries to reduce poverty have been marred by lip service. Despite the wealth of good intentions, the result is that poverty, with all its attendant hardships and humiliation, remains firmly entrenched in 21st century Africa.

Although discounted by lot of African governments and economists, the World Bank and its allied institutions have argued that some successes have been chalked in helping African governments to stabilize their economies through SAP led economic stabilization programs. In response to their critics, the *Holy Trinity* or *triad* – World Bank, IMF and WTO, known for their all-known righteousness, have maintained, and are quick to reinvent excuses to rebuff or try to

obliterate their failures and obvious lack of deep penetrating insights into African socio-economic and cultural context.

This political nescience of the *Triad* about Africa shows that World Bank and its other institutions could not be too right all the time. Often, they would argue for instance that “the economic problems of developing countries have nothing to do with exogamous factors as is often asserted by neo-Marxist theorist” (Kwadwo-Agyeman, 2000:473). Rather, IMF and World Bank often argue that, these problems are rooted in endogenous factors that mitigate development. Factors such as state centered interference in the form of exchange control, state ownership of industries, tariffs and protectionism distorts efficiency and ruin economic growth process, the World Bank maintains.

The above factors among others factors like bad governance and the like is the answer for Sub-Saharan debt crises and development challenges the *Holy Trinity* often argues. Such argumentation is certainly true in some contexts, but it does not explain or shed a thorough insight into the often complex and different economic situations experienced by individual Africa countries. Socio-economic and political problems cannot necessarily be explained using a simple explanations for the complex challenges that plague African countries.

A critical juxtaposition into some of the Asian Tigers including Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, to name just a few, point to the fact that, they were guilty of all the sins of neo-liberal don't do's for which almost all Sub-Saharan African countries have been blamed for. They pursued a strong state led development programs and were able to steer their economies in a controlled and well fashioned-out manner, helping to lift them off extreme poverty.

Echoing the path that the Asia Tigers took in their economic development approach, Stiglitz for instance argues that, the market economy does not necessarily guarantee growth, social justice or

perhaps economic efficiency. Achieving these ends Stiglitz has observed, requires government intervention role (Stiglitz, 2005:1). To add to Stiglitz's questioning, one ought to further ask, yes growth could be good but what happens to the growth and for whom?

The case of Africa has been entirely different compared to the Asian Tigers. Africa has always been constrained and controlled with the debt-poverty pressure card, thus limiting their ability to steer their economies in the ways that will have local significance. This means that each time, there is a justification by the creditors to prescribe or dictate a way out of this trap, which more often than not, led to further entrapment in debt and poverty and its attendant problems. The implication is that, originality, creativity and true political and economic independence that ought to have been initiated by Africans for and by African themselves have been maimed by the prescriptions and aid conditionaities that were supposed to help African countries *fix* their poverty and development related problems and challenges.

Worst still, the reality constraining Africa economic progress is that while its socio-economic, political and cultural problems keep growing exponentially as a result of poverty and debt servicing, the ability to meet them is only growing arithmetically as their human agency is constrained by the prescription of the Washington consensus and their allies. As a result of vast accumulated debt, servicing those debts has resulted in poverty situations that continue to eviscerate human dignity in Africa, which in turn compounds and reinforces socio-economic and political instability. A vicious cycle is thus created and it has become quite difficult to overcome such a trapping. One significant outcomes of poverty today in Africa is Hunger.

Today hunger is still rampant in Sub-Saharan Africa exacerbated by poverty which is reinforced by the debt crises. In 2005, South African based News agency News24 commented on a United Nations report which indicated that the number of malnourished in Sub-Saharan

African grew from 170.4 million in the 1990's to 203.5 million people in 2000-2002. Worst still, the World Bank development report for 2011 based on its empirical research, concluded that people living in countries affected by violence are twice as likely to be undernourished and 50 percent more likely to be impoverished. It continues that, in such violent ridden countries their children are three times as likely to be out of school (World Bank, 2011). This evidence shows a strong correlation between poverty and violence and vice versa.

The Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, illustratively refer to hunger and poverty as weapons of mass destruction and establishes the direct linkages between poverty and hunger on one hand, and it's devastating impact and effect on peace and development. He notes, "Hunger is actually the worst of all weapons of mass destruction, claiming millions of victims every year. Fighting hunger and poverty and promoting development are the truly sustainable way to achieve world peace...There will be no peace without development, and there will be neither peace nor development without social justice" (Luiz Inácio, 2004....).This underscores why poverty and hunger is a threat to peace and development in Africa.

Hunger for instance impacts negatively on people's health by making them vulnerable to diseases, slowing thinking ability, catalyzing mental retardation, and thus limiting productivity. The outcome is a retarded economic and human progress. Economically and socially, hunger reinforced by poverty and vice versa disenfranchises a people's ability to contribute to own welfare, positioning them in a vicious cycle of poverty, again and again. This is only one of the grim realities that quite a number of Africans live with and demonstrate how poverty and the debt trap is a key challenge to Africa's socio-economic and political aspirations in the 21st century.

It is also important to note that, mainstream media reportage and official reports and statistics from international media and donors both at bilateral and multilateral levels on Africa has often been oversimplified, while detailed background, and contextual considerations have often been ignored. The result and overall conclusion most of the time is that billions of aid have been given to Africa, and yet they continue to wallow in poverty and are hungry miserable people stricken with diseases and caught up in wars and civil conflicts.

In examining the striking poverty and debt crisis in Africa, vital question are often ignored especially regarding why the aid was given, under what conditions, whether it made the situation worst or not, or why resource rich Africa have continued to be the scene of conflicts and of key interest to the west are rarely discussed. The misrepresentation of these facts surrounding Africa's poverty and debt crisis have condescending consequences for Africans as though they were not *serious* people.

While lamenting the tragedy of the marginalized poor, Easterly, for instance critically denounces the double standards of the international aid industry. He notes that, the woeful tragedy of the poor has been that, over the past five decades, almost US\$ 2.3 trillion of foreign aid has been spent, yet 12 cents required for medicine to prevent children from dying of malaria never materialized, neither could 4 dollars needed for bed nets for the poor became a reality nor has the US\$2.3 trillion aid been able to curtail child mortality (Easterly, 2006).

The net effect is the continuation of poverty due to hunger, diseases, reinforced by staggering debts. If these aids were truly meant to help the poor, who need help most, why has their vital security and well-being in terms of food, clothing and shelter not being met by these numerous aids over time? Sachs also strikingly points out that the myth surrounding aid packages that goes to for instance Sub-Saharan Africa. He argues that Africa's portion of world

aid is significantly negligible. He argued for instance that in 2002, the United States assistance per each Sub-Saharan African was US\$ 3. However probing further as Sachs revealed, indicated that out of the supposedly US\$ 3 per Sub-Saharan Africa, if consultancy fees paid to US experts, technical cooperation and debt relief was taken out, the net aid per Sub-Saharan African reduced to only 6 cents (Sachs, 2005:310).

Yet Africans would have to repay, all these debts given as aids with *killing* interest rates running from one generation to another for which they don't gain the full benefit. Brawson Dede, a one-time acting Secretary of the OAU regretfully pointed out that Africa's external debt crisis represented Africa's number one development challenge. While calling for more aid from the USA, he stressed that perhaps Africa was the only continent pursuing a two prong policy reform directive, that of political and economic, to steer the continent in the right direction (World History Archives, 2009).

The issue of calling for more aid and assistance to Africa is a critical and very contentious one. Historical and humanitarian justifications can be given for this position, yet the important question to ask is to what extent would such aid continue to prop African economies, especially those mismanaged ones? Does this not undermines human agency, and keep those being helped in perpetual dependence or could this be another form of colonialism perhaps, neo-colonialism?

It is quite worrying and very disturbing when one comes across statements like "The limited socio-economic progress achieved by Africa can be attributed largely to the failure of the international community, especially the major developed countries, to meet the commitments in these critical areas – external aid and financing. Developed countries must translate their commitments into concrete actions" (Unknown....). The collateral effort by some proponents

calling for more aid to Africa is more pragmatic for short term to medium intervention purposes. However, examined from a long-term perspective, such a calling represents induced neo-colonialism of the highest order, and care needs to be taken especially by African leaders when calling for external support to develop their economies.

As noted by Mishkin, “[...] although providing more aid to poor countries seem like a good way to eradicate poverty, it rarely works because it usually does not create the right incentives to promote economic growth. A handout is almost never as effective as a hand up” (Mishkin, 2009:163). In discussing Africa’s poverty and debt crises, the facts surrounding poor governance with its attendant tributaries of corruption, mismanagement, human right abuses and the like cannot be underestimated or glossed over as they struggle to meet their development challenges.

In Africa, the fact remains that quite a number of African leaders have displayed unacceptable and untoward behavior when it comes to safeguarding the interest of their own people. In fact, quite blatantly a number of African leaders have demonstrated that they least care about their own people. In this case, the Western governments and donor agencies which are often blamed cannot be labeled as imperialist or the cause of Africa debt and poverty crises in the truest sense of the word.

More importantly, due to greed, lack of vision and blatant absurdity on the part of some African leaders, Africa has been stereotyped as a continent that needs *salvation* – socio-economically and politically, and today the mention of Africa is next to pictures of a backward generation of human beings steeped in misery and suffering. It is therefore no surprise when various institutions and international NGO’s are running amok to come and *fix* and *save* Africans from misery and poverty.

In this sense, irresponsible African leaders must hold themselves accountable for the demise of their economies plagued by mounting debts. Often the inanity of some Africa leaders is made more embarrassing when they try invoking nationalism – *rally around the flag* - to support their miasmatic course locally against the West. An African proverb has it that, a cobweb cannot be blamed for forming in a cracked rock. African leaders must begin to behave responsibly and put their houses in order by restoring local and international confidence through the institution of governance structures built on broader civic participation underpinned by respect for the dignity and sanctity of life in totality. Africans governments must hold themselves responsible and commit themselves to their own people’s well-being, if they are to move forward socio-economically and politically.

Complaints about Africa’s colonial past might make sense, but unfortunately it solves nothing. Rather, to be caught in complaints and blaming others induce reverse stupidity and that must be avoided. Colonization viewed from a spatial dimension ended some five decades ago. Unfortunately most self-serving and corrupt ridden leaders in Africa “inherited” and consolidated the colonial structures that were left behalf to the disadvantage of their societies.

The time has come for Africa leaders to question first and foremost their own despotic behavior that thwarts socio-economic development. Again there is the urgent need for them to begin questioning the world economic order and direction and begin to pursue policies that meet their unique circumstances. The path to sustainable peace and development requires demonstrated good leadership and commitment to universal human values – adherence to the rule of law; popular participation in governance; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and transparency in public policy making - (CSSDCA – Decision on the Conference

on Security, Stability, Development, and Cooperation, Declaration). African leaders must recognize that they have a choice – that of choosing progress or under-development.

On a more reflective stance, the economic crunch that has rent the world with economic difficulties and serious political ramification becoming worst in 2008 and still unleashing economic difficulties at 2011, attest to the fact that the neo-liberal policies cannot always be right. The United States have pumped billions of dollars under the banner of stimulus plan to resuscitate the US economy – the key question; is this action being taken by the invisible hands of market forces - demand and supply? Why did the state intervened, and not leave everything to market forces to decide, yet African are told night and day to back off from state control of economic issues.

Perhaps the global economic meltdown is a good omen to tell the whole world that the neo-liberal myth “may be everything but not the only thing” to promote economic development (Stiglitz, 2005:1). Thus, the current economic and financial crisis that started in 2008 has called into question old ways of thinking, and in particular current neo-liberal economic models have been exposed as fundamentally unsuited or misguided to promoting human development. The crisis thus provides an opportunity to make fundamental changes - the kind of opportunity that has not been seen for generations. (STWR, 2011)

In a fair assessment, the so-called Western countries deserve their fair share of criticism in hindering African development agenda spearheaded by the Washington Consensus, yet they cannot be entirely blamed for African poverty and debt crises no matter how justifiable. Certainly, they have done the best and worst they can; however, governments in Africa should understand that externalizing ones misfortune on others, produces nothing but stagnation. It is

time African governments must move beyond the rhetoric of blaming and take full responsibility for their people to whom they own much, in terms of creating spaces for peace and development.

To address the issue of poverty and indebtedness in 21st century Africa, political and ethical self-reflexivity in the context of dependence on development aid by western nations and their donor bi-lateral and multilateral agencies is necessary. African leaders must begin to shake off their complete reliance on the Western countries, and begin to stand on their own in their quest for peace and development in the 21st century. Quite importantly, sound governance structures and institutions in its broadest sense must be taken more seriously by African leaders.

In his inaugural speech US President Barack Obama called for a revolutionary transformation through change, and as he noted “the world has changed, and we must change with it...what is required of us now is a new era of responsibility”. (Barack Obama, 2009a...). Africans and their leaders must be prepared to accept a new era of responsibility; that of changing themselves to accept responsibility for their own lives – socio-economically and politically - in the 21st century, herein lies the way forward for the socio-economic development and peace for Africa.

3.3 Education, Research and Development

“If you think education is expensive try ignorance”

Derek Bok

The importance of education and its contribution toward peace, and sustainable development cannot be overemphasized. Education, both formal and informal, enables a people to constructively contribute their quota to meaningful, balanced and civilized societies. Education can enable a people to create value with their lives. A denial of education thus denies a people of their ability to contribute to nation building and the consequence is ignorance, which

is a primary seed human suffering. In 21st century, if governments in Africa think that investing heavily in education is expensive, then they should equally consider the demerits of ignorance.

