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**Master's Thesis of Public Administration**

**National Cohesion and “Unity is the  
First Requisite” for Africa’s Integration  
and Economic Development**

**아프리카의 통합과 경제발전을 위한  
국가적 통합과 일치의 필요성에  
관한 연구**

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**Public Administration Major**

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# **National Cohesion and “Unity is the First Requisite” for Africa’s Integration and Economic Development**

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## ABSTRACT

# **National Cohesion and “Unity is the First Requisite” for Africa’s Integration and Economic Development**

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Africa’s regional integration is seen as a prerequisite for phasing out the myriad of socio-economic ills. It is for this reason that African governments have over the years searched for unity in various forms and shapes. Numerous of pacts are signed and conferences attended in the hope of unity yet the efforts have been abysmal. All various schemes have failed to achieve the target goal. Part of the problem may lie in the paradigm of lack of national unity and cohesion among the various states in Africa. There are conflicts and acts of secession within the various states of Africa which makes the continental agenda of unity less focused. It is for this reason that the research tries to find out the relationship that national unity and cohesion has on Africa’s integration and economic development.

The paper examines the elements, nature and obstacles to national unity and cohesion in the context of Ghana. It is also motivated by the models of unity proposed by Nkrumah as well as the Dobson's concept of regional integration. It analyzes the various elements that have thwarted the efforts of regional integration for the past half a century and thereby tries to find out the reason for the flop in his scheme. In trying to assess the level of integration on the continent, past and present integration schemes, regional groupings and OAU/AU are thoroughly examined.

Conflicts, especially intra-state ones are found out to be the main bane to national unity, cohesion and economic development. A cross section of selected African countries will be compared to find out the cost of conflict to development.

Core values that well embedded in the Ghanaian society that are deemed to bolster unity and cohesion are conceptualized into a spectrum – Ohene's Model of regional integration. In the model, elements of national cohesion are projected towards a path of unity and regional integration to the destination of development. However, along this path are elements of conflicts and national disunity (discussed in the paper) which is regarded as hurdles, and need to overcome, in order to achieve socio-economic development.

**Key Words and Definitions:** National Cohesion and Unity, Africa's Regional Integration, Conflicts and Resolution, Economic Development, Prerequisite, Pan-Africanism

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# INTRODUCTION

## Background to the Study

“[Political and] Economic cooperation among African states is a *sine qua non* for the achievement of national socio-economic goals, and not an ‘extra’ to be given thought to after the process of development is well advanced.”<sup>1</sup>

Africa, in spite of its enormous natural and human resources, is plagued with a myriad of social economic ills such as diseases, underdevelopment, conflicts and their escalations, famine, poverty, illiteracy and even deaths by curable illnesses. This is often attributed a combination of factors including mal-colonialism, imperialism, slavery, corruption and most importantly the balkanization of the continent. For the last reason, African leaders and people had resolved to the quest for continental unification and believed that is the panacea for Africa’s socio-economic conundrums. This has been orchestrated by an endless quest for regional integration for over five decades.<sup>2</sup> This search, since Nkrumah’s days, has seen setbacks regarding to the structure and timing of integration, often citing the kind of integration and socio-economic development modeled along the line of the EU.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Adebayo A. *Africa, the third World and the Search for a New Economic Order*, Turkeyen, Third World Lectures, (Georgetown, Guyana: November 1976)

<sup>2</sup> Asante, S.K.B. *The Strategy of Regional Integration in Africa*, (Ghana: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 1996), p. 4. (Professor S.K.B. Asante was a Senior Regional Adviser in Economic Cooperation and Integration, Cabinet Office of the Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa)

<sup>3</sup> Asante. *The Strategy of Regional Integration*

Even though it is common knowledge that integration will bolster social-economic development and the reduction of dependency on the metropolitan countries,<sup>4</sup> yet, as mentioned earlier, the continent is sharply divided over the nature, form and appropriate time for integration.

To recall, the desire for a continental unification dates back to colonial epoch where people-driven Pan-Africanist movements agitated for independence of all African states and onward establishment of a 'United State of Africa'.<sup>5</sup> The first of such meetings was the initiative of the Africans in the diaspora such as Marcus Garvey, William E.B. DuBois and George Padmore etc. who, in their resolve to eschew ostensible racism, found it more convenient to identify with a decolonized and unified "homeland" Africa than their "tormentors".<sup>6</sup> This crusade initialed the 1945 Pan-African conference in Manchester, England which emphasized political liberation for all states within Africa for a broader picture of unity.

However, by the 1960's, soon after most states had gained independence, they were faced with the harsh realities of the enormous distortions, especially *inter alia*, with the colonially-bequeathed economies. First, they were utterly left with highly fragile and structurally truncated economies based on the export of one or two agricultural goods with distorted global pricing. Second, the national currencies' inconvertibility further worsened the already destabilizing balance

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<sup>4</sup> Nkrumah K. (1963). *I Speak Freedom*.

<sup>5</sup> Antwi-Danso V. *Ghana in Search of Regional Integration Agenda*, (Ghana: Friedrich-Ebert - Stiftung, (2009) p73

<sup>6</sup> Gray Cowan, L., *The Dilemmas of African Independence*, (Toronto: George McLeod, 1964)

of payments deficit within and outside the continent. Third, the people-driven movements eventually were weakened and made way for state-driven talk shops which forcibly 'retired' the then astute pan-Africanists pioneers such as George Padmore, William DuBois etc. Lastly, the broader pursuit of African nationalism was overshadowed by country-level nationalism: partly due to colonially-induced challenges which preoccupied much of the leaders' attention and also the perceived "new taste and love' for power by the leaders of the newly-born African states, who often had guarded their sovereignty and power with impunity and often at the detriment of their people and the continent.

By way of demonstrating to their peoples of their "commitment' to the cause of the African unity and allaying attention off their slothfulness as well as preventing all avenues of relinquishing power, they rather opted for a loose and gradual cooperation in lieu of the Nkrumah's on-government Africa. The idea of the majority of the leaders refusing to embrace this kind of integration was much attributed to the misconstruction of Nkrumah by the leaders and often thought he [Nkrumah] was using Africa regional integration agenda as a means to pursue his own hegemony in Africa.

Though, after years of Nkrumah being exonerated of his intentions for African unity, the perception still exists even in much greater sense. Radical leaders for the one-Africa agenda such as Late Colonel Gadhafi of Libya and Ex-South African President Thabo Mbeki were all tagged as promulgating their hegemonies when they tried to keep the African integration flames burning. For instance, Mbeki's mooted idea of the "African Renaissance" where South

Africa would have taken a lead role in the total transformation of the continent was regarded as an egoistic drive of South Africa rather than the true reflection of the will of the African people.<sup>7</sup> Col. Gadhafi was also tagged as trying to become ‘supreme ruler of Africa’ when he also tried to revive the African integration agenda and eventually with the connivance of the ‘powers that be’ was wiped off the scene.

Another challenge, since independence, that has served as disincentive to the African regional integration cause is often left at the doorstep of the emergence of the Cold War that immediately proceeded Africa’s decolonization. This event, adding to the mistrust among the first generation of leaders, led to a shrill split-up among them. Differences in opinions that were birthed by the emergence of the Cold War engendered the creation of groups within Africa: the Pan-Africanist Casablanca Group that called for radical political union and the pro-nationalist Monrovia Group that adhered to gradual approach to unity.<sup>8</sup> Aligned to the second group was the Brazzaville Group that was more affinitive to metropolitan France. This division over the form of integration continued<sup>9</sup> until a compromised loose union, the OAU was formed in 1963. Pondi (2001:1) observes that “when the Pan-Africanists signed the Charter [of the OAU] in Addis Ababa, what they had in mind was the liberation of the continent from

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<sup>7</sup> Cheru F. “*Africa Renaissance: Roadmaps to the Challenge of Globalization*”, London: Zed Books. 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Sharkdam, W., *In Search of Greater Unity: African States and the Quest for an African Union Government*, (Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences (2009) Vol 1, No 3,645-671 Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos, Nigeria.

<sup>9</sup> Amante, C.O.C, *Inside the OAU: Pan-Africanism in Practice*, (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1986), pp. 34-51.

colonialism and apartheid – so far the only elements of consensus”. The periphrastic promises of unity, that was business as usual, occasioned all the meetings of the OAU over time, and saw the removal of leaders who were much committed to African unity. Unlike their predecessors, the new mantle-holders coincidentally or accidentally abandoned the unity cause in order to consolidate and perpetuate their rule.

Notwithstanding the myriad of challenges that have made the integration quest fruitless, in a narrow sense, some levels of cooperation, which are basically economic, were achieved. There were birthed sub-regional quasi-integration blocs such as the EAC, formed in 1967; PTAESA in 1968; ECOWAS in 1975; AEC; Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union in 1958 etc. which, in a way, suffered setbacks in their ability to unify the continent.

In the bit of finding a better way to resolving Africa’s disunity the mother union – the OAU – was sacrificed as it was thought to have failed to achieve its broader aims of an African regional integration. Hence, on July 9, 2002, during a meeting of African Heads of States in Durban, South Africa, the OAU bowed out to the African Union,<sup>10</sup> with the much hope of that the new Organisation would help accelerate the political unification of the continent.

However, like its predecessor, the AU has also been saddled with the challenge of the composition and operation of the AU, vis-a-vis the form, timing and/or nature of integration. This has contributed to the endless hopelessness in finding

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<sup>10</sup> Sharkdam, *In Search for Greater Unity*.

a lasting solution to achieving the much anticipated Africa regional integration that would ease the socio-economic burden on the average African.

In concluding, the 21st Africa can only bet its hope on the new crop of leaders to realize that the old “generation led Africa to political freedom. [And that generation ... will] pick up the flickering torch of freedom, refuel it with their enthusiasm and determination and carry it forward”.<sup>11</sup>

## **Statement of Problem**

Africa is the world’s second-largest and second-most-populous continent. At about 30.2 million km<sup>2</sup> (11.7 million sq. mi) including adjacent islands, it covers six percent of the Earth’s total surface area and 20.4 percent of the total land area.<sup>12</sup> With 1.1 billion people as of 2013, it is believed to account for about 15% of the world’s human population,<sup>13</sup> as well as perceived to hold 90% of the world’s cobalt, 90% of its platinum, 50% of its gold, 98% of its chromium, 70% of its tantalite,<sup>14</sup> 64% of its manganese and one-third of its uranium. The Democratic Republic of Congo, alone, account for close to 70% of the world's Coltan, a mineral used in the production of tantalum capacitors for electronic devices such as cell phones. The DRC also has more than 30% of the world’s diamond reserves with Guinea being the world’s largest exporter of bauxite.

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<sup>11</sup> Julius Nyerere, *New African*, January, 2000. Julius Kambarage Nyerere (13 April 1922 – 14 October 1999) was the first Tanzanian president who ruled the then Tanganyika now Tanzania from 1960 to 1985. He is credited for his ability to unite Tanzania which looked more homogeneous in nature than the rest in the sub-region.

<sup>12</sup> Sayre, April Pulley (1999), *Africa*, Twenty-First Century Books

<sup>13</sup> World Population Data Sheet, The World Bank website captured 15 September, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> *Africa: Developed Countries’ Leverage On the Continent*. www.allafrica.com Captured on February 7, 2008.

However, notwithstanding these prospects and endowments, Africa remains poor among comity of nations. As mentioned earlier, Africa is plagued with myriads of socio-economic challenges which are sometimes ‘scar on the conscience’ of humankind.

The picture is not as gloomy as it seems. There have been appreciable levels of growth across the continent cumulatively over the years. In spite of the existence of appreciable levels of development, the growth is mostly service-induced rather than manufacturing or agriculture. As a result the growth has not been concomitant with increase in job opportunities and reduction in poverty levels. In fact, the food security crisis of 2008 which took place on the heels of the global financial recession has pushed back 100 million people into food insecurity<sup>15</sup> adding to the high rise in population growth.

Africa’s population has rapidly increased over the last 40 years, and interestingly, it is relatively young compared to the rest of the world. In some African states, half or more of the population is under 25 years of age.<sup>16</sup> The total number of people in Africa increased from 221 million in 1950 to 1.1 billion in 2013,<sup>17</sup> making it a bit worrying factoring in the high socio-economic diffidence. This may trigger on the continent socio-political uprising by hungry youth.

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<sup>15</sup> Wikipedia [www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org). Captured on June 24, 2014.

<sup>16</sup> African Population Dynamics at [www.overpopulation.org](http://www.overpopulation.org), captured on July 31, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> “Africa’s population to double to 2.4 billion by 2050”, *The Daily Telegraph*. September 12, 2013.

In addition, aside its abundant natural resources, as stated earlier, Africa remains the world's poorest and most underdeveloped continent, the result attributed to so many causes including corrupt governments, that have often committed serious human rights violations, failed central planning, high levels of illiteracy, lack of access to foreign capital, and frequent tribal and military conflict (ranging from guerrilla warfare to genocide).<sup>18</sup> According to the UNHD Report in 2003, the bottom 25 ranked countries (151st to 175th) were all African.<sup>19</sup>

In the face of these challenges, there exists some high degree of hopefulness. From 1995 to 2005, Africa's economic growth rate has increased, averaging 5% in 2005 and beyond. Some countries experienced still higher growth rates, notably Angola, Sudan, Ghana and Equatorial Guinea, all four of which had recently begun extracting their petroleum reserves or had expanded their oil extraction capacity.

As it has always been the mooted idea, the panacea to all the challenges in Africa lies in the coming together to forming one big nation – unity. The lack of development on the continent is often attributed to the low levels of cooperation among African countries adding to the various disunity and the resultant conflicts associated with it. Many believe that the guaranteed way to

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<sup>18</sup> Richard Sandbrook, *The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation*, Cambridge University Press, 1985 passim.

<sup>19</sup> United Nations (2004).

development is by way of Africa being united under a common government and single currency.<sup>20</sup>

Integration, which in this sense is inevitable, has been considered a strategy for survival and development.<sup>21</sup> African states, coming together to form unions and all forms of alliances, will help them carry out collectively programmes and projects that they cannot do single-handedly. It is for such motives that countries in Africa have tried to come together since 1960 to form the OAU with the principal objective of integrating the continent politically for socio-economic development. However the regional body mandated to move Africa in that regard has failed to achieve. More often than not the blame is laid at the doorstep of non-commitment by African leaders for fear of losing sovereignty while some believe (mal)-colonialism has been the bane for Africa's economic woes and political instability. There have been, in fact, many logical inferences from "experts" in the field of integration trying to explain the African phenomenon yet the reason has been beyond logical conclusion.

The outlook of Africa is that of diseases, corruption, ethnic clashes, escalations, corruption, coup d'états and wars. Many of the leaders that were hit by non-cooperation accusations often excused themselves with the many disasters – natural and self-induced. For instance, in 2014 alone, the disease, Ebola alone,

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<sup>20</sup> Kwame Nkrumah's Speech at the AU inauguration in 1963, Addis Ababa

<sup>21</sup> Olubomehin & Kawonishe (2008) *The African Union and the Challenges of Regional Integration in Africa, African Renewal and African Renaissance?*: New Perspectives on Africa's Past and Africa's Present. The AFSAAP Annual Conference 26-28 November 2004, University of Western Australia.

affected and killed over 4500 people in Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone,<sup>22</sup> resonating and exonerating Nkrumah's idea recounted in his speech at the inauguration of the OAU in 1963: "Africa must unite or perish" (Nkrumah 1963). Today, it is a well-established fact that Africa and its member-states are more divided and poorer than they were at independence.

Currently, there are threats of secession in DRC as well as myriads of ethnic, religious, socio-political conflicts in Nigeria, CAR, Libya, and Egypt etc. It is for this backdrop that this study proposes that national unity and cohesion should be given much attention as the vehicle to transport Africa to its socio-economic development destination. Deeper observation may reveal that most of these challenges that Africa is faced with are resultant of the lack of national unity and cohesion within the various countries. Achieving this level of national unity will serve as a catalyst to the unification of the continent.

National unity and Africa's regional integration will be vital also in overcoming the problem of balkanization on the continent which has left most countries with small domestic markets, incapable of making impact in global trade as well as being capable to improve the low levels of intra-African trade.

National disunity has been identified as one of the main obstacles confronting Africa's regional unification and socio-economic advancement. The remnants of disunity such as conflicts and discrimination based on several factors have

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<sup>22</sup> "Ebola Response Roadmap Situation Report Update". WHO, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2014. Retrieved 5 November 2014 from website at [www.who.int/csr/disease/ebola/en/](http://www.who.int/csr/disease/ebola/en/).

brought untold hardships to the people and leaders of Africa. Countries are divided along party, linguistic, social, regional, tribal and religious lines which are self-manifested in non-cooperation among the various member-states.<sup>23</sup> Thereby, attaining appreciable levels of national unity and cohesion will be panacea for Africa socio-politico-economic ills. In achieving this, there should be pragmatic measures and mechanisms engineered at promoting cohesion and realizing that all peoples of Africa i.e. the 54 states, see themselves as one and therefore resolve to achieving some levels of national cohesion and integration for the good of the continent.

### ***Problem – Africa Integration’s Quandary***

As stated earlier, African leaders are saddled with the problem of the nature, form and timing of integration and this has often slowed down their commitment towards achieving it.

In coming into force, the AU introduced the Constitutive Act that focuses on integration with full participation of the citizens. The transformation, from a state-centered to a people-centered or civil society-activated integration process, raises critical issues such as how state-society relations can once again be conceptualized and constituted. This gives rise to unanswered questions of: Is the integration drive just going to be business as usual? Which one first, political or economic? Is it going to be driven towards a supranational institution or just an intergovernmental one? Will the states allow for much

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<sup>23</sup> Amissah Nunoo, E., *Regional Integration in West Africa: Problems and Prospects*, (Unpublished Dissertation, Sept 2000), p. 3.

broader citizen participation? Is it going to focus on African identity or national one; gradual or radical? These are the many questions left unanswered on the minds of stakeholders from independence till now.

First and foremost, Africa is divided over the choice of political or economic integration - which one should precede the other. The Pan-Africanists of old had believed that unity is best achieved by political integration, and in achieving this, as echoed by Dosenrode (2010), the processes ought to begin from a point as *ad hoc* intergovernmental cooperation to tackle a common issue to full-fledged integration with states' sovereignty passing on to the supranational authority and states ceasing to be 'subjects of international public laws'. On the other hand, those who think integration must begin from the economic to political union, proposed that it may begin as an "economic co-operation to supranational integration, beginning with the lowering and removal of trade barriers and ending with an economic union."<sup>24</sup>

Adding to the argument of attaining a supranational organisation in Africa irrespective of which means first, it has been realized that the journey to accomplishing such a feat, as in the case of the EU's, will not be a smooth ride. Nugent (1997) bemoaned that "No member nation has shown any inclination in specific terms to abandon its sovereignty". This has become a major concern of the member states as they hold on to their sovereignty and power and has

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<sup>24</sup> Molle and Holden (2006)

stalled the process as many continue propose the intergovernmental approach for now.

Secondly, the Pan-Africanist movements before the 1960s were justifiably people-centered. However, the post-colonial Africa and the formation of the OAU in 1963 saw the mantle shifted to state-governments who were regarded as representatives of the people. Notably was in 1958 when the first meetings of heads of states and governments took place after Ghana's independence in 1957, meetings of non-governmental parties, trade unions and liberation movements were also taking place. Citing example, the AAPC<sup>25</sup> which was people's movement held its maiden meeting in Accra in December 1958.<sup>26</sup> After a couple of meetings in Tunis and Cairo respectively in 1961 and setting up its secretariat in Accra, the AAPC's influence dwindled for the lack of support from among others, the francophone West Africa zone in general and particularly Nigeria. However, its main focus of a united states of Africa with

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<sup>25</sup> All-African Peoples' Conference (AAPC) was formed a year after Ghana gained independence from Britain. Under the presidency of Kwame Nkrumah the AAPC was held in the capital city, Accra in December 1958. Nkrumah felt that Ghana's independence would be meaningless if other African states are still colonised by the European powers. In April 1958, Nkrumah as the pioneer of the ideology of Pan-Africanism convened the Conference of All Independent African States (Libya, Ethiopia, Liberia, Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan United Republic of Egypt and Ghana), which was followed by the historic AAPC, which was attended by all independent and non-independent African states, liberation movements and public organisations. The conference attracted an array of Africans living in the African Diaspora. Conference participants included Congressman Charles Diggs, James R. Lawson, Shirley Dubois, Mrs. Paul Roberson, and others representing the United States. Those from the United Kingdom include the Movement for Colonial Freedom, several Members of Parliament, Patrice Lumumba who was appointed a member of a permanent organisation established at the conference, and the young Oscar Kambona, who would later become Tanganyika's first Foreign Affairs Minister. The slogan for the conference was "Hands off Africa".

<sup>26</sup>Hazlewood, A., "African Integration and Disintegration: Case Studies in Economic and Political Union", ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 356-358.

free movement of citizens was rather focused on the liberalization of trade unions within the continent than integrating Africans from the Diaspora. The last Pan-African meeting took place in Kampala, Uganda in April 1994, after the heads of state and governments had agreed to take the centre stage of the Pan-Africanism movement during the 6<sup>th</sup> Pan-African meeting in Dares Salaam, Tanzania in 1974. This saw prominent figures withdraw from the movement.

Moreover, the state, rather than the people or community-based associations, was recognized as a means to achieving integration. Though the state tended to represent the people yet they were ignored in all decision-making processes. Experts attributed this trend to the authoritarian regimes that were all over the continent whose main aim was consolidating their grip on power rather than integrating African people and this resulted in leaving out the masses in the integration quest as the OAU focused much more on state.

In making up for the failure to allow the masses' participation by the OAU, its successor, the AU allowed civil society space to participate in shaping what is yet to be forged as a people-centered integration with the creation of a secretariat for CSOs in June 2001. However, the new CA that was constituted to show the level of commitment by the leaders to a people-centered union still looks vague if not illusory. There are questions relating to the level of participation by the citizens which are still unanswered: what exactly is the nature of the participation by civil society? Is this merely an invitation to civil society to inform decision makers and raise issues for the agenda without full participation in the shaping of AU institutions and the making of a tangible

contribution? How substantive is the envisaged participation? What kind of civil society participation do state officials and the civil society actors envisage?

Fourthly, there have been conflicting opinions after decolonization as to the focusing on building a pan-African ‘citizenship identity’ or a national ‘citizenship identity’. Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania, acknowledged that, in their days, they proudly boasted of saying “I am an African” but now such is not the case.<sup>27</sup> The people of Africa are enclosed as separate citizens of the fifty-four states. The post-colonial notion of African nationality has been taken over by nation-building project of the elites. The issue is whether these citizenship identities are mutually exclusive.

Lastly, the African liberation fighters of the 1960s such as of Ivory Coast, Senegal and Liberia (the Monrovia group) were advocates of the gradualist and functionalist approach to pan-African unity. It was interesting to note that the differences between the Felix Houphouet-Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah went as far back as pre-independence times. Whilst Nkrumah was calling for independence, the then Ivorian leader had called for the formation of a French Federation, including French-speaking African nations. He called France “a light which must not be extinguished [...] France has never known racial segregation.” With such high estimation of France, Houphouet-Boigny called

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<sup>27</sup> Nyerere, J. (1968), *The Dilemma of a Pan-Africanist: In Freedom and Socialism*, Oxford University Press, London.

for “self-Government within a community” led by France.<sup>28</sup> He wished Kwame Nkrumah well in pursuing the experiment of independence, but he said, “But we wish, in spirit of healthy emulation, to conduct our own experiment. The future will decide which of our methods is better.” The sharp contrast between the radicals and the gradualists or functionalists somehow delayed if not thwarted the efforts of Pan-Africanism.

In sum the quagmire of which way to Africa’s integration was well summed up by Mazuri and Tidy in their analytical distinction between a pan-Africanism of liberation and a pan-Africanism of integration<sup>29</sup> which is useful in order to distinguish the remaining and current challenges from those that have been confronted already and may have been overcome. The current challenge is to bring about Pan African integration on the basis of an internal social and democratic rebirth in Africa. The identification of unity as a goal is helpful, but there is a need to identify an appropriate path of integration – national unity and cohesion – that will make African unity an irreversible reality.

This approach will not only consolidate unity within the states but across the entire continent for socio-economic advancement. All stated earlier, a house divided, cannot stand. With the commitment of the various national stakeholders, Africa’s integration can kick-start.

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<sup>28</sup> Houphout-Boigny, F. (1965) “Le continent African en marche,” *Democratie Nouvelle*, no.2 Ferier, 1947, pp.74-79 reprinted in Rupert Emerson & Martin Kilson, *The Political Awakening of Africa*, Prentice-Hall, Inc, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

<sup>29</sup> Mazuri, A. and Tidy, M. (1984), *Nationalism and New States in Africa*, Heinemann Press, London.

