

THE NEW AFRICAN INITIATIVE:
PEACE, JUSTICE AND REPARATIONS
OR THE REKINDLING OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT

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1. Introduction

At the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit in Lusaka, in July 2001, the Heads of State agreed that the necessary steps would be taken in the transformation of the OAU into the African Union. It was in this same year that two civilian aircrafts were flown into the World Trade Center in New York City in the USA. The use of civilian aircraft as missiles in the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon brought a new kind of warfare into international politics. It was declared that the attack was an act of terrorism and the political leadership of the USA launched an international war against terrorism. President George Bush of the USA took the lead to organize an international coalition and embarked on a global crusade to fight terrorism, despite the reality that there was no international consensus on what constituted terrorism. Africans throughout the world felt strong solidarity with all of those who lost their lives because Africans know pain and suffering and empathize with those in pain. This is the basic principle of African love, charity and sense of social collectivism.

The leading spokespersons and planners for the USA military industrial complex declared that there would be nine phases of the war against terrorism. The peoples of Africa were to be drawn in this global war in many ways. The war against terrorism was predicated on bringing peace and stability to international politics. War speeds up the processes of regression and sharpens the understanding of the laws of unforeseen circumstances. It is well known that the dynamics of war cannot be controlled, so it is better to seek-non military solutions than to escalate the arc of warfare across the globe.

In the international media the ideas of fighting and military mobilization dominated the airwaves to the point where the main sources of information were saturated with images

warfare, violence and “fighting terrorism.” In the fight against terrorism it was declared that there was an “axis of evil” and the world was warned that all peoples and countries had to take sides. Citizens of the world and governments were either aligned with the government of the USA or they were sympathetic to terrorism. In this dividing line there was little space left for those who called for healing and a retreat from the militarist and masculinist ideas of those who carried out terrorism, and those who were fighting terrorism. At this very same time Africans at home and abroad were establishing another priority, that of eradicating centuries of exploitation and racism.

The warfare and global insecurity generated by the mobilization and preparation for war engulfed the energies of most of humanity at precisely the moment when the African peoples were searching for institutions and organizations in the aftermath of the removal of the apartheid government and the overthrow of the Mobutu government in Zaire. Throughout Africa there was the simultaneity of the struggles for peace and reconstruction (from Eritrea and Ethiopia, stretching across the Sudan to Sierra Leone and Liberia, down through Angola across the Congo to Burundi and Rwanda) even while the question of unfinished issue of colonial occupation remained in the Western Sahara and in the Comoro area of the Indian Ocean.

The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) was formed in 2001 by a triumvirate of African leaders from Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa, as one component of building the African Union. From the period of colonialism there had been numerous calls for continental African Unity, but the forces of repression and destabilization prevailed from the period of the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in 1961 up to the period of militarism and destruction unleashed by apartheid and a constellation of militarists. Leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah had been most insistent that *Africa Must Unite*. There were numerous forces in Africa calling for an African Union long before the African leadership caught up to be in step with the principles of unity and peace coming from the peoples. Cultural artists within and outside of Africa sang songs calling for African Unity. Bob Marley was the most popular of these artists who sang,

How good and how pleasant it would be
Before God and Man
To see the Unification of All Africans.
Africa Unite.

Bob Marley’s call for unity and emancipation was understood in all languages and all societies. Fela Anikulapo-Kuti was one of the many passionate cultural artists that carried the

message of Pan African Unity in a more forceful manner than politicians and radical intellectuals.¹ One of the challenges of this period is for intellectuals to develop new techniques of communication to keep in step with the dynamism and creativity of the popular forces.

Once the political leaders caught up to the spirit of Pan Africanism from below and formulated the *Constitutive Act of the African Union*, sections of the current leadership sought to give meaning to the process of building Unity.² The foundation of the African Union had been premised on a multi-sided process of reconstruction that was linked to the NEPAD Initiative and the basic building block for the African Economic Union.³

When the leaders of Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa agreed on NEPAD, the collective agreement was inspired by the desire for peace and reconstruction and moving Africa from poverty to prosperity. The details of the Initiative along with the goals are still contested, as social movements and people's organizations in Africa consider the focus of the initiative misguided since it is addressed primarily to Western governments and representatives of international private capital. Many of these organizations that are called Civil Society Organizations (CSO's) are using regional meetings, local radio and community meetings to express their view that the first base of any partnership must be with the African peoples. The basis of partnership must be on mobilizing the cultural wealth and the multiplicity and diversity of many social forces: the old, the young, women, the believers, the non believers, royalists, professionals, traders, workers, merchants, traditional healers, people of different origins along with those who have settled and made Africa their home. Grassroots activists are not only critiquing the present document but are saying that stakeholders in the African Union must seize the opportunity to make this new start for Africa realized by doing things differently from what has been done before.⁴

This challenges of doing things differently and focusing on African knowledge and selfreliance principles has been a theme put forward at meetings in all corners of Africa, especially at meetings of women. These meetings critique the negative direction of NEPAD that focuses on the further integration of Africa into an unjust social system that has been the source of insecurity since colonialism and the partitioning of Africa. The positions of African

¹ Michael E. Veal, *Fela: The Life and Times of an African Musical Icon*, Temple University Press, 2000

² The Act of Union embraces 53 countries in Africa. Morocco has not joined the African Union and has applied for membership in the European Union.

³ The NEPAD Initiative that was launched at the 2001 OAU summit was a merger between the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Program (MAP) and the Omega Plan.

⁴ See the African Development Bank Group- African Civil Society Regional Stakeholders Consultation on New Partnership For Africa's Development, Abijan, Cote D'Ivoire, 4-5 April, 2002. See also the Bamako Declaration of African Social Forum, January 5-9, 2002,

workers, scholars, grassroots organizations and civil society organizations continue to be clearly different from the leaders of the Group of 7 and international organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF that believe NEPAD can be an instrument for fighting “poverty” without the end of the structural imbalances and inequalities of the global system of capitalism.

Those Africans who had always been singing and pleading for African Unity have some clarity on the balance of international military and political forces and stress the fact that the positive aspects of NEPAD must be embraced so that there can be an African project that is quite independent of the project of international capital.⁵ These social forces that are engaged in the deliberations of how to break the long history of genocide, war and economic exploitation, agree with the positive aspects of NEPAD that spells out the determination of the peoples and leaders of Africa to move to a new era of international cooperation beyond the history of militarism, imperial partitioning, and plunder.⁶ The program of Action for the implementation of NEPAD centralizes peace, security and democracy as the fundamental building blocks for the economic transformation of the conditions of the African peoples.

One of the cardinal principles of Pan Africanism is that the people of one part of Africa are responsible for the freedom of their brothers and sisters in other parts of Africa, and indeed, black people everywhere were to accept the same responsibility. This is the dictum that is at the base of the African Union and is now inscribed in the Constitutive Act of the African Union. Intergenerational Pan African concepts of peace and unity meant there could be no freedom and independence in one state without freedom and independence in the neighboring states. This inspired the dictum that until all of Africa is free, no part of Africa will be free.

It is this same Pan African principle of people’s rights and security that is at the base of the search for peace and renewal in Africa. Regional wars, the looting of natural resources and the multiple sources of insecurity in Africa reinforced the position that wars and militarism in one region will infect other states and peoples in that region. Unfortunately, the conceptions of peace have been based on state security and not on the basis of the well being of people or *people’s security*.

⁵ Thandika Mkandawire, *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment*, Africa World Press, 2000

⁶ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Tanzania Publishing House, Dar Es Salaam, 1972, and Bruce Vandervort, *Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830-1914*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1998

The concept of *people's security* starts from the view of gender equality and is informed by the methodology of feminist scholarship, to move from the realism of international relations that is concerned with state security. Adopting a feminist perspective on peace not only challenges the view of the military as the defender of a pre-given "national interest," it also demonstrates the degree to which people feel, or are "threatened" varies according to their economic, political, social and personal circumstance.⁷

The concepts of people's security and people's sovereignty serve to break with the *realist* concept of the security of strong states and strong males.⁸ Yet, although the feminists have made the fundamental assault of realism, this assault did not move beyond the principal philosophical tenets of the Eurocentric conceptions of positivism and objectivity. It is for this reason that the feminist methodology is buttressed by the emancipatory philosophy that is bringing a new concept of the validity of all human lives.⁹

Thus for this analysis of NEPAD, the *conceptual* question is at the core of the critique so that there is no sense that the choices are simply one of partnering with the African people first but one that fundamentally breaks with the European ideation system and the celebration of *might is right*. Colonial domination had been extended on the basis of the activities of rational males extending the "domains of progress" and "civilizing Africans." This paper will argue that peace and justice cannot be conceptualized within the mindset of "pacification" and those ideas of "conflict management" that devalued the lives of Africans. Realism in politics and its logical manifestations, the devaluation of African lives, continues with the inspiration of the European knowledge system that justifies and celebrates expansion, the ability of science and technology to solve all problems, patriarchy and domination. Spiritual renewal and the retreat from the mechanistic conceptions of the European ideation system provide one of the basic starting points for the re-examination of the principles and philosophies of Africa that can underwrite the process of peace. If it is accepted that the attainment of peace is a process and not an imported event, then there will be need to examine the failures of the numerous peace accords that have been based on the conceptual paradigm of "collapsed states"¹⁰ or the "conflict system in Africa."¹¹ Inside Africa organizations with

⁷ Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations*, Rutgers University Press, 1998

⁸ Spike Petersen, ed., *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 1992

⁹ Horace Campbell, "Emancipatory Politics: Reconstruction and the Peoples of Africa in the New Millennium, Lessons From the Congo," in Eddy Maloka, ed., *The United States of Africa*, Africa Institute of South Africa, 2000. see also Wamba dia Wamba, "Zaire: From the National Conference to the Federal Republic of the Congo," *Development Dialogue*, 1995

¹⁰ William I. Zartman, *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, 1995

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names such as the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) publish journals, monographs and other literature that start from realist paradigm in politics.