All other things being equal, education can enhance the prosperity of a nation spiritually, culturally, socio-economically and its political development. Considering the importance of education for a nation and its people, and the lack of which retards a nation overall well-being, education must be given a premium consideration for every nation, more so when we think about sustaining peace and development. The World Bank research points to the fact that education enhances the ability to overcome poverty and that it is a “powerful driver of progress” (World Bank, 2004) toward the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. The World Bank articulates that the impact of education on girls can boost health of children and infants, immunization rates, family nutrition and schooling attainment. The above illustrates just a few benefits education can have on the socio-economic development of a country.

In Africa, and in particular Sub-Saharan Africa, the reality is that too many a people are denied or have no means and access to equal and qualitative distribution of education. Misguided priorities and sometimes overt denial by political leaders through discriminatory political, cultural and socio-economic tactics are employed to deny a people access and means to acquiring education. Unproductive as this behavior might be, the stark reality is that lack of formal education continues to exist in some Sub-Saharan African countries in spite of the benefits that could be reaped by investing in education.

In Africa, harsher socio-economic and political situation in some African states, make it difficult and challenging for African governments to facilitate access to quality education for all especially those in poverty stricken, and war-torn recovering countries. In his substantiation of educational challenges and dilemmas in Sub-Saharan Africa, Kinyanjui notes “In many African

countries, the challenges of poverty, rising unemployment, high rate of population growth, political instability, wars and conflict, falling commodity prices, foreign indebtedness and the rising tide of democratization are part of the reality which impinges on the growth and operation of education and learning process” (Kinyanjui, 1994:280).

The above constraints thus place enormous limitation on the ability of African governments to meet their educational goals. It must be stressed however that, despite the above, prioritization in terms of policy directives that place high value on education is often glossed over in majority of African countries development agenda especially with regard to education in general. The priority given to education in terms of financial commitment by most African governments is quite decimal despite recent efforts by most Sub-Saharan governments’ commitment to increasing investment in education.

According to statistics of United Nation Development Program (UNDP), using the Human Development Index, (HDI)², one awfully finds that, the first Sub-Saharan African country, under the Commitment to education: Public spending schema of the UNDP, HDI ranking is Gabon at number 123, followed by Namibia at number 125, Botswana at number 131, Comoros at number 132, Ghana at number 138, Sudan at number 141, Congo at number 142 and then Togo, Uganda and Zimbabwe at numbers, 143, 144, and 145 respectfully. (UNDP, 2005:256). The rest falls under Low Human Development Index which begins at number 146 and ends with number 117 being Niger. Unfortunately, all the countries under this category are Sub-Saharan African countries. (UNDP, 2005:256)

² Human Development Index (HDI) refers to a composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development – a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living (UNDP, 2005:356).

Judging from the figures, the total percentage of government expenditure to education as of 2002 averages 10.13% and this proportion is inclusive of primary, secondary and tertiary education. This figure reflects the level of commitment of Sub-Saharan African countries to education which reflects a growing commitment to education. Yet given the importance education can play in the overall socio-economic and political development of a country, the facts remain that Sub-Saharan countries falls short regarding investment to education, and thus cannot hope to benefit much in terms of the valuable benefits that education brings to its people if this level of commitment continues.

It is therefore not shocking enough to see, Sub-Saharan African countries trailing in the HDI figures. For instance, public spending in higher education has decline in real terms in relation to total expenditure on education in most African countries. African governments must begin to value and prioritize education as foremost in its development agenda, if it wants to take its rightful place in 21st century globalized world. The facts surrounding the nature, quality and composition of education in Sub-Saharan Africa, is central issue of great importance which deserves much attention if African countries hope to optimize the value and importance of education in Sub-Saharan Africa. The most important factor in any educational system is to equip individuals and their societies with greater ability to cope with the realistic challenges their societies face. In this sense, much effort is needed to incorporate best educational systems and practices while building on the socio-cultural norms and values within a particular system to meet the needs and demands of the people and the time.

Ki-Zerbo, in his reflection on the nature of education in Sub-Saharan Africa, argues that, Sub-Saharan African continue to follow the systems they adopted from post-colonial era.

Implicit in his reflection, he calls for an alternative model that can incorporate the demands of the time and that will impact significantly on the lives of Sub-Saharan African. He notes:

Now it is a fact that since the end of the colonial period, the school system in Africa has not really changed in any fundamentally way. And that indicates that there have been no real social transformations so far. The colonial system as a whole retreated from the continent, but it left behind its school system to operate as a kind of time bomb. The bomb could have been adopted and retooled to serve as a missile propelling African society into a fresh new world; but that was not done. As a matter of fact, neither has there been a well-thought out attempt to restructure the original Africa concept of the school to serve as part of an inner-directed development process. What we have had is on the one hand, a series of derivative and conservative systems frankly subservient to neo-colonial ends, and on the other, a set of pseudo-revolutionary adventures hitched to ill-digested leftist ideologies. Africa's endogenous system has been left fallow, ownerless and uncultivated. On the other hand, there is a blind stampede towards the illusion of a so called modernization process that has always been unattainable for the majority anyway. Meanwhile, Africa has been dragging the school system it inherited from colonial era behind it like a convict's ball and chain, unable to imagine and establish an alternative model (Ki-Zerbo 1990:43).

Ki-Zerbo, analysis of the educational system in Sub-Saharan Africa evocatively reflects the dilemma facing African nations that needs to be overcome to address its numerous socio-economic and political challenges. To give an example to substantiate Ki-Zerbo assertion, one realizes that, the conventional wisdom of educational policies as had been adopted by Sub-Saharan Africa since independence had been to focus on meeting basic literacy of the population. But reading and writing alone is not enough in 21st century. There is the urgent need for a new generation of critical thinkers in teaching and research.

True education must be able to help people adapt to the cultural, socio-economic and political circumstances of the times. And yet, we find African countries still holding on to the educational structures they adopted since colonial era, and it is lacking much advances in research and development that can lead to technological advancement that meets the needs of the time and their environments. It must be emphasized here that the argument is not to propose a technology focused form of education for Africans. However, the fact remains that advances in

technological development can help compliment a nation's ability to overcome many constraints that plague humanity. To give an example, emerging economies such as China, India, Singapore, and South Korea among others, did not necessarily depend on nature for water to replenish their farms. Through what is called cloud seeding they can cause rain to fall to facilitate nourishment to their plantations.

Most of the above-mentioned countries are self-sufficient in their food productions, despite the staggering number of populations running into billions. On the other hand, Africa population, which is almost a billion, cannot produce to feed itself, a key factor which can be attributed to lack of appropriate technology and research. Again technological advancement can assist in creating the necessarily storage mechanism for farm products and again help in the processing of raw materials to add value to the products before they are sold or exported. Considering the fact that, majority of Sub-Saharan African countries are dependent on the export of primary commodities, it can be argued that the importance of technological advancement achieved through a commitment to education in that direction cannot be dismissed.

Another area of key concern that needs urgent attention is the shortfall in higher education characterized by "increased enrollments, erosion of university autonomy, deterioration of libraries and teaching facilities and the overall decay of intellectual and professional life" (Kinyanjui,1994: 284). It must be emphasized especially that, the decay of intellectual and professional life is not uniquely unique of African intellectuals. That is absolutely not the point, considering the fact that, there are too many excellent and outstanding African intellectuals all over the world and in Africa as well.

The decay is an effect of a lack of the needed financial commitment on the part of Sub-Saharan governments to give and focus the necessary attention required of higher education. It

is noted for instance that on the average African governments commitment to research and development is 0.3% of GDP and that parity ration of researchers to the population is dismally low with 48 researchers to a one million population (Materu, 2007). Again due to lack of the necessary commitment there is difficulty in retaining qualified and motivated staff and expertise in majority of higher research institutions in Africa coupled with aging faculty members.

Furthermore, another factor which compounds the challenges facing education in African countries is the increasing “ascendancy and the dominance of the international institutions and donor agencies in the production of policy research, and their increasing influence on policy formulation” (Kinyanjui, 1994: 284). Piloted and directed by the global conglomerate of IMF and World Bank, globalization is fast transforming the direction and of the production of intellectuals in most African countries.

Due to the operation of the market economy, labor an important factor of production is directly influenced by the dictates of demand and supply for labor. Much of labor is needed to market and sell products that are imported cheaply to most African countries. Obviously, the dictates of the market has been more demand for marketing personal to markets these goods. Demand for marketing experts thus increase and so is their price. The orientation is therefore the focus on producing more marketing and business related experts to meet the increasing demand. But this comes at the expense of developing other labor segments of the economy, like social scientists, engineers, anthropologist and the like whose inputs are also very important to the socio-economic development of a country.

Probing further, one observes that under the aegis and schema of globalization, African States are directed to give complete autonomy to tertiary institutions, and the production of knowledge dictated by the market. In this sense, states that support free higher education are

seen as wasting resources. But we should not be mistaken in this direction. In a continent where poverty has held sway for a long time and a vast majority of people live on less than a dollar a day, it will be astronomically difficult and politically unsound to suggest that education must be left entirely to be directed by the invisible hands of the free market system. A common policy guideline by multilateral and donor institutions is demonstrated in remarks such as “the governments who keep free higher education are subsidizing the wrong people” (Cited in Leher, 2004). Thus the dictates of the market have monopolized and directed which kind of labor that is needed in a globalized world to the detriment of local needs.

Unfortunately, this direction means that most politically and economically weak African nations cannot pursue and produce expertise that might be beneficial for its own development agenda. This underscores one of the reasons why Africa countries are left behind in terms of advances in research and development that can enable their countries to advance their development programs. The policy of the Washington Consensus towards higher education in most developing countries including Africa to advocate state noninterference in the affairs of higher education is informed and guided by the premise that, "A wider institutional autonomy is the key for the success of the reform in public higher education, especially in order to diversify and to use resources more efficiently. An indicative goal could be that of state higher education institutions generating enough resources to finance about 30% of their total resources needs" (Cited in Leher, 2004 :...).

The question of efficiency, which has been the dominant philosophical underpinning of the neo-liberal thinking, is debatable. Efficiency might best serve the operational mechanisms of institutions of higher learning but it is not the same thing as meeting the needs and demands of a people efficiently. Rather, what is leads to is a continuous marginalization of those not

prepared to thread the path dictated by globalization. Placed in this dilemma, most African countries are pressed to refocus the direction of their educational objectives and policies, which more often than not, are influenced by donor agencies and could be of limited significance to their constituent needs.

Complicating the above is the fact that donor institutions and organizations provide funding for Ministries of Education and their planning and policy units that carry out educational reforms in direction of the requirements of these donor institutions. The direction of educational policies as dictated by donor organizations is a worrying menace that needs to be critically examined and reflected upon by African governments if they desire to optimize the value of education that best meets their unique circumstances.

Kinyanjui notes avidly that, the intrusion of donor influence in the production of policy research and of policy formulation in education can closely be related to the “marginalization of African universities in their societies” (Kinyanjui, 1994: 284). This marginalization is more pronounced in the “production and dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge (Kinyanjui, 1994:284). The implication of this development is that, countries are not able to steer and direct their educational policies that meet their particular circumstances.

Over the years, efforts have been made by donor institutions and notably the World Bank to institute initiatives and mechanisms that highlight the need to incorporate vital issues in educational development in Africa. Further, pragmatic efforts have been made in proposing solutions and strategies for their implementation. Unfortunately, this has not reduced the tendency of the donor institutions in influencing educational policies in African countries.

In 1998, the publication of the World Bank Report on *Education in Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* and the subsequent establishment of the Task Force of

Donors to African Education (DAE) and other forty donor agencies to cooperate and share information on educational support attest to the fact that, donor agencies continue to influence educational policies in African countries (Kinyanjui, 1994).

In 1989, the World Bank issued a report entitled “*Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*”, in which was highlighted a further impetus to strengthen operational capabilities of all institutions in order to address long term developmental goals. Among other issues, the bank recommended capacity-building with a focus on “institutional reforms at every level of government, and measures to foster private sector and non-governmental organizations” (Cited in Kinyanjui, 1994).

This recommendation led to the formation of the African Capacity Building Initiative (ACIB) and African-Capacity Building Foundation that contained implicit values and consideration of the Africa reality and framework for addressing them. Quite unfortunately, even though such frameworks for the consideration of African reality existed in such institutions, they were continuously influenced and directed by the donor agencies. Education is vital and will continue to play an indispensable role to the socio-economic and political development of countries and those countries involved must take leadership and ownership in steering the direction of education that meets their local situation and can still make them competitive on the world scale.

The challenges that beset education in Africa today are numerous and daunting as outlined above, yet they are surmountable with right and new vision, tempered with financial commitments, and government policy directives committed to constructive reforms and institutional frameworks and mechanisms that addresses the gaps in education. The constructive engagement of all stakeholders – governments, businesses and civil societies- towards building a

solid educational reform is thus necessary in order to address the interests of all, as well as instituting reforms that meets the needs and sustainable development of the present and future.

The challenge of transforming education in Africa in the 21st century must be tackled with strategic focus as Rensburg puts it “not just to change conditions, and create new institutions, but to change consciousness in the process” (Rensburg 1981:15). This change in consciousness requires a transformation not only in institutions but also of values and belief systems that can aid, guide and inform a constructive process of change for human development. This change must not be just a matter of policy, — it should be a mindset, that is true governance and reform must become more of a mindset than simply mere policy in African education governance structures.

3.4 Governance and Leadership

“If there was one area which would determine the direction of Africa's future then it was the quality of its governance and leadership”

Kofi Annan

3. 4(1) Introduction: Governance and Leadership

Under this theme, the discussion focuses on explaining the meaning of governance and explores the nexus between governance, peace and development. The objective is to establish that governance and leadership matter in Africa’s quest for peace, security and sustainable development in the 21st century and beyond. Further the discussion posits that, governance and leadership matters most and is essential in Africa’s quest for continental integration.