## Rationale for Africa's Integration

It is universally acknowledged that, in unity lies strength and a house divided cannot stand. Regional integration, in view of the above, will be the surest way to bolster, *inter alia*, unity and socio-economic development in the African sub-region. According to the first UNECA<sup>30</sup> 2012 study on regional integration, the potential benefits of include: growth and sustainability; increased foreign and domestic investment; increased global competitiveness; promotion of regional public goods; prevention of conflict; consolidation of economic and political reform, free movement of peoples, goods and services and the attainment of economies of scale which would serve as a bait to larger and transnational corporations towards Africa. The study contends:

Revitalized regional integration offers the most credible strategy for tackling Africa's development challenges because of the many weaknesses that overwhelm the limited capacities and resources of individual countries. Collective efforts with dynamic political commitment to integration can help to overcome the daunting challenges<sup>31</sup>

The survey, conducted by UNECA in 2012 among 32 countries in the five regional blocs in Africa, as shown in Figure 1.2A below, revealed the following

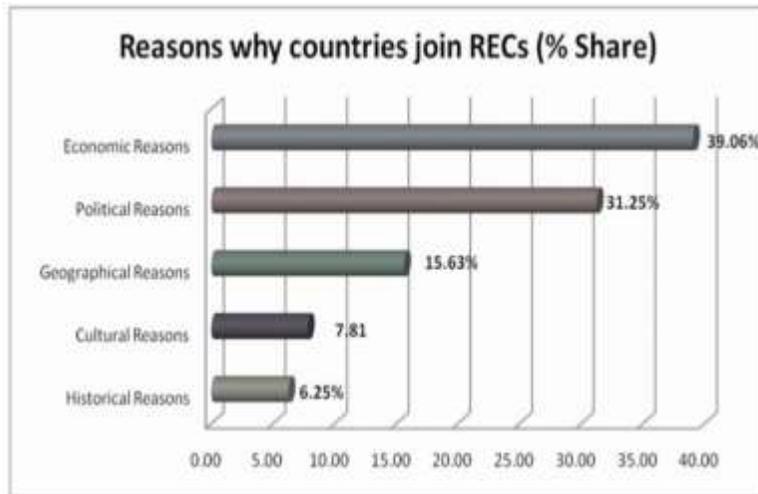
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<sup>30</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA/UNECA) was established by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the UN in 1958 as one of the UN's five regional commissions. Its mandate is to promote the economic and social development of its member States, foster intra-regional integration, and promote international cooperation for Africa's development. All the 54 member States of the UN in the African soil constitute membership of ECA and plays a dual role as a regional arm of the UN and as a key component of the African institutional landscape; ECA is well positioned to make unique contributions to address the Continent's development challenges.

<sup>31</sup> UNECA Survey in 2012 on Africa

results: motives for states to enter into regional integration arrangements - Economic (39.6%), Political (31.25%), Geographical (15.63%), Cultural (7.81%) and Historical (6.25%).<sup>32</sup>

**Figure 1.2A Motives for States to join Regional Integration Schemes (%)**



Source: UNECA Survey on Mainstreaming 2012

Considering the low levels of trade among African states which account for between 10 and 12% on the average (induced by the non-petroleum exporting countries<sup>33</sup> and still less than 29% for ASEAN and Latin American countries), regional integration will serve to shore up the opening up new and larger markets to arrest the declining terms of trade between Africa and the rest of the world (down from more than 2% of world trade in the 1980s to less than 1.5% today).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> UNECA Survey in 2012 on Africa

<sup>33</sup> Cited from a speech made by the then President Thabo Mbeki: Remarks in the closing ceremony of the Second Session of the South African-Algeria Binational Commission', Pretoria 19<sup>th</sup> October, 2001.

<sup>34</sup> South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 11 Issue 2, Winter/Spring 2004, pp 21-25.

Additionally, regional integration will provide Africa the optimal distribution of scarce resources and accelerates its socio-economic advancement as well as has the potential to arouse competition, reduce transaction costs, allow economies of scale and attract foreign direct investment.

Integration will also serve as an opportunity for states in Africa to relate with one another, i.e. by way of commercial peace<sup>35</sup>. This will go a long to reduce, if not eliminate, cross border tensions, disputes and conflicts between states. States that do trade with one another will not sacrifice the gains in trade for war and would rather be prepared to compromise, in order, to enjoy the benefits derived from that “friendship” brought about by trade.

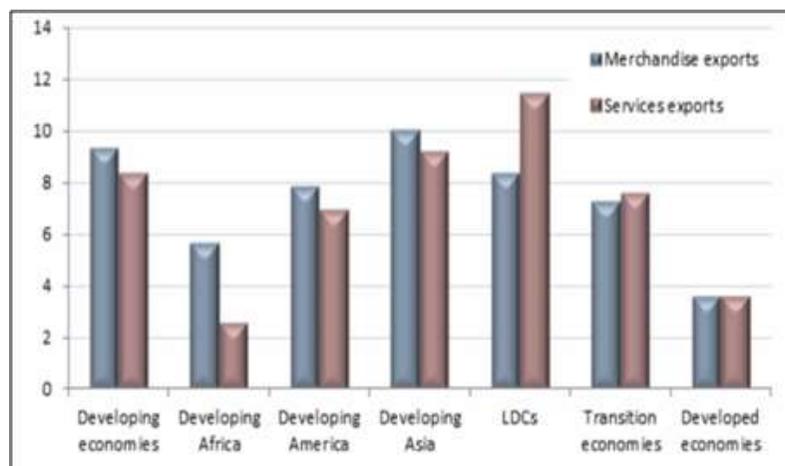
Regional integration can also make it possible for Africa to collectively build integrative infrastructure in transport, communications and energy which would otherwise be too costly for individual, small and fragmented African countries to undertake (Obasanjo 2004). A very good example is the WAGP<sup>36</sup> which involves four West African nations.

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<sup>35</sup> Commercial peace is the view held by realists that states that trade much between them and benefit from that trade will opt for diplomacy in settling disputes between them and will consider war as the last option in setting their differences.

<sup>36</sup> The West African Gas Pipeline (WAGP) is a natural gas pipeline to supply gas from Nigeria's Escravos region of Niger Delta area to Benin, Togo and Ghana. It is the first regional natural gas transmission system in sub-Saharan Africa. The WAGP began in 1982, when ECOWAS proposed the development of a natural gas pipeline throughout West Africa. In 1991 a feasibility report conducted by the World Bank on supplying Nigerian gas on West African markets deemed that a project was commercially viable. In September 1995, the governments of four African countries signed a Heads of Agreement (Benin, Ghana, Nigeria and Togo). The offshore pipeline was completed in December 2006. Gas deliveries were expected by the end of 2009 after commissioning regulating and metering stations in Takoradi and Tema, Ghana, Lagos Beach, Nigeria, Cotonou, Benin, and Lome, Togo in May 2008. However, deliveries were postponed again due to an irregular amount of moisture found inside the onshore gas pipeline.

**Figure 1.2B Annual average growth rates of goods and services exports, 2008 - 2013 (%)**



Source: UNCTADstat, July 2011

Additionally, integration will give a bargaining power to the member-states especially the weak ones in negotiating with strong powers collectively. Most member-states share common prospects and problems in terms of economy, factors of production, diseases etc. In this regard, integration can be useful in information and experience sharing among member-states where there high levels of similitude among members. On the contrary, where there are differences, exchange of ideas and technology can be promoted to expand one another's horizon. Example, those that are endowed in appreciable levels of skilled workforce can make use of the vast mineral and oil deposits and the other way round for much needed effectiveness and efficiency.

Culturally and historically, regional integration would also help to consolidate *hitherto* traditional boundaries and strengthen cultural ties in Africa which were divided and subsequently destroyed pursuant to the scramble for African lands

and resources aftermath of the Berlin Conference in 1844-1885. The creation of artificial boundaries resulted in the unfortunate experiment of putting together people and societies who are not natural allies on one hand and on the other, separating cultures and societies, who naturally are bound by long existing ties of history and affinity. This practice of putting together bellicose neighbours or communities under one political authority or nation, with no regard to their incompatibility, has accounted for the countless and ceaseless instability, chaos, crises and intractable armed conflicts on the continent. This single act, till date, has well manifested itself in the very national fire including political patronage, ethnic conflicts bordering on secession and autonomy as well as xenophobic tendencies.

## **Research Objectives**

This study wishes to find answers to the pertinent issues confronting the successful integration in Africa by tackling the following issues:

- ✚ Explore the possible factors that account for national unity and cohesion and the Ghanaian society;
- ✚ Determine the applicability, in the case of Africa, the various existing theories of regional integration;
- ✚ Identify the extent to which national unity and cohesion affects economic growth and development;
- ✚ Establish the adverse impact of disunity on regional integration and economic development;
- ✚ Ascertain the correlation that exists between how much a country spends on conflict, in relation to education and economic development.

## **Research Hypothesis**

The study narrows its focus with emphasis on the following hypotheses:

- ✚ National cohesion has positive impacts on Africa's regional integration.
- ✚ A united Africa will engender continental growth and development.
- ✚ Conflicts and disunity have adverse impact on national development.

## **Significance of the Study**

With the metamorphosis of the OAU into AU and the newest commitment of both the peoples and leaders of Africa to the answering of the clarion call of regional unification than ever, the subject of Africa's integration has become interesting and researchable. In the social and political discourses on the continent and beyond, new ideas and propositions keep raising their heads for the need to integrate. The topic has become interesting the world moves into a new world order where the globe is becoming smaller and smaller and nations becoming more dependent on one another becoming imperative.

For this and many other reasons, the research's focal point addresses the relevant information that will contribute enormously to the academia by way of trying to come out with conclusions as well as examine the impact that the variables measured, in terms of nationality unity and cohesion in the context of Ghana and other selected African states, have on the broader framework of Africa's long pursuit for regional integration and economic advancement. It does so by providing alternative and applicable model: unity, like charity, begins at home. It will likewise try to explain the rationale for integration as

analyse the existing unity proposals since the 1960s. It will further dissect the relevant integration structures of AU and challenges associated with them.

Finally, the research will also serve as a requirement for the partial fulfilment for the award of a Master Degree in Public Administration and Policy from the Graduate School of Public Administration and Policy in SNU.

### **Scope and Delineation of the Study**

The study sets out to assess the rationale and performance of integration initiatives on the continent and to find out the challenges that the AU, the continental body mandated to spearhead the integration process, faces in its quest for lasting political and economic integration in Africa.

The hypothesis is that, national unity and cohesion is pre-conditional for the attainment of the goal of unification and development. To this end the study provides an overview of Africa and examines the AU and its structures and policies towards integration as well as the challenges of regional integration.

In meeting the objectives of the study, a rationale for Africa's integration as well as an overview on the efforts made vis-a-vis the existing theories of integration will be thoroughly discussed. The paper thus implores the concept of disunity and its associated ills among the individual African states as a theoretical framework to analyse the Africa's under-development and the collapse of African integration initiatives over the past half century and the forces of globalization and neo-imperialism and their roles in thwarting the efforts in this regard.

In the quest for the Africa's unity and development, the proffered solutions have not only created more domestic problems of underdevelopment but also gradually exported the accompanying pressures in a scale that would ultimately lead to a decay of the core-controlled global system. As a result the paper recommends among other things, the need to realign the integration efforts and its development policies by laying emphasis on the "charity begins at home" policy to mitigate the heavily-tilted developmental gaps and inter-ethnic conflicts within Africa.

It also take a critical look at the various schemes – past and present – towards integration over the past five decades (from 1960-2010), and why these schemes have not achieve the intended purpose.

## **Methodology and Methods**

### ***Methods***

The research employs qualitative analysis and logical reasoning. The qualitative analysis method is applied in collecting and evaluating the benefits of national unity and cohesion and the consequences that, the lack of it, has on regional integration and economic advancement in Africa. Deductively, a study is conducted on the OAU/AU and its historical and present position in global affairs to ascertain its relevance in integrating Africa. Institutional structures especially those that are regional integration-focused will be scrutinized for commendation or otherwise and adjustments made if necessary.

First, regional integration will be discussed along the lines of the various theories that are propounded, especially the Dobson's integration model, to be the drive for achieving unity in the contest of Africa. Illustrations may be cited in the case of the EU, and to find out how and why it worked. Inferences and differences will also be considered to draw conclusions on the available conditions and their operationalization in Africa's regional integration quest. Various definitions, theories and concepts that have tried to project different aspects and levels of integration will also be discussed.

The research then analyzes the concept of national unity, in the case of Ghana, to find the various elements of cohesion as well as the centrifugal forces that impede the efforts of integration. Conflict, which is regarded as the main force against regional integration and economic development, will be discussed by way the causes, the resolution and the prevention of it.

This research reviewed and extrapolated appropriate literature and relevant materials from the library of the GSPA and SNU Central Library as well as from the KIIS, internet sources and government records. A concept will be developed out of the Dobson's model and addressing the shortfalls in the model that make it inapplicable in the case of Africa's socio-politico-cultural structure which explicitly different from the Western on which all the integration models such as functionalism, institutionalism etc. are hinged

Finally, unstructured and informal interviews of selected experts and officials in the diplomatic circus within Seoul and other colleagues working in the Africa

Regional Integration Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration in Accra, Ghana will also be exploited.

### ***Methodology***

Most of the existing literatures and theories of regional integration concerning this study are going to focus on the hypothesis that national unity and cohesion will be required for Africa to achieve regional integration and develop its economy for the benefit of its people. Since as stated before, Africa's socio-cultural setups are quite dissimilar to the backgrounds and foci of many of the theorists, the study, nonetheless will try to establish the linkages between them and where applicable lessons may be drawn from them to analyze the African case. As a result this, the research will be focusing on how much influence has national cohesion on the overall socio-economic advancement of Africa.

### **Organization of the Research**

The research is categorized into five chapters. Chapter one deals with the introduction and comprises of the research background, rationale for the research, objectives, research hypothesis, scope, significance and methodology.

Chapter two explores the various existing literatures and theories of regional integration and their applicability to Africa's integration. It also contains the conceptual framework on the study.

Chapter three provides a comprehensive overview of regional integration in Africa, the African Union and its structure as well as the challenges hampering

its efforts in achieving regional integration and economic development of Africa and its peoples.

Chapter four analyzes national unity in the context of Ghana by providing the general layout of unity and disunity in the country. It also analyzes the various literatures, reports, data and other indicators, as well as challenges of the concept in projecting economic development in Africa.

Chapter five concludes the study and summarizes the findings of the study with the conclusions drawn. Recommendations are also made as to the way forward in accomplishing, as soon as possible, national unity and Africa's political and economic integration.

# LITERATURE REVIEW

## **Pertinent Literature Review**

The concept, *Regional Integration*, is elusive and often problematic to expound. It may be simply bringing parts or units together to form a whole or creating interdependence. Incidentally, integration can be a process which accelerates the achievement of definite objectives in the interest of a broader one. Such a scheme would encompass the shifting of allegiances, opportunities and partisan activities toward a new-fangled and larger centre whose institutions and processes call for some levels of justification over those of the national states. The extent of such a transfer of sovereignty – loyalties and dominion – enjoyed by the new centre would depend on the level and objectives of integration schemes, and the socio-economic and political ramifications which the implementations of integrative policies will generate within and among the unifying units.

Dosenrode (2010: 4) defines integration as bringing units together to form a whole as well creating interdependence among these components. At states level, it could denote a situation in which states become mutually dependent in aspects of their relations among themselves. Conversely, integration could also exist, as entities come together in order to meet common goals which they could, otherwise, not meet single-handedly. His definition takes into account both the supranational, i.e. ‘bringing parts or units together to form a whole’ and the

intergovernmental, i.e. 'creating interdependence among these components' aspects of integration.

Writing on functionalism, Mitrany (1933) advocates that integration, which is seen as the collective governance and 'material interdependence' among states, is able to develop its own internal dynamics as states integrate in limited functional, technical, and or economic areas, thereby making transnational organizations meet needs with the help of knowledge and expertise gained. The benefits rendered by these functional agencies would attract the loyalty of the populations and stimulate their participation and expand the area of integration.

Gebe (2006), in an article entitled, "*In Pursuit of a Union of African States: The State System and Political Integration in Africa*", contends that the idea of establishing a united Africa is not a straight forward matter as it requires a number of steps to be taken. He identifies, under political integration, the challenges of sovereignty and territoriality by the African states as more daunting than as under economic integration, through the long term harmonization of trade, market and customs, fiscal and monetary policies of the African countries. He is quick to think that there is the need to adopt a functional prerequisite as a guide toward the pursuit of economic and political integration instead of any supranational pretensions. These prerequisites bring to the fore the utilization of the technical, non-political skills and expertise available to the continent to overcome the challenges posed by politics.

Asante (1996) suggests that a successful integration of Africa rests on an enhanced market capacity which is matched by an increase in the production

capacity. Hence, the development of a local productive capacity is a necessary condition and a start off point for an African integration agenda to take off successfully. He bemoans the futility of trying to create an African market for virtually non-existent African goods. Unlike most functionalist writers, Asante assumes a key role for the private sector and NGOs in the process of integration, guided and driven by governments and politicians. This, according to him, is because integration at all levels requires sustained political will and commitment to push the integration agenda forward.

African society, contrary to that of the Western countries, does not fit in the proposals advocated by the above-named functionalist writers. With the structure of African politics, the theory's applicability is rendered questionable. The functionalist reasoning for instance, tends to separate economic and social from the political whereas in Africa, economic and social changes are often triggered and determined by political regimes, hence, political issues and socio-economic issues are functionally related and none can function effectively in isolation to the other.

Also, functionalism's attempt to subvert sovereignty through functional cooperation is unlikely to succeed in Africa, where member states are usually unwilling to surrender any form of sovereignty to the regional body; except perhaps, in areas such as the more advanced economies like the EU, where member states jointly agree "to do so within the integration process".

African Governments, who are the main drivers of the economies, are also saddled with the issue of providing jobs together with other social issues. Africa

doesn't have the huge industries such as Apple, Toyota and Samsung that are driving the economies as in the case of the United States, Japan and Korea respectively.

Neo-functionalism, building on the ideas of functionalism, explains the process of integration with reference to how causal factors such as growing economic interdependence among nations and organizational capacity may interact with one another to resolve disputes and build international legal regimes and supranational market rules that replace national regulatory regimes. Its main contribution lies in the expansion, alteration and testing of hypotheses with regards to particularly European integration model. The modification was in response to critics with regards to the original position of functionalism.

Being dissimilar to its predecessor, neo-functionalists assert that there are linkages between economic and political integration which make them inseparable. They claim that after the creation of an economic integration within the framework of a supranational organization, political integration would come into existence almost automatically. By pursuing this way of integration, the neo-functionalists anticipate that a political union – a federation or a confederate state – of a sort will emerge at the end.

In *A Working Peace System*, Mitrany reveals that current global trends were as a result of emerging number of technical issues that could only be resolved collectively. He goes on to say that technical issues require detailed knowledge and special skills leading to the need for collaborative action devoid of politics and conflicts, thereby allowing these experts to come out with appropriate

solutions with regards to state-to-state interactions and co-operation. In intra/inter-state relations, the surest way of addressing these issues is through highly qualified expert (not politicians), who, by their professional background, generally have the required technical skills.

However, one thing that the theory fails to achieve is when member-states are unevenly developed and lacked the technical experts to drive towards regional integration as in the case of Africa. Its main reason of “indirect infiltration of the political by way of the economic” remains largely difficult to attain within the framework of the African Union. Even attaining common grounds in political issues within Africa is equally very difficult, due to wide differences in socio-political and economic orientations of member states, as well as wide differences in their levels of economic development and the conditions required for that smooth transition by spill-over effects.

Notwithstanding, for it to work, in Africa’s context, requires the involvement of the state, political elites and parties who are required to ratify protocols, waive national laws and allocate scarce national resources on the basis of critical priorities. For example, in Ghana, policies are enacted based on the politics, and in the event that the executive has majority in the legislature as has always being the norm since the country’s return to democratic governance in 1993, the House is just a rubber-stamp of the executive.

Realism, according to Haslam, is likened to oxygen which is always around us, “and is only noticed in its absence.”<sup>37</sup>

Often regarded as one of the “founding fathers of political realism, Hans Morgenthau (1978) thinks that the state is the single most important actor in the international system with predetermined national interests, which often quantifies costs and benefits involved in different policy alternatives to achieve desired goals.<sup>38</sup> It assumes that these tasks are undertaken often without enough resources, information and time; and conceptualizes state behavior as a “consequence of bounded rationality (Keohane, 1989:62).

The realists view the international system as lacking in any centralized authority to make and enforce laws governing inter-state relationships, and that, in international politics, states compete with one another without established rules and norms except those which “the changing necessities of the game and the shallow conveniences of the players impose”. Under this condition, states rely on the “means which they can generate and the arrangements they can make for themselves:” They also argue that the basic anarchical structure of the international system determines inter-state relations where states seek self-

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<sup>37</sup> Haslam J. “No Virtue like Necessity: Realist thought in International Relations since Machiavelli” New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 2002.

<sup>38</sup> Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Fifth Edition, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978, pp. 4–15.

Hans Joachim Morgenthau is considered one of the “founding fathers” of the realist school in the 20th century that holds that nation-states are the main actors in international relations and that the main concern of the field is the study of power. In this book, he emphasized the importance of “the national interest”, and that “the main signpost that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power.”

preservation and application of force in the pursuit of their national interests, which largely accounts for the “general discord arising from fundamental conflict of interests (Waltz, 1959).

Mostly, the realist blueprint seems to have significantly projected the failure of the AU’s search for Africa’s unification because they assumed that states are more likely to pursue policies with maximum national benefits at minimum cost. What is then rational remained the way utilities are framed within the thought processes of a particular political elite/actor seeking to maximize individual state gains based on the quantification of the costs and benefits associated with the particular policy and the time frame for accomplishing them. This is virtually difficult to attain in the milieu of Africa.

Supranationalism, on its part, implies that member-states agree to exercise some of their sovereignty jointly. Law passed at the regional level, in areas where the region is granted competence, prevails over national legislation and binds directly on member states and citizens of those states (the principle of direct effect). Integration, in this view, is a process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states, consequently resulting in a new political community “superimposed over the pre-existing ones” (Haas 1958:16).

He further reiterates that the nature of such integration process, subsequently, will depend on the extent of such a transfer of sovereignty enjoyed by the new centre and also on the level and objectives of integration schemes. It can be seen as a stepping stone to a federal political structure or confederation but recent assessment of the EU, envisages a more diversified political outcome in which power is shared at various levels and interacts in complex ways.

Nkrumah, in his book, *Africa Must Unite*, suggests a supranational Africa as key to moving African states from the present pre-industrialized societies to a modern society:

“Each of us alone cannot hope to secure the highest benefits of modern technology, which demands vast capital investment and can only justify its economics in serving an extensive population”.<sup>32</sup>

He went on to raise this concern during the Conference of African Heads of State and Government in May 1963, in Addis Ababa that, a “unified monetary zone [...] arrangement of a fixed common parity” will usher in one common currency and a single bank that will issue it. He adds that a united Africa, working hand in hand, will help overcome the inter-territorial barriers raised by colonialism.<sup>39</sup>

However, supranational provisions should ensure democratic participation of stake-holders, the transparency of supranational decision-making and the

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<sup>39</sup> Nkrumah K. *Africa Must Unite*

accountability of regional institutions, otherwise, the shift of sovereignty to supranational bodies may weaken democratic control and strengthen the political influence of groups that are able to organize effectively at the regional level, with possible negative consequences for poverty and food insecurity in the context of Africa.

Intergovernmentalism, one of the theories, conceptualized integration as “a series of bargains between the heads of government of the leading states in a region.”<sup>40</sup> Its basic assumption lies underneath the belief that integration takes place within domestic politics and entirely a logical consequence of intergovernmental negotiations while downgrading the importance of supranational institutions in the process of integration.

Deutsch (1968:192), writing on intergovernmental relations, argues that integration does not necessarily include a new state-like entity but if the aim is to construct a supranational unit, the strategy must consist of four elements: “1) Maintaining peace, 2) attaining greater multi-purpose capabilities, 3) accomplishing some specific tasks, and 4) gaining a new self-image and role identity.”

