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ABOUT THE JOURNAL

The Brazilian Journal of African Studies is a biannual publication, in digital and printed format, dedicated to the research, reflection and propagation of original scientific articles with emphasis on the analysis of International Relations, Organizations and Integration, Security and Defense, Political Systems, History, Geography, Economic Development, Social Structures and their Transformations and Schools of Thought. RBEA is essentially academic, linked to the Brazilian Centre for African Studies (CEBRAFRICA) of the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS).

The RBEA has as target audience researches, professors and students interested in the specificities of the African continent and its international insertion. Alongside such perspective, the Journal intends to expand the debate about the Brazilian projection world widely, the Brazilian cooperation efforts (including in the Defense field) with the African countries in the South Atlantic perimeter and the construction of a regional identity in face of a scenario of geopolitical transformations.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Analúcia Danilevicz Pereira
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A great part of the Brazilian history and population is directly attached to Africa. The two shores of the South Atlantic Ocean were, for centuries, integral parts of the Portuguese Maritime Empire, besides existing great environmental, human and cultural similarity between both of them. In this period, paradoxically, the Portuguese colonization Africanized Brazil with the intense flow of slaves. Nonetheless, during one century of European colonial domination in Africa (1860-1960), Brazil was prevented of keeping relations with the continent, and the country's knowledge about it diminished.

It was necessary from African countries the achievement of their emancipation, and, from Brazil, living its industrialization, the beginning of the Independent Foreign Policy, in 1961, in order to foster a new rapprochement. The reestablishment of relations happened through progresses and setbacks, with changes in 1964, 1970 and 1990, until it started to consolidate itself from 2003. However, the economic and diplomatic actions, besides the technical cooperation, were not followed by the necessary pace of advance in academic knowledge about the continent.

The establishment of the Centre of Studies Afro-Asians in Rio de Janeiro, in the early 1960's, as well as its Journal, were both initiatives created by governmental encouragement and by Brazilian political movements. But the focus were centered in cultural and anthropologic aspects, especially when referring to Afro-Brazilians, and received support (and influence) from North-American foundations. In São Paulo, Bahia, Brasília, and other states, great universities created their own centers of African studies, and academics converged their research projects about the theme. The Black Movement (in Portuguese "Movimento Negro") also gave its support to the process.

Thus, the Brazilian Journal of African Studies (BJAS) arises with the proposal of making itself part of the efforts of the other Africanist academic institutions, and to complement them. The focus is, especially (but not exclusively), the Post-Colonial Africa. The Brazilian Centre for African Studies (CEBRAFRICA), which edits the journal and is an integrant of the Brazilian Centre for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT), has its institutional origin in the Brazil-South Africa Studies Centre (CESUL). The later was a program established in 2005 through an association between the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) and the Alexandre de Gusmão Foundation (FUNAG), a public foundation linked to the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is important to highlight that CEBRAFRICA (as well as BJAS) is a strictly academic and independent institution, part of a public Brazilian university, without any governmental or foreign foundations bonds.

Due to the growing interest of researcher-Professors, undergraduate students and post-undergraduate students in International Relations and related areas (many of them being Africans) in multiple themes and African regions, in March 2012 CESUL was expanded in order to cover the geographic set of the African continent, becoming CEBRAFRICA, while the South African Serie (*Série Sul-Africana,* in Portuguese*)* was turned into African Serie (*Série Africana,* in Portuguese), with nine published books until the present date. The original objective was maintained: to do academic researches, to support the elaboration of theses, dissertation and graduation final papers; to gather research groups in African themes; to held seminars; to promote the exchange of professors and students and to establish research network and joint projects with African and Africanist institutions; to publish works produced in Brazil or translated; and, now, to use BJAS as a work tool between Africanists.

Our research efforts are geared towards the understanding of the African continent and its relations with Brazil, encompassing the fields of International Relations, Integration Organizations, Security and Defense, Political Systems, History, Geography, Economic Development, Social Structures and its transformation and Schools of Thoughts. Partners of CEBRAFRICA are renowned Brazilian and foreign institutions, result of diverse missions and field researches performed in Africa and in great Africanist centers in Europe, Asia and America.

On its launching number, we present 11 articles of international and national Africanists, and a review of a recent published book about the relations between Brazil and Africa. Ian Taylor analyzes in *"Meet the new boss - same as the old boss": South Africa's transition as embourgeoisement*, the end of the apartheid's regime from the political and socio-economic forces

which encouraged ANC's elites to a social equity policy, without, however, restructure the South African economic policy. The article of Henry Kam Kah, *The Séléka insurgency and insecurity in the Central African Republic, 2012-2014*, analyzes in the historical roots of the Séleka insurgency, the conditions to the power take-over in the Central African Republic, as well as the consequent instability lived in the country. Osakue Steverson Omoera and Clement A. Ogah discuss Boko Haram's performance by the analysis of the Nigerian communication means in the text *Boko Haram as a-gent pro-vo-ca-teur of destabilization and destruction in Nigeria: the media's check*.

The oil-producing regions in sub-Saharan Africa and their strategic role are the object of study of Yoslán González in the article *The Gulf of Guinea: the future African Persian Gulf?,* whereas Paulo Visentini analyzes the impact of the Revolutions in the International Relations and in the World System as constitutive and renovator elements, focusing the African revolutions in the article *Revolutions And International Relations: the African case*. Upon completing 40 years (2015) of Independence of the Portuguese colonies, Beatriz Bissio proposes a reflection about the end of the Portuguese Empire in Africa in her text *The End Of The Last Great Colonial Empire: memories of a historical report,* and Kamilla Rizzi analyzes the *Brazil-PALOP Relations: 40 Years of cooperation for development in the South Atlantic (1974/75-2015)*.

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RBEA publishes an electronic and bilingual (Portuguese and English) version and an English printed one. Therefore, we expect the contribution of fellows from Brazil and from abroad, with whom we intend to establish ties to deepen the knowledge and the construction of a South's vision over the African continent and the relations with them.

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We thank the whole team that worked on the editing and translation, in particular the assistant editors Anselmo Otávio, Isadora Coutinho and Nilton Cardoso, and the designer Tiago Oliveira Baldasso. We are also grateful to Alexandra Oppermann and Júlia Rosa for the revision of the English version.

"MEET THE NEW BOSS - SAME AS THE OLD BOSS": SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSITION AS *EMBOURGEOISEMENT*

Ian Taylor[1]

With a few notable exceptions, a celebratory discourse constructed around the ideas of "change" and "new" dominates analyses of the South African transition. However, alternative positions are possible. It is argued that the events of the early 1990s, which led to the overthrow of formal apartheid, can be seen as the conglomeration of social and politico-economic forces that stimulated a shift rightwards by the elites within the African National Congress (ANC), eager to share in the benefits of the country's wealth, rather than restructure the political economy of South Africa for the benefit of the majority. Embourgeoisement is the concept that postulates the migration of individuals into the ranks of the bourgeoisie. The life style and individualistic values of the middle class are adopted and there is a concomitant rejection of former commitments to collective social and economic goals. The opposite of embourgeoisement is working class consciousness.

What was the ANC?

The foundations for the subsequent *embourgeoisement* of the ANC elites lay in the confused and contested nature of the organisation and its ideological goals. When the ANC was unbanned in February 1990, the organisation had no clear-cut economic policies. This was as a consequence of the fact that 'the ANC in exile never articulated a clear program for economic change' (Waldmeir 1997, 253). As a 'movement whose raison d'être before 1990 was liberation from apartheid, it was perhaps not surprising that formulating [an] economic strategy was not a priority' (Ward

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in Toase and Yorke 1998, 38). Instead, the organisation had relied on an almost mystical attachment to the principles of the 1955 *Freedom Charter* (1987, 673) with its vague but suggestively redistributionist slogans such as:

The People shall share in the country's wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The land shall be shared among those who work it!

The Charter committed the ANC to what it later (at the Morogoro Conference in 1969) referred to as "national democracy". This was essentially conceptualised as competitive elections, profound economic restructuring and large-scale improvements in the situation and the standard of living for South Africa's working class. The post-apartheid "national democracy" as viewed by large segments of the ANC was seen as social-democratic democracy combined with economic egalitarianism. For most of the struggle period, it was the *Freedom Charter* that enquirers were referred to when the question of how a post-apartheid economy was to be structured was asked. Hence, on paper and for many (most?) of the ANC's grassroots membership, the organisation was apparently committed to a mixture of state intervention and a socialist (or at least social-democratic) reform of the underpinnings of the economy via nationalisation. This socialist orientation was spurred on by the ANC's close linkages with the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Yet, the exact manner by which the ANC was supposed to pursue such goals and exactly what economic policies an ANC government would implement was never formally enunciated. Instead, echoing Marx's comments on the slogans of the revolutionaries in France, in 1848, a 'pleasant abstraction from class antagonisms [and a] sentimental equalisation of contradictory class interests' was postured (1935, 107). The reasons behind this lay in the diverse membership profile of the movement. Essentially, its 'purposefully vague anti-capitalist rhetoric gave the ANC leadership considerable ideological leeway successfully to stitch together

a loosely defined coalition of interest groups that included workers an aspirant entrepreneurs, Christians and communists, and the unemployed and middle class, around a shared objective of dismantling apartheid' (Murray 1994, 18).

The ANC was always a broad church. Nelson Mandela himself admitted that the ANC was 'united solely by [its] determination to oppose racial oppression' and that it was 'the only thing that unites us...there is no question of ideology as far as the odysseys of the ANC is concerned, because any question approaching ideology would split the organisation from top to bottom' (quoted in Sparks 1991). This was reflected within the organisation by two broad fractions—socialist and bourgeois Africanist— who historically struggled for supremacy. In the modern era, the bourgeois Africanist element originally centred around the original ANC Youth League (formed 1943–44) and the figures of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo. They were joined by later generations of ANC leaders, such as Thabo Mbeki, Donald Mkhwanazi, Peter Mokaba and Joel Netshitzenze. These figures and the fraction they come from had always been somewhat uneasy with the ANC-SACP nexus (despite Mbeki's long-time SACP membership).[2] An aversion to the socialist implications that such an alliance had flared up during the liberation struggle—Mandela himself repeatedly claimed that the Freedom Charter was simply a blueprint for 'African-style capitalism' (Mandela 1994, 527).

The expedient and cynical usage of socialist slogans by the bourgeois elite within the ANC was openly admitted by Mbeki in an interview when he remarked that it was 'very easy to say the people will share the wealth of the country. That is sufficient for the purposes of mobilisation and getting them engaged' (quoted in Murray 1993, 32). Mbeki of course was also the main opponent against, in 1979, having the ANC declared a "Marxist-Leninist movement" à la FRELIMO, arguing that it 'was wrong, the notion, that the ANC was a party of socialism'—a strange position to take for an ostensible communist (quoted in *Sunday Times* June 6, 1999).

From a class analysis, the Africanist element within the liberation forces represented a nascent congregation of Africans who saw themselves as the heir-apparents to a new post-apartheid Black bourgeoisie. Even the Black Consciousness movement of Steve Biko et al. was grounded in the Black middle class and had its support base in the Black intelligentsia and

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2 Mbeki's close friend Willie Esterhuyse has asserted that Mbeki 'was [Oliver] Tambo's ears and eyes on the central committee [of the SACP]' and left the Party 'when there was no threat [from communism within the liberation movement] any more' (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* June 18–24, 1999). A CIA report in 1988 supports this thesis, arguing that Tambo had 'long been subtly curbing and channelling SACP influence' (cited in Sampson 1999, 388).

university students, and hence never developed a mass base (Lodge 1983, 322–324). As Blade Nzimande and Jeremy Cronin correctly summarise, 'the cause of an aspirant Black elite, and a discomfort with socialism and the "undue left-wing influence" of non-Africans [were] the hallmarks of this tendency' within the ANC (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* October 10, 1997).

It can be said that the alliance between the ANC and the SACP was largely an uneasy one, sitting as it did within a movement consisting of an elite whose aspirations centred around nationalism and not socialism. Yet at the same time, this linkage did have a radicalising effect on the support base of the ANC, raising their expectations vis-à-vis a socialist reorganisation of society. One cannot simply dismiss the fact that surveys in 1985 found that between 74 and 77 percent of Blacks favoured socialism as the organising principle in a post-apartheid South Africa (cited in Meer 1987, 399); or that in 1991, 67 percent of COSATU shop stewards wanted the nationalisation of key industries while only 17 percent favoured privatisation (Pityana and Orkin 1992, 67). Yet the leadership of the ANC was extremely wary of such impulses—Oliver Tambo, against all received opinion, went so far as to claim that 'our people will decide [on a post-apartheid dispensation] and they're not very interested in a socialist state' (Tambo, January 21, 1987, quoted in Sampson 1999, 362). The ANC-SACP linkage thus had a set of dialectical contradictions inherent in it and that was reflected in the different agendas of the elites (itself subject to intra-elite disputes vis-à-vis policies) and their mass support base.

The constraints of globalisation and the collapse of communism in the Eastern bloc, however, resolved much of the potential for a split within the liberation forces, particularly after the SACP found itself affected by the global uncertainties that affected all socialists at the time, which seemed to suggest that were no apparent alternatives to capitalist democracy (Manzo 1992). This served the interests of those fractions advocating the neoliberal project. As Habib (1998, 225) remarked:

> [T]he principal ideological resource available to actors' advocating a neoliberal economic programme was the rise to hegemony of market ideology. This resulted from the collapse of the communist bloc in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This collapse of communism ensured that there was no alternative economic discourse to that of the market [and the] market was celebrated as the only rational mechanism for the efficient production and allocation of goods within and among societies. The legitimisation of market discourse [was] clearly evident in South Africa.

Such a playing out of the collapse of communism and the ensuing compromise by ostensible socialist forces was reflected by the intervention

of Joe Slovo in 1990 in his essay entitled *Has Socialism Failed?* (Slovo 1990). Though this rightly critiqued the tendency to bureaucratism and the lack of tangible democracy in the Soviet-style centrally planned economies, the practical effects were to undermine confidence in the socialist movement and to promote a rightward shift of the SACP towards Eurocommunism and even social democracy. Though Slovo's thesis was heavily critiqued by Leftist elements within and without the SACP, the support it elucidated from leading lights such as Jeremy Cronin tends to suggest that it was the accepted "line" within the SACP hierarchy. Slovo's intervention coincided with many ANC leaders such as Thabo Mbeki, Mac Maharaj, Gill Marcus, Joel Netshitsenze, Aziz Pahad and so on resigning from the SACP.

At the same time, even such leading luminaries who remained loyal to the Party like Joe Slovo underwent a metamorphosis until, as one colleague put it, 'the only things that were red about Joe were his socks' (cited in Matissonn, 1998). Mass media that was supportive of the interests of big business gradually sought out Slovo for reassurances and were rarely disappointed. For instance, the *Financial Times* reported to its readers that 'building socialism...is not the immediate goal of the ANC, Mr. Slovo [said]' and that Slovo went on to assert that 'the economy of South Africa the day after the ANC flag flies over the Union Buildings in Pretoria will be exactly the same as the day before' (*Financial Times* February 27, 1990). Such utterances served to soothe nervousness on the part of capital and the entrenched elite who, at the beginning of the transition process, were somewhat apprehensive of the playing out of any negotiations with the ANC and its allies.

Stumbling rightwards

The first effort to resolve future ANC economic policy was found in the prescriptions of the Harare Conference in April-May 1990, which followed the unbanning of the organisation. This document, the product of a joint ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) workshop, reserved for the state a 'leading role in the reconstruction of the economy in order to facilitate the realisation of...developmental objectives. This necessitates some form of overall macroeconomic planning and co-ordination' (African National Congress 1990, 12). Indeed, in a post-apartheid state dirigiste impulses would be manifested by an extension of public ownership, the restriction on the exportation of capital, the closer regulation of the mining conglomerates and an emphasis on domestic savings as the main source of investment.

Such a seemingly strongly pro-egalitarian position was followed
by a draft ANC Economic Manifesto (prepared for but not adopted by the
1991 National Conference), and the ANC's *Ready to Govern* document of
May 1992. According to Hein Marais (1998, 148), the Harare document 'in
its main themes (and several other respects)...echoed policy work done by
COSATU's Economic Trends group, which, until then, had been responsible
for the most substantial efforts to develop a coherent yet progressive
economic strategy'. At the core of the Discussion Document was a basic
commitment to the restructuring of the economy. However, just as previous
ANC statements on economics were vague and imprecise, so also was the
Document and different readings could deduct 'anything from extensive
state intervention to conventional market-driven structural adjustment'
(Nattrass 1994a, 6).

The document gave a deliberately active part to state bodies in the
planning of future industrial strategy and also emphasised the necessity to
reorganise the financial sector (ANC Department of Economic Policy 1990).
Such a programme 'would include funnelling foreign investment into
targeted areas of the economy [and] basic needs would not be met through
"inflationary financing" but by marshalling domestic savings and raising
corporate tax rates' (Marais 1998, 148). In a seemingly direct challenge to big
capital, the document argued for a breaking up of the massive corporations
that dominated (and effectively controlled) the South Africa economy while
capital's familiar demands for low labour costs were rejected (ibid.).

The Document's basic message centred around "growth through
redistribution". That such an economic programme could be promoted
by the ANC reflected the temporal moment i.e. it was very early on in the
transition process. Essentially, it was before the ideological onslaught from
the neoliberal community worked its effect on the decision-making elites
within the ANC and weaned them off, as it were, from the residual influence
of Left-leaning intellectuals. Such a process, analogous to the subsequent
embourgeoisement of the ANC leadership, was to emerge later.

Changing hearts and minds

In fact, the breathing space for class-based egalitarian ideas was
not to last for long. The prescriptions of the document and in particular
its "growth through redistribution" agenda were immediately attacked by a
disparate array of pro–business elements in the media and "independent"
policy think-tanks, as well as by various conservative economists. The thesis
put forward by those opposed to the growth through redistribution approach

was that an increase in state expenditure aimed at redistribution would lead to massive inflation and disaster. The pro-business media in particular ran a string of hysterical articles warning about the "foolishness" of redistributing some wealth from the massively privileged to the chronically disadvantaged. For example, the *Financial Mail* (October 18, 1991) warned that there would 'be a massive loss of jobs, shops will empty of goods, housing will fall into ruin, disease and misery will predominate—Comrade Nelson, like Comrade Nyerere of Tanzania will say: 'Sorry, we made a mistake. We've redistributed all we have'.

Closely following the Gramscian understanding of how common sense is promoted, such media interventions simply rubbished alternatives to the orthodoxy. At the same time, a remarkable project to convince the ANC elites of the foolishness of egalitarian approaches to the economy was embarked upon. The mass of anti-interventionist thought caught the ANC off-guard, precipitating a 'back-pedalling on its commitment to some form of socialism' from then on (Koelble 1999, 104). It is important to note that as early as 1991, Nelson Mandela was anxiously placating Washington that the ANC had ditched any "radical" notions regarding nationalisation, asserting that 'nationalisation is like the sword of Damocles hanging over those who want to invest. So long as nationalisation is our policy, we will not attract investors' (*Financial Times* November 1991).

Certainly the ANC's later May 1992 policy guidelines made no allusion to the "growth through redistribution" formula, and 'over the next two years, the party's economic thinking would increasingly bear the imprints of neoliberal thinking, as the need for macroeconomic stability became interpreted as demanding fiscal and monetary stringency and calls for deregulation, privatisation and export-led growth gained favour among ANC leaders and their economic advisors' (Marais 1998, 149–150).

Why this occurred sprang from a variety of factors. Firstly, the collapse of the actually existing socialist economies post-1989 threw Leftist intellectuals into a state of disorganisation and strengthened the hand of those who argued that there was "no alternative" to Western neo-liberal capitalism. The lack of a coherent macroeconomic policy by the ANC as the organisation went into the transition process, and the susceptibility that this opened up to the neoliberal-inclined organic intellectuals, also had an important effect. As one analyst remarked, 'how big is the ANC Economics Department? Very, very small and very new in a lot of ways. And yet you've got the captains of industry, with their think tanks that have got a whole lot of policy studies coming out. That can be quite seductive' (Karl von Holdt quoted in Callinocos 1992, 57).

Indeed, the ANC's Economics Department has subsequently been

critiqued as 'understaffed, poorly organised, and its leadership appeared to have made little or no effort to mobilise the sources of relevant experience available at some of the universities' (Padayachee 1998, 433). This situation was not helped by the delay in transferring the department from Lusaka to South Africa after the ANC was unbanned in February 1990—a scenario 'that meant that there was a disjuncture between the political structures and the research departments' (Ngoasheng 1992, 116).

At the same time, a "charm offensive" was launched on the ANC's elites by big capital and its class allies, particularly in the business press and various think-tanks, to "correct" any remaining heresy in the movement's economic policies and showcase the allure of *embourgeoisement* to the ANC's leadership. In fact, 'the business sector [came] to play a part in national affairs that is surely without parallel in the world' (*Financial Mail* April 29, 1994). As one analysis observed, 'the close-knit circle of associates together with their coterie of supporters in the media and academia now pride themselves on having "weaned off" the ANC of its past economic fantasies [and] thwarted experiments' (Adam, Slabbert and Moodley 1997, 171).

This process was aimed particularly at Mandela and Thabo Mbeki[3] key figures in shifting the ANC's policies, and was tactically the construction of hegemony at both the coercive and consensual levels. Coercively, essentially scare tactics over the economy were the order of the day. For example, then Finance Minister Derek Keys 'gave ANC economics head Trevor Manuel a briefing on the economy, and Manuel repeated it to Mandela. "And I got frightened", Mandela recalls. "Before Trevor finished, I said to him, 'Now what does this mean as far as negotiations are concerned? Because it appears to me that if we allow the situation to continue...the economy is going to be destroyed' (Waldmeir 1997, 213). The ANC's Mac Maharaj concurred, describing Keys' lecture as 'truly devastating' (quoted in O'Meara, 1996, 412).

Equally, the pro-business media ran numerous articles along the line that 'a mixed economy [would] place the country's economic interests in much the same sort of jeopardy that apartheid ha[d] done' (*Financial Mail* October 11, 1991). These factors convinced many within the ANC leadership that there was no alternative to neoliberal policies. As a result, 'the ANC leaders [were] prepared to ditch old ideas and embrace new ones in the interests of what they consider[ed] to be their own power' (*Sunday Independent* June 6, 1999).

Such constraints were real, particularly because the National Party

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3 Mbeki was head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs from 1989 onwards until 1993, when he was elected Chairman of the ANC. He was essentially Mandela's right-hand man throughout the transition.

government had increased the country's budget deficit from 0.9 percent of GDP in 1989-90 to 10.8 percent in 1993-94 through a 'reckless spending spree' that had its roots in the emergencies of the 1980s (interview with Terreblanche, July 15, 1999). During this period, massive amounts were expended on defence and other security measures, while corruption became endemic (ibid.). Combined with a profligate policy towards the end of the National Party tenure to pump extra finances into civil servant pension funds, the stock of government debt rose roughly from R 100 billion to R 250 billion. It should be borne in mind that this increase in debt of R 150 billion could have covered expenditure for essential services in South Africa for nearly twenty years (*Business Day* September 15, 1998). Criminally, in its last year of power alone, the National Party government increased the national debt by 60 billion rands (*Sunday Times* May 15, 1994). By doing so, the regime circumscribed any future ANC government's room for manoeuvre as further spending in order to redistribute wealth, for example, would lead to inflation and massive debt. It was a clever move by strategists in Pretoria.

The consensual aspects of the *trasformismo* process vis-à-vis the ANC leadership was helped by Mandela's seeming eagerness to mix with the privileged elite and embrace *embourgeoisement*—'he seemed more at ease with bankers than trade unionists' (Sampson 1999, 434). As Waldmeir (1997, 256) puts it, Mandela 'constantly sought the views of international businessmen and bankers on South Africa's future. And he cultivated close relationships with top local businessmen—he spent holidays with the head of one of the country's leading mining families [and] entertained at the home of one of Johannesburg's most ostentatious businessmen...[He also] dined regularly with Anglo patriarch Harry Oppenheimer'. In short, 'the leadership core of the ANC was wined and dined from morning to night by the captains of industry' (interview with Terreblanche, July 15, 1999).

Scenarios set the scene

The above strategy was largely successful, as a satisfied Oppenheimer asserted regarding this period: 'when you talked about the future of the country, particularly on the economic side [to Mandela] he said a great many things that seemed to me very silly, but he says many of them less now' (Waldmeir 1997, 256). This personal one-to-one attention on the ANC leadership was combined with a plethora of corporate scenario planning exercises, released and aggressively promoted after 1990.

The first was Nedcor/Old Mutual's *Prospects for a Successful Transition*,

launched in 1990. Between January 1991 and June 1992, thousands of South Africans, invariably from the decision-making levels of society and the ANC, attended the presentation of the Prospects ('Foreword', Nedcor-Old Mutual Scenarios 1992). This was followed by the insurance conglomerate Sanlam's *Platform for Investment* scenario and the social-democratic Mont Fleur Scenarios. Other scenarios, such as the South African Chamber of Business' *Economic Options for South Africa,* were also brandished about as offering "realistic" scenarios. The process by which these scenario exercises were introduced to the public was conducted so as to maximise publicity and impact, as one analysis pointed out:

> Beginning in late 1990 successive generations of scenario plans have typically been brought to the public's attention first by excited rumours of the planners' arduous, behind-close-doors bull sessions; then by selected leakage to the business press (often by hushed reference to the confidential, highly sensitive nature of the process); next by reference to the impressive and diverse collection of new South African elites who enthusiastically received early viewings of the scenario results; then through more presentations to sundry audiences in the corporate network; and finally through the ubiquitous video package and in print (Bond 1993, 3).

The most high profile of these at this juncture in the transition was the Mont Fleur Scenario of August 1992. Like many other scenarios of its kind, Mont Fleur revelled in simplistic caricatures aimed at attracting the public's attention. In particular was its demonisation of a 'popularly elected government which tries to achieve too much too quickly' and in the familiar language of those pushing the orthodox line, succumbed to 'macroeconomic populism' (Mohr 1992, 34). Such an economic programme was termed "Icarus" and the flight of the Greek to the sun and then disaster was mirrored in the Mont Fleur scenario with 'the country experienc[ing] an unprecedented economic crisis, resulting in social collapse and political chaos' (ibid.).

The above characterisation appeared to have made a deep impression of the ANC elites—as it was intended. Soon after the presentation, Tito Mboweni, chief spokesman on economic affairs for the ANC, stressed to the public that the organisation would avoid 'crowding out the private sector and over time destroy a whole set of macroeconomic balances, leading up to sharp economic decline and collapse—a kind of Icarus now, crash later' (Mboweni 1992, 42). As events have developed, the comment that '"Flamingo" has subsequently informed the economics approach of the GNU' appears remarkably accurate (Hamill in Toase and Yorke 1998, 66).

Actual graphic used in the Mont Fleur scenario
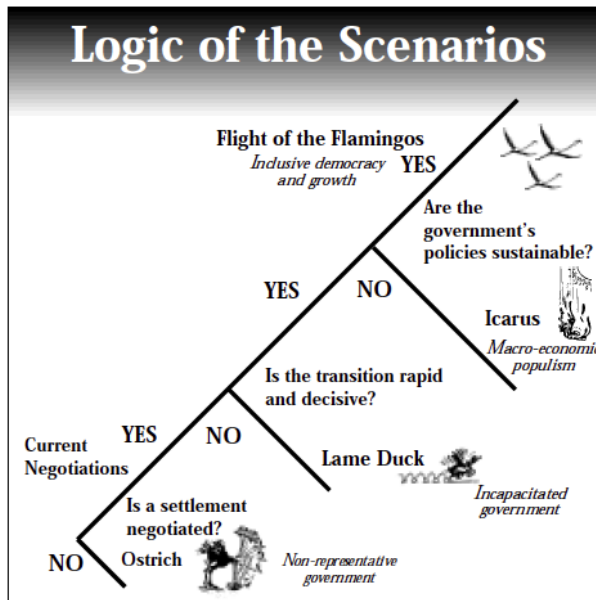
What was particularly notable about the Mont Fleur Scenario was the participation of ostensibly Left academics which 'tended to boost the credibility of the whole exercise' (Mohr 1992, 34). Yet such inclusion was purposeful in promoting a particular agenda ostensibly stemming from consensus by including ideas that somehow fit within the limits of what may be acceptable. Such tactics had been first practised by the Nedcor/Old Mutual scenario which assembled 'an eminent group of economists and political thinkers (including several from the ranks of the Democratic Movement) [combined with] rather stereotypical views expressed by 40 bank executives...[This] managed to weld a few progressive positions onto an utterly orthodox framework...[permitting it] to present scenario planning to groups as diverse as the cabinet, the ANC national executive, Anglo American, COSATU leadership and its 'Economic Trends' group, the ANC Department of Economic Planning, and the like' (Bond 1996, 20). Such efforts continued the rightward drift of the ANC.

Interventions by the IMF and World Bank

The involvement in the transition by two most powerful international financial institutions was remarkable. Throughout the transition period, 'the ANC leadership came under relentless pressure from the International

Monetary Fund [and] the World Bank...to abandon its proposed inward investment programme in favour of a more "realistic" investment-led, export-oriented growth strategy' (Murray 1994, 21). Though Left elements within the ANC warned about getting too close to such agents of surveillance and control, significant 'ANC officials were sent to Washington D.C. for a familiarisation course at the World Bank and returned without some of [their] baggage of suspicion' (Waldmeier 1997, 255).

This occurred within a context where the then head of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange had cynically remarked that the ANC 'must talk to people like competent economists from the IMF. If they go to Washington, they'll find all of a sudden that they'll be doing what everyone else is doing, which is privatising and reducing the state's share of the economy' (quoted in *South African Labour Bulletin* 1996, 23). Of course, advice from the World Bank and the IMF at this stage was offered—and accepted. It was not imposed upon a pliant liberation movement but was sought out by the leadership of the ANC. Such an understanding indicates that the World Bank and IMF were preaching to at best the wavering, and at worst converted.

Throughout this period, a plethora of research projects funded by the IMF and World Bank corresponded with and refined the same project. While the IMF delivered sharp injunctions about what was "reasonable" and "realistic", early on in the transition process, the World Bank began discussions with the ANC, creating a scenario where 'big business, the IMF and the World Bank [were] increasingly influential in the top ranks of the ANC leadership' (Von Holdt 1992, 34). According to one analyst, 'even by World Bank standards', the Bank's presence in South Africa during this period represented 'an unusually large...effort' by the body, and the Bank enjoyed considerable access to the ANC elites (Padayachee in Michie and Padayachee 1997, 30). Indeed, one World Bank representative later boasted that 'this is the only country in the world where we speak to the opposition' (*Business Day* August 15, 1994).

One of the Bank's main tactics was to 'win access to the most senior policymakers [in the ANC], thereby permitting the Bank staff to accelerate reform and to influence its character [i.e. the ANC's economic policies by securing] a place at the policy table' (Berg and Batchelder 1985). The Bank's efforts to influence the ANC were overt, frequently working in tandem with the business epistemic community. This process included an influential report that contributed to the debate over the eventual adoption of orthodox policies by the organisation.

The World Bank's *Reducing Poverty* became the constituent of a profound process of coercion and consent—pressurising and "trust-

building"—with the ANC. The Report combined elaborate probes of Pretoria's economic situation 'with somewhat restrained neoliberal directives that were often offset by incorporating aspects of progressive thinking' (Berg and Batchelder 1985). Indeed, the Bank ironically leaned to a more progressive viewpoint than many of the South African "captains of industry" and their scenarios did.

Passion for the norms of neoliberalism pervaded the South African business press, however, with analysts openly recommending the implementation of IMF-style structural adjustment programmes. As an editorial in the *Business Day* reminded readers, the 'IMF will want measures such as currency liberalisation, reducing government spending, cutting subsidies to blue chip companies, privatising state assets and busting the cartels in labour and other markets. Some will complain about a loss of sovereignty, but we would have undertaken these reforms years ago if we had not be thwarted by vested interests ... we've been unable to make the reforms that will give us 6% growth. Perhaps the IMF will help' (*Business Times* August 21, 1994).

Embourgeoisement as surrender

From at least 1992 onwards, the ANC elites were actively seeking to pacify domestic and international capital. As the negotiations process wore on, deliberations by the ANC elites with its rank-and-file members and its Leftist allies, wereirregular. In particular, the link between the ANC's key negotiators and the ANC's Leftist economic experts were practically severed. As the elite rapidly began to accede to the hegemonic line, the pronouncements from the ANC even began putting forward the need for property rights guarantees and privatisation. Such guarantees were to be grounded in a constitutional law and followed what has been termed the 'new constitutionalism' of neoliberalism that 'privileged rights of citizenship...to corporate capital and large investors' (Gill 1998, 23).

Such a foundation for post-apartheid South Africa had been strongly demanded by capital and was articulated by the South African Chamber of Business' appeal for a constitutional bill of rights, which has been referred to as 'a way of protecting the minority's privileges rather than enlarging the freedom of the majority' (Adelman 1990, 34). This view was echoed by Habib's assertion (1998, 225) that one of the outcomes of the transition was a 'commitment on the part of the ANC to manage, and to locate its programme of economic reconstruction within the framework of, a market economy. This was captured in a range of clauses in the Bill of Rights which

recognised the right of individuals to own property and accumulate capital, and to dispense with these as they please'. In short, the settlement thus established the parameters of any post-apartheid economic programme.

Such moves in turn marked 'a shift away from policies which [would have been] morally and politically correct, but which [would have] cause[d] strong adverse reaction from powerful local and international interests' (Kentridge 1993, 10). Indeed, the ANC's draft policy guidelines of April 1992 made no reference to higher taxation thresholds for the massive corporations and suggested privatising elements of the public sector while at the same time ditched any call for a restructuring of the financial sector.

Though elements from the Left and COSATU ,in particular, attempted to stem the drift rightwards.By the time of the democratic elections of 1994, the macroeconomic debate had been largely won. It is extremely difficult to pin-point when this actually occurred as the dynamics surrounding the intra-ANC debate on economic policy and the rhetoric that emanated from this was complex and often contradictory. It is rather futile to attempt to fix a time when the ANC supposedly "switched" to neoliberalism, though the suggestion that 'the ground for the macroeconomic compromise was sewn during the 1990-93 period' is not unreasonable (Bond 1996, 16). Certainly, 'by late 1992 nationalisation was effectively no longer a serious option on the economic agenda of the ANC' (Habib and Padayachee 1999, 8).

Pronouncements by elites within the ANC indicated fairly early on in the transition that they had become reconciled to the broad norms of the hegemonic discourse. For example, when Mandela spoke at the World Economic Forum (WEF) meeting in Davos, Switzerland in February 1992, his rhetoric was remarkably soothing to the gathered elites. For instance, he asserted that the ANC was 'determined to...establish the political and social climate which is necessary to ensure business confidence and create the possibility for all investors to make long-term commitments' to South Africa, while urging business to 'give us time' over the question of nationalisation (*Financial Mail* February 7, 1992). By doing so, Mandela 'created a good impression among the many leading international and business figures at the conference' (*Finance Week* February 6–12, 1992).

According to one account, attendance at the WEF had a profound influence upon Mandela's thinking vis-à-vis economic issues, with intense lobbying from the gathered elites finally convincing him of the common sense of neoliberalism. Apparently, '"They changed my views altogether", recalled Mandela. "I came home to say: "Chaps, we have to choose. We either keep nationalisation and get no investment, or we modify our own attitude and get investment"' (quoted in Sampson 1999, 435). Hence it is possible

to assert that certainly by 1992, Mandela was acceding to the neoliberal line. To wit, 'the ANC [was] probably the only liberation movement in history to speak of financial discipline before it assume[d] power' (Herbst in Stedman 1994, 34).

Nonetheless, such a process eventually ensured that 'the "big issues" that were for so long the touchstones of socialists in South Africa—nationalisation of banks, mines and factories; nationalisation and redistribution of the land; universal health care and universal, equal education—[were] effectively abandoned' (Harris 1993, 91–92). Symbolically, the new ANC government retained Derek Keys (an ex-chief executive of Gencor, one of South Africa's major mining conglomerates) as Finance Minister. By doing so, Mandela 'delighted investors, businessmen and White South Africans...Nothing else would have persuaded the outside world—not to mention sceptical South Africans—of his commitment to free-market economies and political moderation' (*Financial Times* May 7, 1994).

In our theoretical understanding of how the GNU continued to be socialised towards the hegemonic norms, Keys' appointment is quite revelatory, for he played a no small part in imparting neoliberalism as "common sense" to the ANC elite. As a report in the corporate mouthpiece *Business Day* (January 13, 1993) commented approvingly:

> We can look with some hope to the evolution in economic thinking in the ANC since the occasion nearly three years ago when Nelson Mandela stepped out prison and promptly reaffirmed his belief in the nationalisation of the heights of the economy. By contrast...Mandela [has gone] out of his way to assure a large group of foreign (and local) journalists that the ANC was now as business-friendly as any potential foreign investor could reasonably ask. He indicated further that *ANC economic thinking was now being influenced as much by Finance Minister Derek Keys and by organised business as anyone else* [emphasis added].

Keys was later replaced by a conservative Afrikaner banker, Chris Liebenberg, whose budget in 1995 was described as 'speak[ing] volumes about the new-found conservatism of the...government of national unity' (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* March 17, 1995).

Explaining the embourgeoisement of the ANC elite

It is vital that reductionist explanations about the transition are avoided. The simplistic view is that the ANC came around to the "economic realities" of neoliberalism and so quietly ditched their socialist pretensions

in favour of the ongoing orthodoxy. Yet such a supposition grants the ANC far more ideological coherence than ever existed during its long years in exile and certainly during the transition, when the organisation was in a state of flux over a host of issues, economic policy included. Furthermore, such a position ignores the residual body of aspiring bourgeois Africanists within the ANC who had always felt uneasy about the organisation's socialist rhetoric during the years of struggle. For them, embourgeoisement was a very real ambition.

Such fractions within the ANC were boldly strengthened by the collapse of the socialist state systems and the ideological disorganisation that the Left suffered. One important factor in shifting ANC macroeconomic policy can be found in the crucial change—at the behest of capital and its allies—of the terms of the debate from the ideological, where the ANC was largely unprepared and in a state of confusion, to the specifically technical, where the organisation was most certainly disadvantaged (Marais 1998, 158). For sure, as Ngoasheng (1992, 117) summarised it:

> As the DEP entered the terrain of policy, it soon became clear that this was a contested terrain. The terrain of struggle had shifted to the arena of policy. For example, capital and the state tried to pressurise the ANC to concentrate on technical economic issues. The ANC had to say something about the budget, deficits, tax policy and so on. The state and big business were determined to push the ANC into a position where it [would] begin to concentrate on technical proposals to what [were] essentially politico-economic problems.

ANC efforts in working out responses to such pressures and crafting a coherent macroeconomic framework were hampered by the lack of attention put into bodies such as the Economic Department. This scenario was a direct result of the ANC's long-standing neglect of economic policy. Thus 'in terms of the economic debate, the ANC was...clearly on the defensive at the beginning of the negotiation process. It simply did not have a set of new progressive ideas and strategies to counter those neoliberal ideas so powerfully proposed by the Washington institutions, Western governments, local business interests, and the De Klerk regime' (Michie and Padayachee in Michie and Padayachee 1997, 228).

This factor considerably strengthened the hand of the business community and its organic intellectuals who relatively easily embarked on a concentrated political and ideological struggle to promote the hegemonic norms which they subscribed to. By doing so, the policies that should not be pursued—the "Flight of Icarus" of the Mont Fleur Scenario—were comprehensively rejected, very often at nominally technical levels. As one

analysis has put it, the privileged elite in South Africa were 'quite effective in [their] ideological propaganda about economic policies that should not be implemented on the grounds that they may damage the vested economic interests of the rich and the very rich' (Terreblanche in Van Beek 1995, 361). That this was possible can, in large part, be accounted for by the failure of progressive elements within the ANC to put forward a coherent counter-hegemonic strategy that on the technical level could withstand the withering critique of the epistemic community of neoliberalism.

This actuality not only effectively emasculated the progressive wing of the liberation movement, but also gave courage to the Africanist conservative fraction within the ANC who, in tandem with erstwhile ideological partners in the business community, rapidly moved to influence the ANC's economic policy. Such a playing out of the historical contradictions within the liberation organisation not only meant that the conservative wing of the ANC became ascendant, but also that the progressive element was essentially disempowered by their inability and inaccessibility to the economic debate. Henceforth, and in classical Gramscian analysis, those fractions who opposed the neoliberal agenda were cast from the terrain of the debate as lacking any serious and rigorous contribution to be made.

Last chance saloon

Prior to the outright adoption of neo-liberalism by the ANC, a holding action centred around the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) temporarily placated Leftist critics. The RDP reflected the ambiguities and tensions in the ANC's economic stance as its elites struggled to reconcile their drift to the Right with its more progressive mass base.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme was the main vehicle chosen by the new post-apartheid government to further the much-needed socio-economic reform that the ANC had campaigned upon during the electoral period and was to a large degree the icon around which the ANC's vision for the future was predicated (Munslow and FitzGerald 1995, 42). Initially drafted in February 1994 and the economic document upon which the ANC fought the elections, the RDP was finally presented as an economic framework for South Africa in the form of the RDP White Paper in September 1994. Yet the differences between the initial pre-election Base Document of February and the post-election White Paper of September both were quite profound. This process in itself reflected the ongoing tensions within the ANC and the pressures of capital, for the Base Document had

been widely seen as a compromise that the ANC elites had agreed upon to keep on board COSATU and the SACP during the immediate pre-election period, raising the suspicion that 'the RDP was viewed by the ANC leadership as just a mobilising tool for election purposes' (Padayachee 1998, 440). For sure, the South African labour movement had 'made its entry into the Tripartite Alliance contingent upon the ANC and SACP adopting [the RDP] as the basis of all subsequent development policy' (Ginsburg 1996, 87).

Even before the ANC acceded to power, its elites were indicating to big business that they were 'more flexible on its [the RDP's] policy outlook' and 'clearly [didn't] want the RDP to constitute a writing in stone of its economic thinking'—raising the question: how genuine was the ANC leadership in its commitment to the original RDP document? (*Finance Week* April 7–13, 1994). Certainly, on the eve of the elections key ANC players such as Mandela, Mbeki and Alec Erwin met with 250 key businessmen at the "Sandton Summit" to 'subject the practicalities of the ANC's RDP to public scrutiny' or, phrased another way, and in an advertisement for the meeting, the opportunity to 'have them [the ANC] for breakfast' (*Finance Week* March 10–16, 1994). Instead of promoting the RDP in principle, Mandela emphasised to the assembled representatives of large-scale capital that ANC policy was 'evolving in detail' and that he 'envisage[d] a partnership with business making an input into policy', while Erwin stressed that 'there [was] not one mention at all of socialism' (*Finance Week* April 7–13, 1994). This retreat from defending the RDP as a principled cornerstone of any post-apartheid administration's economic policy reflected not only a continuum in the development of the ANC's overall macroeconomic stance, but also an almost desperate attempt to court large-scale capital and signal to "the market" the ANC elite's general "tilt".

This in itself was a reflection of the ANC leadership's belief that 'the confidence of the markets could only be maintained by a commitment to financial orthodoxy and the belief that such confidence was vital to the country's ability to attract inward investment' (Guelke 1999, 170). This was manifested shortly after acceding to power when, hampered by a constitutional demand to share office with the National Party, 'there was a... discernible shift away from state intervention and towards an RDP driven by private-sector growth' (Adams 1997, 241). Such a scenario reflected the steady, if non-lineal, trajectory rightwards by the ANC since its unbanning in 1990, increasingly predicating 'transformation on the prior servicing of the prerogatives of capital' (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* May 16, 1997).

In the context of the RDP, this was perhaps possible because of the essential vagueness, lack of concrete economic proposals and the confusion

sown around the differences between the original Base Document and the subsequent White Paper, which meant that the RDP came 'to mean anything anyone want[ed] it to mean' (Rapoo 1996, 5), and could be viewed as 'an attempt on the part of the South African Government of National Unity to be all things to all people' (Black 1995, 544). Indeed, 'the politically motivated attempt to keep the Left within the democratic movement happy… resulted in a highly incoherent and largely fragmented strategy for economic development' (Adelzadeh and Padayachee 1994, 2). This fragmentation in itself reflected the deep concessions that the ANC elites had granted during their negotiated path to power and, the structural compromise via the new constitution that forced onto the first post-apartheid government the National Party as ostensible partners. In short, the RDP was a compromised document from a compromised movement.