The discussion details a brief historical account of governance with particular focus on Africa. It then reflects on the importance of governance and its implication for peace and development in Africa. It concludes that that governance remains a challenge to socio-economic

and political development in Africa, and that Africans themselves must take bold initiatives to institute effective, concrete, viable institutional mechanisms to rid the continent of the negative stigma attached to it as a governance deficit continent. In concluding, the discussion urges all African governments to support the AU led governance program in particular, the APRM, NEPAD through a cooperative and unrelenting commitment to make these policies work effectively.

3.4(2). Governance, Peace and Security in Africa

Most African countries faces what has been termed “a crisis of governance” (UNEP & Saundry, 2008) – weak political processes and institutions, weak legal systems, poor economic performance and debt; and underdevelopment and poverty. This explains why addressing governance deficits are crucially important for the peace, development and the integration agenda for Africa as a whole.

Governance is not a new phenomenon as it has existed and been practiced as far back as 400 BC. In the *Arthashastra* a treatise on governance, attributed to Kautilya who was a chief minister to the King of India, it outlined justice, ethics and anti-autocracy as the flagship of governance (Kaufmann and Kraay 2008:3). In Africa as well, kings and their traditional rulers and ministers exercised a good deed of governance practices. It is well documented that, the Songhai Empire had sound and reputable justice systems and ministries. The *Qadi*, for instance, represented local head of judges, and there were even ministers for minorities including *berbuchi-mondio*, for Berabic Arabs, and the *korei-farma* for white minorities (Dalglish, 2005:60).

Despite the fact that the concept of governance has existed over a millennia, there is still a widely held contestation regarding its definition and there exist today, different understanding

and interpretation given to the concept of governance. The UNDP defines governance as “the exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority in the management of a country’s affairs at all levels”. (UNDP....). A reflection on the UNDP’s definition reveals that it goes beyond the traditional systemic governance which centers on the political realm to include economic, social and administrative process to encompass a wider reach.

Although broad as this definition is, there seems to be some element of paucity, and the broadness of the definition introduces some vagueness in the definition in the sense that, it situates governance as essentially a public institutional affair, and is quite silent on private or corporate governance that has to do with private institutions/civil societies and their operational framework. The definition thus indirectly seems to reinforce the notion that governance problems are essentially of public institutions and structures. The definition of the Commission on Global Governance on the other hand offers a prescriptive opinion on governance, emphasizing governance to include both public and private institutions. It notes that:

Governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interest may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest (Commission on Global Governance, cited in Soderbaum, 2003:74).

This definition bridges the gap between administration – the sum of many ways...manage their common Affairs; and politics which involves the process through which conflicting... interest may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. Thus, this definition does convey an inseparable distinction of politics and administration as they both involve the exercise of power. The above definition explicates that governance is not related to the public sector only, but it does include the private as well as formal and informal institutional arrangements and mechanism agreed upon by a people to be in their interest. However as in

many definitions of governance, it is still quite broad and fails to detail what elements constitute governance and how it could be measured and assessed.

Noted for their extensive work on governance issues which culminated in World Governance Indicators (WGI), Kaufmann Kraay and Mastruzzi, are of the opinion that governance is:

The traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them. (Kaufmann and Kraay 2008:4).

Based on their extensive research from 1996-2007 they came up with six key dimensions to measure the quality of governance and they include, voice/accountability, political stability and lack of governance, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption (WGI, 2009). These dimensions evoke normative values of good and bad and such assessments are often very subjective and could make the findings contestable.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that, these schema has become popular, and is been used by majority of donors and multinational institutions because of its comprehensiveness. And again, despite all the criticisms, this normative assessment can still guide an informed assessment for countries to reflect upon their socio-political institutions. In the 21st century, the concept of governance has gained much momentum and it is often seen as the bedrock of sustainable development through respect for rule of Law, constructive and legitimate exercise of power amongst others. Accordingly, governance has become a benchmark for socio-economic and political development and is seen as a “core element of sustainable development” (IPA, 2004:4). Again the governance *Klondike* is informed by the proposition that “accountable and capable state institutions are a prerequisite for economic development” (IPA, 2004:3).

From the above perspective, a deficiency in governance represents a great challenge to sustainable development, and there is the need to address the governance deficit impediments that stall sustainable development. Given the fact that, a distinction is now made of governance, fashioned in the Socratic reasoning of either/or, leading to a labeling of either “good” or “bad” governance, stakes have been raised where nations could be put on spot check regarding governance.

If we are to follow the categorization of good and bad governance, in Africa where much of the governance structures have been weakened, and in some cases completely broken down, good governance is thus urgently needed to facilitate sustainable development. Given the fact that “good governance and sustainable development are indivisible” (Annan: 2005...) and much of Africa scores less on good governance, there is the need for Africans themselves to take the initiative to streamline governance structures as they strive to further their development agenda.

This is a challenge that must be transformed and overcome by Africans in the 21st century if they are to succeed in building an environment for sustainable peace and development and to avoid been stereotyped as a backward continent. In its 1998 report, the ECA noted in the AGR1 that substantial progress had been made by quite a number of African countries in areas such as supporting and promoting media and civil society participation, instituting policies that allowed for political space and inclusiveness, respect for human rights among others.

Nonetheless, it was noted that state institutions remained weak and fragile, corruption remained high, and human rights abuses were rampant coupled with electoral fraud and control of media. In the 2005 ECA report - AGR, it also noted that democracy was becoming grounded with most states in their third era of democratic change over of government. Inclusiveness, women participation, public and financial management accountability were all scoring high as

good indicators of governance structures. However, much like the 1998 report, the 2005 AGR noted that despite all these progress, corruption were ranked high by respondents they interview in their research. It also noted among other factors that ineffectiveness of governance institutions were the result of inadequacies of material and human resources. (ECA, 2005: xiv).

Given the above empirical quotations, it is equally important to note that in order to avoid giving simple explanations for complex problems of – governance in Africa, there is the need to delve into some of the factors that catalyzed and made bad governance more endemic. Often, much of literature available today does not talk about how state capability and governance structures in most Africa states were weakened and accelerated by both external and internal factors that conditioned Africa with a low adaptive capacity to handle state institutions and mechanisms effectively. The shambolic governance structures in most African countries today can partly be adduced to the negative impacts of colonization but this does not explain the whole picture.

Post-colonial Africa inherited vestiges of dysfunctional socio-economic and political structures which were catalyzed by the subversion of tradition structures, institutions and value systems through colonization to make Africa nations more amenable, the continuous control and subjugation of Africa for political and economic interest of most imperial powers. Later the impact of the Cold War made the rhetoric of governance worst through support for African leaders who were contrived to condone and connive with imperial powers to suppress their own people.

These developments reinforced itself through its replication in local socio-political structures and with this came a continuous recursive reverberation that weakened the whole governance structures in most African societies, and which to a large extent continue to the

present moment. The colonial experience of suppression and oppression of Africans and their institutions created fault lines in the socio-political landscape that facilitated seismic movements that ravage most these states with seismic shocks along the fault lines of corruption, dictatorship, disrespect for human rights and others.

The historical explanation is not a mere rhetoric, and neither is it a myopic invective against colonizers but it helps us to correctly understand more profoundly some of the underlying causes of the dysfunctional socio-political structures in Africa which Galtung prefers to label as structural violence which is still prevalent in the global order of politics and economics. Unfortunately, instead of African governments building strong institutions that could withstand the political fault lines created during colonial era, most of African leaders have rather through actions of corruption, ethnic cleavages, human rights abuses, catalyzed these political seismic fault lines.

These actions have plunged most Africa countries into unstable peace and security situations with glaring consequences such as weak political and economic institutions which fester breeding ground for chaos and instability and thus undermine peace and sustainable development. To substantiate my point, the ECA in its 2005 report on governance in Africa, under the sub-topic: *Declining Dominance of the Executive*, noted among other factors that “Contrary to historical tendencies, the national country reports found a decline of executive dominance in Africa due to several factors—including the end of the Cold War...” (ECA, 2005:6). The fact that the report notes that the end of the cold war had significantly led to a decline in the dominance of the executive, points to the nefarious role played by some key global powers that affected socio-political stability or state capacity in Africa.

The exorcization of “bad” governance today by these same global economic and political powers and players therefore needs a critical questioning and introspection by most African leaders. In whose interest and for what purpose does governance led initiative serve, more so when they are imposed from without, and fails to take into consideration local circumstances. This is not to dismiss the glamour of governance and its significance in building an enduring socio-political space for sustainable development.

In addressing governance deficits, it ought to be borne in mind that, instituting governance reforms from outside or external sources needs a rethinking in concrete terms - ways that incorporate the African perspective on governance. Quite crucially, it is equally important to also realize that, situating blame of colonization and underdevelopment solely on the colonial and historical accounts, discounts the role of human agency. Accordingly, the onus lies with African leaders and their people, and they themselves without fail, must recognize that, no matter the external pressures, they have the free will to decide between what is in their best interest for their countries and societies.

Above all, the unequivocal point remains indisputable that political governance, institutional effectiveness, accountability, sound economic management and corporate governance are core elements necessary for sustainable development which African governments cannot discount as necessary for socio-economic development (ECA, 2005). The need to build capable states with stakeholder responsibility that serves the interest of a state and its people should be seen by African leaders as a duty that ought to be met rather than a choice.

Towards this end, various efforts have been made including joint initiatives such as ECA-OECD, to ensure mutual review of development effectiveness to guarantee commitment to good governance, fair trade and many others. Also the APRM is committed to promoting of policies,

standards and practices that facilitate political stability, sustainable development, and accelerated economic integration through sharing of experiences among others.

In the ECA report on governance notes in its 2005 report that 23 African states have accede to the APRM process (ECA, 2005), and by July 2006, 25 had joined the APRM (Mkwezalamba and Chinyama, 2007), underscoring the rising commitment of African countries to open themselves. Although the framework and outline of the APRM is democratically sound and grounded, one of its salient weaknesses is that, it is overzealously steeped in diplomatic rhetoric and overtures in its processes, especially stage four of the peer review process. The quotation below proves a sticking reference to my assertion:

If the Government of the country in question shows a demonstrable will to rectify the identified shortcomings, then it will be incumbent upon participating Governments to provide what assistance they can, as well as to urge donor governments and agencies also to come to the assistance of the country reviewed. However, if the necessary political will is not forthcoming from the Government, the participating states should first do everything practicable to engage it in constructive dialogue, offering in the process technical and other appropriate assistance. If dialogue proves unavailing, the participating Heads of State and Government may wish to put the Government on notice of their collective intention to proceed with appropriate measures by a given date. The interval should concentrate the mind of the Government and provide a further opportunity for addressing the identified shortcomings under a process of constructive dialogue. All considered, such measures should always be utilized as a last resort. (NEPAD, 2002:6).

The political exigencies of Africa needs an institutional mechanism strong and yet flexible enough to guide democratic and governance reforms. The standard set by APRM is commendable but more consultative engagements must be pursued to ensure that, the standards set by the APRM are both enforceable and agreeable. In this way collective and individual responsibility will be reinforced, and the policies set by the APRM will inspire self-motivation and open avenues for the necessary institutional reforms much needed in various African countries.

Much effort in this direction is highly recommended for the effectiveness of the APMR and the fact that the APMR seeks to review its policies every five years demonstrate a commitment to stay in tune with the demands of the time. With regard to the international community, what African needs in its efforts at governance and leadership is a constructive partnership “that is both credible and capable of implementation” (NEPAD, 2001:6).

The socio-political past of African needs to be taken into consideration and genuine and constructive effort base on honesty, justice, respect and mutual support need to be pursued by Africans leaders and the wider bi-lateral and multilateral institutions. Relations and reforms based on trust is what can bring about genuine transformation and not enforced and imposed changes instituted from without. Realistic guidelines and institutional reforms that are normally proposed by development partners could be idealistic, yet it should be realistic enough to implement and achieve. The urgent task however is for African leaders and government to realize that “development is a process of empowerment and self-reliance” (NEPAD, 2001:6) but this cannot take place if they African leaders themselves remain corrupt, abusive and oppressive and fail to institute sound and effective mechanism for the state, both private and public to function effectively.

The time has come when such abusive, unconcerned and ruthless naïve nationalistic Africa *strongmen* leaders must realize that, they themselves remain their own enemies if they do not reform their attitude and pave way for effective and functioning state through sociopolitical and economic reforms. What Africa and its leaders require is not necessarily strongmen but viable and strong institutions that aid governance and development agenda. The importance of governance and leadership is necessary to support peace and sustainable development since without sound governance structures, states will fall apart and render it incapable of meeting its

responsibility – that of protecting its citizens through the support of sound economic and political freedom.

3.5 Climate Change and Environmental Degradation

There is an urgent need to reexamine our priorities and underlying values in support of a just, sustainable and peaceful world. We must put the whole earth at the center of our planning and concern. We should design our economies to meet our social goals not vice versa. We should exercise compassion and commit ourselves to being good neighbors at local, regional, and global levels. The environment and its biodiversity should be considered crucial elements in peacebuilding, and recognized as fundamental to the achievement of all human development goals

Earth Dialogue Brisbane, 2006

This sub-section explores the intricate relationship between climate change, peace and development with focus on Africa in particular. A contextual background of climate change is presented to shed an insight of what it constitutes. This will allow for a better connection and understanding about the subject of this subsection – why climate change matters for peace and development and the integration agenda in Africa.