Lindberg (1963) also supports the idea of intergovernmental relations in his study of European integration and concludes that political integration can be limited to the development of devices and processes for arriving at collective

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<sup>40</sup>Moravcsik, Andrew (1991) “Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community”. *International Organization* 45 (1): 19–56.

decisions by means other than autonomous action by individual governments.<sup>41</sup> He presumed that there can be a logical and empirical possibility that “collective decision-making procedures involving a significant amount of political integration can be achieved without moving toward a ‘political community’ as defined by Haas.” By his modification, Lindberg detached political unification from the fate of the contributing member-states and opened neo-functionalism for more intergovernmental standpoint. He, however, did not discount that political integration might lead to the emergence of a new ‘political community’ and laid emphasis on the possibility of it remaining a state controlled by shared decision-making and foreseeing a community that would be largely characterized by co-ordination amid the integrating states.

The intergovernmentalism, however, assumes that integration is consequences of intergovernmental bargains and therefore depends largely on the relative bargaining power of governments. But considering the fact that Africa region is bedeviled by incessant changes of government that severely discourage bargaining among governments and ensure vital stability in policies required for meaningful integration, its value in understanding the AU and its shortcomings becomes grossly limited in this regard. For example in Ghana, like many governments in Africa, out of the four years allotted to a regime, it takes one year to learn the rudiments of leadership, another year to adjust to the “rots” bequeathed to it by its predecessor, then uses the last year to run

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electioneering campaign. So in the end it is left with the third year to do any serious and calculated work.

Writing on intergovernmental relations among nations, Moravcsik (1991) adds that the constraints and opportunities, imposed by economic interdependence, shape national preferences or outcomes of inter-state bargains which are results of relative bargaining power of governments etc. may not be applicable in the case of the Africa. He suggests two options: First, the structure of the economies of the member-states of Africa are more or less not interdependent but highly competitive since they produce basically similar narrow range of products and therefore, trade more with countries outside the region. Second, the relative poor bargaining power of member-states in both the domestic and international arena fully debunks the efficacy of that assumption – neither has AU a result of efforts to avoid high transaction costs nor the desire to control domestic agendas.

Another theory, institutionalism' has an interesting point of view to regional integration. March and Olsen (1984, 1989), lay the foundation for institutionalism which pivots on the basic assumption that institutions are important because of their impact on political outcomes – they provide the contexts where actors conduct useful bargains and serve as information pool with relative transparency.

As a rule, institutions intervene between preferences of actors and policy outcomes,<sup>42</sup> however, it diversifies into three major variants and so are their accounts of the importance of institutions, actor's preferences and indeed how and when they are formed. They differ in terms of the extent institutional structure influences the actor – historical and rational choice variants (Armstrong and Bulmer 1998; Bulmer 1994), while some others further distinguish between historical and sociological institutionalism (Hall and Taylor 1996). All the variants usually agree that 'institutions matter' and are not passive tools but significantly shape political outcomes. Institutional rationalists assume that actors will only engage in rational pursuit of their self-interest, and views preference formation as undertaken quite outside the institutional venue. They tend to focus on formal rules and sums up institutions as offering indispensable venue for states to gain wider knowledge of each other and therefore serve as "decisive constraint upon self-interest."

However, some apostles of the institutional framework point to the utter neglect of the informal rules and the need to include them in the agendas (Hug 2001, Schmidt 2001). It derives its basic assumption more from political economy and views institutions either as 'games on rules or 'games within rules' (Calvert 1997).

Historical institutionalism insists that social processes can only be understood by acknowledging the utility of historical processes, that are characterized by

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<sup>42</sup> More on institutionalism has been explained by the following writers Aspinwell and Schneider 1998; Peterson 1995 etc.

asymmetrical distribution of information – this shapes policies quite beyond the original intentions of institution builders (Pierson (1996). The variant insists that uncertainty surrounding policy formation widens with the limited time available to policy makers and changes in domestic politics (i.e. replacement by a new government).

Sociological institutionalism, on the other spectrum, as epitomized by Hall and Taylor (1996), conceptualizes variations in cultural norms and identities as shaping actors perceptions in and out of institutions. The sociological variant uses constructivist arguments in a form of policy networks and actor-based strategies to capture the intricacies of decision-making, on sector by sector basis, with greater emphasis on informal rules such as conventions and customs embedded in institutions which is weakly established in Africa. Africa, simply, does not have these strong institutions to drive the regional integration process.

Similar to intergovernmentalism, the adaptation of the logic of institutionalism on importance of effective institutions to propel the integration process faces the same dilemma in accounting for African countries, as the AU is yet to acquire the capacity to enact and enforce laws that will be binding on member-states. Apart from the framework's difficulty of fragmentation, the AU is neither effectively positioned to serve as "decisive constraint upon self-interest" of member-states nor has it the capacity to practically reduce "transaction costs" for members.

Theoretical permutations of transactionalism are based on the assumption that integration is a function of the different levels of communication between states. It offers a much broader definition of integration and then functionalism in economic sense to include “social perceptions, values, sentiments and articulation of these values and sense of community in formal and structured forms (Duffy and Werner 1980: 506).

Deutsch (1964: 54) best explains transactionalism as an effective mechanism for social mobilization of communities that initiate historical processes of national development. He contends that solid network of transactions among states would lead to more interaction and greater importance to one another, and enhance feelings of mutual benefits and trust from increased transactions which would motivate “further interactions”.

The theory insists that the potential for integration is guaranteed in regions with mutual high international transaction, which would be actualized if states are responsive to one another, where responsiveness is defined as “the probability of getting an adequate response within an acceptable limit of time.

Others are of the opinion that member countries of an integrating area would be better integrated if they are sufficiently heterogeneous, thus promoting and coordinating friendship across national boundaries. Though the theory broadens the ‘narrow domain’ of inter-state interactions to include people-state relations, its process is frost with the difficulty of ‘measurement and

operationalization – resulting from inadequate data required for measuring those ‘phenomena and test hypotheses’.

Further, the assumptions of the theory are deflated for not being explicit on the mechanism for the operation of its key processes nor how informal interactions can lead to formal development of institutions. Even, the problems associated with its application are further compounded by the difficulty in measuring cognitive change in terms of interaction, attitudes and behavior by social scientists.

In the circumstance of Africa, transactionalism which considers integration as taking place under conditions of “high international transaction”, success in its application remains elusive because transactions, such as trade, are higher with countries outside the region than between/among member-states due to similarities in the structure of their economies and the low levels of interdependence among them. Another challenge is the lack of the needed socio-economic and communicating structures on the continent that will hasten regional integration. Currently with its communication systems, it will take someone longer period to travel within the continent than to Europe or America. Its effective adaptation to the African situation may pose serious problem as a greater percentage of transactions within the community are basically informal and unrecorded and thereby making it difficult to quantify.

Regime theory, one of the regional integration theories, as defined by Krasner (1983: 2) is “a set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-

making procedures around which actors expectations converge in a given area of international relations. The theory is founded on the works of Axelrod and Keohane which insists that states' interests and capabilities as well as the increasing global interdependence can promote co-operation. It sees realism as being consumed on the way out of the war trap without due attention to the capacity of international organizations to foster cooperation. This theory is viewed as a fusion of the realist and liberal traditions. Those closer to the realist concepts assume that the conflicting nature of the international system diminish free flow of co-operation and that a hegemon is needed to restore sanity within the system emphasizing the importance of sanctions. They insist that sanctions and monitoring are important to sustain collaboration among self-interested states. However, regime theorists with more liberal orientation de-emphasize the application of sanctions and monitoring in international co-operation, assuming that "increasing interdependence and common interests, enhancement of available information and norms are sufficient to foster cooperation". The work embraces the liberal regime concept of effective institutions as an practical attack on the roots of the discrepancy between the framework of pay-offs provided by regional economic integration initiatives and framework of utilities within which member states of AU choose to cooperate or not, with regional integration programs.

Its unattainability in Africa is attributable to the fact that the continent, as of now, lacks the readiness of member-states to devolve some measure of sovereignty to the regional body if there should be the need to. More so, it

remains quite doubtful if there is any country in Africa with sufficient resources to play the role of the ‘benevolent hegemon’ like Germany in the case of the EU, without necessarily jeopardizing their immediate national interests and needs. Thus, the concept in all its dimensions do not go a far in explaining the state of regional integration in Africa. The only one with that capacity was the late Libyan leader whose ideas were kicked out by national dissidents with the connivance of the western allies.

It is also flawed for assuming that international organizations are ‘embedded within regimes’, where their work is to “monitor, manage and modify regimes” (Breckinridge 1997).

## **Conceptual Framework**

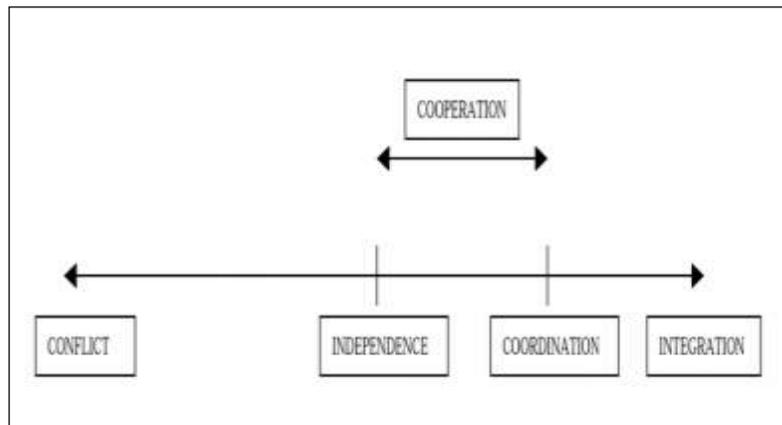
The conceptual framework of this study is based on the hypothesis that national unity and cohesion is a prerequisite for Africa regional integration and socio-economic advancement.

National unity and cohesion, which constitutes interconnection, equality, freedom, democracy, absence of war or conflict, observance of peace and tranquility, social justice and the upholding constitutional rule, is also the cultivating in members of a given community the shared values, challenges as well as opportunities. It also involves putting in place mechanisms for crises management, communication in building cohesion, and respect of ethnic diversities in nurturing cohesion among others.

### *The Concept of National Unity and Cohesion*

The concept builds on Dobson's integration concept that projects in a framework, in which integration is presented as the most intense form of inter-state interaction, involving common policies among states (Dobson, 1991). This way of presenting the phenomenon of integration has the advantage to show how it is positioned vis-à-vis other forms of interaction, but does not necessarily clarify when co-operation becomes integration,<sup>43</sup> In this framework, integration is opposed to conflict, and independence occupies a central place, as indicated in Figure 2.3.1A.

**Figure 2.3.1A Dobson's Model of Regional Integration**



However, one might argue that both conflict and integration imply interaction, so that interaction (voluntary or non-voluntary merger, in its extreme appearance) should rather be opposed to independence, conflict and integration

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<sup>43</sup> The most intense form of cooperation, namely policy coordination, refers to the coordination of common objectives, of the choice, amplitude and moment of the policy measures, or the exchange of policy information, expectations and economic structures (VanVelden, 1988:1)

being (negative and positive) expressions of interaction, as integration has to be seen as the opposite of segregation. Additionally, Dobson's framework fails to talk about the underlying principle(s) that may foster integration or prevent or hasten conflicts – the adverse variable to integration. It also failed to link integration with economic development as in the case of the pursuit of Africa.

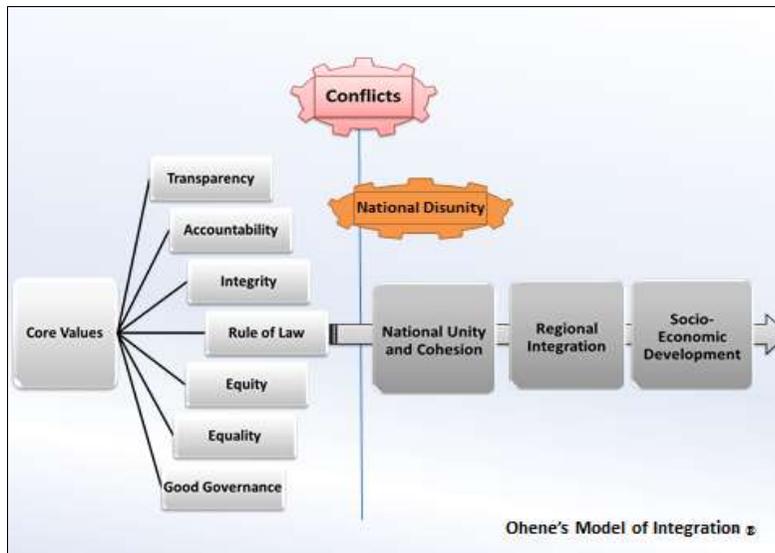
It is for these shortfalls that this research proposed a kind of model – Ohene's Model – that factors in the variables in fostering national unity for a broader Africa integration and economic development.

The model, which looks like a bullet or a grenade (to remind us of the conflictual situations in Africa), takes into account within a spectrum, the various national values that are applicable elsewhere in Africa and their impact on national cohesion, integration and economic growth. National disunity and conflicts which are identified as having a negative correlation with development is also demonstrated by way of hurdle that needs to be overcome on the highway of national unity and cohesion through to economic advancement. The hurdle in the spectrum is seen to be laced behind the cause or way between the core values and development.

***Figure 2.3.1B Ohene's Model of Regional Integration*** <sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Source: own construction and named Ohene's Model for the purpose of this academic study, July 2014.



In the spectrum of the model, are found the core values that are universally regarded as triggers of national unity, including transparency, accountability, integrity, rule of law, equity, equality and good governance etc. These triggers are deemed to be engine of cohesion in a country and if well-oiled and fueled, unity and development agenda will be on course.

However, to achieve this growth and development, centrifugal forces such as elements of conflicts and national disunity must be overpassed. The journey must be devoid of such elements: discriminations, exclusions and disparities by virtue of someone's ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, physique or any other distinctions which engender divisions, distrust and conflict. The barriers to unity are placed behind the path which leads to national cohesion and unity through to Africa regional integration and economic development with all other things being equal.

### *Values of National Unity Concept Explained*

Transparency is very important in understanding one another in what we did, are doing or will do. Citizens require transparency from their leaders. Ghana is considered relatively transparent partly because of the backing of the legislature in that effect. Parliament has enacted laws that ensure the protection of the whistleblower. People are willing to collaborate, co-operate and avail themselves if there is openness in whatever they are involved in.

Another value that was considered vital in fostering unity is accountability. Leaders are put in position in trust of the people and as a result must do well to account their stewardship. To discourage the abuse of office, Ghana has put in place the PAC<sup>45</sup> that is chaired by the opposition party to help scrutinize public accounts and government spending. Officials are compelled by law to appear before the Committee in Parliament to answer various questions regarding their portfolios.

Integrity is also vital. As a concept, it stems from the respect one places on himself and thus would not do anything jeopardize that respect. It may be demonstrated by way of actions, values, methods, measures, principles, expectations, and outcomes. It may be viewed as the uprightness and frankness in behaviour in dealing with others or simply being strong and stable in

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<sup>45</sup> The Public Accounts Committee (PAC) of Ghana consists of not more than 25 members and is chaired by a Member who does not belong to the party which controls the Executive branch of Government. The duty of the Committee is to examine the audited accounts showing the appropriation of the sums granted by Parliament to meet the public expenditure of the government as presented to the House by the Auditor-General of Ghana. The chairmanship of PAC is currently held by the opposition party.

character with one or more of the afore-mentioned qualities as the basis of one's own actions. It is willing not to involve in conduct that is perceived to be variant and morally questionable in society. It works in tandem with transparency and accountability. People and governments alike, in order to embrace national unity and cohesion, must base their actions on an internally-consistent framework of principles even at the cost of personal convenience. Religious leaders are much considered to be agents of integrity as well. Ghana has a high percentage of people either being Christians and Muslims with percentages of 71.2% and 17.6% respectively, and like most African countries, it will not be impossible to achieve the value in the cause of time.

Another trigger to unity and cohesion is found in the rule of law. The tenets of rule of law in advancing national unity in Ghana can never be overemphasized. For democracies and systems of societies to function, it must be upheld: with no person deemed to be above the law and no one falling foul to injustice. People ought to be treated with respect to the dictates of the law without fear or favor when they are in breach of the law. Rule of law is founded on equality before the law, including heads of governments or states. Ghanaians are expected to adhere to it in a way of maintaining co-operation among the various sections and facets of the society. The best friend of rule of law is justice for all – political and social as well as regulated and maintained by the constitution which is usually the supreme laws of the country.

Of most important value is equity, however, it is not without the demonstration of firmness in justice, fairness, neutrality and integrity. It is

about making sure people get access to the same opportunity irrespective how different they appear. It is an established fact that sometimes, somewhere there exist differences among people within society, and these differences create barriers for fair participation by all. Equity is about being justifiable or unbiased towards everyone in society without being prejudicial about his form, nature, orientation and status. It involves high sense of impartiality, reason and fair in all our decisions and actions towards all. In law, it is a system of jurisprudence founded on principles of natural justice and fair conduct. It supplements the common law that dejects biasness, favoritism, and unjustified preference. Governments ought to be even equitable in the sharing of the national and much attention given to holistic development. The deprived and the weak must be accorded avenues to address their unfortunate situations without being left out.

As demonstrated, the above chart has tried to satisfy everyone in the social structure, as everyone would be justifiably factored and in the end help bring all on board. “Justice means equality for equals and inequality for unequal”<sup>46</sup> It is about creating a society or institutions grounded on the principles of egalitarianism and solidarity that understands and values human rights, as well as recognizes the dignity of everyone. Sometimes due to imbalances and

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<sup>46</sup> Clive Staples Lewis (29 November 1898 – 22 November 1963), commonly called C. S. Lewis and known to his friends and family as “Jack”, was a novelist, poet, academic, medievalist, literary critic, essayist, lay theologian, and Christian apologist. Born in Belfast, Ireland, he held academic positions at both Oxford University (Magdalen College), 1925–54, and Cambridge University (Magdalene College), 1954–63. He is best known both for his fictional work, especially *The Screwtape Letters*, *The Chronicles of Narnia*, and *The Space Trilogy*, and for his non-fiction Christian apologetics, such as *Mere Christianity*, *Miracles*, and *The Problem of Pain*.

differences in social setups, social justice may be employed to mitigate exclusion and disadvantages in the society in the administration of laws.

In treating equality, we must observe differences: A heavyweight boxer cannot be placed in the same boxing ring with a lightweight boxer to exchange bouts.<sup>47</sup> That will mount to injustice and lack of equity. So there is the need for these values to work inseparably. It prides in promoting fair and equity by giving everyone the same opportunities without considering accessibility of that opportunity. It works better with equity by granting each and everyone same access by way of opportunities.

Last but not the least, is the notion of good governance that is a broader framework embracing all the afore-mentioned values. The term embodies “good” and “governance”. Governance promotes “the process of collective decision-making and the implementation of those decisions.”<sup>48</sup> Good governance on the other hand, is basically an indeterminate term used to describe how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in order to guarantee the realization of human rights and social welfare. In many democracies, citizens give institutions of the state the mandate

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<sup>47</sup> This was re-echoed in President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe’s speech when the issue of free trade came. The EU was compelling Africa, under no certain term, to sign the Economic Partnership Agreements with the ACP countries for both to benefit from free trade.

<sup>48</sup> Kenyan National Cohesion and Integration (NCIC) website at <http://www.cohesion.or.ke> captured on June 24, 2014. The NCIC is a statutory body established under the National Cohesion and Integration Act (Act No.12 of 2008). The Commission was borne out of the realization that long lasting peace, sustainable development and harmonious coexistence among Kenyans requires deliberate normative, institutional and attitudinal processes of constructing nationhood, national cohesion and integration.

to make and implement decisions that will improve their welfare: a *quid pro quo* arrangements or a form of social contract that both the governor and the governed need to fulfill their parts for the smooth running of the state.

# OVERVIEW OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

## Regional Integration – the Global Context

In Europe, it all started with the coming together of the Benelux<sup>49</sup> countries in 1944, and forming the first ever customs union. Subsequently, by way of becoming members, the European Coal and Steel Community was founded in 1951, and followed by the EEC Common Market in 1957, which served the purpose of preventing escalation between France and Germany. The EEC preceded the now successful regional body of the EU.

Elsewhere in the Americas, there was also the LAFTA which was formed in 1960, by the treaty of Montevideo, to promote industrialization through the expansion of the regional market. It was later succeeded by the LAIA<sup>50</sup> in 1980, which aimed at expanding co-operation through bilateral trade agreements between member-states, according to the level of their economic development. Its 12-year goal of complete removal of trade barriers remained unachieved as a result of uneven economic development among members.

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<sup>49</sup> Benelux (Union Benelux) is a union of three neighboring countries in mid-western Europe (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) The union's name is formed from joining the first two or three letters of each country's name – Belgium Netherlands and Luxembourg – and was first used to name the customs agreement that initiated the union (signed in 1944). It is now used in a more general way to refer to the geographic, economic and cultural grouping of these three countries. In 1951, these countries joined the then West Germany, France, and Italy to form the European Coal and Steel Community, a predecessor of the EEC and today's EU.

<sup>50</sup> Latin America Integration Association (LAIA, called ALADI in Spanish), is an international and regional scope organisation, created on 12 August 1980 by the 1980 Montevideo Treaty, replacing the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA/ALALC). Currently, it has 13 member countries, and any of the Latin American States may apply for accession.

During the same period, the OAS<sup>51</sup> founded the CACM<sup>52</sup> in 1960, as an FTA to be attained within five years, and aspires to transform into a customs union, embodied in its treaty. However, due to long years of social unrest and political instability in most its member-states, integration remained difficult.

In 1967, Bolivia, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela founded the Andean Pact<sup>53</sup>, with the original goal of a customs union as epitomized in their Cartagena Agreement of 1969. It had hoped to attain a common market based on import-substitution, and centralised co-ordination of industries, as well as harmonisation of foreign investments and repayments regulations. However, due to frequent disagreements between its members, the association has not been able to achieve its objectives yet.

The Anglo-Caribbean States formed the CARICOM in 1973, under the revised treaty of *Changraramas*, to co-ordinate economic activities within the region

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<sup>51</sup> The Organization of American States (OAS) is the world's oldest regional organization, dating back to the First International Conference of American States, held in Washington, D.C., from October 1889 to April 1890. The OAS came into being in 1948 with the signing in Bogotá, Colombia, of the Charter of the OAS, which entered into force in December 1951. It has 35 member-states and headquartered in Washington DC in the United States.

<sup>52</sup> Central American Common Market (CACM or MCCA in Spanish) is an association of five Central American nations that was formed to facilitate regional economic development through free trade and economic integration. Established by the General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration signed by Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua in December 1960, its membership expanded to include Costa Rica in July 1962. The CACM is headquartered in Guatemala City.

<sup>53</sup> The Andean Community is a customs union comprising the South American countries of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. The trade bloc was called the Andean Pact until 1996 and came into existence with the signing of the Cartagena Agreement in 1969. Its headquarters are located in Lima, Peru. The Andean Community has 98 million inhabitants living in an area of 4,700,000 square kilometers, whose Gross Domestic Product amounted to US\$745.3 billion in 2005, including Venezuela, who was a member at that time. Its estimated GDP PPP for 2011 amounts to US\$902.86 billion, excluding Venezuela.

while embracing import-substitution. However, it is still far from attaining its stated objectives, as the member-states' economies continue to record persistent declining rates of growth since the 1990s. Originally, English-speaking Caribbean countries community, same cannot be said today as they became multilingual with the inclusion of Dutch-speaking Suriname in 1995 and French-speaking Haiti in 2002.

Further, Argentina and Brazil founded the MERCOSUR<sup>54</sup> in 1985, and were later joined by Paraguay and the Eastern Republic of Uruguay in 1990, which matured into a 'highly integrated' common market in 2001. It provided the institutional framework for settling disputes within the region, and serves as a 'bulwark' to the economies of member-states. Currently, the organisation is debating proposals for new political and institutional reforms, particularly the possibility of an all-embracing South American Community and a common regional parliament.

In Asia, the ASEAN<sup>55</sup> was founded under the framework of the Bangkok Declaration in 1967, and metamorphosed into an FTA in 1992 as AFTA. The

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<sup>54</sup> Mercosur is a sub-regional bloc comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela. Its associate countries are Chile, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Observer countries are New Zealand and Mexico. Its purpose is to promote free trade and the fluid movement of goods, people, and currency. The official languages are Spanish, Portuguese and Guaraní. It has been updated, amended, and changed many times since. It is now a full customs union and a trading bloc. Mercosur and the Andean Community of Nations are customs unions that are components of a continuing process of South American integration connected to the Union of South American Nations.