Hence many saw it as a 'very significant compromise to the neoliberal "trickle down" policy preferences of the old regime' (Adelzadeh and Padayachee 1994, 2). The *Sunday Times* (October 9, 1994) remarked that 'all signs now are that our policy-makers see that the objectives of the RDP are wholly compatible with the three words [liberalisation, privatisation and convertibility] which so interest the money men'. For example, eliminating calls for nationalisation—even as a policy option—while pushing for privatisation and "fiscal discipline" indicated just one way the White Paper had changed from the initial Base Document. Indeed, whereas the Base Document had argued that fiscal discipline should be a mean to achieve development, the White Paper elevated such a notion to an objective. It is for this reason that even the most conservative economists supported the RDP, focusing on its 'envisaged monetary and fiscal discipline' and its usage of 'domestic and foreign competition as the disciplinary force in the market for the private sector, leaving it ["the market"] on its own for the rest' (De Wet 1994, 330). By doing so, the hand of conservatives within the ANC was further strengthened.

Furthermore the weakness of the RDP was increasingly evidenced by the disjunction between the RDP as an economic programme and other aspects of economic policy, which became more and more conspicuous (Blumenfeld 1997, 69). In particular the contradictions that the RDP engendered at a time when the new government was desperately trying to appease domestic and international capital through its repeated pledges vis-à-vis macroeconomic stability and the desire to make South Africa "investor-friendly" made the RDP's place within the wider economic framework 'unclear [and] at worst…potentially antithetical' (ibid.). The fact that the RDP itself could be seen as arguing for 'creating an "enabling environment"… through macroeconomic balance and sound fiscal policy' compounded this

'cocktail of confusion' (Nattrass 1994d, 36). At the same time, the palpable lack of delivery on the ground proved a major embarrassment to the government, with the minister in overall charge of the RDP—Jay Naidoo—being ridiculed in the business press as the 'Minister of Everything and the Minister of Nothing' (*Business Day* March 27, 1996).

At the same time, representatives of large-scale capital urged 'the rejection of egalitarianism, which is counterproductive', while making a strenuous push for a firm commitment to 'privatisation and tight curbs on health and education spending...so that official debt can be reduced, taxes moderated and interest rates lowered' (*Financial Mail* December 8, 1995). Such calls reflected an intensification of 'increasingly successful lobbying of, and impact on, the ANC leadership' (Padayachee 1998, 444). This process was symbolised by the release by the South Africa Foundation (SAF) of a rabidly orthodox macroeconomic strategic plan entitled Growth for All (see South Africa Foundation 1996).

Representing a consortium of fifty of South Africa's most powerful corporations (a company has to be valued at more than 2 billion rands to qualify for membership and the fee is 70,000 rand per annum), the South Africa Foundation was 're-established to propagate a free market approach' (interview with Terreblanche, July 15, 1999). Written by 'mainstream economists and leading business figures' (*Finance Week* March 7–13, 1996), the Foundation's document endorsed capital's call for a wholesale embracing of neoliberalism by the GNU. Integral to this was the SAF's call for a "two-tier" labour market which discriminated between those already employed (who would remain subject to continuing labour regulations) and new entrants to the market (who would be subject to more "flexible" regulations). These new entrants would be subject to termination of employment 'for commercial reasons' while having no automatic right to severance pay and no right to a procedural mechanism before retrenchment. Employers meanwhile would possess the right to instantly fire workers involved in unofficial strikes. Furthermore, the employer would have the obligation only to implement minimum-standards legislation, while minimum wage restrictions would be abolished (South Africa Foundation 1996, 103). Much of the business community was highly enthusiastic: for instance, the *Financial Mail* deemed the two-tiered market 'a novel idea' (March 8, 1996), that was 'a genuine attempt to put forward a strategy in the national interest' (*Financial Mail* March 15, 1996).

The importance of the Growth for All document is hard to gauge, though certainly Mandela—and this reflected the access business had to the top echelons of the GNU—was given a private presentation of the document prior to its release (*Sunday Times* June 2, 1996). Such access undoubtedly

lead to the *Financial Mail* boasting (on its front cover) that 'Business Shows Mbeki the Way' with the SAF report (*Financial Mail*, March 8, 1996). A critique of its platform feared that 'the business community, represented by the South Africa Foundation' had embarked on 'a well-financed and well publicised campaign to cling onto their wealth' by influencing the ANC elite (COSATU, NACTU and FEDSAL 1996, 5).

For sure, one analysis has argued that its publication, combined with the collapse of the rand 'appear[ed] to force the GNU to accelerate the production of its macroeconomic framework document, in part to reassure jittery international financial and currency markets of its fiscal prudence' (Padayachee 1998, 441). Certainly the business press valued its importance, regarding it as an opportunity to effectively blackmail the government into embracing the extremist neoliberal position of the SAF by asserting that 'if government reacts negatively, it will draw attention to its qualified endorsement of market-oriented economics. That in turn will discourage investment, undermine the rand and lock this economy into a low-growth trap' (*Financial Mail* March 8, 1996). This in itself mirrored the SAF's own self-inflated position that if the GNU ignored its prescriptions, 'the world will forget about the political miracle before long, because [South Africa's] economic policy will have failed' (quoted in South African Foundation 1996, 43). Such pronouncements were not made after dialogue with the broader civil society, but rather curtailed any serious public discussion by delimiting debate to the elites.

The 'factors and pressures all served to focus attention on the appropriateness or otherwise of the government's macroeconomic policy' and further undermined the RDP (Michie and Padayachee in Michie and Padayachee 1997, 224), as 'those who wanted a "clear" (that is, their own) macroeconomic policy to be anointed as official [and not the RDP] used the rand's decline to intensify pressure' (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* June 20, 1997). This ensemble of determinants rapidly lead to an abandonment of the programme in what has been termed 'a panic response to the...exchange rate instability and a lame succumbing to the policy dictates and ideological pressures of the international financial institutions' (Adelzadeh 1996, 67).

Such a scenario was compounded by the urgings of the international financial institutions, the domestic media and capital. The *Financial Mail* for example claimed that the failings in the South African economy were in fact due to the failure of the RDP, and urged its scrapping (October 6, 1995). In addition, by maintaining most of the old civil service, the GNU was continually receiving 'advice given on economic matters [which was] almost exactly the same as under the National Party regime' (Dexter 1995, 58.). This inexorably led to a situation where the ANC-led government relied too

heavily on old guard strategic counsel (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* October 2, 1996). This was combined with ongoing circumstances where there was a 'continuing extension of the rise of a "technocratic" policymaking elite, comprising key ministers and senior civil servants in relevant departments together with a core of academic advisers, most of whom were politically sympathetic to the government, but almost all of whom emphasised the need for fiscal discipline to be at the core of South Africa's macroeconomic strategy' (Blumenfeld 1998, 2).

With this in mind and the trajectory of the transition that has already been mapped out, it became increasingly apparent that the ANC elites had 'internalised the conditionalities imposed by the World Bank and IMF' (Fine 1995, 21) and in fact 'had embraced liberalisation beyond the WTO's requirements' (*Sunday Independent* May 24, 1998). This was manifested through the release of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) document, the concomitant effective scrapping of the RDP and a situation where 'economists and the markets accepted that the democratic government had embraced dominant economic thinking' (*Sunday Independent* March 22, 1998).

Embourgeoisement emblematised: GEAR

In February 1996, Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki announced a new strategy for the nation's economic development. Though the government continued to pay rhetorical lip-service to the RDP, its office was closed and its head—Jay Naidoo—was reassigned, and this was rapidly followed in June 1996, by the government hastily releasing its new macroeconomic strategy under the name of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) plan. This document ambitiously claimed it would increase annual growth by an average of 4.2 percent create 1.35 million jobs by 2000, boost exports by an average of 8.4 percent per year and—perhaps crucially— improve social structure.[4] How this new policy was adopted came about from a coalescing of factors: '[T]he ANC, pressured by advisers from the old regime, economists from the World Bank and IMF [and] experts from the business community...stepped back from the RDP's emphasis on social spending...and instead adopted a neoliberal economic export strategy which emphasised free markets, fiscal discipline and building business confidence, even if that meant "downsizing" to be competitive in the global economy' (Murray 1997, 5).

In an attempt at closing off debate, as Gramsci highlights in his

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4 It failed to do any of these.

discussion of ideology, the government's finance minister immediately declared that GEAR was 'non-negotiable' in its broad outline. Indeed, GEAR was released 'without any qualification [and] after very limited discussion' within the ANC national executive committee (*Business Day* September 4, 1996), and with no prior discussion, particularly with the ANC's partners in government—COSATU and the SACP. Even senior ANC leaders were not informed of its contents.

Written by a small team of technical experts, GEAR was modelled on a South African Reserve Bank econometric model that was the same used by the Bank during the late apartheid years. This was characterised as 'one of the most conservative models that anybody could chose to use' (*The Citizen* July 23, 1996). '[T]he main model used [w]as never...made public and thus [w]as never...the subject of an independent and rigorous debate by professional economists' (Adelzadeh 1996, 68). It was 'decided on only by "some macro economists playing on their computers"' (*Pretoria News* July 22, 1996). While this is perhaps unfair, the credentials of GEAR's authors certainly exhibited a profound conservative bent. As Patrick Bond wrote, 'most of the sixteen economists who devised the strategy are from institutions such as the Finance Ministry, Development Bank of Southern Africa, World Bank and Stellenbosch University's Bureau of Economic Research. Their free-market ideologies have proven ineffectual or downright oppressive here and across the Third World' (*New Nation* June 21, 1996).

The ideology contained in the GEAR document was consistent with the consensus within the ANC elite on the efficiency of the market system and exhibited a 'commitment to conservative fiscal policies, trade liberalisation and a shift from consumption to investment spending' (*Business Day* October 30, 1998), made up of 'litanies of policy measures that could have been taken from the IMF manual' (Padayachee 1998, 442). While the new framework stunned many on the Left within the ANC alliance, it did finally illustrate, 'quite clearly that the "common-sense" orthodoxy of neoliberal development [was] entrenched' in ANC thinking (Leysens and Thompson 1994, 56), and highlighted the shift away from redistribution and towards growth as a development framework. In short, it was a culmination of impulses that had been played out throughout the transition, and ultimately 'reflect[ed] a remarkable shift in the ANC's ideological orientation in the period from 1990 to 1996' (Terreblanche 1999, 7). This can be characterised as the *embourgeoisement* of the ANC elite.

Concluding remarks

When reviewing the development of the ANC's economic thinking during the transition, one analysis summed it up: 'to all intents and purposes, the policy that almost replaced the sacred Freedom Charter [i.e. the RDP] in its vision of a more equal and progressive order [was then] shelved [and a] Thatcherite discourse of fiscal discipline and market forces' took over' (Adam, Slabbert and Moodley 1997, 161). Mandela himself later admitted that people 'can say [our policy] is Thatcherite, but for this country, privatisation is the fundamental policy of our government' (quoted in Pilger 1998, 606), while Mbeki invited analysts to 'call [him] a Thatcherite' (*Business Times* June 16, 1996).

This subsequently meant that the business press in South Africa was in general highly supportive of Mbeki's succession post-Mandela, with the *Business Day* typically expressing the assertion that 'Mbeki [has] the hand on the GEAR economic policy, [it is] a hand which everyone wants to be strong' as capital hoped that 'Mbeki [would] prove a decisive, Machiavellian figure, who will use his mandate to break the power of the unions to impede privatisation and block needed liberalisation of the labour market, and thus make it easier for employers to hire and fire [workers]' (*Business Day* June 9, 1999). How right they were.

Such support for Mbeki and his circle was long-standing and went back to the transition period when he was 'the darling of the business sector' and 'the corporate sector's Man in Shell House' (*Sunday Times* June 20, 1999). Indeed, as a biography of him points out, Mbeki was long recognised as someone who 'possessed the qualities to lead the ANC into the new South Africa and strike an historic compromise with White South Africa and the forces of capitalism' (Hadland and Rantao 1999, 88). This in itself ties in with the aspirations of the emergent Black elite who were strongly supportive of the *embourgeoisement* of the ANC, subsequently joining the ranks of a nascent historic bloc, sharing the 'liberal capitalistic ideology' of White-dominated capital, while reinforcing their increasing foothold in the economy (*Cape Argus* March 8, 1999). As one newspaper put it, 'the buppies [Black yuppies] are right behind Mbeki' (*Sunday Independent* July 4, 1999).

Such developments were a playing out of tendencies that had been residual within the ANC's own historical experience through the long years of struggle and which manifested themselves more openly in the transition and then post-apartheid era. After 1994, a key policy of the ANC government has in fact been the enthusiastic support for the development of a Black bourgeoisie through legislative and administrative actions (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* May 21-27, 1999). Thus 'although the ANC still enjoys

overwhelming support of the Black working class, its policies are aimed at advancing the interests of the Black bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie whose interests are integrally tied to that of [externally-oriented] money capital' (Labour Left Collective 1998, 13).

The result was that it has been very hard to locate equity as an explicit policy goal of Pretoria post-1994. Attempts to restructure the social organisation of South Africa's political economy have not been attempted, other than the cultivation of an ostentatious parasitic Black elite through programmes such as Black Economic Empowerment. John Saul pointed out that the government's policies pretended that 'everyone, capitalist and shanty-town dweller alike, ha[d] more or less the same interests and [could] be served by more or less the same policies' (Saul 1994, 38). By separating the economic from the political, the interests of the emergent Black elites as they became increasingly incorporated into the nascent historic bloc were safeguarded. Indeed, GEAR itself might be described as reflecting and reinforcing the *embourgeoisement* of the ANC elites and their allies, the Black bourgeoisie, which has less and less disputes with the old social order and a greater appetite to join it.

Emblematically, just after the first non-racial election, the Minister of Public Services and Administration, Zola Skweyiya, crowed that 'the ANC shouldn't shy away from Blacks becoming capitalist. The only question is—how do we achieve it?' (*Weekly Mail and Guardian* December 15, 1995), whilst Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry Phumzile Mlambo-Nguka stated that Black businessmen should not be shy to say that they wanted to become 'filthy rich' (quoted in Adam, Slabbert and Moodley 1997, 201). So much for the 'The People shall share in the country's wealth!'

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ABSTRACT
This article aims to analyze the process of embourgeoisement present in post-apartheid South Africa. Comprehending embourgeoisement as a process in which there is the migration of people to the bourgeoisie ranks, it is argued that the initial events in the 1990s that marked the end of the apartheid regime can also be seen as a conglomeration of social and political-economic forces that has stimulated the ANC elites to not turning back to the economic policy restructuration of South Africa. After these analysis, it is concluded that there is not a clear trend in South African politics in post-1994 based on social equity.

THE *SÉLÉKA* INSURGENCY AND INSECURITY IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, 2012 - 2014

Henry Kam Kah[1]

Introduction

Many African countries have known armed insurgency, civil unrest and instability for many years. Among these countries are Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the CAR (Joseph 2012, 23-25; Cilliers and Schünemann 2013, 9-10). In sub-Saharan Africa, in general, military power between state and insurgency appears to be shifting often in favour of the latter which has forced African states to deploy forces more frequently beyond their borders (Howe 2001, 1). In the case of Ethiopia, for instance, the government has been at running battles with the Oromo for a long time and in Somalia, the brutalities of the *Al-Shabaab* are well known including also sea piracy which made the Horn of Africa insecure to sea-going vessels. All these have threatened peace and security in the Horn of Africa and beyond. In Nigeria, the *Boko Haram* insurgency in the North East of the country bordering Cameroon and Chad and activities of armed militias in the Niger Delta have threatened the peace and unity of this colossus of Africa. In the Central African sub-region, to which is located the CAR, wars and conflicts like in the DRC and Chad have created unfavourable socio-political and economic conditions. There is also a proliferation of internal and inter-state violence in the sub-region, especially in countries like the CAR, Chad and the DRC. In fact, recurrent political crises and military hostilities have kept the central African sub-region continuously in the headlines in the 21st century (Mwanasali 1999, 90-91; Frère 2010, 1).

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The Central African Republic (CAR), which is the focus of this study, is a member of the Economic and Monetary Community of the Central African States, known by its French acronym as CEMAC. It is also a member state of the Economic Community of the Central African States (ECCAS). This country is very rich in natural resources, notably in diamond, gold, copper, uranium and timber. The population of the country is estimated at 4.5 million (Miles 2013). In terms of population configuration, the CAR is an amalgamation of various ethnic groups. The Gbaya people sought refuge from the Fulani of Northern Cameroon by migrating into the CAR in the early 19th century, while the Banda who fled the Muslim Arab slave raids of Sudan followed the Gbaya later in the century. The country generally has over 80 ethnic groups, each with its own language and cultural practices. The largest ethnic groups of the country include the Gbaya 33%, Banda 27%, Mandjia 13%, Sara 10%, Mboum 7%, M'Baka 4% and Yakoma 4%. Other smaller ethnic groups make up the remaining 2% of the population. There are different religious groups in the country. Of these religious groups, 35% of the population is inclined to indigenous beliefs, 25% adhere to Protestantism and another 25% are Catholics while about 15% are profess the Muslim religion (Alusala 2007, 11).

In terms of the standards of living in Africa, the CAR has one of the lowest in spite of its rich natural endowments. In the domain of infrastructure, the road network of the country is not regularly maintained and some communities suffer a chronic shortage of drinking water. The country is also politically unstable, corruption and highway robbery are rife and the economic climate is uncertain, attracting little foreign investment. In a general sense, the CAR has insufficient functioning state institutions, an economy in shambles, an impoverished population and a security apparatus in complete disarray (N'Ddiaye 2007, 1; Central African Republic Country Level Information; Country Profile Central African Republic). These problems combined together have made the country vulnerable to armed insurgency and instability in the Central African sub-region, giving rise to intervention and interference of various forms from gullible and self-seeking neighbouring states.

In this study we examine the road to the *Séléka* overthrow of the government of Bozizé in March 2013 and the departure of Michel Djotodia, who was replaced by Catherine Samba-Panza in January 2014. This is one out of many insurgencies that have taken place in the country since its independence in August 1960. The historical roots of the instability and disintegration in the country are examined to show that CAR, from its creation, had problems and these have manifested themselves in fratricidal war times and again in the territory. The study also examines the grievances

of the *Séléka* insurgents, the challenges of the new *Séléka* led government and that of the present care-taker government of Catherine Samba-Panza. All of these, if not carefully handled, is still likely to plunge the country further into chaos, as was the case before the armed insurrection of March 2013 and subsequent military and counter military reprisals.

This study is significant in several ways. The fact that the CAR has been in the news for its instability, leadership crisis, coups and armed insurrection needs a study to unravel the factors that have been responsible for this. It is a country rich in natural resources, such as timber, gold, copper and diamond, but paradoxically one of the poorest in the world. The saga in the country only confirms the resource curse that has characterised countries with vast natural resources like Nigeria and Angola. A study of this country is a contribution to this theory of resource curse that has characterised many African countries blessed with natural resources. Again, the study is important because the continuous instability of the CAR is an indication of either the failure or inability of ECCAS and CEMAC to establish peace and stability in the country. Rather, the country has been drawn into serious conflicts with two members of these blocs, namely Chad and the DRC. If these regional groupings are unable to tackle this instability it is even more challenging for the African Union (AU) to achieve continental unity, peace and stability in Africa. An understanding of the *Séléka* insurgency in the CAR could be traced from the historical roots of the country.

Historical roots of instability

The root of crisis and instability in the Central African sub-region as a whole was a result of the French policy of assimilation which became the guiding principle for colonial administration. Forje (2005, 228) argues that the politics of assimilation pursued by the French in the Central African sub-region was seen as a betrayal of national sovereignty. This betrayal of sovereignty was compounded by the governing elite that emerged because they converted this into a new form of hegemony. This manifested itself in the form of the transfer of state property into personal/private property, the ethnicisation of the state and the creation of a family dynasty as the legitimate source of succession. Forje also argues that the sovereignty of the people of this sub-region was greedily hijacked by this few privileged elite. They instituted the politics of exclusion in place of inclusion. The result of this kind of policy after independence plunged the Central African region into turmoil. The creation of the CAR from the period of colonisation to independence, in 1960, witnessed a manifestation of hegemonic tendencies in different ways and at different times.

The numerous crises in the CAR have their roots in the history of the country from the past to its independence on 13 August 1960 from France. French colonial administration and the Arab slave trade in the area contributed negatively to the future stability of the country. The territory was initially organised in 1894 as the colony of Ubangi-Shari and subsequently united administratively with Chad in 1905. In 1910 the territory was incorporated into the French Equatorial Africa (*Afrique Equatoriale Française*, AEF) which was a federation of three colonies namely Gabon, Middle Congo (*Moyen Congo*) and Ubangi-Shari-Chad. Four years later, Chad was separated from the Ubangi-Shari colony and made a separate territory. The Ubangi-Shari as the CAR was called at the time, received less attention and resources from France than the other AEF territories namely present day Republic of Congo, Gabon and Chad. Rather, thousands of its population was forced to work on infrastructure projects elsewhere in AEF and this was of little benefit to the territory. Besides, the Arab slave trade raids from present day Chad and the Sudan resulted in the decline in the population of large areas of the CAR. This eventually had an effect on development and the ethnic and religious tensions in the country today (Alusala 2007, 11; Berman and Lombard 2008, 3).

French colonial administration and the Arab slave trade raids laid the basis of the present mayhem in the CAR with ramifications on neighbouring countries like Chad and Sudan. The administration of the territory as an integral part of the AEF did not make the French to devote resources towards its own separate development. They channelled resources towards the development of other areas especially the Republic of Congo and Gabon at the expense of the people of the CAR. To make matters worse, the population was carted away to work on the infrastructure of other territories while their own infrastructure was unattended to. It remained poor and undeveloped throughout the period of French colonial administration. The joint administration of the CAR with Chad seemingly gave post-independence governments of Chad the justification to meddle in the internal affairs of the country and for armed groups from both countries to operate with impunity across their own borders and destabilise their governments. On the other hand, the Arab slave raids through the territory created a culture of aggression which now manifests itself in the present abductions or kidnappings, a common practice among belligerents in the struggle for the control of the CAR. The aftermath of the slave raids also led to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) that has continued to destabilise the CAR and its neighbours today.

Again, the colonial administration in Ubangi-Shari was underfinanced and mostly poorly trained. It also created a brutal and

authoritarian yet ineffectual regime in the country. This administration laid emphasis on cash-cropping like cotton and used coercive means to levy taxes on the population. Besides, diamond and gold mining which the French initiated in 1927 was a preserve of the Europeans who got the benefits from it (Bauters 2012, 9). At independence, the country was one of the poorest and underdeveloped. Its problems were compounded by the authoritarian governments of David Dacko and his successor Jean-Bedel Bokassa. Dacko and Bokassa who declared himself emperor established an authoritarian regime similar to that of the French during the colonial era. Dacko reinforced his grip on power through constitutional reforms in 1962 and 1964. These reforms concentrated power in the hands of the executive branch of government and effectively removed the idea of political parties competing for power. The president banned independent trade unions in the country and censorship was tightened. On his hand Jean-Bedel Bokassa declared himself as "life President" in 1972 and emperor in 1977 (Polity IV Country 2010, 1; Bauters 2012, 10-12). Acting like the colonial government taxes on cotton farmers were increased making life very difficult for the peasants. The problems of the CAR can be understood against a backdrop of this ineffectual and autocratic administration of the French and the early leaders who ruled the CAR after it gained independence from France on 13 August 1960.

The road to the independence of the CAR in August 1960 from French rule was in itself problematic and sowed seeds of discord for the political leadership of the country. The head of government during the transition period leading to independence Barthélemy Boganda, a former Catholic priest, preferred to lead his party, the Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa (MESAN) with his cousin David Dacko, who eventually became the first president of the CAR at independence on 13 August 1960 after the death of Boganda in a plane crash. Another cousin of David Dacko who served under him as Army Chief of Staff Jean-Bedel Bokassa seized power from him through a coup (Alusala 2007, 12; Bauters 2012, 10). The ethnicisation of leadership and governance in the CAR was also pursued by General André Kolingba when he seized power in 1981. During his tenure in office that lasted until 1993, he shamelessly filled the *Forces armées centrafricaines* (FACA) with members of his Yakoma ethnic group, one of the smallest in the country. Ange-Félix Patassé who succeeded Kolingba in 1993 compounded matters further when he created militia groups along ethnic lines to support his regime. These militias were composed of people mostly from the Sara, Kaba and Gbaya groups of his home region. Even General Françoise Bozizé's administration from 2003 to 2013 was accused of ethnic considerations in the leadership of the country

(A Widening War 2007, 3; Bauters 2012, 14). This was a precedent set by Boganda and energetically pursued by his successors who ruled the country after independence.

Road to the March 2013 military take-over

The road to the March 2013 *Séléka* seizure of power in the CAR can conveniently been traced from the multiparty elections of 1993. General André Kolingba who had ruled the CAR as private property from 1981 to 1993 finally yielded to the will of the people and the wind of change that blew from the West across Africa. Although this election led to a change at the top of the state, it opened the door to civil unrest, army mutinies, instability and civil war in the country (Frère 2010, 2). His defeat in the general elections of 1993 laid the foundation for numerous coup attempts on the government of Ange-Félix Patassé and eventually to the March 2013 armed insurrection and defeat of the government of General François Bozizé. Between 1993 and 2003 when Ange-Félix Patassé was overthrown by Bozizé and his men, seven coup attempts had been organised against his government. This was not a mere coincidence but a result of an unreliable system of governance that was put in place by leaders namely David Dacko, Jean-Bédel Bokassa and André Kolingba. This situation was also compounded by the very difficult economic situation that the CAR experienced in the 1990s following the world economic slump of the mid-1980s.

When Patassé was democratically elected president of the CAR in 1993, he unfortunately followed the footsteps of André Kolingba by promoting ethnicity in state governance (Forje 2005, 227-228). During his reign Kolingba had embarked on a massive recruitment of the Yakoma, his ethnic group into the army. By the time he was defeated in the elections of 1993, 70 % of the army was made up of the Yakoma who constitute only 4 % of the population of the CAR. Instead of arresting this problem and giving the CAR a truly national character, Patassé rather accentuated it by exploiting his northern heritage for political gain. Ethnicisation of public space has been a common feature of countries of the Central African sub region (Fomin 2005, 167) since their political independence in the 1960s. This ethnicisation of governance compounded problems for the CAR by creating a rift between the *Riverain* and *Savaniers* as the people of the South and North were referred to. President Patassé redeployed the Yakoma and most Presidential Guards were from the Sara-Kaba ethnic group of the North.

The overwhelming presence of the Yakoma in the military became

a source of instability for the government of Patassé between 1993 and 2003 when his government was toppled by Bozizé (Polity IV Country Report 2010, 3; Mehler 2009). In spite of this, the northern part of the CAR remained relatively underdeveloped under the presidency of Patassé who was from the North. The reform initiated by Patassé in the security services created a rift between the FACA, the regular army and the Presidential Guards leading to serious security problems for the country (Bauters 2012, 13). From 1991 to the overthrow of Patassé and Bozizé, the security forces of the CAR were as divided as never before. This is one of the problems that led to the attempt by Kolingba and Bozizé in 2001 and 2002 respectively to topple the Patassé regime and culminated in the defeat of Patassé's forces in 2003.

Although armed groups were in existence in the CAR from the late seventies and early eighties spanning from the government of Bokassa to Kolingba like the *Mouvement centrafricain pour la liberation nationale* (MCLN) of Rudolph Idi Lala, these were hardly considered as a pressing matter because firearms were scarce at the time. After the fall of Bokassa arms were being smuggled in from Chad and the number skyrocketed when the government of Hissène Habré was toppled in 1990. Many more arms were smuggled into the country after the fall of Mobutu in the DRC in 1997. As many arms were smuggled children were co-opted into fighting in the armed groups (Ayike 2005, 192; Organised Crime 2011, 7). President Patassé took over the mantle of leadership in the CAR when the number of arms and armed groups had increased in the country (Bauters 2012, 18). Many more armed groups emerged to challenge existing ones and also government forces creating a situation of insecurity and instability. Some of them were eager to control the natural resources of the different parts of the country. Patassé was therefore faced with the problem of handling the differences between the different military services and to suppress armed groups many of whom operated with foreign support from neighbouring countries like the DRC, Sudan and Chad.

The military crisis in the CAR in 1996 was exacerbated by a serious political crisis which led to widespread public discontent over social and economic problems. Due to the prolonged non-payment of salary arrears of the soldiers, civilians were regularly attacked by the men in uniform (Internal Displacement 2007, 9; Taylor 2005, 241; IFAD Participation in the Debt Initiative 2008, 1). Even civil servants and government workers went through a decade of unpaid wages which compounded the socio-political crises of the country from 1996 onwards (Central African Republic, Country Level Information). To protect himself and continue to lead the CAR, Patassé did not only enlist foreign support from Libya and the DRC but also created a personal armed group known as *karako,* meaning peanut

in the local *Sango* language (Mehler 2009; Bauters 2012, 13). The economic problems of the people were compounded by the devaluation of the franc CFA by 50% due to international pressure which only impoverished the population further (Berman 2008, 6). Their reaction in the mid-1990s was a descent into violence against the state which threatened its very existence and stability and made the government of Patassé vulnerable to several coup attempts throughout the period of his administration in the CAR.

The dismissal of General François Bozizé as Army Chief of Staff by President Patassé in 2001 made the sacked Chief of Staff to escape to Chad and mobilise forces against him with the view of assuming the mantle of leadership in the country. Bozizé escaped to Chad with several hundreds of troops loyal to him. They were all determined to bring the government of Patassé to its knees (War Crimes 2003, 36). While in Chad he enlisted the support of several armed groups in the northern part of the CAR and was also given assistance by the Chadian government for strategic reasons. One of these reasons was to, presumably, secure the oil fields of Chad and make the border with the CAR safe for Chad's economic and other interests. Had Patassé not out rightly dismissed Bozizé, his government might have survived beyond the 2003 military take-over that was commandeered by Bozizé. He might also have successfully organised another election apart of the one of 1999 to ensure a peaceful transfer of power and the consolidation of democracy in the country. Unable to withstand the incessant armed attacks of the Bozizé rebel group, Patassé's men yielded to defeat when they were overpowered by those of Bozizé with assistance from Chadians. The presidential palace fell to Bozizé when President Patassé was in a meeting of the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (COMESA) summit in Niger (Mehler 2009). Upon his return from this summit, the president could not land and was forced to fly to Cameroon and finally took exile in Togo.

Other things which led to mounting hatred for the Patassé government included widespread mismanagement and self-enrichment by the ruling elite of the country. There was also the outright buying of members of parliament and exclusion of formerly privileged groups like the Yakoma under the previous government of André Kolingba (Mehler 2009). These grievances of the people formed the basis for the army mutinies of 1996/97, the coup attempts of 2001/2002 and the successful rebellion of 2003 that saw power change hands from Patassé to Bozizé. The common citizen could not understand why public resources could be mismanaged and the privileged enriched themselves when they did not have basic amenities like water and electricity. The government of Patassé could also not have survived an armed insurrection against it because of the policy of exclusion and selective treatment that it adopted. This policy pitted many other groups

from the South against those from the North. This was the first time that someone from the North was the leader of the country (Country Profile 2007, 4) and people from the densely populated North-West impoverished region expected improvements in their region which were not forthcoming.

The northern part of the CAR that expected much from a president who hailed from their region developed misgivings with the Patassé's government. President Patassé had in an attempt to counter the cross-border raids of Bozizé's men in the North and *coupeurs de route* syndrome set up a special force outside the regular army to handle these threats from the North. It was led by Colonel Abdoulaye Miskine, a former commando in Chad. This special force of mercenaries was a mixed bunch with some having links with former President Hissène Habre and others to Goukouni Queiddeye. They committed serious atrocities on the population in the North as was reported by local human rights organisations (Bauters 2012, 13; War Crimes 2003, 36; Ghura 2004, 14). Opponents of the government criticised it for excesses in the North of the country and especially Colonel Miskine who had Chadian connections. It was however a difficult task to tackle the problems of the *coupeurs des routes* and the armed attacks orchestrated by Bozizé and his men because of the porous borders of this region and its numerous armed groups operating across the borders of Sudan and Chad, countries with a very long history of civil wars. Bozizé became president through seizure of power but soon after he ran into problems with his supporters which explain why there was opposition to his administration leading to an insurgency and defeat.

Séléka insurgency December 2012 to March 2013

The *Séléka* insurgency of March 24 2013 and change of leadership from François Bozizé to Michel Am Nondroko Djotodia was due to several factors dating back to peace talks with the government in 2007. The word *Séléka* is sango word for union or alliance, that is, a coalition of about five separate rebel groups which include the *Union des forces démocratiques pour le rassemblement* (UFDR), the *Convention des patriots pour la justice et la paix* (CPJP) and the *Convention patriotique pour le salut Wa Kodro* (CSPK). Two other groups joined the ranks of the *Séléka* namely the *Front démocratique du peuple Centrafricain* (FDPC) and a Chadian group called the *Front populaire pour le redressement* (FPR). These groups are mainly from the restive North East of the CAR, a region that is geographically isolated, historically marginalised and almost stateless. Within the ranks of the coalition were also Islamic jihadists from Chad and Sudan. Fighters of the LRA also joined the *Séléka* rebels in the capture of the government of the CAR (Central

African Republic Conflict 2012 to Present; Miles 2013; Vircoulon 2013; Urgent Humanitarian Needs 2013; Looming Food Crisis 2013; Seleka Rebels in the Central African Republic 16 May 2013). Prior to their defeat of the government of Bozizé, they received support from armed fighters from neighbouring Sudan known as the *Janjaweed* which has been accused of committing atrocities against civilians in the Darfur region (Larson 2013).

The road to the *Séléka* rebellion is in fact an effect of the CAR Bush War that lasted from 2004 to 2007. The war started barely one year after Bozizé seized power in a military coup while president Patassé was attending a summit in Niger. This Bush War started with a rebellion organised by the UFDR in North Eastern CAR led by Michel Djotodia. The war soon escalated into a major fighting where the UFDR forces fought against the CAR government together with other rebel groups located in other parts of the CAR. These other rebel groups included the *Groupe d'action patriotique pour la liberation de Centrafrique* (GAPLC), the CPJP, the *L'Armée populaire pour la restauration de la république et la démocratie* (APRD), the *Mouvements des liberateurs Centrafricains pour la justice* (MLCJ) and the *Front démocratique Centrafricain* (FDC). The combined attack on the new government of Bozizé from these groups led to the displacement of thousands of people for about three years (Central African Republic Conflict 2012-Present). In spite of a peace agreement between the Bozizé government and the CPJP to end the Bush War, political violence continued, especially in the Eastern and Central regions of the CAR. It was clear that the legitimacy of the government of Bozizé was seriously challenged by the other armed groups that refused to sign a peace agreement with the government. As long as the government did not suppress these groups nor provided uncontested leadership of the country, it was clear that from its very inception in 2003, it was doomed for failure in the future.

The insurgency of the *Séléka* took on a very militant phase in December 2012. Among the reasons that were advanced by the rebel groups for waging war against the government, it was included the argument that there was no solution to the problem of the armed groups of North Eastern CAR, human rights abuses, the lack of a programme of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) for the fighters as well as a crippled security system in the country. The disarmament of the fighters had been planned since the agreements of Libreville in 2007 and 2008, but this was never implemented due to the lack of political will of the Bozizé regime. For example, the agreements between the government and the rebel groups included financial support and other assistance for insurgents who laid down their arms (Central African Republic Déja-Vu 2008; Urgent Humanitarian Needs 2013; Miles 2013; Boas and Hentz 2013: 2; Seleka Central Africa's 24

March 2013; Central African Republic 10 May 2013; Ngoupana 2013).

The *Séléka* leadership also claimed that they were fighting because of a lack of progress after a peace deal, which ended the 2004-2007 Bush War (Central African Republic Conflict 2012-Present). A Catholic Bishop Mgr. Aguirre Monus, however, argued that the main goal of the *Séléka* coalition was to overthrow the government and to impose a regime of Islamic imprint. He contended that a majority of the people who belonged to the coalition were jihadists who spoke Arabic, killed and raped civilians, looted homes and Christian missions that were not mosques (Africa/Central African Republic http://www.news.va/thepopeapp/). Although the bishop saw in the *Séléka* a jihadist group fighting to impose Islam in the CAR, the coalition is more complex in its objectives and membership than simply religion. Whatever the case, only time will tell whether the argument of the bishop and other observers is true. Besides, only 15 % of the population of the CAR is Muslim (Azikiwe 2013). A majority of the population adhere to other religious groups, notably the Protestant, Catholic and indigenous religions. This alone was enough to deter the *Séléka* coalition from imposing a theocratic state in the CAR, and, since the departure of Michel Djotodia, the Muslim/Christian conflict has continued.

In spite of the argument of the *Séléka* to justify the insurrection in the CAR in 2013, there are contrary opinions as to their real motivation. For example, according to Alex Vines of Catham House, a London-based institute that studies international affairs, the actions of the *Séléka* were based purely on ambition. He states that "all accounts of the *Séléka* are that they have no development vision for CAR. It's exclusively about redistribution of patrimony from having captured the state" (*Associated Press* April 1 2013). This argument could be supported by the attitude of the elite of the country. None of these elite, who have been accused of war crimes or other problems, has ever been killed in the process. The same elite who become government ministers today are rebels tomorrow fighting against the government and the state and going free. It is also difficult to explain the impunity with which successive governments privatise the state and its resources to members of their ethnic group or to a few privileged ones to the extent that, after their defeat, the next government is held hostage by ethnic loyalties and previously privileged groups. With the complex interplay of issues one can only partially agree with Alex Vine's argument that the *Séléka* coalition wanted participation or complete control of the redistribution of the resources of the country by leading it.

There were other reasons for the emergence of the *Séléka* in the CAR and the war it waged on the government of François Bozizé. For a long time there was a lack of governance in the Vakaga and Haute Kotto

administrative regions of the North; the permeable borders and widespread contraband of weapons and other goods in this region constituted a perfect environment for the emergence of the *Séléka* coalition. Other grievances of the people that led to a *Séléka* insurgence on the government included Bozizé's imposition of his relatives in the transitional government, his rearmament through the purchase of helicopters and his delay in releasing political prisoners as agreed by during the accords with the opposition. *Séléka* militants also demanded the withdrawal of South African troops, which were deployed in Bangui in 2012 due to an agreement between the South African government and that of the CAR. The rebels were also encouraged by the fact that regional peers in Central Africa, during the Libreville peace talks, blamed Bozizé for closing down political space and dialogue with the opposition. Prove of this was seen in the fact that the multinational CEMAC force in the CAR FOMUC did not intervene when the rebels moved towards and took over Bangui (Vircoulon 2013; Central African Republic 12 March 2013). There was therefore a generalised atmosphere of uncertainty considering the non-implementation of the Libreville Accords, with each party blaming the other for failuring to implement it. The *Séléka* coalition took advantage of this and other grievances to launch a sustained attack on the government from December 2012, leading to yet another peace deal or cease-fire on 11 January 2013.

The *Séléka* strong showing against the government of Bozizé, from late November 2012, forced the government to the negotiation table once more in January 2013. This was more so because, between December 2012 and January 2013, the war had led to a looming food crisis because of the hike in prices, among other consequences. On 11 January 2013, a ceasefire agreement was signed in Libreville Gabon through the mediation of CEMAC. Following the agreement, the *Séléka* coalition dropped its demand for the resignation of François Bozizé. The president on his part agreed to appoint a Prime Minister from the opposition by 18 January 2013. In keeping with the agreement, Bozizé appointed Nicolas Tiangaye as Prime Minister in replacement of Faustin-Archange Touadéra. Senior *Séléka* leader Michel Djotodia became the Defence Minister. To enforce the ceasefire agreement, foreign troops, including those from South Africa, were deployed to help enforcing the peace deal.

In spite of these appointments and the deployment of foreign troops to assist in bringing back the CAR to the path of peace and stability, the ceasefire was broken barely six days later with each party accusing the other of not respecting it (*BBC News* 21 March 2013). In March, the *Séléka* recalled Djotodia and four other Ministers from the transitional government and asked for the withdrawal of the South African National Defense Forces

(SANDF), which was protecting Bangui, the capital of the CAR. This was a clear indication of the collapse of the January ceasefire agreement and also a challenge to the continuous rule of Bozizé, although the coalition had agreed, during the ceasefire agreement of January 2013, to Bozizé's rule until the 2016 elections. It was also an indication of the misgivings that had developed within the ranks of the *Séléka*. Some military commanders of the coalition felt that Djotodia had negotiated an agreement too quickly with Bozizé to his own private and not the collective interest of the fighters (Vircoulon 2013; Besseling 2013).

The withdrawal of Djotodia and four other coalition Ministers from the government was the beginning of a war of failure for the government of Bozizé and success for the rebel coalition. Things moved on rather fast and not in favour of the government of Bozizé. The coalition multiplied attacks on key towns and cities and brought them under their control. Bangui, the capital of the CAR, finally capitulated on 24 March 2013, and President Bozizé escaped to Cameroon. Later that day, Michel Djotodia declared himself President of the country and the constitution and the national assembly were suspended and dissolved, respectively. He pledged to respect a peace deal that was signed earlier in 2013. Earlier, he had declared that he would rule the country for three years and, thereafter, organise elections. Following the coup, the borders of the CAR were closed with neighbouring countries. The government of Djotodia was condemned by member states of CEMAC (*Global Times* 2013), but paradoxically called for the formation of an inclusive transitional council and the holding of elections in 18 months and not three years as envisioned by Djotodia. The eventual putting in place of a transitional parliament of 105 members, and their election of Djotodia as the only candidate who had earlier declared himself president, led to the tacit recognition of the government by African leaders. Djotodia was the first CAR president from the remote, neglected and largely North East.

In order to stamp his authority on the country after the ouster of the government of Bozizé, the new military leader of the CAR, Djotodia, on 31 March 2013, named a government. This government consisted of nine members of the *Séléka*. There were eight representatives of parties that opposed Bozizé while he was in office and one of the members of government was associated with the government of Bozizé. Sixteen positions were reserved for the representatives of civil society, but the opposition to the *Séléka* government argued that these were actually disguised allies of the *Séléka* (Central African Republic Conflict 2012-Present). The government of Michel Djotodia found the myriad of problems of the country a 'hot potato', which explains why together with pressure from the ECCAS and France his government was forced to resign. The departure of Djotodia on 10 January

2014 has not lessened the conflict in the CAR. It has, instead, exacerbated the fracas between the mostly Muslim *Séléka* and Christian *anti-Balaka* groups. This is partly because, during the reign of Djotodia, many Christians were targeted and, when Samba-Panza took over, Christians are now retaliating (*Deutsche Welle* 2014; *Global Post* 2014; Handy 2014; Krumova 2014; Neill 2014; Ottaro 2014).

Soon after the *Séléka* coalition took over the leadership of the CAR, its fighters went on a rampage, executing opponents, raping women and looting homes. They also recruited children and also kidnapped vulnerable people. The fighters, particularly targeted members of FACA, and many killings, occurred in the urban areas in broad daylight. Commanders of the coalition seemed unable to maintain discipline within the ranks of the *Séléka* fighters (Ngoupana 30 March 2013; Ngoupana 16 April 2013; *Vatican Radio* 16 May 2013; *Reuters* 10 May 2013). Contrary to the Kimberley Process that calls for the origin of diamond sold in the world market to be made known, *Séléka* elements were very deeply solidifying their control of the lucrative diamond industry and were selling some of the stones (Larson 2013; Seleka Rebels Gain Control 11 May 2013) rather illegally.

In the midst of outrage against the excesses of the *Séléka* fighters, Djotodia created a National Commission of Inquiry to investigate and report on crimes and human rights abuses committed in the CAR since 2002, including not only the regimes of Patassé, but also that of Bozizé (*Reuters* 10 May 2013). This can be considered as an evasive approach to the blatant human rights abuses of the coalition forces since March 2013. The establishment of a Commission of Inquiry by the Djotodia led-government was a way of buying time and laying the matter to rest. This could have been possible if this Commission of Inquiry succeeded to stamp its authority over the institutions of the state. It was also difficult for a coalition of forces with diverse agendas to work in a coherent manner because each of them wanted to reposition itself in the decision-making process of the country.

Other social problems that emerged from the *Séléka* insurgency in the CAR included insecurity in the health of the people, malnutrition. This was because of food insecurity, souring prices of scarce foodstuff, scarcity of clean and potable water. During the period of tension in Bangui, in April 2013, only two hospitals were functioning. Schools were closed in the whole country and civil servants could not go back to work. The closure of the borders of the country by the new government had a devastating effect on the people because goods could not be imported from the port of Douala, in Cameroon. Douala is the main port for exports and imports of the CAR. One month after the military takeover in the CAR, motorbike taxi and bus drivers went on strike because of insecurity, extortion and violence against them

(Africa/Central Africa Fides.org). These were some of the signals which indicated the enormous challenges that awaited the *Séléka* led government. These and other challenges explain why there is still unfinished business in the CAR, which needs to be addressed by the government of Catherine Samba-Panza, successor of Michel Djotodia.

