

AFRICA IN INTERNATIONAL RELATION

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THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICAN STATES AND THEIR RELATION:

In the orthodox of understanding of Statehood, Africa entered to the International system at late stages due to colonialism where most African States gained independence. Before that African States provided labour (slavery) and raw materials. The African colonial entities couldn't be conceived as equal participants in the initiation and implementation of the foreign policies.

The Berlin congress partitioned Africa arbitrarily into units, kingdoms, states and communities in the convenience of the colonial masters. However the International Court of Justice decided to rule in favor of the Status quo, in favor of peace, e.g. the ruling of ICC in disputes of Burma and Mali in 19..... In this case, under the ICC, it was found that maintaining the territorial status quo of the International boundaries was the only way of maintaining peace and gaining independence. The next move was the struggle for independence as a means of stability and development, and indeed after the independence, all the African States has consented to the colonial frontiers

CRITERIA OF STATEHOOD:

The duties of States as per 1933 state that States as a person of International community should possess the following characteristics:

1. Permanent population,
2. Defined territory
3. Government,
4. Capacity to enter into relation with other States.

When the State has satisfied the above characteristics of Statehood, it is qualified for recognition by other States. Africa after independence possessed all the four characteristics but didn't have the capacity to enter into legal relation with other States, because they were still under colonial York. Therefore they needed a stamp of approval, a form of International recognition by other States.

POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD:

After independence, especially from 1960s on wards, many African political entities gained International recognition. Not only that, as equal players and they were admitted into the family of International States. The legal consequences flowing from this act was that the new States now possess capacity to initiate foreign policy goals and participate in the International relations, International trade, and International multilateral agreements, attained membership of International and Regional Organizations, Members of the United nations. But membership of African States into the International relations immediately after the independence was dictated and influenced by the process and the dynamics of the International system.

THE NATURE OF AFRICAN STATES AFTER INDEPENDENCE:

The newly created African States inherited most of the systems of colonial rule with a lot of distortions and so the political, social and economic dilemma or problem which characterized the independent States, had its roots in the nature of colonial rule in Africa. The colonial rule was very despotic and marginalized Masses in the periphery of the colony. As a result, many rural areas in Africa were under developed; it is a poor system of organization as opposed to the cities which has semblance of order.

Colonial ruling in many African political entities was divisive, and led to ethnic, religious and regional divisions among the masses, even after the granting of the independence. In South Africa, colonial legacy left apartheid, attracted to industries to acquire raw materials, no sharing with the local population. The African technocrats lacks knowledge of Statecraft, as a result, there were secessionists movements, coup d'états, due to weakness of African States.

PAN AFRICANISM:

Introduction:

Pan-Africanism originates from USA; it is an ideology and movement that encourages the solidarity of Africans worldwide. It is based on the belief that unity is vital to economic, social, and political progress and aims to “unify and uplift” people of African descent, e.g. those in Latin America and in Caribbean States.

The ideology asserts that the fate of all African peoples and countries are intertwined. At its core Pan-Africanism is “a belief that African peoples, both on the continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny”. The largest Pan-African organization is the African Union.

Pan-Africanism stresses the need for “collective self-reliance”. Pan-Africanism exists as a governmental and grass roots objective. Pan-African advocates include leaders such as Ahmed Sekou Toure, Kwame Nkrumah and Muammar Gaddafi, grassroots organizers such as Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, academics such as W.E.B.Du Bois, and others in the Diaspora. Solidarity will enable self-reliance, allowing the continent’s potential to independently provide for its people to be fulfilled. Crucially, an all-African alliance will empower African people globally. The realization of the Pan-African objective would lead to “power consolidation in Africa”, which “would compel a reallocation of global resources, as well as unleashing a fiercer psychological energy and political assertion ... that would unsettle social and political (power) structures ... in the Americas”. United, African nations will have the economic, political and social clout to act and compete on the world stage as do other large entities, such as the European Union and the USA.

Advocates of Pan-Africanism – i.e. “Pan-Africans” or “Pan-Africanists” - often champion socialist principles and tend to be opposed to external political and economic involvement on the continent. Critics accuse the ideology of

homogenizing the experience of people of African descent. They also point to the difficulties of reconciling current divisions within countries on the continent and within communities in the Diaspora.

Origin:

As a philosophy, Pan-Africanism represents the aggregation of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific and philosophical legacies of Africans from past times to the present. Pan-Africanism as an ethical system traces its origins from ancient times, and promotes values that are the product of the African civilization and the struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Alongside a large number of slave insurrections, by the end of the eighteenth century a political movement developed across the America, Europe and Africa that sought to weld these disparate movements into a network of solidarity putting an end to this oppression.

In London, the *Sons of Africa* was a political group addressed by Quobna Ottobah Cugoano in the 1791 edition of his book *Thoughts and sentiments on the evil of slavery*. The group addressed meetings and organised letter-writing campaigns, published campaigning material and visited parliament. They wrote to figures such as Granville Sharp, William Pitt and other members of the white abolition movement, as well as King George III and the Prince of Wales, the future George IV. Modern Pan-Africanism began around the beginning of the twentieth century. The African Association, later renamed the Pan African Association, was established around 1887 by Henry Sylvester-Williams, who organized the First Pan-African Conference in London in 1900.

In the United States, the term is closely associated with Afro-centrism, an ideology of African-American identity politics that emerged during the civil rights movement of the 1960s to 1970s.

Concept:

Muammar Gaddafi at the podium the first Africa-Latin America summit, in 2006, in Abuja, (Nigeria) speaking before the Commission Chairman of the African Union Alpha Oumar Konare and President of Brazil Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva.

As originally conceived by Henry Sylvester-Williams (note: some history books credit this idea to Edward Wilmot Blyden) Pan-Africanism referred to the unity of all continental Africa.

During apartheid South Africa there was a Pan Africanist Congress that dealt with the oppression of Africans in South Africa under Apartheid rule. Other pan-Africanist organizations include Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association-African Communities League, TransAfrica and the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement.

Additionally, Pan-Africanism is seen as an endeavour to return to “traditional” African concepts about culture, society, and values. Examples of this include Leopold Sedar Senghor’s Negritude movement, and Mobutu Sese Seko’s view of Authenticite.

An important theme running through much pan-Africanist literature concerns the historical links between different countries on the continent, and the benefits of cooperation as a way of resisting imperialism and colonialism.

In the 21st century, some Pan-Africans aim to address globalization and the problems of environmental Justice. For instance, at the conference "Pan-Africanism for a New Generation" held at the University of Oxford, June 2011, Ledum Mittee, the current president of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), argues that environmental justice movements across the African continent should create horizontal linkages in order to better protect the interests of threatened peoples and the ecological systems in which they are embedded, and upon which their survival depends.

Some universities have gone as far as creating "Departments of Pan-African Studies" in the late 1960s. This includes the California University, where that department was founded in 1969 as a direct reaction to the civil rights movement, and is today dedicated to "teaching students about the African World Experience", to "demonstrate to the campus and the community the richness, vibrancy, diversity, and vitality of African, African American, and Caribbean cultures" and to "presenting students and the community with an Afrocentric analysis" of anti-black racism. Syracuse University also offers a Masters degree in Pan African Studies.

Pan-African banner:

The Pan-African flag was designed by Marcus Garvey and is known as "The Red, Black, and Green". This flag symbolizes the struggle for the unification and liberation of African people. The "red" stands for the blood that unites all people of African ancestry, "black" represents the color of the skin of the people of Africa, and "green" stands for the rich land of Africa.

Sometimes the green, gold, and red of the Ethiopian flag are used as the colors of the Pan African movement. According to some sources, this is because Ethiopia was not colonized during the Scramble for Africa and has maintained a sovereign state for over 2,000 years. Ethiopia is the headquarters of the African Union and several institutions concentrated on the African continent. Sebujja Katende, the ambassador of Uganda to the AU said Ethiopia is considered as "the grandfather of Africa."

The four Pan-African colors red, black, green, and gold have inspired the flags of many nations, both within and outside of Africa.

Maafa studies:Maafa is an aspect of Pan-African studies. The term collectively refers to 500 years of suffering (including the present) of people of African heritage through slavery, imperialism, colonialism, and other forms of

oppression. In this area of study, both the actual history and the legacy of that history are studied as a single discourse. The emphasis in the historical narrative is on African agents, as opposed to non-African agents.

Political Parties and Organizations

Africa-based

1. Organization of African Unity (OAU) succeeded by the African Union (AU)
2. African Unification Front.
3. African democratic Rally.
4. All-African People’s Revolutionary Party in (Ghana)
5. Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa).
6. Ubuntu Republics of Africa

Barbados

The Pan-African Affairs Commission for Pan-African Affairs, a unit within the Office of the Prime Minister of Barbados.

The Council on African Affairs (CAA): founded in 1937, by Max Yergan and Paul Robeson, the (CAA), was the first major U.S. organization whose focus was on providing pertinent and up-to-date information about Pan-Africanism across the U.S., particularly to African Americans. Probably the most successful campaign of the Council was for South African famine relief in 1946. The CAA was hopeful that, following World War II, there would be a move towards Third World independence under the trusteeship of the United Nations. To the CAA's dismay, the proposals introduced by the U.S. government to the conference in April/May 1945 set no clear limits on the duration of colonialism and no motions towards allowing territorial possessions to move towards self-government. Liberal supporters abandoned the CAA, and the federal government cracked down on its operations. In 1953 the CAA was charged with subversion under the McCarran Act. Its principal leaders, including Robeson, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Alphaeus Hunton (1903–70), were subjected to harassment, indictments, and in the case of Hunton, imprisonment. Under the weight of internal disputes, government repression, and financial hardships, the Council on African Affairs disbanded in 1955.

The US organization was founded in 1965 by Dr Moulana Karenga, following the Watts riots. It is based on the synthetic African philosophy of kwanza and the Nguzo Saba. In the words of its founder and chair, Dr. Karanga, “the essential task of our organization Us has been and remains to provide a philosophy, a set of principles and a program which inspires a personal and social practice that not only satisfies human need but transforms people in the process, making them self-conscious agents of their own life and liberation.” Us is perhaps best known for creating Kwanza and the Nguzo Saba, or Seven Principles.

Pan-African concepts and philosophies

Afrocentric Pan-Africanism:

Afrocentric Pan-Africanism is espoused by Kwabena Faheem Ashanti in his book *The Psychotechnology of Brainwashing: Crucifying Willie Lynch*. Another newer movement that has evolved from the early Afrocentric School is the Afrisecal movement or Afrisecaism of Francis Ohanyido, a Nigerian philosopher-poet. Black Nationalism is sometimes associated with this form of pan-Africanism; a representative of Afrocentric Pan-Africanism in the Spanish-speaking world is Professor Antumi Toasije.