<sup>55</sup> The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a politico-economic organization of ten countries located in Southeast Asia, which was formed on 8 August 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Since then, membership has expanded to include Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar (Burma) and Vietnam. Its aims include accelerating economic growth, social progress, sociocultural

association provided the much needed framework for guarding against external aggression and for curtailing the threatening expansion of communism in the region. At present, the organisation is seeking new innovations for social development and adapting cost-sharing techniques in priority regional projects. However, the expected target of 2008 is continually extended and aspires to attain a single production base while seeking international standards. Additionally, they jointly agreed to fast-track their integration process under the 'Agreement for the Integration of Priority Sectors', and hope to attain an all-inclusive ASEAN-EC by 2020. Nevertheless, due to the heated dispute that its member-states are embroiled in with China, regarding sovereignty and sovereignty rights over the South China Sea and the East China Sea. There has been non-cooperation by its members due to perceived thought of failure on the part of ASEAN in supporting their claims against China in the maritime disputes.

APEC, another integration bloc, was established in 1989, first as a dialogue forum but later transformed into a free trade area with an 'FTA' that is more or less non-binding on member states. Currently, it seeks support for enhancing member-states economies through a three-stage process for promoting the APEC's initiative. Under the framework of its most recent Santiago Declaration

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evolution among its members, protection of regional peace and stability, and opportunities for member countries to discuss differences peacefully. ASEAN covers a land area of 4.46 million km<sup>2</sup>, which is 3% of the total land area of Earth, and has a population of approximately 600 million people, which is 8.8% of the world's population. The sea area of ASEAN is about three times larger than its land counterpart. In 2012, its combined nominal GDP had grown to more than US\$2.3 trillion. If ASEAN were a single entity, it would rank as the seventh largest economy in the world, behind the US, China, Japan, Germany, France and the United Kingdom.

of 21st November, 2004, the organization seeks to enhance inter-dependence and economic advancement of member-states through expanded trade, investment, security and good governance throughout the region.

Others in the region included the GCC founded in 1981, for political and military co-operation, and later strive to attain a customs union while at the same time, co-ordinating protection among its member-states against foreign interference in the gulf.

### **Regional Integration – the Africa Union Context**

The AU was formed in 2001, following concerns by various African leaders for a more “perfect union”.<sup>56</sup> According to Tiekou (2004), the election in 1999, of Olusegun Obasanjo and Thabo Mbeki as Presidents of Nigeria and South Africa, respectively, and the re-emergence of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya in 1998, in continental African politics after many years of international isolation, significantly triggered the AU process. It was founded on the ideals of Pan-Africanism.

The AU succeeded the OAU due to various reasons including its inability to mobilize member states to address issues bothering on disintegration, violent conflicts, political corruption, economic under-development, bad

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<sup>56</sup> The leaders realized that the existing OAU could not meet the challenges that globalization presents and as a result they had to replace it with the AU in 2002, at a meeting at heads of states and government in Durban, South Africa.

governance, human rights abuses, gender inequality, prevalence of poverty and disregard for the rule of law.

The AU was created with sole aim “of enhancing unity, strengthening co-operation and co-ordination as well as equipping the continent with a legal and institutional framework, which would enable Africa to gain its rightful place in the comity of nations. The cardinal motivation behind the establishment of the African Union was the desire to deepen and enhance the cohesion, solidarity and integration of the countries and peoples of Africa.”<sup>57</sup> Its broader objectives encompass political, social, and economic reforms. Tiekou (2004) recounts the ideas of Obasanjo which manifest themselves clearly in both the institutional design and the legal underpinnings of the AU. For instance, the Peace and Security Council and its protocols, as well as Article 4(h), which gives the AU the right to intervene in domestic affairs of a member-state based on humanitarian grounds, draws heavily on the CSSDCA<sup>58</sup>, which was adopted at the Durban Summit in July 2002.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Boutros Ghali (2001) See reference.

<sup>58</sup> The Conference on Security, Stability Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) is a policy development process created to function within the framework of the African Union and was adopted at the 36th Session of the Assembly in Lomé, Togo on July 2000. It is one of two special programs of the African Union, the other being the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

<sup>59</sup> Durban Summit of Heads of States and Government in 2002 that ushered in the AU

## ***The Objectives of the African Union***

Article 3, of the Constitutive Act of the AU outlines the objectives of the Union as follows:

- ✚ Achieving greater unity and solidarity;
- ✚ Defending the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member-states;
- ✚ Accelerating the political and socio-economic integration;
- ✚ Defending common positions on issues of interest of Africa;
- ✚ Encouraging international cooperation;
- ✚ Promoting peace, security and stability;
- ✚ Promoting democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance; protecting human and peoples' rights in accordance with the AU Charter;
- ✚ Establishing conditions for participation in the global economy and in international negotiations;
- ✚ Promoting sustainable development and integration of African economies;
- ✚ Promoting co-operation to raise the living standards of Africa; and
- ✚ Harmonizing policies between the existing and future RECs for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union.

## ***Institutions of the African Union***

### ✚ *The General Assembly*

It is highest body of the union, comprising of the Assembly of the Union, which groups the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives. It ensures the compliance of member-states to the decisions and determines the common policies of the union as well as decides on the form of intervention in the internal affairs of a member-state in accordance with Articles

4 and 23 of the Act respectively. It ‘appoints’ and ‘unappoints’ of Judges of the ACJ of the Commission.

#### *The Executive Council of Ministers*

It is composed of the Foreign Ministers of member-states, and prepares decisions for and accountable to the Assembly. Under the CA, it considers issues referred to it by the Assembly and has the power to co-ordinate decisions on policy areas of common interest as well as monitor the implementation of those policies.

#### *The Pan-African Parliament*

As the deliberative arm, with 265 members elected by national parliaments, it is chaired by a president with only consultative duty currently. The PAP is intended to provide under Article 17 of the CA of the AU popular and civil-society participation in the development, democratic and economic integration processes of the continent and facilitate the effective implementation of the policies and objectives of the union. It provides the platform for people’s participation and consolidation of the RECs.

#### *The African Court of Justice*

Under the CA, the ACJ rules on disputes over interpretation of AU treaties. This organ is in charge of all matters including the protection of human rights and consolidation of good governance in Africa. The ACJ and ACHPR together constitute “The ACJHR” in 2008 for a stronger union.

### *The AU Commission*

Replacing the former OAU Secretariat and the administrative body of the union, the Commission, composed of a chairperson, deputy chairperson and eight commissioners, acts as the executive arm of the union with limited powers. It is responsible for the day-to-day running of the union and responsible for policies and programmes that ensure co-ordination and co-operation with the RECs. It composes of the Peace and Security; Political Affairs; Trade and Industry; Infrastructure and Energy; Social Affairs; Rural Economy and Agriculture; Human Resources, Science and Technology; and Economic Affairs. Article 4 of the Statute of the Commission grants autonomy and insulates the staff from undue pressures from member-states.

### *The Permanent Representatives Committee*

As committee of member-states to the AU, the Committee comprises of the ambassadors accredited to the Commission in Addis Ababa, and are charged with the responsibility of preparing the work of the Executive Council.

### *The Specialized and Technical Committee*

The Constitutive Act provides for Specialized Technical Committees to be established and composed of African ministers to advise the Assembly. The ten-proposed themes of the Committee include: 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.

### *The Economic, Social and Cultural Council*

ECOSOCC – the primary structure facilitating civil society engagement with the AU institutions – is an advisory body composed of professional and civic representatives of the member-states. Its members are elected for a period of four years. It offers more opportunity for people’s participation and representation, and provides the platform for oversight and accountability of governance. Alongside the PAP, the ECOSOCC is intended as the African peoples’ window into the AU, with mandate to fully participate and contribute to the development and integration of the continent.

### *The Peace and Security Council*

The protocol, relating to the PSC after its ratification by majority of states, is made up of 15 member-states. The functions of the PSC include the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa; the use of preventive diplomacy and the maintenance of peace; management of catastrophes and humanitarian actions.

The protocol was supported by modalities and guidelines for facilitating common defence and security, frameworks for controlling and combating terrorism, illicit flow of small arms and light weapons. The rationale for the adoption of a common position to Africa’s defence and security policies could be traced to the position of Nkrumah<sup>60</sup> and the Casablanca group. The new

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<sup>60</sup> Nkrumah has advocated an Africa Union that will be supranational with a common boarder, government, foreign affairs, monetary currency and economic policies. The same position was adopted by the Casablanca group, however, this group was defeated as the leaders then wanted a loose form of independent African states

Peace and Security architecture indicated a new pattern of establishment of institutional structures to support the AU agenda for peace, security and development.

### *The Financial Institutions*

The Act under Article 19, makes provision for an economic and political union and also specifies the establishment of an ACB in Abuja, Nigeria, the African Investment Bank in Tripoli, Libya and the AMF (Yaoundé, Cameroon) in order to facilitate trade within the continent. These institutions have not yet been established, however, the Steering Committees working on their founding have been constituted to ensure of a common single currency, called the Afro.

### *The New Partnership for African Development*

In order to promote economic development, the NEPAD was founded in July 2001, as the socio-economic programme for Africa's renewal (Asante 2006). NEPAD's goals are to promote accelerated growth and sustainable development, eradicate poverty and halt the marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation process, enhance its full and beneficial integration into the global economy, and accelerate the empowerment of women.<sup>61</sup> It has adopted the MDGs as a core component of its goals, which in part, indicates an appreciation of linkages between the two development initiatives. Consolidating the New African Initiative, the Millennium Partnerships for African Recovery and NEPAD, together with the APRM, are very vital in the development aspirations

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<sup>61</sup> *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Summer 2004.

of the AU. Although, NEPAD shares many features with the earlier African initiatives aimed at uplifting the continent from its economic doldrums, however, it is quite different from its forerunners.

### *The African Peer Review Mechanism*

The APRM, an initiative of NEPAD, was the resolve of African leaders to ensure that the modest gains made by Africa on democracy, human rights and good governance are not reversed. Widely regarded as the jewel in the crown of NEPAD, the APRM is a non-adversary learning process among peers relying heavily on mutual trust amid the states involved in the review, as well as shared confidence in the process. The APRM aims at adopting policies, standards and practices that lead to high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences. Teams of African experts in various spheres assess and critique the countries' governance performance, based on a number of key indicators. Countries voluntarily accede to the APRM and are assessed based on four thematic areas, namely, democracy and political governance, corporate governance, economic governance and socio-economic development.

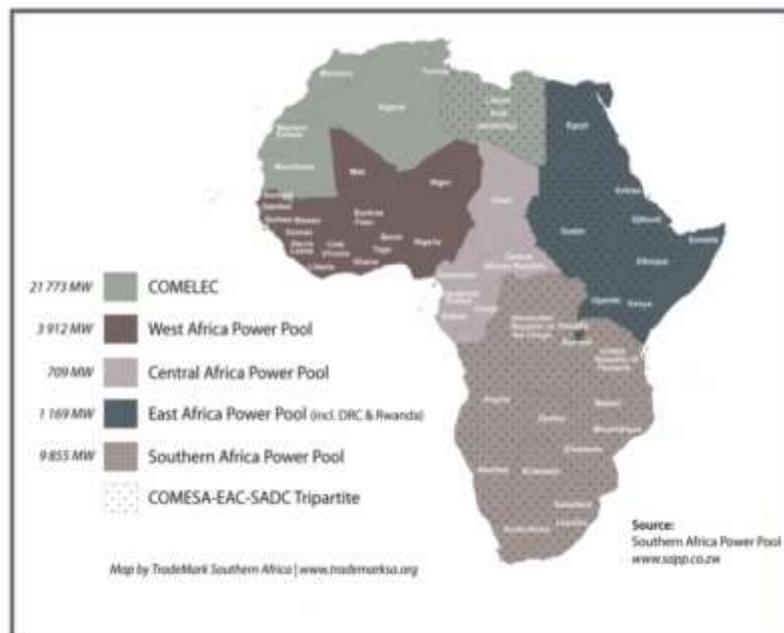
APRM's other mandate is to keep government and the private sectors in check. According to one expert, the reasons of the slack in progress in many countries are due to a) inadequate steps taken to prepare for the review exercise; b) non-establishment of relevant national; c) misrepresentative of all the stakeholders, as required in the APRM Base Document; and d) lack of funding etc.

## RECs – The African Regional Integration’s Experiment

Regional integration, over the years, has had an overwhelming support from African governments and peoples, because it was considered vital in stimulating economic growth. This has led to the conclusion of many integration schemes in and across the continent.

The proliferation of these regional integration agreements has often been worrying as there are many overlaps, not only in their geographical locations but also in their broader goals and objectives.

*Figure 3.3A: A Snapshot of Africa Regional Blocs.*



However, some have chalked appreciable levels of success. The blocs are generally targeted frameworks towards deeper integration and hoping they will lead to a supranational political union in Africa – spill-over effects.

Africa, in an attempt to forge political unification to stem out the socio-economic challenges on the continent, adopted a gradual approach by way of RECs. The continent's economic and political blocs range from PFTAs to customs unions and monetary unions. This approach was adopted through the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA).<sup>62</sup> The 1980 LPA envisaged the AEC, which categorized Africa into five sub-regions: North Africa, Western, Central/Middle, Eastern and Southern blocs.

Nonetheless, the structure of RECs does not tally with the AEC regions intents. There is the problem of multiple and overlapping memberships which has undermined the original plan. Political and strategic reasons are cited as the overriding motivation for the multiplicity of memberships in RECs.

The various regional groupings have been discussed below to ascertain the levels of cooperation among the individual member-states.

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<sup>62</sup> The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), an endogenous development policy, was clearly defined by the OAU Heads of State and Government when they reaffirmed their "Commitment to establish by the year 2000, on the basis of a treaty to be concluded, an African Economic Community in order to ensure the economic, cultural and social integration of Africa." With the LPA and the Final Act of Lagos (FAL), Africa adopted a development pattern based on the principle of individual autonomy and collective self-sufficiency. Indeed, collective autonomy, which characterized the LPA, places emphasis on endogenous, self-centered and self-supporting development, rejection of exogenous lifestyles and dependence as well as a resolute fight against neo-colonialism, by cultivating "the image of self-sufficiency, declaring economic war against the interest of the North, reducing the current extreme dependence of our countries on the export of primary commodities and internalizing the factors and means of production."

### ***Northern Africa Sub-Region***

In North Africa, the idea for an economic union of the Maghreb<sup>63</sup> began with the independence of Tunisia and Morocco in 1956. It was not until thirty years later that five Maghreb states - Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia - met for the first Maghreb summit in 1988. The Union was established on 17 February 1989 when the treaty was signed by the member-states in Marrakech, Morocco.

***Table 3.3B: Map of Northern Africa Sub-region.***



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<sup>63</sup> The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) began as a Conference of Maghreb Economic Ministers in Tunis in 1964 which established the Conseil Permanent Consultatif du Maghreb (CPCM) between Algeria, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia, to coordinate and harmonize the development plans of the four countries as well as inter-regional trade and relations with the EU. Due to its failure, the first Maghreb Summit of Heads of State, held at Zeralda (Algeria) in June 1988, resulted in a decision to set up the Maghreb High Commission and various specialized commissions. On February 17, 1989 in Marrakech, the Treaty establishing the AMU was signed by the Heads of State of the five countries including Mauritania. The AMU is currently dormant, but attempts are under way to revive it.

According to the CA of the AU, the aim of the RECs, is to guarantee cooperation with similar other regional institutions, and reinforce the independence of the member-states and safeguard their interest. Strategic relevance of the Maghreb region is based on the fact that, collectively, it boasts large GDP as a result of returns from huge deposits of phosphate, oil, and gas and also due to it being a transit centre to southern Europe and the Middle East. The AMU is currently dormant mainly due to the disagreement between Morocco and Algeria over Western Sahara; however attempts are under way to revive it.

### ***Western Africa Sub-Region***

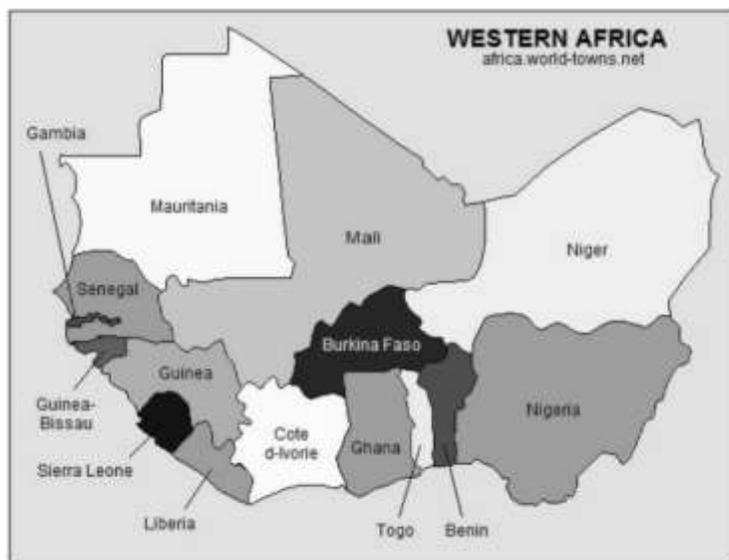
The Western Africa's integration scheme, on the other hand, started with a miniature Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union<sup>64</sup> from 1958-3. Then, there followed the formation of La Communauté Économiques de L'Ouest (CEAO) by Francophone West Africa in 1972. The union had aimed to attain a free trade area with a compensation fund for loss of revenue for member states, and also as to improve infrastructure and industrial development throughout the region. The organization later joined its sister organization in forming the West African

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<sup>64</sup> The Union of African States, sometimes called the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union, was a short-lived and loose regional organization from 1958 until 1963, originally linking the West African nations of Ghana and Guinea and then adding Mali in 1960. The union planned to develop a common currency and unified foreign policy amongst members; however, none of these proposals were implemented by the countries. The union was the first organization in Africa to bring together former colonies of the British and the French. Its legacy was largely limited to longstanding political relationships between Kwame Nkrumah (President of Ghana 1957–1966), Ahmed Sékou Touré (President of Guinea 1958–1984), and Modibo Keita (President of Mali 1960–1968). The world was shocked to hear that Nkrumah had been named as the co-president of Guinea after he was deposed as President of Ghana by a military coup in 1966.

Economic and Monetary Union (Union Économique Monétaire de l’Ouest-Africaine) <sup>65</sup> in 1994.

**Table 3.3C: Map of Western Africa Sub-region <sup>66</sup>**



Still with the sub-region, was the formation of the Mano River Union (Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea) in 1974, while the most ambitious of them all, the

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<sup>65</sup> The “Union Économique et Monétaire Ouest-Africaine, (West African Economic and Monetary Union – UEMOA), is an organization of eight West African states established to promote economic integration among countries that share the CFA franc as a common currency. UEMOA was created by a Treaty signed at Dakar, Senegal, on 10 January 1994, by the heads of state and governments of Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo. On 2 May 1997, Guinea-Bissau, a former Portuguese colony, became the organization’s eighth (and only non-Francophone) member state. UEMOA is a customs union and currency union between the members of ECOWAS. Its objectives include the greater economic competitiveness, through open markets, in addition to the rationalization and harmonization of the legal environment, the convergence of macro-economic policies and indicators, the creation of a common market etc.

<sup>66</sup> Mauritania is often excluded from the Sub-regional grouping of ECOWAS; however it is geographically located in the region. Usually referred to as member of the Northern African Region.

ECOWAS <sup>67</sup> was formed in 1975. The treaty establishing ECOWAS was signed in Lagos on May 28, 1975 and became effective in June 1975. The broad objectives of the organization are to promote:

Cooperation and development in virtually all fields of economic activity, particularly in the fields of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions, and on social and cultural matters, for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people, of increasing and maintain economic stability, of fostering closer relations among its members and contributing to the progress and development of the African continent.<sup>68</sup>

### ***Central/Middle Africa Sub-Region***

In Central Africa, the first union of a kind was the UDEAC in 1964 and later replaced by the CEMAC<sup>69</sup> in 1994. In 1973, UDEAC had hoped to aspire to become a customs union; it has so far remained redundant.

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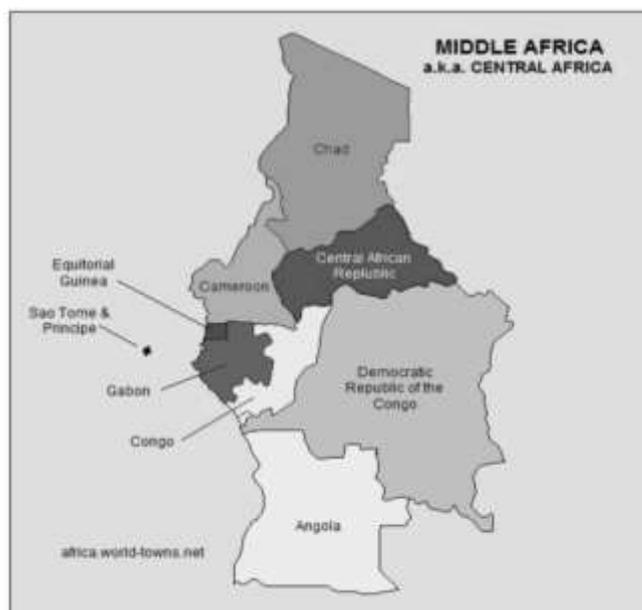
<sup>67</sup> The Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS) was established in 1975 to promote cooperation and achieve market integration. The idea was mooted by President William Tubman of Liberia, who made the call in 1964. In April 1972, General Gowon of Nigeria and General Eyadema of Togo re-launched the idea, drew up proposals and toured 12 countries, soliciting their plan from July to August 1973. A meeting was then called at Lomé from 10-15 December 1973 to study a draft treaty. This was further examined at a meeting of experts and jurists in Accra in January 1974 and by a ministerial meeting in Monrovia in January 1975. Finally, 15 West African countries signed the treaty for an ECOWAS (Treaty of Lagos) on 28 May 1975. The protocols launching ECOWAS were signed in Lomé, Togo on 5 November 1976. In July 1993, a revised ECOWAS Treaty designed to accelerate economic integration and to increase political co-operation, was signed. Membership is Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

<sup>68</sup> See Chapter Two Article Three of the Treaty of ECOWAS that was signed by heads of states of member-countries on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1993, in Cotonou, Benin.

<sup>69</sup> Six countries (Cameroun, Congo, Gabon, Central Africa Republic, Chad, and Equatorial Guinea) instituted the Communauté Économique et Monétaire des États de

CEPGEL was established in 1976, while the ECCAS<sup>70</sup> with membership of all the eleven Central African countries was created in 1983. ECCAS began functioning in 1985, but has been inactive since 1992 because of financial difficulties (non-payment of membership fees) and the conflict in the Great Lakes area which has stalled integration efforts.

**Table 3.3D: Map of Central Africa sub-region<sup>71</sup>**



L’Afrique Centrale (CEMAC) established in 1994, is a body of several institutions, including the Central African Economic Union (UEAC), the Central African Monetary Union (UMAC), the Community Parliament, the Court of Justice, and other specialized institutions, most of which are members of the UEAC. They launched their activities in June 1999 in fulfillment of the EU’s objective, which was to be achieved at the conclusion of a three-stage process, with each stage lasting five years.

<sup>70</sup> The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) was established in 1983 within the framework of the AEC and seeks to create a common market for Central African states. Its 11 members are: Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, CAR, Gabon, Congo Republic, DRC, Equatorial Guinea, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and Chad. For over a decade seven of its member states experienced military conflicts and civil strife. Between 1992-97, ECCAS experienced economic decline, deteriorating social conditions, and political instability and this stalled integration efforts. It was re-launched in 1998 with a more focused mandate. At a summit meeting in December 1981, the leaders of the Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC) agreed in principle to form a wider economic community of Central African states.

<sup>71</sup> Angola is often considered part of the Southern Africa sub-region.

### *Southern Africa Sub-Region*

The SACU<sup>72</sup> is known to be the oldest integration scheme in the region, formed as far back as 1910 in the era of colonialism. Though it was first the initiative of the colonialists yet after independence, member states willingly maintained the group. It was then restructured in 1969 and 2000 respectively, followed by the SADCC in 1980, with the aim of weaning itself from apartheid South Africa while guaranteeing infrastructural assistance and policy co-ordination.

*Figure 3.3F: Map of the Southern Africa Sub-region*



However, upon abolition of Apartheid, South Africa was accepted and later renamed in the 1992 ‘Lusaka Declaration’ as the SADC. In 1996, it gradually matured into a free trade area, under an institutional structure in 2001, as articulated in Article 5 of the 1992 SADC Treaty.<sup>73</sup> SADC Mission is to

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<sup>72</sup> Southern African Customs Union

<sup>73</sup> The Southern African Development Community (SADC), founded in 1960s, is an inter-governmental organization headquartered in Gaborone, Botswana. Its goal is to

promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper co-operation and integration, good governance, and durable peace and security, so that the region emerges as a competitive and effective player in international relations and the world economy. It joined a PTA with the Eastern African States in 1981, as a custom union and subsequently to the COMESA in 1994.