Unfinished business and future of the CAR

If one goes by the arguments that were raised by the *Séléka* fighters to justify the armed insurrection against the government of Bozizé, the arguments raised by Catherine Samba-Panza and the still serious socio-political instability in the CAR, there is need to rethink the future of the CAR. The year 2013 ended on a negative note for the CAR and explained why during the Sixth ECCAS Summit of Heads of State and Government, held in Chad from 8-11 January 2014, pressure was brought to bear on Michel Djotodia and his Prime Minister, Nicolas Tiangaye, to resign (*Global Post* 2014; Handy 2014). The reins of power in the CAR went to Catherine Samba-Panza in late January 2014. In spite of this, the security situation remains fragile with undisciplined and disgruntled former rebels roaming the capital and smaller towns at night, looting, raping and killing with impunity. Matters are compounded by the fact that people with Islamic sounding names pay more at roadblocks which have been erected in the southern and western parts of the country. People from the North East of the CAR increasingly find it difficult to obtain national identity documents, which is frustrating (Krumova 2014). Another serious security challenge for the transitional government of Samba-Panza is the passivity of the armed forces and police in the face of the violence which has sparked popular frustration and resentment. The concerns that anti-*balaka* elements are infiltrating the army are bad news because this will only further polarise the security situation in this country in this central African sub-region. Arms also continue to circulate thereby, creating fear and tension among warring groups (Chignac 2014).

From 2013, child soldiers roam the streets and communities have lived in distrust and revenge because of past grievances (CAR Chaos 2013). The fractured *Séléka* forces continued to pursue and eliminate former members of the *Forces armées centrafricaines* (FACA) on the basis of their preparing for a return of the former president François Bozizé (Briefing 2013). This might have been strengthened by the attacks on Bangui in early December 2013 by militias and other gunmen loyal to Bozizé. The attack resulted in the death of hundreds of people from gunfire, machete attacks and stoning (Hussain 2013). The security and administrative vacuum caused

by the escape of the remaining FACA troops, police and gendarmerie, as well as judicial and other civil authorities, contributed to the settlement of scores with impunity by members of the *Séléka* led government of Michel Djotodia.

When Catherine Samba-Panza was elected on 20 January 2014 she, therefore, inherited a complex security situation which has continued. Anti-*balaka* fighters today compose of people from rural areas. They carry with them traditional weapons and home-made guns and wear *grigri* (magical charms), convinced that these make them invisible and protected from bullets and rockets. Most of them are illiterate teenagers whose families have been killed and villages burned by the *Séléka* fighters. During the *Séléka* insurrection they virtually lost everything and are in Bangui to revenge. Apart from attacking the *Séléka,* they want them to be disarmed and call them "Arabs" (Vircoulon and Lesueur 2014; Katz 2014). This is just one out of the many human rights abuses in the country.

Other problems that have compromised a functional government in the CAR include the age-old issue of disarming, demobilising and re-integrating *Séléka* combatants and former FACA. The cohesion that existed within the ranks of the *Séléka* coalition, prior to the overthrow of the former president, has dissipated and today there are rival groups even after the departure of Djotodia seeking to continue to control the affairs of the CAR. The *Séléka* is fragmented because its irregular forces have been accused of effectively creating a parallel army and police force in areas under its control. Several of their spokesmen have repeatedly called for the partition of the CAR into two states, namely a Muslim and a Christian state. Concern is also arising from the establishment of the new militia Organisation of the Central African Muslim Resistance (ORMC). This was set up by one of Djotodia's former aides (Neill 2014). These developments are not aimed at seeking a lasting solution to the insecurity in the CAR, but to entrench positions and continue to plunder state resources under the cover of chaos. The visible cracks in the *Séléka* group have widened and each of the movements within the coalition is fighting more or less as an independent unit. The very tension between loyalists of Bozizé, those of Djotodia and what remains of the national army has only fuelled the Muslim/Christian conflict, leading to killings, destruction and people displaced within their own country (Vircoulon and Lesueur 2014).

In Bangui, over 40,000 people are sheltered around the Bangui airport where the French established a base since 2002. Amnesty International has documented a lot of these problems, which have even hampered humanitarian assistance to people in need (Briefing, 2013; Moshiri 2013). Worst of all, it is clear that the country does not have a

functional government, although power has shifted from Michel Djotodia to Catherine Samba-Panza since January 2014. This was aptly captured by Mossiter (2014) when he described the government as being incapable of controlling anything but its own disbursement of favours. This precarious situation, which started with the overthrow of Bozizé, made the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon to argue that "the transitional government is not properly functioning" (Kelemen 2013).

The question of legitimacy and nepotism continues to be a serious issue in the struggle to bring peace to the CAR. Although the election of Samba-Panza was widely acclaimed for her strong personality, among other factors, it has been criticised for some of its actions. She has been accused rightly or wrongly for appointing friends and hang-ons as ministers. The daughter is said to be the Director of Cabinet (Mossiter 2014). The president herself acknowledged that her decision to appoint a majority of Ministers from her own Eastern Region stirred resentment in the country (Chignac 2014). Former Presidents like Andre Kolingba, Ange Félix Patassé and Bozizé were similarly accused of nepotism and favouritism and they took these criticisms lightly only to be overthrown because of this and other factors. The future of the country which Samba-Panza herself acknowledges is in true national reconciliation, but how could this be realised if people who committed reprehensible acts are not pardoned, but punished as clearly stated by Catherine Samba-Panza in the same interview she granted?.

The problems of the CAR, which are indications of unresolved issues, have their basis in the history of the country. Since independence, many regulations that have been enacted are not properly enforced by the leaders. High-ranking dignitaries circumvent the rules because of the feeling that they are above the law. While the country has known internal political conflict since independence, there has been factional fighting from the late 1970s to the present. The state, for a long time, has been unable to guarantee the security of its citizens or its borders and armed groups freely move and according to their will across the border. Through the numerous conflicts in the country, over 103,153 people were internally displaced by 2011. It is a common saying in the country that "the state stops at PK 12", which indicates that the official government reach and control does not extend beyond 12Km radius around Bangui, the capital of the CAR. This has led to the emergence of parallel structures replacing the failing state institutions in different parts of the country (Zafar and Kubota 2003; Unicef Central African Republic 2009; Frère 2010:3-10; Central African Republic November 2011; Bauters 2012) and, today, Bangui itself. Again, in the CAR, the rulers of today are the rebels of yesterday and former inner circle members who fell from grace and escaped to join rebel movements.

It was clear from the beginning that the *Séléka* coalition could not tackle the problems of the CAR when the groups that constitute this coalition had different agendas. Today, after Djotodia, these groups are splintering and compounding the precarious security situation in Cameroon.

Another unfinished issue in the political evolution of the CAR is the differences that have existed over the years among the FACA, a small and ineffective force, made up of several branches which often perceive each other as rivals, the Presidential Guard being the best known and the Gendarmerie which operates on its own. In fact, rather than complementing the army, the gendarmerie has historically competed with it or with other government security agencies all of this for the president's trust and support to the exclusion of the others. Since its creation, shortly after independence, the gendarmerie has at times functioned independently and at other times served under the chief of staff of the armed forces (Berman and Lombard 2008, 15; Bauters 2012, 24). This is compounded by the proliferation of self defense groups. Whenever there has been a change of government, the military is affected.

In the present circumstance, the *Séléka* fighters and anti-*balaka* are locked in battle and this has an impact on the country's security system. Former FACA soldiers and others serving the government of Bozizè were either suppressed or forced to flee with weapons. This is a very serious problem because the security of the country can neither be ethnicised, as was done by Kolingba, Patassè and Bozizè, nor changed at will by those who seize power with a barrel of the gun. Soon after the *Séléka* took over control of Bangui, they began to attack and kill regular forces. The problem for this government is how to demobilise and re-integrate former fighters and former regular forces of the country. This was one of the reasons that led to their attack on the government of Bozizè and may well be 'a bone on the neck' of the new government of Catherine Samba-Panza, especially so because of the continuous fighting between competing forces. Although she vowed during her swearing in ceremony to "safeguard the peace, strengthen national unity, ensure the well-being of the Central African people, and conscientiously fulfil my work without ethnic, regional or religious considerations," (*Global Post* 2014; The *Guardian* 2014) evidence points to a different situation, more complex than before.

The fact that the *Séléka* is a coalition of groups from within and outside the CAR is a problem and is likely to be a source of disagreement between the leaders in the future. Experience shows that Bozizé seizure of power from Patassé was thanks to the support from rebel forces from Chad. When he took over control of the state he made use of Chadian fighters in his security. No sooner had he taken over, did the Bush War of 2004 to 2007

break out. Many of the former fighters were disgruntled with their non-remuneration to the degree that they wanted and took to fighting against the government. Throughout the negotiations between the government and the rebels, the issue of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration became a thorny one. How could people be disarmed, demobilised and reintegrated when there were no safeguards for this to take place? Armed groups that fought against the government accused it of failing to make this happen. It remains a problem today, considering the emergence of different factions of the anti-balaka and the *Séléka* bent on excluding the other from the decision making processes of the CAR.

These problems in the last few months of 2013 resulted in the intervention of different actors. France has increased its troops in the country to provide "a minimum of security to allow for a humanitarian intervention to be put in place" (French Troops 2013). There is also a multinational force that would be led by the African Union to help restoring peace to the CAR and assist in rebuilding its institutions. The United States has authorised up to 100 million dollars in support of the AU forces on the ground. It has also airlifted Burundian forces to the multinational forces in the country. Appeals have been made to the European Union and the UN Security Council to act fast to stem the tide of a catastrophe in the CAR (Pellerin 2013; Kelemen 2013). Today, thousands of troops are in the CAR under the coordination of MISCA, but in spite of their presence, the fracas continues in this country. Many more troops are needed to be redeployed to very volatile areas.

The formation of a government after an insurgency goes with agreements and disagreements within the belligerents and other forces eager to participate in governance. Following the military take-over in March 2013, and the transitional government that was formed, there are already dissenting voices condemning the distribution of positions. Many interpreted the government as an overwhelmingly one that led the *Séléka* regime to the exclusion of others. They are also criticising the government of Catherine Samba-Panza as not inclusive enough to heal wounds of bitterness and unite the people. Other voices argued that the attempt to expand power-sharing might actually end up sharing too much power to the instability of the state (Bekoe 2013). Fears were also expressed against Djotodia, accusing him of wanting to turn the CAR towards an Islamic state. The same could be said of the Christian president Samba-Panza, but the way the government responds to this and the way the ministers serve the population will determine subsequent response to it. The onus is, therefore, on these ministers and the entire cabinet to rise above sectarian interests and serve the country with the aim of bringing lasting peace and stability by working with the AU and the international community.

The way out of some of the problems of the CAR is to prevent disgruntled politicians from using newly formed armed groups; originally addressing local grievances to re-launch themselves into the political scene; and to develop functioning democratic institutions. There is also a need to address local grievances and develop faith in elected representatives of the people while restoring their dignity. It is also important for Catherine Samba-Panza to learn from the mistakes of past leaders and then forge new networks with the existing political elite to appease different ethnic interests and rally the population towards rebuilding a country destroyed by many years of insurgencies. She recognised this when she called on all and sundry to lay arms and help rebuild the country. Talking alone without concrete action will not solve the problem. Bekoe (2013) had argued that if some of these issues were considered, it would staff off a coup and also suggests that a critical partnership is necessary with the citizenry to inspire confidence and support. This can be made possible through earnest reform reconciliation and disarmament, which is, however, a problem, since the state is unable to make its presence felt in all the nooks and crannies of the country. Based on the sources of instability, the CAR government must truly engage in meaningful bilateral relations with neighbouring countries to handle the problems of refugees and other insurgent groups. This can be mutually beneficial if it establishes peace and tries to support these countries to solve their problems, because, by extension, it will be handling some of the complex problems associated with the instability in these neighbouring countries. In short, it will also be a way of solving some of the problems of the CAR.

Conclusion

In this study, we have attempted to show that some countries in sub-Saharan Africa have a history of insurgency or civil unrest which has been a result of internal and external factors. Examples of these countries have been highlighted. While some of these countries have tried to solve these problems, others are still embroiled in insurgencies, rendering them more or less as failed states. The central African sub-region to which the CAR belongs has had its own fair share of these problems, which have been a source of insecurity and destabilisation, not only within, but also between countries of the region.

The historical roots of the insurgency in the CAR have been traced in this study. The political instability and infighting in the country were introduced by the French and the Arab slave trade raiders in the area prior to the colonisation of the territory by the French. Groups were pitted against

one another and development was unequal, leading to problems for the country when it achieved political independence, in August 1960. The centralisation of the administration in the hands of a few elite followed the independence of the territory. The leaders ethnicised the state apparatus to the exclusion of other competent individuals from other ethnic groups. The result was frequent military coups and the problems of the country remained unattended to by successive regimes in the CAR. The grievances of the people accumulated and boiled over whenever there was an opportunity under the respective governments that ruled the CAR, especially from the late 1970s onwards. The 2012 to 2013 insurgency leading to the overthrow of the government of Bozizé, like other regimes before this, is rooted in the history of the creation and management of the CAR. Michel Djotodia found the potato too hot to handle and was pressured to quit. Now he watches the unfolding melodrama in his country from Benin.

The study discussed the events leading to the *Séléka* seizure of power in the CAR. Several factors were responsible for the rebellion against the government which had their basis in the unfulfilled promises of the Bozizé government and the non-respect of the Libreville accords, among others. Although following a ceasefire agreement in January 2013, which saw the participation of the *Séléka* in the transitional government, they soon pulled out of the government in March 2013 and by 24 March 2013 they had seized power. We examine the context within which the *Séléka* government took over power and showed that there were still many unresolved issues in the CAR which the government of Catherine Samba-Panza must genuinely address before the country can move onto the path of peace, stability and national unity and integration. There must be a sustained and committed attempt to diagnose the problems of the country from the past regimes with a view setting up credible institutions and conducting a decent election in February next year. Anything less than this will be considered a child's play which will only lay another foundation for the insurgency and insecurity that are now the trademarks of the CAR.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the historical roots of the *Séléka* insurgency in the Central African Republic (CAR), from December 2012 to March 2013, that culminated in the overthrow of Francois Bozizé and the taking over of the mantle of leadership of the country by the *Séléka* union or coalition led by its leader, Michel Am Nondroko Djotodia and then Catherine Samba-Panza. The roots of this insurgency and instability are traced to the past and to French administration in Equatorial Africa. The study specifically examines the internal dynamics that contributed to this insurgency, as well as the consequences for internal peace and stability. The data used for analysis in this study is basically secondary and tertiary in nature. We have reinterpreted and analysed this data in the context of the continuous insurgency, instability and disintegration that this has brought to the CAR and the Central African sub-region in general. The study concludes that the *Séléka* insurgency that led to the leadership change, in March 2013 and January 2014, in the CAR, is a result of a complex interplay of factors that have been and are likely to continue making the CAR a failed state, with repercussions on the people of the country and its neighbours.

BOKO HARAM AS AGENT PROVOCATEUR OF DESTABILIZATION AND DESTRUCTION IN NIGERIA: THE MEDIA'S CHECK

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Introduction

Ahlan Sunnah Lid Da'waati wal Jihad Yaanaa popularly called 'Boko Haram' has been connected with segregationist fanatical ideology of some Muslim sect(s) as sponsored agents of destabilization and destruction in Nigeria. The expression is supposedly employed in Islam to denote what is "prohibited or permitted for its adherents" (Nwanaju 2012). This article examines the dastardly acts of this group (or its subsets/subgroups) as randomly captured in news items/stories in the Nigerian media and offers suggestions on how the media and other development agents can help put an end to the wanton destruction of lives and properties/ heinous crimes emanating from their extremism. Observably, 'Boko Haram' has undertaken the task of mesmerizing the Nigerian polity since July 2009 on a very large scale of bloodshed, doublespeak, hate-speech, violence, among other barbaric shenanigans. Initially, the sect propounded the doctrine of hating everything 'Western' in the Nigerian society, that is, Western educational and cultural influences. According to Odey (2012), Boko Haram sects "tell us that Western education and the entire gamut of Western influence is sin... they are not pleased with the secular status of Nigeria; they want Nigeria to become a religious state where the tenets of Islam, particularly the Sharia law, would reign supreme." But the deliberate and rabid destruction of every available institutional structure, killing and maiming of innocent human

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beings, both Christians and Muslims, and the grounding of valuable infrastructures in different parts of the country raises the enigma of what their aim really is in relation to the corporate existence of the Nigerian state.

> Nigerians have witnessed, almost helplessly, the consistent and large scale annihilation, demolition of church buildings (and even mosques), police posts, military barracks, prisons and reckless destruction of human lives, especially in the northern states of Kano, Borno, Jos, Bauchi, Niger, Kaduna, Yobe, Benue, among others, where Islam appears to have a majority of followers. The destruction carried out on Christian adherents, for example, by the dreaded sect, can only be described as very sadistic and excessively cruel. In fact, Boko Haram's attempts to barbarize and terrorize Nigeria and Nigerians have grown, largely unchecked, and many observers fear that the most populous black nation on earth may disintegrate because of the massiveness of the daily security threats. Igbinovia & Edobor-Igbinovia (2013), citing the *Daily Sun*, argue that in the Nigerian national security context, words do not match action as reflected in the lamentations:It appears that the government of the day has given up on the insecurity in the country. For some months now, hardly a day passes without an accident of bombing or shooting taking place in Nigeria. In all of this, lives are usually lost and valuable property destroyed...the Federal Government...does not appear to have an answer to the security challenge. Government has been running from pillar to post, striving to deal with the issue. But rather than make any head way, the menace continues to rear its ugly head...

It is the aim of this article to chronicle, however elliptically, the various gruesome attacks and destructive activities of the extremist group and re-draw the Federal Government of Nigeria's (FGN's) attention to its negligent, gross lackadaisical attitude about the terror sect, and how development agents, including the media, can help check the incendiary effects the situation is having on the corporate and harmonious existence of the country.

Theoretical anchor and operational definition of terms

This study is based at the crossroads of two theoretical infrastructures. First, it deploys the agenda setting theory (AST). In the view of Daramola (2003), AST holds the assumption that "there is a relationship between news coverage and public perception of the important issues." In other words, the media, and particularly the press determines what is considered crucial and relevant in society and it is this ability to confer importance that sets it out (Okhakhu 2011). Indeed, agenda setting implies that the media predetermine what issues are regarded as important at a given time in a given society (Adeseye and Ibagere 1999). In setting an agenda

over an issue, the media according to Okoro and Agbo (2003) can ascribe importance to an issue through:

- The quality/frequency
- Prominence given to the report
- The degree of conflict generated, and
- Cumulative media-specific effects overtime.

The point to note is that thorough, investigative coverage and reportage of issues and events by the media in contemporary society can be used to strengthen the fabric of society, promote good governance and facilitate development. Omoera and Aiwuyo (2014) argue that the media can be used to curtail insecurity and strengthen democratic spaces in Nigeria which is at present under a siege especially at the north-eastern flanks, where a state of emergency has been declared by the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) since 2013.

Coupled with the above is the gate-keeping theory (GT). Defleur (2010) contends that there is so much going on in contemporary society, and far more stories are generated than can be included in any medium daily news presentation. Consequently, some system for screening and selecting must be emplaced to sort out what will be reported to the public and what will be ignored. Okugo and Onwukwe (2012) state that "at the same time to remain competitive and profitable – which is determined largely by audience size, stories must be selected that are of interest and importance to those who read, listen, view or surf the medium." It is this process of screening and selecting through the use of complex criteria that has come to be known as gate-keeping (Defleur 2010).

The implication of these theoretical constructs is that through the process of screening, selection and conferring importance, stories about Boko Haram's terrorist activities can be consciously allowed to pass through the 'gates' kept by the reporters, editors, among other media professionals. Thus, stories/news items on Boko Haram extremism permeate the spaces and airtimes of the print and electronic media, apparently, to ensure the issue remains in the public domain and the populace is kept abreast of the dimensions, perspectives, and attempts at curtailing the excesses of the terror group(s).

Boko Haram: The Islamic term known as 'Boko Haram' is better explained than defined because it does not have an English equivalent. Nwanaju (2012) explains that it is "an ideology of isolation and segregation". Kukah (2010) argues that although the "etymology of the word Boko Haram still remains suspect...in the mind of the Muslim, every act is either 'Halal',

permissible or 'Haram', impermissible". Nwanaju (2012) interprets further that "'Haram' and 'Halal' are two Arabic transliterations, meaning: 'to prohibit', 'to forbid' and possibly, 'to project' an idea or something; as well as 'to permit,' 'to allow' any practice, value, or exercise in preference to some other activities deemed proper for the particular group or community." In contemporary Nigeria, these concepts have become somewhat twisted because Boko Haram is increasingly associated with ethno fundamentalism, religious fanaticism and hypocrisy.

Agent provocateur: The term 'agent provocateur' is a French expression that is translated to denote: A secret agent implanted in an organization, as a trade union or political party, to incite its members to action or declarations that will incur penalties or punishment (*The New International Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary of the English language*, 2004). In the context of this article, it is used to describe a sect(s) or group(s) of people who hide under ethno-religious veneers to perpetrate evil on behalf of some faceless, interest groups whose incendiary motive is to, all intents and purposes, make Nigeria ungovernable.

Destruction and Destabilization: On the one hand, *The New International Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary of the English language* (2004) asserts that 'destruction' is a noun from the verb 'to destroy' which means to ruin utterly, to demolish; raze, tear down...to kill. 'Destabilization' on the other hand is a noun from the verb 'destabilize' which means to undermine and make unstable; to make something, especially a government or economy, unstable in order to impair its functioning or bring about its collapse (Encarta 2009). In the context of this article, 'destabilization' goes with 'disintegration' which means to reduce to fragments. Regrettably, this is the depraved ultimate intention of the Boko Haram sect(s) in Nigeria.

Media: The word 'media' means the various means of mass communication considered as a whole, including television, radio, magazines, and newspapers, together with the people involved in their production – takes a singular or plural verb (Encarta 2009). Akpoveta and Ogbemi (2006) see the media as "modern mechanical devices specially designed to reach a large number of people simultaneously, over a very large area." In this study, the media is extended to mean the deployment of various information and communication technologies (ICTs) such as remote sensing, satellite imaging, crime mapping, electronic news gathering (ENG) and satellite news gathering (SNG), among other new age computer gadgets and processes, which can be used for surveillance and security purposes.

Consequently, the media can be used to check insecurity and terror threats posed by the Boko Haram menace as well as reinforce national ideals,

cohesion, and emphasize the harmonious cords that bend the multi-lingual and multi-faith peoples of Nigeria. This thinking is informed by the fact that the "media is considered a very powerful medium which influences the culture with pre-decided goals and objectives" (Singh & Meenakshi 2014), and its high definition technology components can be used as effective and efficient crime control mechanisms.

Religious fanaticism, northern Nigerian elites and the Boko Haram complexes

Today, one of the biggest challenges confronting Nigeria as an entity is terrorism as embodied in Boko Haram sect(s). The spate of daily bombings and killings currently being witnessed especially in the northern parts of the country is doing a lot of damage to national unity and development in the country. At the outset, the motive of the Boko Haram fanatical movement was thought to be merely a protest against the corrosive effects of all that persisted in the name of modernizing Nigeria in the 'Western' sense. But the malefic effects of corruption, total lack of security and welfare, the persistence of corruption, collapse of public morality, injustice, etc., may have emboldened and empowered the Boko Haram sect(s) to win followers and sympathizers, especially among Nigerian youths whether rightly or wrongly.

Kukah (2010) argues that over 90% of Boko Haram members are without Western education and even the few educated Muslims, in the Western sense, have no jobs or means of livelihood. Hence, the strange community, that is, the Boko Haram group, becomes an alternative state and their leaders are ready alternatives to the failed political class. Historically speaking, this sort of transfer of allegiance and search for succor is not new. For instance, leaders of strange sects such as the *Peoples' Temple* (Jim Jones in Jonestown, Guyana, 1978); *Branch Davidians* (David Koresh, Waco, Texas, 1993); Heaven's Gate (Marshal Applewhite, San Diego, California, 1980), etc., claimed mass following and led their followers to tragic ends. Perhaps in the reasoning of late Mallam Mohammed Yusuf, Abubakar Shekau, among other leaders of the Boko Haram extremist group, those who are in government are corrupt because they have acquired their tool by gaining Western education. These same people, in their eyes, call themselves Muslims but they persist in things that are impermissible in Islam. Therefore, as their argument go, "it is their acquisition of Western education that has polluted public morality" (Kukah 2010).

Another likely point is political reason. Here, it becomes very obvious

that the fanatical movement is believed to be a-gent pro-vo-ca-teur. It would not be out of place then to argue that the leitmotif of the Boko Haram sect is not really a spiritual uplift of Muslims but a craze for political leadership and domination over the people by means of terrorism. Essentially, terrorism involves "unlawful acts of violence committed in an attempt to overthrow a government" (Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary 1963). This presupposes that terrorists' acts are often well calculated. Terrorists seek change through the use of fear and intimidation (Umeagalasi 2012). In Nigeria, the inflammatory statements of some northern elites historically underscore the fanatical/terrorist activities we are experiencing today. For instance, the comment by Sir Ahmadu Bello years after Nigeria has gained its political independence, on October 1, 1960 is still very fresh in several people's minds. He pontificates:

> The new nation Nigeria should be an estate from our great-grandfather Othman Dan Fodio. We must ruthlessly prevent a change of power. We must use the minorities of the North as willing tools, and the South as conquered territories and never allow them to have control of their future (*Sunday Sun*, May 22, 2011, 72).

This kind of conspiratorial hate-speech and ethno-religious sentiments among northern elites have also historically pervaded the 'corridors' of political power in Nigeria. Odey (2014) points out that "we have had the clandestine hijacking of Nigeria into the membership of the organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in 1986 by Ibrahim Babangida's military regime; General Sani Abacha had behind closed doors of Aso Rock, signed a secret pact which smuggled Nigeria into another Islamic group made up of eight developing countries known as D-8. We have also seen what the imposition of the full-scale implementation of the sharia legal code on Zamfara State on October 27, 1999, by Alhaji Ahmed Sani Yerima has cost the country.

From the above, it is very likely that many of these self-serving, ethno-religious/political leaders are deliberately sponsoring the Boko Haram fanatical sect as an agent of terrorism to force all Nigerians, particularly the southerners to convert to the Islamic religion either by hook or crook, more so, that the current Nigerian political head is a southerner and a Christian by faith. In fact, Sheikh Abubakhar Mahmoud Gumi boldly declares that:

> Nigerian unity, if I am to do my best, is to try to convert Christians and non-Muslims as much as possible...I do not think that Muslims can allow a non-Muslim to be their prime minister by election. It could be by force or by army coup, but by election it would be difficult for a non-Muslim to be a leader in Nigeria by election (*Quality Magazine*, October, 1987, 34).

Many of these northern Nigerian elites fanning the embers of trouble have failed to realize that a meaningful evangelism cannot be *a main armée*. These kinds of leaders easily forget that Nigeria is a multi-faith and multi-ethnic nation with enshrined laws of secularity and religious practices, aside that of Islam. Again, they also forget that any likely combustion – as Boko Haram point towards – is, at the end of day, also likely to consume them and their offspring as well. Some highlights of Boko Haram reprehensible acts underline this ominous likelihood.

Highlights of Boko Haram activities in Nigeria

The massiveness of the destruction of lives and properties in different parts of the country unquestionably puts Boko Haram attacks as pogroms/massacres which every right thinking person, organization, religious group or community must think of ways of stopping. A random chronicling of some of their acts as streamed or reported in the media reveals the gargantuan proportions of the destruction the extremist group(s) have wrought:

i. *Nigerian Tribune*, August 26, 2011, 44: Abuja, Boko Haram suicide bomber in a car drove straight into the UN building; Boko Haram raid bank in Misan, Bauchi State, killing 5 policemen, robbing the bank, killing 4 soldiers a day after, different parts of Borno and Yobe States came under series of attacks by the same group(s) in November 2011. In the attacks a number of Yobe State buildings were massively destroyed at least 67 persons were killed

ii. *Nigerian Tribune*, December 28, 2011, reports courtesy of the Associated Press some terrorist events unleashed by Boko Haram captioned "Chronicles of Boko Haram Attacks". They are: November 4: Sect members bombed government buildings and shot their way through the city of Damaturu, killing more than 100 people, while bombing and a suicide attack in Maiduguri left 4 dead. August 26: A sect member detonated a car loaded with explosives at the United Nations Headquarters in Nigeria's capital Abuja, killing 24 people and wounding another 116. April 16: A car loaded with explosives got detonated at the Federal police headquarters in Abuja, killing at least two people. The police first called the attacks a suicide bombing, but

later denied it. April 9: Gunmen from the sect set fire on the Maiduguri International Hotel and killed a politician ahead of local elections. December 31, 2010: A bomb allegedly planted by the sect exploded at a crowded and popular outdoor beer garden at a military barracks in Abuja, killing at least 4 people. September 7, 2010: Gunmen with the sect freed about 700 inmates from a Bauchi Federal Prison. July 2009: About 700 people died after sect members rioted and a security crackdown hit Maiduguri, the sect's spiritual home.

iii.   *Nigerian Tribune*, Friday December 30, 2011: President Goodluck addressed the nation on security issues that made 2011 tick. Striking excerpts are as follows: Suleja INEC in Niger State was also bombed on April 8, 2011, leaving 16 people dead mainly members of NYSC dead; Gunmen shooting in Damaturu, Yobe State; killing more than 100 persons, ... On another occasion December 22-24 at Damaturu, Boko Haram terrorists killed 61 persons. A Boko Haram member detonated a car loaded with explosives at the United Nations Headquarters in Abuja, 24 casualties, comprising Nigerians and foreign staff of the UN was recorded with about 116 wounded...

iv.   *Nigerian Tribune*, December 30, 2011, back page: "The bomb wiped out whole families and scalped a baby...dozen of worshippers suffered shocking injuries that may lead to permanent disability... blasphemous Muslim youths in Kano attacked Southerners, respectively especially the Igbo and hacked many of them to death... Boko Haram, due to its activities is said to have displaced over 90,000 people in Yobe State.

v.   *Nigerian Tribune*, December 30, 2011: Niger State, The St. Theresa Catholic Church,
Madalla, Christmas Day by Boko Haram bomb blast: 7 vehicles burnt, 4 churches destroyed, 35 people died, more than 80 people wounded.

vi.   *Nigerian Tribune*, December 30, 2011: Sapele L.G.A of Delta State, 9 children and a woman in the bomb explosion by Boko Haram that rocked an Islamic School.

vii.   *Nigerian Tribune*, December 30, 2011: Gombe, 15 people injured in a bomb blast explosion by Boko Haram in a hotel.

viii.   *Nigerian Tribune*, January 28, 2012, reports; "For months, the nation has been battling the series of attacks and bomb explosions perpetrated by members of the terrorist group in the Northern part of the country which had led to the death of innocent Nigerians in their hundreds... speculations became rife

that the dreaded Boko Haram had stormed Bayelsa with bombs and other explosives to unleash violence on Mr. President's home state.

ix. *Nigerian Tribune*, June 25, 2012, reports: "There was an attack on Yobe Prison this morning. The Boko Haram attacked the prison through the emir palace, 40 inmates escaped. They attacked with rifles

x. *Nigerian Tribune*, April 29, 2012: Ado Bayero University, Kano, Gunmen suspected to be Boko Haram members killed church worshippers.

xi. *Nigerian Tribune*, January 28, 2012, reports: The day Kano turned theatre of war... Last Friday 20/11/2012, will not be forgotten in a hurry by the people of ancient city of Kano... both Muslims and Christians were running helter-skelter for their lives due to multiple bomb blast explosions that rocked the city occasioned by the Boko Haram, the dreaded Islamic sect... several hundreds of people dead and several wounded, several properties, both, private and government worth millions of naira were destroyed... 29 policemen, 3 (SSS) officers, 2 immigration officers, 1 custom officer and a total of 150 civilians including a journalist were killed by the extremists during the massacre in the state... back to Kano Bompai police barracks and unknown to many people (number not specified) running away either from Dakata and its environs enroute Club road and King's garden they all fell to the bullets of the Boko Haram or those of security operatives who were there for counter attacks. The extremists attacked and brutally killed innocent civilians who were going about their lawful business along Tundu Wada road... It was the day, on the following Sunday, when President Goodluck visited Kano, that the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero could not control his emotion and wept while receiving Mr. President'. On page 14 of the same newspaper, January 28, 2012, journalists reported in addition, that the recent bomb attack by the Boko Haram sect on Kano has made it one attack too many... the bombing attacks on lives and properties have left the society devastated and people living in fear... the once sonorous sound of music in these homes has turned into a dirge. Nothing seems to comfort the chief mourners who were yet to wake up to that reality that their loved ones were gone. Their bread winners, best friends were gone without bidding them farewell.

xii. October 29, 2012: Independent Radio News Benin at 6.00 am reports that gunmen and suicide bombers attacked St. Rita's

Catholic Church at Kaduna killing 5 people and leaving 98 seriously wounded.

xiii.   February 22, 2013: Some corps members gruesomely burnt by Boko Haram in Yobe State (www.Nairaland.com/712404/bokoharam)

xiv.   February 8, 2013: *The Guardian* newspaper reports that 10 female health workers were killed, unsuspected gunmen who later claimed to be Boko Haram sect in Kano State claimed responsibility. (www.guardiannewspaperonline)

xv.   May 15, 2013: Nigerian troops begin an offensive attack against Boko Haram in the states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa, where a state of emergency is declared in order to retake areas that have fallen into the hands of the insurgents. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xvi.   June 4, 2013: Nigeria formally declares Boko Haram and Ansaru, its suspected offshoot, "terrorist" groups and issues a law to ban them. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xvii.   July 6, 2013: Gunmen believed to be from Boko Haram attack a secondary school in the north-eastern state of Yobe, killing 42 people, many of whom are students. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xviii.   August 10-11, 2013: Suspected Islamic extremists kill 56 people in the north-west, including 44 in an attack on a mosque in Konduga. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xix.   September 12, 2013: A military strike on a highly-fortified Boko Haram camp in the north-eastern state of Borno kills 150 Islamists. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xx.   September 17, 2013: An attack by Boko Haram extremists disguised in military uniforms in the north-eastern Benisheik area in Borno State kills at least 142. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxi.   September 29, 2013: Boko Haram gunmen open fire on sleeping students in a college dormitory in north-eastern Yobe State, killing at least 40 people. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxii.   November 13, 2013: The United States blacklists Boko Haram and Ansaru as terror groups. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxiii.   December 2, 2013: Hundreds of heavily armed Boko Haram gunmen besiege an air force and army base in the northeastern city of Maiduguri, destroying aircraft, razing buildings and setting shops and petrol stations ablaze. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxiv. December 16, 2013: The United Nations says attacks by Boko Haram have killed more than 1,200 people since May. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxv. December 20, 2013: Scores of suspected Islamic gunmen storm a military barracks in the north-eastern town of Bama, spraying gunfire at the troops inside before torching the compound. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxvi. January 26, 2014: At least 78 people are killed in two separate attacks in north-east Nigeria — one on a busy market in Borno State and the other in neighboring Adamawa, with suspicions falling on Boko Haram. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxvii. February 15, 2014: An attack blamed on the sect leaves 106 dead in the mostly Christian village of Izghe in Borno. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxviii. February 19, 2014: An attack by scores of Boko Haram Islamists in the north-east town of Bama kills 60 people and causes major damage to public buildings. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxix. February 19, 2014: Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau threatens attacks in the southern oil region in a new video. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxx. February 25, 2014: Suspected Boko Haram insurgents kill 43 people when they attack sleeping secondary school students in the town of Buni Yadi in Yobe State. (http://news.naij.com/60318.html)

xxxi. No fewer than 30 persons were killed this morning when Boko Haram insurgents attempted to seize the national headquarters of the Department of State Security (SSS). Following the attempted jailbreak by the destined Boko Haram members in the rumour mills, the presidential spokesperson had to reassure Nigerians that the president, Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan is safe. (*NewsExpress*, March 30, 2014).

xxxii. Independent Television News Benin at 7.30 pm on April 12, 2014, reports that Boko Haram kills scores of UTME candidates in Bornu.

xxxiii. April 13, 2014: *The Punch* newspaper reports that men believed to be members of the Boko Haram sect have again invaded the Bornu villages of Ngoshe and Kaigamari, in Gwoza and Konduga local government areas respectively, killing 38 people. (www.punchnewspaperonline)

xxxiv. April 14, 2014: Nigerian Television Authority News Abuja at 9.00 pm reports that scores of people were killed and maimed as early morning bomb explosion rocked a motor park in Nyanya

area of Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

xxxv.   April 16, April, 2014: *The Guardian* newspaper reports that Boko Haram abducts 103 female students in Chibok, Bornu State.

Needless to say that the foregoing is a tip of the iceberg as the threats, violence and menaces of the dreaded fanatical sect have been escalating uncontrollably and without solution in sight. But the point remains that every Nigerian (whether Christian or Muslim or African Traditional Adherent, northerner or southerner), except those who kill their fellow Nigerians in God's name and their sponsors, is tired of being threatened or killed. People are particularly worried that the federal government appears to be pampering the members of the egregious Boko Haram sect(s) while their sponsors (some of them who are known either by their provocative and unguarded statements) are aiding and abetting those that have been arrested. However, it is instructive that the political class/Nigerian politicians, especially from the north avoid politicizing insecurity for the greater interest of the Nigerian populace and the corporate existence of Nigeria.

While the federal government is telling all who cares to listen that it is doing its utmost to check the terror sect, many Nigerians are angry that it (the government) is contemplating amnesty settlement with the nearly faceless group which on a daily basis goes about killing their fellow Nigerians in cold blood. The perceived inaction of the federal government may not be unconnected with the forthcoming 2015 presidential elections. This is because the kid-glove's treatment the extremist group appears to be enjoying is probably to make sure that the Jonathan government scores political advantage in the north and remain in Aso Rock villa for another term of four years. This is very likely as recent history shows how the federal government had clamped down ruthlessly on other groups, especially in the south, such as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Biafra Zionist Movement, and the militants in the Niger Delta, who have valid grounds and grouses for going on rampage and for insisting that they should be listened to.

It must be noted that other groups like the South-South Peoples Assembly (SSPA), Afinefere, Odua People's Congress (OPC), Ohaneze, Middle Belt Consultative Forum (MCF), etc, have been watching keenly the unfolding events. The members of these groups are not sleeping. They have consistently drawn the federal government's attention to the ruinous activities of the Boko Haram group(s) and the dire consequences of treating them as if the government is afraid of them or their sponsors – both national and international security agencies have maintained that the group has powerful political links in government. Many of their own

people (southerners and even northerners) have been mindlessly killed in the north and they have equally drawn the killers' attention by saying that they should remember there is no particular ethnic nationality or religious group that has the monopoly of violence.

Indeed, it is safer to recognize that the stability of any society depends largely on the ability of its citizens to live together in harmony and peace. Its religious history can also be assessed by the effort made by the different religious affiliations in the same society to interact maturely through dialogue and mutual co-existence (Nwanaju 2007; 2010). The security and unity of Nigeria is extremely important to the black race, including its diasporic communities in the Americas and elsewhere. But as the country marches towards the 2015 general elections all hands need to be on deck to take drastic measures/actions to avoid an imminent implosion which the Book Haram sect's criminal activities may precipitate, if not checked.

That Nigeria may not go under: the media's check

The coverage of crimes has always been a complex issue for the media and in this era of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) the coverage of terrorists' activities has become an even greater concern. Undoubtedly, the global nature of new communication technologies has brought about easy and quick access to information. Both peace lovers and perpetrators of evil activities are caught in this inevitable web of information packaging and dissemination. Adora (2010), while commenting on the worrisome nature of terrorism globally says that we live in a world of strife, violence and wars. Despite the untiring effort of individuals, groups, organizations and countries all over the world to promote peaceful co-existence among men and women, this generation is still being threatened by the ravage of terrorism. Instances abound in the atrocious activities of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in Syria and their ilk in other parts of the world.

Indeed, the Boko Haram phenomenon in today's Nigeria is something that is most disturbing and calls for renewed counter terrorism approaches, including the deployment of the media, both personnel and equipment. Ekerikevwe and Nwafor (2012) report that a recent study conducted in Plymouth University on crime control and technological culture discovers that:

> Contemporary crime control strategies strongly rely on the use of advanced information and communication technologies (Extensive database, CCTV, crime mapping, risk profiling, etc). The new technologically

mediated control strategies seem to be drawn by a different logic from traditional crime control and policing.

At present, the media density, penetration, and functioning, especially at the grassroots in Nigeria is too low and weak to serve as 'backbone' for community policing and prompt detection and interception of crimes and in the case of this study the nefarious activities of the Boko Haram insurgents. Nigerian authorities concerned with security issues must recognize this critical point and make concrete efforts at developing information and decision management systems to check crimes such as the recurring ones perpetrated the Boko Haram group(s).

To this end, the Nigerian communication satellite, artificial intelligence devices, among other ICTs, should be put to optimum use. These media gadgets should be used to track, and test trends in crimes and criminalities, and in the specific case of this paper to forecast, and intercept terrorists attacks through intelligence gathering, and prompt information sharing among security operatives, communities and well meaning Nigerians for more secure society. After all, Boko Haram insurgents are no ghosts, they live among Nigerians/Africans and some level of efficiency, effectiveness and sincerity in community media functioning can greatly help to stem their menaces and keep Nigeria as one united, indivisible entity. This will also help to ensure that there is peace in the West African subregion as the Boko Haram insurgents have been reported to have carried out odious attacks in communities in other West African countries such as Cameroun, and Niger Republic.

Nigerian media personnel/professionals should not unnecessarily hype the activities of the criminal sect(s) in order for the insurgents not to ride on that in their subversive campaigns. Instead, as part of the terrorism checking mechanism, the media should disseminate information to help defuse the tension of a situation, not contribute to it. Okugo and Onwukwe (2012) contend that "keeping the public reasonably calm should be an important priority of the media coverage in the wake of terrorist strikes." This explains why Ekwueme and Akpan (2011) call for reportorial paradigm shift to tell the story of survival, preach courage, reduce helplessness, and increase the confidence of the populace through the use of strong reassuring words, etc.

In doing the foregoing, the media must refrain from circulating shocking images or pictures of terrorists' acts which violate the privacy and human dignity of victims or contribute to the terrorizing effects of such acts on the populace. We thus advocate that less coverage should be given to terrorists inhuman activities which often make people think that

the world is no longer safe to live in. Media coverage, among other things, should focus more on developmental feats, peacemakers, and conflict-peace resolution bodies (Asogwa, Iyere, and Attah 2012).

Again, the media should work in tandem with relevant security agencies, community based organizations (CBOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), well-meaning Nigerians, especially among ethnicities in northern Nigeria, and border communities with Cameroun and Niger Republic to denounce in unequivocal terms the brazen callousness of the Boko Haram insurgents, and play up mantras of patriotism, unity and brotherliness. Stroehlein supports this approach as he argues that the effective tackling of Boko Haram requires a strategic, concerted, collective and coordinated action of all and sundry, not just the government and security agencies, but traditional and religious leaders, members of the public, and most importantly, the media (2012).

Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that the media in concert with other development agents can be used to check the criminal activities of Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria. In this regard, it posited that the more informed the citizenry on an issue (e.g. Boko Haram) the more security conscious they would be and a combination of community efforts in conjunction with security surveillance can be very profitable. It equally argued that in spite of the serious negative impact which the activities of the nearly faceless group has had on the socioeconomic and sociopolitical fortunes of Nigeria – to the extent that many Nigerians/non-Nigerians are afraid that the country is on the brink of collapse, the media (including its cutting-edge technological components) can be used to study vigilantly the modus vivendi and modus operandi of the Boko Haram sect(s), downplay the fear and apprehension they seek to impose on the people and make the country more secure, peaceful, economically buoyant and politically stable.

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ABSTRACT

The following article intends to examine the role Boko Haram has been playing over the years. Based on the analysis of the news randomly taking from the Nigerian media, it seeks to offer suggestions on how the media and other Nigerian development agents can contribute to an end of the attacks carried out by this group. Subsequently, it is expected to show that the media, in conjunction with other Nigerian development agents, can be used to identify the criminal activities of Boko Haram insurgents in the area, and also used to study the modus vivendi and modus operandi of this group.