Our discussion on Peace, Reparations and Justice is rooted in the philosophy of society and community that is premised on the emancipatory philosophy of *ubuntu*.¹² This philosophy is rooted in conceptions of reconciliation, forgiveness and sharing. These principles form the core of the philosophy that emanates from the African knowledge system, or the system of ideas that is embedded in the African way of life. Malidome Some spelt out the inheritance of these principles in a study of *The Healing Spirit of Africa: Finding Life Purpose Through Nature, Ritual and Community*.

Hiding behind tradition while supporting violation and terror had been a trademark of leaders who bought the most up to date instruments of death. Regional wars and military entrepreneurs reinforced the violence and structural economic conditions of exploitation that feminists and activists call *structural violence*. Throughout the continent, from the Cape to Cairo, African women have been at the forefront of stressing the truth that economic warfare and terrorism is reinforced by actual wars, sexual and gender violence, psychological warfare and bioterrorism. The interconnections between sexual violence, militarism, masculinity, ideological illnesses, terrorism, economic exploitation, and information warfare form a feedback loop that is characteristic of the articulation of warfare.¹³ It is this articulation of the varying components of insecurity that is elusive precisely because of the binary categories that are employed in the analysis of war and peace. The concept of peace had been predicated on simply silencing guns and signing peace accords between warring elements. This concept of peace is based on “managing chaos,” or the “conflict resolution” paradigm. The challenges of the search for peace is to be able to link peace to a philosophy of life that celebrates humans as spiritual beings who do not separate thinking from feeling, compassion from observation and spirit from matter.

In the twenty first century, the simplistic framework of conflict resolution ignores the infinite differences that exist. Thus, in the present period, the direction of the struggles against

¹¹ William I. Zartman, “Guidelines for Preserving Peace in Africa,” in Chester Crocker and David Smock, eds., *African Conflict Resolution: The US Role*, United States Institute For Peace 1995. See also Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1996

¹² This concept of ubuntu is very rich and can be located at the center of the cultural unity of Africa. Cheik Anta Diop had theorized on the cultural unity in the book, *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa: The Domains of Matriarchy and Patriarchy in Classical Antiquity*, Karnak House, London, 1989. See also Archie Mafeje, “Africanity: A Combative Ontology,” *Codesria Bulletin*, No. 1, 2000

¹³ The concept of the feedback loop is a characteristic of the recursion principle of fractals. Ron Eglash, *African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design*, Rutgers University Press, 1999

war and imperial plunder of humans and nature is to have some humility in the face of the complexity of life and the universe. Yet in this same complexity it is the human agency or the human will (what is called the *will to peace*) that have the capacity for unleashing revolutionary transformations. Anti imperialist African scholars, community organizers and concerned religious leaders are arguing that justice, reconciliation and the *will to peace and democracy* are not automatic, but the result of a healing process that involves the entire community from the grassroots up.

This paper is premised on the view that peace and security in Africa must be linked *human agency* and African concepts of peace and knowledge that has the potential to once and for all structurally transform the position of Africa's resources, labor, communities and societies over the next century. The other major prerequisite is the popularizing of the idea that there must be truth and healing from the *historical crimes against humanity* in Africa. These crimes emanated from the period of chattel slavery, colonialism, genocide and militarism. African states that were created at the conference of Berlin in 1885 were states formed on the **basis of conquest**. In the absence of political legitimacy rooted in the people's security, the principle of legitimacy of the states in Africa was based on the Weberian definition of the state as the legitimate monopolizer of violence. The challenge in the period of the New African Initiative is for the peoples of Africa to develop a conceptual break with this concept of the state and politics and to reformulate a concept of state and politics where *political power* is geared towards peace and justice. This process requires a break with the old forms of state based on violence and genocide. It means that the conviction of *Never Again, Zero Tolerance for genocide, genocidal violence and the incitement to genocide* must be reinforced and given a concrete and living place in the policies of the African Union.

The third World Conference against Racism (WCAR) in 2001 agreed that the Atlantic Slave Trade constituted a crime against humanity. This declaration represented a major victory for the anti racist forces globally in outlining the basic requirement of anti racism as the basis for the new partnership in the global economy. It followed from the acknowledgement of "crimes against humanity" that there had to be redress for these crimes. The most important form of redress is in the form of reparations.

The thrust of this paper is to seek to grasp the tensions and opportunities that are inscribed in the search for peace in Africa. It will be one of the main arguments of this intervention that peace in the *biotech century* requires a fundamental break with the concept

of a commercial eugenic civilization.¹⁴ The struggle to establish new rules for the patenting of life forms and the move to treat life as an invention threatens to unleash on human beings the crudest concepts of racism since Adolph Hitler. African women at home and abroad who feel the impact of the privatization and commodification of the genetic commons have been the most forthright in rejecting capitalist ideas of the market that sanctions the *Killing of the Black Body*.¹⁵ Facing the brunt of the horrors of modern capitalism African women comprise the social forces that have the most to gain in the transformation of the current continental and international relations.

The concrete lessons of the search for peace away from warfare in Central Africa will be used as one window to expose the limitations of the linear conceptions of war and peace. Cheik Anta Diop had recommended a bicameral parliament for Africa in the Federation of Africa. Diop had proposed women's participation in running public affairs within the framework of a feminine assembly, sitting separately but having the same prerogatives as the general assembly. This proposition of the free flowering of the ideas of African women in the framework of building policies for peace and justice will form a core element of this paper. African women have already defined reparations in a more profound and moral way beyond simple compensation for crimes against humanity.

The discussion of the moral imperatives of healing and transcending the old paradigms will be the next session. One major limitation of this intervention will be the lack of attention paid to the issues of information warfare and biological warfare in the present period. Our previous study of the US partnership with Africa under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) clarified the implications of information and biological warfare in the era of the Information Revolution.¹⁶ Our conclusion will seek to analyze the centrality of the youth in the refinement of intergenerational concepts of peace. Our conclusion seeks to reinforce the idea that peace is a process and not an imported event. In the process new institutions and new social forces will have to be mobilized to make the dream of the African Union a reality.

¹⁴ Jeremy Rifkin, *The Biotech Century: Harnessing the Gene and Remaking the World*, Putman Books, Chicago, 1999

¹⁵ Dorothy Roberts, *Killing of the Black Body : Race, Reproduction and the Meaning of Liberty*, Vintage Books, New York, 1999

¹⁶ Horace Campbell, *US Security Doctrine and the Africa Crisis Response Initiative*, African Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, 2001

2. The Context of the Present Push For Peace

The new direction of the numerous grassroots movements in Africa has impacted the political process and pushed the current political leaders in Africa towards peace. This conjuncture represented a dramatic step away from the celebration of war criminals and the entertainment and support for military entrepreneurs in Africa. Yet, there is the critical awareness of how the process of globalization strengthens militarists and maintains Africa at the bottom of the international division of labor. This gave rise to the concept of the globalization of apartheid.¹⁷

Apartheid in the new economic form, *biopiracy*, militarism and the extension of capital accumulation has a long history in Africa and the interconnections between imperialism, militarism, masculinity and the warrior traditions have been the subject of numerous texts on African politics.¹⁸ One of the most important breakthroughs in the conceptualizing of peace has been the realization that it is not possible to bring about the end of war without a sustained rejection of the ideas of masculinity and patriarchy. The ideology of patriarchy reduces women to accept their domination by mobilizing mothers to produce soldiers.

It is at the level of the discussion of the place of women in African society where the whole issue of peace comes up against the patriarchal concepts of state and society that had been internalized by the educated African males. In the words of one feminist, J. Ann Tickner, “the psychic sapping of women in patriarchy functions continually to recreate its warriors. The state of patriarchy is a state of war, in which periods of recuperation from and preparation for battle were euphemistically called “peace.” As long as the state of patriarchy continues to exist, women will go on recreating warriors. In a patriarchal society, men have placed themselves at the top of the hierarchy with women and children at the bottom. Women are exploited, victimized and oppressed.”¹⁹

The concepts of peace that have been reproduced ad nauseum from patriarchs and rational thinkers have been concepts that relate to suspension of hostilities and not a real peace. Immanuel Kant has been one of the more well known “rational philosophers” that

¹⁷ Samir Amin, “For a Progressive and Democratic New World Order, in *Reflections on Leadership in Africa*, edited by Haroub Othman, Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam and VUB University Press, Belgium, 2000

¹⁸ Ayesha Imam, Amina Mama and Fatou Sow, *Engendering African Social Sciences*, Codesria Books Series, Dakar, 1997

¹⁹ J. Ann Tickner, “Feminist Perspectives on Peace and World Security, in the Post Cold War Era” in *Peace and World Security Studies: A Curriculum Guide*, Michael Klare, (ed) Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder 1994. See also Ali Mazrui, *The Warrior Traditions in Modern Africa*. E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1977

wrote of peace treaties as merely breaks for more war.²⁰ Kant, as one of the foremost philosophers of the European Enlightenment, could not recognize the crime of slavery and the fundamental challenge posed to human dignity by enslavement of other human beings. This was because then and now Enlightenment thinking reduced the world to enlightened rational Europeans who could civilize and pacify savages and non-rational beings.

It is this hierarchy of humans that is still at the core of the divisions of the world. Under current globalization of capital, the entire world is made the object of exploitation. The polarizations between wealth and poverty, health and disease, war and peace intensify with the military forces of the capitalist countries organized to maintain the current unequal division of wealth. In the current context of war without borders, the USA arrogates to itself the right to intervene in all parts of the world. In this international environment, Africa continues to be a scene of plunder so that criminal elements are supported and cultivated. These criminal elements are involved in the international trade in natural resources (eg. diamond, timber and genetic resources) illicit drugs, weapons, and other forms of wealth creation that are associated with the international climate of liberalization and the free movement of capital.²¹

It has been the people's enthusiasm for peace that has created the new stage of the formation of the African Union and the articulation of the ideas of a new move away from poverty. The global movement for justice was a powerful political force that launched a fundamental critique of capitalism, racism, homophobia, sexism and long held beliefs that Europeans were superior to Africans. It was also in the context of this same movement where the critique of globalization and the opposition to the IMF and institutions of the WTO and multilateral imperialism became refined. Leaders such as Julius Nyerere opposed the IMF and the conditionalities of the imperial countries that were grouped into the G7 (USA, France, Britain, Germany, Japan, Canada and Italy).