In 21st century Africa, one of the striking problems and challenges that confront the continent is climate change, and the negative consequences it set into motion. The 2007/2008 Human Development Report shows a compelling evidence that the stock of greenhouse gases which induce climate change through global warming are accumulating at an unprecedented rate. With current concentration of greenhouse reaching 380 parts per million (ppm) of carbon dioxide equivalent (CO₂e) and with this rate the reports estimates that global temperatures could increase by more than 5°C in the 21st century (HDR, 2007/2008:3).

The report also notes that the threshold for irreversible climate change is 2°C a point which marks a rapid reversal in human development and ecological damage that will be difficult to reverse. Global warming associated with climate change is not a myth as various scientific

findings have shown, and until significant and bold initiatives and mechanisms are instituted to address these challenges, the fate of world and in particular Africa in terms of meeting its socio-economic and political development remains perilous³.

Africa and the entire human race at large cannot afford the luxury of time as we are confronted with the “fierce urgency” (UNDP, 2005:1) of crisis - that of an irreversible environmental consequences, and socio-political and cultural challenges if Africans and the entire human race fail to act now in addressing the issues associated with climate change. Climate change is a

3

In February 2007, the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) issued its latest assessment report on climate change, which concluded that global warming is "unequivocal" and gave the strongest warning yet that it is very likely (> 90%) caused by human activities

The evidence for global warming and climate change includes the following:-

- Sea temperatures have risen by on average 0.5 degrees C (0.9 degree F) over the last 40 years [Tim Barnett, Scripps Institution of Oceanography in La Jolla, California]
- 20,000 square kilometers of fresh water ice melted in the Arctic between 1965 and 1995 [Ruth Curry, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in Connecticut]
- Worldwide measurements from tidal gauges indicate that global mean sea level has risen between 10 and 25 cm (18 cm average) during the last 100 years [Warrick et al., 1996]
- Global surface temperatures have risen about 0.7°C in the past 100 years [Met Office]
- 11 of the last 12 years rank amongst the 12 warmest years on record for global temperatures (since 1850) [IPCC, 2007]
- Since 1975, the increase of the 5-year mean temperature is about 0.5°C - a rate that is faster than for any previous period of equal length [NASA, 1999]
- Average annual temperature in the Arctic has increased by about 1° C over the last century -- a rate that is approximately double that of global average temperatures [IPCC, 1998]
- There is widespread evidence that glaciers are retreating in many mountain areas of the world. For example, since 1850 the glaciers of the European Alps have lost about 30 to 40% of their surface area and about half of their volume [Haeberli and Beniston, 1998]

(Carbon Footprint, 2009).

human induced catastrophe which is steadily taking a devastating toll on the environment and the socio-political structures of African societies in particular. Climate change is an effect which reflects unrestrained human actions and choices that have been pursued in the quest for socio-economic development. The resources of the planet Earth have been plundered and exploited without regard to ethics, standards and respect for sustainability.

Furthermore, consumed by the illusion of scientific advancement, our human generation has failed to realize that, although scientific advancement can take us far, it has limits. The Earth and its non-renewable resources are fixed and cannot be expanded beyond the carrying capacity of the earth. Unfortunately, the endless pursuit of material progress spurred by modernity to achieve economic growth fulfills the development agenda, but paradoxically threatens to erode progress so far achieved. This is like multiplying a million by zero.

Beginning in the early 19th century, breakthrough in scientific advancement led to the radical transformation in medicine and technology which in turn facilitated rapid development in agriculture, industrialization and transportation. Industrialization has in turn, led to significant economic growth and wealth creation for many nation states. In a surreptitious and subtle misrepresentation sometimes both in the academic and political world, the economic growth and wealth creation that came along with industrialization is often projected as human progress. Climate change is an outcome which reflects the deeply distorted or warped view of the prevailing economic model which drives growth. Economic growth must be consistent with ecological sustainability, but if growth comes with a price, far too expensive - that of global warming leading to climate change, then such growth cannot be called human progress.

Industrialization pursued by misguided growth models, and policies have led to the rapid exploitation of the earth's resources to meet the growing demands for rapid socio-economic

development of states. The exploitation of fossil fuel, cutting down of forests areas for farming and mineral exploration has accelerated the rate of environmental degradation. Carbon emission from cars and industrial pollution are some of the largest contributors of greenhouse emission which accelerate climate change through the depletion of the ozone layer resulting in increasing extremities in weather patterns.

Six decades ago, the United Nations in its charter awakened, and premised itself on a global commitment “to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom” (Human Development Report, 2005: 17). Renewing this pledge, the world’s governments in what has come to be called the Millennium Declaration at the start of the 21st century again reaffirmed their commitment to promote “larger freedom” – “to free our fellow men and women and children from the abject and dehumanized conditions of extreme poverty” (Human Development Report, 2005: 17).

Sadly, climate change and its consequential impacts is robbing the world and in particular Africa of this freedom, due to its negative impact. Ecological space transcends mechanically drawn political lines and social stratifications. Human beings, plants and animals on the planet Earth share the same atmosphere. Accordingly, in a world where inequality and poverty is on the rise, it is the world’s poorest that stands to suffer the most from greenhouse emissions and pollutions.

3.5 (1) Why Climate Change matters within the African Context for Peace and Development

In 2008, at the 63rd General Assembly High-level Plenary on Africa, the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon reflectively pointed out the sad and ironic situation of Africa which contributes the least to global warming and yet, stands to suffer most from its ill effects.

This grim reality evocatively reminds the world that it is the poor who faces a high degree of vulnerability to climate risk.

In Africa where inequality and poverty abound, diseases and hunger prevalent as well as violent conflicts and where the level of technological development is relatively developed, the continent's ability to fight against climate change is proportionately low. This means that, negative environmental impacts such as floods, droughts, which are often accelerated by climate change represents a crisis that threaten the quest for larger freedom to larger disparity in a globalized world where poverty seem to have been institutionalized by systemic and dysfunctional socio-cultural and political structures both at local, sub-national, regional and global levels.

Consequently the attainment of the MDG's remains bleak in most African countries which in turn threaten the peace, security and development of the African continent. In addition to the above, and from a spatial perspective, majority of African nations find themselves located in a geophysical space and environment where vagaries of the weather put the entire region and in constant danger.

There is a high level of precipitation gradient across Africa and 43% of Sub-Saharan Africa is made up of arid and semi environments coupled with a high degree of climate variability (Sperling, 2009). These are some of the key factors that make Africa vulnerable to the effects of climate change. Accordingly, climate change has fast tracked droughts and desertification in Africa due to the continent's low adoptive capacity and response mechanism to meet the challenge of climate change.

The devastating effect of drought has impacted heavily on Africa, especially Western and Eastern Africa since the 1970's. The high degree of climate variability coupled with low adoptive

capacity has exacerbated loss of vegetative cover due to changes in climatic conditions. This has led to lack of rainfall, which in turn has reinforced desertification. In order to avert these problems, large scale movement of populations has been induced, especially those who depend directly on the land for their survival.

Those largely affected in Africa due to droughts – a process exacerbated by climate change, are the Fulani in Western Africa; and in Eastern Africa where the effect is more devastating for countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Chad. It is estimated that, the number of people affected by drought in Africa rose from nil in the 1970's to a staggering figure of 35 million in recent times (ECOSOC, ECA, AU, 2008).

Climate change induced movements from hostile environments to areas with less hostile environmental impact have led to pressure and competition for use of resources. “According to the Norwegian and other groups, the number of Africans displaced by conflicts is falling, but the number displaced by climate change is fast climbing. The IOM thinks most of the world's 200 million predicted climate change migrants will be Africans. John Holmes of UN Emergency Relief argues that 700,000 Africans were displaced by climate change in 2008 (The Economist, 2009:52).

In Africa where ethnic differences have often been exploited for political purposes, competition for use of resources has often led to tensions, violent conflict and political upheavals. Some of these reasons underscore the fact that climate change poses a threat to peace, development and the integration agenda of Africa. In Sudan for instance, competition for resource use – arable land was triggered by drought, and exacerbated by domination and discrimination. This led to political instability and armed conflict and today, the Darfur region of

Sudan reflects one of the complex interplay of factors that can be triggered by the effect of climate change – drought.

In Sudan-Darfur, the complex interplay of climatic factors, and other socio political factors have resulted in almost 2.5 million people been displaced and about 300,000 losing their lives. The conflict in Darfur has led to many complex emergencies and continues to threaten peace and security in the whole region and cast a dark spell on the African continent as a whole. Water is an essential requirement for life both in Africa and other parts of the world. It is projected that competition for water use could led to water stress and conflicts in many parts of Africa in the 21st century due to climate change. Climate change has reinforced the rapid drying up of rivers, marshlands, and lakes – Lake Chad being a typical example. It is estimated that in 1964, Lake Chad and its basin covered an area of 25,000km² but the droughts of the 1970,s and the continuous climatic change patterns have reduced the basin to 1000km² in recent times (LCBC, 2008:2).

In a further grim reality, it is projected that 70 to 250 million people in Africa will be exposed to increased water stress by 2020 and that by 2050, Sub-Saharan Africa will be afflicted by a 29% increase in water shortage, while river flow in the Nile region will decrease by 75% by 2100 (ECA, AU, 2008:9). Given the fact that water bodies are fixed and do not reproduce itself, increased competing demand for water use - domestic, agriculture and industrial purposes can lead to conflicts over its use.

Climate change has induced food shortages and decline in agriculture and livestock production and this challenge is increasingly becoming a potential threat to majority of African populations as agriculture remains the mainstay of many African countries. Dramatic changes in climate change are projected to set into motion extreme weather conditions such as droughts or

floods which will in turn complicate poverty, diseases and mortality rates which are already high in Africa. Droughts, another product of climate change in addition to rapid depletion of forest for mineral resources are gradually constraining agriculture production by reducing land available for cultivation, curtailing farming seasons, reducing yield and their resistance to pest and diseases especially in ecological transition zones between semi-arid and arid regions. The outcome will be a reduction in food production, livestock and fisheries and a corresponding rise in food prices.

In a more complicated fashion, in Africa particularly sub-Saharan Africa, 90% of rural labor force are engaged in farming activities and 60% of total labor force finds themselves in agriculture sector, with 40% accounting for total export earnings (ECA, AU, 2009:9). It is also estimated that agriculture provides 50% of household food needs and income.

The Human Development Report for 2007/2008 estimates that drought affected areas in Sub-Saharan Africa could expand by 60-90 million hectares with arid areas suffering losses of US\$ 26 billion by the year 2060, a figure estimated to be in excess of bilateral aid to the region in 2005 (HDR, 2007/2008). The net effect will be disastrous increase in poverty, health, constant social and political upheavals, in a continent already struggling with such realities.

There is also the high risk of rising sea levels which could result in disasters such as flooding. The Human Development Report of 2007/2008 projects that global temperature increases of 3-4°C could result in flooding that might permanently or temporarily displace over 330 million people on a world wide scale (HDR, 2007/2008:9). A research conducted by Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) shows a compelling and looming disaster for Africa with rising climate temperatures. According to the IPCC, one quarter of African populations live within 100km of the coast in most large African cities. Countries such as Lagos,

Cairo, Kinshasa all have populations well over 8 million and these populations are vulnerable to rise in sea levels and coastal erosions (ECA, AU, 2008:9). Such flooding and subsequent submergence could affect health, infrastructure, ecology and tourism potentials in these regions.

Climate change could also accelerate loss of biodiversity, habitats and ecosystems. In Africa, it is estimated that by 2085 between 25 to 40% of species habitat could be lost, while 80-90% of species suitable habitat might reduce in size or shift as a result of the effects of climate change (ECA, AU, 2008:9). This could have devastating impact on the livelihood of the people who depend on such environments for the social and economic survival.

This loss of habitat could threaten indigenous people, their cultural and spiritual values which could result in cultural and spiritual desertification of the affected people. Finally, water borne diseases such as trypanosomiasis, guinea-worms, malaria present a threat to health in a region where mortality rates are already high due to pandemics such as HIV-AIDS. Energy constrains due to low rainfall could affect hydro-electric power which is the major source of power in Africa, constraining economic and social progress. These forgoing arguments, evocatively demonstrate the undeniable fact that climate change and its effects have the potency to disrupt the quest for peace, stability, development and integration agenda in Africa, and thus it cannot be ignored if the prospects for peace and development are to be taken seriously.

The way forward towards addressing the climate challenges facing the world and in particularly Africa is daunting but not absolutely impossible to overcome if urgent and constructive preventive efforts are taken early enough to forestall problems related to climate change. As a human induced crisis, it is human beings who also hold the key to reversing the negative impacts of climate change. Regrettably, institutional effort, both domestically and internationally, has fallen short of expectation due to lack of enforcing mechanisms. Quite a

majority of countries continue to demonstrate a lack of political will in addressing climate change issues. The lack of willingness is reinforced by domestic and international interest, political commitments, corporate interest, and financial challenges and constraints.

In Africa for instance where majority of populations live below economic poverty line, can their governments be convinced not to exploit their rich mineral resources to support their economic growth, while demand for those resources is on the increase from the advance countries? Do the advance countries have the ethical and moral justification to enforce developing countries to abide by climate change measures when apparently some developed countries fail to commit themselves to such international norms regarding climate change? Further, how could both developing and developed countries reconcile the ever increasing need to stimulate economic growth one hand, and the pretentious rhetoric that developing countries need to do more to contain climate change when not much practical and compelling commitment and leadership is demonstrated by developed countries themselves.

These are hard but practical questions and political realities that confront the global fight against climate change. There is therefore the fierce urgency for all – both developed and developing countries to overcome these dichotomies in the face of a looming disaster that knows no boundaries. In this sense, it is contingent that, both African governments, the developed countries and governments all over the world must realize that, fighting climate change is a global crisis that affects all. There is the need first and foremost to rethink the economic models that drive economic growth. New economic models and paradigms must help address structural inequalities that widen the gap between the rich and poor.