Hip Hop:

During the past three decades hip hop has emerged as a powerful force shaping black and African identities worldwide. In his article “Hip-hop Turns 30: Whatcha Celebratin’ For?,” Greg Tate describes hip-hop culture as the product of a Pan-African state of mind. It is an “ethnic enclave/ empowerment zone that has served as a foothold for the poorest among us to get a grip on the land of the prosperous”. Hip-hop unifies those of African descent globally in its movement towards greater economic, social and political power. Andrea Clay in her article “Keepin’ it Real: Black Youth, Hip-Hop Culture, and Black Identity” states that hip-hop provides the world with “vivid illustrations of Black lived experience” creating bonds of black identity across the globe. Hip hop authenticates a black identity, and in doing so, creates a unifying uplifting force among Africans as Pan-Africanism sets out to achieve.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU):

The OAU was established on May 26, 1963 in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, and it was signed by 23 States. The main objectives are:

1. To coordinate and intensify the cooperation of African States in order to achieve a better life for the people of Africa.
2. To defend the Territorial Integrity, Sovereignty and the Independence of the African States.
3. To eradicate all forms of colonialism, including the apartheid system in South Africa. Liberation committees were established to aid the independence movements in Africa which gave human and material support to African liberators.

Other important objectives of OAU include:

- (1) Promotion of unity and solidarity of African States and acts as collective voices for the African continent.
- (2) To raise the living standards of the African States.
- (3) To settle disputes and arguments between and among African States through the use of diplomacy.

OAU was preceded by two blocks:

- a. Casablanca block, the capital city of Morocco, led by Kwami Nkurma, the president of Ghana.

- b. The other block is called Monrovia block, the capital city of Liberia, led by Leopold Sengor. Unity was achieved gradually through economic cooperation.

SUCSESSES AND SET BACKS OF THE OAU:

OAU was widely described as bureaucratic with little power. It struggled to enforce its decisions, but lacks mandate to use force made its works difficult, as a result, civil wars in Africa continued, especially the long civil war in Angola.

OAU however worked with UN to ease refugees' problem; it set up the African Development Bank for economic projects, in order to make Africa stronger; Although African States supported Human rights; it failed to remove the dictatorship of some heads of States, especially Idi Amin Dada of Uganda in 1970s; OAU however through UN, did a lot to safeguard African Interest; OAU played an important role in eradicating colonial rule and minority rule in Africa; OAU convinced UN to expel South Africa from the world bodies such as WHO, and succeeded to influence some countries to apply sanctions against apartheid in South Africa.

AFRICAN UNION (AU)

The African Union is a union consisting of 54 African states. The only African state that is not a member is Morocco. The AU was established on 26 May 2001 in Addis Ababa and launched on 9 July 2002 in South Africa to replace the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The most important decisions of the AU are made by the Assembly of the African Union, a semi-annual meeting of the heads of state and government of its member states. The AU's secretariat (African Union Commission) is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The objectives of the African Union:

1. To achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African States and the people of Africa.
2. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States.
3. To accelerate the political and socio-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 to 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.

The African Union is made up of both political and administrative bodies. The highest decision-making organ is the Assembly of the African Union, made up of all the heads of state or government of member states of the AU. The Assembly is chaired by Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, President of Mauritania.

The AU also has a representative body, the Pan African Parliament, which consists of 265 members elected by the national parliaments of the AU member states. Its president is Bethel Nnaemeka Amadi.

Other Political Institutions of the African Union:

1. The Executive Council, made up of foreign ministers, which prepares decisions for the Assembly;
2. The Permanent Representatives Committee, made up of the ambassadors to Addis Ababa of AU member states; and
3. The Economic, Social, and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC), a civil society consultative body.

The AU Commission, the secretariat to the political structures, is chaired by Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma of South Africa. On 15 July 2012, Ms. Dlamini-Zuma won a tightly contested vote to become the first female head of the African Union Commission, replacing Jean Ping of Gabon.

The main administrative capital of the African Union is in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where the African Union Commission is headquartered. A new headquarters complex, the AU Conference Center and Office Complex (AUCC), was inaugurated on 28 January 2012, during the 18th AU summit. The complex was built by China State

Construction Engineering Corporation as a gift from the Chinese government, and accommodates, amongst other facilities, a 2,500-seat plenary hall and a 20-story office tower. The tower is 99.9 meters high to signify the date 9 September 1999, when the Organization of African Unity voted to become the African Union.

Other AU Structures are hosted by different member States:

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights is based in Banjul, the Gambia; and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and APRM Secretariats and the Pan-African Parliament are in Midrand, South Africa.

The AU covers the entire continent except for Morocco and several territories held by Spain, France, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Morocco is not a member because its government opposes the membership of Western Sahara as the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. However, Morocco has a special status within the AU and benefits from the services available to all AU states from the institutions of the AU, such as the African Development Bank. Moroccan delegates also participate at important AU functions, and negotiations continue to try to resolve the conflict with the Polisario Front in Tindouf, Algeria and the parts of Western Sahara.

The AU's first military intervention in a member state was the May 2003 deployment of a peacekeeping force of soldiers from South Africa, Ethiopia, and Mozambique to Burundi to oversee the implementation of the various agreements. AU troops were also deployed in Sudan for peacekeeping in the Darfur conflict, before the mission was handed over to the United Nations on 1 January 2008 UNAMID. The AU has also sent a peacekeeping mission to Somalia, of which the peacekeeping troops are from Uganda and Burundi.

The AU has adopted a number of important new documents establishing norms at continental level, to supplement those already in force when it was created. These include the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (2003), the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its associated Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance.

Pan African Parliament:

To become the highest legislative body of the African Union, the seat of the PAP is at Midrand, South Africa. The Parliament is composed of 265 elected representatives from all 54 AU states, and intended to provide popular and civil-society participation in the processes of democratic governance. Its president is the Hon. Prince Bethel Nnaemeka Amadi, Esq. of Nigeria.

Assembly of the African Union:

Composed of heads of state and heads of government of AU states, the Assembly is currently the supreme governing body of the African Union. It is gradually devolving some of its decision-making powers to the Pan African Parliament. It meets once a year and makes its decisions by consensus or by a two-thirds majority. The current chair of the AU is Mauritanian President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz.

African Union Authority:

The secretariat of the African Union is composed of ten commissioners and supporting staff and headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. In a similar fashion to its European counterpart, the European Commission, it is responsible for the administration and co-ordination of the AU's activities and meetings.

African Court of Justice:

The Constitutive Act provides for a Court of Justice to rule on disputes over interpretation of AU treaties. A protocol to set up the Court of Justice was adopted in 2003 and entered into force in 2009. It is likely to be superseded by a protocol creating a Court of Justice and Human Rights, which will incorporate the already established African Court of Justice and Human and Peoples' Rights (see below) and have two chambers—one for general legal matters and one for rulings on the human rights treaties.

Executive Council:

Composed of ministers designated by the governments of member states, decides on matters such as foreign trade, social security, food, agriculture and communications, is accountable to the Assembly, and prepares material for the Assembly to discuss and approve.

Permanent Representatives' Committee:

Consisting of nominated permanent representatives of member states, the Committee prepares the work for the Executive Council, similar the role of the Committee of Permanent Representatives in the European Union.

Peace and Security Council (PSC):

Proposed at the Lusaka Summit in 2001 and established in 2004 under a protocol to the Constitutive Act adopted by the AU Assembly in July 2002. The protocol defines the PSC as a collective security and early warning arrangement to facilitate timely and effective response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa. Other responsibilities conferred to the PSC by the protocol include prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, post-conflict peace building and developing common defence policies. The PSC has fifteen members elected on a regional basis by the Assembly. Similar in intent and operation to the United Nations Security Council.

Economic, Social and Cultural Council:

An advisory organ composed of professional and civic representatives, similar to the European Economic and Social Committee. The chair of ECOSOCC, elected in 2008, is Cameroonian lawyer Akere Muna of the Pan-African Lawyers Union (PALU).

Specialized Technical Committees:

Both the Abuja Treaty and the Constitutive Act provide for Specialised Technical Committees to be established made up of African ministers to advise the Assembly. In practice, they have never been set up. The ten proposed themes are: Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters; Monetary and Financial Affairs; Trade, Customs, and Immigration; Industry, Science and Technology; Energy, Natural Resources, and Environment; Transport, Communications, and Tourism; Health; Labour, and Social Affairs; Education, Culture, and Human Resources.

Financial Institutions:

1. African Central Bank – Abuja, Nigeria
2. African Investment Bank – Tripoli, Libya
3. African Monetary Fund – Yaoundé, Cameroon

These institutions have not yet been established, however, the Steering Committees working on their founding have been constituted. Eventually, the AU aims to have a single currency (the Afro).

Human Rights:

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, in existence since 1986, is established under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the African Charter) rather than the Constitutive Act of the African Union. It is the premier African human rights body, with responsibility for monitoring and promoting compliance with the African Charter. The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights was established in 2006 to supplement the work of the Commission, following the entry into force of a protocol to the African Charter providing for its creation. It is planned that the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights will be merged with the African Court of Justice (see above).

African Energy Commission:

The 2013 Special African Union summit was called in regards to: “Africa’s relationship with the ICC.” This was in regards to the ICC's non-adherence to AU calls to drop certain chargers against sitting leaders and that it was disproportionately targeting Africans.

Role of the Diaspora:

The Constitutive Act of the AU declares that it shall “invite and encourage the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of our Continent, in the building of the African Union”. The African Union Government has defined the African Diaspora as “consisting of people of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union”.

Current Issues:

The AU faces many challenges, including health issues such as combating malaria and the AIDS/HIV epidemic; political issues such as confronting undemocratic regimes and mediating in the many civil wars; economic issues such as improving the standard of living of millions of impoverished, uneducated Africans; ecological issues such as dealing with recurring famines, desertification, and lack of ecological sustainability; as well as the legal issues regarding Western Sahara.

Union Government:

The principal topic for debate at the July 2007 AU summit held in Accra, Ghana, was the creation of a Union Government, with the aim of moving towards a United States of Africa. A study on the Union Government was adopted in late 2006, and proposes various options for "completing" the African Union project. There are divisions among African states on the proposals, with some (notably Libya) following a maximalist view leading to a common government with an AU army; and others (especially the southern African states) supporting rather a strengthening of the existing structures, with some reforms to deal with administrative and political challenges in making the AU Commission and other bodies truly effective.

Following a heated debate in Accra, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government agreed in the form of a declaration to review the state of affairs of the AU with a view to determining its 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.'

Following this decision, a panel of eminent persons was set up to conduct the 'audit review'. The review team began its work on 1 September 2007. The review was presented to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at the January 2008 summit in Addis Ababa. No final decision was taken on the recommendations, however, and a committee of ten heads of state was appointed to consider the review and report back to the July 2008 summit to be held in Egypt.[32] At the July 2008 summit, a decision was once again deferred, for a 'final' debate at the January 2009 summit to be held in Addis Ababa.