In our earlier analysis of "The Peace Narrative and Education For Peace in Africa," we drew attention to the fact that the entire history of European engagement with Africa has been premised on the role of force in production and the absence of democratic relations.²² It needs to be restated here that force and violence from Europe was represented as peace, peacekeeping and peace enforcement. The most glaring example of this experience of peace

²⁰ Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Study*, 1795

²¹ Michael Klare, *Resource Wars: The New landscape of Global Conflict*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2001

²² Horace Campbell, "The Peace Narrative and Education For Peace in Africa," in Adele Jinadu, *The Political Economy of Peace in Africa*, AAPS books, 2000.

was the conference of Berlin of 1884-1885 that was called in the name of bringing peace. The Berlin conference was the first experience of Conflict Management and Resolution, in this case resolving the conflict between European states. The representatives from these states roamed the continent seeking to pacify Africans who were rebelling against the expropriation of their lands. This represents the first conceptual break that must be made in Africa. This break must involve the clarification that the pacification programmes of Cecil Rhodes, King Leopold and numerous others represented warfare and violence.

The second conceptual break involves the clarity of the wrong-headedness of the concept of dominion over nature. African society did not embrace this dominion. Force in production, dominion over nature and inferior peoples formed the core beliefs of Western European capitalists. These concepts set in motion modes of economic organization that was celebrated as working under the hidden hand of the market. Economic relations based on the production of primary commodities, the plunder of humans and nature, racial segregation and militarism on a day to day basis formed the basis of colonialism. There had been no democracy under colonialism and the anti democratic, racial and patriarchal political context provided the conditions for militarism and perpetual conflicts. Militarism as the mode of politics became entrenched in so far as the peoples of Africa were reduced to being subjects in the hierarchy of the international division of labor. In every country of Africa it can be demonstrated how the structural relationships between economics, western concepts of peace and politics in the society provided conditions conducive to perpetual forms of warfare.

In the aftermath of the biting criticisms of how the World Bank and the IMF brought about *New Slavery* and the importance of *Development as Freedom*,²³ there has been numerous discussions in the World Bank on the relationship between primary commodity production and warfare. In the period of this new international awareness on the relationship between minerals and militarism, the intellectuals of the World Bank joined in the discourse with reports on the *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their implications for Policy*. After decades of foreign aid, foreign investment and economic reforms, the Development Research Group of the World Bank noted in their publication *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy*: that

the most powerful risk factor is that countries which have a substantial share of their income (GDP) coming from the export of primary commodities are radically more at risk of conflict. The most dangerous level of primary commodity dependence

²³ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Alfred Knopf, New York 1999

is 26 % of GDP. At this level the otherwise ordinary country has a risk of conflict of 23 %. By contrast, if it has no primary commodity exports (but was otherwise the same) its risk would fall to one half of one per cent. Thus, without primary commodity exports, ordinary countries are pretty safe from internal conflict, while when such exports are substantial the society is highly dangerous. Primary commodities are thus a major part of the conflict story.²⁴

Paul Collier, the Director of the Research Group of the World Bank, argued “As of 1995 the country with the highest risk of civil conflict according to our analysis was Zaire, with a three in four chance of conflict within the ensuing five years.”²⁵

This World Bank language on “Civil Conflict” and the subsequent unleashing of resources for the establishment of conflict resolution centers provided the conditions for the mobilizing of the intellectual energies of young Africans to study and resolve conflicts without confronting the fundamental issue of the militarism and violence that emanate from the economics of war and militarism, What is most revealing from the analysis of the World Bank on the relationship between primary commodity extraction and warfare is the extent to which questions of democratic participation on the one hand and the global armaments culture on the other are excluded from the policy alternatives offered for economic adjustment, poverty alleviation and peace..

In short, it must be said that the three main conceptual issues of militarism as a mode of politics (pacification programmes), patriarchy and “dependence on primary commodity production” are not separate questions but linked to the *realist* concepts of security and national interests. African women who feel the full brunt of the economics of warfare have deepened the analysis of war to implicate masculinity and violence so that African males must take full responsibility for the prevalence of warfare and violation. It is for this reason that in the struggles for peace African women have been at the forefront of defining peace and democracy in a way that can break the conceptual logjam on peace and conflict resolution.

African men and women of the grassroots, who are struggling at the bottom of the international system of exploitation, continue to subsidize the armaments industry of the industrialized North. The linkages between the purchase of armaments and the debt crisis have been exposed in studies of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. These studies of the financial flows in the 1990s underline the linkages between primary commodity

²⁴ Paul Collier, *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications For Policy*, p 7

²⁵ *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and their Implications for Policy*, by Paul Collier, Director, Development Research Group of the World Bank, June, 2000

production, the movement of small arms and the integration into the global markets. Yet, in the transition period where there are major democratic struggles to break the role of force in production, the elected governments continue to service the debts that had been incurred to purchase weapons. There are the interminable discussions on debt relief when what is necessary is the collective mobilization of the poor to argue that the debt of the poor countries should be canceled. Simultaneously there are discussions on small arms with the same mobilization to stop the illegal looting of resources via liberalized trading channels.

The oppressed are demanding institutions and organizations dedicated to a decisive break with the liberalized institutions of global capitalism. It has been the experience of wars in Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Angola that liberalization supports military entrepreneurs and genocidaires. This demand for structural transformation recognizes the need for democracy, African political union and economic Union. This structural transformation that is based on democratic politics open one of the avenues for dealing with one of the most important sources of conflict, the use of weapons for the manipulation of differences among the people. This is the politicization of ethnicity, regionalism and religion.

War situations and the manipulations of border disputes, religious disputes and ethnic questions degenerate into continuous conflict in the absence of democratic institutions, democratic states and peoples organized to defend peace. It has been argued since the end of the cold war and the upsurge of democratic movements that only a democratic state can provide the basis for peace. It is not possible for peace to develop in conditions where peoples from all walks of life and from different religious and ethnic backgrounds do not feel that their lives are valued. One prominent African scholar noted correctly that,

A genuine state depends on the multiplicity and diversity of its people:
the old, the young, peasants, workers, diverse national/ethnic origins,
merchants or businessmen, intellectuals, cadres, women, men, believers,
non believers, etc., differences among the people are infinite.

This concept of infinity captures a key aspect of our theory of complexity and fractals which purports that peace cannot be based on simply “the absence of war,” democracy cannot be based on a simple prescription of election and, as the scholar contends,

a democratic state cannot be based on a single difference, such as
religious or ethnic entities. Multiplicity per se is necessary as a base for

a genuine state; but rather than composing or expressing this multiplicity, the state must transcend it with the help of new categories, such as “citizen” or “ndugu,” both referring to particular entities. It is on this basis that differences do not change into discriminations. In themselves, differences do not produce conflicts. The democratic state has an obligation to propose one or several abstract concepts, abstract in the sense that they are not derived from social being which may be cultural, linguistic, religious, professional etc.²⁶

The fundamental point of the democratic space and the conditions necessary for civil peace direct our attention to the social forces in the new African Union with a vested interest in peace. Except for the militarists and those who benefit from war as a business in Africa, all social groups and individuals support peace but the force that has the most to gain from a transformation of conditions of war to conditions of peace are African women.

3. African women and the struggles for Peace in the African Union

African women are at the forefront of challenging the present system and are taking the demand for peace further with clarity on the need for demilitarization, democratization, debt cancellation and an assault on Gender violence. At the 1999 meeting of Pan African Women in Zanzibar, the women who gathered reinforced the point that women should be in the leadership in the struggle for peace and reconstruction. With the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo engulfing the whole of the sub regions of Central, Eastern and Southern Africa, the women made a call for a culture of peace.

The resolution of the meeting declared that,

We, Women of Africa,
*Gathered at the Pan African Women's Conference on a Culture of Peace
in Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania, 17-20 May 1999, on the eve
of the new millennium and the International Year for the Culture of Peace,
consider this Conference as an irreversible climax for African women. We*

²⁶ Wamba dia Wamba, “Protracted Political Crisis, Wars and Militarism in the Regions of Central Africa and the Great Lakes, Mimeo, 1998

resolve to launch a Pan African women's peace movement to stop violent conflicts and war, and appeal to women and men, also on other continents to join us in our efforts.

((After the social, economic and cultural devastation caused by colonialism, Africa has witnessed in the post-independence years economic and social deprivation, uneven distribution of wealth and opportunities among people, violent conflicts, military coups, political instability, dictatorship and corruption. Abject poverty, gender inequality, policies of exclusion, illiteracy, the lack of social, economic, religious and political security and the limited participation of women in the democratization processes have marginalized us and denied Africa the use of women's talents, experience and skills as agent for peace and development. We are determined to use our visions and capacities to redress these imbalances and help ensure sustainable development and durable peace.

Africa continues to lose resources through unfavourable economic systems which have been causing a widening gap between Africa and other regions. As a result, despite the substantial contribution that Africa has made to global development, the continent is in danger of losing direction and being marginalized in the current trend towards globalization and open market economies. In that regard, we call for debt cancellation by the International Community.))

Having suffered massive violations of fundamental human rights and having had to shoulder the burden of sustaining our societies while at the same time handling traumas, miseries, violence, social injustices and poverty, we commit ourselves to promote non-violent means of conflict resolution and African values for a culture of peace.

The concepts of peace and democratization embedded in this declaration are concepts that will be enriched through the experience of building peace and eschewing violence as the principal form of solving contradictions. African women have rejected the low respect for human life by leaders and formed a political alternative to those who want to oppose imperialism as a way of establishing African forms of exploitation and violation.

In the process of committing themselves to the promotion of non-violent means of conflict resolution and developing African values for a culture of peace, these women were repudiating the peace making plans of the United States, the European Union and their African allies. These women formed international alliances and pressured organizations such as UNESCO to support the mandate of the UN to work for peace.

Throughout the Cold War, when peace was being represented as the balance of nuclear terror, UNESCO had taken the lead from the General Assembly of the UN declaring that

“every nation and every human being, regardless of race, conscience, language or sex has the inherent right to life in peace.”