While industrialization and developmentalism cannot be entirely written off, it must be pursued with the highest and rigorous ethical and moral consideration for the environment.

Governments must commit themselves to education and awareness creation especially for the youth, and in particular women. Since society is made of individuals whose choices and actions affect government policies, governments must pursue educational programs that awaken individual consciousness to make and take action that is sustainable to the environment.

Internationally, governments - since they are the key policy makers must commit themselves to abiding by policy frameworks such as those proposed by United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Kyoto protocols, among others. The wider business and civic society can complement the efforts of governments and bring pressure to bear on them when they fail to live short of expectations based on domestic and international norms.

The rhetoric of conferences and policy frameworks are not enough, and do not stop climate change. What is most important is the commitment to take action. Alternative sources of renewable resources such as solar, wind and thermal should be pursued. Ultimately, the solutions to climate change crisis require inter-governmental and global cooperation. On a more fundamental level, there is the urgent need for a rethinking and behavioral change at the individual level. It must be remembered that although climate change is a physical process, the effects and its ramifications affect not only the physical environment but extent well into the socio-economic and political arena that have devastating impact on human beings and their environments. The quest for peace, sustainable development and the integration agenda of Africa will only be a mirage and a phantom, if climate change is not taken and tackled with all seriousness.

Chapter Four:

Is Africa's Integration a Recipe for Peace and Development in the 21st Century?

Introduction

Africa must unite. We have before us not only an opportunity but a historic duty

Kwame Nkrumah, 1970

Just as I was convinced that political freedom was the essential forerunner for our economic growth and that it must come, so I am equally convinced that African Union will come and provide that united, integrated base upon which our fullest development can be secured

The drive for integration has been a motivating, as well as, a desired goal for Africa during the 1960's when the quest to end colonization was at its strongest. The Post-independence era Africa in the 1960's witnessed calls for integration partly due to the enormity of socio-economic and political challenges, none of which the newly independent states could singularly on their own address soundly and effectively without a collaborative and united effort. This chapter is a further expansion of chapter two, and provides a follow-up, and an in-depth analysis on the integration agenda of Africa as a whole.

In conducting this analysis, the thesis employs theoretical frameworks and dispositions regarding integration from different perspectives. Accordingly, this chapter takes as its point of specific inquiry, whether integration looked at from the economic and political perspective is concomitant for peace and development especially in a 21st century globalized world.

In doing this, the thesis will give a short historical overview on Africa's integration agenda, and employ some of the prevailing concepts and theories on the types of integration, as well as the approaches to integration. Insights will be based on the historical and political development framework of Africa's institutions in particular, the OAU, and the AU. The study of Africa integration has to be "theoretically informed" as well the need for theoretical "reflexivity" (Biswaro, 2005: xv).

One of the principal questions, which will be of paramount importance during this discussion, is: how has Africa's institutions driving the integration agenda evolved, and what has been the dynamics? Of utmost importance would be the question, is/will integration be a concatenation for peace and development in Africa in the 21st century?

4.1 Africa's Integration History – A Brief Overview

The quest for Africa's integration takes its roots from Pan-African struggles which was shaped and influenced by Pan-Africanism which principally began in the diaspora in the 17th century. However, the relentless quest for Africa's unity will largely be shaped by the political dynamics that were closely associated with independent struggles on the African continent especially during the 1960's when calls for political independence has become the main component of the Pan-African struggle.

The 1960's saw Pan-Africanism sentiments becoming ever stronger on the African continent to extricate Africa from the colossal devastations of colonialism. A number of factors account for these developments. During this turbulent era in Africa's political development, another event was taking place - global super-power rivalry between the United States of America and the former USSR. The ramifications of this rivalry would have unprecedented political, social and economic consequences on a global scale, Africa not an exception. It is within this complex and murky context that newly, and emerging independent African countries had had to start their new-found political freedom.

Two primary challenges needed to be addressed: First, the challenge of choosing to side with either of the political divide – *East-West* rivalry. Second, these newly independent countries needed to integrate into the global economic and political system in order to address the socio-economic challenges they had inherited from the vestiges of colonialism. Much as most of these newly independent African states might have wanted to avoid siding with either East or West, the need to integrate into the global economic and political order were indispensable, and necessary given the enormous socio-economic challenges - insufficient man-power development, small markets, raw materials-based exports, lack of technological base among a host of others.

To mitigate, and avoid the trappings associated with siding with *East* or *West*, the Non-Align movement emerged as a pragmatic political middle-way path where a number of African countries together with others in Latin America joined in an attempt to avoid the trappings of being associated with either East or West. Nevertheless, in spite of taking this political middle ground, a number of Africa states invariably became associated with either the *East* or *West* leading to further fragmentation on the African continent as Africa became a theater for proxy fighting between the two global super-powers.

Realizing that newly independent individual countries were significantly and disproportionately malleable to social and political instability in the face of these global geopolitical challenges, the OAU was born as a continental body with the objective of promoting unity, and solidarity amongst African states, to give Africa a unified voice while striving to secure Africa's long term socio-economic development.

Apart from the OAU's principal political objective of continental unity, was also the need to address fundamental development challenges that characterized most African states especially "small size of *their* economies"; the lack of structural complementarities as manifested in the narrow set of similar, low-value primary export products and basic minerals" and finally "dependence on import of intermediate and final goods" (African Development Bank, 2000: 3). The above summarizes some of the key factors that inspired the quest for Africa unity during the 1960's.

The 1970's were marked by various developments that will further ignite the need and quest for continental unity in Africa. Significant among these were the *oil shocks* that wreaked havoc on the economies of most African states who were still struggling with economic and political issues. To respond to this global economic downturn which weakened the structurally

weak African political and economic foundations, the OAU in 1973 during its 10th Ordinary Summit called for New International Economic Order (NIEO) to address the growing development gap between the global North and South. The call for NIEO was hampered by economic challenges faced by the developed economies during the 1970's due in part to the same oil shocks. This in turn made most Africa states to consider the option of autarky and self-reliance in the 1980's.

To mitigate the continuous down-turn of Africa economies, some of the coherent policy responses to address economic stagnation were instituted. The Lagos Plan of Action was (LPA) instituted in the 1980's as a reactive response to address the devastating economic challenges the African continent was facing. Another policy response was Africa's Priority Program for Economic Recovery (APPER) to address the crippling economic stagnation triggered by drought, famine and increasing high external indebtedness during the 1980's.

The 1990's saw a wave of declarations and policy initiatives geared towards addressing economic and political challenges on the African continent and which culminated in the transformation of the OAU to the AU. Some of these significant policy initiatives were: the adaption of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) in Nigeria with the primary purpose of boosting economic cooperation between OAU member states. Known as the Abuja Treaty, the plan led to the formation of an African Common Market using Regional Economic Communities as the foundation.

It is important to point out that, the 1990's was however a period marked by series of ethnic conflicts and civil wars on the African continent. Already ravaged by ruthless disrespect for human rights and governance deficits by most governments, the increasing wave of civil and ethnic conflict portrayed Africa as a continent of *hopelessness*. It was against this background

that the Mechanism for conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution was passed in 1993 to address peaceful resolution of conflicts and secure stability in Africa states.

Other key policy initiatives were the Cairo Agenda for Action in 1995 to resuscitate Africa's socio-economic and political development; the Algiers declaration on Unconstitutional Changes of Government in 1999 as well as the Lomé Declaration to the same effect in 2000. Also significant was the solemn declaration on the conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation that laid the framework for the promotion of democracy and good governance on the African continent in 2000.

The above chronology captures some of the significant trade-marks that facilitated the quest for continental unity. At this juncture, it is important to point out that despite the numerous manifestations of goodwill to transform the lot of Africa's socio-economic and political development, much was left to be desired. This could aptly be attributed to a fundamental weakness and flaw to in the institutional approach taken by African states and its continental body – the OAU during this era. In almost all its policy discourses, Africa's institutional approach has mostly been reactionary, rather than been pro-active from the 1960 to the early 2000 era. Thus what is observable is that many declarations have been passed yet, less has been achieved to those effects.

These institutional ineffectiveness and approach to addressing Africa's socio economic and political development issues meant that Africa countries will remain light years behind other regions of the world. To move ahead required the need for effective, innovative and pro-active policy actions. This realization led to a series of summits that will transform the OAU to the AU in order to address contemporary issues of the 21st globalized world.

The transformation of the OAU to AU began with the Sirte Extraordinary Session to form the Africa Union in 1999. This was followed by the Lomé Summit in 2000 which adopted the Constitutive Act of the Union which was then followed by the Lusaka Summit in 2001 that established the road-map for the implementation of the AU, and finally, in 2002 at the Durban Summit in 2002, the OAU was transformed into the AU. Ultimately the formation of the African Union was a culmination of African ‘*sperrgebiet*’ – African solutions to African problems to ward off untoward foreign influences and control which Kwame Nkrumah proposed in the 1960’s in his most famous speech *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology*.

4.2 The objectives of the AU

1. To achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and Africans;
2. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States;
3. To accelerate the political and social-economic integration of the continent;
4. To promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;
5. To encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
6. To promote peace, security, and stability on the continent;
7. To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;
8. To promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;
9. To establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations;
10. To promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;
11. To promote co-operation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples;

12. To coordinate and harmonize the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union;
13. To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology;
14. To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent;

While the quest for the integration agenda for Africa has been around since the days of the OAU, new dynamics in the 1990's on the continent made such a call more vibrant. Among others were factors such as the unsatisfactory institutional record of the OAU and its ad hoc approach to conflict prevention, management and resolution of conflicts on the continent. This in turn saw increasing number of intra-state conflicts with its devastating implication for peace and security on the continent.

There was also a growing understanding that conflict and undemocratic regimes were grave setbacks for peace and development on the continent. The Abysmal neglect of the international community following Somalia in 1993 leading to inaction in the Rwanda in 1994 were wake-up calls. Thus, the call on African governments to re-invent themselves positively to address their own challenges became even more apparent. Finally, there were also competing models for the further integration of the African continent regarding the Union Government debate.

In September 1999 at the OAU Sirte Summit, Gaddafi stated a cause for a Union Government calling for "United States of Africa". In July 2000 at the 36th OAU Summit the Constitutive Act was adopted with the understanding that such an institutional transformation will support the promotion of peace, security and stability which undeniably were understood as pre-requisites for sustainable development on the continent. In 2005, Gaddafi advocated continental ministerial post in various areas including Defense, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade,

Transport and Communication. In July 2005 at the 5th AU Assembly affirmed that the ultimate goal of the Union is fully political and economic integration leading to the United States of Africa.

It must be pointed out that the debate on Union Government of Africa centered on the overall vision – regarding the nature of integration, that is integration of the African continent and or its people with a supra-national solution or just a mere integration of United States of Africa. Another contentious debate was on the nature of timing: that is whether to adopt a gradual instrumentalism or an accelerated implementation approach.

The cacophony of both the gradualist and accelerated implementation approaches or school of thoughts have not had any practical and meaningful impacts on the lives of many Africans in terms of their human security and well-being. This is the most substantive issue that should be meaningfully addressed in either case. At the July 2007 AU Summit held in Accra, Ghana, the principle focus of discussion was the creation of a Union Government, with the objective of moving towards United States of Africa.

In 2006, a study on the Union Government was adopted, and proposals for various options for completing the African Union project. Divisions in terms of the way forward became obvious among African states on the proposals, with some notably Libya extolling a maximalist view leading to a common government with an AU army. The other group especially the Southern African states advocated the strengthening of the existing institutional structures, to deal with administrative and political challenges in making the AU Commission and other bodies truly pro-active and effective.

The grand debate for a Union Government in Accra was a watershed that paved the way for the Assemble of Heads of States and Governments who decided to review the state of affairs of

the AU with a purposeful objective of determining the continent readiness towards a Union Government. In particular, the Assembly agreed to:

- Accelerate the economic and political integration of the African continent, including the formation of a Union Government of Africa;
- Conduct an audit of the institutions and organs of the AU; review the relationship between the AU and the RECs; find ways to strengthen the AU and elaborate a timeframe to establish a Union Government of Africa.

The declaration lastly noted the importance of involving the African peoples, including Africans in the Diaspora, in the processes leading to the formation of the Union Government. To achieve this, a panel of eminent persons was set up to conduct an audit review towards the Union Government. On 1st September 2007, the review team began its work. The findings were presented to the Assembly of Heads of State, and Government at the January 2008 summit in Addis Ababa. However, no concrete decision was taken on the recommendations. This in turn led to the establishment of a committee of ten Heads of State appointed to consider the review, and report back in July 2008 summit to be held in Egypt. Incidentally at the July 2008 summit, no firm decision was taken deferring rather for a final debate at the January 2009 summit which was to be held in Addis Ababa.

4.3 Role of REC's in the Integration Process

One of the key debates in relation to the achievement of greater continental integration is the relative priority that have been given to integration of the continent as a unit in itself or to integration of the sub-regions. Significant achievements in the form of regional integration has been chalked in areas such as trade, communication, macroeconomic policies and transportation (ECA & AU, 2006). Yet Africa as a whole remains the least integrated region in the world

(Brookings Brief, 2104). The 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for the Development of Africa and the 1991 treaty to establish the African Economic Community - also known as the Abuja Treaty, proposed the creation of Regional Economic Communities (REC's) as the foundation for African integration, with a set timeline for regional and continental integration to follow in that order. It came into effect in 1994.

