Peace and
Security
Challenges in
the Twenty-First
Century

AFRICA IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Edited by
Olayiwola Abegunrin

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List of Abbreviations

AAMS - Associated African and Malagasy States
AAP - African Action Plan
AAPC - All African People's Conference
AAPSO - Afro-Asian People Solidarity Organization
ACP - African Caribbean and Pacific Group
ACCORD - African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACDHRS - African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies
ADB - African Development Bank
AEC - African Economic Community
AFL - Armed Forces of Liberia
AFRC - Armed Forces Ruling Council
AFRICOM - African Command Center
AGOA - African Growth and Opportunity Act
AHSG - African Head of State and Governments
AIAI - Al-Itihad Al-Islami of Somalia
AIDS - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ALF - Africa Leadership Forum
AMISOM - African Mission for the Security of Somalia
ANC - African National Congress (of South Africa)
ANZUS - Australia, New Zealand, and United States
AOPIG - African Oil Policy Initiative Group
APC - African People's Congress
APEC - Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation
APEF - Asian Pacific Economic Forum
AQIM - Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb
ASAS - Association of Southern African States
AU - African Union (formerly Organization of African Unity)
AWCPD - African Women's Committee on Peace and Development
BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation
BCEAO - Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Ouest Africaine
BEECOM - Black Economic Empowerment Commission
BP - British Petroleum Company
BSA - British South African Company
CA - Cooperation on Africa
CARICOM - Caribbean Economic Community
CEAO - Communaute Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (Economic
    Community of West Africa)

CEAPL - Economic Community of the Great Lake
CENND - Conference of Ethnic Nationalities of the Niger Delta
CFA - Communaute' Financiere Africaine
CIA - U.S. Central Intelligence Agency
CIAS - Conference of Independent African States
CLO - Civil Liberty Organization
CODESA - Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COMESA - Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CONSAS - Constellation of Southern African States
CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Union
CPA - Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPP - Convention People's Party
CSCE - Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSSDCA - Conference on Security, Stability, Development, and Cooperation in Africa
DFI - Direct Foreign Investments
EAC - East Africa Community
ECA - United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
ECGD - Export Credits Guarantee Department (British)
ECOMOMOG - ECOWAS Monitoring Observer Group
ECOSOCC - Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States
ECU - European Currency Unit
EDF - European Development Fund
EEC - European Economic Community
EDB - European Development Bank
EFCC - Economic Financial Crimes Commission
EMCAP - Economic Management Capacity Building Program
EPA - Economic Partnership Agreement
ESCOM - Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa
ESKOM - Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa
EU - European Union
FAS - Femmes Africa Solidarite
FBI - (U.S.) Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCD - Forum for Community Development
FDI - Foreign Direct Investment
FJP - Freedom Justice Party (Muslim Brotherhood's Party)
FMG - Federal Military Government
FNLA - Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola
FCS - Foreign Service Commerce
FAO - Food and Agricultural Organization
FRELIMO - Frente de Libertacaio de Mozambique
GDP - Gross Domestic Product
GOSS - Government of South Sudan

GNP - Gross National Product
GRAE - Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile
GSM - Global System Mobile Communication
GSP - Generalized System Preferences
GWOT - Global War on Terror
HDI - Human Development Index
HIPC - Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HIV - Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HOA - Horn of Africa
HRVIC - Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission
IASPS - Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies
ICC - International Criminal Court
ICPC - Independence Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offense
    Commission
IFI - International Finance Institutions
IGAD - Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGO - Inter-Government Organization
ILO - International Labor Organization
IMF - International Monetary Fund
ISDSC - Inter-State Defense and Security Committee
IRFG - International Religious Freedom Group
JMC - Joint Monitoring Commission
LURD - Liberian United Reconciliation for Democracy
MAGHREB - Permanent Consultative Committee of the Maghreb
    (North African Consultative Committee/NACC)
MAP - Millennium Action Plan
MCA - Millennium Challenge Account
MEND - Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta
MNLA - National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MODEL - Movement for Democracy in Liberia
MOSOP - Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People
MPLA - Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MSF - Medecins sans Frontieres (Doctors without Borders)
MTN - Mobile Telecommunications Network
NAFTA - North American Free Trade Area
NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCP/NIF - National Congress Party/National Islamic Front
NDC - National Democratic Congress
NDP - National Democratic Party
NEDB - National Economic Development Board
NEPAD - New Partnership for African Development
NFC - National Forces Coalition
NGO - Non-Governmental Organization
NIC - Newly Industrializing Countries
NIEO - New International Economic Order