Regional Conflicts and Military Interventions:

One of the objectives of the AU is to "promote peace, security, and stability on the continent". Among its principles is 'Peaceful resolution of conflicts among Member States of the Union through such appropriate means as may be decided upon by the Assembly'.[58] The primary body charged with implementing these objectives and principles is the Peace and Security Council. The PSC has the power, among other things, to authorize peace support missions, to impose sanctions in case of unconstitutional change of government, and to "take initiatives and action it deems

appropriate" in response to potential or actual conflicts. The PSC is a decision-making body in its own right, and its decisions are binding on member states.

Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act, repeated in article 4 of the Protocol to the Constitutive Act on the PSC, also recognizes the right of the Union to intervene in member state in circumstances of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. Any decision to intervene in a member state under article 4 of the Constitutive Act will be made by the Assembly on the recommendation of the PSC.

Since it first met in 2004, the PSC has been active in relation to the crises in Darfur, Comoros, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire and other countries. It has adopted resolutions creating the AU peacekeeping operations in Somalia and Darfur, and imposing sanctions against persons undermining peace and security (such as travel bans and asset freezes against the leaders of the rebellion in Comoros). The Council is in the process of overseeing the establishment of a "standby force" to serve as a permanent African peacekeeping force..[citation needed] Institute for Security Studies, South Africa, March 2008.

The founding treaty of the AU also called for the establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), including the African Standby Force (ASF), which is to be deployed in emergencies. That means, in cases of genocide or other serious human-rights violations, an ASF mission can be launched even against the wishes of the government of the country concerned, as long as it is approved by the AU General Assembly. In the past AU peacekeeping missions, the concept was not yet applied; forces had to be mobilized from member states. The AU is planning on putting the concept into practice by 2015 the earliest.

African Union Mission in Sudan (Darfur):

In response to the ongoing Darfur conflict in Sudan, the AU has deployed 7,000 peacekeepers, many from Rwanda and Nigeria, to Darfur. While a donor's conference in Addis Ababa in 2005 helped raise funds to sustain the peacekeepers through that year and into 2006, in July 2006 the AU said it would pull out at the end of September when its mandate expires. Critics of the AU peacekeepers, including Dr. Eric Reeves, have said these forces are largely ineffective due to lack of funds, personnel, and expertise. Monitoring an area roughly the size of France has made it even more difficult to sustain an effective mission. In June 2006, the United States Congress appropriated US\$173 million for the AU force. Some, such as the Genocide Intervention Network, have called for United Nations (UN) or NATO intervention to augment and/or replace the AU peacekeepers. The UN has considered deploying a force, though it would not likely enter the country until at least October 2007. The under-funded and badly equipped AU mission was set to expire on 31 December 2006 but was extended to 30 June 2007 and merged with the United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur in October 2007. In July 2009 the African Union ceased cooperation with the International Criminal Court, refusing to recognise the international arrest warrant it had issued against Sudan's leader, Omar al-Bashir, who was indicted in 2008 for War crimes.

African Union Mission to Somalia:

From the early 1990s up until recently, Somalia was without a functioning central government. A peace agreement aimed at ending the civil war that broke out following the collapse of the Siad Barre regime was signed in 2006 after many years of peace talks. However, the new government was almost immediately threatened by further violence. To temporarily shore up the government's military base, starting in March 2007, AU soldiers began arriving in Mogadishu as part of a peacekeeping force that was intended by the AU to eventually be 8,000 strong.

Eritrea recalled its ambassadors to the African Union on 20 November 2009 after the African Union called on the United Nations Security Council to impose sanctions on them due to their alleged support of Somali Islamists attempting to topple the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia, the internationally recognised government of Somalia which holds Somalia's seat on the African Union. On 22 December 2009, the Security Council passed UNSCR 1907, which imposed an arms embargo on Eritrea, travel bans on Eritrean leaders, and asset freezes on Eritrean officials. Eritrea strongly criticized the resolution. In January 2011, Eritrea reestablished their mission to the AU in Addis Ababa.

2008 invasion of Anjouan (Comoros):

The invasion of Anjouan (code-named Operation *Democracy in Comoros*), on March 25, 2008, was an amphibious assault led by the Comoros, backed by African Union (AU) forces, including troops from Sudan, Tanzania, Senegal along with logistical support from Libya and France. The objective of the invasion was to topple Colonel Mohamed Bacar's leadership in Anjouan, an island part of the Union of Comoros, when he refused to step down after a disputed 2007 election, in defiance of the federal government and the AU. The Comoros archipelago in the Indian Ocean has had a fractious history since independence from France in 1975, experiencing more than 20 coups or attempted coups.

The invasion occurred on the early morning of March 25, 2008. The main towns were quickly overrun and the island was declared under the control of the invading forces the same day. Mohamed Bacar managed to escape to Mayotte on March 26 and requested political asylum. He was subsequently held in custody there by the French administration and brought to the island of Reunion. On May 15, France rejected Bacar's request for asylum but the French refugee office ruled that the ousted leader could not be extradited to the Comoros because of the risk of persecution

NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD)

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is an economic development program of the African Union. NEPAD was adopted at the 37th session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in July 2001 in Lusaka, Zambia. NEPAD aims to provide an overarching vision and policy framework for accelerating economic co-operation and integration among African countries.

Origins and function:

NEPAD is a merger of two plans for the economic regeneration of Africa: the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP), led by Former President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa in conjunction with Former President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President Abdelaziz Boutteflika of Algeria; and the OMEGA Plan for Africa developed by President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal. At a summit in Sirte, Libya, March 2001, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) agreed that the MAP and OMEGA Plans should be merged.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) developed a "Compact for Africa's Recovery" based on both these plans and on resolutions on Africa adopted by the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2000, and submitted a merged document to the Conference of African Ministers of Finance and Ministers of Development and Planning in Algiers, May 2001.

In July 2001, the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, adopted this document under the name of the New African Initiative (NAI). The leaders of G8 countries endorsed the plan on July 20, 2001; and other international development partners, including the European Union, China, and Japan also made public statements indicating their support for the program. The Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) for the project finalized the policy framework and named it the New Partnership for Africa's Development on 23 October 2001. NEPAD is now a program of the African Union (AU) that has replaced the OAU in 2002, though it has its own secretariat based in South Africa to coordinate and implement its programmes.

NEPAD's four primary objectives are: to eradicate poverty, promote sustainable growth and development, integrate Africa in the world economy, and accelerate the empowerment of women. It is based on underlying principles of a commitment to good governance, democracy, human rights and conflict resolution; and the recognition that maintenance of these standards is fundamental to the creation of an environment conducive to investment and long-term economic growth. NEPAD seeks to attract increased investment, capital flows and funding, providing an African-owned framework for development as the foundation for partnership at regional and international levels.

In July 2002, the Durban AU summit supplemented NEPAD with a Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. According to the Declaration, states participating in NEPAD 'believe in just, honest, transparent, accountable and participatory government and probity in public life'. Accordingly, they 'undertake to work with renewed determination to enforce', among other things, the rule of law; the equality of all citizens before the law; individual and collective freedoms; the right to participate in free, credible and democratic political processes; and adherence to the separation of powers, including protection for the independence of the judiciary and the effectiveness of parliaments.

The Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance also committed participating states to establish an African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to promote adherence to and fulfilment of its

commitments. The Durban summit adopted a document setting out the stages of peer review and the principles by which the APRM should operate; further core documents were adopted at a meeting in Abuja in March 2003, including a Memorandum of Understanding to be signed by governments wishing to undertake the peer review.

Current status:

Ever since it was set up there has been some tension over the place of NEPAD within the AU programs, given its origins outside the framework of the AU, and the continuing dominant role of South Africa—symbolised by the location of the secretariat in South Africa.

Successive AU summits and meetings of the HSGIC have proposed the greater integration of NEPAD into the AU's structures and processes. In March 2007 there was a 'brainstorming session' on NEPAD held in Algeria at which the future of NEPAD and its relationship with the AU was discussed by an ad hoc committee of heads of state. The committee again recommended the fuller integration of NEPAD with the AU. In April 2008, a review summit of five heads of state—Presidents Mbeki of South Africa, Wade of Senegal, Bouteflika of Algeria, Mubarak of Egypt and Yar'Adua of Nigeria—met in Senegal with a mandate to consider the progress in implementing NEPAD and report to the next AU summit to be held in Egypt in July 2008.

Structure:

The HSGIC to which the NEPAD secretariat reports comprises three states for each region of the African Union, with former President Obasanjo (Nigeria) as elected chair, and Presidents Bouteflika (Algeria) and Wade (Senegal) as deputy chairmen. The HSGIC meets several times a year and reports to the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

There is also a steering committee, comprising 20 AU member states, to oversee projects and program development.

The NEPAD Secretariat is based in Midrand, South Africa. The first CEO was Wiseman Nkuhlu of South Africa (2001–2005), and the second Mozambican Firmino Mucavele (2005–2008). On April 1, 2009, Ibrahim Hassane Mayaki accepted the position as the 3rd CEO.

The NEPAD Secretariat is not responsible for the implementation of development programs itself, but works with the African Regional Economic Communities -- the building blocks of the African Union. The role of the NEPAD Secretariat is one of coordination and resource mobilisation.

Many individual African states have also established national NEPAD structures responsible for liaison with the continental initiatives on economic reform and development programs.

Partners:

- 1) UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)

- 2) African Development Bank
- 3) Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA)
- 4) Investment Climate Facility (ICF)
- 5) African Capacity Building Foundation
- 6) Office of the UN Under-Secretary-General and Special Adviser on Africa
- 7) IDC (The Industrial Development Corporation) - Sponsor of NEPAD

Programs:

The eight priority areas of NEPAD are: political, economic and corporate governance; agriculture; infrastructure; education; health; science and technology; market access and tourism; and environment.

During the first few years of its existence, the main task of the NEPAD Secretariat and key supporters was the popularisation of NEPAD's key principles, as well as the development of action plans for each of the sectoral priorities. NEPAD also worked to develop partnerships with international development finance institutions—including the World Bank, G8, European Commission, UNECA and others—and with the private sector.

After this initial phase, more concrete programs were developed, including:

- The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), aimed at assisting the launching of a 'green revolution' in Africa, based on a belief in the key role of agriculture in development.
- The NEPAD Science and Technology programme, including an emphasis on research in areas such as water science and energy.
- The "e-schools programme", adopted by the HSGIC in 2003 as an initiative to equip all 600,000 primary and secondary schools in Africa with IT equipment and internet access within 10 years, in partnership with several large IT companies.
- The launch of a Pan African Infrastructure Development Fund (PAIDF) by the Public Investment Corporation of South Africa, to finance high priority cross-border infrastructure projects.
- Capacity building for continental institutions, working with the African Capacity Building Foundation, the Southern Africa Trust, UNECA, the African Development Bank, and other development partners. One of NEPAD's priorities has been to strengthen the capacity of and linkages among the Regional Economic Communities.
- NEPAD was involved with the Timbuktu Manuscript Project although it is not entirely clear to what extent.