At the moment, the AU recognizes eight RECs, each established under a separate regional treaty that governs its operations. They include:

- The Arab Maghreb Union (UMA);
- The Common Market for Easter and Southern Africa (COMESA);
- The Community of Sahel-Saharan Sates (CEN-SAD);
- The East African Community (EAC);
- The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS);
- The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS);
- The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD);

The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC).

The REC's are envisioned to be the building blocks for a wider continental integration in Africa. However, one central challenge is that membership of these communities overlap, and their rationalization has been the subject of intense debate for several years. For instance, this was the theme of the Banjul Summit in 2006. At the July 2007 Accra Summit the Assembly resolved to adopt a Protocol on Relations between the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities. This protocol was intended to facilitate the harmonization of policies and ensure compliance with the Abuja Treaty and Lagos Plan of Action time frames.

The overlapping memberships of countries in various REC's is problematic as each of these REC's do not necessarily harmonize their policies and this can constrain peace, security and governance advancements in a negative way. For example in resolving conflicts, some of the REC's advocate use of hard military power while others prefer soft power approaches. These

divergent approaches complicates efforts to finding lasting peace and delays the quest for peace, security and development. Since the legal and institutional frameworks for most of the eight recognized REC's differ from one another, effort must be made to harmonize policies and institutional regulations and this could argument the prospect for peace and socio-economic development.

4.4 Theoretical Approaches to Integration: Some Brief Reflections

Much debate has gone into the definition of what integration means. For the purpose of brevity, attention will be focused on discussing integration from political and economic perspectives. In addition, attention will also be focused on discussing regionalism, intergovenmatalism as they relate to the African quest for integrative agenda. When it comes to integration, principal arguments have centered on whether integration is a “process” or an “outcome” (Laursen, 2003). Combining integration as both a process and outcome or end product, Laursen articulates “integration as a process that leads to a certain state of affairs” (Laursen, 2003:4). Laursen’s definition is limited by its generic outlook, as it does not exactify which state of affairs is attained, and how that comes about.

Groom and Heraclides posit that “integration is much more a process of becoming than it is a clear outcome or a definite political end state” (Groom and Heraclides, 1985: 174). Instructively, Ernst Haas defines political integration as when “Political actors in several, distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states” (Haas, as cited in Antje and Diez, 2009: 2). Niemann and Schimtter reflectively denounces Haas thinking that political integration has some end-point in the integration process (cited in Antje and Diez, 2009).

Leon Lindberg articulates that integration is “The process whereby nations forgo the desire and ability to conduct foreign and domestic policies independently of each other, seeking instead to make joint decisions or to delegate the decision-making process to new central organs” (Cited in Antje and Diez, 2009: 47). Lindberg outlook see political integration as a continuum, and yet, his interpretation of political integration seem utopia in the sense that he considers the integration process incomplete until there is a complete supranational government entity which is difficult to realistically attain but not necessarily impossible.

From a rather broader perspective, political science based approaches to integration perceives integration as “the formation of new political systems out of hitherto separate political systems” (Michael Hodges, 1973:13). Harrison is of the view that, integration is [...]”the attainment within an area of the bonds of political community, of central institutions with binding decision-making powers and methods of control determining the allocation of values at the regional level and also of adequate consensus-formation mechanism” (Reginald Harrison, 1974:14).

Political integration as a process can be seen as the process where by political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the preexisting national states. The end result of approaches of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the preexisting ones. The European Union is an example of this process. On the other hand the Africa Union is still in a cautious approach to politically unite as the union is assembly of heads of governments.

This development constraints decisions which could otherwise have been beneficial to the continent as a whole. This is exemplified by the various divisions in opinions when the

union had to take critical decision on its political and development agenda as a whole. The Libyan case is a typical example. Different governments in Africa had different opinions to the calls for intervention by NATO and its allied members. Today, Sub-Saharan Africa is paying a heavy toll in terms of ravaging political and security instability in the region as a result of a lack of firm position by heads of governments to address the Libyan crisis during the Libyan Uprising.

This is not to say that the European Union has no challenges on its own as a unified political entity. The devastating lack of consensus on illegal migrants' crossing over from Africa to Europe via the seas has seen countries attack each other as to how best this issue could best be resolved. Nevertheless, European Union has still a remarkable leverage in addressing its issues amicably with member states when it comes to addressing its socio-economic and political issues. A typical issue is the ease of labor movement within the Schengen States that allows for easy mobility of labor. Thus while political integration as an end in the process of integration might not eradicate all political differences within its members, because of the prevalence of and value for democratic principles, decisions are to a larger extent, resolved amicably while avoiding the defeating effects of wide-ranging unnecessary acrimonies.

4.5 Weaknesses of Political Integration as a Process

A critical reflection of the above argumentations raises a couple of questions. Such conceptualizations of political integration as a condition can be criticized on the grounds that they permit only a generic discussion of the environmental factors influencing integration, and fail to offer us with the tools needed to make a clear distinction between the situation prior to integration and the situation prevailing during the process, thus obscuring the role of social change in this process.

4.6 Economic Integration

In everyday usage the word integration means the bringing together of parts into a whole. In the economic literature however, the term economic integration does not have such a clear cut meaning. The impetus of economic integrations draws its relational from the standard trade theory. This theory advocates that free trade is superior to all forms of trade policies. Simply put, it can be seen as a process and as a state of affairs. Regarded as a process, it encompasses measures designed to abolish discrimination between economic units belonging to different national states. From the perspective of state of affairs, it can be characterized by the absence of various forms of discrimination between national economies in with a rationale of achieving higher productivity for the benefits of members of the economic union.

Adopting the definition above, the theory of economic integration will be concerned with the economic effects of integration in its various forms and with problems that arise from divergences in national monetary, fiscal and other policies. Some principal examples include ECOWAS, ECCAS, ECA, ASEAN to mention just a few. Jacob Viner laid the framework for economic integration in the 1950's. His propositions were based on what he called trade creation and trade diversion effects based on trade flows between states prior to, and after their economic unification as compared to the rest of regions without economic unification.

If there are fewer trade barriers between states, the likelihood of economic and political coordination is significantly enhanced although it does not entirely erase political differences and acrimonies. The case of ECOWAS, ECCAS, ASEAN and the European Union are practical testimonies to this effect.

4.7 Regional Integration

These are association of states based upon location in a given geographical area, for the safeguarding or promotion of the participants, an association whose terms are agreed upon by a treaty or other consenting arrangements. Philippe De Lombaerde and Luk Van Langenhove subscribe to the view that sees regional integration as a worldwide phenomenon of territorial systems that increase the interactions between their components and create new forms of organization, co-existing with traditional forms of state-led organization at the national level (Lombaerde and Langenhove, 2007).

In the view of Hans van Ginkel and Langenhove, regional integration refers to the process by which states within a particular region increase their level of interaction with regard to economic, security, political, and also social and cultural issues (Ginkel and Langenhove, 2003). From this perspective, regional integration is the coming together of individual states within a region into a larger whole for the benefits of that community be it socio-economic and political. The degree of integration depends upon the willingness and commitment of the independent sovereign states to share their sovereignty.

There are vital requirements that regional integration initiatives which according to Van Langenhove, should fulfil and these include:

- The strengthening of trade integration in the region;
- The creation of an appropriate enabling environment for private sector development;
- The development of infrastructure programmes in support of economic growth and regional integration;
- The development of strong public sector institutions and good governance good;
- The reduction of social exclusion and the development of an inclusive civil society;
- Contribution to peace and security in the region;

- The building of environment programmes at the regional level;
- The strengthening of the region's interaction with other regions of the world.

(Lombaerde and Langenhove, 2007)

However, it should be noted that discourses in the theoretical conceptualization of regionalization is limited

Based upon the assumption that the multi-dimensionality of contemporary regionalization warrants a new type of analysis, one which transcends the dominate theories of regional integration. Under NRA, integration is conceptualized as a multi-dimensional and socially constructed phenomenon, wherein cooperation occurs across economic, political, security, environment and other issues. It involves not only state actors but also private industry and civil society (Genkel et al, 2000:4)

The theory is not applied on European integration which rejects the idea of neofunctionalism for instance. Initially proposed by Stanley Hofmann suggests that national governments regulate the level and speed of European integration. Any increase in power at supranational level, he argued, resulted from a direct decision by governments. He believed that integration, driven by national governments, was often based on the national political and economic issues of the day. The theory rejects the concept of the spill-over effect that neofunctionalism proposes. Hofmann also rejected the idea that supranational organizations are on an identical level in terms of political influence as national governments.

4.8 An overview: Regional Integration

Globally, significant effort have been made in respect of regional integration, including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the North American Free Trade Agreement, Mercosur, the African Union, and the Organization of American States. However, the most tangible manifestation of this effort at regional level is European Union, which by many

accounts can be seen to have moved beyond an intergovernmental approach to decision making at a federalist or supra-state level.

The predicaments of the post-war order led to the emergence of a new global political structure and order. This new global political structure made obsolete the classical Westphalian concept of a system of sovereign states to conceptualize world politics. The concept of sovereignty began to have a new paradigmatic outlook, and the old legal definitions of an ultimate and fully autonomous power of a nation-state become less meaningful. Sovereignty, which gained meaning as an affirmation of cultural identity, lost meaning and ceded power to economic affairs.

Virtually most regional integration projects throughout the Cold War era were premised on the Westphalian state system, and were to aid economic growth as well as security motives in their assistance to state building goals. Regional integration and globalization were the two spectacles challenging the existing global order based upon sovereign states at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The two processes deeply affected the stability of the Westphalian state system, thus contributing to both chaos and a new global order.

Closer integration of neighboring economies was seen as a first step towards creating a bigger regional market for trade and investment. Thus, the objective was to spur greater efficiency, productivity gain, and competitiveness, not just by lowering border barriers, but by reducing other costs and risks of trade and investment. Bilateral and sub-regional trading arrangements were advocated as socio-development tools as they encouraged a shift towards greater market openness and competitiveness. Such agreements were also to be seen as reducing the risk of reversion towards protectionism, locking in reforms already made and encouraging further structural adjustment.

In broad terms, the desire for closer integration was usually related to a larger desire for opening to the outside world. Regional economic cooperation was being pursued as a means of promoting development through greater efficiency, rather than as a means of disadvantaging others. Most of the members of these arrangements were genuinely hoping that they will succeed as building blocks for progress with a growing range of partners and towards a generally freer and open global environment for trade and investment. Integration was thus not an end in itself, but a process to support economic growth strategies, greater social equality and democratization.

Regional integration arrangements are a part and parcel of the present global economic order and this trend is now an acknowledged future of the international scene. It has achieved a new meaning and new significance. Regional integration arrangements are mainly the outcome of necessity felt by nation-states to integrate their economies in order to achieve rapid economic development, decrease conflict, and build mutual trusts between the integrated units. Herein lie the most pertinent benefit of integration agenda. The nation-state system, which has been the predominant pattern of international relations since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 is evolving towards a system in which regional groupings of states is becoming more important than sovereign states as we find in international affairs of states today.

In summary, it is becoming obvious in recent times that the state and its sovereignty has been made less significant by processes that are taking place at both the global and regional levels. Walter Lippmann observed that, "the true constituent members of the international order of the future are communities of states." E.H. Carr shares Lippmann view about the rise of regionalism and regional arrangements and commented that, "the concept of sovereignty is likely to become in the future even more blurred and indistinct than it is at present" (Carr, 1978: 230-231). Nevertheless, the concept of the Westphalia principle is still strong in the play out of

international affairs, and it will still linger for some time to come as we can see with the European Union itself and newly emerged regional bodies.

4.9 Neofunctionalism

It is a theory that helps us in understating regional integration process. It was widely developed by Ernest B. Hass. Neofunctionalism reintroduced territorialism in the functional theory and school of thought, and downplayed its global dimension. David Mitrany did extensive research and also laid a solid foundation in the understanding of neofunctionalism. The term is thus seen simultaneously as a theory and a strategy of regional integration. Neofunctionalists adherents focused their attention in the process of integration among states, that is, regional integration. Initially, states integrate in limited functional or economic areas.

Thereafter, partially integrated states experience increasing momentum for further rounds of integration in related areas. This so called invisible hand of integration phenomenon was named spill-over by the neofunctionalist school of thought. Although integration can be resisted, it becomes harder to stop integration's reach as it progresses. In this regards, neofunctionalism is non-normative in its outlook, and seeks to describe and explain the process of regional integration from an empirical data point of view. From this outlook, integration is seen as an expected process, instead of a desirable outcome that could be engineered by the political or technocratic elites of the involved states' societies. Its merits entails its weakness in the sense that, while regional integration is perceived as only feasible as an incremental process, its conception of integration as a linear process made the explanation of setbacks impossible.

Neofunctionalism holds that functional spill-over effect occurs from the close cooperation and social integration of technocrats into increasingly political realms. Neofunctionalism in spite of its limitations still guides, and remains an important theory in the

study of international relations. Neofunctionalism is often contrasted with intergovernmentalism. According to neofunctionalists, there are two kinds of spillover: functional and political. Functional spillover is the interconnection of various economic sectors or issue-areas, and the integration in one policy area spilling over into others. Political spillover on the other hand, is the creation of supranational governance models, an example of which can be seen as the European Union, or as voluntary as the United Nations.

4.10 Intergovernmentalism

Intergovernmentalism can be seen as the decision making approach in international organizations, where power is controlled by the member states, and decisions are often but not always made by unanimity as a model of its decision making method. Independent appointees of the governments or elected representatives have solely advisory or implementational functions. The African Union employs this modus operandi in its structure. This is because the Africa Union allow states to cooperate and support themselves in specific fields while allowing its members to retain their sovereignty.