### ***Eastern Africa Sub-Region***

East Africa. In 1999, the EAC<sup>74</sup> was formed with the main aim of building a prosperous, competitive, secure and a politically-united East Africa. It sought to deepen economic, political, social and cultural integration to improve the region's people's quality of life. Objectives are to be realized incrementally through common market, monetary union and ultimately to a political federation of the East African States, however:

The EAC has a weak foundation in resource mobilisation, utilisation and management as evidenced in prevalence of member arrears, over reliance on limited contributions from

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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, and comprises of Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of the Congo – since 8 September 1997, Lesotho, Madagascar – membership reinstated on 30 January 2014 after an imposed suspension in 2009, Malawi, Mauritius – since 28 August 1995, Mozambique, Namibia – since 31 March 1990 (since independence). Seychelles – also previously been a member of SADC from 8 September 1997 until 1 July 2004 then joined again in 2008. South Africa – since 30 August 1994, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

<sup>74</sup> The EAC was re-launched in 2001 after the dissolution of the previous Cooperation Treaty in 1977. It is driven by a vision to build a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united East Africa. It seeks to deepen economic, political, social and cultural integration to improve the region's people's quality of life. EAC has five member states: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania.

member-states and donor resources and poorly harmonised donor support systems. The EAC needs to enhance its internal capacities to devise innovative resource planning, mobilisation and utilisation strategies.<sup>75</sup>

*Figure 3.3E Map of the Eastern Africa Sub-region*



It is significant to indicate that, in spite of the proliferation of regional integration institutions on the African continent over the decades, a dispassionate assessment of the impact of Africa's efforts at regional economic co-operation and integration between the 1960s and 1990s suggests that the expected benefits have eluded the continent. It is not difficult to establish the reasons for these sorry states of events.

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<sup>75</sup> African Capacity Building Foundation (2008)

## **Challenges Confronting the African Union**

### ***Economic Inadequacies***

Like its predecessor, the AU has been without challenges and the case to the contrary. Among them, has been the difficulty in funding its numerous programmes and projects. It is evident that, under any circumstance, non-payment of dues is attributable to the poor performance of the union. 45 out of 54 member-states are in arrears in tune of US\$ 54.5 million. It is short of ideas as to the better way of self-funding as default in payments by members has historical undertone (Akwetey, 2008: 93).

The union has always fallen behind its budgetary allocation sometimes making it impossible to carry out its programs.<sup>76</sup>

### ***Human Inefficiencies***

Almost a decade after its formation, the AU faces normal teething problems in articulating its new roles and staffing its institutions with qualified personnel against the backdrop of constraints on resources. It faces also the challenge of

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<sup>76</sup> The High Level Panel in 2008 disclosed that the third AU Summit held on July 6-8, 2004 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia dueled much on the issue of funding. A breakdown of the AU budget between 2004 and 2007 shows that while the approved budget for the year 2004 was US\$43,000, it had received only US\$36, 192, with member states contributing US\$25,632, while external partners contributed US\$10,560 and the expenditure at the end of the year stood at US\$39,354. In 2005, the total budget approved was US\$158,384; the total annual income was US\$74,832, member states contributed US\$48,832, and US\$25,542 came from external partners and end of year expenditure was US\$51,258. In 2006, the AU approved budget stood at US\$136, 004 and the total annual income was US\$88,893; member states contributed US\$73, 890, while external partners contributed US\$15,008 and end of year expenditure was US\$78,863. In 2007, the approved budget was US\$132,988, while the total annual income was US\$73,874, with member states contributing US\$63, 773, external partners US\$10,101 and total expenditure for the year stood at US\$71,185 (The High Level Panel, 2008).

fully equipping the Commission with the requisite human and financial support to enable it to develop and articulate its vision and programmes and monitor them. This is often attributed to cronyism where governments impose their least desired individuals and “dead wood” on the organization and thus making them woefully ineffective. Party “faithful” are chosen to represent the various countries at the expense of technical experts for the good of the union.

### *Directional Inefficiencies*

The establishment of AU, as contained in the Act, presupposes a high degree of social and political integration. It remains unclear, and even if clear, doubtful, a union modelled along the EU is achievable thanks to the differences in the socio-cultural setups of both unions. Intra-African trade is virtually non-existent. Nevertheless, the existence of sub-regional economic arrangements as ECOWAS, SADC, and COMESA, has persistently remained below the 5 percent mark calculated as a fraction of the continent’s total external trade. For instance, whereas Europe has both capable and/or industrialized states and strong inter-governmental organizations, Africa seems to lack both. Again, while Europe benefited from states with political interest in making regional institutions work, the same cannot be said of Africa where many governments are reluctant to relinquish power to a supra-national organization to exercise real influence.

Moreover, most if not all are heavily dependent on the exportation of primary commodities, with virtually no industrial base, the traditional European model

of economic co-operation which emphasizes market integration rather than physical and production infrastructure may not be appropriate.

### ***Regional Intricacies***

Multiple memberships, mandates and structures of the RECs have led to inadequate financing of the integration process and pose a serious threat to the continental union. At first glance, their sheer number is a problem and there is no indication that any of the regions are prepared to sacrifice their particular organisation for the greater good. The challenge for the AU now is how to define clearly the institutional relationship between the RECs and the AU in order to re-affirm their roles and status in the pursuit of African unity.

### ***Citizens Incognisances***

Many people, even experts, still are unaware of the dealings of the AU over a decade of its formation. Informal interview conducted among African “aliens” in Korea suggested that they are not in the known as to the mandate, role and achievement of the union as yet, especially its impact on their daily lives.

A Facebook survey, conducted in March 2015 on my wall, also concluded that most people of the African decent across the globe indicated that over 84% of the respondents answered “no”. They were asked if they can mention one mandate, roles and achievements of the AU and whether the union has had any benefit in their respective countries.

### ***Political Turbulences***

Another constraint on the organisation is political tumult. This poses terrific challenges to the union, and its [mis]management has been the bane for the smooth run of the union. Arguably, no single factor has contributed and continues to exacerbate more socio-economic problems on the continent, and by extension hindering efforts at African unity than the scourge of conflicts, overthrow of constitutional regimes and others. AU's commitment has over the years been a sham and partly attributed to the composition of the leadership who themselves are deemed to be illegitimate.

### ***Regional Paramountcies***

Closely related to the above is the problem of sovereignty and sovereignty rights and the AU's inability to integrate regionally due to member-states' "silos-ism". These are resultant of the wrong and illegal demarcations of the continent's 54 countries. People, when questioned on the trans-human and border issue, said it more daunting to travel across a border to another for business than to go to Asia, Americas and Europe. There have been proliferations of illegalities by way of bribery and corruption at every point of entry and exit of a country in Africa, not to mention the numerous checkpoints that exist, all perpetrated by operatives in order to enrich themselves.

### ***Livelihood Insufficiencies***

Diseases and other death-related ailments without any hope of finding solutions to them are some of the challenges. Diseases have taken their toll on Africa, over the years, without adequate health research institutions to eliminate them.

The AU is now faced with the daunting challenge of combatting and eradicating maladies such as Ebola, malaria and HIV/AIDS of the continent.

Adding to the above, efforts to fighting undue politico-socio-economic mishaps on the continent such as undemocratic regimes, civil wars, corruption, low standard of living, illiteracy, recurrent draughts and famine, desertification, unsustainable environmental and technological gap, have led to the neglect of many governments resulting in these self-inflicted deprivation, diseases, pandemics, deaths etc.

# **NATIONAL COHESION – THEORETICAL ANALYSIS**

## **National Unity and Cohesion**

National unity is a form of integration that constitutes cohesion, equality, freedom, democracy, absence of war or conflict, observance of peace and tranquility, social justice and the upholding constitutional rule. It is also the cultivating in members of a given community the shared values, challenges as well as opportunities. It involves putting in place mechanisms for crises management, communication in building cohesion, and respect of ethnic diversities in nurturing oneness among others. Ghana, by far, has scored high marks in preventing and managing conflicts when the raise their ugly heads. The country has enjoyed relatively peaceful co-habitation among its diverse groups. It has not experienced any bloody conflict since independence in 1957, except in 1994's ethnic clashes between two groups in the northern part of the country – the area is often regarded as flashpoints for conflicts.<sup>77</sup>

### ***Ghana – Historical Background***

Modern Ghana takes its name from the ancient kingdom of Ghana that flourished, north of the present day state, between the 4th and 11th centuries A.D. The history of Ghana, however, dates back to the Sudanic empires of West Africa that controlled the trade in gold and salt to and from the Trans-Saharan trade routes.

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<sup>77</sup> CIA Fact book 2013

In the later Ghana history around 1470s, the Portuguese came in search of gold, which they found in abundance. The Portuguese then built forts to protect their monopoly of gold trade from merchants representing other nations, along the coast of Gold Coast (the name of Ghana before independence), where gold was shipped to Europe. The Portuguese also gained great profit in the slave trade which saw the best of Africa transported as slaves for a period of 400 years to work on plantations of the new-found land of America. After the end of slavery, the British took over the forts built by the Portuguese and used as customs posts. The Gold Coasters, especially those of the Ashanti Empire profited greatly from the arrangements. After several wars between the Ashanti and the British, the entire Gold Coast, including the Ashanti and the Northern territory was declared a crown colony of Britain in 1901.

Cocoa exports became the backbone of the economy, followed by gold, timber, and diamonds. By World War One, the Gold Coast was the most prosperous colony in Africa, with the best schools and civil service. Later, in 1957, Ghana became the first country in colonial Africa, sub of Sahara, to gain independence.

Present day Ghana is a merger of the British colonies of the Gold Coast and the trust territory of Togoland when the latter decided to join independent Ghana through a plebiscite in 1958.

Ghana has since then endured elongated successions of coups d'états<sup>78</sup> from 1966, until it returned to multi-party democracy in 1992. It is often regarded as

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<sup>78</sup> CIA Fact books 2013

West Africa's best-governed country, with a relatively well-established system of democratic rule<sup>79</sup> with smooth change of regimes since that period.

Geographically, Ghana is located on the West African coast bordered on the north by Burkina Faso, west by La Cote d'Ivoire, east by Togo and south by the Gulf of Guinea. It is often regarded as the centre of the planet Earth, by virtue of being the country closest to middle of the globe.

**Figure 4.1.1 Showing Geographical Location of Ghana**



Politically, Ghana is a multi-party constitutional democracy founded on elections by the principles of open and free universal adult suffrage, i.e. all Ghanaians above 18 years of age are eligible to vote into office, an Executive President for a maximum of two four-year terms. A 275-member Parliament is

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<sup>79</sup> The *Economist Intelligence Unit* projected Ghana, in its Democracy Index for 2011 rates, as a “flawed democracy,” it is nonetheless only one of two democracies listed in the region. Source: <http://www.geocurrents.info/geopolitics/elections/ethnicity-and-political-division-in-ghana#ixzz3L4UoUvmy>

also elected for unlimited four-year terms. The main arms of Government are the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary each of which is independent of the other. The vibrant Media, which enjoys freedom enshrined in the Constitution, is regarded as the fourth realm of government as it provides a lot of checks and balances on the three arms of government. The country is governed by rule of law and often touted as the “the Oasis of Peace” in a troubled sub-region of West Africa and beyond.

Economically, Ghana has been strengthened by a quarter-century of relatively sound management, a competitive business environment, and sustained reductions in poverty levels. In 2010, the country was categorized as a lower middle-income country. It is well-endowed with natural resources, with agriculture accounting for roughly one-quarter of GDP as well as employing more than half of the workforce, however, mainly of small landholders. The services sector accounts for 50% of GDP. Gold and cocoa production and individual remittances are major sources of foreign exchange. Oil production at Ghana’s offshore Jubilee field began in mid-December 2010, and is producing close to target levels estimated at 700 million barrels per day. The growing oil industry is expected to boost economic growth. The West Africa nation is believed to be already in the middle income bracket as of 2013.

Administratively, Ghana is divided into ten regions, 275 sub-regions (districts).<sup>80</sup> And each of the ten regions is headed by a government appointee

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<sup>80</sup> Districts in Ghana can be metropolitan (population over 250 000), municipal (one town assemblies with minimum populations over 95 000 and maximum of 249 999) or

whose role is mainly ceremonial. At the sub-regional levels are the MMDAs<sup>81</sup> which are actively involved in the real administration of the people. At this level too, people participation, by way of electing officials to the Assemblies are very much in action.

Chiefs<sup>82</sup> also play major roles in the administration of the people at the local levels but usually have mandate over clans and groups of people of common ethnicity and/or geography

### ***Ghana – Demographics***

Ghana, like most countries in Africa is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural society. Its current population, which is estimated at about twenty seven million,<sup>83</sup> is a vast mosaic of large and small ethnic groups. In spite of its gorgeous ethnic variety and intra-migration which have groups scattered all over the country, the core fiber of *fondness and bondness* of these groups remain intact, and making no part of Ghana ethnically homogeneous (only in the case of Ashanti Region, which has homogeneous indigenous population of Ashantis, though other groupings have their share of the area).

The sub-divisions of each group share a common cultural heritage, history, language, and origin. These shared attributes were among the variables that

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district (population between 75 000 and 94 999). There are a total of 216 administrative and executive districts in Ghana and their district/municipal or metropolitan chief executive officers are direct representatives of the central authority, and are appointed by it and with approval from 2/3 of unit committee members within the respective districts.

<sup>81</sup> Metropolitan, Municipal, Districts Assemblies...

<sup>82</sup> Chiefs are ...

<sup>83</sup> Ghana Statistical Service's 2010 Population and Housing Report 2012

contributed to state formation in the pre-colonial period. Competition to acquire land for cultivation, to control trade routes, or to form alliances for protection also promoted group solidarity and state formation. The creation of the union that became the Ashanti Confederacy in the late seventeenth century is a good example of such processes at work in Ghana's past.

However, there exists some form of ethnic rivalries due to dominance struggle of the precolonial era, variance in the impact of colonialism upon different regions of the country, and the uneven distribution of social and economic amenities in post-independence Ghana, sometimes resulting into ethnic tensions. For example, in February 1994, more than 1,000 persons were killed and 150,000 others displaced in the north-eastern part of Ghana in clashes between Kokomba on one side and Nanumba, Dagomba, and Gonja on the other. The clashes had resulted from longstanding grievances over land ownership and the prerogatives of chiefs. A military task force restored order, but a state of emergency in the region remained in force until mid-August.

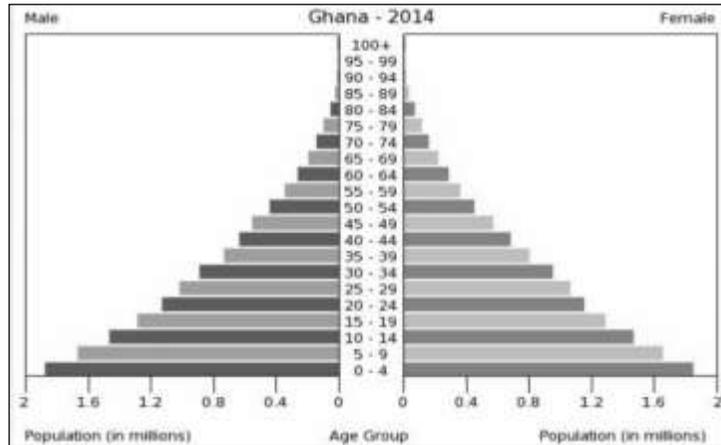
Ghana's population of almost 27 million inhabitants is diverse with an estimated ninety-six separate ethnic groups. These groups are often categorised into a few large groups.<sup>84</sup> Though, it is a well-established

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<sup>84</sup> The 2010 Ghana Population and Housing Census data represents the Akan ethnicity as comprising of the following sub- groups: Akan - 49.1%; Agona, 1.4%; Ahafo, 1.1%; Ahanta 1.5%; Akwapim 2.9%; Akwamu 0.6%; Akyem, 3.4%; Aowin, 0.6%; Asante 14.8%; Asen (Assin) 0.8%; Boron/Bono/Brong, including Banda 4.6%; Chokosi 0.4%; Denkyira 0.5%; Evalue 0.1%; Fanti 9.9%; Kwahu 1.9%; Nzema 1.2%; Sefwi 1.2%; Wassa 1.4%; and Akan, not specified, 0.8% The Ga-Adangbe, a small ethnic group in the southeastern parts of Ghana, consists of: Adangbe, 4.3%; Ga, 3.4%; Ga-Dangme, not specified, 0.3%. The Guan, who constitute 4.4% of the population, consist of:

fact that most conflicts in Africa are perpetrated by the youth yet not in the case of Ghana. The small West African nation's population, like many African countries', is among the youngest in the world.

**Figure 4.1.1 Age Distribution in Ghana (2010 Census)**<sup>85</sup>



AKpafu, Lolobi, Likpe, 0.4%; Avatime, Nyingbo, Tafi, 0.2%; Awutu, Efutu, Senya, 0.6%; Cherepong, Larteh, Anum, 0.9%; Gonja, 1.2%; Nkonya, 0.1%; Yefi, Nchumuru, Krachi, 0.6%; Guan, not specified, 0.2%. The Gurma (3.9) is made up of: Bimoba, 0.6%; Kokomba, 2.7%; Kyamba (Tchamba), Baasari, 0.3%; Pilapila, 0.0%; Salfalba (Sabulaba), 0.0%; Gurma, not specified, 0.2%; and Ewes form about 13%. And the second largest ethnic group, the Mole-Dagbani (16.5) consists of: Builsa (Kagyaga or Kanja), 0.7%; Dagarte (Dagaba), 3.7%; Dagomba, 4.3%; Kusasi, 2.2%; Mamprusi, 1.1%; Namnam (Nandom), 2.4%; Nankansi and Gurense 0.5%; Walba (Wala), 1.0%; Nanumba, 0.5%; Mole – Dagbon, not specified, 0.1%; while the Grusi who represent 2.8% of the total population consists of small groups such as: Kasena (Paga), 0.7%; Mo, 0.3%; Sisala, 0.9%; Vagala, 0.2%; Other Grusi, 0.2%; Grusi, not specified, 0.4%; and the Mande-Busanga, who are the smallest ethnic grouping, consists of: Busanga, 0.8%; Wangara (Bambara, Mandingo), 0.3%; Mande-Busanga, not specified, 0.1%; all other tribes, 1.5%.

<sup>85</sup> The population pyramid illustrates the age and sex structure of a Ghana's population and provides insights about political and social stability, as well as economic development. The population is distributed along the horizontal axis, with males shown on the left and females on the right. The male and female populations are broken down into 5-year age groups represented as horizontal bars along the vertical axis, with the youngest age groups at the bottom and the oldest at the top. The shape of the population pyramid gradually evolves over time based on fertility, mortality, and international migration trends. Much analysis will be based on this data later in the research .

### ***Major Ethnic Groups and their Geographical Locations***

According to Gyimah-Boadi and Asante (2004), the Ga-Adangbe people are a small group in the South-eastern parts of Ghana, particularly in the Eastern and Greater-Accra Regions. The capital, Accra is indigenously Ga-Adangbe. The Ewes predominate in the east, near Ghana's border with the Republic of Togo, a country where Ewes also constitute one of the major-ethnic groups. Despite the fact that Ewes are found largely in the Volta region, there are many minority ethnic groups – such as the Likpe, Avetime, Akans, Krachie and Nchumaru - that also live there. Much further to the north, located in Ghana's Savannah zone, are two other major ethnic constellations, the Gurma in the North-east and the Mole-Dagbani to the West.

The Middle and Southern parts of Ghana are predominantly Akans who constitute nearly 50%<sup>86</sup> of the Ghanaian population, and includes sub-groups such as the Ashanti, Fanti, Nzema, Brong, Akyem, Agona, Aowin, Wassa, Kwahu, Sefwi, Boualé, Ahanta people with little or no variation in their dialects. There is believed to be over 8.5 million Akans living in La Cote d'Ivoire alone. Akans are considered the largest meta-ethnic and ethno-linguistic group in both countries forming over 20 million people. The Akan language has two major variations though comprehensible between them. The language is spoken outside of Africa as well.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> CIA World Fact Book, 2014

<sup>87</sup> A form of Akan (Ndyuka) is also spoken in South America, notably Suriname, French Guiana, Guyana, etc. with Akans names and culture still used in South America and the Caribbean, mainly in Jamaica. This was attributable to the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade. The language is studied in many North American and United States universities, including Harvard University and nine others.

This complex mix of ethnicity and regionalism has allowed political and cultural entrepreneurs to exploit divisions and sub-classifications to suit their purposes. For instance, an individual may subjectively cast as Akan, even though the person considers himself as non-Akan on the basis of paternity or maternity. Moreover, in reality, Akyem or Brong affinity towards an Asante today may be less than towards a Ga, or Ewe, while an Asante's predilection towards a Dagomba may be stronger and more positive than towards say, a Fanti or a Denkyira. Similarly, the expression '*Northerners*' is often used as if the inhabitants of the Northern, Upper-East and Upper-West regions form one single ethnic group. However, the reality is that of the contrary as most of the languages are not intelligible to one another.

Overall, the trajectory of census data reveals that Ghana's ethnic groups are not confined to specific geographical areas. Internal migration and foreign immigration have rendered the various areas less and less homogeneous over time from the point of view of tribal distinction.

Surprisingly, despite this hotchpotch of ethnicities, Ghana's ethnic map is almost coterminous with its religious map. Christians who constitute about 69% of the population are found largely in the southern sections while Muslims who constitute about 16% live mainly in the north. Animists are evenly distributed among the various ethnic groups throughout the country.<sup>88</sup> The spatial distribution of the two major foreign religions, Islam and Christianity, almost

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<sup>88</sup> Ghana Statistical Service, 2000

coincides with the division of the country into the northern half which is less developed and lacking several advantages, and the southern half which is wealthy and more developed.

### ***Inter-Tribal Tension in Ghana***

#### *The Perceived Ashanti-Ewe Strife*

As mentioned earlier, the Ashanti, an Akan-speaking group with the population of 47.5%, was a powerful kingdom in the pre-colonial era that successfully resisted British imperialism for decades and saw over four wars and few clashes between them. Today, the Ashanti nationalism still runs strong, and its traditional monarchy continues to function, reigning over a “constitutionally protected, sub-nation state.” Ghana’s main ethnic groups are clumped regionally across the country.

The Ewe group, on the other hand, found their lands divided by European imperialism. The Ewes occupy south-eastern Ghana and the southern parts of neighboring Togo and Benin. Subdivisions of the Ewe include the Anglo (Anlo), Bey (Be), and Gen on the coast, and the Peki, Ho, Kpando, Tori, and Ave in the interior. Oral tradition suggests that the Ewes immigrated into Ghana before the mid-fifteenth century. Although the Ewes have been described as a single language group, there is considerable dialectic variation. Some of these dialects are mutually intelligible, but only with little difficulty.

Unlike the socio-political organization of the Akan, where matrilineal inheritance or rule prevails, the Ewes are essentially patrilineal. The founder of

a community became the chief and was usually succeeded by his paternal relatives. The largest independent political unit was a chiefdom, the head of which was essentially a ceremonial figure who was assisted by a council of elders. Chiefdoms ranged, in population, from a few hundred people in one or two villages to several thousand in chiefdom with a large number of villages and surrounding countryside. Similarly, contrary to the Ashanti, no Ewe chiefdom gained hegemonic power over its neighbor. The rise of Ewe nationalism in both Ghana and Togo was more of a reaction to the May 1956 plebiscite that partitioned Ewe land between the then Gold Coast and Togo than to any sense of overriding ethnic unity. The Ewes form 13.9% of Ghana's population as reported by the 2010 Population and Housing Census.