Criticism:

NEPAD was initially met with a great deal of scepticism from much of civil society in Africa as playing into the "Washington Consensus" model of economic development. In July 2002, members of some 40 African social

movements, trade unions, youth and women's organizations, NGOs, religious organizations and others endorsed the African Civil Society Declaration on NEPAD rejecting NEPAD; a similar hostile view was taken by African scholars and activist intellectuals in the 2002 Accra Declaration on Africa's Development Challenges.

Part of the problem in this rejection was the process by which NEPAD was adopted was insufficiently participatory—civil society was almost totally excluded from the discussions by which it came to be adopted.

More recently, NEPAD has also been criticised by some of its initial backers, including notably Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade, who accused NEPAD of wasting hundreds of millions of dollars and achieving nothing. Like many other intergovernmental bodies, NEPAD suffers from slow decision-making, and a relatively poorly resourced and often cumbersome implementing framework. There is a great lack of information about the day-to-day activities of the NEPAD secretariat—the website is notably uninformative—that does not help its case.

However, the program has also received some acceptance from those initially very critical, and in general its status has become less controversial as it has become more established and its programs have become more concrete. The aim of promoting greater regional integration and trade among African states is welcomed by many, even as the fundamental macroeconomic principles NEPAD endorses remain contested.

The Regional Economic Communities recognised by the AU are: The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD -- operational in the horn of Africa), and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU).

THE NEW PARTNERSHIP FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE

1. NEPAD Heads of States and Government Orientation Committee (HSGOC);
2. NEPAD Steering Committee;
3. NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency (Under the supervisory authority of the African Union Commission Chairperson)

RELATION AMONG AFRICAN STATES:

The Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) – This is a regional group of West African States founded on 28th May 1975 with signing of treaty of Lagos. Its mission was to promote economic integration and preservation of peace and security across the West African Region. It was considered one of the pillars of the African

Community; the organization was founded in order to achieve, “collective self sufficiency” for its member States by creating a single large trading block through an economic and trading union.

When the region became volatile with increase in its security, with the outbreak of the civil war in Liberia in 1991, ECOWAS was required to send peace keeping force to Liberia to end the war that left many people killed, wounded and displaced. Now ECOMOC peace keeping force has been sent to many West African volatile areas such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Mali.

Charles Teller who was found the aggressor and destabilizing the region was criticized by the ECOMOC.

ECOWAS also adopted non military operations in managing conflict in the region. They have also conflict management protocol, which is very active in mediation and diplomatic negotiations.

They have also a council of wise men made up of retired heads of States to negotiate peace before, during and after the conflict.

ECOWAS consists of two institutions to implement policies:

- a) Secretariat ,
- b) Bank of Investment and development.

EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICAN REGION:

Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and DRC region has experienced complex multiple problems and had involved in intervention forces in either mitigating or making peace. Conflict in this sub-region keeps moving from one country to another. In 1994, over 800,000 people were killed in Rwanda genocide. In 1993, over 200,000 people killed in Burundi and this had led to displacement of people. There were also military clashes between Uganda and Rwanda in DRC and between Rwanda and DRC, due to M23 rebel conflict.

The security dynamics in this region must be understood within the context of four main factors:

1. Ethnicity and political governance;
2. Economic factor fueling the conflict;
3. The geographical interest of various actors;
4. Regional response to the conflict.

EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA: {Economic Countries Central Africa States (ECCAS)}

Central African Customs and Economic Unions of 1981 and the economic community of the Great Lakes States were merged to establish the Economic Countries of Central African States (ECCAS). It was made up of countries

with the aim of pursuing economic development, regional cooperation and establishment of a Central African Common Market.

In 1997, there was a proposal for Inter State security cooperation mechanism for the sub-region with the aim to develop a legal and institutional frame work to promote and strengthen peace and security. An organization for this security was created:

1. To prevent, manage and resolve conflict in Central Africa.
2. To undertake any action to deal with effectively with political conflict.
3. To promote, preserve and consolidate peace and security in the sub-region.

SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC):

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is an Inter-governmental organization headquartered in Gaborone, Botswana. Its goal is to further socio-economic cooperation and integration as well as political and security cooperation among 15 southern African states. It complements the role of the African Union.

Members:

SADC has 15 member States, one of whose membership is currently suspended: Angola, Botswana, DRC 8th Sept. 1997, Lesotho, Madagascar 30th Jan.2014, Malawi, Mozambique, Mauritius 28th Aug. 1995, and Namibia 31st March 1990 since independence, Seychelles 8th Sept 1997, South Africa 30th Aug.1994, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

History:

The origins of SADC lie in the 1960s and 1970s, when the leaders of majority-ruled countries and national liberation movements coordinated their political, diplomatic and military struggles to bring an end to colonial and white-minority rule in southern Africa. The immediate forerunner of the political and security cooperation leg of today's SADC was the informal Front line States (FLS) grouping. It was formed in 1980.

The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was the forerunner of the socio-economic cooperation leg of today's SADC. The adoption by nine majority-ruled southern African countries of the Lusaka declaration on 1 April 1980 paved the way for the formal establishment of SADCC in April 1980.

Membership of the FLS and SADCC sometimes differed:

SADCC was transformed into SADC on 17 August 1992, with the adoption by the founding members of SADCC and newly independent Namibia of the Windhoek declaration and treaty establishing SADC. Subsequent efforts to place political and security cooperation on a firm institutional footing under SADC's umbrella failed.

On 14 August 2001, the 1992 SADC treaty was amended. The amendment heralded the overhaul of the structures, policies and procedures of SADC, a process which is ongoing. One of the changes is that political and security cooperation is institutionalized in the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS). One of the principal SADC bodies, it is subject to the oversight of the organization's supreme body, the Summit, which comprises the heads of state or government.

SADC Protocols:

SADC has 26 legally binding protocols dealing with issues such as Defence, Development, Illicit Drug Trade, Free Trade and Movement of People.

SADC FTA:

The SADC Free Trade Area was initiated in 2000; its original members were the SACU countries (South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, and Swaziland). Next to join were Mauritius, Zimbabwe, and Madagascar. In 2008 Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia joined, bringing the total number of SADC FTA members to 12. Angola, DR Congo and Seychelles are not yet participating.

On Wednesday 22 October 2008, SADC joined with the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa and the East African Community to form the African Free Trade Zone, including all members of each of the organizations. The leaders of the three trading blocs agreed to create a single free trade zone, the African Free Trade Zone, consisting of 26 countries with a GDP of an estimated \$624bn (£382.9bn). It is hoped the African Free Trade Zone agreement would ease access to markets within the zone and end problems arising from the fact that several of the member countries belong to multiple groups.

The African Free Trade Zone effective has been more than a hundred years in the making--a trade zone spanning the whole African continent from Cape to Cairo and envisioned by Cecil Rhodes and other British imperialists in the 1890s. The only difference is that the African Free Trade Zone is the creation of African Countries for the mutual benefit and development of its member countries. The idea is a free trade zone spanning the whole continent from the Cape to Cairo (Cape Town in the Republic of South Africa to Cairo in Egypt).

In addition to eliminating duplicative membership problem; member states also participating in other regional economic cooperation schemes and regional political and security cooperation schemes that may compete with or undermine each other, the African Free Trade Zone further aims to strengthen the bloc's bargaining power when negotiating international deals.

Challenges facing member countries:

SADC countries face many social, development, economic, trade, education, health, diplomatic, defence, security and political challenges. Some of these challenges cannot be tackled effectively by individual members. Cattle

diseases and organized-crime gangs know no boundaries. War in one country can suck in its neighbors and damage their economies. The sustainable development that trade could bring is threatened by the existence of different product standards and tariff regimes, weak customs infrastructure and bad roads. The socio-economic and political and security cooperation aims of SADC are equally wide-ranging, and intended to address the various common challenges.

One significant challenge is that member states also participate in other regional economic cooperation schemes and regional political and security cooperation schemes that may compete with or undermine SADC's aims. For example, South Africa and Botswana both belong to the Southern African Customs Union, Zambia is a part of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, and Tanzania is a member of the East African Community.

Aims:

SADC's aims are set out in different sources. The sources include the treaty establishing the organisation (SADC treaty); various protocols (other SADC treaties, such as the corruption protocol, the firearms protocol, the OPDS protocol, the health protocol and the education protocol); development and cooperation plans such as the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO); and declarations such as those on HIV and AIDS and food security. Not all of the pre-2001 treaties and plans have been harmonized with the more detailed and recent plans such as the RISDP and SIPO.

In some areas, mere coordination of national activities and policies is the aim of cooperation. In others, the member states aim at more far-reaching forms of cooperation. For example, on foreign policy the main aim is coordination and cooperation, but in terms of trade and economic policy, a tighter coordination is in progress with a view to one day establishing a common market with common regulatory institutions.

SADC has recently received the top position in a global comparison of indicators of Water Cooperation prepared by international think-tank Strategic Foresight Group. SADC has scored 100 in the Water Cooperation Quotient, which examines active cooperation by riparian countries in the management of water resources using 10 parameters, including legal, political, technical, environmental, economic and institutional aspects. High performance in the Water Cooperation Quotient also means low risk of war between countries in the concerned river basin to reduce economic dependence of SADC countries on South Africa.

Structure and decision-making procedures:

The organization has eight principal bodies;

- The Summit, comprising Heads of States Organ on Politics, Defence and Security
- Council of Ministers
- SADC Tribunal
- SADC National Committees (SNCs)

- Secretariat

Except for the Tribunal (based in Windhoek, Namibia), SNCs and Secretariat, decision-making is by consensus.

INTER GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY ON DEVELOPMENT AND DROUGHT (IGADD):

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is an eight-country trading bloc based in Eastern Africa. It includes governments from the Horn of Africa, Nile Valley and the Great Lakes, and its headquarters are located in Djibouti.

Current member states: Djibouti (founding member 1986), Eritrea (admitted 1993, suspended 2007), Ethiopia (founding member 1986), Somalia (founding member 1986), Sudan (founding member 1986, South Sudan (admitted 2011), Kenya (founding member 1986), Uganda (founding member 1986)

Formation: The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was established in 1986. It succeeded the earlier Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), a multinational body founded in 1986 by Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Kenya, with a focus on development and environmental control. IGADD's headquarters were later moved to Djibouti, following an agreement signed in January 1986 by the member states. Eritrea joined the organization in 1993, upon achieving independence.