In 1982, UNESCO adopted the following posture with respect to peace,

There can be no genuine peace when the most elementary human rights are violated or while situations of injustice continue to exist; conversely, human rights for all cannot take root and achieve full growth while latent or open conflicts are rife ... Peace is incompatible with malnutrition, extreme poverty and the refusal of the rights of self-determination. Disregard for the rights of individuals, the persistence of inequitable international economic structures, interference in the internal affairs of other states, ... The only lasting peace calls for the establishment of an equitable international order which will preserve future generations from the scourge of war.

These initiatives of popularizing new ideas of peace are buttressed by the call for a new educational culture that would entail the reorganization of public education so that schools, colleges, universities, teacher training colleges and kindergartens are equipped with the resources to teach about peace.

It was significant that in Mozambique, during the period of South African destabilization, the National Song and Dance Company sought to develop dances for peace so that other means of education could be developed in communities battered by warfare and dispersal. Through song, through dance, the body and music, it was possible to reach larger sections of the society than normal institutions of learning would have reached.

The position of African women in Mozambique on the definition of peace arose out of the concrete reality of the escalation of gendered violence in Africa. There is widespread violation of women and wholesale rape has been largely excluded from the discourse on peace. African military entrepreneurs sought to make women unwilling allies in warfare by invoking ethnic ties and suborning women as unwilling boundaries of ethnic allegiances. The use of the term *dodaism* by the sociologist Owen Sichone to capture the linkages between

masculinity and ethnic consciousness represented a major step forward in deconstructing the linkages between masculinity, violence and ethnicity.²⁷

The World Bank and the external exploiters have recognized the vibrant place of African women in the struggles for peace so there is a conscious effort to mobilize the energies of African women for ideas of petty ventures (e.g. micro credit schemes) that do not fundamentally challenge the integration of women's labor into the global system of injustice. African feminists are extending the discussions on peace from the "victim" paradigms of the "women in development" discourse.²⁸ In focusing on the agency of women who struggle in their day to day lives the construction of social relations at all levels are explored: the homestead, the village community, urban communities, the school, institutions of spiritual reflection, in cultural activities such as dance, in the bureaucracy and in the coercive forces and in economic relations. It is from this orientation that there is now the focus on how bloodletting can be sanctioned and supported by military as well as civilian authorities. Joanna Bourne's work on the *Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face with killing in the 20th century* opens a new window into how wanton killings can be carried out by seemingly normal males.²⁹

Gender violence can be traced to the ideas of male valour and the warrior traditions, which, when translated in the minds of young males, equate physical power with masculinity. Young males are socialised to fight at an early age and the use of physical force, and intimidation is presented as problem solving while negotiation is left to the girls who are less physically disposed to use force. The experiences of youths who are mobilized as fighters as far apart as Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Congo bring back the concrete reality of the interconnections between war and gender.

The new insights on *War and Gender* and the *Intimate History of Killing* connect actual warfare to rape, sexual violence, child prostitution, murder and incest. On the ground there has been new networks at the community, national and global levels dedicated to opposing gender violence. These transnational networks linked to the global womens movement are shaping an alternative of global cooperation that is very different from the globalization of capital. New communication techniques are shared as the grassroots learn from the best practices of women in other parts of the world. Women's groups are growing in

²⁷ Horace Campbell, *Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The Exhaustion of the Patriarchal Model of Liberation*, forthcoming David Phillip, South Africa, 2002

²⁸ Ruth Meena, *Gender in Southern Africa*, SAPES Books, 1993

²⁹ Joanna Bourne, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face with Killing in the 20th century*, Granta Books, London, 1999. See also, Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes War and Vice Versa*, Cambridge University Press, 2001

numbers and are demanding that the centrality of women in the formal and informal organs for peace be recognized. This includes the right of women's groups to be represented at peace conferences. The most recent concrete examples of this demand have been in the cases of Burundi and the Sudan where African women demanded to be central to the peace processes.

Through national forums, regional groupings, Pan African organizations and international Organizations, such as UNIFEM, African women are developing new avenues for expressing concepts of peace that demystifies the link between the personal and the political. Women in Africa are in the forefront of a more robust definition of peace as freedom from all sources of oppression. This thrust by progressive women has forced African governments to pay more attention to issues of domestic violence, misogyny and sexual terrorism. Even before the formal crafting of the African Union there had been many efforts by the militarists to capture the energies of women to support militarists.

The fact that the OAU established an African Women Committee on Peace and Development at the 1997 summit should be seen in the context of the conservative attempts to co-opt the women's movement in Africa. The challenge in the period of the New Africa Initiative is to ensure that there is not the same effort to co-opt the struggles for economic change by the NEPAD crafters. The same leaders who are seeking to create the conditions necessary for private enterprise oversee economies where there is massive structural violence as well as direct violence against women in the form of battering, rape, and other forms of abuse. It is this concrete history of the OAU Committee on Conflict Management and Prevention and the concrete reality of the ineffective organs such as the African Women Committee For Peace that influence the new direction of the New Africa Initiative.

A rigorous understanding of peace deals with the concept of peace being related to economics, environment, gender and democracy. The ideas on peace and the opposition to genocide were honed by the anti militarist forces in the world, especially women. African women are in the forefront of this challenge to partnering with the European Union as the basis for Development. There is now enough material to demonstrate that present partnerships such as the Lome agreement with the EU and the African growth and Opportunity Act of the USA has not fostered economic development in Africa. These failed partnerships ensure that grassroots women are opposed to the conception of prioritizing foreign investment by raising fundamental questions with respect to a gender-based approach to economics, democracy and environmental planning. At all levels of decision making women are ending the silence and are exposing the fact that there is the need for the institutionalization of structures which will

promote women's participation in the decision making process around access to water, sanitation, health and environmental issues.

Organized women are demanding clean water as a basic democratic right in the same ways as they are campaigning against privatization and user fees for social services. The fight against liberalization is one part of the fight against domestic violence, and fighting for reproductive rights, the reproduction of basic living standard for all and the whole organization of the gender relations. It is out of this engagement that scholars are writing on Education for Peace. More than ten years earlier Yash Tandon had written the book, *Militarism and Peace Education in Africa*.

The writings of Yash Tandon and Birgit Brock-Utne expose the role of the USA in Africa and should bring home the lessons of US military involvement in Africa. This clarifies the reality that the Africa Crisis Response Initiative and the Strategic Studies Centers being established by the US are not geared toward partnership for peace. In my own work on the US Security Doctrine and the Africa Crisis Response Initiative, I have analyzed the ACRI posturing as the need to develop African allies for forward planning and war.³⁰ The fact that the US dominates the international organizations such as the United Nations and the multilateral agencies such as the IMF means that Africans have to be self-conscious in the kind of partnerships that are developed in the context of the African Union. It is this self-consciousness that mobilizes the energies of African women and their allies who define peace as follows:

By peace we mean the absence of violence in any given society, both internal and external, direct and indirect. We further mean the non-violent results of the equality of rights, by which every member of the society, through nonviolent means, participates equally in decisional power which regulated it, and the distribution of resources which sustain it.³¹

The question of the equitable distribution of resources or the urgent requirement of a new world order has been underlined by a global movement to the point where the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Anan, declared that there can be no fight against terrorism without the eradication of poverty. As an African, this Secretary General was a good example of how certain Africans can be involved in international institutions and become

³⁰ Horace Campbell, *The US Security Doctrine and the Africa Crisis Response Initiative*, Africa Institute of South Africa 2001

³¹ Birgit Brock -Utne, *Educating for Peace – A Feminist Perspective*, The Athene Series, Pergamon Press, New York, 1989

accomplices to genocide.³² The tenure of Kofi Anan as the Secretary General of the UN, as well as the previous tenure of Boutros Ghali, should reinforce the understanding that peace in Africa is not based on color or place of origin but linked to the concrete respect for human life.

4. The African Union, NEPAD and United Nations

When the United Nations was founded the first article was

to maintain international peace and security and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which lead to a breach of the peace.

This article continues to be the most quoted justification for the existence of the United Nations. Nearly every year since the United Nations was founded, there have been initiatives for peace. In 1992, Boutros Boutros-Ghali published an *Agenda for Peace* and since that time the UN has become more active in Peace and Humanitarian Affairs. I have argued elsewhere that the peace keeping bona fide of the UN is consistent with plans for the recolonization of Africa.³³ In every operation of the UN in Africa since 1945 (with the exception of Namibia 1989-1990 and Mozambique 1992-1994, the UN has been an obstacle to peace in Africa. From the time of the abortive Congo operation in 1960,(that claimed the life of the UN Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld), the bureaucrats of the UN were more interested in the lucrative stipends from deployment in Africa rather than supporting peace and self-determination. There is now a well-developed critique of the peace experts from the time of the UN in Congo.³⁴ The most well known failures are the cases of UN peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of the Congo at the time of the assassination of Lumumba, the spectacular failure in Angola and the Somalia debacle, The humanitarianism of the UN agencies supports the imperial agenda of the permanent members of the Security Council.

³² Linda Melvern, *A People betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*, Zed Books, London, 2001, See also Africa Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance*, Africa Rights, London, 1996

³³ Horace Campbell, *Humanitarianism, War and the Recolonization of Angola*, SAPES Books, 1996

³⁴ K. Sundarji, *Of Some Consequence, A Soldier Remembers*, Harper Collins Publishers, New Delhi, 2000

Currently, the United Nations has four peacekeeping missions in Africa: MINURSO in the Western Sahara, UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone, UNMEE in Eritrea and Ethiopia, and MONUC in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It will be in the interest of the technical committees of the African Union to study these experiences so that there is a critical understanding of the imperial objectives of the Permanent Members of the United Nations. At the same time while studying the UN Peacekeeping operations the study must be able to penetrate and grasp the kind of criticisms of the UN peacekeeping operations that emanate from Washington.³⁵

While the failures of the UN peacekeeping mandate has been blamed on the lack resources, it would be more appropriate to grasp how this absence of resources is associated with the realist paradigm and the low respect for African lives. At the dawn of this decade, the United Nations brought out a brand new program of the International Decade for a Culture of Peace. The offices of the United Nations throughout the world are provided with materials on the decade with the quotations from prominent leaders such as Kofi Anan. The struggle for the democratization of the UN is an integral component of the struggle for Peace in Africa. This struggle to democratize the UN emanates from the potential political clout of Africa in international politics. This clout is not yet visible, partly because Africa is still not yet democratic and the full weight of Africa is not yet deployed for peace.