There is seemingly animosity between the Ashantis and them which might have come about as a modern-day phenomenon. The Ewes and Ashantis have had great and warm relations at independence with alliances such as the United Party etc. between them; but that is history now as Adogla comments:

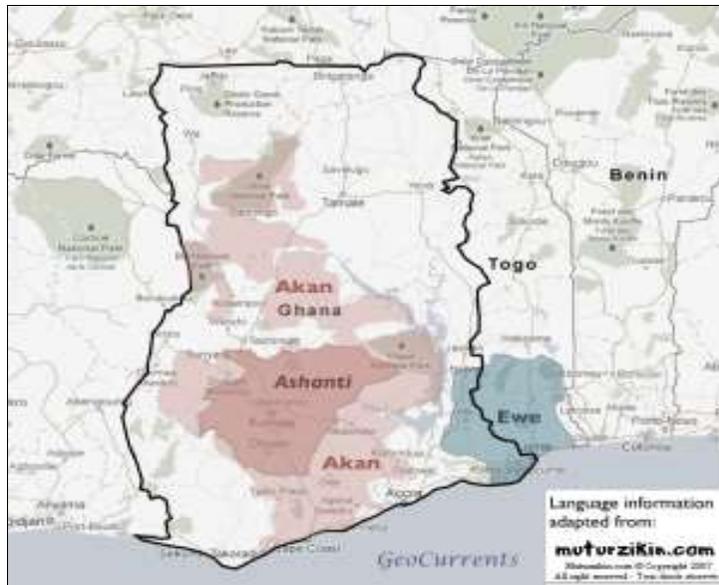
Historically, there has been animosity between the Akan in general and Ashanti in particular and the Ewe people; this goes back to the days of conquest when the Ashanti Empire dominated the Ewe. The days since have been marked by subliminal rivalry that occasionally boils over, though thankfully not violently. Politics has become an arena for exercising this rivalry.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>This was a comment made by Eugene Adogla on *GeoCurrents's* website: On the subject of *Ethnicity and Political Division in Ghana* captured on September 7, 2014 at: <http://www.geocurrents.info/geopolitics/elections/ethnicity-and-political-division-in-ghana>

This perceived difference between the Ashantis and Ewes are well demonstrated in almost every facet of the Ghanaian life, especially in the member-constitution of the two dominant political parties where the Ashantis are sympathisers and supporters of the New Patriotic Party and the Ewes, National Democratic Congress.

**Figure 4.1.2 Showing Ghana's Ashanti/Akan and Ewe Map**



 The Ethnic Conflicts in the North

In 1981, the first large-scale inter-ethnic conflict in the Northern Region, since the pre-colonial period, broke out. Young Konkomba intellectuals in Bimbilla had founded their own local office of KOYA in the late 1970s, which argued for emancipation, education and the abolition of ‘outdated’ customs that had previously led to intra-ethnic feuding, such as the infant betrothal of girls in exchange for the labour of their future husbands on the parents’ farms and decided to organise themselves into headmen in

the society. *The Peoples of Africa* – an ethno-historical dictionary reports that the “Konkombas are mortal enemies with the Nanumbas, and hostilities between the two peoples resulted in hundreds of deaths in 1981”<sup>90</sup>

Olson & Stuart (1996) argue that traditionally, the social structure in the Northern Region has been divided into chiefly that are lacking in distinctive heads. The former have organised themselves around hereditary chieftaincy structures that have a hierarchy from lower level chiefs, divisional chiefs to paramount chiefs, and even some levels of chiefs that are superior to paramount chiefs who acts like kings. Four ethnic groups, Dagombas, Nanumbas, Gonjas, and Mamprusis, organize themselves this way. The acephalous groups, such as the Konkombas, Nawuris, Basares, and Nchumurus, are segmentary societies that have not had hierarchical structures such as chiefs and chieftaincies. To a very large extent they are migratory yam farmers who settle on a land and till it until it becomes less fertile, at which time they move on to other areas where the land has lain fallow for some time.

In most of the Northern Region, the traditional land tenure practice has not recognised individual ownership of land. Land ownership, to a very large extent, has been vested in paramount chiefs and is held in trust or

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<sup>90</sup> Olson, James Stuart 1996

on behalf of the ethnic groups to which the chief belongs. This, therefore, has restricted land ownership to chiefly groups. These groups argue that they were original settlers who allowed the acephalous groups migrating from other areas to settle on their land and farm there by permission. For this permission, the settlers pay tribute to the chiefs, although in many instances the tribute has become more and more symbolic.

The acephalous groups have resented the monopoly of land ownership in the hands of the chiefly peoples as well as the tribute that they are required to pay and often argued that they owned some of the lands as far back in the sixteenth century and that they had been invaded by the chiefly groups, who then took over the land and imposed their rule on them, which they insist on the creation of their own paramount chieftaincy that can hold land in trust for them. Hidden, under the issues of chieftaincy and title for land, are deep resentments based on perceptions of economic and political inequalities, social and cultural prejudices, and competition for limited resources.

Moreover, the era of multi-party politics in Ghana has made population a sensitive issue. The population of some of the acephalous people has been increasing rapidly, and this has meant more demand for representation in national and regional politics. This was threatening

traditional authority in the area, which was based on ethnicity and control of land.

To complicate issues further, religion also played a role in reinforcing the fault lines in the conflict. The leadership of the acephalous groups is predominately Christian, having close connections with Western churches and missionaries, while the chiefly groups are primarily Muslim, thereby creating animosity. (Assefa & Hizkias 2000)

A november-2004 paper for the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity by Dzodzi Tsikata, Senior Research Fellow at the University of Ghana and Wayo Seini, Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics and head of the Economics Division at the University of Ghana, provides background information on the conflict between the Nanumbas and the Konkombas and argued that most of the conflicts in Northern Ghana have been between ethnic groups that regard themselves as indigenous, and others that historically invaded and established the traditional kingdoms of the North. The aborigines of Northern Ghana, like those in other parts of modern-day Ghana, did not have centralised political systems. Lineage took the place of political allegiance with many ancestries forming a clan. Family heads took all important decisions and resolved conflicts between people from different clans. A religious head called the *Tindana* had spiritual control over the

land and people residing in his area. The aborigines found their area invaded around the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, resulting in the establishment of the Manpurugu, Dagbon, Nanun and also the Gonja traditional kingdoms. The new comers usurped political powers but were assimilated culturally.

It is important to note that the Konkombas are the largest of the “aboriginal” ethnic groups in Northern Ghana. The conflicts between the Konkombas and the traditional kingdoms of Northern Ghana have been described by Brukum (1995) as wars of emancipation, with one group determined to maintain the status quo and the other fighting to overthrow it. Realising the fertile nature of the lands in their host areas, some migrant Konkombas decided to settle as agrarians and established permanent villages from Sambu near Yendi in the North, to Dambai in the Kete-Krachi district in the Volta Region. It was however in Nanun that trouble developed between them and their hosts.

The main causes of Konkomba dissatisfaction were that they were compelled, like everyone else in the area, to put in some days for free labour each year on the farms of Nanumba chiefs; that the chiefs also intermittently collected tribute in the form of foodstuff and livestock from their Konkomba tenants; and lastly, that it was required of them to donate a hind leg of any big animal killed, whether wild or domesticated,

to Nanum chiefs during funerals. Perhaps the most problematic aspect of the settler-host relationship was the fact that the Konkombas were not allowed to settle disputes among themselves, including matrimonial and other interpersonal conflicts.

The ailing KOYA was revived in the early 1970s to address some of these problems. Its objectives had included projecting Konkomba culture and abandoning obsolete customs. It was also decided that each Konkomba community in the host areas should select their leader to adjudicate petty problems among them. The implementation of the latter involved the Konkombas and their Nanumba hosts in a serious conflict in 1981, ensuing in many mortalities.

The Konkombas' actions in these conflicts arise from their desire for recognition and self-assertion. Those in the "diaspora" are many, and scattered all over many areas in the Savannah and transitional areas of Ghana. However, apart from Saboba, they do not have a large settlement anywhere else. The Konkombas, then in 1993, petitioned the National House of Chiefs to elevate the chief of Saboba to a paramountcy without passing it through the Yaa Na, the overlord of Dagbon in which Saboba is situated. This created tension between the Dagombas and the Konkombas. When in 1994, fighting erupted between the Nanumbas and

the Konkombas; the Dagombas were already drawn into the fighting by default<sup>91</sup>

 Ghana – Ethnicity and Elections

In all, these tension or divide between the two ethnic groupings have been demonstrated at every election since Ghana’s return to democratic governance in 1992, as shown in the figure below:

**Table 5.5C Presidential Elections between two parties (NPP and NDC) in two Regions (Ashanti and Volta) from 1992 - 1996.**

	1992		1996		2000		2004		2008	
	Volta	Ashanti	Volta	Ashanti	Volta	Ashanti	Volta	Ashanti	Volta	Ashanti
<b>NPP</b>	3.6	<b>60.5</b>	4.7	<b>63.8</b>	10.8	<b>80.5</b>	14.3	<b>74.61</b>	15	<b>72.4</b>
<b>NDC</b>	<b>93.2</b>	32.9	<b>94.5</b>	32.8	<b>89.2</b>	19.5	<b>83.8</b>	24.06	<b>82.9</b>	26.13

*Source: Data from Electoral Commission of Ghana \* Table, Own Construction*

Despite its rich ethnic diversity and rivalry, as indicated earlier, easy geographical and social mobility has scattered people from various ethnic groups throughout the country without destroying or weakening their ethnic bonds.

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<sup>91</sup> Tsikata, Dzodzi & Seini, Wayo 2004, Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, November, pp.29-31 <http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs/workingpaper5.pdf> – Accessed 23 March 2009

Ethnic rivalries during the colonial era and the effect of colonialism on different groups and regions of the country, and uneven distribution of social and economic development in both the colonial and post-independence Ghana have all contributed to the inequalities, and to some extent, the present day tensions within and among the various ethnic groups in particular and the country in general.

As highlighted before, no part of Ghana is ethnically homogeneous; an overriding feature of the country's ethnic polarisation is the north–south divide and the dominance of the southern half of Ghana in general and in particular by the Akan group. This segment of Ghanaian society has enjoyed relative economic and political dominance in both the colonial and post-colonial epochs.

As with the social so is it with the political. Ghana's political landscape is marred with sharp division between those of populist and the elitist strands in society as well as between the rural and urban dwellers.

Another divide is resultant of the north–south migration drift that is emblematic of the ethno-regional inequalities that have long been developed in Ghana since colonial times where infrastructural development and productive projects were and are still concentrated in the south with the north relatively left underdeveloped.

## **National Unity and Cohesion – The Case of Ghana**

Taking into context Ghana, national cohesion and integration has been a process and an outcome of instilling and enabling all citizens to have a sense and a feeling that they are members of the one nation engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges and enjoying equal opportunities. Ghana aims at creating an overarching national community that renders loyalty to competing ethnic, racial, regional, class and religious communities as periphery as its ultimate goal of national unity. It focuses on embracing all-citizenry's participation in economic, social and political processes. In an effort to fostering this unity there have been state institutions such as NCCE, The Peace Council, respect for and roles of chieftaincy and the boarding school system etc. are good practices to encourage respect for diversity.

### **Actors in National Unity and Cohesion**

Governments are found to be leaders in the search for national unity. They are particularly, the executive arm, are expected to provide the leadership role which is an epithet of national integration. In the case of Ghana, the president is referred to as the "*Father of the Nation*". As a result, his ability to unite all and sundry will be with little or no effort as he is considered in that regard for coherence. It has, at its disposal, the vital institutions for integration and all it needs do it to enhance the activities of these institutions to perform those duties. Government's role, as the research found out, in the developing economies

cannot be overemphasized owing to the amount of power, resources and the goodwill of the people that it wields with little or sometimes no strong opposition. Hence, it can by way of planning, policy making and co-ordination, facilitation, implementation, regulation and monitoring can score high points in spearheading and achieving of national unity agenda.

The next finding was the enormous share wielded by the traditional authority (the chiefs, queen mothers, council of elders, traditional priests, *odikros and abusuapanyin*)<sup>92</sup> in Ghana socio-cultural dynamics. They are regarded vital in the social web and tools for achieving the national cohesion quest. According to the CIKOD, a local NGO which focuses on the development of indigenous institutions in Ghana, 80 per cent of Ghanaians claim allegiance to one kind of chief or another.<sup>93</sup> The institution is considered to be the repository of history and traditional ways, as well as the custodian of the indigenous traditions, customs, and society of Ghana. The institution is further considered to be the bond between the dead, the living, and the yet unborn. It is a revered institution which occupies the vacuum created by Ghana's modern political structures in

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<sup>92</sup> *Odikro* and *Abusuapanyin*, i.e. Town/village lords and clan heads respectively are the titles given to the lowest levels of authority in terms of hierarchy in the Akan traditional authorities of Ghana. Their powers vary depending on the importance and size of their jurisdictions.

<sup>93</sup> Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD) is an NGO based in Ghana. Its main purpose is to develop methodologies for the strengthening of traditional authorities and civil society organizations to facilitate sustainable grassroots organizational development that gives voice to the poor and vulnerable rural families. CIKOD is partnering with a number of International Organizations including CARE International, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and COMPAS International. It is also an active member of COMPAS which is an international network with headquarters in the Netherlands that seeks to encourage Development practitioners to take indigenous knowledge seriously and support endogenous development in Africa, Asia and South America.

terms of customary arbitration and law and enforcement at the community level. The chiefs are seen as embodiment of unity and they are expected to maintain high level of neutrality devoid of political affinity. These demands are well documented in the 1992 Constitution: “A chief shall not take part in active party politics and any chief wishing to do so [...] shall abdicate his stool or skin”.<sup>94</sup> Chiefs are charged with the responsibility of instilling positive values that nurture leadership, good governance and cohesion and sense of oneness and belongingness. Community elders are encouraged to support their communities to embrace the values of integrity, honesty, chastity, humility, hard work, patriotism, community service, selflessness and dedication to national cohesion and integration.

Closely related to the traditional authorities is community-based organizations’ role in the local levels to promote national cohesion and integration by encouraging participation of local communities in different activities that assist in managing and incorporating diversity. Through their numerous activities at the grass root level, they enable different communities to interact and come up with their own solutions for peaceful co-existence, thus, shunning divisive and segregated ways of perceiving other communities.

Another group that is indispensable to national cohesion is the youth. In the world sense, they are regarded as the future leaders, and their exuberance, tremendous resourcefulness, youthfulness and energy can well be channeled

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<sup>94</sup> Chapter 22, Article 276 (1) of Ghana’s 1992 or the Fourth Republican Constitution

into a broader national development as well as agents of change and development. Most conflicts, all over the world, are being perpetrated by the youth or in a better statement, the youth are often used by perpetrators for their own egoistic interest. Young people, as in the case of many countries, are the largest and most active age group and are therefore important actors who can determine the destiny of the country. It is for this sense that they are considered virtue and at the same time vice, depending on how well they are guided or misguided. They need inspiration, empowerment, encouragement and motivation to be able to locate their potentials in nation building.

Similarly, women are considered crucial in the nation building. As once said by the famous son of Ghana that, Dr. Aggrey said:

“The surest way to keep people down is to educate the men and neglect the women. If you educate a man you simply educate an individual, but if you educate a woman, you educate a whole nation”<sup>95</sup>

The synergy created by women on cohesion acts as a catalyst for development in society. Their motherliness, affection, wisdom, patience, tolerance,

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<sup>95</sup> Dr. James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey was one of the leading figures in the history of education in Africa as well as a great sociologist, orator, preacher, and far-sighted a politician, and equally famous for his witty and epigrammatic sayings, Aggrey, an apostle of inter-racial co-operation, advocated and helped to cut the path of progress for the African race in many fields, particularly in the direction of Religion, Education, and Agriculture. He is known as the “Father of African Education, First African Gender Activist, Pan-Africanist, African Theologian, Civil Right Activist, And Father of Achimota College”, a senior high school which he became its first black vice principal. Dr. Aggrey was born in Gold Coast (modern Ghana) in 1875 and died in 1927. He made this statement when he tried to convince the colonial masters the need to co-educate in his conquering efforts to admit female in Achimota College.

obedience, energy, innovation, character and orientation define the pace of development of a nation by way of nurturing citizens the way that they become useful to the national unit and development plan. Through their creative talents, seductive nature and labour power and love for their family in particular and society in general, they have been a force in contributing to dispute resolution, peace building and also regarded as unity embodiment towards a cohesive society. With policies such as the Affirmative Action, women's role in building a bonded community cannot be overemphasized.

The Media and its roles in society was another revelation. The media is often touted as the fourth realm of the state.<sup>96</sup> This is because of the coverage, the followership and its position in the dissemination of message is unmatched. With the proliferation of radio receivers, internet, mobile technologies and the social media platforms, the media has become more powerful in open societies and democracies. For this matter it plays an essential role in promoting national bonding if the personnel of the media are adequately equipped with the requisite training and direction. However, it was also found that most of the people behind the media are either not professional or being manipulated by the political leadership resulting in the lack of fairness, objectivity and neutrality in their reportage. With training and a bit of direction, not regulation or

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<sup>96</sup> This usage of the media being the fourth estate of government is attributable to the three branches of government – executive, legislature and judiciary – and their crucial roles in shaping a nation. The media is seen in that regard as crucial in nation building or wrecking. The case of Rwandan genocide of 1994 that saw over a million people slaughtered in 100 days, being orchestrated by just a piece of announcement on a small radio station.

ensorship on the part of government, the mass media will be dispensable in fostering unity and development.

Faith-based organisations' roles in the Ghanaian society cannot be exaggerated. They play crucial roles in peacemaking and successful implementation of peace programmes. Like the chiefs, the leaders of the various religious groups are well revered. And with the amount of crusading spirit and indoctrination, people would go any extent to implement, to the letter, the directives of the "spiritual" leaders.

On a lighter note, a joke is shared in Ghana. Ghana, like many African countries, is meshed up in a situation of being ruled by these FBOs. The story goes that, at the university and thereafter, the best of students join medical, engineering, business schools etc. and the rest are found in the Humanities. Out of those found in the Humanities, the first class students end up teaching, the second class found themselves in the law schools and the rest – the third class and the failed, in politics. In the end, the medics, businessmen, professors and engineers employ the lawyers (second class) to advise them, so becoming subjects to them, the lawyers, in turn, are made to follow the politicians (third class and the failed) and laws made to them. The lawyers then become subjects of the politicians, and worst of all, the politicians go to these FBOs such as pastors, Muslim clerks and fetish priests etc., with little or no education, to acquire wisdom, direction and spiritual shield, making them subjects to the FBOs. So in the end, the illiterates rule societies in Africa.

Notwithstanding the level of their education of some practitioners of this faith, their contributions to conflict resolution, roles in peace-building and capacity nurturing for national unity and cohesion are crucial. One of the reasons of Ghana's relative peace in the sub-region is often attributed to the roles played by religion. Many FBOs have the capacity to build "social capital" and contribute further to community cohesion and development. There are several projects undertaken by these institutions in Ghana such as hospitals, schools foster homes, etc. For their commanding roles in Ghana, the Peace Council, a body for peace-building, is often membered and headed by reps of the FBOs.

Similar observation made, which has also contributed to national cohesion and unity, is the education system. Ghana's boarding school system has all high schools, colleges and universities housing students from diverse cultures. This has added to the peaceful co-existence and mutual understanding which has fostered a greater interaction across the ethnic, social, political, religious and geographical divides. It has provided the necessary platform for creating diversity awareness; reducing anti-sectarianism; facilitating attitude change; promoting loyalty, brotherliness and patriotism towards nation-building.

Last but not the least, is the role played by NGOs, IGOs and the private sector in the quest for national unity and cohesion. They are considered partners in development, especially with the NGOs, that provides not only humanitarian assistance and technical support offered but also the creation of awareness and the provision of information on the challenges facing marginalised communities and as well as on peace-building.

Being aware of the impact of conflicts on the returns of their investments, the private sector, on their part, has an interest and been playing important roles in ensuring that national cohesion, peace and cohabitation is achieved in society. However, partnership with government by way of more regulation and co-ordination of their activities is required of them. If well managed the private sector would complement the efforts of government in promoting national cohesion for development.

### **Challenges in Fostering National Unity and Cohesion**

Ghana, though among the various African countries, is relatively regarded as an embodiment of unity and peace, nevertheless, like the proverbial saying, the trees in the forest always look knit together when observed from afar but a closer look may suggest that the trees are world apart. A closer look in the Ghanaian socio-political landscape revealed that are still pockets of challenges to achieving the highest levels of national cohesion and unity.

At the outset, the country is sharply divided along party lines. The last general elections were nearly marred with conflicts. They were flawed with ethnic-induced inflammatory speeches, bi-polarization and division of the country along socio-political ranks that determine political opinion and positions. In order to achieve the peace and unity that the country deserves, careful attention must be given to the following which form the bases for most conflicts around the globe. The challenges include:

- ✚ Dishonesty, selfishness and perceived massive corruption among leaders coupled with weak institutions of state and strong executives;

- ✚ Complexities in migration, settlement patterns and easy acquisition of citizenship by other foreigners;
- ✚ Unresolved historical injustices and uneven development created by colonialism and partisan politics;
- ✚ Private and/ or multiple and improper ownership of community lands;
- ✚ Inequality in access to and control of scarce resources such finance, land, technology and communication by few of the people;
- ✚ Deteriorating morals and values – higher levels of crime, fear of crime and anti-social behaviours that are imports of foreign and deviant cultures; and
- ✚ Weakening of the family unit and bonding which once served as social security for the poor and marginalised in society.

### **Elements of National Disunity in Ghana**

One scholar argued that the more human race makes evident their common needs, the more brutal humans insist on,

“[...] claims of difference. The centripetal forces of need, labor and science which are pulling us together as a species are counterbalanced by the centrifugal forces, the claims of tribe, race, class, section, region and nation, pulling us apart.”<sup>97</sup>

National disunity in various African states is believed to having telling effects on the politico-socio-economic advancement on the people. This has often manifested itself in various forms, including escalations that roll back the countries development agenda. These centrifugal forces when not checked, as stated before do not only derail national development but also costly to human lives.

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<sup>97</sup> Hassner P. Beyond Nationalism and Internationalism: Ethnicity and World Order”, *Survival* 35:2, summer 1993, p. 55.

In Ghana and elsewhere in Africa, citizens are sharply divided along the lines mentioned by Hassner (1993), but for the sake of this thesis discussions will be centered on religion, ethnicity, others that manifest in Ghana's socio-political setup.

### ***Ethnicity and Nepotism***

Ethnicity, in itself manifestation cannot be said to be bad, however, because of the many challenges that it poses, it has become synonymous with evil as le Carré, sarcastically bemoans that “while pulling down the economic borders, these ethnic crazies are putting up national borders”<sup>98</sup>

Ethnic groups are assemblages of people who see themselves or are seen by others as sharing a distinctive identity and traits based on certain features (Achebe: 1975). These features include belief in a common origin, ancestral heritage, kinship, language history; social cohesion, physical appearance, culturally-specific practices and norms, shared interests and geographical location. Ethnicity and Nepotism, within a state, is regarded as a centrifugal force against national unity and cohesion. This is partly or wholly due to ethnic groups that owe much allegiance to the groups rather than to the nation at large. This social canker has found haven in all socio-political dimensions in Ghana and the rest of Africa. Some politicians have found it expedient to play on tribal cards for political advantage. For example, before writing this paper, a lady in

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<sup>98</sup> In le Carré's book, *Our Game*, he encapsulates a salient feature of the Cold war international system: the divisive impact of ethnicity and its opposite – the seemingly inevitable spread of global culture transcending national boundaries – whose chief instruments of trade, capital flows, and a global communications network will, as argued, produce over the long run economic and political liberalization.

her late 50s called Aunty Mercy, a native of the Volta Region of Ghana, the stronghold of the ruling NDC, had confined in me that performance of the present NDC administration is inconsequential to her as long as she sees and feels that current administration is filled with “her people”. She added it inures to her benefit and she easily gets things done without hustle. Hence, she rather prefers the NDC to the other party, NPP which is Akan-based.<sup>99</sup> This assertion by Aunty Mercy is common and reflective of both sides of the political divide. Ethnicity and nepotism has spread like wildfire in Ghanaian politics since the return to multi-party democracy in 1992. This tribal assertion was at its peak when President Mahama lamented in the Ashanti’s capital and stronghold of the opposition NPP, that they are not appreciative of his good works:

“However, the Akan [people] have a saying that, the chicken never pleases the hawk no matter how well it dances. But that shouldn’t discourage us. We have noted the promise we made to Ghanaians for which we were voted into power. As for some people, even if we construct roads tarred with gold in Kumasi, they will tell us that we did nothing”.<sup>100</sup>

The ethnic rivalry had its root in colonial era where some parts of the country benefitted from the colonial masters’ development plan. Some groups were subjected to social injustices as in the case of many African colonies notably the Hutus-Tutsi rivalry in Rwanda. Much obvious at independence are the

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<sup>99</sup> The ruling party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), is perceived to be predominantly supported by the Ewe people from the Volta Region of Ghana which buttresses the opinion of the woman being from that region. The other party, New Patriotic Party (NPP) is rather regarded as a pro-Ashanti people’s party.

<sup>100</sup> Source captured at Ghana’s radio station, Citi FM’s website: [www.citifmonline.com](http://www.citifmonline.com) on August 27, 2014. The president had made the statement on 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2014.

construct of the railway lines that only linked communities with deposits gold, timber and other raw materials needed to feed the colonial home industries, whereas sections of the country without them were undeveloped.