In April 1995, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government met in Addis Ababa, where they agreed to strengthen cooperation through the organization. This was followed with the signing of a Letter of Instrument to Amend the IGADD Charter / Agreement on 21 March 1996. The Revitalized IGAD, a new organizational structure, was eventually launched on 25 November 1996 in Djibouti.

IGASOM/AMISOM:

In September 2006, the AU Peace and Security Council approved an IGAD proposal to deploy an IGAD Peace Support Mission in Somalia (IGASOM).

On 21 February 2007, the United Nations Security Council approved Resolution 1744, which authorized the deployment of a new African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) in place of IGASOM.

Current situation:

IGAD is a principal supporter of the Federal Government of Somalia through the AMISOM initiative.

IGAD expanded its activities in 2008 with initiatives to improve the investment, trade and banking environments of member states. The organization stressed the deployment of highly innovative programs and mechanisms.

Structure:

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government is the supreme policy making organ of the Authority. It determines the objectives, guidelines and programs for IGAD and meets once a year. A Chairman is elected from among the member states in rotation.

The Secretariat is headed by an Executive Secretary appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government for a term of four years renewable once. The Secretariat assists member states in formulating regional projects in the priority areas, facilitates the coordination and harmonization of development policies, mobilizes resources to implement regional projects and programs approved by the Council and reinforces national infrastructures necessary for implementing regional projects and policies. The current Executive Secretary is Eng. Mahboub Maalim of Kenya (since 14 June 2008).

The Council of Ministers is composed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and one other Minister designated by each member state. The Council formulates policy, approves the work program and annual budget of the Secretariat during its biannual sessions.

The Committee of Ambassadors comprises IGAD member states' Ambassadors or Plenipotentiaries accredited to the country of IGAD Headquarters. It convenes as often as the need arises to advise and guide the Executive Secretary.

THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC):

The East African Community (EAC) is an intergovernmental organization comprising five countries in the African Great Lakes region in eastern Africa: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda. Uhuru Kenyatta, the President of the Republic of Kenya, is the EAC's current chairman. The organization was originally founded in 1967, collapsed in 1977, and was officially revived on 7 July 2000. In 2008, after negotiations with the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the EAC agreed to an expanded free trade area including the member states of all three organizations. The EAC is an integral part of the African Economic Community.

The East African Community is a potential precursor to the establishment of the East African Federation, a proposed federation of its five members into a single State. In 2010, the EAC launched its own common market for goods, labour and capital within the region, with the goal of creating a common currency and eventually a full political federation. In 2013 a protocol was signed outlining their plans for launching a monetary union within 10 years.

The geographical region encompassed by the EAC covers an area of 1,820,664 square kilometres (702,962 sq mi), with a combined population of about 149,959,317 (2013 est.)

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have had a history of co-operation dating back to the early 20th century. The customs union between Kenya and Uganda in 1917, which the then Tanganyika joined in 1927, was followed by the East African High Commission from 1948 to 1961, the East African Common Services Organization from 1961 to 1967, and then the 1967 to 1977 East African Community. Burundi and Rwanda joined the EAC on 6 July 2009.

Inter-territorial co-operation between the Kenya Colony, and Uganda Protectorate and the Tanganyika territory was first formalized in 1948 by the East African High Commission. This provided a common union, a common external tariff, currency and postage; and also dealt with common services in transport and communications, research and education. Following independence, these integrated activities were reconstituted and the High Commission was replaced by the East African Common Services Organisation, which many observers thought would lead to a political federation between the three territories. The new organisation ran into difficulties because of the lack of joint planning and fiscal policy, separate political policies and Kenya's dominant economic position. In 1967 the East African Common Services Organisation was superseded by the East African Community. This body aimed to strengthen the ties between the members through a common market, a common customs tariff and a range of public services so as to achieve balanced economic growth within the region.

In 1977, the East African Community collapsed after ten years. Causes for the collapse included demands by Kenya for more seats than Uganda and Tanzania in decision-making organs, disagreements with Ugandan dictator Idi Amin who demanded that Tanzania as a member State of the Community should not harbor forces fighting to topple a government of another member State, and the disparate economic systems of socialism in Tanzania and capitalism in Kenya. The three member states lost over sixty years of co-operation and the benefits of economies of scale, though some Kenyan government officials celebrated the collapse with champagne. Each of the former member states had to embark, at great expense and at lower efficiency, upon the establishment of services and industries that had previously been provided at the Community level.

Later, Presidents Moi of Kenya, Mwinyi of Tanzania, and Museveni of Uganda signed the Treaty for East African Co-operation in Arusha, Tanzania, on 30 November 1993, and established a Tri-partite Commission for Co-operation. A process of re-integration was embarked on involving tripartite programmes of co-operation in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security, legal and judicial affairs.

The East African Community was finally revived on 30 November 1999, when the Treaty for its re-establishment was signed. It came into force on 7 July 2000, twenty-three years after the total collapse of the defunct erstwhile Community and its organs. A custom union was signed in March 2004 which commenced on 1 January 2005; Kenya, the region's largest exporter, continued to pay duties on goods entering the other four countries on a declining scale until 2010. A common system of tariffs will apply to goods imported from third-party countries.

Political dimensions:

It is argued that key drivers for Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are that Kenya wishes to export surplus capital, Uganda seeks an outlet for its surplus labour and Tanzania wants to realise a Pan-African vision. However, it is argued the commonalities go far deeper. Many of the national elites old enough to remember the former Community often share memories and a sharp sense of loss at its eventual dissolution. More cynically, others argue this historical ambition provides the potential for politicians to present themselves as statesmen of a higher order, as representatives of a greater regional interest. Furthermore, EAC institutions bring significant new powers to dispose and depose to those who serve in them.

Some question the extent to which the visions of a political union are shared outside the elite and the relatively elderly, further arguing the youthful mass of the population is not well informed about the process in any of the countries, while others point to an enhanced sense of East African identity developing from modern communications. Commitment to the formal EAC idea is relatively narrow, in both social and generational terms, and thus many question the timetable drawn up for the project. Fast-tracking political union was first discussed in 2004 and enjoyed a consensus on the subject among the three presidents of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Thus, a high-level committee headed by Amos Wako of Kenya was commissioned to investigate the possibility of speeding up the process of integration so as to achieve political federation sooner than previously visualized. Yet there are concerns rapid changes would allow popular reactionary politics against the project. There is an argument however, that there are high costs that would be required at the beginning and that fast-tracking the project would allow the benefits to be seen earlier.

There remain significant political differences between the states. Museveni's success in obtaining his third-term amendment raised doubts in the other countries. The single-party dominance in the Tanzanian and Ugandan parliaments is unattractive to Kenyans, while Kenya's ethnic-politics is not apparent in Tanzania. Rwanda has a distinctive political culture with a political elite committed to building a developmental state, partly to safeguard the Tutsi group against a return to ethnic violence.

Other problems involve states being reluctant to relinquish involvement in other regional groups, e.g. Tanzania's withdrawal from COMESA but staying within the SADC bloc for the Economic Partnership Agreement negotiations with the European Union. Many Tanzanians are also concerned, because creating a common market means removing obstacles to the free movement of both labour and capital. Free movement of labour may be perceived as highly desirable in Uganda and Kenya, and have important developmental benefits in Tanzania, however in Tanzania there is widespread resistance to the idea of ceding land rights to foreigners, including citizens of Kenya and Uganda.

While generally the member nations are largely in favour of the East African Federation informal polls indicate that most Tanzanians (80% of its population) have an unfavorable view. Tanzania has more land than all the other EAC nations combined, and some Tanzanians fear landgrabs by the current residents of the other EAC member nations.

Expansion:

Tanzania supports the expansion of the East African Community. In 2010, Tanzanian officials expressed interest in inviting Malawi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia to join the EAC, but Malawian Foreign Affairs Minister Etta Banda said there were no formal negotiations taking place concerning Malawian membership.

South Sudan:

The presidents of Kenya and Rwanda invited the Autonomous Government of South Sudan to apply for membership upon the independence of South Sudan in 2011, and South Sudan was reportedly an applicant country as of mid-July 2011. Analysts suggested that South Sudan's early efforts to integrate infrastructure, including rail links and oil pipelines, with systems in Kenya and Uganda indicated intention on the part of Juba to pivot away from dependence on Sudan and toward the East African Community. Reuters considers South Sudan the likeliest candidate for EAC expansion in the short term, and an article in Tanzanian daily *The Citizen* that reported East African Legislative Assembly Speaker Abdirahim Haithar Abdi said South Sudan was "free to join the EAC" asserted that analysts believe the country will soon become a full member of the regional body.

In December 2012, Tanzania officially agreed to South Sudan's bid to join the East African Community, clearing the way for the world's newest state to become the regional bloc's sixth member. In May 2013 The East African Community set aside \$82,000 for the admission of South Sudan into the bloc even though admission may not happen until 2016. The process, to start after the EAC Council of Ministers meeting in August 2013, is projected to take at least four years. At the 14th Ordinary Summit held in Nairobi in 2012, EAC Heads of State approved the verification report that was presented by the Council of Ministers, then directed it to start the negotiation process with South Sudan.

A team was formed to assess South Sudan's bid, and is expected to announce a decision in April 2014.

Religion:

Christians in the EAC are divided among followers of numerous Protestants denominations and Roman Catholicism. The EAC is predominantly Christian with countries such as Rwanda and Burundi having significantly more Catholics than Protestants. In terms of numbers, Kenya is home to the largest number of Christians in the EAC. However, the country with the largest percentage of Christians is Rwanda.

The country with the largest Muslim population and percentage is Tanzania. The Muslim population in the East African Community is concentrated around the Coastal regions in Kenya and Tanzania and the Eastern and Northern regions of Kenya. 1 in every 10 Kenyans is Muslim. The only significant Animist population is based in Tanzania.

Economy

Transport:

Currently, Mombasa has East Africa's busiest port. However, the construction of a new port in Kenya, known as the Lamu port is underway. It's expected to cost US\$ 22 billion. Another megaport in Tanzania, the Bagamoyo port is expected to begin soon the project is expected to cost US\$ 10 billion.

Africa's largest airport terminal is also under construction in Nairobi dubbed the Green field Terminal the terminal will be capable of handling 20 million passengers a year. The estimated cost is 55 billion Kenyan Shillings (US\$ 654 million).

Economic dimensions:

The key aspects of the customs union include:

1. a Common External Tariff (CET) on imports from third countries;
2. duty-free trade between the member states; and
3. common customs procedures.