5. Exposing the realist paradigm and the peace industry

In the past, “Chaos theories” and forecasts of the “coming anarchy” prevailed in the conflict resolution centers that influenced the OAU mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution. Even in the face of the scarce resources for UN peacekeeping missions the permanent members of the Security Council support a vibrant Disaster Relief Industry in Africa.³⁶ There is now a veritable *peace industry* linked between consultants, NGO officials and policy experts in Africa, Europe and the United States. There is a revolving door between international non-governmental organization, military consultancies,

³⁵ See the United States Institute of Peace on *Peacekeeping in Africa: A Special Report*, Washington, 2001. See also, Ramesh Thakur, “UN Peacekeeping in the New World Disorder”, in Ramesh Thakur & Carlyle A. Thayer (eds.), *Crisis of Expectations* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1995)

³⁶ Alex De Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster relief Industry in Africa*, James Currey, London 1997.

Aid bureaucracies, the military itself and the Conflict Resolution centers.³⁷ These experts depend on the existence of conflict for their livelihood. Studies on *Famine Crimes* and *The Road to Hell* exposed the hypocrisy of the USA, the EU and international NGO's that are the main entrepreneurs in the peace industry.³⁸ It is at the level of monitoring the work of these peace entrepreneurs that sections of the Global Pan African Movement called for a *Code of Conduct* for international peace keepers and non governmental officers to ensure that they do not extend the drug economy, the sex trade economy and those aspects of the liberalized economic relations that privileges the security consultants. While this kind of policy initiative is significant it is also imperative to expose the kind of *realist* thinking that lay behind the conflict resolution paradigm and the international peace industry.

In the present period, organizations such as the United States Institute for Peace stands at the apex of the international chain of imperial think tanks that reproduce the realist concepts that are subject to criticism by feminist scholars. Just as how the genocide of King Leopold was represented as bringing peace to Africa, so in the present era the destructive engagement of the government of the United States with the apartheid government is presented as bringing peace. For the victors of the "Cold War" the deaths of Africans were unfortunate aspects of a major war. Africans were simply collateral damage. United States universities and colleges reproduce this realism as the basic starting point of international politics.

From 1992 the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) has sought to reproduce a steady supply of texts on *African Conflict Resolution*. There is no self criticism of the US role in the destruction of the self determination project and the various reports on every conflict in Africa provide a clear outline of the impact of the realist paradigm. Below the USIP are hundreds of other conflict resolution centers that pontificate on conflict resolution from the safety of societies that profit from the production and sales of weapons. Apart from the abstract rendition of realism Chester Crocker is one of the better known scholar/politicians of this genre who argued that it was his diplomatic skills that brought peace to Namibia.³⁹

³⁷ The career of the present head of the USAUD, Andrew Naistos is an excellent example of a reserve military officer who served as the head of an NGO, World Vision, was a fellow of the US Institute For peace and who served as an expert on humanitarian relief intervention, see Andrew Naistos, "The International Humanitarian Response System," *Parameters*, Spring 1995, 20:1.

³⁸ Alex De Waal, ed, *Who Fights? Who Cares? War and Humanitarian Action in Africa*, Africa World Press, 2000, and *Famine Crimes*. See also, Michael Maren, *The Road to Hell*, The Free Press, 1997

³⁹ "Peacemaking in Southern Africa: the Namibia-Angola settlement of 1988," *Diplomatic Record*, 1989/90, pp 9-34

Chester Crocker stands out in the United States as an authority who is the reference for African peace issues.

Crocker is the author of *High Noon in Southern Africa: Keeping peace in a Rough Neighborhood*. This book represented the view that during the time that the United States Government was carrying out constructive engagement with South Africa, this was a way of bringing peace to the region. It is important for policy makers in NEPAD to deepen the understanding of the differences between the conflict paradigm and peace in so far as conflict resolution theoreticians in the main write about those societies that are tribal and where conflict is endemic.⁴⁰

This consciousness of “endemic” conflict of “collapsed states” and “tribal warfare” that continues to be dominant in the Africanist circles is in line with the previous text that was produced by the USIP, entitled “Managing Chaos,” which describes how the Western world would manage chaos in Africa since the Africans people are basically geared towards violence and warfare. The wars that rage all over Africa require an analysis beyond the ideas of Anarchy that have been presented as Africa's fate in the globalized economy. According to Robert Kaplan in the much publicized article on “the Coming Anarchy,” the fate of Africa in the will be one where,

Nations break up under the tidal flow of refugees from environmental and social disaster. As borders crumble, another type of boundary is erected – a wall of disease. Wars are fought over scarce resources, especially water, and war itself becomes continuous with crime, as armed bandits of stateless marauders clash with private security forces of the elites.⁴¹

These views reflected the dominant thinking of the “humanitarian” specialists of the West. Where humanitarianism to stamp out slavery was the logic of an earlier period of imperial expansion, military intervention to save lives (stamp out hunger, poverty and disease), is now the legitimation for western military intervention .The invasion of the most rural areas by international non governmental organizations serve the functions of old missionaries who were the pacifiers in another period. It is this same humanitarianism that is used as the shield to formulate plans for US and French militarism in Africa in the period of globalization.

⁴⁰ Chester Crocker, *High Noon in Southern Africa: Keeping peace in a Rough Neighborhood*, Norton, 1988

⁴¹ Robert Kaplan, The Coming Anarchy, *Atlantic Monthly*, 1993

What must be stressed is the fact that the ideas of Robert Kaplan were not isolated but realist convictions that are held throughout the Western World. It was Winston Churchill, the war time Prime Minister of Britain, who was one of the most articulate spokespersons for the maintenance of colonial rule to prevent the outbreak of conflicts. Churchill had opposed the decolonization of India on the grounds that “They are a beastly people with a beastly religion. The moment we (British) leave, they will kill each other.” Winston Churchill was also opposed to independence in Africa and he believed that world peace must be kept by powerful nations. Robert Kaplan is now refining this same position in the context of the global war against terrorism. In the book, *Warrior Politics: Why Leadership demands a Pagan Ethos*, Robert Kaplan argued that it is only the unselfish military leadership by a hegemonic power that can bring peace and resolve conflicts.⁴²

It is important to state that the ideas of realist scholars who pontificate on the need for a single global power are ideas that support the unequal divisions of the globe. Tragically, there are numerous African scholars who start from the same position of a conflict system and the need to manage conflicts.⁴³

Space will not allow for a detailed critique of the western interventions in Africa and the numerous Africa Conflict Resolution Centers that are integrated into the Eurocentric and male centers analysis of conflict. It is important that these institutions be critiqued in so far as the guidelines for discussing peace and security under NEPAD is inspired by the western view of conflict. Hence in the international media and in the official discourse on NEPAD the guidelines for peace involve:

- a. Prevention, management and resolution of conflict
- b. Peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace enforcement,
- c. Post Conflict- reconciliation, rehabilitation and construction and,
- d. Combating illicit proliferation of small arms, light weapons and landmines.

While these are noble goals, it is the position of this intervention that there must be an exposure of past crimes and the current interrogation of westernized concepts of conflict resolution. This is because many of the leaders of Africa and state intellectuals have internalized this paradigm of endemic conflict in Africa and hence promote the need for strong states. This is the model of the ethnically discriminatory state.

⁴² Robert Kaplan, *Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos*, Random House, 2001

⁴³ Adebayo Adedeji, ed. *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The Search For Sustainable Peace and Good Governance*, Zed Books, London, 1999

6. Peace and Conflict Resolution: Lessons from the DRC for the African Union

Earlier in our representation of the economics of war attention was drawn to the interconnection between primary commodity production and war. This explicit position on the plunder of raw materials and warfare is most vividly manifest in the DRC, where the World Bank experts noted that “As of 1995 the country with the highest risk of civil conflict according to our analysis was Zaire, with a three in four chance of conflict within the next five years.” In many respects the unique history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) formerly known as Zaire is a microcosm of the historical and contemporary political, economic and social forces that hinder the reconstruction of Africa. This country is one with seemingly endless natural resources yet stuck in a perpetual time warp of militarism as a mode of politics and economic conditions that are conducive to warfare. Kwame Nkrumah had underlined the centrality of the Congo in the struggles for African Unity and in the last chapter of his book on the *Challenge of the Congo* he underlined how the killing of Lumumba and the coming to power of Mobutu undermined Pan Africanism.⁴⁴

The removal of the Mobutu government in 1997 was episodic in the sense that it brought to the forefront the possibilities of the coalescing of a domestic struggle for peace along with the development of a regional consensus to intervene against dictatorship. This was in line with the post Cold War thinking in Africa that the issues of genocide, genocidal violence and crimes against humanity were no longer the internal affair of states. For the Congolese peoples the solidarity manifest in the regional consensus was especially important in so far as there was the expectation that the war was part of a process to support the Congolese peoples in the long struggle beyond the nightmare of repression and violence established by the Belgians and deepened by Mobutu Sese Seko.⁴⁵ The urgent requirement of a democratic transition beyond Mobutism was understood to be a fundamental component of regional peace, economic cooperation. And the confirmation of the Never Again principle. The removal of Mobutu had heightened great expectations for a change in the politics of the whole region of Central and Southern Africa. It was the same position that had been articulated by Cheik Anta Diop in his book on *Black Africa: The Economic and Cultural basis for a federated State*. The Congo River basin was recognized as the heart of regional

⁴⁴ Kwame Nkrumah, *The Challenge of the Congo*, Pan Af Books, London 1969

⁴⁵ There are a number of books detailing the continuities between the genocide of Belgium and the mode of governance of Mobutu. See inter alia, Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Central Africa*, Houghton Mifflin 1998, Michaela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurz*, and Barbara Kingsolver, *The Poisonwood Bible*, Harper Perennial Editions, New York, 1999

reconstruction and renewal. This understanding of the importance of a regional consensus and political solidarity was even more pronounced in the aftermath of the regional destabilisation that had been set in motion by the forces that committed genocide in Rwanda in 1994.