THE GULF OF GUINEA: THE FUTURE AFRICAN PERSIAN GULF?

Yoslán Silverio González[1]

Different African regions have not stopped being at the epicenter of games and influences from capitalist powers, mainly from former European metropolises, such as France, and the United States, due to the fact that each one of them has significant importance in the international relations' context, because of either their geographic position or their natural resources[2]. In the last decades, guaranteeing energy supply has become a matter of natural security for all countries, especially for those with high levels of consumption and industrial development. Projections for the next years show that there will not be viable alternatives to replace hydrocarbons as the main energy source. Therefore, oil will continue to be the center of the whole industrial productive base. As consumption increases and supply decreases, competition for its control will grow.

Here is where the Sub-Saharan African oil producing regions start to play a strategic role. The African continent has always been subject to developed capitalist countries' greed, whose oil companies, supported by their governments, continue to seek licenses to explore crude oil and gas reserves, in what has been called the new scramble for Africa. Countries such as the United Kingdom and Norway have found in Africa an alternative to the deterioration of their supply zones in the North Sea. The US has managed to take France's place in controlling this sector, and Chinese companies have increased their presence in the oil and gas business, which is "worrying" US and European businesspersons, who perceive China's

2 Africa possesses around 12% of world's oil reserves. It counts with 90% of the world's cobalt reserves, 90% of platinum, 40% of gold, 98% of chromium, 64% of magnesium and a third of uranium reserves. See: María Castro. *África: el legado imperialista de guerras, miseria y horror.* 12 March 2007. Available at: http://argentina.elmilitante.org/internacional-othermenu-33/frica-othermenu-35/2313-frica-el-legado-imperialista-de-guerras-miseria-y-horror.html

advances as a menace to their economic hegemony. For these reasons, they tend to present China as a new "imperialism", much more contaminating and exploitative, an ill-intended focus that looks to hide what European and US capitalism have done for decades in the continent.

Given the tumultuous context of political instability happening in the historic oil zone in the Middle East, one of the areas that has become more attractive to the interests of the great transnational capital in recent years, due to its economic, geographic and political characteristics, has been the Gulf of Guinea (GG), located in the confluence of Western and Central African Coasts, in the Atlantic Ocean. According to a strictly geographical delimitation, the Gulf occupies an area from Cape Palmas, in the Liberia-Côte d'Ivoire border, to Cape Lopez in Gabon, bathing the coasts of Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Benin, Togo, Nigeria, Cameroon, Santo Tomé and Principe, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon.

In the Atlantic African Coast, where this geographical accident is located, there are abundant fishing, mineral, forestry, hydrocarbon and gas resources. At the same time, it is through this region that most of Africa's maritime trade moves. Sub-Saharan Africa's two largest fluvial systems, the Niger and Congo rivers, flow into the Gulf, which are fundamental to internal trade of countries located in their respective basins. In the Western coast, one can find the main maritime ports where a great volume of goods are transported, mostly exports and imports from landlocked African countries, such as Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Chad and Central African Republic. The Gulf's amplitude avoids risks to maritime transit such as accidents.

The zone's main resource continues to be oil, which is located in the GG's deep waters and on the Niger Delta's coastal areas. Oil production in this area dates back to the 1970s in the coast of Nigeria, Angola and the Republic of the Congo. In this sphere, Nigeria has continued to be the largest producer-exporter. Since the last decade of the 20th century, other nations have joined in the oil production, such as Cameroon and Gabon. With the advances to deep waters prospecting techniques, even more nations became oil producers, like Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon, the later also being a transit zone for oil exports from Chad. During the analyzed period, Ghana's relative importance as a crude oil producer in the Western Coast has also increased. Therefore, GG is the largest zone where African oil resources are located and, consequently, the main region where crude oil is produced and traded. Nowadays, excluding the Persian Gulf, one in every four barrels that are sold in the world comes from GG.

Map 1 - Gulf of Guinea's energy map in 2009[3]

MAPA 1
MAPA ENERGÉTICO DEL GOLFO DE GUINEA 2009

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de BP Energy Review 2010 y National Geographic.
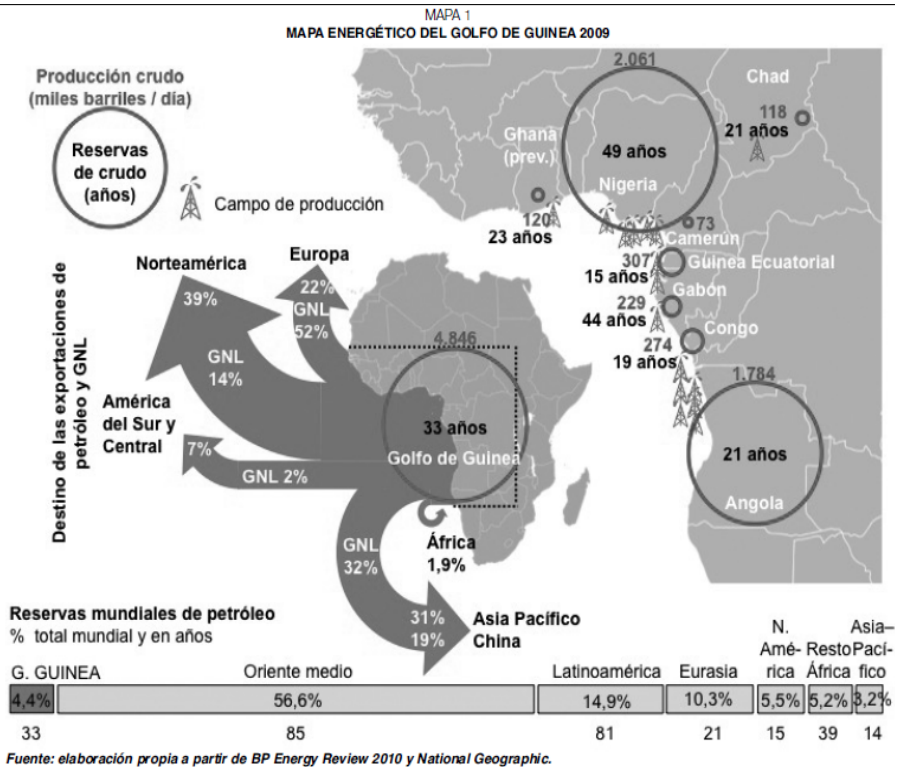
Further south, beyond the limits of what is considered to be the GG, there is Africa's third largest oil exporter: Angola. If one adds Angola's participation and the export of Chadian oil through Cameroonian coast, it can be said that there is a geostrategic zone that goes beyond the GG geographical limits. This allows us to say that the continent's entire Atlantic coastal area has a pivotal importance to Western powers that seek to guarantee political stability in their economic dominance areas, mainly France and the US.

Many transnational oil companies explore crude oil from the sea at depths from 1,000 to 3,000 meters. Among these, one can find the sector's most influent companies: ExxonMobil, Royal Dutch Shell (British-Dutch), British Petroleum (BP), ChevronTexaco and French Total. These companies,

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3 Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Ministry. Spanish Economic and Commercial Bureau in Malabo.. *Petróleo y gas en áfrica central y occidental. El Golfo de Guinea.* Boletín económico de ICE nffl 3011 del 1 al 31 de mayo de 2011, p. 18. Available at: http://www.revistasice.com/CachePDF/BICE_3011_17

together with Chinese state-owned China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), are the ones with the most interests in GG's African region. Royal Dutch Shell, based in London, is the largest operator in Nigeria, mainly regarding high seas extraction technology through oil platforms use.

In 2008, Chevron attained profits in the order of US$ 23,000 million, half of which came from Africa. ExxonMobil yielded US$ 45,200 million, 43% of which were originated in the African continent, the same origin of a third of BP's imports. In 2004 there were 46 platforms operating in West African waters. In 2009, the number reached 60, and nowadays it surpasses the amount of 80, together with hundreds of aid ships. The industry expects that this kind of infrastructure will continue to grow in the following years. That the number of platforms has doubled in less than a decade answers the fact that the region possesses the largest oil reserves in deep waters, with more than 14,495 billion barrels[4].

Nigeria is, no doubt, the center of the attentions as it holds the main hydrocarbons' reserves in the continent. Producing around 2 million oil barrels per day (bpd), the country receives 12 billion US dollars annually for oil sales. Proven reserves are in the order of 16 billion barrels, but other sources estimate 24 billion. The African nation also possesses around 3 billion tons of carbon and 3 billion metric tons of iron mineral and extracts other minerals such as gold, precious stones and zinc. Crude oil exports represent 85% of its GDP and 65% of State income. In 2002, it was the fifth supplier to the US with 600 thousand bpd, while nowadays it is its fourth supplier. Meanwhile, 56% of the crude oil that goes to Europe from the Cotonou Agreement participant countries has origins in Nigeria, whilst 90% of Nigerian gas is exported to Europe.

The region that is responsible for those production levels is the Delta zone, where different Western transnational companies operate, among them are Shell, Chevron, British Petroleum, Total and ExxonMobil. Total extracts 140 thousand bpd and 6 million cubic meters of gas. Chinese companies' presence has also been growing in the region[5]. Chinese companies have won a small number of oil concessions between 2005 and 2007, guaranteeing a participation in the Nigerian production, and have conducted new negotiations with the government to build refineries in the

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4 See: Johannes Dieterich. "The geo- strategic importance of the Gulf of Guinea". In: *Oil policy in the Gulf of Guinea*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, p. 32. Available at: http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/02115/dieterich.pdf

5 On Chinese participation in the Nigerian oil industry, see: Foster, Meter. *China seeks a sixth of Nigeria's oil reserves*. 29 September 2009. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/china-business/China-seeks-a-sixth-of-Nigerias-oil-reserves.h.

country[6]. However, Shell keeps the position of largest company operating in the Delta. This consortium is the main responsible for provoking, for many years, generalized contamination and environmental damage to the area.

Nigeria has lost 1,200 million dollars monthly due to theft from oil ducts, what amounts to 400,000 barrels. Official data point out that stolen oil meant a 17% fall in crude oil sales in the first trimester of 2013. Nigeria's Shell subsidiary, Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) has had to close the Nembe Creek Trunk oil duct, in the Southern state of Bayelsa, to repair it due to damages caused by 'oil thieves'[7]: the indigenous population sees the crude oil flow without receiving any tangible economic benefit. Although there have been some attacks to oil facilities in Nigeria, these are not comparable to violence levels in Iraq and to the problems they mean to normal oil exploitation.

In **Equatorial Guinea**, oil discoveries occurred between 2002 and 2004. As a result of it, ties between Washington and Malabo have deepened when the US reopened its embassy in the country – in October 2013. The US company ExxonMobil has 70% of the nation's wells concessions, what indicates that most of the contracts have been signed with US companies. Spanish-Argentinean company Repsol YPF also participates in the business. Equatorial Guinea provides the market with 810 thousand bpd.

Marathon Oil has increased its presence by buying assets from smaller companies, such as CNS Energy – in 2002 – and Globex – also in 2002 –, reaching the mark of 63% of Alba block's, near Malabo, shares and 47% of D Block's. Other companies operating in the country are ChevronTexaco, Vanco Energy, South African Energy Africa and Malaysian Petronas. Equatorial Guinean State's participation is still very small, only 3% of Alba's deposit (Marathon Oil), 5% of Zafiro's (ExxonMobil) and 5% of Ceiba's (Amerada Hess)[8].

As previously shown, interests in the region are practically exclusive from the US, as there are other business actors from Malaysia and Australia, but from smaller companies, whilst French influence is declining due to the exhaustion of Gabonese resources. In spite of that, French company ELF-Aquitaine, before joining Total Fina, continued to obtain more than half of its world production from sources in the GG, where it controlled 58%

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6 Johnson Trevor. *China firma acuerdo petrolero por $ 23 mil millones con Nigeria.* 28 May 2010. Available at: http://translate.google.com.cu/translate?hl=es&la&u=http://www.wsws.org/articles/2010/

7 *Nigeria pierde $1.200 millones al mes por robo de petróleo.* AFP, 13 August 2013. Available at: http://www.nacion.com/mundo/africa/Nigeria-robo-petroleo-OPEP_0_1359664270.html

8 Carlos Tablada, Roberto Smith y Francois Houtart. *África codiciada: el desafío pendiente.* Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Havana, 2007, p. 206 y 208.

of Gabonese deposits. 45% of Gabonese production is exported toward the US. French-Belgian firm Total (result of the merger of Fina and ELF) is the largest operator in the Republic of the Congo's seas. Congo-Brazzaville produces 300 thousand bpd. A strong opponent has been China, whose oil companies dedicate themselves not only to crude oil exploration-exploitation-commercialization, but also to building infrastructure tied to this industry. Its presence encourages the competition climate with other sector entities, which are strongly consolidated in Africa.

One of the countries characterized by its political stability, servings as reference in West Africa, is, no doubt, **Ghana**. The country received a strong boost economically due to the discovery of oil reserves in 2007. The Tullow Oil company made the discovery. Since January 2010, infrastructure works have started with the arrival of specialized ships to install submarine structures and floating platforms. Until this date, 17 wells have been drilled and it is hoped that these would produce between 120 and 150 thousand bpd. Proven reserves are estimated between 300 and 600 million barrels. Jubilee's deposits, 60 km from the coast, have been the largest discovery in high seas in the last decade and were the first to start exploitation. The International Monetary Fund has foreseen that total oil and gas income will amount to 20 thousand million dollars between 2012 and 2030, from Jubilee's camp only. These numbers depend on oil barrel's price flotation and on the gains the government can attain as foreign investors have secured theirs. Crude oil exports will amount to 60% of total exports and 27% of the country's income. These will exceed the mining sector as foreign currency source.

The oil production began in December, 15th, 2010, after three years of the discovery. Ghana's oil potential is still being tested due to the reléase of new off-shore discoveries, mostly concentrated in the area near Ivory Coast. In March 2010, the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) announced the discovery of the Dzata 1 oil well. The Russian company Lukoil and its partner Vanco Energy based in Houston, USA, found it. The Dzata 1 is located 100km from the Jubilee oil fields and in front of river Tano's basin, which separates the border between the Ivory Coast and Ghana.

Maritime borders had never been strictly delimited according to the Ivorian government's claims after supposed violations of its maritime space, what has caused a dispute against Ghanaian government. These discrepancies were produced silently, but were increased with the discovery of new deposits in the border zone. Anadarko Petroleum Corporation announced in July 2010 another discovery in high seas: the Owo block, in

the Tano zone[9]. This would be the third significant discovery after Jubilee and Tweneboa. Owo-1 has been drilled at a total depth of around 4,685 feet, around 6km west from Tweneboa. It is estimated that it possesses between 70 and 550 million barrels of crude oil[10].

In the beginning of 2010 there was a conflict of interests, which involved different oil companies and produced great tensions between Ghana and the US. The dispute took place as US company Kosmos tried to sell its shares for 4 billion dollars to ExxonMobil, which made the Ghanaian government react. This situation has led the government to launch an investigation against national company Equality Opportunity (EO), Kosmos main partner in the country, for money laundering and economic damage to the State. Kosmos and the EO Group got favorable licenses during President Kufuor government, which made them the Jubilee Camp's largest shareholders. The Ghanaian government has denied the sale of those shares, which could only be sold to GNPC. For a moment during the dispute, it was suggested that the shares should be sold to Chinese businesspersons, which led the US to become even more worried. This is only an example of how tensions between Chinese and US companies for oil zones' control in the region can deepen.

Map 2 - Oil deposits' location in the Ghanaian Coast[11]
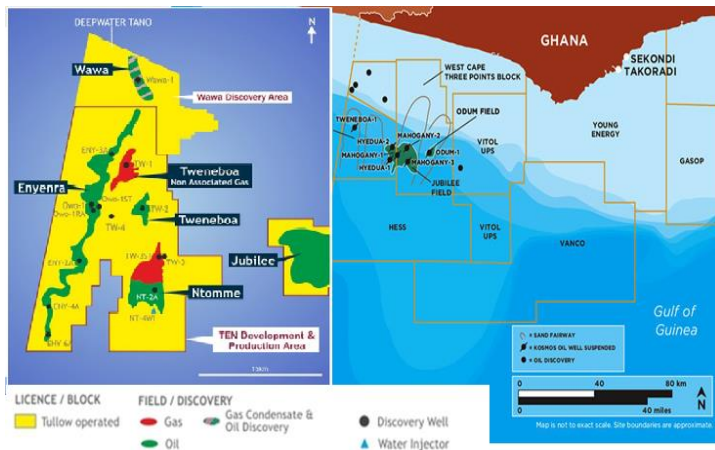
9 *Anadarko Announces Discovery Offshore Ghana*. Available at: http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?

10 *Another Major Oil Find off Ghana*. Available at: http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive

11 *Cuánto se tarda en desarrollar un campo petrolífero*. 16 de febrero de 2012. Available at: http://menceymacro.blogspot.com/2012/02/cuanto-se-tarda-en-desarrollar-un-campo.html and at: http://www.cwcghana.com/ten-project/

Tullow company obtained in 2013 authorization from the Ghanaian government to start developing a second camp: TEN – whose name derives from the wells' initials: Tweneboa, Enyenra and Ntomme, 20 km from Jubilee. Until this point, it was working on drilling the wells and assembling high seas' facilities. Its production shall start in the second semester of 2016, and its reserves are estimated at around 300 to 500 million barrels, with a production pace of 76 thousand bpd[12].

Tullow company has 35.5% of Jubilee Camp's shares, while other share-holders are state-owned company GNPC with 13.6%, Kosmos Group with 24.1%, Anadarko Petroleum Corporation with 24.1% and Sabre/PetroSA with 2.7%[13]. Iranian companies National Iranian Oil Company and Iranian Offshor Oil Company, as well as Singapore Petroleum Company and Singaporean Petro Seraya, together with Vetro Energy, have declared their interest in assisting the Ghanaian state-owned company in terms of platform building materials and high seas drilling[14].

Jubilee and Saltpond Camps were the only which were functioning in 2013. From January to September 2013, 27,060,737 barrels were extracted. During this period the average production was of 102,503 bpd[15]. According to GNPC, in 2014 daily production levels were around 110,000 bpd. Fluctuations were the product of structure maintenance works, delays on some of the constructions, such as the duct that transports the gas to land. Since 2010, when oil production in commercial levels started, until June 2014, Ghana has extracted 86.93 million barrels, as wells as 140 to 200 million cubic feet of gas. Income in 2011 was of 470 million dollars, in 2012 it was of 567 million, and in 2013 it rose to 730 million. In the first half of 2014, 400 million dollars were generated. This supposed continued increase in revenues faces the challenge of the recent fall of oil barrel prices in the international market.

Benin has maintained for a long time hope to possess some offshore hydrocarbon resources. Since December 2008 there have been some prospecting studies. In 2009 Cotonou authorities signed a deal with Norwegian cartography and seismic analysis company TGS-NOPEC, which

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12 *Ghana's Jubilee oil field nears output plateau –operator*. 10 de abril de 2013. Available at: http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/23/ghana-jubilee-idUSL6N0DA59S20130423?irpc=932

13 *Ghana oil output to hit up to 110,000 bpd in 2014*. Reuters, 8 de abril de 2014. Available at: http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/04/08/ghana-oil-idUKL6N0N01ZJ20140408

14 *Iran pledges assistance to Ghana's oil and gas sector*. 9 de enero de 2013. Available at: http://graphic.com.gh/General-News/iran-pledges-assistance-to-ghanas-oil-and-gas-sector.html

15 Kwabena Adu Koranteng. *Ghana exceeds $2billion revenue from oil*. 25 de junio de 2014. Available at: http://www.myjoyonline.com/opinion/2014/june-25th/ghana-exceeds-2billion-revenue-from-oi.php

has a vast experience in the West African coast, in the search for oil[16]. In 2009 Benin announced the discovery of significant amounts of offshore oil near Seme[17], a town in the border with Nigeria, which reactivated the possibility of developing its extractive industry and reopening Seme, albeit at much inferior levels than its oil producing neighbors. Benin depends significantly on energy imports from neighboring Nigeria.

In January 2011, Brazilian firm Petrobras informed about its acquisition of 50% of the participation in block 4, located on the Beninese coast, previously owned by *Compagnie Béninoise des Hydrocarbures* (CBH), subsidiary to *Lusitania Petroleum*, which still holds the remaining 50%, maintaining the hope of finding oil in commercial amounts[18]. Finally, in 2013 the discovery of an 87 million barrels deposit behind Sèmè-Podji was announced, in the country's Southeast. The exploitation of the coastal account had been granted to the Nigerian company South Atlantic Petroleum (Sapetro). Sapetro announced that the deposit should be explored for a 14-year-long period, producing around 7,500 bpd. They have also started prospecting in another zone of Sèmè's coastal basin to confirm the existence of another reserve, estimated at 100 million barrels[19].

In **Sierra Leone**, African Petroleum and Anadarko companies found oil in its coastal zone in the beginning of 2013, but there was need for more proves to check the commercial viability of the findings. Both oil companies have hasted to get to the region for the last five years, when one of the largest African oil deposits was found in Ghanaian waters. In the Sierra Leonean case, it consists on the discovery of Jupiter-1. Anadarko operates in 55% of the deposit, being the rest explored by the block co-owners: Repsol Exploration Sierra Leone with 25% and Tullow Sierra Leone B.V with 20%. Anadarko Petroleum Corporation counted with approximately 2.54 million barrels of proven reserves in the end of 2011, which made it one of the

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16 *Comienza la exploración de petróleo en aguas de Benín.* Afrol News, **17 April 2009.** Available at: http://cp.wanafrica.net/articulo.php?id=4276

17 Benin started to produce a modest amount of oil in Sèmè's offshore deposit in October 1982. Around 1998 production was interrupted, and the deposit remained closed, between 1986 and 2004, oil production reached a peak of 8,000 bpd.

18 This block covers an area of 7.4 thousand km², with a water depth that varies from 200 and 3,000 meters, and a distance of around 60 km from the coast. CBH remains the operator of this block. However, Petrobras holds the right to take over the operation. If the area's exploratory potential is confirmed, the consortium promised to drill three wells. See: *Petrobras adquiere bloque exploratorio en Benín, África.* Rio de Janeiro, 22 January 2011. Available at: http://www.latibex.com/act/esp/empresas/hechosrelev/2011/TRACNhecho20110222_1624.pdf

19 *Descubierto un yacimiento de petróleo en Benín.* 4 November 2013. Available at: http://www.africafundacion.org/spip.php?article15722

largest independent companies in the world[20].

Other engineering works, such as oil and gas ducts, were also developed. US company ExxonMobil, the most noteworthy in the region, championed the investments in the Chad-Cameroon oil duct, which is 1,050 km long, the largest of its kind in Sub-Saharan Africa, going from Kome region to the Cameroonian port of Kibri. The oil duct was finished in 2004 and in 2009 it already transported 225 thousand bpd. ExxonMobil and ChevronTexaco contributed with almost 65% of the total 3,500 million dollars. The project's total gains will be of 12 billion in a period of 28 years. From this amount, Chad will only receive 2.5 billion in the same amount of time.

Besides oil, gas has been another reason for the incremental interest of developed capitalist countries, as an energy source cheaper than oil. It is estimated that gas demand will be greater in the future. According to BP statistics, SSA has proven reserves of almost 12 trillion m^2, representing 8% of world's reserves[21], from which 1/5 is located in GG. Nigeria is the main natural gas and liquefied gas producer, seconded by Algeria. Other gas producers, in order of importance, are Cameroon, Republic of the Congo, Angola and Equatorial Guinea. Gas industry has started to develop in Equatorial Guinea with the installation of a plant that will allow transforming associated gas into liquefied gas. The project was boosted by Marathon Oil Company at a cost of 1.4 billion. Even so, gas exploitation in the region is not in its top capacity, because there is need for facilities to process and then transport gas. An example of the steps which were taken toward this goal is the construction of West Africa's largest gas duct: WAGP[22].

West Africa's Gas Duct goes from Slaves' region on the Niger Delta through Lagos' Itoki terminal. This section in Nigerian territory is onshore. From Lagos it heads toward Benin, Togo and to the port of Takoradi in Ghana. Its construction started in 2005 under Willbros company control. The whole gas duct's section between Lagos and Takoradi is offshore and was completed in 2006. Its construction total cost reached 974 million of dollars. The gas duct operator is ChevronTexaco. The project transports 120 million cubic feet of gas daily and is oriented to satisfy the demand from residential and industrial sectors, as wells as foreign markets.

Constructions like these, albeit controlled by great transnational

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20 *Descubrimiento de petróleo en Liberia y Sierra Leona*. Afrol News, 22 February 2013. Available at: http://www.afrol.com/es/articulos/37908

21 Ibidem. p. 35.

22 West African Gas Pipeline was built with the participation of Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Royal Dutch Shell, Volta River Authority, Société Togolaise de Gaz, and Société Beninoise de Gaz.

companies, have helped promote a better economic integration of the sub regions, fundamentally West Africa. In other subcontinent areas, different infrastructures are also being built – new oil ducts and rails –, aiming to encourage economic interconnection among African countries. These projects, necessary to African economy, have the consent from the African Union and other economic integration regional mechanisms. Most investors continue to be concentrated in the hydrocarbon sector.

US projection toward the sub region

US policy has been kept almost invariable during the last three administrations, especially regarding the War on Terror and the search for more control over strategic resources such as oil and gas. The US has maintained a policy toward the region that was summarized in three moments: in 2003 with the Pan Sahel Initiative, in 2005 with the War on Terror Trans-Saharan Initiative, and in 2007 with the creation of the AFRICOM. All was aimed at attaining its economic and political-military goals.

US strategic projection, in this sense, is more present since Bush's Administration, when Undersecretary of State for African Affairs, Walter Kansteiner, stated that "African oil is converting swiftly into a national strategic interest"[23]. Between 12 and 15% of US crude oil imports come from Africa. National Intelligence Council has foreseen that the Gulf of Guinea will supply 20-25% of US total oil consumption by 2020. To reach this goal, there is a plan to invest around 10 billion dollars in activities related to oil sector, deep water prospecting and security matters. A large part of this capital is already implemented.

In 2001, Dick Cheney presented an inform to President Bush in which he suggested concerning oil supply diversification and the increase of foreign provision. He also signaled that a significant interruption to supply could threaten US economy. Departing from this political initiative, one can understand US government offensive to guarantee oil imports – what led, for instance, to starting the Iraq War. Now, the problems which the US has had to face in the Middle East and this region's own volatility have served to make them start to work on diversifying such suppliers. The strategy of amplification toward other producing zones was began during the G. Bush administration and was when the focus was redirected toward Africa, particularly toward the GG.

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23   Felipe Real. *Estados Unidos y África: Emociones y razones*. Available at: http://www.almamagazine.com/opinion-estados_unidos_y_frica-emociones_y_razones

According to Luis Amaro, this was the great oil multinational firms' objective and was the Council on Foreign Relations' proposal when it affirmed that "the search for different oil suppliers beyond the Persian Gulf should be encouraged". Recent years' trend has been that of the decline of Saudi Arabia's great oil camps. Here it could reside one of the reasons for the increased interest in searching for new extracting places, which were concentrated around West and Central African countries, with Atlantic coasts, as an alternative, especially in moments of great tension in the Middle East. In this sense, Luis Amaro points out many reasons in favor of the region:

- "Forecasts about the amount of existing oil are currently the most important ones; perspectives are huge in what concerns Nigeria, Angola, Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville.
- Competition is weak, as China centers its interests on East African countries, but even so Chinese, Brazilian and Indian growing presence in Africa explains this strategy change in US foreign policy regarding the continent, regardless of whether who occupies the White House is Republican or Democrat.
- Crude oil is of 'high quality and with little sulfur, ideal to be refined on the East Coast' of the US.
- Governments' docility regarding multinational firms makes this region an ideal place to be transformed into US new backyard.
- The amount of investments in infrastructure, whose last example was an investment in the amount of 3,500 million dollars, in the construction of an oil duct that ties Chad to Cameroon"[24].

The US, as the world's greatest oil consumer, has needed to guarantee a constant flow of oil suppliers and it has been precisely in the GG zone where prospecting works have not stopped. Oil business' amplification have opened up possibilities for companies from different parts of the world to try to attain one percent of the gains. The arrival of new actors to the business has caused worries in the US. In this sense, the GG has become very attractive to the US establishment and businesspersons due to the proximity of both coasts.

The Gulf's geographical position is great for US interests, as its ships can arrive fast and directly to the US without the contingencies they

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24 Luis Amaro. *África Occidental, la nueva aventura de los imperialismos estadounidense y europeo.* 11 December 2010. Available at: http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=118409.

usually endure when navigating from the Persian Gulf or the Gulf of Aden, due to the continuous "Somali pirates" attacks. The route between this part of Africa and US Eastern refineries is salvable by a supertanker in only a week, through a maritime route with no possibilities of suffering "terrorist" attacks. The investment risks are much smaller, as deposits are located offshore, that is, beyond the reach of possible "loutish" actions, social disturbances or internal wars, besides there would not be the need to build many facilities in the coast as oil ducts to transport it.

The geographical position contributes to eliminating the high costs in terms of transportation between producing zones and consuming markets in Western Europe, the US, Latin America and the Caribbean[25]. The existence of neoliberal governments with great political relations with the West is a guarantee to foreign investments by transnational companies, which, relying on the existing corruption in many of those countries and on their economic influence, continue to obtain greater gains, privileges and guarantees, and where the subject of nationalization is unthinkable. Republican Ed Royce, President of US Chamber of Representatives' African Subcommittee, stated regarding this matter that "our best partners are located in West Africa for many reasons, West Africa is closer, what makes it easier to move products from here to there and its resources, in most of the cases, are not on dry land. Things usually work better if you are located in deep waters" [26].

The Center for Strategic and International Studies used to state that "given recent strategic interests in the region, we suggest that the US converts security and governance in the Gulf of Guinea into an absolute priority of US foreign policy regarding Africa, supporting a firm policy for the region". The launching by Bush Administration of the African Command in 2007 answered US interest that suddenly awoke in Africa. Since then, AFRICOM's budget has not stopped growing. From 2010 to 2012, AFRICOM used 836 million dollars while expanding its reach "as mentor, counselor and tutor to African military forces"[27].

The initial excuse for its creation was the War on Terror, but its objective is to increase US presence to support its economic and military

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25 The maritime distance between Luanda and Rio de Janeiro is 3,489 miles. From here, a ship travelling at 30 knots would take only a bit more than four days to connect both port cities; it would take the same to connect Abidjan to Port of Spain in Trinidad and Tobago, in the Caribbean.

26 Johannes Dieterich. *Ob, cit.,* p. 33.

27 Nick Turse. *África: otro fracaso del poder militar norteamericano.* 20 de junio de 2013. Available at: http://www.elpuercoespin.com.ar/2013/06/20/africa-otro-fracaso-del-poder-militar-norteamericano-por-nick-turse/

interests. Former Defense Secretary, Robert Gates, stated, when referring to this command, that its main tasks would be to strengthen the association in terms of security; to increase receiving countries' skills in antiterrorist tactics; to support sub regional organizations' security structures; and, if needed, to conduct military operations in the continent[28].

In terms of foreign policy, there have not been observed big differences between the guidelines established by Bush and the policy followed by Obama. In this sense, there have been continuity and complementation. Currently, the US Africa Command is involved in almost 38 African countries with a training to antiterrorist forces agenda, for instance Chad, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania and Sierra Leone. US interest in the command's boost can be seen through the magnitude of the military base established in Djibouti.

US president Barack Obama's visit to Ghana, the first African State he visited after his 2009 election, shows the importance that US attributes to this nation, as they try to legitimize its political development paradigm. These conceptions can be witnessed in many ideas expressed by US president before Ghanaian Parliament as has been explained. The following words are an example of the way in which Ghanaian political and economic model is being promoted: "Ghana has projected itself as a politically stable and democratically viable country and as West African sub region most economically healthy nation. A new image will convert Ghana in Africa's economic and charming queen"[29].

Gulf of Guinea's securitization

The development of economic activities previously presented, regarding GG's vast maritime zone, has stimulated the consolidation of phenomena like illegal fishing, which causes annual losses to fishing companies, drug trafficking along with criminal networks linked to weapons and human trafficking, and sovereignty disputes over territorial spaces. As maritime trafficking regarding oil production grows, pirate attacks have also proliferated in a fashion similar to the Somali coast. This phenomenon is perceived as a threat to maritime security, which has motivated the adoption of international actions by capitalist powers with interests in the area, that seek to diminish this kind of actions.

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28 Hedelberto López Blanch. *AFRICOM, la nueva versión neocolonial.* Rebelión. 19 July 2011. Available at: www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=132539.

29 Marculus Mensah. "Ghana needs new image to repackage her ambitions investment programme". In: *Business Watch.* Volume 4, no 2, p.28.

The International Maritime Bureau presented in its report on piracy regarding 2013's first trimester how the Gulf of Guinea represents a worrisome area, with a total of 15 incidents being reported only in this period. Among these there are many kidnappings, mainly in Nigeria and the Ivory Coast, which are the most affected countries. In these occasions, great tank ships were assaulted by pirates, and many aid ships were also victim to these attacks. The document adds that, while unrest has decreased around Somalia, it is now increasing in this other African zone.

In 2012 there were 55 incidents with ten kidnapped ships. The attacks to supertankers have grown recently in enclaves such as Benin and Togo. The Chamber adverts that pirates act differently from Somali assailants, who have kidnapped crews in order to obtain millionaire ransoms. Gulf of Guinea's assailants usually keep these ships' sailors for around ten days to get the product they transport while destructing communication equipment. Piracy rose in 41% between 2011 and 2012, which has provoked an increase in the costs of transport due to need for insurance to imports and exports.

To protect supply lines in the Gulf of Guinea, the US has considered the establishment of naval bases in the region and has Navy's ships patrolling the Gulf of Guinea's waters constantly. In 2003 the Sao Tomé and Principe islands signed a deal that authorized the US to establish a military base in its territory[30]. These islands offered a strategic advantage in the region as it is located near deposits in Nigeria and Angola. Also, it is a key point for maritime control and for ensuring crude oil commercialization through Gulf's waters. From this territory it is possible to monitor the movement of tankers, as well as protect platforms. Also, Sao Tomé and Principe islands have become more attractive to the US in terms of oil reserves and conduct drilling activities. Hillary Clinton visited the archipelago as a sign that this small country is in US priority agenda in the region.

Additionally, the US launched the African Partnership Station 2010 Program[31], destined fundamentally to providing maritime security in the region, starting in November 2007 with the goal of increasing maritime security and collaborating with the instruction and training of West African countries' military naval forces. The program includes US Navy ships and planes' visits, troops training, equipment consultancy and professional courses during almost the whole year, focusing on creating Coast Guard, Navy and Army response capacities in the involved nations to resist illegal

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30 *US expands military presence in Africa.* A News, 23 de septiembre de 2013. Available at: http://www.afrol.com/articles/14269

31 Gema Nieves. *African Partnership Station 2010, mayor seguridad marítima en el continente africano.* 11 de abril de 2010. Available at: http://www.revistatenea.es/revistaatenea/revista/articulos/Gestionasp

fishing, human, drugs and arms trafficking, under the pretext of fighting piracy[32]. As part of the Africa Partnership Station, Sao Tomé and Principe have received US ships' visit. Cameroonian, Gabonese and Equatorial Guinean governments have signed deals with Washington allowing for US armed forces to use their airports.

French Navy forces have been present for more than twenty years in the zone through the Corymbe Mission, which seeks to protect French interests in the vast region of the Gulf of Guinea, mostly oil resources and more recently the fight against piracy actions, since 2010. This military mission is on duty – Corymbe 128: Warning *Cdt L'Herminier* – since April 27th, 2015. France implements the reform of the maritime security sector in the Gulf of Guinea through the "ASECMAR" project, which was already applied as of 2011 and a supporting plan to protect maritime spaces in the area[33].

Spain has also been one of the European countries with economic interests in the Gulf zone. 25% of the gas and 10% of the oil that Spain imports come from Nigerian coasts[34]. It is noteworthy that in the La Luz port, in the Canary Islands, activities related to the complex reparation of oil platforms and assisting fleet are conducted. Besides it guarantees its supplies, refueling, storage of fuel and specific materials to this market, and the establishment of offices to aid its unfolding to Southerner countries. Gran Canary's capital is located at a key logistical point for these companies, which operate in an ever more conflictive environment in the GG waters[35]. So, the Spanish port of La Luz is already located inside the sector because of its shipyards, repair shops, supplies, and judicial security in its assistance to transnational companies.

Spanish presence is also directed toward the military sphere, mostly in the fight against piracy. The Spanish patrol boat Cazadora carried out expeditions in 2011 and 2012 of more than two months of duration to guard

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32 Francesca Cicardi. *EEE.UU entrena a ejércitos africanos para luchar contra el terrorismo.* 24 April 2010. Available at : http://www.intereconomia.com/noticias-gaceta/internacional/ee-uu-entrena-ejercitos-africanos-luchar-contra-terrorismo

33 *Francia, pionera en la lucha contra le piratería a escala mundial.* 14 de octubre de 2014. Available at: http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/es/asuntos-globales/defensa-y-seguridad/francia-en-la-lucha-contra/

34 Esteban Villarejo. *El "Relámpago" ya navega por el Golfo de Guinea: ojo avizor...¡piratas!* 11 January 2013. Available at: http://abcblogs.abc.es/tierra-mar-aire/public/post/el-relmpago-ya-navega-por-el-golfo-de-guinea-ojo-avizor-piratas-14907.asp/

35 *La piratería en Guinea castiga a las petroleras del Puerto. La Cámara Internacional de Comercio apunta al golfo como "la siguiente zona de alto riesgo" en el tráfico marítimo.* 5 May 2013. Available at: http://www.laprovincia.es/las-palmas/2013/05/05/pirateria-guinea-castiga-petroleras-puerto/529503.html

the Gulf of Guinea and dissuade pirates with its presence. Precisely this new piracy zone has become pressing for Spanish security. For the first time, the Spanish Navy deploys this kind of oceanic patrol boats in the context of Atlanta Operation and in joint missions with other navies, such as the US one under the guidelines of African Partnership Station, what is indicative of Spanish interests in Africa's West Coast.

The persistence of transportation threats in all GG coast as a consequence to the increase in piracy actions following the same pattern of Somali coasts has provoked the adoption of greater international actions by Western powers with interests in the zone and by local governments. This has translated into the increase of foreign military presence to secure trade through the region.

To face this, Central and West African countries plan to create a center to fight piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. A naval force will be created to secure African Atlantic coasts, through which a great part of the region's intra-African trade transits. The international force to protect the zone will be constituted by more than 2,000 militaries from ECOWAS and ECCAS member countries and was expected to be operating as of 2014[36]. The Gulf of Guinea Commission, organization that includes Angola, Nigeria, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tomé and Principe, Gabon, Republic of the Congo and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, has identified those factors as part of the threats that challenge the area's good economic development.

ECOWAS approved on March 13th, 2015 the creation of the Multinational Maritime Coordination Centre (MMCC) as part of the implementation of the Integrated Maritime Strategy (IMS) of the same body. This center located in Cotonou will be in charge of the so-called Pilot Zone E, where the coasts of Benin, Nigeria and Togo are included, which is considered the most dangerous section of the region. This is an example of the implementation of measures to reinforce maritime security.

In conclusion, we should remember that the region's oil is much more attractive due to the physical conditions of the hydrocarbon that make it better to process it, because of its high percentage of drilling effectiveness, with a success rate of 50% while in the rest of the world it is of only 10%, and because political instability in both continent sub regions does not reach the coast and high seas. The only country that is affected by internal disturbances and has its production levels threatened is Nigeria. On the Niger Delta, armed conflicts between paramilitary groups and the Armed

36 *África central y occidental crean un centro anti-piratería en Golfo de Guinea*. EFE, 25 June 2013. Available at: http://blogs.elconfidencial.com/ultima-hora-en-vivo/2013/06/%C3%A1frica-central-occidental-crean-centro-antipirateria-20130625-166460.html

Forces, albeit having decreased, have not yet completely vanished. The remaining countries present a positive reality to the business.

Productive and industrial processes currently depend on oil, because energy security has become a matter of top priority to Western powers, dedicated to fighting to guarantee their imports. Africa, as a historical supplier of natural resources, keeps on playing this role in world economy. It is in this context that the Gulf of Guinea, Sub-Saharan Africa's main oil producing zone, gains utter importance. Therefore, the sector main transnational companies – mostly the US ones – will maintain their presence in the area. West and Central Africa's maritime zone appears as a source of energy supply – oil and gas – with greater pace of increase to the US market. The gas sector has not fully developed, as there still are many opportunities of exploitation by foreign capital. Although there already is a diversification of markets to which GG oil is exported, the trend is that of the supremacy of export control in the hands of US firms. Growing oil production in the US has not meant a decrease in its imports from the area.

As the region continues to supply energy, struggles for the control of such resources cannot be ignored, mainly between US and Chinese companies. The US has not abstained of taking a stance toward larger control of the resources trying to move Chinese emerging interest away from the area. China has increased its investments in the sector, being its presence ever more notable. The elements shown so far attest for the strategic importance reached by Gulf of Guinea, mainly to Western powers in their policy to guarantee energy security.

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ABSTRACT

Different African regions have not stopped being at the epicenter of games and influences from capitalist powers, mainly from former European metropolises, such as France, and the United States, due to the fact that each one of them has significant importance in the international relations' context, because of either their geographic position or their natural resources[37]. In the last decades, guaranteeing energy supply has become a matter of natural security for all countries, especially for those with high levels of consumption and industrial development. This article studies how Sub-Saharan African oil producing regions play a strategic role in this context, but also considering that the African continent has always been subject to developed capitalist countries' greed.

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37 Africa possesses around 12% of world's oil reserves. It counts with 90% of world's cobalt reserves, 90% of platinum, 40% of gold, 98% of chromium, 64% of magnesium and a third of uranium reserves. See: María Castro. *África: el legado imperialista de guerras, miseria y horror.* 12 March 2007. Available at: http://argentina.elmilitante.org/internacional-othermenu-33/frica-othermenu-35/2313-frica-el-legado-imperialista-de-guerras-miseria-y-horror.html

REVOLUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: THE AFRICAN CASE

Paulo Fagundes Visentini[1]

Introduction

In 1974, during the oil crisis, two apparently disconnected events shook the African continent and placed it at the center of the international agenda. A military coup in February in Ethiopia, the long-lived and oldest African empire, ended the monarchy in September, thus marking the beginning of a revolution and of a socialist regime. Meanwhile, in April, the longest fascist regime in Europe was overthrown (in the Carnation Revolution) and the first (and last) maritime empire crumbled. Angola, Mozambique and the Lusitanian enclaves in Africa became independent, under the leadership of national liberation movements of Marxist orientation.

The fifteen years of armed struggle in the former Portuguese colonies gave place, in 1975, to civil wars and to an international conflict in Southern Africa between Cuba and the Warsaw Pact, who supported the new regimes, on one side, and South Africa and the NATO nations alongside the insurgents on the other. Likewise, the Horn of Africa became a hotspot in the Cold War. As always, revolutions became inter-state conflicts fomenting the heated debate between academic internationalists. Finally, what is the place of revolutions in International Relations? Do they comprise of a dysfunction within the world system? Here, we propose to discuss this question, focusing on the African revolutions of the 1970s.

Revolutions: the national and/or world dialectic

According to Hannah Arendt, the 20th century was shaped by wars and revolutions. However, research and teaching of international relations

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have treated both themes differently. There are many courses, specialized centers and journals about the question of war, but the revolution as an international theme has been neglected. As put by Fred Halliday (1999), there are no journals specialized in the matter. Meanwhile, the 'Late Revolutions' (1970s-1980s) happened during the crisis and the transformation of the economy and the world system, having important effects but becoming victims of the 'End of History' (Fukuyama), as if the end of the Cold War had declared void to their impacts. It is remarkable how few academics know little about the processes that marked these two decades, seeing only China and Vietnam as 'reformed' post-revolutionary States, and Iran, Cuba and North Korea as 'renegade States'.

The historical dimension is widely secondary in the analysis of contemporary international relations and it is necessary to rescue it. Studying the subject it is thus both a historical question as well as a theoretical one. International Relations, as an area dominated by Political Science, has been a field of study marked by loosely based theorization or of instrumental character. Without the international autonomy circumvented by their revolutions, both China and Vietnam would not have acquired the development they now possess. Without the State building, the ruling elites and the social transformation promoted by the revolutionary processes, the situation in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Iran, for instance, would not have allowed their current international protagonism.