Different rates are applied for raw materials (0%), intermediate products (10%) and finished goods (25%), the latter percentage is fixed as the maximum. This represents a significance decrease from what was previously the maximum in Kenya (35%), Tanzania (40%) and Uganda (15%). However, this customs union is not yet fully implemented, because there is a significant list of exclusions to the Common External Tariff and tariff-free movement of goods and services. Technical work is also needed to harmonise and modernise the customs procedures in the EAC's major ports of entry.

The expected revenue benefits are understood to be minimal by many analysts, based on comparative-static simulation exercises demonstrating the one-off impacts of the immediate introduction of the CU's full tariff package. The findings suggest an increase in intraregional trade that is largely the result of trade diversion, not trade creation, with some aggregate welfare benefits in Kenya and Tanzania but welfare losses in Uganda. From a trade-integration perspective, the EAC may not be the best chosen unit, because the current trade between the three countries is small compared to their external trade, and the EAC's 105 million citizens do not represent a large market in global terms, given the very low average incomes.

Emerging business trends:

Business leaders are far more positive than economists about the benefits of EAC integration, its customs union as a step in the process, as well as the wider integration under COMESA. The larger economic players perceive long-term benefits in a progressively expanding regional market. Pattern of regional development are already emerging, including:

- Kenyan firms have successfully aligned to the lower protection afforded by the EAC CET and fears that firms would not adjust to a 25% maximum CET, or would relocate to Tanzania or Uganda have not been realized.
- An intraregional division of labour is developing those results in basic import-processing relocating to the coast to supply the hinterland. The final stages of import-processing (especially those bulky finished goods that involve high transportation costs) and natural-resource based activities, are moving up-country and up-region, either within value chains of large companies or different segments located by firms in different countries.
- Trade in goods and services have already increased as service provision to Kenyans and Tanzanians is already important for Uganda (in education and in health). Kenya exports financial services, for example via the Kenya Commercial Bank and purchase and upgrading of local operators in Tanzania, Uganda and Sudan. Uganda hopes integration will help support its tourism potential through integration with established regional circuits.
- There are signs a business culture oriented to making profits through economics of scale and not on protectionism.

Poverty reduction:

EAC economies have large informal sectors, unintegrated with the formal economy and large business. The concerns of large-scale manufacturing and agro-processing concerns are not broadly shared by the bulk of available labour. Research suggest the promised investments on the conditions of life of the region's overwhelmingly rural poor will be slight, with the significant exception of agro-industrial firms with out-grower schemes or that otherwise contribute to the co-ordination of smallholder production and trade.

It is informal trade across borders that are most often important to rural livelihoods and a customs union is unlikely to significantly impact the barriers that this faces and taxes are still being fixed separately by countries. However, the introduction of one-stop border posts being introduced and the reduction in tariff barriers are coming down progressively.

The establishment of a common market will create both winners (numerous food producers and consumers on both sides of all borders) and losers (smugglers and the customs, police and local government officers who currently benefit from bribery at and around the borders) in the border areas. More substantial impact could be attained by a new generation of investments in world-market production based on the region's comparative advantages in natural resources (especially mining and agriculture) and the new tariff structure creates marginally better conditions for world-market exporters, by cheapening inputs and by reducing upward pressures on the exchange rate.

Common market:

On 1 July 2010, Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki officially launched the East African Common Market Protocol, an expansion of the bloc's existing customs union that entered into effect in 2005. The protocol will lead to the free movement of labour, capital, goods and services within the EAC. Member states will have to change their national laws to allow the full implementation of some aspects of the Common Market such as immigration and customs. This legislation may take up to five years for each of the countries to enact fully but official recognition of the common market took place on 1 July. Kenya expects that its citizens will begin to enjoy freedom of movement in the EAC within two months. Kenya, Rwanda and Burundi have already agreed to waive work permit fees for EAC citizens. The Common Market is seen as a step towards implementation of the common currency by 2012 and full political federation in 2015. Kenyan businesses complain that the benefits of the Common Market only exist on paper by 2011, and that all the work remains to be done. Arbitrary rules and delays continue to make trade between Kenya and Tanzania expensive and difficult.

The free movement of people in the EAC is set to be improved with the introduction of "third generation" ID cards. These cards will identify the holder as a dual citizen of their home country and of "East Africa". Third generation cards are already in use in Rwanda with Kenya set to introduce them in July 2010 and the other countries following afterwards. Mutual recognition and accreditation of higher education institutions is also being worked towards as is the harmonisation of social security benefits across the EAC.

Plans

East African Federation:

The new treaty may be fast tracked with plans drawn up in 2004 to introduce a monetary union with a common currency, the East African shilling, sometime between 2012 and 2015. There were also plans for a political union, the East African Federation, with a common President (initially on a rotation basis) and a common parliament by 2010. However, some experts like those based out of the public think tank Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA), noted that the plans were too ambitious to be met by 2010 because a number of political, social and economic challenges are yet to be addressed. The fast tracking is currently the subject of National Consultative discussions, and a final decision was to be taken by the EAC Heads of State in mid-2007. In 2013 a protocol was signed outlining their plans for launching a monetary union within 10 years.

It had been hoped that an East African Single Tourist Visa may have been ready for November 2006, if it was approved by the relevant sectoral authorities under the EAC's integration programme. Had it been approved, the visa would have been valid for all three current member states of the EAC (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda). Under the proposal for the visa, any new EAC single visa could be issued by any member states embassy. The visa proposal followed an appeal by the tourist boards of the partner states for a common visa to accelerate promotion of the region as a single tourist destination and the EAC Secretariat wanted it approved before November's World Travel Fair (or World Travel Market) in London. When approved by the EAC's council of ministers, tourists could apply

for one country's entry visa which would then be applicable in all regional member states as a single entry requirement initiative.

A single tourist visa for the EAC countries of Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda was to be available on 1 January 2014. However, the launch date was postponed due to bureaucratic issues.

East African Court of Justice:

The East African Court of Justice is the judicial arm of the Community. The court has original jurisdiction over the interpretation and application of the 1999 Treaty that re-established the EAC and in the future may have other original, appellate, human rights or other jurisdiction upon conclusion of a protocol to realize such extended jurisdiction. It is temporarily based in Arusha, Tanzania.

East African Legislative Assembly

The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) is the legislative arm of the Community. The EALA has 27 members who are all elected by the National Assemblies or Parliaments of the member states of the Community. The EALA has oversight functions on all matters that fall within the Community's work and its functions include debating and approving the budget of the Community, discussing all matters pertaining to the Community and making recommendations to the Council as it may deem necessary for the implementation of the Treaty, liaising with National Assemblies or Parliaments on matters pertaining to the Community and establishing committees for such purposes as it deems necessary. Since being inaugurated in 2001, the EALA has had several sittings as a plenum in Arusha, Kampala, and Nairobi.

The current Speaker of the Assembly is Margaret Zziwa from Uganda who replaced Abdirahin Haithar H. Abdi from Kenya. The Assembly has been credited with crucial bills, particularly those regarding regional and international trade, including EAC's stand on issues such as the World Trade Organisation and transport on Lake Victoria.

East African passport:

The East African passport was officially launched on 1 April 1999. The East African passport has been introduced as a travel document to ease border crossing for EAC residents. It is valid for travel within the EAC countries only and will entitle the holder to a multi entry stay of renewable six months' validity in any of the countries. The passport is issued in three of the five EAC member states (Kenya Uganda and Tanzania). The passports are available at the Headquarters of the respective Immigration Departments in Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salam. Only East African nationals may apply to be issued with the passports. The passport costs US\$10 or the equivalent in EAC currencies. Processing of applications for the passports will normally take two to three weeks. Although the passport is only valid within the EAC, modalities of internationalizing the East African passport were being discussed with the aim towards having a common travel document for EAC residents by 2006.

Other measures meant to ease border crossing for East African Community residents include the issuance of interstate passes (which commenced on 1 July 2003), a single immigration Departure/Entry card (adopted by all three member states), the finalization of harmonized procedures of work permits and the classification process, and the compilation of studies on the Harmonization of Labour Laws and Employment Policies (now in its final stages).

Internet in the East Africa Community:

Internet use in the EAC is still very low compared to developed countries. The East African Community is a solid economic bloc with over a combined population of 149,959,317 (2013 est.). More recently, there are several emerging EAC online platforms that amalgamate the African Great Lakes region. Internet speed is also low in the region compared to developed countries. There was a fiber optic line landed at the Port of Mombasa in 2009 that serves the region, on top of long-standing satellite and dial-up. These are mostly in urban areas and relatively dear. This is perhaps one of the main hindrances for online growth in the East African Community.

African international relations is both a discipline and practice. It is a sub system of international relations. Like the study of other international relations generally, African international relations is a study that focuses broadly on conflict and cooperation.

African international relations are intra continental and extra continental in nature and practice. Intra African relations may be conflictual due to struggle for resources, territorial expansion, power struggles while cooperation may be influenced by the need to banish poverty (under development), protection and defense of national sovereignty and independence, boost trade relations, ideological interests etc. Extra- continental relations may be either conflictual or cooperative due to similar or related factors.

Relations shall be examined at three periodic levels. At pre-colonial stage, Africans related not as states as understood in the modern and contemporary sense. Africans existed as kingdoms, empires or stateless communities. Relations were more often than not conflictual.

The state in Africa is a colonial creation created along European standards to serve colonial pursuits. Note that these colonial structures were subordinated to their corresponding European rulers.

At independence, the African state was born, a sovereignty state with a right to transact business in the international System. Since independence, the African state has conducted and engaged in international relations mainly focusing

on emancipation from backwardness and foreign domination. Hence relations among African states and with external states, UN, EU, INGOS, individuals, mercenaries, financial institutions, financial speculators, MNCs.

2. Importance of African international relations.

International relations as a field of study are a young discipline. It emerged at the start of the 20th. But studies in African international relations are younger because much of the continent acquired sovereignty in 1960s, studies are limited.

Never the less, it is important to note that African international relations, like all international relations are about human interaction. African International Relations are concerned with relations beyond borders of nation states and the dynamics of these relations. It is about exchanges, contacts, transactional flow of information and responses to these exchanges.

Importance

The practice of international relations in Africa benefits the continent in the following ways

- i) Broken isolation: Africans are as human as others on the planet. Nation states are the major actors in AIRs. Each state can not meaningfully live on its own but has to interact with others on the continent and other states outside Africa. This interaction enables individual states and the continent as a whole to pursue interests such as economic independence etc. This enables Africa to fit in the international system.
- ii) It is important for Africa to engage in international relations because the continent's sovereignty and independence are protected and promoted. The international system is anarchical and to survive in this anarchy, African states have to rely on their power in self defence. Where such power is inadequate

- alliances or cooperation is useful. E.g. regional integration and OAU/AU are attempts to improve the power of Africa.
- iii) Security interests: Without participation in international relations, strategic security and human security interests of the continent would be at risk. Cooperation and alliances within and outside Africa promote security.

3. AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN A HISTORICAL SETTING

It should be remembered that the study of international relations in modern times is recent. It started at the start of the C20th in some European and American universities. The major interest of scholars was how to prevent war.

In Africa, the discipline is much younger in that most universities that chose to teach the subject did it so many years after independence. A sub discipline of international relations, African international relations is a later field of interest to academicians. A few scholars began paying particular interest to it in 1980s. To date few relevant text books have been written specifically on AIRs. Debate continues on the relevant theoretical framework for the study.

Like in the traditional study of international relation, studies in AIRs pay much attention to the state as a key actor and its major interests security and power.

In addition, the field focuses on

- Preservation of sovereignty and independence by African states (struggle for power)
- Intra and extra African diplomacy
- Wars, conflicts and crises in Africa
- Human security the struggle by African states to rid them selves of poverty, diseases and misery.

The practice of international relation in Africa and between the continent and the outside is older than the discipline.

Pre-colonial Africa.

There existed kingdoms and non kingdom communities and were in the process of state formation. Conflict in form of raids and wars of expansion were common e.g. in what was to become Uganda, the kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda usually fought each other. Territorial conflict characterized relations between and among several communities in the rest of Africa.

But there was some cooperation (peaceful relation). This was mostly in form of trade relations as was the case in the following:

- Trans- Saharan trade between North Africa and West Africa across the Sahara encouraged good relations among various peoples of Africa.
- In East Africa, communities exchanged goods for goods (barter trade) e.g. Buganda obtained salt from Bunyoro. Later, this trade expanded to and from the coast of East Africa- This became the long distance trade. The Nyamwezi, Yao and Arabs played a more active part in the trade. Slave trade was the worst aspect of the relations between the coastal Arabs and Africans in its interior.
- Ancient kingdom of Mali established diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia after Mansa Musa made a pilgrimage to Mecca.
- In regard to relations with the outside world, Africans got into contacts with the Arabs and Europeans.

- Between 10th and 11th centuries foreigners especially from the Middle East and Asia arrived at the coast of East Africa. Some were traders while others decided to settle on the Islands and coastal areas.
- In West Africa, the Trans-Atlantic trade brought Africa especially the coastal areas into contact with other peoples. But enslaved Africans.
- The development led to cooperation (trade) as well as conflict especially where people were raided for slaves.
- Beginning in the C18th an increasing number of European explorers, adventurers, looters, criminals, travelers and so called missionaries came to the continent. Some influenced relations between African nations (Kingdoms) and home countries e.g. The agreement between Buganda and Britain of 1900.

Thus the interaction among different nations (communities) in the continent is much older than the study of African international relations. Although Africa's modern state was created by colonialism, pre colonial Africa had several communities that qualified as nations. A nation, according to Fred A. Sondermann and William C. Olson (1966) *is an ethnic group which has a common heritage, language, culture and a sense of common identity*. In this case there were international relations among Africans prior to imposition of colonialism. Note that though African nations occupied specific locations, the borders of these nations were not as well defined as those of the contemporary states.

During colonial rule, Africans were subjects of the colonialists and as such Europeans were in charge of international relations. But to a limited level, Africans related among themselves particularly as they sought to liberate themselves from the dehumanizing foreign rule. E.g conferences held and attended by Africans to unite against colonialists. Others sought assistance out of the continent ie China, India, USSR, USA

4. THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE STUDY

The study of international relations benefits much from a variety of theories. The theories which are constituted by logical assumptions have been formulated by scholars to facilitate a better understanding of the behavior of states and to some extent the conduct of groups and individuals in the international system.

Unfortunately most of them can not appropriately explain African international relations having been developed by European and American academics whose focus was the west. The experience of the west was different from that of the under development world, Africa in particular.

Never the less two theories are more relevant to the study of African international relations dependence theory and realist theory.

Dependence theory

First developed by Latin American academicians. Later scholars on Africa notably Walter Rodney and Ake Claude adopted it to their study of Africa in the international system.

According to the theory Africa like the rest of the third world is a dependent on the west.

Dependence was planted during colonialism and continues during neo colonialism. By colonialism, Africans were made to produce and export raw materials whose price was determined by the colonialists and cheap. They had to import expensive manufactured goods from Europe. This way an unequal relationship between Africa and the west was created. Because Africans earned little they were poor and had to depend on the west for technology, finance etc. Dependence continues so much so that African international relations are focused on recovering from it. Hence efforts like Regional economic integration, negotiation of better trade terms with other LDCs and the west.

Realism

Is premised on on the basic assumptions including:

- i) States are rational actors and act to promote their interests (power)
- ii) The international system is anarchical
- iii) A state has duty to survive
- iv) The state enemies are external and threats are military in nature

Against these assumptions, realism explains that African international relations are guided by the desire to defend national interests such as the young and fragile independence and sovereignty. In the early years of independence, the territorial integrity of some states was under threat and there was struggle to protect territory by such states as Morocco, Algeria, and Somalia. Many states are weak and keep struggling for security and survival against threats from states in and outside Africa. There have been interstate power struggles on the continent.

N.B Read the text Olatunde J. C. B etal (1985)*African International Relation* chapter one for more details

Liberalism

ACTORS IN AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The term actor in international relations refers to an individual or entity that seeks to achieve goals by either conflicting or cooperating with others in a policy context.

Olatunde (1985) defines an international actor as a relatively autonomous unit that exercises influence on the behavior of other autonomous actors.

International relations is a business that involves several categories of actors some in official while others get involved in non official ways.

THE STATE

In African international relations, like in the entire international system, the state remains the key and fundamental actor.

A state is a sovereign actor with a central government ruling over a population and territory as well as representing and protecting that population in the international system.

In Africa, the state is a colonial creation artificially created by the European colonialists. The state is young, having emerged in 1960s. The African state lacks most of the attributes of the western state: is weak, has ineffective and inefficient government, has contested (fluid) territory and depend on powerful global states and institutions. None the less, the state in Africa remains central in international relations because only the state has exclusive jurisdiction within a geographical space.

The over 50 states in Africa vary in many ways some like the Sudan, DRC, South Africa, Algeria and Ethiopia are geographically bigger than others, states like Cape verde, Equatorial Guinea and Djibouti are thinly populated. Economically some are more powerful than others eg South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Algeria and Libya have higher GNPs than other states.

As the central and official actor in international relations the state has responsibility of opening up, maintaining and receiving diplomatic missions. Diplomatic missions are the normal channel for conducting international relations.

This is not usually easy because it is expensive in terms of funds and human resource. States therefore make sacrifice to be able to establish diplomatic missions in other countries. Even then the African state operates fewer diplomatic missions compared to states in other regions of the world. Because of this African states command limited power and influence in the international system.

At the level of intra-African diplomatic relations very few states are able to run diplomatic missions in at least 20 brother African state.

Outside the continent, several states like Uganda, Burundi, Ghana, Somalia etc can not run missions in every capital. What they do is to open up mission in selectively strategic capital like Washington, London. Because of the growing business relations with China; an increasing number of African states are establishing their missions in Beijing. Thus the number of diplomatic exchanges reflects the power relations among states on the continent and more importantly power relations between Africa.

Note:

- i) Some states are more diplomatically active than others
- ii) The state officially represents its place at international regional conferences e.g. UN, AU
- iii) The states might contribute peace keeping forces in war areas
- iv) The state makes war or peace with other states.

NON STATE ACTORS

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

An institution with membership from two or more countries

Public international organization is made up of states e.g. AU, EAC, and UN

Private international organizations are made up of individuals or groups in various countries and operate transnational.

THE OAU/ AU

Since its founding in 1963, the OAU has played distinguished role in African international relations. It has actively struggled for the total liberation of all parts of Africa from foreign rule (liberation committee) tried its best to mediate conflicts on the continent and promoted cooperation among states. The AU has inherited the role of OAU and is a continental actor in international relations- within and outside Africa

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Like the OAU/AU regional organizations such as EAC, ECOWAS, SADC, IGAD etc focus on economic emancipation and promotion of peace and security on the continent.

The other actors in African international relations include the UN and its agencies like WHO, UNHCR, IMF, World Bank, Political parties, the church and mosque, INGOS like the World Muslim league, the international committee of the Red Cross, MNCs, individuals, rebels etc.

Revision assignment

Examine the role of each of the actors mentioned above in African international relations.

Account for the limited effectiveness of the state in promoting African interests in the international system

The Challenges of Decolonization in Africa

Through the process of decolonization that began, in most African territories, at the close of World War II, African leaders gained greater political power under European rule. In the decades that followed independence, they worked to shape the cultural, political, and economic character of the postcolonial state. Some worked against the challenges of continued European cultural and political hegemony, while others worked with European powers in order to protect their interests and maintain control over economic and political resources. Decolonization, then, was a process as well as a historical period.

Yet the nations and regions of Africa experienced it with varying degrees of success. By 1990, formal European political control had given way to African self-rule—except in South Africa. Culturally and politically, however, the legacy of European dominance remained evident in the national borders, political infrastructures, education systems, national languages, economies, and trade networks of each nation. Ultimately, decolonization produced moments of inspiration and promise, yet failed to transform African economies and political structures to bring about true autonomy and development.

The Year of Africa

"Most of our weaknesses," declared Kenneth Kaunda, first president of Zambia, in a March 1966 speech, "derive from lack of finance, trained personnel, etc., etc., etc. We are left with no choice but to fall on either the east or west, or indeed, on both of them." What Kaunda does not state is that the weaknesses that he speaks of were, first and foremost, products of European colonial strategies and, second, the failure of all but a few of his colleagues in other independent African nations to fully serve the interests of their people through brave and innovative development programs.

When decolonization began, there were reasons for optimism. The year 1960 was heralded throughout Africa and the West as "the Year of Africa" for the inspiring change that swept the continent. During that year, the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa shook the world to awaken to the horrors of white minority rule as South African police fired into a crowd of peaceful black protesters, killing sixty-nine in full view of photographers and reporters. Also in 1960, seventeen African territories gained independence from the strong arm of European colonial rule. These seventeen nations joined the United Nation's General Assembly and gave greater voice to the non-Western world.

Fully recognizing the potential for the remarkable change that African independence could bring to global politics, on February 3, 1960, Harold Macmillan, prime minister of Great Britain from 1957 to 1963, delivered his famous speech, "Wind of Change," to the South African parliament. "The growth of national consciousness in Africa is a political fact," Macmillan said, "and we must accept it as such. ... I believe that if we cannot do so we may imperil the precarious balance between the East and West on which the peace of the world depends." He cautioned Western nations to change their behavior toward Africa to prevent the continent from falling under the sway of the East.