Continued genocide and war in Burundi, the outbreak of the war in Angola in December 1998, the intensified war in Rwanda, the military challenge to the government of the Central African Republic, along with the intensified war in the Sudan brought to the forefront the Pan African principle that there can be no peace in one African state if there was not peace in the neighbouring state. The methodology that had been employed by the regional allies in the removal of Mobutu laid the foundations for other tribulations in the region, in terms of the strengthening of the militaristic elements who wanted a wider regional base uncontrolled looting of resources and for the reproduction of the values of the warrior traditions. The militaristic methodology reinforced militarists in the regional coalition so that the regional consensus on the issues of peace and regional security broke down as each state sought to promote bilateral interests in the interest of social forces organized around repressive states.

The breakdown of the regional consensus meant that those forces opposed to peace and those military entrepreneurs who were involved in war as a business could find space for the elaboration of militarism and resource extraction that was based on colonial principles of coercion and violence.⁴⁶ These principles reproduced the forms of domination and subordination where the Congolese peoples lived in abject poverty in the midst of a country with immense mineral and biological resources. The women of the Congo were super exploited as successive economic plans perpetuated a concept of labor that considered the women non-economic actors. Concepts of the market economy that had been supported by the international financial institutions served as the framework for assisting the Zairian ruling class to act as a transmission belt for the export of surpluses.

The divide between militarists who were involved in war as a business and the social forces searching for peace had become pronounced all across the region from Burundi and Rwanda in the East to Angola and Congo Brazzaville in the West. War situations had engendered regional patterns of interaction where refugees, displaced persons and cross border military actions brought all countries face to face with the need for a new regional and continental force that could enforce peace. This was the case that demonstrated the need for the African Union.

⁴⁶ *UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and other Forms of Wealth in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, UN Security council, April and November 2001

Elsewhere I have documented the how militarism in Zaire assisted the forces of destabilization of Angola and the ways in which the USA and certain European states blocked the full decolonization of Angola.⁴⁷ This country, along with the Congo, represent two societies where the Cold War intellectual investment has been such that younger scholars will not easily understand the main issues of war. Many younger Africans will not be able to fully understand the difference between Agostino Neto and Jonas Savimbi. Preliminary estimates are that in the past decade both sides in the war in Angola expended approximately ten billion dollars in fighting wars.

Between 1994 and 1998 Angola had limped between no war and no peace as the different armies used the period of the Lusaka Protocol of 1994 to reequip and rearm in the midst of a disarmament process supervised by UN peacekeepers. The subsequent expulsion of the United Nations and the human tragedy that has befallen the peoples of Angola and her neighbours demanded interventions for peace that could support and supplement initiatives by the peoples in the region who want peace and a move away from warfare. The war in Angola had spilled over into Congo Brazzaville, the DRC, Zambia, and Namibia as both the government and the army of UNITA carried the war to the neighbours.⁴⁸ Despite the expectations that had been set in motion by the tiring work of peace activists inside and outside of Angola, the imperatives of war as a business dominated the society so that war broke out again in 1998. A serious cease-fire was not achieved in Angola until February 2002, when Jonas Savimbi was killed in battle.

It is this tradition of militarism and masculinity that dominated all of the states of the region to the point where the elements of democracy and peace could not emerge as the leading force for change in the region of Central Africa. Laurent Kabila became the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in May 1997 after the war toppled Mobutu. Laurent Kabila was himself assassinated in the midst of a war that involved more than seven states and at least ten irregular armies. African women were at the forefront of demanding that the new leadership recognize that people's security is not only a matter of state and military security, but also a question of economic livelihood and overall well-being.⁴⁹

The impact of this war led to greater instability, millions of deaths and war related violence, millions of refugees and internally displaced persons, insecurity and plunder of

⁴⁷ Horace Campbell, *Militarism, Warfare and the Search for Peace: The Contributions of Angolan Women*, Africa Institute, South Africa, 2001

⁴⁸ Horace Campbell, "Militarism, War and the Search For Peace in Angola," in *The Uncertain Promise of Southern Africa*, ed.

⁴⁹ Statement of the Pan African Women's Meeting on Peace, Zanzibar, May, 1999

minerals and other raw materials. There was a growing recognition of the place of the international diamond cartels in the recycling of diamonds for weapons and a new term entered the lexicon of peace activists, “conflict diamonds.”⁵⁰ The day-to-day opposition to warfare and military occupation from the ordinary peoples for peace led to the signing of a peace accord at Lusaka in July of 1999. In the space of eleven months (August 1998 to July 1999) it became clear that the political questions could not be solved by military means and under local, regional and pressures across the continent there were efforts to reach a new consensus on the form of government for the Congo and the region in the post Mobutu era.

7. The Lusaka Cease-Fire Accord.

The corner stone of the agreement was for a Cease Fire and for the cessation of military hostilities. The agreement was called a Cease Fire Agreement, underlining the following key points:

- The parties will set up a Joint Military Commission which, together with the UNOAU observer group, will be responsible for carrying out, immediately after the deal comes into force, peacekeeping operations until the deployment of the UN peacekeeping force
- The final withdrawal of all foreign forces shall be carried out within nine months following the withdrawal schedule to be prepared by the UN, OAU and the JMC.
- There shall be a mechanism for disarming militias, especially the interhamwe, the Rwandan Hutu group responsible for the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and an important factor in the DRC war.
- All parties have committed themselves to the process of locating, identifying, disarming and assembling all members of armed groups in the DRC.
- The parties shall ensure that armed peoples operating alongside their troops on the territory under their control comply with the processes leading to the dismantling of these groups.
- The parties shall release prisoners detained or taken hostage and shall give them the latitude to relocate to any province within the DRC or country where their security will be guaranteed.

⁵⁰ James Rupert, “Diamond Hunters Fuel Africa’s Brutal Wars,” *Washington Post*, October 6, 1999, page 1. see also, *A Rough Trade - The Role of Companies and Governments in the Angolan Conflict*, published on 14 December, 1998 by Global Witness, United Kingdom

- Immediate and unhindered access to be given to the International Committee of the Red Cross to arrange for the release of prisoners of war and the recovery of the dead and wounded
- Once the agreement is signed, the government of the DRC, the Congolese Rally For Democracy (RCD) and the Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC) as well as unarmed opposition shall enter into open dialogue. These negotiations will be held under the aegis of a neutral facilitator to be agreed upon by the Congolese parties.

After three years (1999-2002) the Congo is still at war and the reality of the absence of peace reinforce the argument of this paper that peace in Africa must begin with the people. The current dialogue in South Africa is a supreme example of deal making among military leaders. The Congolese people have not been at the center of the process now underway in South Africa. Participants of the Inter Congolese dialogue are not fully aware of the necessary requirements of sustainable peace.

The continued failure of the peace process in the Congo stems from five main issues that can be stated with respect to peace processes all across Africa. Whether in the Congo or Sierra Leone or the Sudan, there has been

- a. absence of a realistic transition period that could build confidence
- b. absence of goodwill on all sides and an absence of the will to peace
- c. peace was a component of a military strategy of talking while fighting
- d. there was an absence of a regional base for supporting peace and
- e. there was undue reliance on the United Nations and the International Community.

This last point is especially relevant in so far as the principal documents of NEPAD have the same undue reliance on the International Community. Were Angola and the Congo at peace the combined wealth of these countries could quick start a reconstruction plan for Africa that would not necessitate the search for financial assistance from the imperial nations. An alternative peace paradigm could produce development models based on the empowerment of Congolese individuals and communities to acquire and accumulate skills, knowledge and the capacity to innovate such knowledge in relationships with their environments to improve their standards of life in a sustainable manner. Models based on the validation of the right of African peoples to live as human beings with dignity and an African world view and ideation systems, would be catalysts for the development of Congolese human capital and knowledge based competitive factor advantages to support wealth creation,

growth and development in the 21st century. It is the position that this wealth creation is linked to reparations and truth in Africa.

8. Reparations and Reconstruction

Despite the failure of the Inter Congolese dialogue, thus far, the Congolese society has agreed to the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This is a major step that is linked to reconstruction away from the traditions of warfare. One component of truth is the need for the understanding of crimes against humanity and the need for redress. This is in line with the idea of reparations. The challenge of discussing reparations, justice and peace is to be able to raise the issue of peace in Africa so that there can be a qualitative transformation of the relationship between African peoples and the world. This would also represent a higher level of human liberation and humanity's relationship to the planet earth.

It is in the discussion of reparations where the African peoples can be educated on the debt that Europe and America owes to Africa and her scattered children. This issue of reparations must be raised at the level of the moral imperative of ending crimes against humanity. Reparations and redress for crimes against humanity extend the debate on NEPAD and the African Union and opens numerous possibilities for a realignment of international politics and diplomacy. Instead of addressing NEPAD to the very same forces that carried out genocide, the diplomacy of the African Union should be directed towards those elements of the Cairns group of the WTO that challenge the subsidies of the USA and the European Union to their farmers.⁵¹ African peoples must follow the rhythm of international economic changes to grasp the fundamental realignments that follow war and global upheavals.

The international understanding of the need for reparations heightened in the last century after the long court battles over German crimes in the Second World War. The legal battles along with the public information on the Nazi Holocaust raised the issue of *Never Again* to the international level. Though in the case of the Nazi Holocaust the emphasis on monetary compensation overshadowed the philosophical basis for genocide, there is now convincing studies on the ways in which the ideas of rationality, efficiency order and progress contributed to the genocide.⁵² The use of the most up to date technology to efficiently dispose

⁵¹ The Cairns Group is a list of eighteen agricultural exporting countries that placed agriculture on the international trade agenda of the WTO. South Africa is the only African member of this group.