Halliday (1983) notes that, during this period, in a little more than a decade, there were fourteen revolutions in the Third World. They obtained a significant impact in the region, generating tendencies and countertendencies, as well as violent internationalized conflicts and civil wars. Due to the power balance then existing and to the transformation by which the world economy was passing through, they eventually affected the international system. In the second half of the 1970s ended the 'peaceful coexistence' and began the Second (or New) Cold War in the 1980s. All of this contributed to a profound change in the international relations, which had as a pivot the implosion of the soviet field, and to the power imbalances that followed and that continue to destabilize the world system (Fontaine 1995).

The analysis of these international experiences offers a better understanding of the world after the Cold War. Likewise, the reflection on the impacts of revolutions in the international relations must begin from an analysis of previous experiences, such as the classical bourgeoisie revolutions (the English, the American and the French) and the socialists (the Soviet, the Chinese and the Cuban). Finally, the exercise of empirical research allows us to dialogue with the theoretical currents of the area,

proposing analytical elements in order to relate to the theme of revolutions in international relations.

The theoretical framework of this article is primarily based on an analysis developed in the work *Revolution and world politics: The rise and fall of the sixth great power*[2], by Fred Halliday, as well from other studies from the same author. Academically, International Relations began as a study of the war as a rational and deliberate act of aggression, not as the internationalization of a social conflict. The UN Charter itself addresses the world order as if it were separate from the States' domestic situation. Along the same line, Anglo-American Political Science considers revolution as a break from regular processes. Until the publication of Theda Skocpol's work (which in a way updates Barrington Moore Jr's classic 'Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy'), revolutions were seen as internal phenomena. Jack Goldstone, in turn, emphasized how international factors (such as fiscal-economic pressures and disruptive policies of alliances) weakened States and provoked revolutions.

Realists and neorealists such as Kenneth Waltz, by not thinking of the internal and external dimensions together, ignored most alliances goals of stopping revolutions within member-states. Certainly, revolutions cannot escape the already existing system, but they force its changes and represent moments of transition to a new world, although International Relations sees them as a 'collapse' (or a negative rupture, anti-systemic).

It should be noted that every revolution tries to internationalize itself in the same way as every counterrevolution (by seeking homogeneity), although usually without success. Therefore, the limitations of 'exporting the revolution' (or the counterrevolution) create truces, less ideological rhetoric and a more diplomatic posture. However, this does not mean revolutions have been 'socialized' because according to Halliday (1999, 187),

> while their internal post-revolutionary orders remain intact, they continue to pose a challenge to the system in other states.

To historical sociology, the 'international' created the State and not the other way around, while regarding the revolutionary processes here studied in their international dimension, it is worth noting wars create revolutions and vice versa. In the cases analyzed here, for instance, it is noteworthy that the revolutions from the 1970s led to conventional wars in the periphery (with indirect involvement from the great powers) and for which the international community was not prepared. Besides this, in the

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2 HALLIDAY, Fred. *Revolution and world politics: The rise and fall of the sixth great power.* London: Macmillan Press, 1999.

regional level the greatest impact is not as much from deliberate action but the example it sets, which serves as a catalyst against the established order.

Although it is allegedly able to explain the revolutions it creates, even Marxism produces limited explanations. One of those comes from having few elements to analyze the differences between several revolutions and the persistence of the national question. An exception is found in Brucan (1974). Another one is the emphasis on 'infrastructural' elements that lead to an analysis that favors the systemic capitalist relations in a global scale. For example, Wallerstein bets on anti-systemic social movements, while Arrighi navigates through economic cycles without encountering revolutions nor properly dealing with post-revolutionary states such as China. They consider the international system as a (capitalist) global socioeconomic system overlapping the secondary political structures.

Methodologically, Halliday suggests four instruments that might be used as research elements: a) **cause**: to what extent the 'international' produces the revolution; b) **foreign policy:** how revolutionary states lead their relations with other nations; c) **answers**: what is the reaction of other States; d) **formation**: in a longer period, how the international factors and the world system constrain the post-revolutionary internal development of States and influence their political, social and economic evolution.

Revolutions, the missing dimension in the history of international relations

A more profound and objective historical analysis shows us the 20th century was marked by several ruptures and revolutionary experiences in all continents, with accomplishments and remarkable intrinsic and diverse characteristics. Moreover, they marked the international agenda deeply and conditioned the world history and capitalism itself. Along with the defeats that marked the soviet regimes or by them supported, during the transition from the 1980s to the 1990s, it was instituted a silence, covered by some journalistic clichés.

From the revolutionary experiences in the bourgeoisie world which emerged around the North Atlantic (the English Revolution from 1642, the American Revolution from 1776, and the French Revolution from 1789), arises the contemporary notion of revolution. It constitutes both the instrument for taking the political power, usually short-term, and a political, social and economic process of societal change, including the transformation of the power bloc, usually long-term. The English Revolution was premature and the American was peripheral (although affecting Latin America). However, the French introduced a social and ideological element

in international relations of profound systemic impacts, and quickly turned into an internationalized revolution (and a counterrevolution) (Chan & Williams 1994).

Revolutions and their regimes

For the theoretical and methodological purpose of this article, revolution means an abrupt political change, usually violent (but not always), with the overthrow of a regime and the fight to build a new one. This rupture in the prevailing order aims to cause structural changes in the legal-political and socio-economic orders. The triggering element of such event could be a popular uprising, an armed insurrection, a coup d'état or even a relatively peaceful political transition. However, in order for these conjuncture elements to be effective it is necessary to have favorable and objective political conditions, both domestic and foreign (Richards 2004).

Besides the bourgeoisie revolutions, the democratic-bourgeoisie revolutions (with active participation of the population) and the socialist revolutions themselves, during the second half of the 20th century the democratic-popular revolution was also developed, especially in peripheral countries. These are revolutions of national liberation, democracy, anti-imperialism and 'antifeudal' of the Third World, usually connected to decolonization and nationalisms. In these, the triggering elements were popular uprisings, reformists mobilizations, coup d'état (including military) and guerrilla fights such as those theorized and promoted by Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel and Raúl Castro and Che Guevara, Amílcar Cabral, among others (Silva 2004). Therein, there was an alliance between sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, besides sections of the working class.

Theories of revolution and socialism still are strongly focused in European cases, being limited by the knowledge and observation of Third World experiences, usually more recent and less documented. Often, they stress that these peripheral nations 'wouldn't be prepared' for a revolution and for socialism, according to a narrow interpretation. During the era of European imperialism, the more acute social contradictions shifted from the center to the periphery, where the process of proletarianization was becoming more pronounced, with the rural exodus and the implementation of market-turned agriculture. It is important to highlight the international dimension, already significant in the classical revolutions, and which becomes even more decisive in the context of growing internationalization deepened by peripheral capitalism (Davis 1985).

Unlike capitalism, the political dimension is the prevailing instance and so the economy is organized based on the principle of central-economic planning (instead of market planning) with collective ownership of the larger means of production and nationalization of banks and of external trade. Society tends to be incorporated in a single organism, with policies in search of gradually ending inequalities and universalizing social policies such as education, health, housing, public transport, labor and leisure. In a situation of extreme tension, this process was historically embodied through authoritarian and repressive mechanism, although socially paternalistic.

Revolutions and international relations

Revolutions are always associated to factors both domestic and foreign, and following their concretion, they necessarily generate an international impact to the extent they affect the internal rules on which the (capitalist) international order is based on. 'Revolutions are international events in their causes and effects', as recalls Fred Halliday (1999, 148). In this sense, they inspire political forces from other nations, both sympathizers and opposing. Usually these revolutions give rise to foreign wars, typically associated to internal civil wars or resulted from them.

So it happened in Russia (where the Revolution happened during the First World War) and in China, both countries of great relevance in the international order. In these, occurred foreign invasions, civil wars and other global effects, such as the creation of the Third (Communist) International and, further on, the more fluid existence of the International Communist Movement. It was also the case in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba and Nicaragua, being smaller nations in the periphery of the world system. However, the first two acquired strategic meaning for being in the border with China, an area where socialism wasn't consolidated.

The last two cases implied changes inside the area of direct influence of the United States, as in Cuba, which also had a large worldwide participation in the Third World, especially through the Non-Aligned Movement. Meanwhile, North Korea on the Chinese border and next to Japan, is a strategic zone for Washington, and so the war from 1950-1951 had global repercussion. On the other hand, in the Islamic world and the African continent this aspect became rather more complex, coated up in the structure of the national State in its early days and, in the first case, located in a geopolitical zone with oil.

Similarly, in the African case, revolutions happened during the initial phase of the birth of the nation-state, in the wake of the collapse

of the repressive and bureaucratic colonial machinery. The exception was Ethiopia, where it occurred a conquest of the state apparatus, then transformed and reinforced. Therefore, African revolutions altered the already weak balance being established between the young and fragile states, creating a vast destabilizing effect. On itself, the Iranian Revolution had distinct characteristics since the winning side did not support a Marxist vision, representing a nationalist, anti-imperialist movement, and a cultural reaction to the West. However, its impacts were similar.

Periodization of the 20th century revolutions

During the 20th century, Marxist-oriented socialism managed to promote a series of victorious revolutions in consecutive waves. The first one of them was in the wake of the First World War, with the triumph of the Russian Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR. The Revolution in Mongolia, for specific circumstances, is part of this period. The second victory, due to the antifascist movements and outcomes of the Second World War, affected Eastern Europe, not only through the 'revolutions from above', backed by Moscow and which constituted the Popular Democracies, but also through autonomous revolutions in Yugoslavia and Albania. It is important to highlight that nations such as Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, at the end of the war (1918-23) staged revolutions and even (brief) socialist regimes, with the posterior defeat of the left wing sometimes due to outside intervention.

The third victory was already being developed in parallel with the previous one, having as an epicenter the Chinese Revolution, which started in the 1920s, and characterized the peasant question. After a quarter of a century of guerrillas and wars, the most populated nation in the world became a socialist regime. The Korean Revolution and the first part of the Indochinese's are also from this period. The Marxist revolutions and engendered regimes of the first half of the 20th century happened 'in the center's periphery', this meaning that the industrial capitalist powers, which controlled the center of the system, got into an open conflict (imperialist competition, First and Second World War) while fighting to redefine the world system and, within it, their hegemonic position. Therefore, the victory of two revolutions was possible as well as structural regimes of a new world reality, the Soviet and the Chinese, found in the periphery of the geopolitical space, which was affected by a giant confrontation and transformation, as well as from some member countries.

Finally, the fourth and last, the decolonization movement and

nationalism of the Third World were the protagonists of several successful revolutions with socialist orientation, such as the Cuban, the Vietnamese, Afghan, South Yemenite and the Africans from the 1970s. They happened in the second half of the 20ᵗʰ century 'in the center of the periphery', meaning it was in the southern region of the world not yet industrialized and where it took place an expansion of an uneven and combined development of capitalism (Westad 2007; Davis 1985).

Among these, despite limited resources, two eventually became paradigmatic and had systemic effects all around the world, the Cuban and the Vietnamese. Evidently, they were connected and depended on two great founding revolutions, but developed their own dynamic. The case of the Iranian Revolution can be fit into this category, although its deployment has been different as a post-revolutionary project. Anyway, 'Islamization' of the revolutionary process does not void its republican, modernizer, antiimperialist (but no anticapitalistic) and internationalist base (Haghighat 1985). Also in this phase, can be found the cases of Algeria and other revolutions from the 1950s-1960s.

The African revolutions and their regional and systemic impacts

The African decolonization in the beginning of the 1960s left out the so-called *white bastions* in the southern part of the continent. Portugal, still harboring transnational economic interests, refused to concede independence to Angola and Mozambique. South Africa, ruled by a white minority (20% of the population) was controlling Namibia and in Rhodesia (current Zimbabwe), the white settlers (5% of the population) supported Ian Smith in the proclamation of independence in 1965, unacknowledged by London. South Africa, where the racial segregation of the *apartheid* was enshrined in the Constitution, held great economic power and was associated with foreign capital and transnational companies. Southern Africa, as a whole, had massive reserves of strategic minerals besides agricultural potential, also holding a strategic geopolitical position in the route between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans.

The impossibility of anticolonial movements in achieving independence, a government with a black majority or even the right to political participation, due to the intransigence from Lisbon e from the white minorities, led these colonies to initiate a process of armed fighting. The African National Congress (ANC) abandoned its moderate positions after the massacre of black protesters in Sharpeville (1960), teamed up with

the South African Communist Party and began a guerrilla of extremely difficult conditions. In 1966, the same also happened with the South West Africa's People Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia, after South Africa refused to return to the UN this territory it was running in *fideicommissum* (provisional duty of administration granted by the League of Nations); and with the ZAPU and ZANU (respectively the Zimbabwe African People's Union and National Union), following the declaration of independence of Rhodesia by the whites.

Angola and Mozambique

Amilcar Cabral, an ideologue of the armed struggle of Marxist tendencies in the Portuguese colonies, launched the guerrilla in Guinea-Bissau while several movements joined the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) also starting the fight. In Angola, several organizations equally triggered a war against the Portuguese. These groups clumped later in three movements, the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) – moderates strands and pro-West with an ethnic base from the North and the South, respectively; and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), of a revolutionary socialist tendency with an urban and interethnic base (Chabal 2002).

Fifteen years after the beginning of the armed fighting, the liberation movements became victorious. In Mozambique, Samora Machel's FRELIMO agglutinated movements of different orientations into a single organization, less solid ideologically and under Chinese influence, controlling part of the country when the Carnation Revolution in Portugal rushed the events. Following the flight of part of the white elite, Mozambique was ruled by a predominantly black movement, which claimed to be Marxist-Leninist. By the borders with Rhodesia and South Africa, countries still controlled by colonial minorities, the support for the guerrillas from these nations was intensified. In the last one, in 1976, the Soweto uprising happened, which was strongly repressed by the white minority government.

However, the independence with the greatest impact from the Portuguese Africa was Angola's, a country with greater economic potentialities (oil, iron, diamonds and strategic minerals) and with a significant white minority. The division and clash between the three groups fighting for the independence was incited with the collapse of the Portuguese fascism. The FNLA (linked to the United States) and troops from Zaire advanced from the north to attack the capital, Luanda, where the MPLA was dominant. The

invasion was defeated by the MPLA with support from Cuban instructors who were just arriving in the country. However, in the south, the groups from UNITA and the South African army unleashed a lightning offensive against Agostinho Neto's MPLA. Then began the airlift between Havana and Luanda, with shipments of weapons and twenty thousand soldiers. In the center of the country, Cuban troops (most descending from former slaves) and the MPLA defeated the South African army, one of the best in the world (Chaliand 1982).

Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, punished by misery, by drought and by the Muslim and leftists guerrillas in Eritrea, the old pro-American emperor Haile Selaissie was overthrown in 1974 by a military coup with popular support. The military junta (DERG) expressed a poorly defined populism, while the opposition, the chaos and the centrifugal tendencies threatened the existence of a new regime. This regime, whilst the struggle between the internal factions of the ruling group grew, increasingly linked itself to left-currents and implemented a comprehensive land reform, mobilizing the population, broke relations with the United States and faced opposition movements (Schwab 1985).

In 1977, rose to the direction of the DERG the colonel Mengistu Haile Marian. While they defined themselves through socialism, the separatist or autonomous rebellions agitated almost all provinces and Somalia attacked Ethiopia. The Somalian initiative was clearly encouraged by Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the United States, while the USSR and Cuba welcomed the request for aid from Mengistu. Fidel Castro visited both nations in litigation, trying to mediate the conflict through a proposal of forming a confederation, but faced a Somalian refusal, which expelled all Soviet advisers from the country. At that moment, Moscow set up an airlift, sending weapons, Soviet and Eastern Germans advisers, besides the ten thousand Cuban soldiers. The war ended with a victory from Ethiopia, which consolidated its ties with the socialist field, while Somalia allied itself to the United States.

An important point of these African revolutions from the 1970s is that they occurred in a moment when it was possible to search alternative diplomatic-military alliances due to the Cold War, which also deepened the conflicts connected to them. The Cuban, Soviet and East German support was an important element, while the Popular China played a progressive role only in Tanzania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Revolutions which resulted from long guerrillas, in its turn, had more profound effects, domestic

and/or foreign, as were the cases in Angola and Mozambique (where an archaic colonialism was completely removed), as in Zimbabwe (an outcome agreed upon, but which dismantled the defensive ring of the South African *apartheid*).

Along the same line, the Ethiopian revolution overthrew a millenary empire, allied with the United States in a strategic region. All of these revolutionary processes offered the outbreak of violent and devastating regional wars with the involvement of great powers in Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. The African revolutions were associated, from their origins, to international networks and altered the face of decolonization, allowing for nations, such as Cuba, to play a relevant role in the continent. In the same way, they decisively contributed to the fall of dictatorships and promoted processes of democratization in Portugal, in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, in Namibia and, finally, in South Africa.

Other revolutions with socializing regimes

Among the coups which produced leftist and anti-imperialist regimes that deserve to be mentioned are, in 1969, Siad Barre's Somalia and Marien N'Gouabi in Congo; in 1972, Mathieu Kérékow in Dahomey/ Benin, the military in Madagascar (led by Ratsiraka since 1975); and in 1977, in the Seychelles, where Albert René and his leftist militias took the power without spilling blood, proclaiming a socialist republic, being that all of those would define themselves as Marxist-Leninists (except the Seychelles).

In the Dahomey, one of the more extremely poor countries, in 1972 a group of young officers overthrew the corrupt and unstable neocolonial regime, adopting a nationalist line and getting closer to China, North Korea, and Libya. Having consolidated the power in 1974, he declared his regime to be Marxist-Leninist, claiming to purse the implementation of a socialist State and society, through a People's Revolutionary Party. In the following year, the country was renamed People's Republic of Benin, with a new socialist flag. Benin soon succeeded in achieving political stability; a political and communal system base was created, and nationalized great properties and foreign companies. The oil discovery allowed a certain economic improvement for the population.

In a certain way, Congo-Brazzaville had a distinct pattern, as its urban population was already expressive and highly politicized, with unions and political movements. By 1963, the president Massemba Débat proclaimed a socialist government, although there was a dual power, between a neocolonial army and a youth militia from the revolutionary National Movement. Then,

Marien N'Gouabi, a left-wing military from the army, took power in 1969 and created the Congolese Party of Labor. In 1973, it was enacted a new Constitution, the People's Republic of Congo was proclaimed, promoted nationalizations and adopted a red flag with the socialist symbols of labor. When a congress was being prepared to radicalize the revolution, in 1977, he was murdered. However, the coup failed and, in 1979, Denis Sassou N'Gesso took over the presidency, continuing the process.

In Madagascar, riots erupted in 1972, which led to the impeachment of the neocolonial government of Tsiranana and to the implementation of a military regime (led by General Ramanantsoa) and to the withdrawal of French troops in the following year. The instability lasted until 1975, when Lt. Cdr. Didier Ratsiraka took power and installed a regime of socialist orientation, supported by a party coalition, the National front for the Defense of the Revolution. The economic crisis, in the end of the 1980s, forced the country to abandon the socialist orientation. The electoral victory of Albert Zafy, in 1992, cemented the adoption of a market economy in the impoverished and isolated country, but in 1997, Ratsiraka would return to power elected.

In the Seychelles, in the Indian Ocean, the British allowed the independence in 1976, with the creation of the Republic of Seychelles, with Mancham, a pro-Britain, as President and Albert René as Prime Minister. A year later, when Mancham was abroad, the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP) took the power without bloodshed. It was then instituted the Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) as a single party, and it proclaimed a socialist republic, which implemented advanced social policies and declared a vast area of the Indian Ocean as a Peace Zone, forbidding the passage of armed vessels. Albert René was continuously reelected, even after the multiparty system was adopted in the 1990s. He retired in 2004, still in office, and his party remains in power until today.

The Upper Volta, a former French colony, had an unstable and unpopular neocolonial regime since its independence in 1960, which had to tackle poverty, worsened by the great drought in the Sahel in the early 1980s. In 1983, Captain Thomas Sankara, leading a group of young officers came to power through a military coup d'état. The popular Sankara proclaimed a Marxist-Leninist socialist regime, which carried out a land reform and established Committees for the Defense of the Revolution all around the country, following the Cuban model. In 1984, he changed the name of the country to Burkina Faso, a composition of terms that in the local language means 'Land of upright men'.

In the diplomatic arena, it got closer to Libya the USSR, Cuba, Benin, the People's Republic of Congo and Ghana. The popular mobilization and

enthusiasm were intense, but in 1987, Sankara was overthrown and executed by Captain Blaise Campaoré and who, at first, gave continuity to the policies of his predecessor. Later on, in a context of economic hardships, he sought help from international financial organizations, keeping an authoritarian regime and a populist discourse (Visentini 2012; 2013).

The Cold War in Africa and its end in the World System

The independences didn't bring peace to the new regimes. On the contrary, Ethiopia had to face separatists and counterrevolutionary movements, and a Somalian invasion, all supported by Saudi Arabia and the United States. The presence of Cuban troops and Cuban cooperative, and Soviet and East German advisors and weapons were decisive for the regime to survive. A great sum of its scarce resources went to defense and security (Coker 1985).

In Southern Africa, Angola had to face UNITA and South Africa, counting on Cuban and Soviet support in a conventional war where huge battles happened. In the same way, Mozambique was a target for destabilizing actions from South Africa (which backed the insurgence from RENAMO). The support to the guerrilla fighters (and after 1980 to the government) in Zimbabwe led South Africa to a total war with the country. All the southern region of the continent was involved in the conflict (Schmidt 2013).

In the second half of the 1980s, the consequences of the African conflicts, of the New Cold War and of the restructuring of the world economy continued to aggravate the situation in the continent. The Soviet Union and the revolutionary African regimes, their allies, found themselves in an increasingly difficult situation. Therefore, when a reformist Gorbachev rose to power in 1985, he tried to reach an agreement with the USA, as a way of reducing diplomatic tensions and deter the arms race, and the economic corrosion of the USSR itself (González 1987).

However, it is necessary to notice that the biggest problem, despite the then military deadlock in the regional conflicts, was to be found in the strategic position of the USSR. If Ethiopia was unable to defeat the Eritrean guerrillas and others, those didn't have the condition to overthrow the regime either, as it had happened in Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Kampuchea (Cambodia) or Afghanistan. At first, the USA rejected the Soviet negotiation proposals. However, with the growing financial and economic difficulties of the United States itself, they eventually gave in (Halliday 1989).

In exchange for a decrease in the arms race and a resumption of

the nuclear disarmament process, the USSR began to press its regional allies to find a political settlement, while it initiated a reduction of military and economic aid to them. This inflection point, however, was found with resistance from the African allies and from Cuba. In the Horn of Africa, the Ethiopian regime got defensive but remained uncompromising. However, Moscow, as it gave in to Washington, lost more of its capacity of negotiation, up to the point that by the end of the decade, was participating only in the multilateral level of conflict resolution involving its own allies.

In South Africa, the situation was more complex. In 1988, the Cuban-Angolan troops defeated by large the regular South African and UNITA forces in Cuito Cuanavale, in the south of Angola, and the Cuban aviation attacked the dam supplying energy to the north of Namibia. It was clear to South Africa itself - extremely worn down by the war- that it was time to negotiate. The Americans proposed the *Linkage* principle: the Cuban withdrawal in exchange for the independence of Namibia, which Pretoria eventually accepted, even though it was trying to buy time (Gleijeses 2003).

In 1989, the Cubans left Angola (and the rest of Africa), in the same year as the Berlin Wall was open, thus beginning the difficult electoral process in Namibia, under the auspices of the UN. After establishing special prerogatives to the white minority and to the international capital, there were elections, which SWAPO won. In March 1990, Namibia became independent. At the same time the winds of democracy, associated with the reordering of the world, swept Africa. Single party regimes were replaced when faced with domestic and foreign pressure by liberal-democratic multiparty systems, nations in civil war such as Angola (May 1991) and Mozambique (October 1992), signed peace deals, and the other Marxist regimes were defeated, like in Ethiopia, in May 1991. South Africa itself announced in February of that same year, the end of the *Apartheid*, after the liberation of black leader Nelson Mandela in the previous year.

Thus, the end of the Cold War, even though it had brought benefits to Africa, such as ending conventional wars, it represented a certain marginalization of the continent, while globalization became the vector of the international relations. However, the end of the *Apartheid*, the independence of Namibia and the pacification of Mozambique launched the basis for future transformation. The rise of the ANC to power in South Africa, even if through an agreed process, represented a qualitative leap, which was then complemented by its return to the meridional Africa that began a movement for economic integration.

More important is to stress that the 1970s revolutions (African, Central-American and Asians) unbalanced the world order and became prolonged and violent regional conflicts. Among other things, this incited

a change in the world system and the emergence of a counterrevolution in planetary scale. The conjunction of these phenomena weighed on the internal struggle being fought in the summits of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, contributing for its collapse and the end of the Cold War.

To what extent the socialist revolutions and regimes were based on Marxism?

Marxism, and later the practice of Marxism-Leninism, represented a doctrine that offered a series of attractive solutions to great challenges in countries, which launched themselves in the path of a revolutionary rupture and in the attempt of building a post-capitalist society (Clapham 1996). Ethiopia, for instance, was an ancient empire, with feudal structures, controlled by the Orthodox Church, which had gone through a period of expansion and led it to control a quite wide territory and with great ethnic diversity.

In this sense, the first appeal that Marxism offered was, obviously, of a *revolutionary doctrine of conquest and maintenance of power*. Unlikely most colonial or semi colonial States – which made the revolution mainly through nationalist and anti-colonialist ideologies, aiming first and foremost for liberation – the revolutionaries who embraced Marxism (with greater or lesser honesty) considered it a radical and progressive alternative to the current *status quo*. This was not only due to the organization of political and/or armed movements to take power and the mobilization with popular support or even after winning power in a mixed picture of balance of forces.

Secondly, Marxism also offered to them a *development doctrine*. This preached the destruction of oligarchic power, which controlled the country until then, seen as an obstruction of the people's welfare, and it was replaced for a more efficient State, combined with a free peasantry. This development strategy searched for alternative paradigms to a type of neocolonial liberalism and to the purely moral and voluntary experience, based then in premises of Marxist development, rooted in a structure of central planning, socialist distribution and, when possible, industrialization.

A third and fourth appeal of Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary governments was *building a nation*, were it *unified or multiethnic, and State building*. How to deal with internal divisions deriving from a low development level, from a historical legacy and from manipulation by colonizers or foreign agents? It was necessary to forge a nation with new bases. Certainly, the USSR, which combined an effective central government to respecting cultural identities from different nationalities and to a considerable level of

autonomy was an attractive model to follow. In a dialectic relation with this factor, the new governments egressed from colonialism or neocolonialism possessed limited domestic administrative apparatus that were addicted to foreign control, directly or indirectly. It was necessary to organize an apparatus capable of handling an enormous transformation and looming conflicts, a new type of State. Therefore, Marxism-Leninism was also a *state control ideology*.

Finally, the fifth appeal of Marxism-Leninism to a revolutionary government was its use as *source of international support* in a context of Cold War. The USSR, China and the socialist community in general represented, therefore, the only consistent source of military supplies, legitimacy, political and economic support. The need to acquire foreign aid was a necessary condition for many of the Marxist regimes to survive. However, Soviet aid, besides creating certain interdependency, was usually restricted to the military area, leaving a lot to be desired in the economic and financial aspect.

Conclusion

The case of African revolutions is paradigmatic, not only from the practical point of view, but also from the theoretical one. A periphery with no strategic value lived through a series of processes of revolutionary change, which eventually involved even the superpowers. As much as this phenomenon had a great cost to Africans, with deaths and destruction, it certainly repositioned the continent in the World System. If this cycle of revolution ended with the extinction of the Soviet bloc, it does not mean new revolutions will not happen or that socialism will disappear as a political regime. It is necessary merely a look to the Long-Term History, to the tensions accumulating in present days and to the attempts of avoiding even the slightest political change in any nation.

Therefore, what for some theoretical and political strains represented a disturbance of the not only 'current' but also 'natural' order, to other meant a qualitative leap and a renovation. Shock waves were unleashed, proving that both the cause and effect of these revolutions were associated with the international relations. The fact the academy avoids addressing this matter and entering into these themes shows that knowledge has an instrumental political dimension. Little have we done to understand the processes of *change* in the structure of world power, because even the most solid of orders can melt into air.

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ABSTRACT

Analysis of the impact of revolutions in the International Relations and the World System as constitutive and renewed elements. Criticizes the stance of theories that consider it a domestic phenomenon that causes a systemic disturbance, focusing in the case of the African Revolutions in the 1970s. Explores the international dimension they possess, considering their impact regarding the end of the Cold War, even though it happened in the periphery of the world.

THE END OF THE LAST GREAT COLONIAL EMPIRE: MEMORIES OF A HISTORICAL REPORT[1]

Beatriz Bissio[2]

Last November 11th it was celebrated the 40th anniversary of Angola's independence! The date evokes memories of that historical and dramatic moment in which the richest Portuguese colony in Africa conquered - even amid many uncertainties - the desired status of an independent state.

Neiva Moreira and I followed that date in Luanda. We were in Angola by an invitation of the MPLA, representing a journal which publication was forbidden in Brazil, "*Cuadernos del Tercer Mundo*", and which would only be able to move its headquarters to Rio de Janeiro five years later, in 1980.[3]

Throughout the year of 1975 we had been in Luanda on several occasions, alternating visits to Mozambique, Somalia, Tanzania and other African countries. In one of the visits we had been received by President Agostinho Neto, who granted us an exclusive interview in "*Futungo de Belas*"

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1 Beatriz Bissio and Neiva Moreira, founders, editor and director at the time of the "*Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo*" journal, were invited by President Agostinho Neto and the Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento, to participate in the proclamation of Angola's independence, in November 1975. They had already been reporting over the transition period and, before independence, President Neto provided both the first of several exclusive interviews, published in the journal "*Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo*", and reproduced in different Latin Americans newspapers. Upon this first interview, Neto was in Luanda but his presence had not been confirmed in Angolan soil, due to safety measures. Exclusive interviews of President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos were also published by "*Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo*". The magazine was widely circulated in Angola and in the Portuguese-speaking countries in the first decades after the independence.

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3 Neiva Moreira traveled with a document issued by the Peruvian government - we resided at the time in Peru. Exiled, banned by the Institutional Act 1 (AI-1), of April 9th 1964 (along with Leonel Brizola, Miguel Arraes and other political leaders previous to the military coup), in practice, to the military government that revoked all his political rights, he was a stateless person without right to Brazilian documents.

- an architectural complex built by wealthy Portuguese of Luanda in the last colonial period, facing the bay of Mussulo. The MPLA used it at that time for security reasons, since it was located away from the city center. That historical interview published by our magazine, at that time still circulating only in Spanish, had great repercussion and, in one of several conversations held with President Neto in this period, he put us to the challenge - which we actually received as an invitation of great honor - to launch a Portuguese edition of our magazine. The only publications that circulated in Angola with international information were published in French, "*Afrique-Asie*", directed by the great friend of Angola, Simon Malley, and "*Jeune Afrique*", with a more conservative editorial guidance.

President Neto considered that if it were published in Portuguese, our magazine, mostly made by Latin American journalists committed to the social movements of the continent and very close to the struggles of African and Asian liberation movements, would be an important tool for the formation of cadres, a challenge that independent Angola would face soon. And, indeed, there came the "*Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo*", first published in Lisbon, especially for the newly proclaimed Lusophone African Republics, and only after the 1979 amnesty in Brazil it would have a headquarter in Rio de Janeiro.

On one of these trips, we got to Luanda few days before independence, invited especially for the celebrations. We were staying at the Intercontinental Hotel, where we found a number of foreign correspondents, especially Europeans and Americans. Most of them were hostile to the MPLA and I believe there were not many accredited as journalists, but working as agents of some Western secret service.

Some of them, especially the French, have used to have "confidential news" conveyed with simulated secrecy, claiming a private access to military sources. Interestingly, what they were announcing was always the advance of the forces opposed to the MPLA. "They broke the line of Kifangondo" they said, or, "It's a matter of hours to take Luanda", "There are already battles in the suburbs"...

The fact was that Luanda remained besieged, from the north and south. Defeated at the Battle of Luanda and expelled from the city, the FNLA and UNITA had launched a double offensive toward the capital. In fact, under the name of FNLA, regular forces of Zaire army penetrated the Angolan territory from the northern border. And from the south, advancing through Namibia (at the annexed area by South Africa), under the banner of UNITA, was the army of South Africa's white minority regime. Despite the challenge of a possible international military intervention, the Angolan people kept going on with their lives, although alert and watchful.

However, it was undeniable that the daily life of the city was deeply affected by the military framework. Among other difficulties, there was food rationing. Electricity was under frequent blackouts, water was scarce and the military situation was becoming critical since the war front was very close to the capital, in Caxito and Kifangondo, where the dam that supplies water to Luanda is located. (Today, this area is undergoing a major transformation with the construction of a road by a large Brazilian construction company...)

One night we were invited to join a group that would hold a round at the suburbs of the capital, in company of the MPLA commanders. One of them was Major Saidy Mingas, brutally murdered two years later in the attempt to coup in May 1977. We were identified as foreign journalists, but that would not assure us any immunity. Fortunately, the visit took place in peace and we enjoyed the privileged company of a group of high-level cadres. Particularly pleasing was the conversation with the brilliant commander Mingas, with whom we developed a beautiful friendship. Without having any surprise, we returned to the hotel after noting the high level of tension that existed in the neighborhoods of Luanda, which increased as we approached the most exposed peripheries. This visit to the periphery was a special moment, one which every journalist dreams with, in such a situation: a "tour" with experienced escorts to the fight scene without restriction to speak to the people. An experience that would not have been possible if they did not trust in our ability to make the proper use of the information eventually obtained during the survey there.

The 10th of November was unforgettable. In the morning, still very early, the Portuguese flag was flown for the last time on the mast of the imposing fortress which dominates the bay of Luanda; watching it, the population was heading to their jobs. Little by little, the Portuguese city that we had left last time we had been there, a month earlier, had turned into a completely African metropolis, with the mass exodus of the white population and the affluence to the paved area of the black population.

The complicated traffic in Luanda flowed much better than before, as the number of cars in circulation had decreased significantly. The ones abandoned, now usually without tires, referred to the hasty getaway of the owners; they could also refer to a third car of a wealthy settler who, having sent abroad two others, had not found a way to circumvent the law and send a third one to Lisbon. Some Mercedes came to be exchanged for cigarette packets, since the value of them to who was departing and could not carry them was equivalent to the exchange power of whoever was staying...

The former Portuguese statues were torn from their places by the people and the austere pedestals had been painted with the colors of the MPLA, combined with creativity. It appeared so a new decoration,

undoubtedly much more in harmony with the sensitivity and the Angolan population's state of mind than the cold face of a navigator of the XV century or a settler.

That day we had the opportunity to participate in an episode that confirmed the presence of Zairean forces in the war. By the Minister of Communications' invitation, the poet and writer Manuel Rui Monteiro, and the commander "Jujú", the Angolan army spokesman, we were interviewing the first Zaire's soldier captured near Luanda with his armored "Panhard". It was up to me, along with Neiva Moreira, to ask the prisoner of war on his patent and the reason for his presence inside a Zaire tank in Angola's territory. A considerable number of Angolan officials accompanied the statement.

The soldier replied promptly, in French, he was from Zaire, was called Antoine, 25 years old and belonged to the Armored Unit B of Zaire army. He had arrived 15 days earlier, along with his unit, at the city of Ambriz, a port of the Uige province. He drove the vehicle with two white mercenaries whose nationalities were unknown, and had advanced without problems until his tank was hit by a FAPLA bazooka. The two mercenaries managed to escape, but he, unconscious after the explosion, ended captured by the Angolan soldiers and was taken to Luanda with his French tank. An interesting fact is that in the next visit to Luanda, months after independence, we found this small tank installed on the top of one of the old Portuguese pedestals, in one of the central avenues of Luanda; it served for the population, which enjoyed a brief interval of peace, to remember the high price of war.

Street names had also begun to change. The heroes of the Portuguese empire gradually were replaced by commanders of the MPLA killed during the years of the liberation struggle. As well as in the airport 'air bridge' was only left the memory of some plumbing smashed, in the city the empty shop windows, formerly full of Portuguese and imported articles, showed, with a lot of expressiveness, the removal process of a secular past.

Some popular, boisterous environments on that day of the Independence eve, full of young and women, reminded me the people of Brazil.

New posters adorned the walls, commemorating Independence. Concomitantly, others disappeared. Not even a single reference to UNITA, not a single writing, many of which existed months earlier, from the FNLA. The people in their loving and dedicated preparation of the capital for the day of great celebration had erased meticulously every vestige of those appearances, which caused so much pain and shed so much blood. In fact, that time in Luanda, from those that felt like shameless instruments of

foreign interests, there were only left the buildings hit by artillery and the sacrifice of fifteen thousand lives. In fact, there were parts of the city - like Avenida Brazil, with large and modern buildings – left half-destroyed. Some of these buildings had been occupied by the forces of UNITA and the FNLA and turned into a scenario of fierce battles.

Among the combatants there were many boys ("*miúdos*", as called by the Angolans, or "*pioneiros*", engaged in MPLA). They have served the cause of independence, since it fell to them the task of ensuring communications between guerrillas of the MPLA - mostly peasants, who arrived in Luanda for the first time - and lead them through the alleys of the *musseques* (slums), which they did not know. The epopee of these guerrilla kids is depicted in one of Manuel Rui books[4]:

> "The unpredictable imagination of childhood opened, in the War of Luanda, a parallel front, unruly and dispersed, a guerrilla of the pioneers governed by laws that are beyond the immediate understanding of adults, autonomous and unexpected like a game, mobilizing children in toy-combat ruthless and deadly against the invader of its streets, against the foreigner who dared to walk on the dream of freedom, brand new, with their leather boots and lace. At the syncopated rhythm of the bursts, the eyes follow the singular figure of the legend boys, foot-and-half adults, nameless heroes of a toy-to-serious war. (...) "

Months after the end of the Battle of Luanda they continued playing with their old iron and wooden guns, waiting for the enemy.

It had not been these marks left on the great buildings, of violent artillery duels caught inside the city, someone unaware of the background could think Luanda had always been impregnable MPLA stronghold.

In some ways, that was true. It was very significant the popular support for this political movement and very special was the feeling in relation to President Neto. We traveled several *musseques* (slums), other remote areas, ministries, public places. Literally all of them were covered in posters of the movement. In all these locations we were treated as "comrades" and the greetings followed the movement tradition: a threefold handshake, which represented the slogan "Unity-Work-Vigilance".

There were also some posters in French. "They were written for visitors to understand", commented one of the militants designated to meet the foreign delegations. We read, for example, in many walls: "*A bas le neocolonialisme*","*A bas le FNLA et l'UNITA*".

Shortly before independence, the representation of the Organization

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4 Monteiro, Manuel Rui. 1977. *Sim Camarada!*. Lisboa: Edições 70.

of African Unity (called African Union since 2002) and brigades of volunteers from the slums visited Luanda and, in a few days, helped to change the face of the city, abandoned and dirty during the time of mass Portuguese exodus.

When an unexpected rain began, many commented that it was a happy omen. "Also in Mozambique it rained on the day of independence. People say that it is the message of our dead", said one of the soldiers with whom we spoke. For others, the rain symbolized the tears of the colonialists who were not resigned to the irreparable loss of such a rich Angola. Omen or not, this rain was a kind of baptism of a young nation whose birth was putting an end to the Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

At the airport it was visible the difference of the situation we had left in Luanda. The thousands of Portuguese who camped for weeks there, in the long wait for the shuttle that would take them to Lisbon had given place to a clean airport, organized and covered in posters, including a huge one, of Agostinho Neto, and was decorated with MPLA flags. In the "VIP" room, full of foreign delegations, members of the Party Central Committee received the guests and showed the airport control - until then under Portuguese direction - by the popular forces. Outside the airport, the same sense of change, stronger by the presence of the newly created Angolan Military Police, on elegant khaki and blue uniforms.

Foreign delegations had begun to arrive three or four days before, auguring an important international recognition of the MPLA government. Journalists kept coming from all over the world, including some friends of MPLA from the earliest times. A group of them had already been organized to give its contribution to the struggle of the Angolan people, setting up a campaign to donate blood for the war's wounded.

In the Ministry of Information, the newcomer correspondents received their credentials by the pace of the working capacity of an efficient group of employees. Photo albums of the development of the fight in the last months passed from hand to hand. Several colleagues praised the fact that the press had complete freedom of action, even those who, rather than sending articles with concrete facts, preferred to launch to the world echoes of rumors of all kinds that continued to proliferate.

A ceremony of collective marriage, with eighty couples, was one of the most publicized news in the days before November 11th. The press and the media devoted extensive analysis to the decisive weeks of the end of October and start of November 1975, since it was being written a decisive page in the history of MPLA and Angola. And the MPLA spokespersons were engaged in publicizing campaigns aimed at forming a new revolutionary

ethics, exhorting the people to change the individualistic attitudes that each one carries within them.

The fighting continued in the North front, 30 km from the city; people carefully followed the course of the fight, but not refraining to prepare the celebration. "Only 14 years ago just dreamers were convinced that we would be led by an Angolan President, and we are on the eve of it becoming a reality. Why should we be pessimistic today? The fight goes on; victory is certain", commented a militant of the old days, quoting the motto of the MPLA. It was a palpable fact that the people felt confidence in victory and, in face of that, any sacrifice was valid.

Not even one complaint we heard when it came to an end the fourth day of water shortage in the city. "There are coming a few drops," it was always the answer when we asked about the problem. In fact, it hangs from a preventive measure on the eve of November 11th, because the enemy artillery had Kifangondo Dam as main target.

The people proved to be far above those vicissitudes. No mention, either, to food shortages. The hotel staff struggled to keep the routine. At mealtimes, waiters in uniforms and white gloves solemnly delivered the printed menus, a recent past heritage, and wrote down the order: "Today, comrade, we have dried fish with rice," they would say invariably. That's all there was. But the city had gotten into the warlike climate and the restrictions of the war were accepted with apparent normality.

The war on TV and the front just around the corner

On the afternoon of the 10th, the hotel employees eventually disappeared. In that tense atmosphere, everything was seen with fear. Had the city been taken? No. They were all in the main hall, watching the first transmission of the Angolan TV, newly opened. A struggling group of young people organized by Luandino Vieira, militant writer of the first hour, nowadays internationally recognized and with his work translated into numerous languages, had put in the air, on the Independence eve, a special program, made during a meeting held the day before in Maputo, Mozambique. There, representatives of Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, hosted by the president Samora Machel, received with exceptional honors the leader of MPLA, Agostinho Neto, and expressed the full support of the new Portuguese speaking African states to the brother still at war. And in particular, they proclaimed recognition of the MPLA as the sole legitimate government of Angola.

The inaugural program of the Angolan television continued with

movies made at the front lines, which caused a great excitement in the people who watched the images through 400 devices distributed throughout the neighborhoods and *musseques*, at the headquarters of sports organizations and nuclei of grassroots organizations. The artillery shots showed that they were not playing a war, but fighting a bloody and dangerous fight. An artillery that, at night, could also be clearly heard from every corner of Luanda; during the day, the city noises muffled it, even though the shots were fired from so close.

At that November 10th, the press conference of Commodore Leonel Cardoso was the only 'cold' act. It was the last official ceremony on the Portuguese side, since there was the decision of the former metropolis government of not being present at the proclamation of independence, that night, by Agostinho Neto.

For those who, like us, had the privilege of being present in the Independence of Mozambique and, thus, admire an unique historical fact, with those welcome and military honors to the representatives of Portugal - a huge delegation, headed by General Vasco Gonçalves - that unilateral proclamation of Portugal, its retreat from Angola without participating in the midnight celebrations, the departure without greatness or glory, left everyone frustrated. And the Angolan people too.

On the other hand, it was exciting the moment when the last Portuguese soldiers bid farewell to Angola. First they took a long walk through the streets of Luanda, with their arms raised, a final goodbye to the last colony of Portugal in Africa. Soon after, already at the island of Luanda, posing for the lenses of the photographers of various nationalities, they received the military that would replace them from that moment: the members of the Angola Liberation Popular Forces. They had the exact notion that their shipment (of the last Portuguese contingent on African soil) symbolically marked the end of five centuries of colonialism: or rather, to be exact, it closed the historic period opened in 1483, when the first Portuguese vessels arrived at the mouth of the Congo River.

- So, now, will people join the ranks of the counterrevolution in Lisbon? - asked provocatively a Latin American journalist to one of the commanders of the group of Portuguese soldiers. "Counterrevolution? You are mistaken. From my part I will present myself to fight alongside the revolutionaries", the soldier replied.