The Cold War in Africa

It was this fear of Soviet influence in Africa, particularly on the part of the United States, that created such a major problem for African nations. Western powers viewed African independence through the lens of the Cold War, which rendered African leaders as either pro-West or pro-East; there was little acceptable middle ground. Naïvely, most African leaders believed that they could navigate the political land mines of the Cold War through political neutrality. Along these lines, in his speech on the occasion of Kenya's independence from Britain in 1963, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta (in power from 1964 to 1978) declared:

The aim of my government which starts today is not to be pro-left or pro-right. We shall pursue the task of national building in friendship with the rest of the world. Nobody will ever be allowed to tell us, to tell me: you must be friendly to so-and-so. We shall remain free and whoever wants friendship with us must be a real friend.

Nonetheless, as Africans declared themselves nonaligned, pro-West, or Marxist sympathizers, Cold War politics deprived them of the freedom to truly shape their political paths. Combined with the strong residue of the colonial political structure, African leaders designed their internal and external politics mindful of the Western powers' vigilance against socialist or communist influences.

Although Western European powers granted aid to African nations, they also coerced governments to support their agendas and instigated and aided coups against democratically elected governments. They also fomented civil unrest to ensure that governments friendly to their Cold War agenda remained in power and those that were not were removed by political machinations or assassination. In the Congo, for example, Joseph Mobutu took a strong anti-communist position and was subsequently rewarded by Western powers. It mattered little that in 1960 he helped orchestrate the coup that removed and ultimately brought about the murder of Patrice Lumumba, was among the most anti-democratic leaders on the continent, and siphoned Western aid and revenue from the nation's natural resources into personal accounts. Mobutu's rise to power and economic and political damage to Congo in the process—with the help of his Western allies—demonstrates that the politics of the Cold War, more than anything else, defined the successes and failures of African decolonization.

Neo Colonialism

In the 1960s, Frantz Fanon, the anti-colonial intellectual and psychoanalyst, among others, described neo-colonialism as the continued exploitation of the continent from outside and within, together with European political intervention during the post-independence years. One of the many questions that African leaders faced was whether continued economic and political interaction with former colonial powers threatened their autonomy and political viability. The ex-colonizers wanted to retain their former colonial territories within their sphere of influence. This continued relationship, Fanon argued, benefited African politicians and the small middle class but did not benefit the national majorities. The result was tension between the ruling classes and the majority population.

In 1964 he wrote in *Toward the African Revolution*: "Every former colony has a particular way of achieving independence. Every new sovereign state finds itself practically under the obligation of maintaining definite and deferential relations with the former oppressor." With regard to the Cold War he continued:

This competitive strategy of Western nations, moreover, enters into the vaster framework of the policy of the two blocs, which for ten years has held a definite menace of atomic disintegration suspended over the world. And it is

surely not purely by chance that the hand or the eye of Moscow is discovered, in an almost stereotypical way, behind each demand for national independence, put forth by a colonial people.

Early in the decolonization process, there were fleeting moments in which the emerging African and Asian nations did seek to shift the political paradigm away from the Cold War's East-West dichotomy/ contrast . Foremost among these initiatives was the 1955 Bandung Conference, held in Bandung, Indonesia, from April 18 to 24, 1955. Representatives from twenty-nine Asian and African countries gathered to chart a course for neutrality in the Cold War conflict. The attendees agreed that to avoid being trapped within a Western or Soviet political orbit, /activities developing nations must not rely on the industrialized powers for economic and political aid. Therefore, they vowed to work together by pooling their developmental and technological resources to establish an economic and political sphere, /interest .a third way, to counterbalance the West and the Soviet Union.

However, it was a challenge for African nations to forge international links beyond words on paper: few national networks of administration, communication, or transportation within their borders operated consistently and effectively. In addition, the senior administrators who ran the colonies were removed with European rule, to be replaced by Africans with far less experience. Moreover, the political system that African leaders inherited was structured to benefit the evolving ruling classes with little regard for the needs of the people. There were few real efforts beyond the political speeches of Kwame Nkrumah—Ghana's first president, in power from 1957 to 1966— and the words of the founding charter of the Organization of African Unity to look beyond these accepted borders toward pan-Africanize or even regional confederations.

Moreover, the failure to dismantle the internal political structures imposed by European colonial regimes allowed ethnic and regional-based political competition (which acted as such a strong obstacle to national unity and progressive rule) to remain at the core of local and national political structures. Generally, the absence of national identities and political movements facilitated the continued intervention of the former colonial powers in Africa's internal affairs.

In addition, with few exceptions, European powers continued to dominate the economic affairs of the former colonies. Under European rule, people were forced to grow cash crops. This practice continued after independence, and the farmers remained vulnerable to the vagaries/an unpredictable of the world market. A fall in world prices created political instability. This was the case in Ghana in the 1960s when the price of cocoa collapsed and in Rwanda in the 1980s, when the price of coffee fell. The former contributed to Nkrumah's fall from power in 1966, and the latter to civil war and ultimately genocide in the early 1990s.

Pan-Africanism and Socialism

The most outstanding post-independence leaders were cognizant of the challenges of the Cold War and ongoing European economic and political influence and sought/seek remedies to ensure the autonomy and development of their nations. Few pursued initiatives that transformed their nations into bastions/strong hold of economic and political stability. Nonetheless, they worked steadfastly/aim to dismantle the colonial political structures and replaced them with systems that reflected the history, culture, and needs of the people.

In addition to launching a bold and expansive, if economically unviable, industrializing program, Kwame Nkrumah believed in the political and economic unification of the African continent. A federally unified state, he argued, would allow Africa to pool resources to rebuild the continent for the benefit of its people as opposed to multinational corporations. In *I Speak of Freedom*, Kwame Nkrumah wrote: "It is clear we must find an African solution to our problems, and that this can only be found in African unity. Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world."

From a Western standpoint, Nkrumah forged alliances that increasingly placed him in the camp of the Eastern Bloc. Western governments understood Nkrumah's agenda to be socialist and worried about his influence on other African leaders. There are debates about the forces behind the coup that overthrew him in February 1966, but there is strong evidence from the State Department Archives that the United States was interested in removing him from power and that they worked to manipulate the international cocoa price to fuel dissatisfaction with his regime.

Julius Nyerere, first president of Tanzania from 1964 to 1985, argued for shifting the political paradigm away from the European models inherited from the colonial era and toward indigenous African forms. In particular, he advocated for African socialism, which more closely aligned with the communal practices of "traditional" African societies. In his Arusha Declaration, published in February 1967, Nyerere declared African socialism as the model for African development. Contrary to the Western model of economic development, Ujamaa socialism, and African socialism generally, emphasized collective responsibility and advancement in place of the individual:

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources...

From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come, but their foundation is the people and their hard work, especially in agriculture. This is the meaning of self-reliance.

Self-reliance and the freedom to aggressively pursue an autonomous global political position proved elusive/hard to achieve in an era in which the West defined its friends by their perceived position within the Cold War divide. Unique among the overtly socialist leaders in Africa, Nyerere enjoyed political longevity and friendly relations with

Western and Eastern Bloc nations. Yet throughout the 1970s the Tanzanian economy, and Nyerere's Ujamaa socialism for that matter, failed to produce the economic and political benefits that it espoused/support,adopted.

Tragedy in Congo

In Congo, Patrice Lumumba, its first prime minister, also battled the forces of the Cold War but with more tragic consequences. On Independence Day, June 30, 1960, Lumumba delivered a speech in the presence of the king of Belgium, denouncing the atrocities of colonial rule and declaring that Congo would establish an autonomous government and an economy for the people:

We are going to show the world what the black man can do when he works in freedom, and we are going to make of the Congo the center of the sun's radiance for all of Africa.

We are going to keep watch over the lands of our country so that they truly profit her children. We are going to restore ancient laws and make new ones which will be just and noble...

And for all that, dear fellow countrymen, be sure that we will count not only on our enormous strength and immense riches but on the assistance of numerous foreign countries whose collaboration we will accept if it is offered freely and with no attempt to impose on us an alien culture of no matter what nature...

The Congo's independence marks a decisive step towards the liberation of the entire African continent.

Western powers viewed Lumumba as dangerous and vulnerable to falling under Soviet sway/direction, and they quickly collaborated on a plan with the United Nations' assistance to undermine him. He served as prime minister for fewer than seven months before he was deposed and assassinated as part of a plot drawn up by the United States, Belgium, and their allies within the Congo. Because Western powers feared that the country's resources would be nationalized or, even worse, be made available to the Soviet Union, they thought it necessary to have a pro-Western government installed, regardless of its legitimacy within the Congo or its commitment to democracy and development.

Proxy War in Angola

The United States' deep investment in destabilizing the democratically elected, post-independence government of Angola is arguably the most profound example of Western influence and its destructive consequences for Africa. In 1975 Angola gained its independence from Portugal, and three nationalist groups subsequently fought for control of

the government: the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), led by President José Eduardo dos Santos and backed by Cuba and the Soviet Union; UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), led by Jonas Savimbi and backed by South Africa and the United States; and the FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola), backed by Zaire's president, Mobutu Sese Seko (he had changed the name Congo to Zaire in 1971.)

Cuban and Soviet support for MPLA, including Cuban troops led by Che Guevara, forced Zaire and South Africa to withdraw their forces, which allowed the democratically elected MPLA to organize a government. Savimbi and UNITA became the rebel opposition but enjoyed little support beyond Savimbi's Ovimbundu ethnic group and financing from the United States. The basis for American support for UNITA was that Savimbi declared himself an avowed anti-Marxist, in contrast to the nominally Marxist MPLA. Between 1986 and 1991 the United States spent \$250 million on a covert operation in Angola and aid to Savimbi. In a 1986 meeting at the White House, U.S. President Ronald Reagan declared Savimbi a "freedom fighter" for his struggle against dos Santos and the MPLA. Yet in 2002, when news of Savimbi's death reached Luanda, the Angolan capital, people poured into the streets shouting, "The terrorist is gone!"

It was only with Savimbi's death that fighting ended between the MPLA government and UNITA. The twenty-seven-year civil war caused so much destruction to the nation that UNICEF declared Angola the worst place in the world to be a child. Angola stands as a harsh illustration of the direct consequence of civil war, Cold War politics, and failures in African leadership.

Between the early 1950s and the mid-1970s, as African leaders south of the Sahara took direct control of their economies, political institutions, and resources, they entered the brutal trap of Cold War-era global politics. European economic and political influence remained deeply entrenched in Africa throughout the period because of their strategic interests in maintaining unobstructed access to Africa's natural resources and in supporting governments friendly to Western political interests. More important, there was an acute failure of African leadership in many of the newly independent African nations as Western aid and a focus on anti-communism paved the way for political corruption and self-interest among African leaders. Decolonization, therefore, released Africans from their status as colonial subjects but failed to rid African nations of the sway of their former colonial rulers, other Western powers, and a culture of political and economic exploitation and corruption.