NIIA - Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
NIPSS - National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
NIS - Newly Independent States
NDPVF - Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force
NNPC - Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
NPFL - National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NSF - Namibian Solidarity Fund
NTC - National Transitional Council
NTF - National Trust Fund
OAU - Obafemi Awolowo University (Ile-Ife, Nigeria)
OAU - Organization of African Unity (now African Union)
OECD - Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
OEF - Operation Enduring Freedom for Somalia
OIC - Organization of Islamic Council
OPEC - Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSCE - Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PAC - Pan-African Congress of South Africa
PAFMECA - Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa
PAFMECSA - Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central, and Southern Africa
PAIGC - Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde
PDP - People's Democratic Party
PRC - Provisional Ruling Council
RDP - Reconstruction and Development Program
RENAMO - Mozambique National Resistance Movement
REPA - Regional Economic Partnership Agreement
SADC - Southern African Development Community
SADCC - Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADF - South African Defense Forces
SAF - Sudan Armed Force
SANDF - South African National Defense Force
SAP - Structural Adjustment Programs
SARF - Southern African Relief Fund
SCAF - Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
SEATO - South East Asian Treaty Organization
SFBC - Swiss Federal Banking Commission
SMC - Supreme Military Council
SANNC - South African Native National Congress (later ANC)
SPA - Strategic Partnership with Africa
SPLM/A - Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
SPLM/A-N - Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army-North Sudan
SWAPO - South West African People's Organization
TAC - Technical Aid Corps

TEC - Transitional Executive Council

TFG - Transitional Federal Government for Somalia

UANC - United African National Council

UDEAC - Central African Customs and Economic Union (Union Douaniere et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale)

UDF - United Democratic Front

UDI - Unilateral Declaration of Independence

UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UIC - United Islamic Court for Somalia

UMEOA - West African Economic and Monetary Union

UNAIDS - United Nations AIDS

UNCED - United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

UNCTAD - United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNECOSOC - United Nations Economic and Social Council

UNECA - United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund

UNIDO - United Nations Industrial Development Organization

UNESCO - United Nations, Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UNITA - National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

UNIA - Universal Negro Improvement Association

UNO - United Nations Organization

UPA - United Party of Angola

USEUCOM - United States European Command

USSR - Union of Soviet and Socialist Republic

WAEMU - West African Economic Monetary Union

WB - World Bank

WFP - World Food Program

WILDAF - Women in Law and Development in Africa

WMD - Weapon of Mass Destruction

WTO - World Trade Organization

ZANLA - Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army

ZANU - Zimbabwean African National Union

ZAPU - Zimbabwean African People's Union

ZIPRA - Zimbabwean Independence People's Revolutionary Army

ZUPO - Zimbabwe United Peoples Organization

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Introduction

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The full implications of the revolutions that swept over Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya over a period of only two months are of such magnitude that the continent of Africa will never be the same again. The only comparable events to have had such profound influence on the course of history were the French Revolution of 1789, the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. However, the events are still unfolding and nothing can be taken for granted. Will this bud of people power blossom into a garden of true democracy or will the forces of reaction succeed in trampling it into dust? However, political violence is not the viable way to bring about political reform and development in Africa. Political order, stability, and security are the key elements that influence nation-state's survival in international system. Thus Article 1 of the United Nations Charter emphasizes *peace and security,* as the essential elements to ensure international cooperation.[1]

The concept of security has evolved and expanded beyond the traditional military confrontation that characterized the Cold War to issues that relate to human security. The African continent is at crossroads in defining its security paradigm after the end of the Cold War that will deal with the security challenges facing the continent, especially in the twenty-first century. This book is an edited volume which will examine and analyze some of the security problems and challenges facing the African continent and will continue to face the continent, in the twenty-first century, with specific emphasis on debt crisis, democratic transition, ethnic conflicts, civil wars, religions violence, terrorism, peace, and development. This study also emphasizes the search for a new continental security paradigm, especially the search for a potential power in Africa that will first of all provide the leadership role for stability in dealing with continent's myriad problems and security challenges and serve as a deterrent against Western foreign policy of interventions in the continent.