"While we were here, we endeavored to assist in the decolonization process," said another, who said goodbye slowly to an Angolan lover that he could not carry. He did not hide his displeasure with other colleagues: yes, he told us, they were integrating the ranks of mercenaries or had already

links with rightwing-sectors of Portugal. And frustrated by an irreversible reality, they had revenge destroying public buildings of Luanda, sabotaging the very Military Hospital and destroying equipment that would be vital for the Angolan population and the dozens of wounded that came every day from the battle fronts.

In the evening of the last day of colonialism, the people went neatly to Largo 1ffl de Maio, where ceremonies would be performed. The greatly vaunted bombing of the city did not materialize. In the suburbs, which had no means of transport to reach the site of ceremonies, speakers were placed and pallets with flag poles so that the proclamation of independence was played in each of these locations. The same was true in remote rural areas. From an early age, children tried to put colorful posters and banners in some houses, helped by their mothers and sisters, who painted signs and revolutionary phrases. One of the most widespread sentences was greatly significant: "We must make war to end war".

Interestingly, in many of these popular proclamations midnight was not waited, but, even so, the ceremonies were even more formal than the very central ceremony: the people sought a Portuguese flag to remove from the mast and hoist the new flag, from the newest independent country.

In Largo 1ffl de Maio, the places were running empty. The *pioneiros* (pioneers), who for so long had been prepared for this occasion, paraded firmer than ever, proud of their homemade guns, always with the torn and old uniforms, losing on their slender arms and dragging with difficulty and grace to the big soldier boots they had inherited from the ancients.

Women, organized in OMA - Organization of Angolan Women - sang revolutionary songs and melodies from other Portuguese-speaking nations. A few minutes after midnight, fighters armed with *katanas* - symbol of the first stage of the conflict –lighted up the "Eternal Flame", as Agostinho Neto arrived at the official platform, amid great applause from the public that was scattering across the square.

Thousands of shots fired into the air by FAPLA, with tracer bullets that crossed the skies, shouts of joy, hugs, songs and tears that quivered the hearts of all that were in the crowd. Would the attack be so often announced? A special plane with the delegates of the progressive forces of Portugal that at that time was arriving in Luanda did not even land. The commander heard about the shots and, since the airport tower had no explanation to give about what was happening, he decided to return to Lisbon, refueling in Brazzaville.

How and why the curtain of fire happened was not clear in those moments; what was seen in Largo 1ffl de Maio was that it was accompanied

by thousands of guerrillas who considered those bursts as part of the celebration fist, which should be imitated.

Agostinho Neto, undisturbed, kept on reading his speech. He outlined the main policy directives that Angola's Liberation Movement adopted as a government plan. He then sang with the people the new national anthem, which only a few hours before was acknowledged. Still, he asked for a minute of silence in memory of the dead for the freedom and independence, and this gesture was the most sensible tribute to all missing comrades, those who did not live to attend these dramatic and exciting moments. Many of the widows and mothers of martyrs wept and were supported by friendly people.

The People's Republic of Angola was born marked by the joy of the people, by the fighting unity against enemies and by the common and collective sacrifice that greatly ennobled all.

The black and red flag took the central mast: black as the African continent; red as the blood of those who had fallen.

Neiva Moreira and I were in front of the official platform. The crowd was immense. There were the main leaders of the MPLA, African delegations and two more presences that had a special significance, for different reasons, the representative of Brazil, Ambassador Ovídio Melo, and the representative of Vietnam. They were both very close to president Agostinho Neto.

In an improvised way, the President called on the people to meet in the Government Palace Square after the closing of the ceremonies, already at dawn. Into the night, people gave a start to their joy with dances, songs and marches full of enthusiasm, until the rising sun of the first day of complete victory against colonialism. The experienced tensions, the accumulated fatigue, the daily responsibilities assumed seemed to disappear on the faces of the small group of the Movement leaders who were leading the fight and the new state settling. Many of the ideals that had led them to take up arms were converted into reality, even though they knew it was a hard and long way between them and the final victory.

The celebrations had a peak at 11 pm on November 11th, 1975, when on behalf of the Political Bureau of the MPLA, Lucio Lara declared Agostinho Neto the first constitutional President of People's Republic of Angola and announced that more than twenty nations had recognized the new State and its government. In a public act it was read a list of governments that recognized the new independent state and the recognition by Brazil was announced.

The day before, at 8 pm, that is, given the difference in time zones, at

zero hours in Luanda, the Foreign Ministry of Brazil (Itamaraty) spokesman had issued a statement in Brasilia, in which the military regime recognized the new state and the MPLA as their legitimate government.

What almost no one knew is that the recognition by Brazil hardly materialized, and that only the personal commitment of Ambassador Ovídio Melo - recently deceased - and, as it seems, the strong personality of General Geisel, who decided to "join the fight" with opponents of this African politics, have ensured the proclamation of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry.

"Given the dubious actions of the last weeks before the independence, I clearly passed to the Foreign Ministry that it would not be appropriate to err. Either we recognized the MPLA government in the first hour or I would have instructions to immediately retreat from Angola, with the Special Representatives and all Brazilian workers, "reported the ambassador Ovídio Melo". "Finally, two days before the scheduled parties, I received the decision of the Foreign Ministry to be reported to the local government: Brazil recognizes the government of Luanda by statement to be given to the press in Brasilia at 8 pm on November 10th (midnight in Angola), just while the MPLA would be taking over".

On the same date, as reported by the Foreign Ministry, would be signed the decree that created the Embassy of Brazil in Luanda. "I conveyed the message to the Prime Minister of the ruling MPLA party, Lopo do Nascimento, and the news caused great impact and joy in the MPLA", recalled the diplomat, who was in Angola until January 1976.

On the afternoon of November 11th, 1975, in the popular parade in Catete Avenue, new emotions: the FAPLA welcomed President Neto in a non-traditional parade; the forces that marched there had participated in the fighting a few hours before, in Kifangondo battle front, to which they would return as soon as the show was over. This fact gave the Independence of Angola an easily observed historical density.

This historical density was further increased by a special fact: the landing of Cuban forces in the early hours after the independence, to help the troops of the MPLA to contain the double invasion of Zaire and South Africa. Everything was done in secrecy and only gradually began appearing in the international media speculation about military reinforcements that would allow the MPLA to contain the enemy double offensive.

Before returning to Luanda for the festivities of independence, Neiva Moreira and I had passed very quickly by Portugal, where we interviewed the general Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and his chief of staff in the Mainland Operational Command (COPCON), Colonel Artur Batista – that later joined

the direction of our magazine in Portugal and that recently has passed away. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and Arthur had spent much time in Africa and had been protagonists of the April 25th, in Portugal, an openly acting in favor of decolonization. They thought that the MPLA was able to resist the foreign invasion for some time, but that if it would be prolonged, substantial foreign aid would be required. In view of this assessment, both General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and Arthur Batista raised a hypothesis that, at the time, seemed unrealistic: the possibility of MPLA to receive foreign aid. We asked from where this possible help would come from, to what Othello replied: "Of the progressive African states in the first place, but can also come from non-African countries, Cuba, for example."

Curious, because such a scenario would be full of complex geopolitical implications, Neiva asked if this was a simple hypothesis or if it was founded on any concrete information. Quite frankly, but stating that this is a conjecture of him own, strictly personal, Otelo replied that he was sure that this would happen as soon as it was proclaimed the independence and the MPLA government could make its own decisions.

Months later, in a new conversation with Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, Neiva insisted on that question, and the answer was the same: "My speculation was merely the result of a thorough analysis of the situation," said the military leader of the Carnation Revolution.

Forty years later, I still get deeply emotional while reliving those moments. They marked the history of the Angolan people and also my own life. Long live to the independent Angola! Long live to the Angolan people!

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ABSTRACT

In 2015 it was completed 40 years since the end of the last great colonial empire, which had been initiated in the fifteenth century when the Portuguese sailors dominated the seas. An empire defeated in the twentieth century in Angola, one of the last and most painful episodes of the African continent emancipation process. Latin America was present in this process through two protagonists with different roles but equally decisive: one at the diplomatic level and the other militarily, Brazil and Cuba. The date raises a reflection on the cost of human lives and sacrifices that made foundation for the path to the XXI century Angola. This matter reflects the memories of a journalistic coverage of this historical moment.

BRAZIL-PALOP[1] RELATIONS: 40 YEARS OF COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC (1974/75-2015)

Kamilla Raquel Rizzi[2]

Introduction

Beyond a mere geographic feature, the South Atlantic Ocean should be understood, historically, as a link between Africa and Brazil. The importance of Africa to Brazil and of Brazil to Africa is justified by the historic-cultural connections between the two coasts, which was triggered by the establishment of a Portuguese presence on the African coast, starting on the 15th century. As Costa e Silva puts it, one cannot "[...] write Brazilian History without having a Portuguese perspective and an African perspective"[3] (Costa and Silva 2005, 54).

Thus, the Portuguese Empire, by the mercantile world system – 14th to 18th centuries – connected Western Europe, West Africa (and also East) and South America (along with Asia), through relations inherent to the colonial pact. Then, in the 19th and 20th centuries, the states that achieved their independence from Portuguese imperialism (Brazil, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Angola) kept their common grounds, such as cultural aspects, bonds and interests based in the South Atlantic.

The concept of system is essential to the understanding of international politics; only through a vision of the coherent, complex and

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1 An acronym meaning *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*, or African Countries with Portuguese as an Official Language.

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3 The original text as follows: "[...] escrever História do Brasil sem ter uma perspectiva de fora, uma perspectiva portuguesa e uma perspectiva africana".

dynamic entirety of International Relations (economic, political, ideological, cultural, legal, diplomatic and military) it is possible to understand the prevalence of politics in the international arena, since states

> [...] seek to obtain a more favorable position in the international scenario, with the aim of promoting their own interests, influencing in issues and problems, increasing their power and changing the power correlation in their favor, or even preserving the *status quo* (Brucan 1974, 63).

The international system, anarchic at its base, is configured by the actions and decisions of nation-states, influenced by objective forces that act in that system – the structure, capacities and the power relations in a given period – motivating the character and the agenda of the relations between states, and therefore, the very nature of that system (Brucan 1977, 12). While analyzing the historic continuities and breaks in their totality, a definition of the world system becomes evident, and it seeks to overcome the dichotomy between internal and external factors in the explanation of its dynamics.

The (hegemonic) core and its (subordinate) periphery are concepts of a selfsame world system, which elements are interdependent, there being no meaning in considering independent data on one hand and subordinate data on the other. These states (Brazil and PALOP) are understood as peripheral states (Guimarães 1999) in the world system, although with marked differences in their participation, resulting from the specific way in which each colony and resulting state became independent, structured their governments and conducted their foreign relations.

Thus, it is fundamental to understand how the deep forces (geographic factors, demographic conditions, economic forces and nationalism, as Renouvin and Duroselle 1967) express themselves in these countries, as a consequence of historic, political, economic and social transformations, in order to analyze the interests at stake in their respective bilateral relations, and therefore, in their participation in the world system. On the two margins of the Atlantic Ocean, common historical and cultural patterns were established (and mixed), originating societies that were convergent in ideas and interests, which reflect, necessarily, the relations that were established between these peer countries.

The PALOP become apparent as a natural area of focus, interest and influence for Portugal and Brazil, due to the historic-social and cultural links. In this present study, the three main characteristics that guide Brazil PALOP relations in the South Atlantic since 1974/75 will be examined: a) the bilateral interaction; b) the multilateral interaction and c) the recurrence of the value of the South Atlantic region in the current world system, with traces of multipolarity, also identifying how Portugal came to return to the

orbit of the PALOP since the decade of 1980.

Due to the disparities between their economic, political, demographic and territorial characteristic, it is convenient to define Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Sao Tomé and Principe as the Small PALOP, as opposed to the Large PALOP (Angola and Mozambique). Despite their shared past and the characteristics that make them peripheral states in the world system, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tomé and Principe have important differences, which become significant in examining their degree of development and their participation in the system. The aggregate study of these five countries is incomplete, since the fact that they shared the same colonial history, and later their post-independence orientation towards the adhesion to some form of socialism constitutes an exceedingly frail basis to enact general analyses.

The similarities between the Large PALOP vis-a-vis the Small PALOP are defined by their historic-cultural conditions, guaranteed by the Portuguese presence in their territories, having trade as an axis, adding to that the slavery of Africans, whose main destiny was Brazil. The export-oriented production of agricultural goods through monoculture (sugar, cocoa and coffee, mainly), tied to the consolidation of a bureaucratic class (that went on to become the post-independence elite), along with the development of a mass of unemployed and precariously employed in concerning social conditions, delimited the economic, political and social structures of these post-colonial states. Chabal (2002) discusses that the political africanization that took place in the continent was a consequence of the process related to the political legacy of colonialism – ideas, practices and institutions – which were "assimilated, transformed and reappropriated by Africa". The privatization of these states, with their foreign investment capitalization strategies, are strongly connected to clientelism and corruption networks, which ultimately provide most of the necessary resources for its maintenance, such as the exchange of goods and services at the personal level (along with political support).

Another fundamental aspect of the formation of these post-colonial states refers to what Chabal calls hegemonic pursuit, which denotes an effort by the state to be absolutely comprehensive in its actions, seeking to add dynamism in all spheres of public life, without, however, having the effective means to do so. As a result, civil society has "undermined and penetrated the state in many ways, contributing to its weakness and failure" (Seibert 2002, 23). Therefore, the actions of high-level public servants with the effect of privatizing the state (accumulating private wealth in detriment of providing a public service) – many times Portuguese that remained in the African territory, or nationals that had their education in Portuguese

territory and then returned to their homelands – is examined by Chabal (1993; 2002) and Seibert (2002) as resulting from the structure of African pre-colonial societies, in which the "[...] accumulation was a means to attain positions and social status, enabling the redistribution as a mechanism to maintain the social statute and the community's cohesion" (Seibert 2002, 23). As a result of its historical conditioning factors linked to Portuguese colonialism and to the independence processes, these countries present deep structural deficiencies when they develop their participation in the world system. These deficiencies affect the infrastructure of basic services provided to the population (education, health, sanitation) and of the economy (agriculture, cattle raising, public administration, foreign commerce) that require modernizations and adequations to the demands of development, by means of partnerships with other countries.

Regarding the differences between these two groups of Lusophone countries, they are reflected mainly by their geographic dimensions, more favorable to the first group, enabling a more sustained development, in the medium and long terms, with an abundance of vegetable and mineral resources and an agriculture that is not overly dependent on climate and soil, unlike the Small PALOP. The size of their borders and their coast make Angola and Mozambique countries with greater potential for economic development, and therefore, for social development, besides the chance for a more solid regional presence, with the possibility of negotiations and disputes. On the other hand, the Small PALOP, whose insularity (Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe due to being archipelagoes; and Guinea Bissau, located on the mainland, but amid a Francophone enclave) and reduced territorial dimensions hold back their possibilities for development and autonomous action, tending to restrict their foreign agenda to historical-cultural bonds or to issues in their immediate surroundings.

Brazilian foreign policy and its cooperative action towards the PALOP: the bilateral path

There is an inherent relationship between the domestic factors and the formulation and enacting of a State's foreign policy. The internal and external realms, despite being independent, cannot be researched in a wholly independent manner, since their structures, actions and actors are linked and cause common effects. Putnam (2010) argues that the discussion about which realm has greater influence over the other is irrelevant, since both influence one another in a direct and balanced way. Therefore, it is up to every state to take into account its domestic responsibilities without neglecting its foreign policies. The interconnectedness of the two

dimensions requires them to be in an established coherence regarding the objectives and the strategies to reach them. In these states, foreign actions have been historically connected to the advances and retreats of their domestic politics (national viability), according to the period's world system – that is, the degree of international permissibility (Jaguaribe 1980). In the case of the PALOP, the degree of complexity between the domestic factors and the world system's constraints have, since their independences, deeply conditioned their external action, restricting actions to circumscribed actors and demands that remain, inasmuch as the national viability of these countries passed through distinct conditions since 1974: the small PALOP, with a socialist experiment, with single party regimes, attempted to launch the bases for socioeconomic development, however, without success; the large PALOP, also with socialist experiments, were mired in internal conflicts (with regional and international consequences) and also did not manage to advance in the organization of their States and societies until the decade of 1990.

In this study, we took as a starting point the analysis of Brazilian foreign policy from its fragilities (dependence) and its potential (autonomy) regarding the world system. We also agree with Soares de Lima when she asserts that the orientations of Brazilian foreign policy result, simultaneously, from the necessity of facing the constraints and vulnerabilities caused by the participation of the country in the world system, on one hand, and on the other, by the "attempt to harness occasional margins for maneuver in that system *with the objective of redefining its participation*" (Soares de Lima 1990, 10, emphasis added).

By seeking to redefine its participation in the world system since 1960, Brazilian foreign policy has increasingly taken into account development and South-South relations as possibilities for expanding the country's international relations, in the sense of overcoming the Brazilian internal constraints and of those peers, and also reducing their degree of dependence regarding the Central States. We add that the Brazilian foreign policy toward the PALOP – given the social and economic constraints of these countries, which had negative effects on those relations – was based, from 1974 to 2015, on a cooperation action caused by the demands, but complemented by a political or technical element (depending on the period under scrutiny). We extend that concept with the notions brought by Lima, arguing with Souza, in which one must also highlight the

> [...] '*active development policy*' and [...] the needs to '*articulate a national project oriented towards overcoming the internal unbalances in the first place*'. The active participation [of Brazil in the world system] must be sought in the 'harmonization with countries that have interests similar to our own

and are willing to resist the impositions of the dominant powers' (Lima, 2005, 11, emphasis added)

This external action – whose more precise notion must be understood as an active development policy, aiming to configure an influence area for the PALOP – was operated with minimally diverse focuses in each stage: from 1974 to 1990, the cooperation with a political focus was the emphasis of Brazilian foreign policy for the PALOP, within the framework of the horizontality that marked Third World thought; from 1990 to 2002, the purely technical cooperation was the conduit that maintained Brazilian presence in those countries; from 2003 to 2015, that cooperation took on, once again, the political focus and sought greater depths in terms of the renewed South-South cooperation.

For the PALOP, it is evident that Brazilian foreign policy fits these relations with the purpose of establishing a direct influence sphere in that African lusophone space, whose external actions – once facing the difficulties of Brazilian foreign policy in consolidating economic links – were based on development as a vector, made concrete by means of cooperation actions.

Horizontal cooperation (1974-1990)

This first period was marked by the establishment of diplomatic relations between Brazil and the recently independent PALOP. The years of 1974 and 1975 are, thus, fundamental to understand the way in which Brazil approached the African South Atlantic coast once more, identifying the historic factor as the main conditioning agent (and, conversely, how Portugal, as a consequence of the independence process, distanced itself).

 Whereas in the decade of 1950, England and France were preparing to transfer their government power to the African colonies, Portugal made the following argument about its ultramarine possessions:

> [Portugal] gradually made clear that it did not see self determination, much less independence, as an option for its African possessions, and this understanding consolidated itself over time, apparently determined to maintain itself at all costs [...]. The Portuguese, moving in the opposite direction [of France and England] had not prepared anything that could be left to their successors [in Africa] because they had no intention of abandoning the continent (Arnold 2005, 307).

In the decade of 1950, the Organization of the United Nations (UN) had considerable international authority which was used in order to aid African nationalist movements and decolonization. Portugal's adhesion to

the UN only in 1955 (as it had been previously vetoed by the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in 1946 due to Portugal's colonialist stance) became a focal point in discussions. The dissolution of the British, French and Belgian empires in the decades of 1950 and 1960 caused Salazar to be skeptical of the transformation of the British Empire into the Commonwealth. In December 1960, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) approved Resolution 1514 (known as the Anticolonial Declaration). The external pressure, combined with the internal tensions (with an opposition led by intellectuals and politicians), in the end of 1960, led Portugal to abandon its isolation and to accept to initiate a dialogue for decolonization.

The war in the Portuguese colonies began in Angola, in February 1961. The examination of that situation by the UN was focused on two aspects: the Angola crisis, and the lack of adherence by the Portuguese government to the recommendations of that organization. In April, the UNGA approved, by 73 votes in favor, two against (Portugal and South Africa) and nine abstentions (among which Brazil, France and the United Kingdom), the Resolution 1603. Finding that the continuity of disorder and conflicts and the lack of measures to diminish inequalities could put the maintenance of peace and international security at risk, the Assembly, calling on Resolutions 1514 and 1542, decided: on the one hand, to urge the Portuguese government to urgently promote reforms that followed the Anticolonial Declaration; and on the other, established a subcommittee integrated by five members, in charge of investigating the situation. In response to international pressure, Portugal created the Free Trade Zone between the colonies and the metropole, in the following November.

Moita (1985, 504) identifies that the involvement of the Portuguese troops in the struggles for liberation in the African colonies is directly connected to the political orientation of the regime. The Carnation Revolution, in April 1974, must be similarly understood as the beginning of the transfer of power over to the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

While discussing the Portuguese presence in the colonial wars of independence, we must follow closely the simultaneous involvement of the troops in three conflicts (Angola, starting in 1961; Guinea Bissau, after 1963; and Mozambique, from 1964), which required a complex military and logistical engagement. Chabal (2002, 4) points to the military question as determinant of the local complex, along with the issues of the resistance and its campaigns/results. The initiative to carry out insurgencies in these three colonies followed from a practical and ideological base, in which the understanding of the colonial war was the evidence of the intransigence of Portugal's colonialism in refusing the negotiations for the decolonization.

The Treaty of Friendship and Consultations with Portugal (1953)

linked Brazil to that country, in that time's world system. From that moment until the beginning of the decade of 1970, Brazilian policy developed an official ambiguity towards the colonial question in Africa. If, on one hand, there was a political commitment attached to the defense of colonialism between Brazil and Portugal, on the other hand, there was an increasingly evident interest on the part of Brazil in establishing contact with Portuguese colonies in Africa (soon to be independent countries). Its text established mutual consultation between the two parts, in international issues, and also promoted the Portuguese-Brazilian Community in the world. Brazil subordinated its position regarding Portuguese colonies in Africa to Portuguese interests, since the document legally embodied the Brazilian-Portuguese friendship.

The year of 1974 must be understood as a turning point in Brazilian policy towards Africa[4], and, as a consequence, the end of ambiguity on the issue of Portuguese decolonization. The fall of Marcello Caetano, in Portugal, in April, favored the definitive resumption of the anti-colonialist and anti-racist thematic in Brazilian foreign policy[5]. In June 8th, the following year, the Itamaraty, by an official notice, defined, finally, the Brazilian stance as irreversibly favorable to the independence of Portuguese former African colonies, as well as anticipating the recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which had already declared its independence from Portugal.

By basing itself on the "special bonds of friendship" between Portugal and Brazil, and between Brazil and all the African nations, the Brazilian stance defined, furthermore, the need of a peaceful solution to all independences at stake, which "ensures the respect to all the legitimate aspirations of interested peoples", reiterating the condemnation of "all

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4 Guinea Bissau declared its independence unilaterally in September 23rd 1973, but it was only recognized in September 10th 1974, under the official name of Republic of Guinea-Bissau; Mozambique achieved independence in June 25th 1975, as the People's Republic of Mozambique; Cape Verde became independent in July 5th 1975, as the Republic of Cape Verde; Sao Tome and Principe, in July 12th 1975, as the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe; Angola, in November 11th 1975, as the People's Republic of Angola. In the case of Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, until 1980 Amilcar Cabral's ideal of Cape Verde-Guinea Bissau Unity was in place, two independent countries governed by a single party (PAIGC). All governments in the PALOP were ruled under single party regimes until the decade of 1990.

5 The emblematic moment in the open defense of decolonization on the part of Brazil – which had already begun in the XXVI General Assembly of the United Nations of 1972 – took place in 1974, when the Itamaraty received an official communiqué from the Organization of African Unity, asking that the country, "as a friend of Portugal, exert its influence with the new Portuguese government in favor of the concession of independence to Mozambique and Angola, along with the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau" (OAU 1974, 67).

policies of colonialist or racist character", and did not take on any mediation role in the resolution of that situation, but stated that it would offer its collaboration if it was requested "by interested parties to which Brazil feels linked by history, race and culture" (Problema Português 1974, 67).

There was a convergence of Brazilian foreign policy for these countries (and from these countries towards Brazil), although with two distinct stages: a) from 1974 to 1985 (during the presidencies of Geisel and Figueiredo), there was an increasing intensity in the political interactions, along with the identification of demands in economic relations and cooperation possibilities; and b) from 1985 to the first trimester of 1990 (the Sarney presidency), which was marked by the retraction of contacts, especially due to the internal and external constraints in these countries.

Until 1985, the very notion that the country had reached a considerable importance, in political and economic terms, in the world system, along with its strategic position in the South Atlantic, justified its close links with the PALOP. Open ended cooperation agreements were signed with all five countries, and these would serve as base documents in future actions, presenting the themes of bilateral cooperation projects: health, culture, public administration, professional qualification, education, environment, sports, human rights, cooperativism and agriculture (signed with Guinea-Bissau in 1978, Cape Verde in 1977, Angola in 1980, Mozambique in 1981 and Sao Tome and Principe in 1984), which were complemented over the years, accordingly with African demands, by means of adjustments.

The alignment with the Third World, evidenced by the stance adopted at the UN of favoring anticolonial movements, was also emblematic, given the accusations of neoprotectionism and external indebtedness. A key moment in that process was the political activism in alliances and coalitions that sought to strengthen the Brazilian participation in multilateral organisms, such as the G-77, the Amazonian Pact and the Cartagena Group. In the diplomatic documentation of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, there are many references to the synonym terms "mutual cooperation", "conjugated interests", "political coordination", "mutually satisfactory advantages" and even "diplomatic earthmoving efforts".

In the Sarney government, the creation of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC, from the Portuguese *Agência Brasileira de Cooperação*) and the Institute for Research and International Relations (IPRI, from the Portuguese, *Instituto de Pesquisa e Relações Internacionais*), in December 1987, under the authority of the Foreign Ministry, demonstrates how the demands in the area of cooperation were an important topic in Brazilian foreign policy, as a mechanism to complement the political and commercial relations. This horizontal cooperation, that would become mostly technical,

especially in the areas of health, education and human resources, should lead the country's foreign actions, identifying demands and potentialities. In 1989, the President pointed out the relevance of the area in Brazilian foreign actions, in the sense of "from outside to within", but mainly in the sense of "from within to abroad":

> The ABC was created to play the role of central organism of the international technical cooperation system of the Brazilian government. The measure represented a considerable operational advance in the treatment given to this matter, since Brazil, previously a mere recipient of international cooperation, had developed its own capacity of also cooperate with friendly nations in the Southern hemisphere. This evolution has led quite naturally to the structuring of the Agency according to two basic guidelines: the receiving of technical cooperation, and the technical cooperation between developing countries (Sarney 1989, 37).

The configuration of the Brazilian cooperation policy, starting with the ABC, was based on the promotion of development ("the solid base for overcoming, peacefully, the obstacles to development", according to Abreu Sodré 1989, 63). This cooperation was focused mainly on those sectors of the economy considered priorities, both by the donor and the receptor[6]: agribusiness, cattle raising, environment, education, transport, mining, irrigation, healthcare, sanitation, social assistance and the qualification of human resources[7]. In 1989, Veiga Cabral analyzed that Brazilian African policy, which was in its consolidation efforts:

> [...] the common bonds [...] tend to grow closer. Brazil seeks Africa and Africa seeks Brazil. Objectives very different from those times [colonialism]. The main interests are alternatives for economic expansion, as well as its repercussions in international politics. On the African side, the interests are the basic development of infrastructure and the support of one of the leaders of the Third World. Both share a common past, colonialism, both seek through South-South dialogue a solution to their problems, in the increasingly competitive and exclusive universe of the developed. *Both, ultimately, seek to enable their complementarities, both economic as well as political* (Veiga Cabral 1989, 5, emphasis added).

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6 Regarding the PALOP, Brazil has always been either a cooperation donor, or an articulator of three way cooperation.

7 The partnership between ABC and internal or (especially) foreign agencies (such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme, the Organization of American States and the International Labor Organization) was standardized from this moment onwards, made possible also by the concept of triangulation (the possibility of a developing country to receive cooperation resources from a developed country or international organism, to absorb Brazilian technology), whose base was Brazil.

The basis of educational cooperation, the Student Graduation Agreement Program (PEC-G, from its Portuguese form, *Programa de Estudantes-Convênio de Graduação*), which had its origin in the end of the decade of 1920 (administrated exclusively by the Foreign Ministry until the year of 1967), was developed, since then, on the basis of the signature of joint protocols, with indeterminate duration, between Education Ministries (and Superior Education Institutions) and the Foreign Ministry.

From 1985 to 1990, starting with the stagnation of previous actions, due to the internal and international constraints, there was special attention to cooperation. And important aspect was the Summit in São Luís, Maranhão, in 1989, when President Sarney received the Heads of State and Government of Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe, and a Special Representative from the President of Angola. In this occasion, the International Institute of the Portuguese Language (IILP) was created, which objectives were to defend and promote the language; to enrich the language as a means for culture, education, information and access to scientific and technologic knowledge; develop the cultural relations between lusophones; provide incentives to cooperation, research and exchange in the realms of culture and language; and spread the Orthographic Agreement.

Technical cooperation (1990-2002)

The Brazilian governments from 1990 to 2002 placed the country within the post-Cold War world system's logic, based on neoliberal globalization, adding greater importance to the market and to economic issues. The relative draining of the Foreign Minister of its prerogatives in the decision making process in foreign policy completed that rescaling of the country's foreign positioning, which became oriented towards the global North and regional integration, focusing on the MERCOSUL. The African continent was confined to the background inasmuch as Brazilian foreign policy formulation and enacting was concerned, a fact that is demonstrated by the scarce political contacts and a low volume of bilateral trade.

At that moment, there was a reduction of bilateral relations as a consequence of the transformations that the post-Cold War world system imposed on states, with complex transformations both within Brazil and especially on the PALOP (the small PALOP underwent economic and political reforms, and the large PALOP, in addition to them, were either going through a process of stabilization – Mozambique – or facing a civil war – Angola).

In Cape Verde, only in the year of 1988, with the 3rd Congress of the PAICV, the process of internal reforms began. The initial momentum was based on the economy, but that soon spilled over into a political restructuring, which culminated on the presidential elections of February 1991, which marked the institutionalization of a multiparty system in the country. In Angola, constitutional revisions were made in 1992, establishing a semipresidential system, abolishing the death penalty and removing the expression "People's" from the name of the Republic. In the case of Mozambique, the Constitution of 1990 introduced in the national political system the possibility of organizing political parties, and in 1992 the conflict between FRELIMO and RENAMO was ended and the first multiparty elections took place in 1994. In Guinea Bissau, in January 1991, during the 2nd Extraordinary Congress of the PAIGC, President Nino Vieira launched the country's democratization, altering the Constitution to allow political pluralism and the freedoms of speech, association, assembly and press. In Sao Tome and Principe, the political transition evolved in parallel with economic reform: the new Constitution was approved in March 1990, after the neoliberal adjustments of the end of the decade of 1980, defining presidential and legislative elections in the same year of 1990; in the end of May, the parliament approved the law of political parties.

The line that kept Brazil close to the PALOP in this dynamic period of domestic and international change was technical cooperation, which by the maintenance of a few projects, allowed the country to maintain a minimal continuity with the actions pursued in the previous stage. This cooperation, which between 1975 and 1990, was thought of as an horizontal relationship, that is, between equals, became, between 1990 and 2002, more technical and bureaucratic, with the reduction of projects, budgets and human resources.

The only conceptions that were maintained were those of "relative neighborhood", "African presence in Brazil, as the true ethnic and social substrate of our country [...]", or still "condition of developing country which, with differentiated shades and degrees, we share with the totality of the African continent [...]", as per the diplomatic statements. The lack of economic complementarity was an important obstacle in relations that only did not cease because of the understanding of the "great similarity of physical, climactic and social conditions between Brazil and many African countries" (LAMPREIA, 1995, pg. 202). The selective contacts that were maintained at this time between the margins of the South Atlantic were based on the CPLP, ZOPACAS and the new South Africa.

The ABC, since its inception, was integrated to the General Secretariat of the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, but then became an organism of Direct

Administration, with the aim of "coordinating, negotiating, approving, following up on and evaluating, on a national scope, the development cooperation in all areas of knowledge" (Agência 2011). Gradually, the ABC expanded the scope of Brazilian cooperation actions with most African countries, within the framework of "technical cooperation between developing countries". Within the scope of the PEC-G and the PEC-PG, as well as the PEC-TEC, there was the maintenance of the student exchange of about 50 students from the PALOP going to Brazil annually, between 1990 and 2002, as well as the technical cooperation on the subject of public administration, within the "Public Administration Project", elaborated and executed by the FUNDAP, with financing from the UNDP, within the concept of three way cooperation.

South-South cooperation (2003-2015)

In the contemporary period, during the governments of Lula da Silva (2003-2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2015), there was a renewal of Brazilian foreign policy to Africa, and especially towards the PALOP. The South Atlantic reemerged as a link in these relations, denominated by Chancellor Celso Amorim (who was Foreign Minister during Lula's two terms) as a "goodwill belt" (Amorim 2011). A clear concept of foreign policy articulated with defense policy was noted, since the South-South cooperation was guided by a diplomatic strategy that originated in an "authentic wish of exercising solidarity with poorer countries", but also "to help expand Brazilian participation" in the world system, where cooperation is coordinated "[...] between equals in matters of trade, investment, science and technology and other fields, reinforces our stature and strengthens our position in negotiations regarding trade, finances and climate" (Amorim 2011).

The resumed pragmatism was presented by the President in an interview given to the Algerian press, in 2006, about the relations with the PALOP as a "politico-diplomatic and cooperation reality" (Silva 2006). Chancellor Amorim, in a general analysis about the eight years of his management, stated that the PALOP are "understandably, those with whom Brazil has the longest lasting, most solid and diverse relation" (Amorim 2010a, 233). The Itamaraty had its traditional role recovered in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy as a state policy.

Celso Amorim understood this cooperation as a "diplomatic strategy that was originated in an authentic wish of exercising solidarity with poorer countries", but also "to help expand Brazilian participation" in the world system, where cooperation is coordinated

"[...] between equals in matters of trade, investment, science and technology and other fields, reinforces our stature and strengthens our position in negotiations regarding trade, finances and climate. Lastly, but not any less importantly, the construction of coalitions with developing countries is also a way of bringing about the reform of global governance, with the aim of making international institutions fairer and more democratic (Amorim 2010, 230)

In the PALOP, the fifteen years that began in 2000 represented decisive moments in their historic evolution, which allowed that greater approximation with Brazil, but also with Portugal (and the European Union), African powers (Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa) and the international institutions: Angola ended their civil war in 2002, and has set in motion a solid development and regional participation project, which turned the country into an African leader, directly competing with Nigeria and South Africa in regional affairs, but also among the PALOP; Cape Verde consolidated its multiparty democracy, and has increasingly approached the European Union, with the argument of being a geographic bridge between Europe, Brazil and the PALOP, especially performing in the services sector; Guinea Bissau, as in the decade of 1990, deepened its political instability, which generated social and economic chaos, becoming one of the main concerns in the fields of defense and human security among the PALOP (especially in the CPLP); Mozambique also consolidated its democracy in the contemporary era, although with political corruption scandals and increasing tension between FRELIMO and RENAMO, lately; Sao Tome and Principe sought to move gradually towards the institutionalization of its democracy, but suffering with political crises and *coups* in the surrounding area, especially after the Gulf of Guinea became an oil exporting area, along with Nigeria.

Thus South-South cooperation was consolidated as an instrument of the projection of Brazilian foreign policy. From 2003 to today, there has been an evolution of the bilateral agenda: deepening actions related to development, joining articulated foreign and defense policies, but maintaining cooperative action as the main propelling element. Although with foreign policy guidelines that were very complementary among themselves, there is a difference in emphasis and pragmatism between the Lula and the Dilma governments: the first one was more oriented to the intense resumption of the African agenda in Brazilian foreign policy, especially favored by the programs, projects and actions enacted between 2003 and 2010; whereas the succeeding government only conserved the actions of its predecessor, although with less intensity and no proactivity, merely seeking to maintain the extraordinary external and bilateral gains

obtained in the preceding period.

The Lula and Dilma governments were marked by the increase in cooperation agreements and development programs with Africa, increasing the availability of positions in the PEC-G and PEC-PG programs. The PALOP established themselves as the main beneficiaries by the cooperation agreements, both by the federal institutions and by agreements signed directly with private superior education institutions, through religious associations or NGOs. The cooperation actions in the areas of public administration and human resources qualification, education and agribusiness were configured as pillars of Brazilian foreign policy toward the PALOP.

Main aspects of cooperative action: programs and results

Since 1974, cooperative action has been identified as a priority in Brazilian foreign policy, due to the demands historically presented by the PALOP, going through the variables previously presented (cooperation in areas that complemented each other, oriented towards development). As articulating agents in the Brazilian state, we can identify the Foreign Ministry and the ABC, with a competent and realist performance, in an institutionalized cooperation policy. The main area of cooperative action in Brazil has become the formation and qualification of African human resources (education, agribusiness and public administration).

In education, the formation of teachers for the primary and secondary levels, along with the creation of libraries and film libraries, and the introduction of education through radio networks were some of the main initiatives in the decades of 1970 and 1980. Starting in the decade of 2000, the introduction of the *Bolsa Escola* ("School Grant") and *Alfabetização Solidária* ("Solidary Literacy") increased the advances in those areas. Since 1978, the PEC-G, and since the decade of 1990 the PEC-PG (similar to the PEC-G, but for post graduation students) have brought, in average, 50 students of the PALOP annually for higher education in Brazilian institutions – with significant increase in the 2003-2015 period (in which an average of 300 students from the PALOP entered Brazil annually).

Regarding cooperation in the area of diplomacy, there was the formation of diplomatic cadres since the decade of 1980, at the Rio Branco Institute, in Brasília (in average, 2 students per PALOP, per year, with grants). On the subject of public administration, there have been semiannual courses in the areas of comptrollership and accounting targeting PALOP public servants, with the participation of the São Paulo Administrative Development Foundation (FUNDAP), of the Public Administration

Institute (IBAM) and the School of Finance Administration (ESAF). In the legal sector, there has been support from the Brazilian Electoral Justice to the electoral census, electoral observers, Superior Electoral Courts, Regional Electoral Courts, census and civil registry, especially in the small PALOP.

Cooperation in the agricultural and cattle sectors was developed with the participation of EMBRAPA (with a regional office inaugurated in 2008, in Ghana), justifying its actions by the Brazilian experience in tropical agriculture, in the attempt of changing the low African agricultural productivity. There has also taken place the formation of human resources (in African and Brazilian territory), the exchange of experiences and technologies, exchange of scientific research, support for the production of fruit (especially bananas and pineapple) and cereals (such as rice, corn, beans and soy), in the raising of cattle (mostly bovines, with the aim of extracting milk, and providing techniques for the development of pastures), along with the demand for a laboratory of animal pathology, and in the extension of rural areas.

In healthcare, there has been the progressive qualification of professionals, with specialization programs or internships, by the concession of scholarships. Joint research programs in scientific areas of common interest (especially referring to tropical diseases), donation of vaccines and medication, exchange of specialists and scientists, the organization of seminars and conferences, the sending and exchanging of equipment and necessary material for the execution of specific projects, also with the establishment of a human milk bank, and generally with the strengthening of primary care being the focus. The Oswaldo Cruz Foundation has become the responsible institution for the exchange of experiences and scientific research. Regarding the qualification of commercial and entrepreneurial sectors of the workforce, the SENAI, SENAC, SESI and SENAR have been the main responsible institutions for the installation of Professional Formation Centers in the capitals of the PALOP.

In the area of defense, there have been significant advances in the training of officers of the PALOP Armed Forces in Brazil and Africa, joint exercises, and constant sales and donations of military equipment. However, it is worth noting that there are specific characteristics to Brazilian cooperation with the small and the large PALOP: with the first group, the actions are still budding, with specific demands, the establishment of representations and military attachés, support and training for coast guards (such as in Cape Verde) and training of marines (in Sao Tome and Principe); in the second group, however, the cooperation actions, that began with the same specific actions of the previous groups, advanced and became more complex. For instance, in Angola, there has been the implementation of

the Program of Angolan Naval Power Development, by means of the Naval Projects Managerial Enterprise (EMGEPRON) of the Brazilian Navy. The Angolan Naval Program includes, along with the construction of shipyards in Angola, the acquisition of six 500 ton patrol ships, the formation of human resources for the construction, maintenance and operation of the ships, shipyards and maritime surveillance system (the creation of the Provisional Joint Defense Committee marks that advance). In the case of Mozambique, the sale of materiel has been the emphasis.

The cooperative action through the multilateral path

Brazil recognizes the African continent as an area of privileged action, and the South Atlantic is the way to this increased narrowing of relations between them. The PALOP, in behalf of historical and social matters, became fundamental partners of the Brazilian foreign policy. This "good will belt" is a Brazilian priority due to two aspects: 1) the cooperative action on the Brazilian foreign agenda, via the bilateral relations pointed previously, and via multilateral ones that are consolidated by the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) and the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS) and 2) the repositioning of the South Atlantic as a geostrategic region on the contemporary international system. In this sense, the CPLP has been the legitimizing tool and the ZOPACAS emerged, since 1994, as a promising possibility: both have in their agendas the cooperation.

A converging point refers to the Brazil-Portugal relations and their consequences for the PALOP and CPLP. The content of the Brazil-Portugal relations, historically constituted between closeness and distance, also characterized the way and phases of implementation of the CPLP itself. The two countries, for the same reasons, but in their respective contexts and local-regional-international interests (political influence and economic contacts based on common history and culture), joined forces for the consolidation of the Community, since "it was agreed that Brazil and Portugal would seek for joint cooperation actions on PALOP, in order to test the viability of a common work in the whole continent" (BRASEMB PRAIA, OF C nffl 0031-00112 1992, 1). After the African independences, Lisbon stood away for more than a decade from the former colonies, especially by the traumatic way that the independences were conquered (most of them in colonial wars) and by the posture of searching for autonomy in the international system something intended by the PALOP until de decade of 1990.

The convergence around the Portuguese language, which began

in 1989 and extended in the 1990s, was the moment of Portuguese rapprochement, now with the Brazilian competition, in PALOP. The divergence between Brasília and Lisbon, in PALOP, was about the way that the resulting cooperation would take: Portugal identified the Portugal-Brazil relation in PALOP, in the "equation 2+5=7", as the "ideal". The Brazilian diplomatic documentation is rich in this sense, since it clarifies the understanding that Brazil had of the multilateral partnership (with the creation of IILP and after the CPLP), as in the "equation 7=7", more "dynamic and positive". What prevailed, on this understanding, was the Brazilian positioning, which accomplished the Lusophone community from a cultural content, but with clear political and economic overtones.

The CPLP was born from the convergence of historical and social relations around the maintenance of a common language, having the South Atlantic as a facilitator axis. In July 1996, the creation of the CPLP converted these aspects around a political and cultural conciliation among its members, whose basis started to be the cooperation. Along these eighteen years, the action of the CPLP has also expanded to an agreement in other areas, especially in defense (after 2006). The promotion of security and stability in the South Atlantic, based on the affirmation and protection of common values and interests, has been the tonic of this cooperation. As an example, the reunion of defense ministers from 1998 in Portugal (Brazil as an observer), and the assistance of the Brazilian and Portuguese Marines to the Marines of Angola, Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau.

In 2010, at the XII Meeting of CPLP Defense Ministers, held in Brasília, the former minister Nelson Jobim expressed concern relating to concrete joint political actions between the two sides of the South Atlantic, referring to a political and defense agreement, indicating the ZOPACAS as a practicable geopolitical alternative. In 2011, at the XIII Meeting, in Brazil, it was settled among the members the "Cooperation Protocol in the Defense Domain". As fruits of this specific cooperation emerged the CPLP Strategic Analysis Center (2006) and the uninterrupted accomplishment Felino Exercises. The Armed Forces of the CPLP countries have participated in military exercises since 2000: at the first two years the Felino Exercises took place in Portugal; in 2002, it was held in Brazil; in 2003, Mozambique; in 2004, Angola; in 2005, Cape Verde; again in Brazil in 2006 (in Petrolina/PE); in 2007, in Sao Tome and Principe; in 2008, in Portugal; in 2009, Mozambique and in 2010, in Angola. In 2013 and 2014, the Exercises occurred in Brazil.

Another important point related to the multilateral way, the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZOPACAS) must be understood from the context in which it was suggested and created. In July 1988, Brazil

reunited, in Rio de Janeiro, for the first time, the ZOPACAS countries delegates to coordinate actions, considering that the Brazilian proposal was presumed as "an intra regional understanding effort, of egalitarian nature, by the aim of cooperation to peace and security in our region and the development of our peoples" (Abreu Sodré 1988, 21), in a historic moment that was forwarding to the end of the Cold War changes. The ZOPACAS was stated as a concrete effort of regional policy coordination, of multilateral nature, led by Brazil, as an instrument of the "materialization of the Atlantic-African inheritance" according to Penha (1011).