In its approach intergovernmentalism envisions states, and national governments as the key players in the integration process. Various intergovernmentalist approaches have been developed, and some of which claim to explain both periods of radical change in the European Union for instance because of the converging governmental preferences, and periods of inertia due to the diverging national interests. Intergovernmentalism is different from realism and neorealism because of its recognition of both the importance of institutionalization in international politics, and the impact of processes of domestic politics upon governmental preferences.

Intergovernmentalism is the modus operandi adopted by most international organizations today. For the European Union, intergovernmentalism means that members of national governments take legislative and executive decisions amongst themselves, either by majority vote or by unanimity. These outcomes have mandatory binding responsibilities, which implies they do not pass through national parliaments, amendments on treaties being an exception. The opposite method of decision-making in political communities is supranationalism. The European Union has gravitated to this end in terms of its administrative oversight making the European Union a forceful coherent union compared to other regional bodies such as the Africa Union which remains intergovernmental in its outlook.

4.11 Conclusion

The chapter focused on reflecting on Africa's integration agenda and if this can lead to the desired peace and development on the continent. In doing so, a critical reflection of Africa integration history, objectives of the Africa Union, the role of REC's were discussed. To offer a

balanced academic engagement on the sub topic, theoretical approaches to integration were discussed including economic integration, political integration and its weaknesses, regionalism, neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism.

On a substantive level the chapter's key point was that the cacophony of both the gradualist and accelerated implementation approaches or school of thoughts regarding the Africa Union's integration agenda have not had any practical and meaningful impacts on the lives of many Africans in terms of their human security and well-being. It thus calls for the need for African states to coordinate their policies by building strong institutions that fulfills the needs of its entire citizenship. Enhancing the institutional capacity of the African Union and making it more institutionally coherent will create opportunities whereby all African states can benefit from the integration agenda that could positively affect its peace and development.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

The thesis critically explored Africa's integration agenda and its implication for peace and development on the continent as its main focus. The overall structure was divided into four

chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion. The introduction dealt with setting the scene for the thesis, and discusses the research design, methodology, problem statement and policy relevance.

Chapter one focused on discussing the evolution of Pan-Africanism, the birth of the OAU and AU based on a historical narrative, and theoretical reflection. The aspect of the discussion that focused on the historical dimensions traced the evolution of Pan-Africanism and tried to recast Pan-Africanism based on available documentary evidence, and emphasized that Pan-Africanism represented a principal human agency for the transformation of enslavement, oppression and racial decimation. The brief theoretical discussion on Pan-Africanism also tried to question whether Pan-Africanism constituted an ideology. The argument was in the affirmative in that it helped shaped the way Africans perceived the social and political discourse. Thus Pan-Africanism was marshalled to respond to their environment. It also noted that what constituted an ideology has many contestations.

Finally, the discussion concluded that through the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism in the form of the O.A.U, Pan-Africanism could have hoped to achieve continental unity for promotion of Peace and development for all Africans. However, as the facts depicted, the enormity of challenges the O.A.U faced were many, complex and multifaceted. The prospect for continental unity is not completely dissipated, as the O.AU has been transformed into the A.U. The key challenge for a continental unity lies in the extent to which the A.U could meet the challenges it also faces. The O.A.U failed in many accounts, one of the principal reasons being the adherence to state-centric policies disconnecting its people and crippling and strangling the political legitimacy and authority. It concludes that the viability of African unity and its implication for peace and development looks promising despite the challenges at hand.

However, the success of continental unity depends to a large extent on the A.U, being the successor of O.A.U, effort to meet, reconcile and harmonize its nagging political and economic challenges both at the regional and continental level. Only then will the way be paved for peace and development which is the primary desire of Pan-Africanism.

Chapter Two concentrated on discussing peace and development from a theoretical and philosophical perspective. The section set out to critically reflect on some of the theoretical dispositions on conflict, peace and development from the perspective of peace research. The focus centered on discussing ways in which peace contributes to sustainable development process. From the findings and discussions. The thesis finds that there are many interpretation of what constitute peace. It also noted that a general and an unequivocal explanation can be that the existence of war/conflict and its negative effects drains and constrain resources that could otherwise have been used to facilitate people's well-being. As was noted, "There is a strong negative correlation between conflict and human development. For instance in 2005, it was noted that most of the countries with the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) rankings were also those immersed in conflict or had recently emerged from it" (Encyclopedia of Earth, 2011).

In chapter Three, the thesis delved into some of the critical constraints to peace and development in 21st century Africa. Highlighting such constraints as peace and security challenges, poverty and indebtedness, low level of education, research and development, governance and leadership as well as climate change, the section forcefully advocated a proactive approach where member states should pull their resources together to address these challenges. In a sense, it advocated that the integration agenda could be helpful when states collaborate with each other and work together to address these challenges.

Chapter Four focused on discussing whether Africa's integration is a recipe for peace and development. In doing so, a critical reflection of Africa integration history, objectives of the Africa Union, the role of REC's were discussed. In addition, theoretical approaches to integration were discussed including economic integration, political integration and its weaknesses, regionalism, neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism. The chapter's key point was that the cacophony of both the gradualist and accelerated implementation approaches or school of thoughts regarding the Africa Union's integration agenda have not had any practical and meaningful impacts on the lives of many Africans in terms of their human security and well-being. It thus calls for the need for African states to coordinate their policies by building strong institutions that fulfill the needs of its entire citizenship. Enhancing the institutional capacity of the African Union and making it more institutionally coherent will create opportunities whereby all African states can benefit from the integration agenda that could positively affect its peace and development.

Recommendations

In respect of the challenges that imping on the peace and development agenda for Africa discussed throughout the thesis, this sub-section seeks to highlight albeit briefly that in the face of such compelling challenges the way forward is for African countries to marshal their policies and objectives together by building strong institutions and in particular granting the Africa Union an authoritative mandate to steer policy directives at the continental level. Member states must align their respective policies in concert with those outlined by the Africa Union and adhere to them unfailingly. The imperatives might be constraining but nevertheless will pay off tremendously in respect of sustained peace and development if they decide to work together as a whole

To support the above recommendation it is worthy to note that Kwame Nkrumah once assertively noted, “Individually, the independent states of Africa, some of them potentially rich, others poor, can do little for their people. Together, by mutual help, [Africa] can achieve much” (Nkrumah, 1961: xi-xiv).

- The numerous challenges and problems that afflict Africa require a concerted effort primarily by Africans themselves and the world community at large to offer their unstinting support to Africa. Africa must thus take the lead in this direction by uniting both politically and economically. In this way they will be able to constructively pool their resources together and complement each other toward their goal of sustainable peace and development in as much as they commit to the spirit of democratic governance.

Highlighting the importance of unity, the President of the United States of America in his address to the Turkish Parliament underscored his disposition towards unity of purpose. He stated “[...] we must listen to one another, and seek common ground. That is why we must build on our mutual interest, and rise above our differences. We are stronger when we act together” (Barack Obama, 2009b...). Again Obama’s advocacy for global cooperation during the G20 Summit 2009 in London to end the global economic crunch and crisis echoes the point that Africans stand to win than to lose when they unit both politically and economically to face their numerous challenges together. The Chancellor of Germany also notes, "With the European Union," Merkel says, "We Europeans have realized a dream for ourselves. We live in peace and freedom. That naturally entails giving up some powers to Brussels, which isn't always pleasant. But it's necessary. The greatest consequence of globalization is that there aren't any purely national solutions to global challenges." (Global MindShift)

- Through unyielding commitment and determination, Africans must work together by enhancing the operational capacity and effectiveness of the AU and pool and utilize their resources to facilitate their quest for socio-economic development of Africa. Herein lays the unparalleled importance for a continental unity both economically and politically. As the saying goes, African must “No longer allow [themselves] to be conditioned by circumstance” (NEPAD, 2001:2). The time to unit is now in the face of the challenges it grapples with. The onus only lies with Africans, its people and its government and only they can do it.
- Governments must be prepared to open new vistas for its people, and the people must be determined to Marshal all their effort toward the goal of peace and development. Through constructive engagement with civil societies, the voices of the people can feed into the effort at continental integration wherein the needs and demands of citizens are well noted and correct policies instituted to address them meaningfully. Herein lies the path to achieving the Pan-African spirit, the way to achieving peace and development in the face of a globalized world in the 21st century.

Areas for Further Research

The thesis principal focus was on Africa’s integration agenda and its implication for peace and development on the continent. While effort was made to critically cover most of the themes raised, it ought to be pointed out that not all issues were thoroughly covered. In this respect, and based on the findings of the thesis, further research interest that arises is does integration necessarily lead to strong, viable and efficient institutions?

Bibliography:

ADIBE A. CLEMENT (2001), “*Foreign Policy Decision Making In Anglophone West Afrca*”, In *African Foreign Policy: Power And Process*, (ed), Gilbert M. Khadiagla And Terrence Lyons, Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.

ADOGAMHE PAUL G (2008), “Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity And Development”, *African Review of Integration*, Vol. 2 (2) 1-34.

ANTJE, WIENER AND DIEZ, THOMAS (2009), *European Integration Theory, 2nd Edition (Ed.)*, Oxford University Press.

BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA (2009a) “*Inaugural Address: A New Era of Responsibility*”, at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/President_Barack_Obamas_Inaugural_Address/ , assessed 30/3/2009.

BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA (2009b) “*Crossroads In Turkey*” Speech delivered to the Turkey Grand National Assembly, at http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0409/20927_Page2.html, assessed 6/4/2009.

BARASH, DAVID P. AND CHARLES WEBEL (2002), *Peace and Conflict Studies*, California, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications, Ltd.

BARNETT, JON (2009), “Peace and Development: Towards a New Synthesis”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. (45), 75.

BLAK, CECIL (2005), “An African Nationalist Ideology framed In Diaspora and The Development of Quagmire: Any Hope for a Renaissance?” *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 35 (5): 573-596.

BRAHM, ERIC (2004), “*Benefits of intractable conflicts*” at <http://www.beyondintractability.org/action/essay.jsp?id=36180&nid=1066>, accessed 1/02/2011.

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION (2008), “*African Free Trade Zone is Agree*”, at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7684903.stm>, accessed 5/3/2009.

BROOKINGS BRIEF (2014), “*Hearing on ‘Will There be an African Economic Community’*” , at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/testimony/2014/01/09-african-economic-community-sy>, accessed 1/4/2015.

BURTON, JOHN (1990), *Conflict Resolution and Prevention*, New York, St. Martins Press.

CARR, E. H (1978), *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939*, Macmillan.

CBS, (2009), “Harry S. Truman: 1949 Inaugural Address”, at <http://cbs5.com/reference/inauguration.presidential.address.2.909217.html>, accessed 25/1/2009.

CERVENKA, ZEDENKA (1977), *The Unfinished Quest for Unity: Africa and the OAU*, Holmes and Meier, Teaneck, New York.

- CLARK, L. DANA (2008), "The World Bank And Human Rights: The Need For Greater Accountability, *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, Vol. 15.
- COLGAN, ANN-LOUISE (2001) "Africa's Debt: Africa's Position Paper", *Indigenous people of Africa and America Magazine*, at http://www.ipoaa.com/africas_debt.htm#costs, 28/3/2009.
- COLLIER, PAUL (2008), *The Bottom Billion: Why The Poorest Countries Are Failing And What Can Be Done About It*, Oxford University Press.
- C.R., MITCHELL (1981), *The Structure of International Conflict*, London, Macmillan.
- DALGLEISH, DAVID (2005), "Pre-Colonial Criminal Justice In West Africa: Eurocentric Thought Versus Africentric Evidence", *African Journal of Criminology And Justice Studies*, vol.1 (1), 55-69.
- DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (2007), "The Challenge of Restoring Governance in Crisis and Post-Conflict Countries", United Nations Publications, New York.
- DE LOMBAERDE, P. AND VAN LANGENHOVE, L (2007), "Regional Integration, Poverty and Social Policy." *Global Social Policy* 7 (3): 377-383.
- DEUTSCH, M AND KRAUSS, M (1962), "Studies in Interpersonal Bargaining", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 6.
- DIETRICH, WOLFGANG (2002), "Farewell To The One Peace", *Peace Review*, No. 14, Vol. (1) 49-55.
- DIETRICH, WOLFGANG AND WOLFGANG SÜTZL (2006): "A Call for Many Peaces" in DIETRICH, WOLFGANG, JOSEFINA ECHAVARRÍA ALVAREZ, NORBERT KOPPENSTEINER (Ed.), *Schlüsseltexzte der Friedensforschung*. Key Texts of Peace Studies, Textos claves de la Investigación para la Paz, Vol. 2 Die kommende Demokratie, LIT Verlag, Vienna, 282-301.
- EARTH DIALOGUE BRISBANE (2006), "Appeal For Sustainable Peace", available at: <http://brisbanefestival.com.au/2006/earthdialogues/downloads/EDBrisbaneAppeal4Peace.pdf> , accessed 23/03/2011.
- EASTERLY, WILLIAM (2006), *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Effort to Aid The Rest Have Done So Much Ill And So Little Good*, Penguin Press, New York, USA.
- ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF AFRICA & THE AFRICA UNION (2006), "Assessing Regional Integration in Africa II: Rationalization of Regional Economic Communities, ECA, Ethiopia Addis Ababa.
- ESEDEBE, OLISANWUCHE P (1974), "Pan-Africanism Reconsidered", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 15 (3) 513-515.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF EARTH (2008), “*Regional Cooperation For Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa*”, at, http://www.eoearth.org/article/Regional_cooperation_for_peace_and_sustainable_development_in_africa, accessed 28/12/2011.

ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA (2009), “*Africa*”, at <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/7924/Africa/37210/Resources>, 26/3/2009.