⁵² Z. Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y 2000

of Jews in the death camps brought out even more chilling evidence of how major corporations in capitalist countries profited from genocide.⁵³

African non-governmental organizations have joined with Africans from Europe, Latin America, Central America and North America in establishing the unique characteristic of the **Black Holocaust**.⁵⁴ The Declaration of the African Preparatory Regional Meeting for the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance made the point of the special significance of the transatlantic slave trade by,

Affirming that the transatlantic slave trade is a unique tragedy in the history of mankind, a crime against humanity which is unparalleled, not only in its abhorrent barbaric feature but also in terms of its enormous magnitude, its institutionalized nature, its transnational dimension and especially its negation of the essence of human nature of the victims.⁵⁵

The issue of the attempt of the slavers to negate the essence of the humanity of the African is at the core of the struggles over the ethics and morals of contemporary society in so far as the racism of the economic system is still a fact of the present struggle to create a eugenic civilization for citizens of the right breed. At the same time, there is the thrust to create rules for the patenting of life forms and for the same biotech companies to plunder African genetic resources.

At the present conjuncture the whole basis of the global economy continues to be defined by the devaluation of African lives. The international response to the AIDS pandemic and the priorities of the pharmaceuticals instruct the world as to the reality that for international capital the lives of Africans are not important. The economic consequences of racism ensure that those African leaders who seek to reproduce capitalist relations deepen gender oppression along with the traditions of violence, xenophobia, and intolerance in Africa. In many ways the integration of the African educated into the structures of the colonial state led at an abdication of the search for solutions of the problems of the people. It was in this state that “leaders” such as Idi Amin, Jean Bedel Bokassa, Mobutu Sese Seko and Hastings Banda thrived. It is for this reason why at the Seventh Pan African Congress in 1994

⁵³ Edwin Black, *IBM and the Holocaust: The Strategic Alliance Between Nazi Germany and America's Most Powerful Corporation*, Crown Publishers, 2002

⁵⁴ Sam E. Anderson, *Black Holocaust For Beginners*, Writers and Readers, New York 1996

⁵⁵ *The Declaration of the African Preparatory Regional Meeting for the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance*, Dakar, Senegal, January 24, 2001e

African women called for a more profound definition of reparations than simply the compensation for racist crimes.

At that moment in 1994 (when there were leaders such as Mobutu Sese Seko and Sani Abacha) those who supported the call for reparations at the international level were raising the call for exposing criminal activity by African leaders. This need to expose criminal African leaders (whether they be Charles Taylor or Foday Sankoh) continues to be important so that those who are calling for reparations cannot be disarmed by alliances with leaders and demagogues who will take just causes to repair injustice and make them illegitimate causes. President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe is an excellent example of a leader who has devalued a just cause of the need to repair the injustice associated with the settler seizure of land during colonialism. By resorting to the same violence and force of the colonizers without using other legal and political instruments available for the redistribution of land to the tillers, the political leadership has weakened and postponed the process of national reconstruction.

This author believes that it is up to Africans to take the lead to oppose the brutality meted out against Zimbabweans while rejecting the moral claims of Europe of passing sanctions against Zimbabweans. The late Julius Nyerere of Tanzania demonstrated the practicality of opposing an African dictatorship (Idi Amin), while ensuring that the West did not claim the moral high ground for the opposition to Amin. Similarly, in this period, Zimbabwean women, who have felt the brunt of gender violence and the politics of intolerance, are making a call for the opposition of the Zimbabwe government that is quite different from the opposition of the British and US governments.

Throughout Africa, while the ordinary men and women support the reparations debate and call for a new mode of economics, those leaders who are seeking to reproduce Europe in Africa are retreating from the debate. These leaders seek compromises that downplay the history of crimes and genocide. In particular, African leaders who have put forward the New African Initiative (NAI) have been willing to jettison the debate on reparations in deals that would lead to European investment in new plans for Western exploitation of labor and genetic resources. These leaders who have succumbed to the “Washington Consensus” are outside of the discourse of those who want to ensure that the violations are never repeated.

There is a clear refusal on the part of the contemporary leadership who consider themselves to be civilized by Europeans to grasp the depth of the crimes committed. Hence, in a context such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the record of the slave trade and genocide is compelling, the political leadership seeks deals that can perpetuate the

models of exporting primary commodities inherited from King Leopold. The example of the crimes committed by Belgium in the massacre of more than ten million Africans has now been exposed and the old discourse of Belgian civilization has been exposed as a project of murder.⁵⁶ This tradition was sealed in the participation of the Belgian state in the brutal assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the war to defeat the independence struggle of the Congolese people.⁵⁷

While the Belgian government has apologized for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, there has been no effort to raise the issue of full disclosure of the truth of Belgian genocide as the prelude to a fundamental reconstruction program. In the specific case of Burundi, the government of Belgium has been most active to ensure that the people of Burundi do not spell out the implications of the assassination of Prince Rwagasora for the violent political history of Burundi. Belgium should be a test case for the African Union in demanding reparations, in so far as certain social forces in Belgium have aligned themselves in the campaign to try international war criminals. The experiences of the French and British crimes are so huge that the building of African unity will be tested in the exposure of these crimes. The struggle against exploitation and the road to peace is intertwined with the clearing of the record of the past and present racist crimes of Europe in Africa.

The war in Central Africa attests to these legacies of crimes, assassinations, xenophobia, intolerance and genocide. As the debate on reparations deepens in the solidarity across continents, there will be the representation of all the forces, those who want the monetary compensation, the return of cultural artifacts stolen from Africa, those who call for debt cancellation, those who support the European and US view that African chiefs participated and are just as culpable and those who want a clean change in the social system, in short those who are tabling the issue of *moral reparations*.

It is within the collective consciousness of the producers that their sacrifices were forgotten as a small educated strata sought to intensify colonial economic relations. This has meant that even in the contemporary period of the struggle to build the African Union when there should be a clear demand for compensation from oil companies for their wanton destruction of the environment, governments would rather kill the activists calling for redress than confront the petroleum companies. Reference had already been made to the Mugabe experience where the land struggle was not over new relations on the land and the defence of

⁵⁶ Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: a story of greed, terror, and heroism in colonial Africa*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1998

⁵⁷ Ludo De Witte, *The Assassination of Patrice Lumumba*, Verso Books, New York, 2001

African plants, water resources, seeds and knowledge but for the aspiring African elite to control and own the land once seized by whites. This example of the land struggles in Zimbabwe is an important component of the search for the values and qualities needed for *healing* and for peace.

The search for peace and for new qualities for leadership is informing the embryonic debate and contestations around reparations. On the African continent there are those leaders who have forgotten all of the principles of solidarity with those Africans who are dispersed across the globe and face day to day racist attacks in Europe. Leaders who are silent on the brutal murders of Africans in North America and the criminalization of the youth enter into agreements with US military. These leaders do not understand that the issue of crimes against humanity and the nature of the criminal states that orchestrated these crimes cannot be negotiated. The recent experience of the Chilean people demonstrated that whether the supporters of criminals delay the day of bringing out the depth of the crimes, the tenacious and pedantic work of the victims will bring truth and clear understanding, even if it takes decades. This has been the concrete lesson of the trial of Augustino Pinochet. In the present period, it is in the interest of Africa to support the establishment of an International Criminal Court.

While there are an number of lines of thought for peace, security and justice in the African Unions, there is also the slow but clear awareness of some sections of the movement that reparations cannot be simply about financial compensation but must include redress for contemporary forms of violation and servitude and the search for new relations so that those who are compensated cannot be a force for strengthening the same relations and ideas that justified genocide. In the last century there are many examples of monetary compensation for victims of crimes against humanity but in many instances these payments were made to ensure the continuation of the present forms of global inequality and exploitation.

The example of the State of Israel and the relations with the peoples of Palestine exposed the reality that even those who suffered from genocide can become perpetrators of human rights violations and colonial occupation. The State of Israel was paid reparations by the German state but the present political leadership in Israel turn their backs on peace and the seek to turn the city of Jerusalem into a militarized center. The recent mass killings in the occupied territories reinforce the position that there must be long term peace and a new mode of politics.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Michel Chossudovsky, *The Globalization of Poverty: impacts of IMF and World Bank reforms*, Zed books, London, 1997

The lessons of the genocide in Rwanda and Burundi, war, hunger and bondage in the Sudan and the failure of the African governing classes to increase the respect for human life complicate and enrich the debate on reparations. These struggles against genocide and genocidal violence ensure that the struggle to transcend the ethics and values of the enlightenment and the devaluation of African life is not a racial project. This has been most manifest in the society of Burundi where extremists deploy the same concepts of inferiority and superiority to perpetuate an avalanche of murders and massacres. It is in societies such as Burundi, Rwanda and the Sudan where there is the search for *moral renewal* so that there are fundamental values that ensure dignity and equal protection under the law for all citizens.⁵⁹

9. The Youth and the Peace Process in Africa.

The struggles for peace and the multiple approaches to reconstruction are taking place in a world that is more insecure than at any period since World War II. The global fight against terrorism has instilled values of militarism that reinforce the masculinist ideas of patriarchal societies. The values of patriarchy, violence and plunder are communicated to youths through the instruments of global psychological warfare. Psychological warfare and information warfare attack the minds of the young so that there are millions of youths who are socialized to glorify violence and killings. Throughout the urban and rural areas of Africa the crisis of reproduction is most manifest in the anti social values of individualism, greed and the ethics of fighting that is embedded in deformed masculinity. All across the continent the ethics and values of capitalism and greed have created monsters that keep the majority of their communities hostages. Males are socialised into a violent culture. The young males that are excluded from the pyramidal educational system are dumped on the heap of unemployment and become cannon fodder for military entrepreneurs.

Yet it is from the same ranks of the youth where there are young people emerging to define the tasks of the African Union. In particular, this paper highlighted the agency of African women in the struggles for peace. Precisely because the brunt of the exploitation falls on African women they have emerged as the force with the most to gain from peace, the African Union and moral reparations.

⁵⁹ For an elaboration of the search for these values in the context of the Burundi Peace Process see, *Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi*, Arusha, August 2000

Throughout Africa, the young and old African women have been producing a new kind of leadership at the grassroots. They have been able to demonstrate that there are new sites for the production of leaders and that these sites can be created in the midst of the most severe crisis. This is the essence of the new peace movement all across Africa, a movement that is slowly taking shape as “the new leaders” bring more wars. The experience of the leadership of Ethiopia and Eritrea in the past five years has clarified the exhaustion of the masculine leadership and the concept of peace that is based on fighting for territorial integrity and sovereignty. It is now clearer that the concept of sovereignty must be based on the sovereignty of the people and not the sovereignty of governments.⁶⁰

The priority accorded to the discussions between the leaders of South Africa, Senegal and Nigeria with the G7 on NEPAD reinforce the conviction of African grassroots organizations that these leaders continue to view economic renewal and peace as an imported commodity. Our intervention sought to critique the realist paradigm and to bring to the forefront the importance of *peace as a process* and the interconnections between peace, justice, healing, reconciliation and economic reconstruction. One deficiency of this discussion has been the inadequate attention paid to the articulation of peace within the struggles against bioterrorism and information warfare. The important conceptual point is that these aspects of insecurity are part of an overall chain of militarism and capital accumulation.