To recall, tribal issues, in February 1994, had more than 1,000 persons were killed and 150,000 others displaced in the north-eastern part of Ghana due to fighting between Konkombas on one side and Nanumba, Dagomba, and Gonja on the other. The clashes resulted from longstanding grievances over land ownership and the prerogatives of chiefs. A military task force restored order, but a state of emergency in the region remained in force until mid-August.<sup>101</sup> Although this violence was certainly evidence of ethnic tension in the country, most observers agreed that the case in point was exceptional.

A look again at *Table 5.5C* above, one will find the voting patterns in five general elections, based on ethnic lines in two regions in Ghana that are in parallel parties – the Ashanti and the Volta Regions. The NDC candidate who was incumbent won over 82% of votes cast over this period among the Ewes, which is his tribe but only managed between 19% and 33% in the Ashanti Region. The votes in the Ashanti looks a bit more encouraging for the simple reason that, the region is more cosmopolitan compared to the Volta region. The NPP candidate on the other hand could not manage more than 15% in the Volta region, however, swept at least 60% of valid votes cast in the Ashanti region.

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<sup>101</sup> Captured from the Ghana Web website titled “Ethnic Group” on 27<sup>th</sup> August, 2014 at [www.ghanaweb.com](http://www.ghanaweb.com)

And more worrying is the new concept as bemoaned by the president on that no matter what the fowl does, the falcon will never appreciate it.

### ***Coup D'états and Power-Sharing Syndrome***

Violent and undemocratic change of government is one of the most common methods of achieving power in Ghana and Africa, sometimes through rebel activities. As mentioned earlier, there have been roughly 80 such violent changes of government in Sub-Saharan Africa during the last four decades. A coup d'état by the military of a country can be instigated and even carried out by outside forces such as in the Comoros. However, most coup d'états are carried out without external instigation or support. They are generally the expression of a struggle for power between contending groups amongst the elite. And when the military feels it has been left out of such struggle, it generally takes over power on behalf of the people. As stated by Nkrumah, it is not the mandate of the armed force to govern and if it becomes a necessity for them to intervene in political processes, they ought to quickly hand over power to a democratically elected government.<sup>102</sup>

### **Conflicts and Africa's Integration and Development**

Conflict, the worst of all the elements of national disunity, is vital in this study. It has often been the bane in Africa's integration and socio-economic development. Intra-state conflicts have engulfed the entire continent from north to south and east to west. It does occur naturally and involves two or more

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<sup>102</sup> This was captured in a book by Kwesi Asante written in Geneva 1997.

parties with differing interests and perspectives. It may appear harmless from being discord, hostility, argument, antagonism, strife, friction and disharmony or disunity between two or more people at personal levels (between family members and friends and even within oneself) and at formal levels (between politicians, diplomats and businesses). It can also act as a stimulus for addressing complaints.<sup>103</sup> It can also be just a struggle or competition between two or more people over values, status, power and scarce resources. (Coser 1967:1) It may also be a broken relationship or an incompatible behavior between two or more parties whose goals or interests are perceived to be incompatible.

More seriously, conflict can be a form of deliberate competition over resources in which the competitors seek not only to overcome their rivals but to eliminate them from the competition or injure them, in order to control or deprive them of something against their will (Williams1970); and also the manifestation of incongruity over something, important to both disputants.

In all cases, however, if these occurrences are not resolved or managed appropriately, conflict has the potential to intensify and erupt into violence and sometimes war and destructions as in the cases of the two world wars.

There are two key features dimensions to the character and shape of conflict. First, conflict is bound to occur naturally as long as humans cohabit. It existed, still exist and will always exist among people in the face of differences. First

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<sup>103</sup> Kenyan Reconciliation Council's Report After the political conflicts of 2008

known conflict had taken place in the biblical Garden of Eden between brothers – Cain and Abel, when the former killed the latter pursuant to his failure to make a good sacrifice to God at His command. It is therefore important that we treat conflicts as natural occurrences that can only be managed and not eliminated. Second, conflict is impartial as it affects each one regardless of age, class, race, sex, education etc.

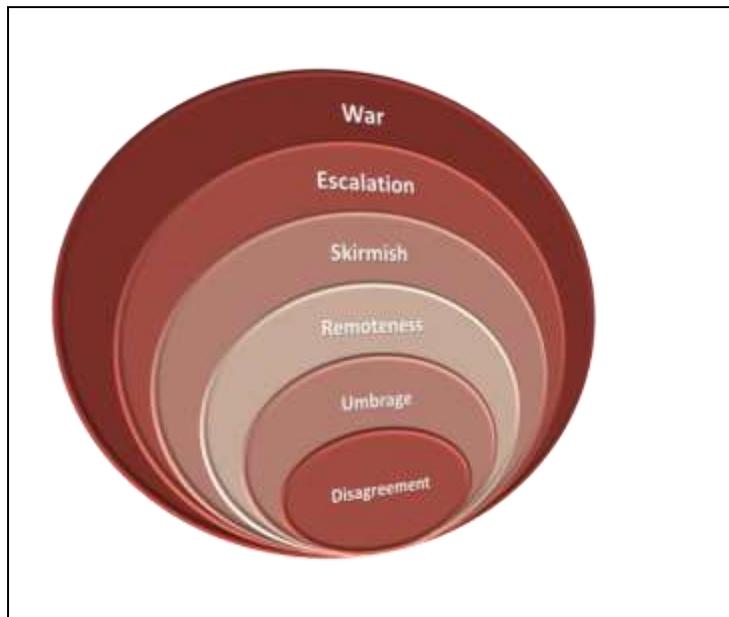
### ***WESRUD Stages of Conflicts***

It is prudent from the onset to make it clear that due to the amorphous nature of conflict, an absolute standard classification may not be achieved; hence, the study decided to consider stages of conflicts from self-developed observations in advent and escalation of conflicts.

***Figure 5.6A: The WESRUD Developmental Stages of Conflict***<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> WESRUD, acronym for War, Escalation, Skirmish, Remoteness, Umbrage and Disagreement as in Figure 5.6A. It is an own-created concept for the purpose of this study. The acronym starts from the worst form to mild stages of conflicts



The concept, WESRUD will be used in analysing the various stages of conflicts on the national scene. As result, the initial stage of conflict within a person (i.e. intra-personal or inner conflict) will not be discussed, even though it is a precursor to a person's attitudes, feelings, and behaviours in interactions towards another.

So the stages will start with inter-personal using the WESRUD conflict concept. First we will consider it in the direction of involving one or few persons, groups to national and beyond. Here too, a concept will be drawing interfacing both stages. A person who is well loved and cherished by society will exhume same amount of love to another whereas a person facing a case to the contrary will likewise reflect his behavior on others. Not forgetting a that a hungry man is an angry man, there people who are deprived of basic necessities are more likely to foment troubles than those in abundance.

- ✚ Inter-personal conflict: This refers to differences between individuals at a personal level;
- ✚ Intra-group conflict: This involves disagreements within groups. It could be over policy, strategy, values, standards or goals;
- ✚ Inter-group conflict: It refers to the variances between groups; and
- ✚ Inter-state: This is the conflict between states.

### ***Causes of Conflicts in Africa***

Zero-Sum Game political system is regarded as the one of the major causes of conflicts in Africa. Citing example in the case of Ghana's last elections in 2012, even though the winner won by a margin of less than 3% and it's even worse with the 2008 elections where the winner had less than 1% margin between him and that of the second placed party, constitutional framework does not enforce members of the losing team to be part of the executive structure. This creates a divide of almost 50.3 percent of those receiving the booty by way of winning and 49.7 of those at the losing end. This often creates tension and conflicts between the winners and losers, especially knowing that his electioneering cost is stirring at him and not sure of the next mandate to lead his party, degenerating to conflicts in many parts of Africa.

Closely-related to the issue of zero-sum game is electoral malpractices – “fee and foul” instead of free and fair elections. Leaders of political parties, having in mind that electoral win has a huge incentive of carrying the whole of the country, are bent on doing anything and everything in their sheaths to rig elections in their favour. In 2012, Ghana went to the brink of conflict or war when the opposition party reported of perceived electoral malpractice in the

conduct of the elections. If the opposition had not been believer of rule of law, and not rule of rod as in the cases of Zimbabwe and Kenya, Ghana would have joined the league of the nations mentioned above for electoral disputes turning to escalations. The matter was referred to the Supreme Court for redress which averted otherwise threats of conflicts. Electoral disputes had caused conflicts in Zimbabwe – 2007, Kenya – 2010 and Nigeria – 2010 etc.

In addition, ethnicity and factionalism by way of religion, nepotism and cronyism is believed to be starting points of conflicts in most African countries. There had been over 1,000 conflicts in Africa that were induced by ethnicity and religion. For example there are activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria, Muslim-Christian clashes in Central African Republic and the Al Shabaab in Somalia and Kenya and so on.

Another contributing factor to conflicts can be attributed to over-concentration of state powers in the hands of the executive. This often makes the leaders capable of doing anything including trampling over the rule of law and infringing on people's rights and even worse when there exist weaker judicial and parliamentary provisions. The citizens upon whose rights the executive tramples often result at times to violence with little provocation. A case of ethnic clashes can be traced to the 2009 clashes between the Nanumbas and the Konkombas due to perceived political injustices, the beheading of YaNa Yakubu and 40 other Andanes by Abudus in Yendi in 2001, and the same clashes in Accra between the same groups in 2009 due power changing hands.

Bad governance serves good grounds in sparking off conflicts. Where and when the citizens perceived their leaders as corrupt and careless of their plight, they may want to take the law into their hands and revolt as was evidenced in the wake of the Arab Spring in North Africa and recently in developments leading to the forceful overthrow of Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso. These, more often than not, are a clear case of citizens bring fed-up with ruler-ship, hence, taking matters into their hands. This resulted in the chasing out of their president in October 2014. Records indicate that most of the countries in the world with issues of poor governance are located in Africa, making the continent bereft of unity for development.

Chieftaincy and Poor Land Tenure System also accounts for one of the bases for conflicts in Africa. Many lands are owned by ethnic groups, families, individuals etc. making it hard for proper documentation and control by the central authority. This often creates perennial conflicts between contesting parties owing to multiple sales and ownerships of these lands.

## **Conflict Resolution: What Went Wrong and Why?**

### ***Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Resolution Modes***

Conflict, as already mentioned, abounds everywhere. Research indicates that each of us spends an average of two to three hours a week entwined some way in conflicts. In the most cases, the aftermaths are unsatisfactory and lead to fall-outs, resentment, and disruptions from the real purposes of life. The cost, sometimes, human lives are inconsiderable. That's why approaches to conflict

resolution, such as the Thomas-Kilmann model<sup>105</sup>, are vital to learning how to manage conflict more effectively.

Conflicts, when not resolved properly, are as good as zilch. Due processes are required to be followed to be able to ascertain the root causes of them. Timeline, onion-bulb, “cow-dung” approaches etc. to solving conflicts must be considered thoroughly when resolving conflicts. There are always challenging as in a way to resolving these fracas, vital components are overlooked, which in the long run engender conflicts. Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Modes have been employed by the study to showcase various five ways of dealing with conflicts as shown in Figure 5.7A.

First and foremost, is Competition! This option is at the top left of the model which means the person takes a wholly assertive and non-co-operative approach to resolving the conflict. It means standing up for your rights, defending a position which you believe is correct, or simply trying to beat the other side. It may also employ force to overpower others in decision-making in order to get what one wants by all means. The aim is to win and make the other party lose by placing high value on one’s opinions and desires and very little on those of the other party. This is a zero-sum or win/lose orientation, hence, the loser will be aggrieved which may be a recipe for conflict later.

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<sup>105</sup> The Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode assesses an individual’s behaviour in conflict situations – that is, situations in which the concerns of two people appear to be incompatible. In conflict situations, we can describe a person’s behavior along two basic dimensions: (1) assertiveness, the extent to which the individual attempts to satisfy his or her own concerns, and (2) cooperativeness, the extent to which the individual attempts to satisfy the other person’s concerns. These two dimensions of behaviour can be used to define five methods of dealing with conflict.

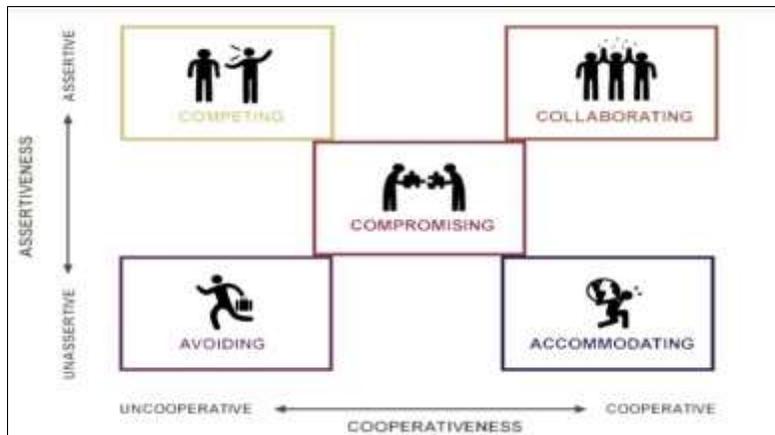
Second is Accommodation! The accommodating option is at the bottom right and opposite competition in the spectrum of the model, which means the person takes a wholly unassertive and co-operative approach. This might take the form of self-sacrificing generosity or charity, giving in to another person's orders when you would prefer not to, or yielding to another's point of view. In other words a party willingly gives the other what they want by going along with the group rather than their own convictions. This is a lose/win situation, because one party, by giving in to the demands of another with least consideration of his/her interests/needs, may lose and the other wins. This may maintain harmony only for a time but not forever.

Third on the bill is Circumvention or Avoidance which is at the bottom left of the model and opposite collaboration. Here, one takes an unassertive and non-co-operative approach to the conflict and not ready to deal with it. Avoiding might take the form of diplomatically dodging or adjourning an issue until a better time or simply withdrawing from a threatening situation. Individuals tend to avoid confrontations by flight or running away from the scene, which implies denial or withdrawal from a conflict situation. When individuals avoid, they do not satisfy their own concerns or those of the other party. This is a negative approach which culminates into a lose/lose situation and some level of neutrality. In the animal world, a tortoise denies there is trouble by withdrawing its tender body to its shell while the proverbial ostrich hides its head in the sand. In circumventing recurrence of such conflicts parties need to be brought back for redress.

Fourth is Compromise! The Compromising option is at the centre of the model because it is both assertive and co-operative but only to some extent. It's the approach of "half a sixpence is better than none". Both sides get something but not everything. It might mean splitting the difference between the two positions, some give and take, or seeking a quick solution in the middle ground. It is attaining a win/win and/or lose/lose situation where conflicting parties settle for partial satisfaction of their own concerns with relationships undamaged. This is usually the best way to tackling conflicts in the interim. However, if unity and cohesion is not brokered eventually, feuding parties will come back into the pool of conflicts.

Last but not the least is Collaboration! The Collaboration is at the top right of the model and is at the opposite extreme of avoiding. It means being enthusiastic to believe that when two parties are at loggerheads, it is possible for both sides to come out with what they want. Collaborating requires developed conflict resolution skills based on mutual respect, a willingness to listen to others, and creativity in finding solutions. Here parties in conflict strive to satisfy their concerns by looking for alternatives that would best bring maximum benefits that leave them satisfied. This is a win/win situation.

***Figure 5.7A: Thomas-Kilmann Modes of Conflict Resolution***



The diagram above has in a spectrum of two axes. The Y-axis has from zero upscale unassertiveness to assertiveness, that focuses on one’s own needs, desire, outcomes and agenda whereas on the X-axis, from zero upscale, non-cooperativeness to cooperativeness, i.e. taking other’s needs and mutual relationships to concern. When personal needs (concern for self) is set high, individuals resort to competition to get what they want at all cost. This is a fight response. On the other hand, when concern for the relationship is high, people tend to accommodate, adopting a flight response. The extreme illustrates a situation when concern for both relationship and self is low. Here, parties avoid confronting issues by running away from the problem. The diagram also shows compromise and collaboration as techniques, where both concern for self and the relationship is taken care of, with collaboration showing the highest concern for both. These two are flow responses. Each of these modes can be characterised by two scales: assertiveness and co-operation. None of these methods is wrong to use, but there are right and wrong times to use each one of them. The following sections describe the five models. The information may

help each team member to characterise his/her model for conflict management and prevention.

## **Effects of National Disunity and Conflicts in Africa**

National disunity, mostly the underlying factor of conflicts, hinders not only the quest for unity but also growth and development. Observation was made concerning ten countries selected at random from across Africa to find out the levels of unity and co-operation and the impact on socio-economic development: To what extent does national disunity affect growth and development in a state? The countries (Botswana, Burundi, Congo DR, Eritrea, Ghana, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania) and their expenditures on military, education, health, electricity as well as their GDP, per capita, population, unemployment and levels of poverty. These were the findings:

### ***Military Spending***

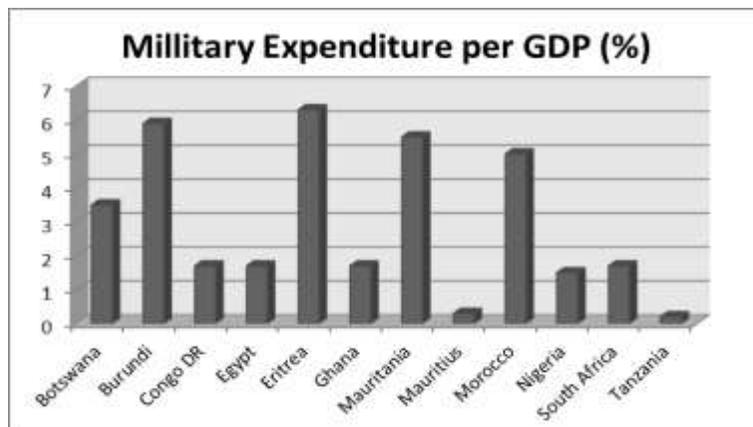
For Military expenditure, we found out that countries that have little or no conflicts spend less per the total GDP on military. For instance, Mauritius (0.3%) and Tanzania (0.2%) score high with the least spending. Mauritius has

“Stable democracy with regular free elections and a positive human rights record, the country has attracted considerable foreign investment and has earned one of Africa's highest per capita incomes in Africa”.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Central Intelligence Agency World Facts books

**Figure 4.5A: Average Military Expenditures between 2006 and 2009**



Tanzania, on its part, is one of the most integrated countries in Africa even with a common language. Morocco was also among the heavy spenders due to its involvement in the Western Sahara. Mauritania also has been experiencing political flux for the last two decades (coup d'états – 1984, 2005 and 2008).<sup>107</sup>

On the other hand, Eritrea and Burundi had the highest spending per total GDP. Records are that these countries, in one way or the other, are involved in internal and external conflicts, reasonably making them heavy spenders.

### ***Expenditure on Education***

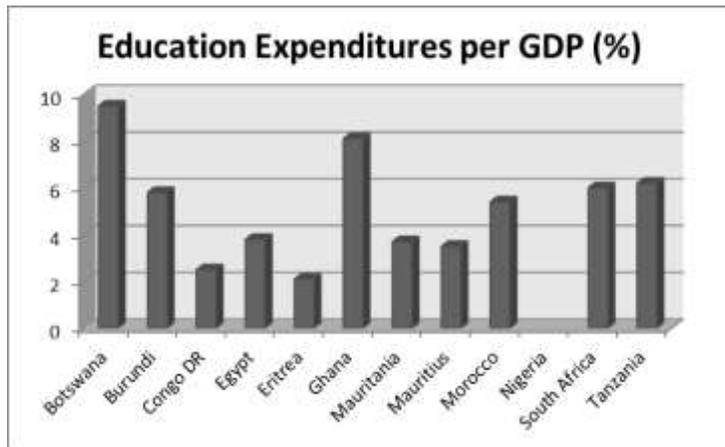
On education, the expenditure has it that those who had spent heavily in military were woeful spenders in education – which is most vital for human and

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<sup>107</sup> In April 2007 Mauritians experienced their first freely and fairly elected president. His term ended prematurely in August 2008 when a military junta deposed him and installed a military council government. The military leader was elected in July 2009 and sworn in the following month. He sustained injuries from an accidental shooting by his own troops in October 2012 but has continued to maintain his authority. The country continues to experience ethnic tensions among its black population (Afro-Mauritians) and white and black Moor (Arab-Berber) communities, and confronts a terrorism threat.

economic development. Here again, as expected, countries with relatively stable and peaceful environment such as Botswana, Ghana, and Tanzania scored high in education expenditures, as shown in the figure above.

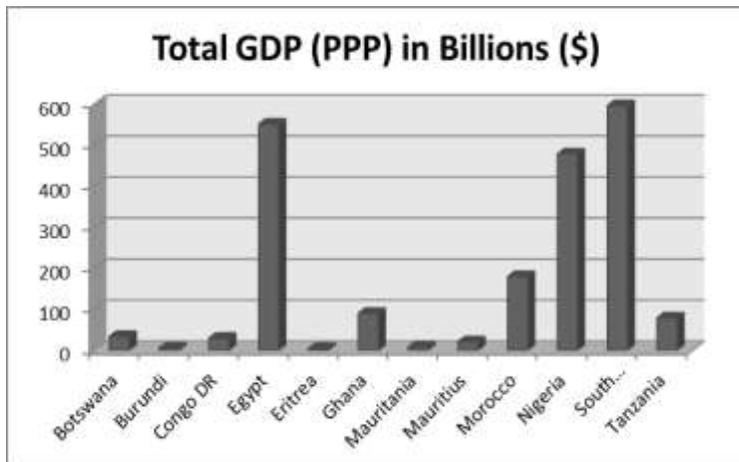
**Figure 4.5B: Average Education Expenditures Between 2006 and 2009**



***Real GDP Growth Per Purchasing Power Parity***

It was also established here again that there is a positive relationship between real GDP growth and stable political climate of the countries. With South Africa, Nigeria and Morocco, we found a spurious variable – abundant natural and human resources as the catalysts for growth in GDP. However, Mauritius was found to have less of the resources even compared to Burundi and Eritrea yet, among them it was the hypothesized that the more stable a country is the better its GDP Growth per PPP.

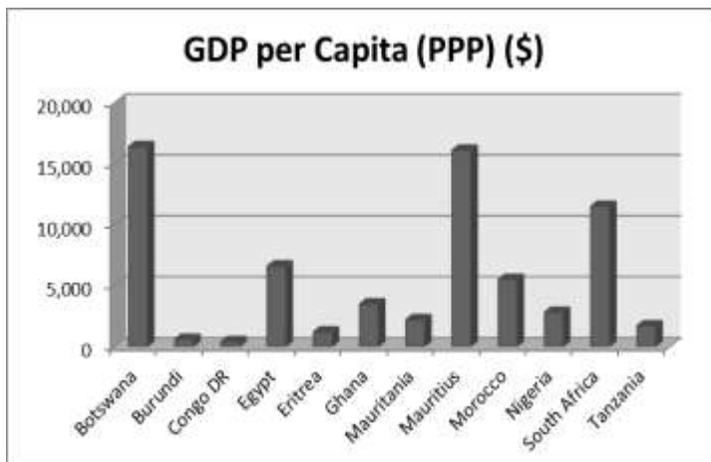
**Figure 4.5C: Real GDP Growth Per PPP in 2013**



### *Real GDP Per Capita*

For GDP per capita, a negative correlation between was established. The more a country is embroiled in conflicts, the less that country's real GDP per capita.

**Figure 4.5D: Real GDP per Capita in 2013**



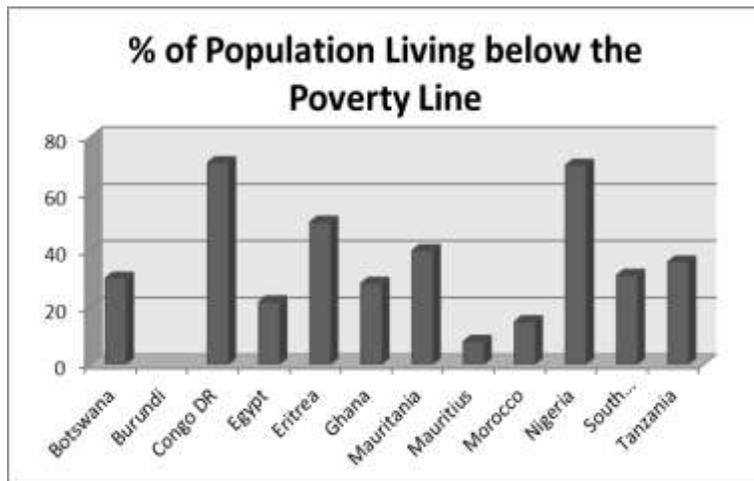
Likewise, the less a country is involved in disunity and conflicts, the higher their GDP per capita. Mauritius and Botswana were the high scorers in this bracket as it was realized that these countries have enjoyed stable democracies and conflict-free climates for decades. It was also found that aside the stable political environment these countries enjoy, it also served as bait for massive

investments imports as in the case of Mauritius. These outstanding democracies also practiced good governance devoid of massive corruption as in the case of other contenders like Nigeria etc.