Security ranks high in the socio-political and socio-economic agendas of many countries in the global system for the simple reason that political stability and economic development are connected to national security. According to Tschirgi, Lund, and Mancini, "there is considerable evidence of a correlation between levels of underdevelopment and levels of

insecurity."[2] Therefore, one cannot talk about security and development without referencing good governance nor can one talk about democracy without considering the role play by political, social, cultural, and strong viable institutions, which define the rules and roles to be played by the political actors. Strong institutions enhance security and economic development, and institutions help in the consolidation of democracy. Security and stability, on the one hand, and democracy and good governance, on the other, cannot meet the society's socio-political and socio-economic rising expectation without viable institutions, stable and good organizational structure and visionary strong leadership. Biologically, a human kidney must satisfactorily perform its fluid filtration and excretion function; otherwise there would be cell poisoning. Similarly, for a human organization to function, there must be a visionary strong leadership to direct the affairs and security of that organization/nation to maintain a group's social cohesion.

Security and development are influenced by internality and externality factors. For instance, a businessman would not risk investing in an unstable country with weak governing institutions. Political instability produces by socio-economic exclusion and marginalization of certain national populations by the state could result in political crises such as lack of national identity, participation, legitimacy, and penetration. External security crisis between two or more countries could threaten their mutual economic and diplomatic relations. For example, since secession from Ethiopia in 1993, Eritrea has been involved in border crises with Ethiopia, which has impeded socio-economic relations between the two countries. The way the Ethiopia reacts toward Eritrea with aggression or restraint might determine the region's progress in the future. The case of Sudan civil war, the longest civil war on the continent of Africa which lasted twenty-one years, 1983-2005, that has resulted in the breakup of Sudan into two separate countries, North Sudan and South Sudan as of July 9, 2011.[3] The Democratic Republic of Congo's unending civil wars, Somalia and the crisis in the Horn of Africa, and the Niger Delta crisis in Nigeria that has dragged on since 1960, and the 2002 emergency of Boko Haram fundamentalist terrorist group in Nigeria, have compounded the security situation of the country; the Ivorian political crises are also examined and analyzed. The role of Islamic fundamentalism and international terrorism in Africa is examined, and Islam in Africa is examined and analyzed from the historical perspectives that Africa's religious heritage has both Abrahamic and non-Abrahamic faces.

Peace and security are scarce and sensitive commodities in international politics. Africa is of growing international importance. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, for instance, Africa has become important as a source of United States' energy imports as the Middle East, Brazil, Russia, India, China (BRICS), Europe, and others are competing with each other, and with the United States for access to oil, natural

gas, and other natural resources from Africa. China and the other world's major powers are becoming more active in seeking investments, winning contracts, and building political support in the continent. And most importantly, Africa is also one of the battlegrounds in the fight against terrorism. Osama bin Laden, the former leader of the Al Qaeda started his terrorist operations in Sudan between 1992 and 1996 before moving his base into Afghanistan in 1996. Terrorists struck United States embassies in Africa in both Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, before the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States. Radical and fundamentalist African Muslims are actively recruited for terrorist operations in Afghanistan, the Middle East, and Pakistan. Mass killings in the Darfur region of Sudan, war in the Great Lakes Region, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, northern part of Uganda, the crisis in the Somalia, and persistence of conflict in the African continent with the new mass/spring revolution of 2011 in North Africa challenge the world's will to spotlight, prevent, and stop atrocities in the continent. Africa is also the epicenter of the world's most deadly pandemic disease, HIV/AIDS, which had ravaged many families on the continent for the past four decades.

With all these wars, ethnic conflicts, and states' instability and insecurity, the major African Pan-African organization—the African Union is an elephant with clay feet, and a toothless organization that cannot defend and lead the continent of African effectively. Thus, Africa needs effective, committed, visionary, and strong leadership that possesses both human and natural resources to back up its leadership role in Africa and lead the continent in the new international order, and be a force/power to be counted upon to lead and speak for the rest of the African countries in the global forum in the twenty-first century.

NOTES

1. See the charter of the United Nations Organization, Article 1 in Kelly-Kate S. Pease, *International Organizations: Perspectives on Governance in the Twenty-First Century,* 2nd edition, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003, p. 284.

2. N. Tschirgi, S. M. Lund, & F. Mancini, (editors), *Security and Development: Search for Critical Connections,* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010.

3. Andrew S. Natsios, *Sudan, South Sudan, and Darfur: What Everyone Needs to Know,* New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 213-215.

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