The reformulation of peace and harnessing the creative energies of the people is emerging in a situation where it is becoming clear that peace cannot be an imported commodity based on the landing of troops from international peacekeepers. Recent experience of the role of the United Nations from the assassination of Patrice Lumumba down to the period of the genocide in Rwanda demonstrated the reality that the concepts of peace that is widely circulated (and associated with Robert Kaplan, Chester Crocker and Winston Churchill) does not value Africans or the self-determination of African societies. Most of the peace agreements that have been made in Africa have been platforms for more war and violence. It is this violent history of *war as peace* that is forging the conceptual break with realist principles of politics and the view that might is right.⁶¹

An alternative vision of peace that brings back the Pan African principle that “the African is responsible for the well being of his brother and sister and that every African should carry this responsibility” is being enshrined in the transition from the OAU to the African Union and in the activities of the African descendants caucus of the World

⁶⁰ Wamba dia Wamba, “Zaire: From the National Conference to the Federal Republic of the Congo?” *Development Dialogue*, 1995, No.2

⁶¹ Horace Campbell, “The Peace Narrative and Education For Peace in Africa,” in *The Political Economy of Peace in Africa*, edited by Adele Jinadu, AAPS, Harare, 2000. See also, Michael Maren, *The Road to Hell*, The Free Press, 1998

Conference against Racism (WCAR) process. It is this process that provides one chain in the link between the search for peace in Africa with the global struggles for peace. While the OAU had enshrined principles of “territorial integrity” and sovereignty of states” the Constitutive act of the African Union underlines the dignity and rights of the African peoples. The Constitutive Act of the Union seeks to move from the idea of “non interference in the internal affairs of states” to one that spells out the necessity to prevent genocide, crimes against humanity and unconstitutional military interventions. This change that was manifest in the call for non-recognition of governments that came to power by military coups (after 1999) was a significant step in the demilitarization of Africa. African women who have been campaigning for peace have been the strongest and most resilient forces championing new concepts of politics, citizenship and peace.⁶²

The implicit ideal that is now on the agenda is that philosophy that defends human life and defends the quality of the lives of the producers. There is now the explicit view that there must be self-reflection in relation to wars and genocidal violence and that one cannot oppose the traditions of colonialism, slavery and apartheid while implementing the very economic basis of the colonialism and apartheid. It is now the position of those who are seeking new leadership that the idea of being recognized as a human being and a human being with dignity is impossible for the African in the present global economy.

This recognition is sharpening the understanding of emancipatory politics and starts from the premise that Africans think, are human beings and that the economic and moral values of social collectivism can be the basis for rapid transformation. These ideas are providing the basis for the training of a new leadership cadre and there is the understanding that this training can be carried out in the community, in the mbongi, the village, the school, the church, and the mosque and at sites of cultural renewal. In short the principles of peace must be built on African concepts of peace or the palavering principle.

In slow and imperceptible forms there is the training of the new leadership for

- Respect for African life and to defend African life, irrespective of class, race, gender, religion, region, sexual orientation or ethnic identity
- Reinforce the democratic politics of the respect for diversity (eschew social Darwinism)
- Strengthening the palavering principle of political intervention
- Support the flexible gender system and the reality of numerous family forms

⁶² Zanzibar Declaration of The Pan African Women working for a Culture of Peace, May 1999.

- Caring for life rather than for the god of profit
- The emancipation of women and the humanization of the male
- Support the elements of emancipatory politics
- Struggle for peace and reconstruction
- Truth, reconciliation, justice and reparations

9. Peace, Reparations, Justice and Economic Reconstruction.

The struggles for peace in Africa and for justice is taking place at a time when there are tremendous possibilities for new ways of organizing life. These struggles are taking place at the time when the information revolution is being driven by the convergence of telecommunications, computers, satellites and fiber optic technologies. These technologies draw on the storehouse of human knowledge and it is in the areas of computer simulations where there is an understanding of the importance of the African knowledge systems and the importance of *African Fractals*. A fractal is a geometric shape that can be separated into parts, each of which is a reduced version of the whole.

Our attempt has been to seek to use fractal concepts of recursion and self-organization to study the search for peace so that each part of the scale of the struggle for whole picture of peace is interconnected.

In an increasingly knowledge based economy the push to harness the indigenous knowledge of Africa is emerging in a context where information is becoming as important as land and physical capital. Herein lay the struggles over intellectual property rights and the rights of Africans to defend African knowledge and biodiversity. The information revolution offers the oppressed youth in Africa the opportunity to break from the systems of economic relations since the slave trade. The very fact that most parts of Africa have not been totally integrated into the destructive forms of industrialization can be an advantage in conceptualizing new economic relations, in new spaces and new social structures. The Congo represents a concrete example of the possibilities of a reconstruction project that starts from the knowledge of the people to the building of new communities where there are millions of bridges, new sites of cultural production and one where the economic forms transcend all of the economic forms that bred the destruction of life.

One section of the Congolese intelligentsia has outlined the basic framework of a vision based on democracy, peace, social justice and health. The elements of the peace and reconstruction plan include:

- The process of democratization. The task of developing representative democracy at all levels of the society involving all institutions This will involve the support of social movements, organizations of youth, women, workers, students, religious institutions. This will also involve local, regional and national elections
- The reconstruction of the country especially the areas of the parts of the country devastated by war
- To promote and defend the dynamics of durable peace in the country to bring stability and to move from state of conquest to state of the people.
- The promotion of justice. Fair and swift justice at all levels of the society. The task is to end the era of impunity. How to eradicate impunity. Develop independence of the judiciary system.
- Recognition that the Congolese population is the most vital productive force in the society. That the principal role of the government is to give the basis for this creativity of the people to develop a new economy.
- To organize the struggle against negative values in the society, end the politicization of ethnicity, the incitement to ethnic cleansing and ethnic hatred.
- The creation of a national, modern and patriotic army that is not based on military exploitation of the people
- Lay the foundations for the reconstruction of the economy and eradicate the plunder and looting of the society.
- The promotion of national cultures linked to the perspective of reforming the educational system.
- Promote responsible and acceptable governance open to all on the basis of a new mode of politics and new state institutions in line with the needs and welfare of the people.
- The promotion of the health of the people with the emphasis on preventive medicine.

These elements of peace and reconstruction have informed our conceptual framework for the reflection on peace and security in Nepal. It builds on the ideas of Cheik Anta Diop of the need for linguistic and cultural unity. This framework is connected to a new peace movement in Africa that is organizing for peace, solidarity and social reconstruction. It is at the same time unleashing a massive grassroots campaign with a peace vision including education for peace, African peace concerts mobilizing the spirit of African music for peace,

music festivals, dialogue (the palavering principle) and education against masculinity and violence. The leadership that is involved in the drawing up of the African charter for peace is unleashing a new internationalism that includes the demand for moral reparations. In demanding full reparations the Congolese people can demonstrate that what is needed is for Belgium to make an apology, to restore cultural artefacts stolen over the past hundred years and to make significant payments to the Reparation Fund. The reparation Fund is being demanded at every meeting of African descendants.

The work of the reparations movement is creating a new space for education. This space has the potential to unleash a new educational structure that mobilizes the new technologies of the information revolution and harness the self-organizing principles of the African ideation system.

The peace process, the struggles for health, the struggles against environmental racism and the dumping of toxic waste as well as the struggle to halt the massive deaths from HIV AIDS is bringing into being a new social movement. One can see this in the ways in which even the crisis of health care and the large numbers of death is inducing creative responses in burial societies and the use of funerals as sites for strengthening community solidarity. These struggles are at the opposite end of those who commodify death and seek to exploit and disenfranchise the living in the aftermath of the loss of loved ones. In this regard the principle of inheritance is offering both negative and positive lessons for the concept of reorganization of society.

10. By way of conclusion.

The present global war against terrorism and the wasting of human lives all over the world call into question not just the morals and values of capitalism but the ethics and morality of the European ideation system. While there is the language of foreign direct investment and capital flows in the discussion of NEPAD it is clear that African Reconstruction and Structural transformation is being driven from the grassroots. The poor and oppressed are making claims that can no longer be repressed. It is in Africa where there can be genuine explorations for a philosophy of life and freedom that leads to new economic organizations. The crisis offers challenges and opportunities for the peoples of the planet to step back from the celebration of the domination over nature and to move to an ethic that ensures the conservation of all life as a component of the conservation of the planet.

Within the African knowledge system were the ideas of community healing that could restore social peace but leaders such as Mobutu and Savimbi who sought to mobilize cultural identity for male military power contaminated even these ideas. While these were the extremes all across the continent the current forms of economic and social organization exposes the cul d sac of the ideas and values of the European enlightenment. The failure of the socialist project that was based on a materialistic philosophy without reference to the balance between spirit and matter and the humans and the universe pointed to the need for a new philosophy of truth and peace.

One avenue towards human dignity is to be found in the reconstruction agenda that breaks with the mechanical conceptions of society and life. Peace in the digital age comes face to face with the eugenics movements of the Hitlerite type and the genotyping that brands African youths as criminals. The security of states as opposed to the security of the people brought wars and violence by even those who represented themselves as new leaders. In this paper the elementary gains that were made under the leadership of the ideas of African women were highlighted.

African women who are daughters of the goddess are breaking the ideas of masculine power and are slowly training a new cadre of leaders whose task is to *let life live*. This is the new philosophy of human dignity that has great potential for not only the emancipation of the African but for the return of the dignity of all human beings. The ethic of social collectivism and the morality of a decent life for all are being spread by those voices that are singing the songs of emancipation from mental slavery.

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