The II Zone Meeting, in June 1990, took place in Abuja and represented new lines of action between the member states. However, the international background took away its main topic from the Zone:

> from the geopolitical view, the relatively significant strategic position played by the South Atlantic during the Cold War was gradually losing its importance and, with it, the very ZOPACAS idea, precisely created by this potential conflict context (Penha 2011, 188).

The Brazilian diplomatic initiative, in 1992, of relaunch under new templates, considering the post-Cold War world system, aimed to foster new regional priorities through collective actions. The final version of ZOPACAS was an informal arrangement between the countries of the South Atlantic basin and the resolutions that institutionalized the Zone, incorporated items such as human rights defense, self-determination of peoples, racial equality and cooperation in national and regional levels, besides seeking encouragement to improvements in regional cargo logistics and in applying the international maritime law.

The independence process of Namibia, the democratization of South Africa, the normalization of the Argentina-Great Britain relations and the peacemaking efforts in Angola contributed to this recovery. The III Zone Meeting happened in September 1994, in Brasília, where the States members adopted the Declaration on the Denuclearization of the South Atlantic, Declaration on the Marine Environment, and the Declaration on Business Cooperation in the South Atlantic, along with the establishment of a Permanent Committee of the ZOPACAS, responsible for the permanent operation of the Zone's actions. The IV Meeting occurred in Cape Town, in 1996. In 1998, in Buenos Aires, the V Meeting took place, emphasizing "the necessity to fortify bonds between the two South Atlantic margins and consolidate the sub Atlantic region as an important economic basin capable of promoting the economic development of the region" (Penha 2011, 190). In 2007, the VI ZOPACAS Meeting happened in Luanda and resulted in the Luanda Plan of Action; the seventh Ministerial Meeting took place in

Montevideo in January, 2013 and culminated in the Montevideo Plan of Action, the most complete action proposal of the Zone[8].

Final considerations

From these notes, it is understood that, historically, the South Atlantic has approached its shores. The political situation has been linked to the cooperative action that guided the relationship between Brazil and the PALOP, as, since the 1970s, the consolidation of an area of regional influence is sought, based on the South Atlantic Ocean, and legitimized by the principles of development and universality of the foreign relations of the country.

Thus, the opening of the diplomatic representations in Praia, Bissau, Maputo, Luanda and São Tomé[9] – in the first period of the Brazilian foreign policy to these countries – converged with the posture to be present in those societies, whose argument of cultural justification and political-diplomatic approach generated the demands for bilateral cooperation and glimpsed possibilities of commercial exchange. Even with moments of closeness (1974/75-1990 and 2003-2015) and distance – with even the reduction of the political profile – (1990-2002), the Brazil-PALOP relations remained with a certain high level of relationship degree of technical, ministerial and business missions, but with low volume of bilateral trade. These ups and downs were a direct consequence of the combination of deep forces in those countries, with historical, social-political, and economic transformations in the past 40 years, which resulted in moments of weakness or action potentialities in the world system.

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8 The Montevideo Plan of Action contains the objectives, actions and more detailed goals of the Zone (counting 124), listing the main issues that are related to the zone performance, as global governance, disarmament, peace and security, defense, development (economic and financial issues), sustainable development and climate change, oceans and marine resources and international crimes (piracy, drug trafficking, weapons and people, money laundering and other related crimes). It is detailed the understanding of the Member States on mapping and exploration of the seabed, cooperation in the areas of environment, maritime transport, air and port security and maritime security, defense, public security and combating organized crime, as well as the development capabilities (including the exchange of information between the Zone and other regional cooperation mechanisms, such as Africa-South America Cooperation Forum and the dialogue between Member States through the permanent missions of the United Nations or other forums that are relevant for peace and security agenda issues) (PLANO 2013).

9 In 1975, even before the independence, Brazil installed a Special Representation in Luanda, in March, under the Ambassador Ovídio de Melo command, and a Special Representation in Lourenço Marques, (now Maputo), Mozambique, in April.

The South Atlantic has resumed its role of attraction in the international system configuration of forces in the XXI century, especially by the leaders in their margins – on the west side, Brazil, and, on the eastern side, Angola. Brasília increased its influence in all the PALOP, but the investments in the Great PALOP expanded, which also started to have the presence of Brazilian companies (medium and large).

The educational cooperation – deeply facilitated by language – appeared as one of the main instruments of the Brazilian foreign policy for PALOP human resources training on Brazilian soil, bringing positive results for both countries, for

> [...] without considerate the ties and links established throughout their academic lives in the country and the institutions that receive them, these students are called to return to the countries of origin, as notified, immediately after their graduation. This stimulus, argued by the associated instances, allows the [immediate] assistance to specific needs of the partner governments (up to perform partial studies), as displayed in the manual; in other words, there is a requirement to return to the country all the investment made on the education of the individual (Desidério 2005, 8).

By collaborating with the creation of an intellectual elite and policy made from PALOP (competing directly with the Portuguese Higher Education Institutions), Brazil emphasizes that these former students return to their countries to assist in the development and institutional strengthening, undertaking new standards of socioeconomic behavior taught by Brazilian professionals, from a Brazilian experience.

Brazil, thereby, has undertaken and depth, from 1974/75, the cooperation agreements with the PALOP, identifying the corresponding demands and providing its expertise and human and financial resources in the formation of programs and projects. These, increasingly specific to certain sectors of the involved societies, have sought to improve the living conditions and the development of these countries, in the sense of South-South cooperation, since this type of relationship

> between the Portuguese-speaking countries should be considered beyond the economic aspect, which limits the cooperation to the effort of market integration. In fact, its design must assume the educational and cultural meaning of becoming closer countries and cultures, in a process marked by the permanent dialogue, allowing the awakening of new possibilities in the consolidation of a widest integration [...] (Education 2007, 9).

Another feature that complements the cooperative action was the creation (in the 1980s) and the maintenance of the bilateral Mixed

Committees, a field where the African demands and cooperation possibilities became to be identified within the framework of ministerial meetings and gatherings with representatives of their respective civil societies.

Is important to emphasize that, although the cooperative action is the basis of the Brazil-PALOP relations 40 years ago, there is an elementary basic and generalist design of projects and programs applied to the five PALOP, as the basic Projects of Social Security Modernization, Legal Training of Trainers and Magistrates, Implementation of a Human Milk Bank and a Lactation Center, Implementation of Tele-Health Center and Technical Training Center, in partnership with SENAI.

However, there are important differences in perception, scope and number of agents involved in this operation for the Small and the Large PALOP: in the Small PALOP, it is identified the more generalist programs and projects and others more specifics, especially demanded by the local governments with the aim of remedy a particular area for a certain period (as an example, the implementation project of a cashew peduncle processing unit and other tropical fruits in Guinea-Bissau; the Housing Development Support Project in Cape Verde or the Desalination in Ribeira da Barca). Regarding the Great PALOP, although they have the same range of cooperation projects and programs, is denoted a wider scope and with a greater number of local and Brazilian agents involved and, sometimes, a higher volume of resources, complexity and technology degree covered (for example, actions around the EMGEPRON/Angola, the ProSAVANA Projects, and the construction of an antiretroviral drugs/Mozambique). Clearly, these differences are the direct results of their own socio-economic disparities and of dimension between the Small and Large PALOP, discussed above.

Anyway, this "development action among equals", which may be more egalitarian in theory than in practice, has effectively occurred since the PALOP became independent, whereas the Brazilian presence in these territories has expanded since the 1970s (although with reluctance from 1990 to 2002). The Brazilian diplomacy recognizes the relevance of the PALOP, which have, in Brazil, a partner capable of supplying part of their basic demands and has sought government after government the maintenance of these ties. So, if "... there is no foreign policy act that does not have an internal policy aspect" (Duroselle 2000, 56), it is understood that internal and external conditions have directly influenced the level of these bilateral relations in certain periods, but not their content.

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ABSTRACT

The celebration of 40 years of independence from Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP) is critical to understand the historical and social, economic and integration into the world system of these former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The socialist experiments in the 1970s and 1980s, the external constraints, economic reform and the move towards a multi-party in the 1990s and the attempt to stabilize and develop in the 2000s, show an overview of successes and failures in the construction of five young countries. This article examines historically the political, economic, social and diplomatic path traveled by the five PALOP, based on the argument that these countries (although staying in the orbit of the former metropolis, especially after the 1980s), approached strategically from Brazil as basis of their political and cultural premises for their survival in the world system.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PRACTICES OF THE NGOs IN ANGOLA. METHODOLOGY AND POWER RELATIONS. THE CASE OF THE NGOs ADRA AND GLOBAL VISION.

Joaquim Assis[1]

In Angola, the presence and the performance of the NGOs characterized the processes of rural development in the past decades. The present article seeks to analyze the social and political practices of these NGOs, as well as some matters related to the diverse contexts of the country in the domain of socioeconomic intervention linked to the rural environment. Namely, what are the political e social practices of the NGOs in Angola? By which means do the power relations occur in the places of intervention? How are the matters regarding popular involvement perceived? Which has been the social science's contribution regarding the country's rural dynamics?

From the contribution of various authors and theoretical outlooks – namely, the proceduralist analysis, the Actor-oriented perspective, among others –, it looks for answers to the questions raised above and to other relevant matters linked to the NGOs' mediation, emphasizing the emergency period, the post-conflict phase and the national reconciliation period, until around 2010.

The context of the NGOs' emergence in Angola

In Africa, important social and political transformations that culminated in the opening of the multipartisanship characterized the decade of 1990. In Angola, the transition from a single party system to a multipartisan one happened in 1991 with the signature of the Bicesse

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Accords. This process has increased the set of political and social forces, hence enabling the emergence of the non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), now endorsed by the current law.

In the previously mentioned period, the average Angolans expected the country to go through a national reconstruction process, as in 1992 the armed conflict, which lasted since the national independence period, in 1975, was finally coming to an end.

In a broader perspective, the multipartisan elections of 1992 and the speeches regarding the necessity of efforts to overcome the wounds generated by the war have cheered up the government and the other actors who intended to defeat the deep infrastructural problems and social precariousness that used to ravage several strata of the Angolan society. The country's socioeconomic recovery used to be a major issue in the political and social landscape of the period.

However, in the end of 1992, soon after the first multipartisan election of the country, the return of the war frustrated the expectations towards national reconstruction. In addition, this situation speeded up the entrance of new actors in the socioeconomic and political life in Angola, among them, the NGOs – all committed to the exercise of social mediation. Mediation, in this sense, is seen as a set of social actions in which an agent, the mediator, articulates others, the mediated, to social universes that seem relatively inaccessible.

The movement that brought to Angola several international agencies, social organizations linked to churches and international NGOs was internally filled with the emergence of the first national NGOs, whose primaries steps of construction began even before the democratic opening. Turning denser the context of mediation, the first local NGOs were greedy by the establishment of partnership relations with the just-arrived foreign organizations, whose financial, institutional and technical support was a necessary condition to the proper deployment of social projects. Such projects would mitigate the effects of the long-going war that had just been finished with the deployment of the multipartisanship in Angola.

With the return and escalation of the war in 1992, the number of national and international NGOs in activity within the Angolan territory was quickly increasing. Most of these NGOs were seeking to center their actions of social intervention in projects of emergency humanitarian assistance.

The humanitarian assistance increased extremely fast, since the intensity of the war did not stop jeopardizing the economic and social landscape. In several regions of the country, the donations of food supplies, the medical-sanitarian support and the provisional establishment of

roominess constituted the base of survival for many rural and urban families affected by the return of the war.

Years later, in a more advanced situation of emergency intervention, several NGOs, churches, international humanitarian agencies and United Nations' specialized organizations, such as the World Food Program (WFP), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), started to adopt a work perspective that required some sort of contribution from the beneficiaries[2] of the programs and projects deployed by these various organizations.

Now in this advanced stage of the intervention, one of the main features regarding the speech of many NGOs was the idea that it was extremely necessary to establish organizational and operational parameters that would contemplate the involvement and the responsibility of the beneficiaries in what is related to the decisions regarding the already deployed initiatives.

The NGOs: post-election period and recent years

The increasing number of NGOs in the previously mentioned period extended its actions to the most diverse regions of the country. The lack of social work sponsored by government organs has made several churches, national and international NGOs and international agencies maintain their support to the population affected by the war. This help was not restricted to one field in specific, comprehending food supplies, education, health-care, basic sanitation, among others.

In several regions of the country, the escalation of the war did not stop affecting both the urban and rural population. Within such context, many people earned the status of internally displaced people due to war. In these regions, specifically the Angolan Central Plateau, the access to the rural zones was getting harder and harder. However, a few NGOs reached and supported a small piece of the rural population that had not moved to the cities. Such people relied, almost exclusively, on these supports to survive.

Due to the complexity of the moment, in terms of paths and political perspectives to the country, the Angolan government set a few priorities to the adequacy of the demands to the scenario of generalized war. Such scenario threatened the large Angolan urban areas, especially those located

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2 The "food for work" perspective emerges in Angola in such context that required the communitarian contribution to the intervention actions deployed by several agents connected to the socioeconomic issues of that time.

outside the coast region, less likely to domination and control by the guerilla group called National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

In this context, the government set priorities on how it would spend its budget. Defense and security ended up receiving top priority, leading the international cooperation represented by several national and international agencies (NGOS, agencies, churches) to a completely new level. Now, such institutions were not playing a secondary and complementary role concerning social support. Instead, they started to occupy a central role in the deployment of projects to support the population.

Within the dynamics of the social intervention in the rural environment – the field in which several of these NGOS and humanitarian agencies were introduced -, the control mechanisms adopted by the government had one as one of its major concerns the definition of priorities in terms of kinds of projects and potential geographical areas suitable to the humanitarian intervention. In addition, UNITA had a lot of interest in enjoying from such support, as well as in the possibility that this support would guarantee to the organization political dividends with the population located in the areas under its control and notably visible influence.

In the middle of the decade of 1990, when the war was in an escalating phase, the government adopted a relevant measure. It was the creation of mechanisms to coordinate the humanitarian help. At that time, instead of providing directly through the Angolan government, the international community preferred to canalize its help through organization of the United Nations' system, such as national and international NGOs.

In terms of speech (mainly filmy, but widely common), this procedure was justified by the reputation of such organization, which is a result of the previous and successful social interventions. Another common motive was the fear of the possibility that the government would use the help to political purposes.

As these organizations were achieving a solid position in the national scenario and capitalizing the acquired legitimacy, many of them started to raise a critical speech against what they considered a lack of efforts from the government regarding the population's situation, majorly of the displaced rural communities due to the war[3]. Several NGOs started to dedicate themselves to document and publish situations of extreme poverty. That indignation began to cross borders, forcing the international community to demand deeper involvement and bigger initiatives from the

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3   Accordingly to the data of the Progress Report MDG/NEPAD (Angola/Ministry Of Planning 2003), the number of displaced people from its living areas and economic activities due to war has achieved around four million people in Angola.

government towards the social sphere.[4]

The creation of agencies such as the Social Support Fund (FAS) by the Angolan government was seen, according to many socio-professionals in Angola, as a response to the critics concerning the low social performance of the government at that time. Initially, the FAS based its interventionist practices in methods and procedures similar to the more experimented NGOs in the social intervention field. Gradually, the Fund acquired autonomy assured by the funds provided by the Angolan government. In the end of the nineties, it was notable the contrast between the financial situation of the FAS and the financial situation of many NGOs, specially the national ones.

The dependence of many NGOs to foreign financial resources unsettled, for the first time, in the end of the decade of 1990, their capacity to socially intervene, when the donors – NGOs and international agencies engaged with development – started to adopt a questioning posture regarding the destiny of the profits from the Angolan oil companies, in a context characterized by the valorization of the crude oil[5] prices and by the severe humanitarian crisis.

The end of the war, in 2002, and the international energy scenario strengthened the Angolan government in face of the foreign pressure regarding the socio-economic background in Angola, considering the interest of several companies and countries in the Angolan energy resources, particularly the oil. The new and more favorable loans from China, without conditional impositions, such as good governance, transparency and human rights, usually demanded by the occidental countries, allowed the Angolan government, in a sovereign way, to trace its own plans and national development agendas (Vidal 2009).

When peace was reached, several foreign organizations that were acting in Angola (NGOs and cooperation agencies) started to adopt a softer speech regarding government attitudes in face of the social issues in Angola. Hence, it is assumed that such change, on the one hand, is associated to the shift of the political context and, on the other hand, to the economic interest of the more influent members of the international community in Angola, being it a country, an organization or a company.

In this new context, now marked by peace, the increase in the Angolan government capacity to exercise its political, economic, social and

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4 Vidal (2009) states that, in response to the pressure from the Angolan social organizations and from the international public opinion, the Angolan government adopted a selective posture of social services supply, based upon political conveniences.

5 Crude is the term used within the international commerce to refer to the gross oil, before refinement.

territorial sovereignty coincided with the international developmentalist thought that, now, unlike the decades of 1980-1990, started to consider the necessity of strengthening the institutions of the State, supporting projects and partnerships with the governmental structures e proceeding to the fund plumbing of such structures.

Within this new development perspective, many NGOs, social organizations linked to churches and national and international development agencies started to act as partners or as organizations hired by the government to intervene and deploy programs and projects of rehabilitation, reconstruction, and development turned to the average Angolans. Equally, the inclusion of sectors e government organs in programs and projects of the NGOs, or the establishment of the most varied institutional relations with organs and government sectors that, since the first moments of peace, started to advance and act in a sovereign way on the peoples and territories until then out of its control due to the war.

The Angolan NGO ADRA – history, social and political practices

The Action for Rural Development and Environment (known by its Portuguese acronym, ADRA) is an Angolan NGO created in 1990 and officially and legally established in 1993. Its appearance is deeply linked to the dynamics that conducted the process of multipartisan opening. One of the main reasons for the foundation of such institution was the perception among Angolan scholars that the effects of the war in the rural fields would take a long time to be overcome. In addition, these intellectuals also had questions regarding the real interventionist capacity of the government organs towards the socioeconomic life in the rural areas.

Based upon structures, organizational systems and flexible management, ADRA structured itself in various provincial offices under Antenas'[6] designation. In many of such provinces, it also created local offices in the regions where the interventions appeared to be more promising over time.

6   The "Antenas" are autonomous organs that are in charge of ADRA'S provincial coordination. These organs have direct connection to the headquarters in Luanda (Angolan capital) and to field projects under its circumscription, in order to support the several other interventions happening nearby and that in which the organization does not own an office. ADRA's "Antenas" exist to manage and deploy policies, decisions and recommendations from the social and directing organs of the organization. About provincial expansion, ADRA owns Antenas in Huambo, Benguela, Huila and Malange, all of them connected to the headquarters in Luanda.

In its proclamation document, in 1991, ADRA initially defined as its main goals the shared and inclusive communities' action in its work processes, taking into account the necessities and objectives of such. Also, the document stressed the importance of paying attention to the ethnic plurality of the referred rural communities, to the implementation and support to the actions based upon knowledge about the local realities and practices and to the improvement of life quality. All these measures were intrinsically connected to the will of democratizing Angola.

The vision of society upon which ADRA is based was relying on a set of principles such as the return of the cultural values, the valorization of the communitarian actives and the respect to the natural resources, the share of knowledge, the respect to diversity and to social pluralism, the defense of the human rights and of the citizen, and, above all, the fight for democracy.

In a wider frame, the group[7] that created ADRA was a well-known one by the Angolan government. Its initiatives were not seen as possible oppositionist threats to the party in power at that time, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Since its first steps, ADRA got deeply involved in the agricultural development, enjoying the potential of a set of qualified staff with considerable knowledge about rural sciences. Many of these people were originally public servers that were relocated to positions in the NGOs. Among other reasons, the higher wage[8] provided by these non-governmental institutions was a very central justification for this "migration" movement.

Despite the fact that ADRA's efforts in the decade of 1990 were turned to the assistance of the rural population – mainly those people displaced by the war and incapable of living in the urban areas -, there were people who did not recognize ADRA as a non-governmental organization, due to the fact that it was founded by several people who used to be a part of the Angolan government. Such situation suggested that the organization would not raise any critical position against the government.

In an emergency situation, the food aid to the population through donations constituted one of the main assistentialist policies of the entities that intervened alongside the needing population. However, neither ADRA, nor the other Angolan NGOs were capable of providing enough resources and knowledge to operate the humanitarian support operations, which were long lasting and intense, as the Angolan crisis demanded. According to Pain

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7 Several ADRA founders were high-ranked employees of the government or important people within the MPLA party.

8 In the nineties, Angola suffered from high levels of inflation. The NGOs enjoyed a notably higher purchasing capacity when compared to the public service.

(2007), in Angola, the lack of previous experiences put the recently created Angolan NGOs in the need of foreign assistance, be it for institutional and organizational matters or for issues related to the methodologies to be applied in the field actions that were being developed.

Despite the fact that ADRA and several other NGOs defined the rural environment as the geographical center to its actions, the evolution of the social e political landscape, the urban poverty and the rural flight ended up justifying the most diverse interventions in the urban peripheries and in the cities, seeking to mitigate the food, water and basic education shortages.

Within its history, ADRA has faced several kinds of obstacles. For instance, in the mid-nineties, the organization went through a crisis related to its fast grow, due to the trouble in assuring the maintenance of the staff in a few provinces[9]. The increase in ADRA's structure, in terms of human resources, threatened the plumbing of financial resources to interventions directly linked to the beneficiaries, due to the heavy weight that such projects represented to the budget.

The persistence of a chaotic war situation and the crisis associated to the excessive weight that the human resources represented to ADRA's budget imposed to the organization urgent readjustment. This readjustment generated the Institutional Development Program (PDI). Since the mid-nineties until the decade of 2000, the PDI[10] tried to make ADRA's structure more solid, more professional, more interactive and with a wider set of gathered knowledge.

Seen from the point of view of the social intervention practices, soon after its creation, ADRA started to receive technical e methodological support from international agents such as the British NGO "OCORD" and the Portuguese one "OIKOS". This support occurred through processes of permanent adequacy e adaptation to the different Angolan moments. Another factor that benefited ADRA was the acquired knowledge, alongside its partners[11], concerning the requirements of the daily practices.

During the war years, one of the main activities exercised by ADRA was the establishment of partnerships with religious institutions (mainly the Catholic e Protestant churches). Such partnerships provided some benefits

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9   In the nineties, in most of the provinces under pressure due to war, the public administration and the NGOs were practically the only official employers that were hiring young people that were looking for a job.

10 A part of ADRA's PDI had the support from the Dutch organization NOVIB that not only financially supported the initiative, but also dedicated itself to coach the staff.

11 In 1991, ADRA got involved into several field studies in African organizations from Senegal, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, in order to get in touch with new philosophies, experiences and action methods.

to ADRA, due to the candor assigned to religious denominations and due to the credibility that such institutions had with the socioeconomically needy communities. Notwithstanding, ADRA usually had disagreements with such partners in what concerned the mainly assistential character of these religious organizations.

During the emergency period, ADRA and the government organs went through a tension situation. ADRA disagreed with the government about the nature of the assistance that should be occurring. While ADRA believed that the assistance actions should be trying to increase the communitarian involvement in order to drive these communities to a future self-management situation. On the other hand, the government supported the idea of a punctual, circumstantial and ephemeral assistance. The NGO worked alongside the government to defeat problems such as drought, social assistance, food supply and unemployment.

Close to the 2000s, still under a warfare situation, ADRA started to put in practice a brand new process of socioeconomic intervention. This new project intended to disrupt the predominant assistential practices deployed by most of the NGOs, including ADRA itself. Still under an unfavorable socioeconomic situation marked by the war and by the high inflation, the micro-credit programs developed by ADRA intended to disrupt the assistential logic, stimulating the beneficiaries to be responsible. Such idea also intended to bring the feeling of self-realization under an emancipatory perspective to the assisted people.

While the years were going by, ADRA started to be proud of the credit initiatives that it implemented in the rural communities and of the support it received from international donors, aiming to compose funds to operate with these same communities. According to the organization, such funds would contribute to disrupt the welfarist perspective, working as lendings with a return forecast. This process contributed to the abandon of the "donation spirit" that used to be very common among rural development agents. According to Pain (2007), the credit started to be used as a central strategy to the projects of support to the communities deployed by ADRA since the final phase of the Angolan conflict.

Considering the shifting political and social context, in 2001, ADRA started to adopt a long-term strategic thought, based upon the several years of experience and upon its proposals of future actions[12]. Around 2004-2006, when Angola was restructuring its socioeconomic basis, ADRA actively collaborated with the government organs and with several other

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12 ADRA's Strategic Plan to the period of 2005-2009 redefined the main action field of the organization. Now, it restarted to center its operations in the rural development area, abandoning a few practices in the urban areas.

development agents, mainly the commercial banks, in order to enlarge the credit initiatives. Through this and other partnerships, ADRA aimed to influence and support the creation of the Rural Extension Program sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MINADER).

More recently, within the process of national reconstruction, ADRA not only was collaborating with government organs and with the other development agents, it also was maintaining current programs and projects connected to various sheds of the rural development, reaffirming its ideas and its commitment to the Angolan rural environment.

The international NGO World Vision/Angola – history, social and political practices

"World Vision" is an international NGO originally from the United States founded in 1950. This organization operates in more than 70 countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America. In Angola, World Vision is present since the 1989/90 period through a humanitarian initiative of the protestant church[13]. World Vision's social intervention in Angola is related to the humanitarian operation in the Jamba mining region, in the province of Huila, due to the harshness of the natural catastrophes that hit the south of Angola – more specifically the long lasting drought[14] that occurred in 1989/90.

By the time of its arrival in Angola, World Vision had as main practice the social assistance. However, when it started to be more in touch with the national reality, this NGO started to work with matters regarding the socioeconomic development of the population, emphasizing the mediation with peasants and other activities connected to the rural development.

In the mid-nineties, in the sphere of humanitarian intervention, the tasks of the social intervention consisted on the supply of thousands of tons of food, mainly destined to the needy people – rural population. In this period, for instance, besides the distributive tasks, World Vision began to develop coaching activities regarding the agricultural domain, alongside the rural families. Later, they expanded this project to associations and groups of peasants.

Many of the groups and associations were created with the

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13 Information regarding the appearance of the World Vision shows that this process in fact is connected specifically to the Baptist church, and not generically to the protestant church.

14 In Angola, the drought is cyclic phenomenon, but, in certain years, it can be really severe and tough, causing several damage to human lives e to the cattle, mainly in the provinces of Huila, Cunene e Namibe, where most of the national cattle is located.

support of the World Vision itself, aiming to ease the organization of the interventions in the communities. It is also necessary to consider that most of the principles and values of this organization had a religious disposition.

Among the most outstanding features of the World Vision in Angola, one stands out: the reduced, although solid, base of big donor; also, the small donations from the members of the protestant church all over the world. Due to its activities in the most diverse fields, World Vision had management and organizational features of their very own.

According to Commins (1997), since the beginning of the 1980s, World Vision has been established as network of international partnerships, whose managers are from more than 70 countries in the world. In Angola, World Vision plays an important role if many provinces[15], from the north to the south of the country. However, it maintains two permanent offices: the headquarters of the NGO, in Luanda, and another office in Huambo. Besides that, World Vision has kept local representatives in the counties where it operates.

Another outstanding feature of the NGO World Vision in Angola is the presence of expatriated people from several nationalities[16], which occupied direction and management positions in the organization. As the expatriated people occupied high-level positions within the NGO, the Angolan-national staff was committed to the technical and coordinating positions. On the level of territorial technicians, World Vision preferred to hire local technicians directly from the provinces where the intervention was happening. Despite such situation, the organization also provided high level of mobility within the institution – for instance, the coordinators of the projects.

The wage gap between the national and the international staff existed indeed. It is naturally justified by the hierarchical positions that each group occupied within the NGO. However, it is necessary to point out that World Vision had higher wages than any other NGO acting in Angolan soil. This situation increased the demand for jobs in the NGO due to the better

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15 In spite of restricting its offices to only two provinces, during its years of socioeconomic intervention, the NGO World Vision has been developing projects alongside government organs and other rural development agents in the provinces of Malange, Kwanza Norte, Uíge, Kwanza Sul, Moxico, Luanda, Benguela, Bié, Huambo and Kuando Kubamgo.

16 Contrary to Commins' approach (1997), in Angola, this NGOs' leadership positions have been usually occupied by expatriated representatives, which usually are the managers of the offices and of the deployed projects. There are verbal references from national agents of the NGO stating that, when a new project emerges, an expatriated manager appears to work with it.

remuneration[17].

World Vision's presence in Angola is less committed to programs and approaches regarding advocacy and protection of the rights of the rural communities with whom it works. Instead, it focuses its work in mediation projects related to technical matters of the rural environment, such as goods and services supply and interventions in the diverse fields of the rural technology.

Apart from what Commins (1997) expressed about other countries, in Angola, World Vision's partnerships with the government seldom use public money from government funds to deploy programs and projects[18]. Mostly, World Vision's fundraising for its activities and for its partnerships occurs outside Angola. When it happens within the Angolan borders, the funds usually come from American oil companies[19] or from USAID[20] representatives in Angola.

A retrospective view over World Vision's presence in Angola allows us to see that, throughout the 1990s, during the emergency context, most of its assistance actions happened, in fact, through the combination of food supply – fostering rural production – and emergency goods supply to the needy population – potable water, medicines and building materials for temporary shelters.

By the end of the nineties, World Vision was one of the main organizations acting in the support to displaced and endangered (under severe lack of food) population during the war. Such fact is due to the outstanding logistical capacities shown by the organization in the final phase of the Angolan conflict. Around the year of 2000, due to its financial availability

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17 Beyond the relatively higher wage when compared to the other NGOs operating in Angola, World Vision was able to guarantee a set of legal rights to its employees. For instance, among the expatriates: the possibility of biannual vacation, the salary repatriation according to the employee's interest, the expenses due to staff trips, the individual and familiar insurance, the house rent for some of its employees and the abundant payment of the private schools for the sons of the foreign employees in Luanda; among the national employees, the house rent for employees coming from other provinces and the high salary were the main attractive factors.

18 An exceptional situation happened when World Vision got involved in the process of post-belligerent rehab in the province of Huambo, when they had to use government funds. It was the Program for Social Reintegration of former militaries. Many others NGOs got involved as well (2005-2006).

19 In spite of the ambiguity expressed by World Vision's agents regarding the fundraising, there is evidence that several international NGOs have been seeking to obtain, internally, funds form oil companies. Usually, when the NGO and the oil company are from the same country, the NGO gets an advantage when compared to the other NGOs. Therefore, national NGOs are usually running late due to reference terms, such as the language and bureaucracy.

20 USAID (United States Agency for International Development): one of the main American agencies concerning development aid in Angola.

to support post-war activities, World Vision in Angola has presented itself as an active organization alongside the Angolan government, supporting not only the food supply operations, but also the creation of initial transport and shelter rebuilt to the displaced people that were willing to abandon misery conditions in the urban peripheries and go back to their uncertain lives in their origin areas.

Around 2002-2005, while the country was going through a socioeconomic rehab period, among World Vision's programs, two approaches of the mediation towards rural development stood out. In the first place, within the rural environment, World Vision started to seek a more comprehensive involvement of the beneficiary population in the process of implementation of field actions through the interaction with the cooperative agencies and with the local existing – or emerging under its political-institutional influence – associations. In the second place, in the search for political-institutional influence, World Vision not only was trying to establish technical partnerships with the weakened government institutions, but it was also playing actions concerning the reinforcement of the logistic and operational capacities of the public organs through the donation of diverse equipment to function in local organs that deal with agriculture and rural development – as happened in Huambo.

Around the year of 2006, due to the changes in the Angolan socioeconomic landscape and to the financial retraction that several national and international NGOs, World Vision also started to adequate itself to the transition from the rehab phase to the new national reconstruction moment. Three things were extremely noticeable at that time: the decrease in the number of implemented projects and programs; the begging of several contract disruptions among the Angolan staff; and mainly the centralization in one single project of various components that used to be separated in individual programs and actions.

Methodologies and power relations

The impact of the socioeconomic changes due to the cease of the conflict in 2002 reverberated within the urban environment, the rural environment and within the social mediation agents themselves as well. The increase of the State presence in the rural areas, the decrease of the interventions by a few NGOs, the shifting focus of other NGOs, the cease of operations by several NGOs and national and international humanitarian entities, as well as the "death" of several national NGOs – incapable of surviving and adapting itself to the changes demanded by the new context –

exemplify this set of transformations.

In spite of such transformations, now, most of rural development mediators (government and non-government employees) consider that the use of participatory methodologies constitutes a constant feature in their actions in "field" activities. The allusion to intervention processes based upon participatory methodologies has been associated to the legitimation of the processes themselves and the ways to conduct the actions with the communities. However, as already noticed several times, during a field research in the province of Huambo, in the practical actions of many conflict mediators the difficulties of such agents in addressing participatory methodologies[21] became evident.

For instance, among ADRA's technicians in Huambo questioned about the participation, it has been observed that most of them uses plausible arguments about the matter; among the technicians, it was unanimous the opinion that ADRA acts under the so-called Communitarian Development Method (DC, in Portuguese).

According to World Vision in Huambo, the answers regarding the work methodologies used by such organization varied in three references: the "field schools" methodology; the Communitarian Development Method (DC); the "field days" method. In general, it is clear that the mediator's perception about the popular participation ideas exhibit relevant differences between the meanings and the agents' practices.

An equally important matter, linked to the way the rural development mediators relate to the receivers and other included agents in the actuation environment, are the power relations and the way in which they occur in the dynamics of social intervention. According to Neves (2007), in the processes of social mediation, the practices utilized acknowledge the interconnection of different world by knowledge and power manifestations, implying in social struggle and the emergency several conflicts of interest.

A deeper knowledge about the actions of the different external agents helps us to understand the processes that involve the existent power relations between the peasants and the mediators. It implies in understanding, on the one hand, the form in which the complementation among the various agents of development (both public and private) happens. On the other hand, the form in which the struggles and the interests on the table help to conform the realities of rural development and to know in what extent the participation and the social control, alluded by the mediators of the social

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21 The field activities that occurred in Caàla and that served as base to the present article demonstrated the difficulties that IDA and EDA technicians in explaining the diverse approaches and practical meaning of the participatory methodologies.

processes in the rural environment, are effective.

In order to explain the existent power relations between the mediators and mediated, we provide, here, three rural development initiatives deployed in the city of Caàla, from 2008 to 2012, namely the so-called project "Ways of Living", implemented by ADRA, the "PRORENDA" project, implemented by World Vision and by the Program for Campaign Rural Credit, implemented by the Angolan government. These three initiatives lead to the inseparability of the processes that were happening there, at the same moment.

In Caàla, in 2010, the solidification and the advances of the Federal organs towards the most recondite territories were happening in a very open way, situation which contributed to the expansion of the Federal rural development organs and of the action of the social mediators (as the NGOs).

The program "Rural Credit of Campaign" among the legally constituted peasant associations helped to turn to life their organizational interest, what increased their expectations towards the public support. Several Caála peasants who used to be marginalized by the public and even by the private NGO support saw in this State credit program an incentive to self-organization, as well as other already organized peasants in cooperative institutions, associations and solidarity groups.

In the city of Caála, despite the interest and expectations generated by the previously mentioned program, the peasant did not organize themselves well enough. The organization of marginalized peasants in cooperative institutions, associations and solidarity groups have been going through a process of decay, when compared to the expansion of federal organs over the so far inaccessible populations due to the war. In the field of the already legalized associations and cooperatives, the participation of the peasants in the decision-making process was noticeably lower than the will of the federal organs themselves.

In this relation in which the increase in the number of rural development mediators occurs faster than the increase in the peasant participation, we can see that the will of the second have not been necessarily incorporated or at least considered in the actions and decisions of the sectors that dominate the processes of rural development. The domination patterns are determined by social struggles spread by multiple areas in the society (Migdal et al. 1997). In the present days, some of the most sensitive social struggle in what relates to the interaction between the peasants and the external agents are related to their capacities in the delivering technical assistance, financial and organizational support coming from the external agents in face of the demands that overpass the specific competences of

each organ of entity turned to the rural intervention alongside the peasants.

The institutional mechanisms created to support the academic decisions to the municipal sphere, such as the Consultation Councils and the social feedback (CACS) are still unsatisfactory in guaranteeing the "regular, unrestrained and effective exercise of participation" relatively to the governmental policies and, also, in the forms of public intervention held by other agents of development. The effectiveness of the Campaign Credit and other programs and projects carried out by the NGOs has been shown that the exercise of mediation has created social distancing between the local actors and the mediation agents.

The mechanisms and the methodologies of participative nature constitute ways of political action. Rowlands (2002) stresses that development approaches are intrinsically related to power relations. The choice to engage or disengage in political actions is determined by the access from the actors to power resources (Bratton 1997). The success probability of the peasant participation in the initiatives held by diverse sectors linked to the rural development has been extremely dependent on the political background and on the actors' interests. Hardly, it configures an horizontal relation among the involved parts in such processes.

NGOs' struggle for the legitimacy of its processes and actions

The shapes and mechanisms of legitimation constitute one of the bases of the political action. The involvement of the peasants in the projects and the search for the involvement of these in the programs and projects, for instance, have been pointed by the mediators as an important factor that contributes to the success of the planned intervention. Thus, the choices have been many. According to Bratton (1997), the choice to engage or disengage in such activities is determined by the access of the actor to power resources.

In Caàla, the success probability of the peasant participation in the initiatives held by diverse sectors linked to the rural development has been extremely dependent on the political background and on the actors' interests. Hardly, it configures an horizontal relation among the involved parts in such processes.

Regarding several NGOs that operate in the province of Huambo, one of the main features that the mediators seek for is the flexible nature of their own actions. At least in the theoretical level, the NGOs point out a few points: the increasing conscience; the organization, the appropriation; the collective action of the groups and communities by their own propped up;

the satisfaction of the collective and individual interests through the legal rights and political engagement of the society as a whole.

In the rural Angolan context, many NGOs have stated their stimulus to the free expression of ideas and the search for the plurality of expressions related to the issues and realities experienced, particularly in the projects led by these by these organizations, together with the peasant's. The idea of having the legitimacy of their intervention assured by the plurality of expressions is currently present in the discursive field of many mediators. However, in the PRORENDA project, for instance, the majority of peasants have referred feeling free to express their ideas, only when accompanied by member of their own communities, be them leaders of the communities or other remaining peasants.

Regardless, the coordinators of the PRORENDA project have claimed that the discussions and decisions that occurred in this project are obtained legally, because they contemplate the participation and "unrestrained, equitable and free" opinion of leaders, technicians and peasants involved in this rural project. According to Chambers (1995), the poor' voices are not heard in public meetings, where it is usual that only the personalities (locals and outsiders) are heard. In order to legitimate their actions, most mediators tend to privilege the interactions with the local leaderships and maintain little dialogue with the rest of the communities.

In a few occasions, the peasants' interference and questioning drove the legitimation of the mediators' intervention, turning the fight for legitimation of actions into much more complicate processes. This was what happened when the project PRORENDA, sponsored by World Vision, turned available credit in cash.

Most of the credit programs and actions implemented by World Vision in Caàla tend to provide the loans in cash. However, after intense debates, the peasants forced World Vision to change its strategy, otherwise its intervention would fail due to rejection and abandon from the project's beneficiaries.

During the intervention, World Vision changed its opinion, prevailing the peasants' position, hence proceeding to the credit concession and subdividing it into credit in species and credit in cash. According to Long (2007), the local groups (in this case, the peasants) actively formulate and pursue their own development projects, which might get in conflict with the interests of the outsiders – the mediators. The peasants' interference, in this case, not only changed the way of World Vision's action, but also turned the process of legitimacy of the NGO's intervention into something much more complicate.

In this case, the process of dialogue between World Vision and the peasants on the new routes followed by credit issue mentioned above emerged as a central concern that has covered the satisfaction and the interests of the peasants. Although, in many policy contexts, a number of factors, including the competition among the mediators, put the demands of the peasants on a secondary level.

In the different scenarios of intervention, several mediators (public and private organizations) seem to present worries concerning the protection of their image to the public and, hence, they also have been trying to present themselves as actors whose work enjoys unquestionable legitimacy. They are organizations that work alongside poor people, but they are not members of the base organizations of the population.

The interests of the mediators seem to overcome the challenges of development and the domination over the "others" seem to be their main objective in the processes of legitimation. The analysis of more intervention programs and projects played by various mediators may contribute to the understanding of how such mediators have been building their legitimacy and which are the relations and implications of such construction in the power exercises and in the matter of development.

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to analyze social and political practices of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) operating in Angola. Through the contribution of different authors and using the proceduralist analysis as a theoretical perspective, it seeks to answer four questions about these practices, namely: what are the NGOs political and social practices in Angola? How do relations of power take place in areas of intervention? How are the issues related to the public participation perceived? And what has been the contribution of social sciences to the rural dynamics of the country? After, it is expected to conclude, to a greater or lesser extent, that the interests of mediators in the rural development processes often seem to outweigh the real challenges of development; and the domination of the "other" seems to be at the heart of many processes of legitimation.

KEYWORDS

Development; Mediation; Legitimacy; Social intervention.

REGIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OF NAMIBIA: THE AGENCY OF A SECONDARY POWER

Igor Castellano da Silva[1]

Introduction

There is a growing concern with the level of regional analysis in International Relations, about the role of regions in the global power distribution and of regional systems as a unity of analysis, which enables theoretical and empirical progresses in the area. Regions of the global South, including Africa, have been one of the most important parts of this process and drive attention from the Brazilian foreign policy and academic communities. However, understanding the evolution of the dynamics of Southern regional systems leaves room to significant advances, including a clearer interpretation about how and why regional systems change and which role foreign policy of systemic units play in this process. Regional studies have focused almost exclusively on the analysis of regional powers and too little on the secondary powers' position of the current orders. Perhaps these analytical difficulties (lack of a *bottom-up* vision of regional relations) influence even in the difficulties of advancing the integration processes in the global South, which recurrently lack representing smaller powers. As has been sustained by recent studies (Castellano da Silva 2015a; 2015b), the Southern Africa's case follows this pattern and the available analyses focus mostly on South Africa, with lack of comprehension about the characteristics and causes of the other systemic units' behavior. Despite the importance to regional and continental relations, little is known about the regional foreign policy of some countries such as Namibia, a secondary power of reduced capabilities, but whose actions significantly affect the dynamics of the region.

In this context, this research attempts to answer how the regional foreign policy of Namibia has evolved in relation to the regional system's

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order since 1990 (year of its independence). More specifically, what explains the Namibian foreign policy facing the regional order established between 1990 and 2010? Evaluating Namibia's role in the Southern Africa's international relations is crucial to understanding the magnitude of the challenges faced by the regional order centralized in South Africa and the areas of action available to secondary powers. Namibia's history marks the transformations of regional dynamics, since the conflicts over its independence were in the core of the dispute in the content of the regional order, centered in South Africa.

This article analyzes the recent foreign policy of independent Namibia, but also seeks to prospect Namibia's regional position as a colony (*South West Africa*) and the formation of the State structures and of its pre-independence foreign policy. Before its independence, Namibia was a colonial State, ruled by Pretoria with a foreign policy contested by South Africa. The later commanded Namibia's security forces and its State structures since 1951; the UN (United Nations), which sought to take over the supervision from the former League of Nations mandate and negotiate the country's independence; and the national liberation movements, as SWAPO (*South- West Africa People's Organization*), which fought to assure that South Africa would give in to the decolonization pressures. The victory of these two later actors, together, contributed to the Namibian policy characteristics in the post- independence. On one hand, the SWAPO's government aligned, in the domestic sphere, to the political principles of the liberal regional order. On the other, it sought a relatively developmentist regional foreign policy, also supportive of the former regional allies of the revolutionary axis (Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique). The impetus of action of these policies varied according to domestic and external pressures that the defining elite of foreign policy experienced in the period, tending, nowadays, to more restrained actions.

The argument here sustained is that we can understand the regional foreign policy of regional powers or of secondary powers by country's position in favor of the continuity or change of the systemic order and its action impetus to achieving this project. The regional foreign policy, however, is a consequence of a complex process of State building, in which defining elites of foreign policy (DEFP) will seek to accomplish their political projects and will respond to domestic and external pressures according to the available capabilities of the state[2].