### ***Population Living Below the Poverty Line***

Comparing their levels of poverty per capita, Mauritius again came on top, with other relatively higher integrated countries being the high-gainers. Egypt, Morocco, Ghana and Botswana all did well with fewer people living below the poverty line.

***Figure 4.5E: Total Population Living Below Poverty line (\$1.25)***



## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Conclusion

In conclusion, regional integration is a complex phenomenon that can only well be achieved if there are elements that foster national unity and cohesion and palpable levels of socio-economic development. This may only be aroused by integrating various national stakeholders in the individual African states.

Besides, most theoretical frameworks on regional integration appear to have originated from western countries with socio-political and economic structures that are quite dissimilar to Africa's. Regional integration processes, in the advance economies way, then becomes a bit more complicated by the seeming intractable problems if related or applied in the case of Africa.

Africa lacks the requisite cohesion due to a myriad of diverse issues including the people that are together as nation-state through no history of plan or purpose but by way of "accident of colonialism". The German, even though acknowledges some variations among them, they are not as severe as in the case of the Africans who sometimes are avowed enemies to one another.

At present, it appears quite obvious that national unity and cohesion rather than continental integration is best suitable for African in the interim whilst the broader continental regional integration agenda follows gradually and naturally as proscribed by neo-functionalists – spill-over effects of integration.

In short, the theories in their dissimilar logical strands, as discussed earlier, cannot be applicable in all African cases and for that single reason, national unity will be required as foundations to achieving this. One or two may work depending on the existing socio-political climate and the successful implementation of them, especially in the case of Africa, may be a bit exaggerating. The theories, to reiterate, were hinged on socio-political structure totally poles apart with Africa's. A careful observation of both worlds may project different picture:

The first factor bothers on borders. In the case of the EU, most of the countries had borders that were created based on historic and cultural similitude of the people. Contrary, African borders, as observed by Alabi (2006:57) and Cammack et al (1988:13), were created in the 19th Century by colonial powers with political units that “divided ethnic groups in some cases and combined rival groups in others.” For instance, there are groups in Ghana who share siblings in neighboring countries: there are Akan people in both Ghana and la Cote d’Ivoire, Ewes groups into Ghana and Togo etc. And elsewhere in Africa, there are Yoruba found in Nigeria and Benin Republic. It is even numerous in the Great Lakes region that has ethnic groups in almost all of the countries, making allegiance to one a country a bit more complex in the sub-region.

Second, related to the first is ethnicity. Europe, compared to Africa, is more homogeneous and where the differences exist, they are minor. As observed by Eminue (2004:19) and Osaghae (1992: 214) “[...] of all the factors, multi-ethnicity is the most frequently associated with conflict.” Ethnic-inflamed

conflicts that are partly or wholly blamed on ethnic cleavages that discriminate against minority groups is extensively perpetrated in Africa as compared to Europe that is tolerated. The only places in Europe that has recorded ethnic cleansing or genocide were former in Yugoslavia where ethnic Albanians were at the losing point and in Hitler's Germany where over three million Germans-Jews were exterminated in a holocaust. These examples are still on-going in various parts of Africa, rolling back, in no doubt, the gains of national cohesion and unity in Africa.

Third, it was also found that the history, culture and inter-ethnic marriages over a millennium created a European identity that was shared by all countries, hence integrating was much easier. Long before, kings were sent to live with other kingdoms in Europe and given wives from their host countries upon leaving them. As a result one might witness an English king married to a French royal and vice versa. On the other and such identity and practices had not existed even internally, let alone, across regions. Frankly, it has not existed in Africa until after colonialism and modernization. Rather than co-operating and or collaborating, these tribes competed for shared values and resources. This might have accounted for the huge numbers of humans transported as slaves across the Atlantic during the 400-year trade. People in Africa are more bonded ethnically than nationally. And they regard themselves as belonging to the ethnic group first before nation. For instance, when one is filling forms, in Ghana, they are required to disclose their tribes.

Fourth is poverty. Africa is the poorest continent on planet Earth. This is largely ascribed to harsh environmental conditions, corruption and huge foreign debt that exacerbate the conditions of poverty (Iiffe, 1995:253). For instance, desertification has contributed to draughts and famines in a number of African states such as Ethiopia, Somalia and Mali. As a result, the number of people living in extreme poverty in sub-Saharan Africa grew from 217 million in 1987 to more than 300 million in 1998 ( Corbett 2005). If, therefore, the saying is true that a hungry man is an angry man, then conflicts may for long time be a part of Africa life owing to this situation of abject poverty prevalent across the continent. Poverty is linked to several social vices in Africa, which overshadows the gains in integrating the continent.

Lastly corruption is seen as the last major difference between Africa and Europe socio-political setups, and also serves as one of the major factors responsible for internal conflicts and numerous coup d'états in Africa. Corruption manifests in the embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds and restrict integration and socio-economic development efforts in Africa. Fed-up citizens in many African states that are embedded in gross corruption result to militarism or rebel activities against their governments in order to address their grievances. A key example is the popular protest by Burkinabe by burning their parliament as way of kicking against a legislative instrument that would have given the then President Campaore an extended term of office. Most of these actions result to numerous conflicts across Africa. However, by way of reducing corruption and its impact on development, the AU adopted the “Africa

Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption” by the Second Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union on 11<sup>th</sup> July, 2003 but the scheme is yet to make an impact on the combat against corruption.

## **Recommendations**

In trying to foster national unity and cohesion for the socio-economic advancement of Africa, it is required of Africans to strengthen social institutions and organizations as well as mechanisms of governance to enhance nationalism for a broader Africanism. The transformation of the political and governance institutions such as the executive, legislature, judiciary, civil service, local government, public administration, electoral rules, and party composition is particularly important for the achievement of national cohesion and integration.

First and foremost, it will be required of the governments to adopt diversity concepts at all levels of organisational management in both public and private institutions. This should be backed by constitutional or legislative instruments and also infuse unity principles in all ministries, departments and agencies within the public sector. Private sector agencies should also be encouraged to ensure that they mainstream national cohesion in their respective institutions, especially in the areas of recruitment, promotion and retention of staff. We should not also lose the sight that equality does not always bring about equity or justice as such a clear distinction in its application must be well-thought-out. As a society, there should be agreed measures to distinguish equality from equity. There must be conscious recognition of differences: You cannot put two

boxers of different weights in a boxing ring and expect that there had been equity and justice. One cannot put an elephant in a race with the whale on the high seas. The differences in society must be recognized for cohesion and social inclusiveness and where there marginalisation and defects, programmes should be tailored to bridge the gap. For instance, the Government of Ghana's policy of developing the northern part of Ghana must be whipped up to bridge the north-south divide.

Secondly, the participation of the local community in dialogue and decision-making processes ought to be enhanced. In Ghana, due to the magnitude of respect they have for elders and chiefs within the various communities, when they act as forerunners in decision-making and implementation success and cooperation is bound. One way that this could be achieved is through the devolution of appreciable amount of power to the local governments and creating, developing and/or expanding local community dialogue fora such as local workshops. Activities such as regular public meetings within the localities will be indispensable. This will offer a platform for individuals and community members to discuss issues and generate solutions to the problems affecting national unity and cohesion.

Likewise, the role of the chieftaincy<sup>108</sup> and community opinion leaders should be encouraged and strengthened in promoting national cohesion. The traditional

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<sup>108</sup> Chieftaincy is one of the few resilient institutions that have survived all the three political phases of Ghana's history: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. It has also endured the turbulence of the three post-independence phases of modern Ghana: one party rule, military control, and multi-party regimes, regardless of the leaderships' attitude towards the chiefs and the broader institution. This is in contrast to other

rulers are highly respected and tolerated by the communities that they operate and are regarded and esteemed as the embodiment of unity at that level. They are venerated as being non-partisan, one of their own etc. Consequently if the institution of chieftaincy is beefed up with necessary logistics, directions and/or regulations, they would be vital in the promotion of national unity and cohesion and socio-economic development.

Additionally, education plays and will continue to play a vital and indispensable role in the national integration cause. Education curricula and civic education can be well enhanced for the sole aim of propagating unity agenda, especially at the primary levels of the educational structure, in order to promote national cohesion among the school pupils through the “Catch them young approach. Though already in place yet the inclusive and co-education system of education could be boosted so as to encourage greater learner interaction across ethnic and social groups and regions or districts. The Ghanaian boarding school systems, which has been very central in shaping inclusiveness and appreciation of diversity, must be emphasized in the discharge of secondary, tertiary

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African countries, such as Uganda, after the 1966 Constitution of Uganda abolished kings and kingdoms. Chieftaincy is the primary substratum of Ghanaian society; consequently the political leadership dares not undermine its credibility without experiencing political and socio-cultural repercussions. According to the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organizational Development (CIKOD), a local Non-Governmental Organization which focuses on the development of indigenous institutions in Ghana, 80 percent of Ghanaians claim allegiance to one kind of chief or another. The institution is considered to be the repository of history and traditional ways, as well as the custodian of the indigenous traditions, customs, and society of Ghana. The institution is further considered to be the bond between the dead, the living, and the yet unborn. It is a revered institution in Ghana which occupies the vacuum created by Ghana's modern political structures in terms of customary arbitration and law and enforcement at the communal level. The most prominent of the rulers in Ghana and globally is the Ashanti Kingdom dating over seven centuries.

education if not at all levels. More so, massive and enhanced civic education, which can be by way of public-private partnerships in diversity awareness, will reduce anti-sectarianism, assist in attitude change and promote patriotism and unity. Similarly, the public service composition should be representative and inclusive of all ethnic communities, and more flexibility be given to marginalized and minority groups. Affirmative action should be implemented to enhance inclusion of minority and other marginalized groups.

Another important issue is to resolve all the socio-political inequalities and inequities which have the potentials to thwart the integration efforts. Ghana has various regional and inter-ethnic inequalities such as lack of access to education and training in some regions, water and sanitation, health services and housing among others. This was inherited at independence and the first president, Nkrumah had envisioned the challenges that might associate with the imbalances, and thereby, constituting free secondary school education for the Northern regions, deemed to be poor. Such programmes must not be limited to the North but other areas that are disadvantaged in the national cake sharing. We should not overlook the fact that, aside being an impediment to national cohesion, these forms of inequality create feelings of social exclusion and may represent forms of mismanagement of diversity. Disparities within and between regions have been associated with the feelings of exclusion among many Ghanaians. To buttress the point on North-South, rich-poor, learned-illiterate, male-female disproportion, created by socio-cultural forces is still a menace to national cohesion. The country is required to address disparities by taking

critical look at the following strategies and interventions which quintessential and consequential to the unity for development quest.

- ✚ The development of SADA<sup>109</sup> to improve the socio-economic profile of the least developed savannah areas – the northern part of Ghana must see accelerated commitments by government. It is imperative that the socio-economic profiles of these least developed regions are improved through investment in infrastructure and especially in trade and industries;
- ✚ In addition, SADA Funds ought to be used wisely and strategically in bridging the north-south socio-economic gap that has been in existence since the attainment of statehood. Its application should take bipartisan;
- ✚ The Government should ensure equitable infrastructural development and equitable investment across the country with particular attention given to the provision of roads, electricity, water, environment sustainability, social and economic amenities, education, training institutions, health facilities, food, security and sanitation among others to ensure universal access to fundamental human basic needs;
- ✚ Government must make a conscious effort to devolve proportions of government resources and power to the regions and districts through the decentralization programme in an equitable and transparent manner;
- ✚ Improve land management practices and challenges related to natural resource mismanagement and distribution. Since many conflicts in Ghana revolve around land and mismanagement of resources, it is needful to improve land management practices and address land inequalities. The

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<sup>109</sup> SADA (Savannah Accelerated Development Authority) is a comprehensive Government of Ghana's strategy, backed by a policy and enriched in the law through ACT 805 of 2010. SADA was created to respond to a long-term problem of poverty in the northern parts of Ghana will include five regions. It plans to roll out programs, projects and several policy instruments aimed at stimulating growth and addressing the human and social development needs of these deprived areas. This policy was introduced to the Legislature in 2008 and Government has made a commitment to put in budgetary funds each year to finance programs that are on its agenda. By this, Government is mandated by the Act to prepare of a long term strategy to reverse decades of neglect of the north and enroll them on the development path of the entire nation.

Land Commission could be charged to reregister all land areas and proper demarcations be launched;

- ✚ Youth employment and empowerment programs that are already in place should be well restructures to target the intended alleviation of youth unemployment and poverty to avert the vicious cycle of poverty. It ought to target other forms of socio-economic exclusion especially in the across the country where with marginalised persons. The youth could as well be provided with relevant training or entrepreneurial skills and necessary capital to generate wealth and become self-reliant. Busy youth will be disincentive to conflicts and advantageous to nation-building.

Another vital practice in managing ethnic and socio-cultural diversity will be a positive energy to unity and growth. Culture plays a significant and fundamental role in fostering identity and sense of security by directing individual behaviour and sense of belongingness. It is often regarded as the fabric of society and human existence. It is for this reason that cultural programmes should be geared towards the sole aim of unifying the people who participate in them. This is to ensure that issues of national importance are profiled and messages of integration communicated to the participants to promoting mutual co-existence and respect for diversity. In order to strengthen the role of culture and heritage in fostering unity for development, the following strategies are encouraged:

- ✚ Cultural activities, especially those that are linked to specific and national events, should be used to encourage and support national cohesion;
- ✚ The media should be used to promote various cultural activities that inspire and back collectivism and nation-building and not individualism;
- ✚ The existing cultural centers must be well re-resourced and new ones be provided in reaching every community. The centers will serve as focal

points for the promotion of cultural pluralism and dialogue for national harmony and interrelation.

More so, in resolving and preventing conflicts, major machineries such as reconciliation must be implemented to avoid ill-resolutions. As the Akan proverb goes: “*Ndua eβen na etwie*” literally, trees that are closely knit bump or touch each other. In other words once humans remain social beings and continue to assembly definitely toes will be stepped on. Therefore, there should be measures to settle infractions before they escalate into conflicts and wars. Reconciliation, conflict resolution and prevention will then be crucial in the promotion of national unity in diverse societies of Africa. Efforts should be made to promote conflict prevention and management, consolidate peace and promote healing among conflicting communities. The following were realized in an effort to come out with strategies to combatting and preventing conflicts in Ghana:

- ✚ Establishing well designed and implementable resolution and reconciliation mechanisms that will not only resolve but prevent conflicts from happening and/or escalating. The Thomas-Kilmann Modes of conflict resolution should serve as guidelines in resolving differences;
- ✚ Providing conflicting parties with safe and professionally administered fora for dialogue where both parties will be given hearing for a lasting conflict resolution and reconciliation and all hurt parties, after the resolution, should be in agreement to let go and let peace reign. Disputes settlement should be devoid of *Pride and Prejudice*<sup>110</sup> by all.

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<sup>110</sup> A book written by Jane Austen, first published in 1813.

✚ Though, there exists some form of a mediation body – the National Peace Council<sup>111</sup> – government needs to equip them with logistics, staffing and training to enable them acquire the requisite skills and techniques for conflict prevention and resolution. This can be coupled with the conduct of routine peace campaigns especially in places that are deemed to be conflict flashpoints.

### ***The African Union – The Way Forward***

Before discussions will take place on the way forward in fostering unity and cohesion in Africa, the values, principles and ideals that are enshrined in the various national constitutions, in the case of Ghana, Chapter 6, Article 34 of the Fourth Republican Constitution must be circulated on all media platforms and inculcated in the education curricula for the creation of awareness and citizens' participation: Nationalism, National Unity, Decentralization and Devolution of Power, Rule of Law, Peoples' Participation in Governance, Human Integrity, Equity and Justice, Inclusiveness, Equality, Human Rights, Non-discrimination and Non-stigmatisation, Protection of the Marginalized, Good Governance, Integrity, Transparency and Accountability.

In this light, the National Commission for Civic Education may have the lead role in disseminating information alongside the media in churning out and nurturing great nation-builders.

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<sup>111</sup> National Peace Council of Ghana is a body whose aim is to raise awareness surrounding the use of non-violent strategies in response to conflict through networking, coordination and campaigning. The National Peace Council consists of 11 members, representing various religious, social or political groups.

Again, drawing from the recommendations the above for national practices, the following suggestions are advocated for consideration as a guide by all the 54 member-states of the African Union for a smooth African regional integration and economic development take-off. Since integration is best promoted in an atmosphere of member-components that are already integrated culminating with trust and confidence, there should be mindful and tactful efforts to improve intra-state and the broader inter-state relations among the nations and their populace through cultural, sports, education and scientific co-operation as mentioned earlier. Non-governmental associations such WAFU, COSAFA etc. may be re-engineered to meet current obligations and challenges.

From the onset of regional integration, the main obstacle had been mistrust on the part of some leaders, hence, the AU should whip up its campaign of integration by way of putting in place policies that will take into cognisance the national interest of member-states, policies that will devoid of vague objectives but rather on specificities followed by a clear strategy and design that can be implemented, maintained or reviewed in the future.<sup>112</sup>The education of the stakeholders will be worthwhile so to shed light on the benefits of belonging to a supranational organisation in the global affairs. This will go a long way to not only foster unity and soio-economic development but also allay the fears of losing national sovereignty.

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<sup>112</sup> Zelikow, Philip, "*Foreign Policy Engineering: From Theory to Practice and Back Again*", *International Security*. Vol. 18, No. 4, Spring 1994, pp. 143-171.

In addition, AU must take critical look at the functionalist approach to unity through the spill-over effects that trade or economics can bring about. There are a lot more benefits that trade, especially intra-Africa trade and economic collaboration, can bring. Example, the realist view of commercial peace that nations that trade among themselves will not go to war is also crucial in preventing state-state conflicts. This would eschew and nib in the bud disagreements among member-states at borders, a case of Ghana-La Cote d'Ivoire over the off-shore oil fields which is currently being disputed in the ICJ in The Hague, before they become intractable.

Moreover, since there are enough examples of regional integration schemes across the length and breadth of the continent such as SADC, ECOWAS, etc., the AU may avoid the practice of reinventing the wheel and carve an integration process sculpted along these RECs. The nature, success and challenges of the EU, OAS etc. can also serve as a model regional integration which can easily be replicated through the adoption of best practices and modification suit the African context. This would rapidly engender regional integration and economic development. A strong demonstration of political commitment on the part of member-states to integration schemes by way of fostering national unity and cohesion practices, as recommended in the case of Ghana, cannot be overemphasized. In addition to the local commitment, member-states must demonstrate willingness and support for the programmes and policies of the Union with regard to ratifying and implementing programmes and policies of the Union without delays.

There is also the need to streamline the challenges of overlaps, duplication and multiple memberships and jurisdictions of the RECs towards the attainment of larger continental integration initiatives. Alternative source of funding outside the existing payments by member-states could be looked at. In sourcing for funds, there could be the involvement of CSOs, wealthy individuals, financial organisations and NGOs in meeting the targeted budget allocations.

Furthermore, regular interactions with people are very crucial in the integration agenda. There should be the need for various integration schemes to be made known to the populace for them to appreciate their relevance in uplifting the continent from the present socio-economic doldrums to a level that it would be influential and be able to compete with the rest of the world.

More importantly, the strengthening of families is very much required as many African citizens are well attached to the families. Families are seen as the first call for socialization and the child being *tabula rasa*, whatever is instilled in him it's whatever he or she will bring forth.

In sum, AU must make the efforts in universalizing the concept and governance structure at the national levels that will ensure the promotion of equitable sharing of the national cake, citizens must be employed base on merit rather than their political affiliations, governments should move towards an all-inclusive governance system and shun the zero-sum game concept of politics, citizens must be well educated to tolerate one another irrespective of the

differences, and governments must try to eschew bad governance and promote corruption-free governance.

To this end, the media both print and electronic would be of great assistance in the cause of keeping the African touch alight.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AAPC	-	All African Peoples' Conference
ACB	-	African Central Bank
ACHRPR	-	African Court of Human and People's Rights
ACJ	-	African Court of Justice
ACJHR	-	African Court of Justice and Human Rights
AEC	-	Africa Economic Commission
AFSAAP	-	African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific
AIDS	-	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMF	-	African Monetary Fund
AMU	-	Arab Maghreb Union
APEC	-	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APRM	-	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASEAN	-	Association of South Eastern Asian Nations
ASEAN-AC	-	ASEAN Economic Commission
CA	-	The Constitutive Act of the AU
CACM	-	Central American Common Market
CAR	-	Central African Republic
CARICOM	-	Caribbean Common Market
CBO	-	Community Based Organizations
CEAO	-	La Communauté Économiques de L'Ouest Francophone West Africa Economy

CIKOD	-	Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organisational Development
COMESA	-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSO	-	Civil Society Groups/Organizations
CSSDCA	-	Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	-	East African Community
ECCAS	-	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOSOCC	-	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	-	European Economic Commission
EU	-	European Union
FBO	-	Faith Based Organizations
FTA	-	Free Trade Area
GCC	-	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GSPA	-	Graduate School of Public Administration
GSS	-	Ghana Statistical Service
HIV	-	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
ICC	-	International Criminal Court
ICJ	-	International Court of Justice

IGOs	-	International Governmental Organizations
KIIS	-	Korean Institute for International Studies
KOICA	-	Korea International Cooperation Agency
KOYA	-	Konkomba Youth Association of Ghana
LAFTA	-	Latin America Free Trade Area
LAIA	-	Latin America Integration Agreement
LPA	-	Lagos Plan for Action
MAP	-	Millennium Partnerships for African Recovery
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, Ghana
NAI	-	New African Initiative
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for African Development
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAS	-	Organization of Latin American States
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAC	-	Public Accounts Committee
PAP	-	Pan-African Parliament
PSC	-	African Peace and Security Council
PTA	-	Preferential Trade Agreements
PTAESA	-	Preferential Trade Arrangements for East and Southern Africa

REC	-	Regional Economic Co-operations
SACU	-	South African Customs Union
SADA	-	Savanna Accelerated Development Authority
SADCC	-	Southern African Development Coordinating Conference
SADCC	-	Southern Africa Development Cooperation
SNU	-	Seoul National University
UEMOA	-	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UN	-	United Nations Organization
UNECA	-	UN Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	-	UN Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHD	-	United Nations Human Development
WAGP	-	West African Gas Pipeline Project
WHO	-	World Health Organization

## 국문초록

# 아프리카의 통합과 경제발전을 위한 국가적 통합과 일치의 필요성에 관한 연구

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본 연구는 가나를 사례로 하여 국가 통합과 일치에 있어서 핵심요인, 특징 그리고 장애물 등에 대해 살펴보고자 했다. 본 연구는 Nkrumah 의 통합 모델과 Dobson 의 지역 통합에 대한 개념에 기반하여 출발하였다. 지난 반세기 동안 지역 통합에 대한 노력을 저해한 다양한 요인들에 대해 분석하고 나아가 정책이 실패한 이유에 대해 밝혀보고자 하였다. 대륙적인 차원에서의 통합에 대해 연구하기 위해서 과거, 현재의 통합 정책과 지역적인 범주화 그리고 아프리카통합위원회(OAU), 아프리카연합(AU) 등에 관해 조사하였다.

특별히 갈등과 분쟁 중에서도 국가간의 갈등이 국가적인 통합과 일치 그리고 발전을 가로막는 원인이라는 점을 확인할 수 있었다. 연구대상으로 선택한 아프리카 국가들을 비교하여 갈등이 발전을

가로막음으로써 초래되는 비용에 대해 조사하였다. 가나 사회에서 통합과 일치를 뒷받침할 수 있도록 뿌리 내려져야 할 핵심적인 가치들을 Ohene 의 지역 통합 모형에 맞추어 스펙트럼 내에서 개념화하였다. 분석모형을 통해서 발전이라는 목표를 향해서 통합과 지역통합을 이루어 나가는 경로를 필요한 요소들을 투영해서 살펴보았다. 그러나 이러한 경로에 있어서 갈등과 국가적 분열이라는 요소가 장애물이 될 수 있기 때문에 사회경제적 발전을 달성하기 위해서는 이를 극복해야 함을 주장하였다.

주요어: 국가 통합과 일치, 아프리카 지역통합, 갈등과 해결, 경제발전, 범아프리카주.

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