ETHIOPIA MINISTRY OF INFORMATION (1963), “*Addis Ababa Summit*”, Ministry of Information, Ethiopia.

ESTAVA, GUSTAVO (2006), “*Development*” in Dietrich Wolfgang, Josefina Echavarría Alvarez and Nibert Koppensteiner (Eds.) *Shlüsseltexte der Friedforschung, Vol. 2, Die Kommede Demokratie*, Lit Verlag, Vienna, 183-208

FOLGER, JOSEPH P., ET AL (1995), “*Conflict and Interaction*” In *Bridges Not Wall* (Ed.), John Stewart, 6th Edition, New York, McGraw-Hill.

GALTUNG, JOHAN, CARL G. JACOBSEN, KAI FRITHJOF BRAND-JACOBSEN (2002), *Searching For Peace: The Road to Transcend*, Pluto Press.

GALTUNG, JOHAN (1996), *Peace by Peaceful Means; Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

GALTUNG, JOHAN (1969), “*Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 167-191.

GARET, EVANS (2007), “*Conflict and Mass Violence in Africa: Is there an End in Sight?*” at, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4820&l=1>, accessed 26/3/2009.

GEIS, IMANUEL (1969), “*Pan-Africanism*”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 4 (1), 187-200.

GERRING, JOHN (1997), “*Ideology: A definitional Analysis*”, *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 5 (4), 957-994, University of Utah.

GILSON, LUCY (2012), “*Health Policy And Systems Research: A methodology Reader* (Ed), *Alliance For Health Policy And Systems Research*, World Health Organization.

GILLIGAN, J. (1997), *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*. New York, NY: Vintage.

GINKEL, H,V, COURT, J, LANGENHOVE, L,V (2000), “*Integrating Africa – Perspectives On Regional Integration And Development* (Eds.)”, United Nations University, Shibuya-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

GLOBAL MINDSHIFT (2015), "Post From the "GMS Perspectives" Category", at, <https://globalmindshift.wordpress.com/category/gms-perspectives/page/9/>

GORDON, RUTH (1997), "Saving Failed States: Sometimes a Neocolonialist Notion" *American University Journal of International Law & Policy*, Vol. 12 (6).

GREGOR, THOMAS (1996), "A *Natural History of Peace: Introduction* (ed.)", Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville and London.

GROOM A.J.R, AND HERACLIDES (1985), "Integration And Disintegration" In M. Light and Groom A.J.R (Eds), *International Relations: A Handbook Of Current Thought*, London.

GUISSÉ EL HADJI, (2004) "Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Effects of debt on Human Rights" Economic and Social Council, *United Nations Sub Commission on Human Rights*, E/CN.4/Sub.2/2004/27.

HARRISON, S (2001), "Policy Analysis; In Fulop et al., (Eds), *Studying the Organization and Delivery of Health Services: Research Methods*, Routledge 90-106, London.

ICISS (2001), "Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty", *International Development Resource Centre*, Ottawa, Canada.

IKEDA, DAISAKU (2009), "The Light of the Century of Humanity: The SGI, An Alliance for Peace", Part 2, *SGI Newsletter*, No. 7709.

IKEDA, DAISAKU (2009), "Acceptance Speech: Unlocking a Future of Hope For Global Society", *SGI Newsletter*, No. 7732.

IKEDA, DAISAKU, (2009), "The Light of The Century of Humanity -, Fostering Friendship in the Community—Part 1 [of 2]", *SGI Newsletter*, Seikyo Shimbun, Tokyo.

IKEDA, DAISAKU AND MIKHAIL GORBACHEV (2005), "Moral Lessons of The Twentieth Century: Gorbachev and Ikeda on Buddhism and Communism", Translated by L. Gage, I.B.Tauris, New York.

INÁCIO LUIZ LULA DA SILVA, (2004), "Address by His Excellency Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva", Shanghai Conference on Scaling Up Poverty, 25-27 May, Shanghai, at, <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/reducingpoverty/docs/confDocs/Lula%20Speech.pdf>, 3/4/2009.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY (2004), "Strengthening The Security-Development Nexus: Assessing International Policy And Practice Since The 1990's", *International Peace Academy*, New York, USA.

KARENGA, MAULANA (2001), "The Ethics of Reparation: Engaging the Holocaust of Enslavement", *The National Coalition of Black for Reparation in America (N'COBRA) Convention*, Baton Rouge, LA, USA.

KI-ZERBO, JOSEPH (1990), *Educate or Perish: Africa's Impasse and Prospects*, UNESCO-UNICEF: Dakar and Abidjan.

KINYANJUI, HIMMELSTRAND AND MBURUGU, EDWARD (1994), *African Perspectives On Development*, James Currey Ltd., Islington, London.

KISSINGER, HENRY (1979), *White House Years*, Boston, Little Brown & Co.

KONADU-AGYMANG, KWADJO (2000), "The Best of Times and Worst of Times: Structural Adjustment Programmes and Uneven Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana", *Professional Geographer*, Vol. 52 (3).

LAURSEN, FINN (2003), Comparative Regional Integration: Theoretical perspectives, *The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series*, Ashgate, England.

LEDERACH, JOHN PAUL (2003), *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, Pennsylvania, Good Books.

LEDERACH, JOHN PAUL (1997), *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington D.C., United States Institute of Peace Press.

LEGUM, COLIN (1969), "The Roots of Pan-Africanism", in *African Handbook*, Ed., Harmondsworth: Penguin.

LONDONDEANERY (2012), "What is Educational Research?" Faculty Development, E-learning for Clinical Teachers, at: <http://www.faculty.londondeanery.ac.uk/e-learning/introduction-to-educational-research/what-is-educational-research>, accessed on 23/07/2012

LOWENSTEIN, KARL (1953), "The Role of Ideology in Political Change", *International Social Science Bulletin*, 5 (1), 51-74.

MADAVO, CALLISTO (2005), "Africa: The Development Challenges of the 21st Century", Woodrow Wilson International Centre, *Africa Program Occasional Paper Series*, (4), 1-8.

MARTÍNEZ GUZMÁN, VICENT (2005), "Philosophy and Peace Research" in the Research Project for *Development, Dialogue and Cooperative Responsibility* - Project I+D+I of the Ministry of education and Science and co-financed by the funds FEDER. Ref. HUM2004-06633-CO2-02/FISO

MAZRUI, ALI (1995), "Pan-Africanism: From Poetry to Power", *African Journal of Opinion*, 35-38.

MEYERS B. DAVID (1976), "The OAU's Administrative Secretary-General", *International Organization*, Vol. 30 (3) 509-520.

MISHKIN, S. FREDERIC (2009), "Why We Should Not Turn Our Backs On Financial Globalization" *IMF Staff Papers – International Monetary Fund*, Vol. 56 (1).

MUÑOZ, FRANCISCO A., (2006), "Imperfect Peace" in DIETRICH, WOLFGANG, JOSEFINA ECHAVARRÍA ALVAREZ, NORBERT KOPPENSTEINER (Ed.), *Schlüsseltexzte der Friedensforschung. Key Texts of Peace Studies, Textos claves de la Investigación para la Paz*, Vol. 2 Die kommende Demokratie, LIT Verlag, Vienna, pp. 241-281.

MULLINS, A WILLARD (1972), "On The Concept of Ideology In Political Science", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 66, 478-510.

NIEMANN, ARNE AND SCHMITTER, PHILIP (2009), "Noefunctionalism" *In European Integration Theory*, Oxford University Press.

NKRUMAH, KWAME (1970), *Africa Must Unite*, New York, International Press.

NKRUMAH KWAME (1967), *Axioms*, London, Panaf Books.

NKRUMAH, KWAME (1965), "*Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*", Panef Books, London.

NKRUMAH, KWAME (1964), *Consciencism*, New York, Monthly Review Press.

NKRUMAH, KWAME (1962), *Revolutionary Path*, Panef Books, London.

NKRUMAH, KWAME (1961), "*I speak of Freedom: A statement of African Ideology*", London, William Heinemann Ltd.

OFUATEY-KODJOE, W (1986), *Pan-Africanism: New Direction in Strategy*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

OSEI-NYAME, KWADWO (1999), "Pan-Africanist Ideology And African Historical Novel of Self Discovery: The Examples of Kobina Sekyi & J.E. Casely Hayford", *Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 12 (2), 137 -53.

PEET, RICHARD AND ELAINE HARTWICK (1999), *Theories of Development*, New York, The Guilford Press.

RAPOPORT, ANATOL (1995), *Peace: An Idea Whose Time Has Come*, The University of Michigan Press, USA.

RODERICK, DANI (2006), "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of World Bank's Economic Growth in the 1990: Learning From A Decade of Reforms", *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 44, 973-987.

ROSE, GEORGE (2009), "European Union", *The Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World*, 2nd Edition, Joel Krieger (ed.), Oxford Press Inc., at

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t121.e0237&category=&authstatuscode=202>, accessed 12/3/2009.

RUBENSTEIN, RICHARD E. (2001), “Basic Human Needs: The Next Steps in Theory Development”, *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 6 (1).

SACHS D, JEFFREY, (2005), *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Times*, Penguin Press, New York, USA.

SELASIE, BEREKET HABTE, (2009), “Organization of African Unity” *The Oxford Companion to The Politics of The World*, 2nd Edition Joel Krieger (ed.), Oxford University Press, at <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t121.e0552&category=&authstatuscode=202>, accessed 10/3/2009.

SHAHADA, OWEN ÁLIK (2009), “The Legacy of The African Holocaust (Maafa)” at, http://www.africanholocaust.net/news_ah/african%20holocaust.htm, accessed 2/3/2009.

SHEPPERSON, GEORGE (1962), *Pan-Africanism and ‘Pan-Africanism’: Some Historical Notes*, Phylon (1960-2002).

STIGLITZ, E, JOSEPH (2005), “The Ethical Economist: Growth May Be Everything, But It’s Not The Only Thing”, *Council on Foreign Relations*, at, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/61208/joseph-e-stiglitz/the-ethical-economist>, 27/3/2009.

THE ECONOMIST (2009), “*Protecting Displaced Africans – Selective Rescue*”, October 31st - Nov. 6th Edition

THOMAS, A (1998), “In, Thomas A, Chataway J, Wuyts M (eds), *Finding Out Fast: Investigation Skills For Policy and Development*, Sage Publications, London.

TODARO, P. MICHAEL AND SMITH, C. STEPHEN (2009), *Economic Development, 10th Edition*, Pearson Education Limited, England.

THUCYDIDES, RICHARD CRAWLEY (1910), *History of the Peloponnesian War*, London J.M Dent E.P. Dutton, New York.

TUZIN, DONALD (1996), “The Spectre of Peace In Unlikely Places: Concept And Paradox In The Anthropology of Peace”, In GREGOR, THOMAS (ed.) *A Natural History of Peace*, Vanderbilt University Press, 3-33, London.

UDAYAKUMAR, S.P (1998), “Landing Peace Theory on Solid Ground”, *Peace Review*, Vol. 10, 13-19

UNESCO (2001), “Education, Policies And Strategies: The Right to Education: An Analysis of UNESCO’s Standard-Setting Instrument, UNESCO, Paris.

UNHCHR (2009), "Human Rights in Development", Office of the United Nation High Commission for Human Rights, Geneva, Switzerland, at <http://www.unhchr.ch/development/approaches-02.html>, accessed on 27/1/2009.

UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME (Content Partner); SAUNDRY, PETER (Topic Editor), (2008), "Regional Cooperation for Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa." In:

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (2005), "Human Development Report 2005 - *International Cooperation At A Crossroad: Aid, Trade And Security in An Unequal World*", United Nations Development Program, New York, USA.

UVIN, PETER (2001), "Difficult Choices in the New Post-Conflict Agenda: the International Community in Rwanda after the Genocide", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 22 (2), 177-189.

VALSINER, JAAN (2005), "Review: MICHAEL D. MYERS & DAVID AVISON (Eds), "Qualitative Research in Information Systems", In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Vol. 6, No.2, at: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-05/05-2-20-e.htm>, accessed 23/4/2012.

VAN RENSBURG, PATRICK (1981), "The foundation for education with production: New Force for Educational and Social Transformation", *Journal of the Foundation for Education with Production*, Vol. 1, (1).

WALTERS, W. RONALD (1997), "*Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements*", Wayne State University Press, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.

WEBEL, CHARLES (2007), "Towards A Philosophy and Metapsychology of Peace", Ed., In "*Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*", Routledge.

WELCH, CLAUD E. (1986), "Book Reviews", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 20, Issue 1

WORLD GOVERNANCE INDICATORS (2009), "*Governance Matters 2008: World Governance Indicators 1996-2007*", at, <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp>, assessed 5/4/2008.

YASSIN EL-AYOUTY AND I, WILLIAM ZARTMAN (1984), "The OAU After Twenty Years, eds", *Council of Foreign Relations*.

YOUNG, KURT B. (2010), "Towards a Holistic Review of Pan-Africanism: Linking the Ideas and the Movement", *Nationalism and Ethics Politics*, Vol. 16, Issue 2, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

YOUNG, KURT B. (2011), "Unstrapping the Soul of Fanon: Culture, Consciousness and the Future of Pan-Africanism", *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 7

ⁱ Scylla and Charybdis is a product of Greek mythology which according to varying accounts were positioned in close proximity to each other such that, an escape from one necessitated falling victim to the other with no surety of escape. Scylla and Charbdis were located on the opposite sides of the Strait of Messina between Sicily and Italy. The mythology of Scylla and Charybdis is reminiscent of having to choose between two unattractive choices and is the progenitor of a dilemma. Scylla is depicted as being a fierce monster, while Charybdis is a whirlpool with a gaping mouth that sucked in everything around it.