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2 The analytical model adopted by this study stresses the role of State building as a factor of change in the regional system. One of the ways in which this process influences the regional system is regarding to the foreign policy of the systemic units. States act according to established systemic orders (formal and informal institutions that sustain the behaviors'

The first section of the article approaches Namibia's domestic and foreign policy in the context of the regional order between 1975 and 1990, highlighting the State building process (context, State capacities and State-society relations) and the evaluation of the pre-independence foreign policy over three competing actors (South Africa, the UN and SWAPO). The second section identifies changes in the process of State building in relation to the mentioned variables, for the period from1990 to 2010. It also evaluates Namibia's foreign policy in face of the new regional order, regarding formation (political project of the DEFP and its security in face of domestic and external pressures) and performance (Namibia's position in relation to the *status quo* and its urge for action in the system). The conclusion brings a synthesis of the results, which compose a broader study involving the foreign policy in Southern Africa's regional system (Castellano da Silva 2015a).

Pre-State, elites and foreign policy in Namibia (1975- 1990)

The Southern Africa's regional system order, while shaping itself since the beginning of the 20th century, has gradually been centered on South Africa and sustained in four basic pillars, maintained until the decline of the *apartheid* in the end of the 1980s[3]. In the political pillar, the conservative order was based in the colonial system heritage, in the territorial *status quo* and in the principle of sovereignty defense by the State's means, through a governance centralized in the stronger States. In the economic field, conservatism (protectionism and mercantilism) combined with liberalism, since the later favored the centralism of South Africa's position. This centrality was sustained by (infrastructural) logistic and financial

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rules and the benefits' distributions in the system) according to the interests of their DEPF and the pressures (threats and power asymmetry) their experience domestically and internationally. Although available natural resources and foreign support help the acting capacities of some States, the effective State's capacities that are available to the ruling elites regarding coercion, capital and legitimacy will define the sustainability of the external action and the conditions of exploitation of resources available in the society (Castellano da Silva 2015a).

3 For analytical purposes, systemic orders may be evaluated on the political, economic, social and security fields. The political order's basis involves values, norms and institutions that rule the territorial distribution of the system, the principles that rule the diplomatic relations and the assurance of the political survive of the <u>States</u>. The economic basis is related to the values, norms and institutions that rule the content of the economic relations (trade and flow of goods and services principle). The social basis indicates values, norms and institutions linked to the content of social relations and to the established priority to different kinds of regional population's rights. The security basis relates to values, norms and institutions that rule the organization and behavior over the security's content.

axis, and trading relations based on Rand's economic polo. In the social pillar, the conservative order was based in the sociocultural domination by elites that were linked to the colonial project and part of discriminatory and segregationist systems. In the security area, the national security rule was maintained, with special attention to security challenges produced by national liberation movements. The independence of regional revisionist countries in the 1960s, 1970s (Angola and Mozambique) and 1980s (Zimbabwe) represented the increasing claim against the order centered in South Africa. Namibia, therefore, was a key element in the South-African policy of conservative regional order defense centered in Pretoria. On one hand, it served as a colonial bastion that protected South Africa of its main regional rival (Angola). On the other, it attracted regional and extra regional pressures to the Southwestern Africa's cruel national liberation fight. These characteristics were fundamental to Namibia's State formation, as well as to its foreign policy before and after the independence.

Construction of Namibia's colonial State (1975–1990)

Namibia's recent history is different form the one followed by its neighbors. Since 1975, the Southern African countries were political independent; they had a central government which claimed control over a population and a territory. The legitimacy of these governments varied from case to case, but all of them had experienced difficulties of establishing the State and the region's domain over the national population, besides facing several international pressures. Ian Smith's Republic of Rhodesia and the South-African *apartheid* were received with great opposition from the international community, which claimed for peaceful domestic transition processes and for the guarantee of liberal rights (civil and political) to the part of the population without access to them. Besides, insurgent groups that, peacefully or violently, sought the State's reconstruction over more democratic and representative structures rivaled them both[4]. In a lower extent, the regimes of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), in Angola, and the FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique), in Mozambique, had similar problems of establishing their domain and faced rivalries of domestic groups that were against the central governments and that violently claimed for political change, with foreign support. Namibia, as its neighbors, had groups politically articulated and internationally supported. These groups fought for the State's transformation and, as

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4 These cases were usually known as domestic colonialism, given the characteristic of the central governments, the dominant elites (originated from the colonial pact) and the violence used in the political, economic and social domination over the local (non-white) population.

Rhodesia and South Africa, sought for a guarantee of rights for a population excluded from the political, economic and social fields. However, on the contrary of all the other cases, Namibia wasn't sovereign. As *South West Africa* (SWA), it was a territory illegally occupied by South Africa without an independent government, nor effective armed forces t to assure its existence empirically. It was, therefore, effectively a South-African colony.

For this reason, the analysis of the relation between the State, elites and foreign policy of Namibia before 1990 (year of its independence) will deter only in the relevant points, useful for the comprehension of its foreign policy as an independent nation. On the other hand, the "Namibia's issue", as it was called when referring to the fight for the Southwest Africa's independence, was in the center of the international relations of Southern African between 1975 and 1988, and its main points must be highlighted to understand the social agency of a population, even without supervision by the State's structures. On this aspect, the foreign policy main focus becomes no longer the State, but other social organizations, which challenge the State's power and, eventually, are successful. In this case, it is important to evaluate specifically SWAPO's actions as leadership of the fight for independence and basic institution of the future State structures.

Namibia's occupation by South Africa had begun when the United Kingdom delegated the territory's administration to the South Africa's Union, as a part of the mandate obtained in the League of Nations, after the conquest of the territory by South-African troops in 1915. Before, SWA was part of the German colonial empire, which occupied the territory at first in 1884, as a protectorate. The result of the First World War assured the dissolution of the Turkish-Ottoman and German empires and the establishment of the mandate systems in the League of Nations (LN), which sought to guarantee assistance in the territories' administration. This should be done in favor of the local populations. The establishment of the government by the South Africa's Union in face of the type "C" mandate (to be ruled as an integral part of South Africa) in the SWA was marked by segregationist policies, discriminatory and oppressor legislation, and economic exploitation of the local population (Pisani 1985). The situation, in practice, represented a violation of the terms of the League of Nations' mandate (Mushelenga 2014, 58).

With the end of the Second World War and with the speech of the victory of the free world over imperialist totalitarianism, the colonialism was no longer sustainable, especially in face of the ideals of self-determination. The League of Nation's mandate had expired and should be passed to the UN's tutelage until Namibia's independence. However, the South-African government tried to assure the incorporation of the Namibian territory and

of its population to the Union, as its fifth province. The UN's opposition to the veiled South-African colonialism, materialized in the territorial expansion, led to the international clash that persisted until the end of the 1980s. The domestic and international pressures for independence started to grow as fast as the territory's strategic importance to South Africa and to the Western countries in the context of the Cold War. Besides strategically located in the South Atlantic (emphasis to the important harbor of Walvis Bay[5]) the country served as a strategic source of diamonds and uranium. After 1975 and 1980, it was used as the last protective belt against the presence of revisionist states in the South-African boundaries (in this case, the most threatening of them, Angola, including the Cuban troops that were established there). Finally, due to the regional policy configuration, it was signed, in 1988, the Tripartite Accord of New York, the South-African acceptance of Namibia's independence, prepared in 1989 and accomplished on March, 1990.

State capacity: coercion, capital and legitimacy

The State in SWA was built by South Africa with plans of incorporating the territory as its fifth province. Until the early 1970s, the basic objective was to transfer the social political system of the *apartheid* to the colony, seeking with this to incorporate it easily. Gradually, were adopted segregationist legislations, grounded in the non-white population's control and in the impoverishment of the rural sector, as a means to assure cheap labor to the urban economy in Namibia and in South Africa. In 1949, South Africa withdrew the main legislative powers of the general government chosen by the United Kingdom and transferred them to the South-African Parliament. To the white (at that time 10% of the population) was given the right of electing six representatives in the Parliament. In 1954, the responsibility for the native affairs was removed of the white local administrations and established under the *Minister of Bantu Administration and Development*. Despite increasing international pressure, the South-African government initially kept the annexation policy. In 1962, it established the *Odendaal Commission* that, formally, tried to investigate welfare policies to the SWA's population, but, in practice, recommended greater South African interference. The result was the justification to absorb more of administrative functions that were still over local control

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5 It is the Namibia's only deep waters harbor and used as a South African base for military training. The territory was already an enclave belonged to the United Kingdom, separated from the German protectorate. In 1922, South Africa integrated the enclave to SWA's territory and in 1978 proclaimed a national law that formally annexed the harbor to South Africa.

(e.g. education) and the implementation of a development policy separated from ethnic groups in the same configuration of the Bantustans.

The tasks of State's coercion were centered in the repression of liberation movements that emerged in the end of the 1950s and which responded increasingly with violence. From May 1980, the counterinsurgency actions, until then ruled by the police forces and SADF (*South African Defense Force*) units that acted in the SWA, were transferred with priority to the new force *South West Defense* of SWA, under the command of the General Administrator[6]. In the capital sphere, the subsistence agriculture and the still incipient industry created a large economic dependency on South-African manufacturing goods, as well as its food. The dependency repeated itself in the ores' exports; the main source of the income was from the diamonds and the uranium in Rössing (Grotpeter 1994, 117-118). Finally, the State's legitimacy was guaranteed by the double policy of incorporation of white settlers and coopting of local leaderships. On one hand, the incorporation of white elites had the purpose of weakening the autonomous administrative and political structures of the territory. The white conservative inhabitants of the territory also pressured South Africa for policies that would assure them their protection in face of the black and communist 'threat'. On the other hand, Pretoria tried to control the rising of political aspirations of the local people against the ethnic element and the creation of legislative bodies that would assure the self-determination in a slow, gradual and controlled way (Jaster 1985).

The State-society relations

The State-society relations were marked by the South-African *apartheid* regime's control over the institutions. The elite who defined Namibia's policy was the same conservative elite that had controlled South-African policy since 1948 and that sought to assure privileged political and economic positions to the white community of European origins. The growing opposition to its domain came from movements raised next to African populations that worked out of the country or in the *locations* (peripheral urban zones). The *Ovamboland People's Organization* (OPO) came from the leadership of *ovambo* workers who operated in Cape

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6 The forces were composed of about 20 thousand troops in the early 1980s (ten thousand men in ethnic and multiethnic units, commanded by 10 thousand Namibian white men). They were responsible for 65% of the counterinsurgency operations including SWA, still coordinated by the SADF. The *South West African Police*, created in 1981, with approximately eight thousand men, assisted the SWATF in the paramilitary operations (Grotpeter 1994, 492-494).

Town and organized themselves around the labor agenda and the ideal of independence. After the arrest of its leader, Hermann (Adimba) Toivo ya Toivo, by security forces, Sam Nujoma took over the group's presidency and chose to turn it in SWAPO in 1960, something that would break with the ethnic essentialism and expand the nationalism ideal to the entire population of Namibia (Schoeman and Schoeman 1997, xxviii). Another relevant party was created in 1959 by the encouragement of the *herero* and *nama* chiefs' representatives: the *South West Africa National Union* (SWANU), by the leadership of Jariretundu Kozonguizi, and as an association of OPO's leaderships and the urban movement *South West Africa Progressive Association* (SWAPA) (Pisani 1985, 145-150). Nevertheless, the nationalist and pan-African agenda in the SWAPO and its strategy of articulating international credibility gave political strength to the group, which ended recognized as the only legitimate representative of Namibia's people by the OAU (Organisation of African Unity) and by the UN. However, the insufficiencies in the mediations led by the UN forced the group to adopt the armed struggle and to create the PLAN (*People's Liberation Army of Namibia*) after 1966, due to a polemic decision by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), as shown below. The first shock against the security forces happened in Omugulugwombashe, on August 26, 1968, and tensions multiplied in the following years (Zaire 2014, 43).

After 1971, South Africa realized its administration over the territory could not be maintained indefinitely, due to international pressures for independence. Therefore, B. J. Vorster abandoned the annexation notion, and, from that moment on, sought to guarantee the control over the country's transition (Jaster 1985, 7)[7]. Internally, the government sought to recruit groups supported in the controlled transition process. Turnhalle's solution from 1975 aimed to divide the political representation of the population in ethnic groups and to assure significant representation to the white people[8].

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7 It prioritized (i) a domestic agreement based on the cooptation of native leaderships under the ethnic organization who might guarantee exceptional rights to the white minority; (ii) to assure control of the general elections, under UN pressures, in case the intern agreement wasn't accepted; and (iii) to postpone as much as it was possible the conditions for independence, increasing gains during the diplomatic bargain (between them, the territory control of Walvis Bay, the marginalization and deterioration of SWAPO and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from southern Africa).

8 In September of 1975, Vorster organized a Constitutional Conference in the Turnhalle building, in Windhoek. Moderated leaders of the country's eleven ethnic groups were invited as delegates, including white ones, to discuss the formulation of a Constitution and the establishment of an interim government that would lead Namibia to its independency. No national liberation party was represented, even SWAPO. The intention was to ensure that the political activity of blacks was limited to their political ethnic communities and that the segregated space was maintained and guaranteed to the whites. After 18 months, the

The solution was opposed by the UN and had to be replaced by plans of a large election and of formation of a Constituent Assembly, supervised by the United Nations. Nonetheless, the rise to power of P. W. Botha and the extreme conservative right wing in South Africa; the emergency of revisionist regimes (Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) in the region; the presence of Cuban troops; and the increase of armed actions by the SWAPO led the *apartheid* regime to suppress the UN's role and to look for intern solutions, in addition to the increase counterinsurgency actions. The rising of Reagan's government in the US contributed to South Africa postponing the country's independence, ignoring what was disposed in the resolution 435 of 1978 (see below). Only with the mitigation of Angola's conflict and the victory of North-American *linkage* policy (exit of Cuban troops in exchange for Namibia's independence), Pretoria enabled Namibia's intern transition, which was supervised by the UN, as determined by the resolution from a decade earlier.

Formation of the Regional Foreign Policy of Namibia

Three fundamental actors contributed to the foreign policy of SWA/Namibia before its independency. South Africa (the official policy's formulator), the UN (which advocated the right of protection of the territory) and the SWAPO (internationally recognized as the Namibian people's representative).

Namibia's official foreign policy in the period under control of South-African was given by the government in Pretoria, in a way of guaranteeing its position in the regional system and the maintenance of a conservative regional order that would assure the privileges for the *apartheid*'s elite. Some factors have contributed for the South-African policy: the characteristics of the State building process, the profile of the foreign policy defining elites and the pressures and threats to their security faced internally and internationally, compared to the spaces they had for action. If Vorster (1966-78) was open to progressive negotiations with the UN in order to achieve a political transition in the country, Botha's (1978-89) policies had hardened the approach. These policies sought, mainly, "[...] to avoid actions in Namibia that might contribute to the alarming erosion of the Afrikaner's support to the National Party in power and that might threaten the chances of this program of limited racial reform at home" (Jaster 1985, 2).

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group finished a draft of the Constitution that established political distribution by ethnic criteria (eliminating the possible political domain of the *ovambo* majority) and three legislative chambers. The constitutional committee recommended the creation of an interim government and the independency was scheduled to the end of 1978.

The policy adopted by the UN was influenced by the juridical decisions made by the ICJ and by the mediation of the *Western Contact Group* (WCG). Initially, the UN's position in the discussion with South Africa had been weakened because of the ICJ's reluctant behavior in relation to the subject. In 1950, in answer to the General Assembly of the United Nations (UNGA)'s consult, the ICJ issued an advisory opinion that affirmed South Africa's mandate and obligation should be maintained. This would happen only with the proviso that the supervisory functions of the LN should be passed to the UN, whose consent would be a precondition for the transformation of the territory's administrative status. As a result, the UN's actions in the 1950 and 1960s were guided by the establishment of advisory committees and by the attempt of building a supervision of the South-African administration in the SWA. However, Pretoria rejected the notion of the UN's supervision[9]. In 1966, a second polemic decision by the ICJ led to more emphatic decisions by the UN[10] and, finally, in 1971 a new ICJ advisory opinion was issued, now declaring that South Africa had violated its mandate over the SWA and understanding as illegal the continuity of its presence in the territory[11]. The UN actions were taken to the Security Council (UNSC), where the Western countries guaranteed the negotiations' mediation and the actions against South Africa's moderation (which may be seen, for example, in the Western veto in 1975 to punitive measures against the country).

The UNSC positions kept moderated. In 1976, the organism issued resolution 385, which affirmed the realization of elections managed by the UN, the contrary of what Voster was arranging in Turnhalle. On April 7th, 1977, the Western countries, now organized in the WCG[12], delivered a letter to Prime Minister Vorster, condemning the South-African activities in Namibia and demanding (i) free elections (out of Tunhalle's scope), (ii)

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9 In 1966, the General Assembly declared that South Africa was failing in guaranteeing the material and moral safety of the local population and, therefore, established the UN's Council for Namibia. The mandate's supervision continued to be blocked by South Africa. However, the Council's administrative personnel started to emit visas by Namibia and to organize conferences using its own name.

10 In 1966, the ICJ did not accept an Ethiopian and Liberian's request of investigation over the abuses practiced by South Africa over the local populations. Both countries were ex-members of LN. However, in the same year, the UN adopted resolution 2145, formally putting an end to the South-African mandate over the territory. Besides, it created a subcommittee to the southwest African, in charge of recommending concrete policies to SWA's independency.

11 Besides, it recommended the immediate removal of the South-African administration and that member states of the UN were to avoid acts that could indicate support to South Africa's occupation (Jaster 1985, 4-7).

12 USA, United Kingdom, France, West Germany and Canada.

the exit of South-African forces and (iii) the release of political prisoners[13]. Finally, the rise of hard line politicians in South Africa in 1978, represented in the figure of P. W. Botha, had reduced the perspective of moderation and acceptance of an agreement that the international community might recognize, consolidated in the resolution 435 of the UNSC, approved one day after his rising as Prime Minister. The resolution planned ceasefire in the liberation fight and supervised elections by the UN, and established the *United Nations Transition Assistance Group* (UNTAG). Nonetheless, Botha blocked the adoption of this resolution for one decade, justifying his policy in the Cuban presence in Angola and in the SWAPO's insurgence actions, supported by Cuba and the MPLA.

It is worth mentioning the importance of the counter-diplomacy established by SWAPO. It turned out to be the only recognized diplomacy by international organizations as Namibia's people representative (in 1972 by the OAU and in 1973 by the UN), besides structuring the international credibility of the new independent State. The SWAPO's diplomacy was mainly based in the heritage of the mobilizations existing since the 1940s which sought to petition the UN's General Assembly (namely to the Fourth Committee of UNGA and to the Southeastern Africa Committee) to report the abuses practiced by South Africa in its mandate in the SWA. The SWAPO's diplomacy took place in the 1960s, with missions in Dar es Salaam, Egypt and Zambia. The role occupied by representatives of the Namibian people in the OAU, MNA and UN also provided international credibility to the organization and a notable differentiation in face to the other organizations, as SWANU.

> [...] SWAPO treated its international diplomacy in a more serious way than SWANU and gradually won the competition for the recognition of foreign governments. SWAPO was capable of establishing itself as a dominant Namibian's nationalist organization, since SWANU hadn't launched an armed struggle, and begun to collapse in exile, but also because of the support the diplomats from SWAPO received from the UN and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). (Saunders 2014, 29).

Despite its credibility, achieved during the 1960s and 1970s, the mediation established by Reagan and Crocker and the *constructive*

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13   Negotiations between the WCG and South-African leaders resulted in resolution perspectives, especially when Vorster canceled the movements to establish the interim government and chose a general administrator. More effective mediations were made in 1978 with South Africa and SWAPO, and involved plans of ceasefire and political transition. However, disagreements remained in relation to Walvis Bay's *status* and to SWAPO's bases monitoring. At the same time, both sides sought to advance their positions in the battle field to ensure bargain instruments.

engagement[14] marginalized the diplomatic participation of the group in the independence negotiations. SWAPO maintained its actions in the battlefield and diplomacy through the Frontline Countries (Brown 1995; Saul and Leys 1995). These countries had success in the process of negotiation for independency, supervised by the UN. This double debt, to the multilateral institutions, representative of the liberal order, and to the ally neighbors, has influenced the regional foreign policy of Namibia in the post-independence.

State, elites and foreign policy in Namibia (1990-2010)

In Southern Africa, the transition to the global order in the post-Cold War and from the *apartheid* regime in South Africa contributed to the rising of a regional order, based, mainly, in liberal principles, which served to the continuity of the South-African centrality. The human rights defense and the acceptance of external interference have started to coexist in an instable way with the (juridical) State's (negative) sovereignty principle. The economic liberalization represented by the implementation of structural adjustments was adopted, even in the former socialist or Marxist-Leninist regimes and the institutions of regional integration held its fundamentals. The principle of "good" governance and the development programs focused on assistentialism, often detached from employment and income alternatives for the population, started to be treated with priority. Human security was changed from a rhetorical discussion into an excuse for the national security forces reform and into a foundation to regional security management. In Namibia, the dominant elites maintained, with different impetus, a (revisionist) developmentalism project to the region, characterized by the national reconciliation principle and by regional solidarity (political, economic and security), but influenced by the defense of liberal-democratic institutions. Its position over the regional order may be comprehended by the study of the State building process and of the DEPF interests and safety.

State building in Namibia (1990-2010)

After the transition process mediated by the UN during 1989, Namibia's independence on March 21st, 1990 had global significance;

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14 The plan led by Chester Crocker sought the establishment of a positive approximation between Pretoria and Washington with the declared objective of favoring the containing of the Soviet threat and removal of the Cuban troops from Angola, the reconstruction of southern Africa's stability and the using of the central economic role of South Africa to promote the regional development. The centrality of South Africa's participation was reinforced as a necessary element to solve the regional conflicts (Vale 1990, 173; Davies 2007).

it marked the end of the direct colonial experiment in Africa. Equally, it happened during big global and regional orders' transformations. The later was acquiring traces from the former and imputed action spaces and constraints to the State. The fragility of a recent independent State, with limited capacities and a reduced population (two million people) turned action in the regional and international systems difficult. Internationally, the country had submitted itself to the new order and assumed its principal rules of political and economic liberalism. Although Namibia's independence has carried a large content of the revolutionary armed struggle, the victory of the plan projected by the UN and the mediation created by Chester Crocker have put the country in a position of example of the Western order success. As a consequence, the country was included in this order's scope. This happened including in the formulation of the country's national Constitution, which principles were pre-established by the WCG (Erasmus 2000, 81).

Regionally, Namibia was similar, in a certain way, to the position of the BLS (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland), the States directly submitted to the South-African economy, because of the trade and monetary dependency. On the other hand, the geopolitical challenges experimented by Namibia were less blocking. The country has an extensive coastal strip in the South Atlantic, which ensures itself a strategic position; voluptuous reserve of marine products (one of the national economics' basis); besides important reserves of natural resources, as uranium and diamonds. The country also has boundaries with relevant neighbors, such as Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, which allows prospecting alternatives to the dependency in relation to South Africa. Moreover, its historic trajectory of formal submission and direct conflict with the South-South Africa for independency have positioned Namibia in the center of debates about conflict and regional cooperation and it has assured the country has a prominent role in the regional policy. This is verified in the regional leadership adopted by SWAPO as a movement, and, currently, as a party, and the participation in alternative alliances to the *status quo*. On the other hand, the constraints have remained. Geographically, although it guarantees strategic boundaries with neighbor States and virtual access to the Indian Ocean (by Zambezi), the Caprivi strip complicates territorial control, which is materialized in separatist groups' actions. The lack of agricultural lands (only 2% of Namibian lands receive sufficient rain to the agricultural production) affects between 20% and 40% of the population who depends subsistence agriculture and grazing. There are efforts to compensate the situation by industrialization means, which were initiated in the colonial period.

The structural constraints sought to be overcome by policies to strengthen the State and by the adoption of a liberal political-economic

model that could contribute to the external support and would not exceed the costs of stability from the early independence years. A unitary State was built, with separation of power and a presidential political system[15], with the Legislative divided into two chambers[16]. Foreign policy continued as a combination of the revisionist pro-activity from the time of the national liberation, given the political preeminence of SWAPO (now a political party), the acceptance to the international context and the use of globalization and political liberalism forces in its favor.

State capacity: coercion, capital and legitimacy

Independent Namibia's primary objective was to build domestic stability and territorial integrity. The means to achieve this were invariably the construction of state structures and a bureaucracy that would work. SWAPO's workers and diplomats, notable for their formation, were used in different spheres within the State.

The coercive sphere was built by the constitution of armed forces that could ensure the territory's control and that could project capacity to cooperate with regional security (military interventions under the principle of collective security) and of a stable international order (active participation in peace missions). The *Namibian Defense Force* (NDF) was created after the independence by the integration of the *People´s Liberation Army of Namibia* (PLAN, SWAPO's military branch) and the *South West Africa Territorial Force*. The new force resulted in a reduced contingent of only 9,2 thousand men. However, it is the highest contingent proportion over the existing population in the region (WB 2013). Furthermore, the *Special Field Force* (SFF), which counts with 2 thousand troops, was created to perform paramilitary tasks, supervised by the *Ministry of Home Affairs* (IISS 2010). The force was composed almost exclusively by former PLAN. The participation in foreign conflicts and intern threats of separatism in Caprivi encouraged the relative strength of coercive capabilities, as, for example, the 40% increase on the budget of the *National State Intelligent Agency* (NSIA) in 1998/1999 (Matanga 2002, 145).

Economically, the State sought to articulate the capital's sphere and to increase its extraction capacity. The strategy tried to join, on one hand,

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15 The president acts as Head of State and chief of the government (Executive) and chooses one prime minister.

16 The parliament is composed by two houses. The National Assembly is formed by 72 elected members, by the using of a closed list (proportional system and a five-year-mandate), and six members without power to vote, chosen by the president. The National Council has revision power and is formed by 26 indirect elected members, voted by 12 Regional Councils.

the principles of acceptance to the global order in search of investments and favorable trade agreements and, on the other, a vindicatory posture that would try to guarantee the development of the domestic economy. Although it had significant economic challenges, Namibia's economy had the benefit of not having inherited South Africa's debts (later pardoned)[17] and of not being submitted to the IFIs' structural adjustment programs, as Mozambique and Zimbabwe were (Matanga 2002, 137). Namibia has an important infrastructure, as the Walvis Bay harbor and the Trans-Kalahari Highway, which ensure the country to be one of the gates of entrance and exit of Southern Africa. Besides, it is one of the touristic centers in the region. Despite the weather, which hampers agriculture, and occurrence of droughts, approximately 30% of the population is employed in farming, mainly the subsistence one (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 207, 232)[18]. As Zimbabwe and, in a certain way, as in South Africa, the white Namibian population (5% of national population[19], compared to 85% of black people[20] and 10% of mestizos or *coloured*) kept their economic interests preserved post-independency[21]. Also as a consequence of these assurances, social inequality continued to exist, with 10% of the population keeping 55% of the country's aggregate income (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 299). On the other hand, together with the rapid urbanization, the industry has been advancing to more than fish and meat processing[22].

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17 The initial negotiations post-independency involved the search for the canceling of the country's foreign debt with South Africa, that argued the debit inherited from the colonial period (R250 thousands) was related to investments in Namibian infrastructure, and for that should be compensated. The rising of Nelson Mandela assured, however, the dispute's settlement and the cancelling of the debt (Matanga 2002, 137-138).

18 However, in terms of the importance to the economy, agriculture occupies a secondary position. Together with fishing, it represents just a tenth of the GDP. Ores occupy more than half of the income with exports and diamonds are the main revenue of the sector (almost 70%), followed by uranium and salt (Matanga 2002, 138).

19 Two thirds of the population is descendant of *Afrikaners*. The others are of Germans or British descent.

20 Members of the ethnic-linguistic group *ovambo* are half of the country's population and inhabit mostly the four North provinces, *ohangwena*, *omusati*, *oshana*, e *oshikoto*. The *nama* and *damara* groups constitute 12% of the population, whereas *herero* and *kavango* constitute 10% of the population each.

21 A law, created right in the beginning of the 1990s , guaranteed generous conditions and safety to foreign investment (NAMIBIA 1990, art.97). In fact, " [...] the new government decided not to antagonize the predominantly white private sector, local or foreign, and that controlled the commercial agriculture and the retail, industry and mineral sectors." (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 229).

22 In 1997, the industrial sector represented only 13% of the GDP (Matanga 2002, 138). However, the situation started to change, the establishment of processing zones for exports in 1995 were created, something that encouraged the settlement of Asian fabric industries in

The State's legitimacy was based in its association with the democratic liberal model and in the construction of political institutions that could legitimate its action. The result was a respected political system, with notable relative stability when compared to other African countries[23]. Most important is that the Constitution has been widely heeded since its implementation and the *rule of law* has been respected, including the independent action of the Judiciary and the Supreme Court, despite the lack of qualified magistrates[24]. The symbolic State's legitimacy, in its turn, is sustained by the heroic national liberation process' legacy (Bösl 2014, 5) and is confused with the identity of a State that claims for the emancipation ideal and pan-African solidarity as its existence fundamentals[25]. The Namibian State considers itself to be a fruit of the pan-African solidarity, an identity that is capable of integrating different political opinions. However, the expected distribution of welfare to the population, existing because of SWAPO's revolutionary speech while liberation movement, was limited. On one hand, there was a distributive policy that expanded health infrastructure and increased literacy and school enrollments. In 2001, the country achieved a per capita income of US$ 1960 (US$6,700 in purchase power parity), a considerable value to the African case and for such a young country. On the other, society suffers with the HIV proliferation, incessant droughts and the permanency of an unequal land distribution structure[26]. The land reform policies followed Zimbabwe's example, keeping the principles of land buying and redistribution by the State over the *willing buyer-willing seller* regulation,

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the country. The process is also encouraged by the possibility of obtaining trade preferences to the entrance of textile products in the North American market over the influence of *Africa Growthand Opportunity Act* (AGOA) from May, 2000. The license was obtained in October, 2000 and amplified in December, 2001, to textile and clothing products (USA 2015).

23 The distributive sphere of liberal rights was the way found to sustain support to the State. When adopted on February 9th, 1990, the Namibian Constitution was considered one of the most liberal and democratic constitutions of the world, including fundamental human rights and civil freedoms (association, expression and meeting freedoms). The Constitution of liberal-democratic character was the ground that guaranteed the bases of the political pact that constituted the State (Erasmus 2000, 81).

24 Locally, the Judiciary also works with the assistance of the common law, by the work of traditional cuts that act in the trial of small crimes and infractions inside smaller communities (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 217-218).

25 It is not by chance that the president Sam Nujoma adopted in 1998 the Pan-Africanism symbols (the flag and the anthem) as fundamentals of its own State (Mushelenga 2014, 70).

26 Currently, four thousand white farmers have 30,5 million hectares, about 37% of Namibia's area. The land obtained during the colonial period was especially from the Herero and Nama-Damaras population, in the center and south of the country. Approximately 120 thousand black families are concentrated in 5% of the arable lands in the north of the country (Matanga 2002, 138).

which assures market prices to the proprietaries[27]. After, in the beginning of the 2000s, more distributive politics were adopted, creating perspectives of an effective agrarian reform[28]. The association of a democratic-institutional stability and a renewed national identity has sustained the high legitimacy of the State in the post-independency period.

The State-society relations

The State-society relations in independent Namibia were characterized by the predominance of SWAPO as the government party. Its political strategy and the credibility achieved during the national liberation process assured to the party significant political predominance in the post-independency period and the victory in the presidential elections of 1989 (indirect)[29], 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014 and wide majority in the national legislative election in the same years[30]. The government is characterized by the predominant position of the president, who nominates the Cabinet's members, besides the parliament and local government's members[31]. The charismatic posture of Sam Nujoma, SWAPO's president since the national liberation fight period, has contributed to this centrality. Posteriorly, however, the *low profile* posture of Hifikepunye Pohamba hasn't

27 It was prioritized the maintenance of farms commercially efficient to the economic growth. The policy was limited to land redistribution due the high prices and the lack of resources given by the government.

28 In April, 2003, a new tax over rural property was established to create funds to the land reform. Furthermore, in June of the same year, a new legislation assured the right of the State to acquire land over the justification of public interest and to pay lower prices than the market ones (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 233.

29 In November, 1989, the first universal national election occurred, in order to compose the Constituent Assembly. The election was organized and supervised by the UN. The Constituent Assembly with 72 members was a consensual process of antagonist forces' trucing, such as SWAPO and the DTA (*Democratic Turnhalle Alliance)*, in their search for a constitution that had national character.

30 Local elections also made possible the party's prominence in the political spheres closer to the citizens. National elections happen every five years and local elections every six years. SWAPO leads the local, regional and national legislative bodies, guaranteeing an average of about 60% of the seats in local elections and more than 75% of the parliament seats in national elections since 1989 (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 221).

31 The Executive's dominance has been present in its relations with the Parliament, since almost all ministries and vice-ministries are also representatives in the National Assembly. They end up overcoming other SWAPO's representatives in number and reproducing the government's policy. While the National Council connects directly to the regional counselors' actions, the system of closed list to the National Assembly creates distance between the population and the representatives, since exclusively the parties do the composition.

reduced the presidency centrality in the political paths of the country[32].

Since its independency, SWAPO's prior political project was to ensure stability to its government in the State building period and to obtain capacity from political institutions, including the democratic process. The initial way found was to adopt a national reconciliation policy, one of the regular principles in the preamble of the Republic's Constitution (NAMIBIA 1990, preamble). Sam Nujoma tried to ensure, as it had happened in Zimbabwe a decade before (Nhema 2002, 101), a policy to strengthen the government over the national reconciliation idea that could overcome the racial segregation and oppression. Therefore, in the government formed in 1990 there was a careful mixture of party leaders in exile, from inside the country and of white people[33]. The political acceptance also happened towards local authorities[34] and gender relations[35].

The democratic process remained stable[36]. A presidential transition occurred in a pacific and democratic way in the 2004's elections, where Hifikepunye Pohamba (former minister of *Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation*) was victorious, something repeated in 2014. Although it hasn't occurred a change of the party in power, the government party has accomplished all the constitutional and democratic requirements. Nonetheless, the political predominance of SWAPO doesn't mean lack of opposition, especially of moderated groups associated with conservative elites and with the white population. The main opposition comes from

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32 Although president Pohamba has taken over the government, the party's formal leader remained Nujoma until November 2007 and continues influencing the directions of the national policy.

33 More recently, this policy was reduced in terms of intensity, since the whites didn't remAain as ministries, just as secretaries and vice-ministries. The policy also has difficult impact over the society, due to traumas of racial segregation from the past that weren't healed by truth commissions and reconciliation that didn't bring the national history back. The option adopted was "[...] to deliberately get away from dislikable memories from the past and focus on what was postulated as the construction of a unified nation." (Erasmus 2000, 81).

34 Chiefs and leaders were integrated in the state bureaucracy as counselors and started to receive payments, from the *Authorities Act* from 1995. In 1996, almost one million people (half of Namibia's population) were evaluated to live under traditional leaders' authority (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 223).

35 SWAPO adopted a gender quotes policy that ensured the presence of 30% of women in the parliament, one of the highest taxes of the world and of Africa. Furthermore, volunteer quotes from parties guarantee high female representation in local and national levels.

36 Although President Sam Nujoma has been a target of a lot of criticism for breaking with the constitutional rule that limits in two consecutive mandates the presidential government, the pessimist expectations that this would be the authoritarianism principle fell apart. The exception was justified by the fact that the first mandate (1990-1994) was guaranteed by indirect elections, since the president was elected by the Constituent Assembly in February, 1990.

the *Democratic Turnhalle Alliance* (DTA), which continues to be associated with the pre-independence administration[37]. One of the greatest opposition difficulties is to articulate a national platform that breaks with the regionalist bonds and overcome the *ovambo* majority support to SWAPO. Social pressures also arise from old allies, as the *Council of Churches of Namibia* (CCN), which pressures the government to promote social rights and criticizes the option for military intervention in the region; and the *Namibian National Student Organization* (NANSO), which left SWAPO in 1991 to widen its regimentation basis. The most important opposition comes from the Caprivi region, which part of the population states to prefer over the development policies directed to other North provinces, something that results in high levels of unemployment in the region. On the other hand, the government receives its support base from the syndical union *National Union of Namibian Workers* (NUMW), which has gradually become closer to SWAPO in the post-independency, including composing the party's frame. Furthermore, different types of NGOs work together with the government, helping with ministerial policies, as, for example, collaborating in development programs of the *National Planning Commission*, and in legislative commissions (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 226). The legitimacy assured by the State in the post-independency and the wide prominence of SWAPO in power allowed the party to put into practice an impetuous and revisionist regional foreign policy as an instrument of overcoming still existing constraints, both domestic (separatism) and external (territorial integrity, insurgencies at the boarders and economic dependency).

Elites and regional foreign policy in Namibia (1990-2010)

The regional foreign policy of Namibia in the first decades after independence was directly affected by the DEPF project to strengthen the State and its international position in face to the domestic and external challenges. Just as in most presidential regimes, the Presidency and the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* (MFA) were the main responsible for the State's foreign project. They created a policy that was far from the characteristic minimalism of small States (Moon 1985; Moon 1983; Braveboy-Wagner and Snarr 2003, 22-25) and that disputed a notable position in the discussions and solutions of regional and global challenges. This posture was, in a great instance, consequence of the diplomatic experience during the national

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37 Recently, SWAPO's dissident factions tried to ally with the opposition, which in fact could represent an effective political threat. However, the initiatives were disarticulated by SWAPO. It is the *Congress of Democrats* (COD), formed by ex- SWAPO leadership Ben Ullenga, who acted as high commissary in the United Kingdom and who resigned in August 1998, after Nujoma's decision of sending troops to the DRC (see it below).

liberation, which sought to obtain spaces through work and the priority of international activity as part of strengthening the cause.

The almost assured political predominance almost assured of SWAPO guaranteed to the party a great international action freedom. The reduced State's capacity and the economic difficulties were compensated with policies that ensured wide international support and investments influxes. This relatively stable environment made possible the creation of spaces to attempt solving externally fundamental challenges that still existed, among them territorial integrity, more distributives regional economic alternatives, and regional security.

The great Namibian strategy was guided by the attempt of aligning itself to the existing order, looking for spaces for changes that could ensure the strengthening of its position. Despite its big dependency on South Africa, Namibia sought to align itself to the regional order in its sociopolitical ideals (liberal rights), but transform it in the direction of three mainly points. These were the defense of negative/juridical sovereignty (respect to the rules of international law) and State's positive/empirical sovereignty (including of the weaker ones, as itself)[38]; relative distribution of development, although integrating itself to the economic system centralized in South Africa; and defense of the regional security under the ideals of political solidarity and collective security.

The action from the regional system was impetuous, mainly in these three central points, which happened especially in Sam Nujoma's government. His drive to act in the system was influenced by the president's role as a political leadership of the elite who defined the foreign policy, and also by the considerable reduction of threats and external challenges during Pohamba's government (when most of the more threatening domestic questions were already solved), except for the permanent challenge of economic dependence to South Africa.

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38 Jackson and Rosberg (1982) introduced the dialectic between juridical and empirical statehood, focused on the African countries' case. Juridical statehood indicates the conditions given by the negative sovereignty (merely legal), as territory, boundaries, population and international recognition of its State and govern. This principle of international legality was established as a fundamental regime of the order created in the Charter of the United Nations, which sustains the banishment of the war of aggression (art 1ffl, § 1 e art 2ffl, § 1) and the respect to the principle of non-interference in the States' internal affairs. Empirical statehood, then, refers to the effective sovereignty accomplishment (positive sovereignty), which includes to govern, to control, to defend and to protect the State's territory and people. In this case, it is evident the necessity of means/capabilities to execute these tasks. In 1990, Robert Jackson expanded the study to the other countries of the Third World (Jackson 1990).

Elites and regional foreign policy in Nujoma (1990-2005)

During the government of Sam Nujoma, the president consolidated his figure as the most powerful actor in the process of defining the foreign policy. Nujoma was a central formulator of foreign policy even before Namibia's independence. As SWAPO's president, he represented the Namibian population in a variety of multilateral institutions as the MNA, SADCC, OAU and the UN. After independency, he kept this centrality and his leadership role in decisive actions was seen in all the period (Mushelenga 2014, 69)[39]. Theo-Ben Gurirab's position as Foreign Affairs' ministry (1990-2002) also has to be highlighted, given the respect and trust he received from Nujoma and his previous international credibility as Chief of Mission of SWAPO in the UN (1972-1986) and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of SWAPO (1986-1990). He was a "[...] respected international relations guru [...]", who contributed to international credibility of independent Namibia's project (Mushelenga, 2014, 71)[40]. The *Ministry of Trade and Industry* and the *Ministry of Defense* also had advisory participation in the negotiations of trade agreements with the SACU, the SADC and the EU and in the participation of peace missions in international conflicts, respectively.

The DEPF's security was stable, given the force of SWAPO's political leadership and to the reduced competition between internal elites. However, the Caprivi separatist threat destabilized this tranquility. The Caprivi's separatists sought the incorporation of a new Barotseland in Zambia and received military support from UNITA. Since 1998, Botswana's government agreed in receiving Caprivi's refugees who left Namibia, even giving asylum to some leaderships from *Caprivi Liberation Army* (CLA) (Matanga 2002, 149). Externally there were threats to the territorial integrity and to the boundaries in Walvis Bay, in the Orange River and in the extreme Eastern boundary with Botswana. The security instabilities of allied neighbors created a regional vulnerability that could turn into even greater challenges to the consolidation of the State's power. Finally, the economic

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39   However, there was increased criticism about the autonomy in the decision-making process. In the case of DRC's invasion, critics argued the decision of sending troops was the President's exclusive and personal choice, without consulting other actors and responsible bodies. They affirmed that "[...] information about the involvement of Namibia in the DRC just came out as a result of Zimbabwe's reveal and of the death of some Namibian soldiers in the front in the war in Kinshasa" (Matanga 2002, 145).

40   In August 2002, Gurirab became prime ministry and was replaced by Hidipo Hamtenya, who didn't have similar credentials in the international area. Nevertheless, in his administration, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established wider principles of external action in 2004 and prioritized t economic diplomacy. Besides, during all the period, the ministry had great significance in the selection of diplomatic solutions to external disputes, as it will be seen later.

dependency to South Africa was a challenge to be faced by the DEPF and the whole country.

Regarding the State's position on the *status quo*, there was an acceptance of the political-social regional order and the appreciation of the liberal rights importance, based on the Constitution of the Republic and respected in the government's system[41]. The credibility of a stable liberal-democratic regime was used as a political currency and defended in the relations with the neighbors. The ties to the order were reaffirmed in the idea of alignment to the principles of international law, since the republican Constitution sustained the fundamentals of the external relations in the pacifism and in the peaceful solutions of controversies[42]. Moreover, Namibia attributed to itself a moral obligation to promote peace and international security, since "[...] its own independence was a result of international efforts to achieve the peace" (Mushelenga 2014, 65). Besides, the country also attributed to the international law a similar importance as it did to the Namibian legislation, the only country in SADC to dispose of such a constitutional provision (Mushelenga 2014, 64)[43].

The acceptance of the liberal order in social terms (rights) wasn't superior, however, to the idea of solidarity. The aid policy to Mugabe shows that the protection to the principle of sovereignty and to the historic solidarity could exist above the political liberalism's speech.[44] Therefore, the Namibian vision built in Nujoma also was in favor of the protection of the States' empirical capabilities, especially in the direction of governing

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41 In fact, the constitutional principles, which guided the 1989 Constitution, had already been formulated in July, 1982, by the UNSC, in the document entitled '*Principles concerning the Constitutent Assembly and the Constitution for an independent Namibia'*. The UN and the WCG performed great Western interference in the process of consolidation of the rule. With the balance of forces established, there was little alternative to divert in relation to the pre-ordained international scheme.Therefore, '[...] Namibians, in fact, didn't enjoy a complete autonomy in the writing of their own constitution.' (Erasmus 2000, 81)

42 "The State should make efforts to guarantee that in its international relations: (a) it adopts and keeps a non-alignment policy; (b) it promotes international cooperation, peace and security; (c) it creates and maintains fair and mutually beneficial relations between nations; (d) it promotes respect to the international law and to the obligations of treaties; (e) it encourages the solution of international controversies by peaceful means" (NAMIBIA 1990, art. 96).

43 "Except for disposition established in this Constitution or in the Law of the Parliament, the general rule of international public law and international agreements that include Namibia in the terms of this Constitution will be part of Namibia's law" (NAMIBIA 1990, art. 144).

44 To Namibia, the negative sovereignty and the juridical statehood should be assured to the States, mainly to the less materially capable ones. To Du Pisani (2003:16), as it was to Mushelenga, "[...] Namibia has a strong conviction that the international system governed by rules guarantees the smaller and weak States' security" (Mushelenga 2008, 10-11).

its own territory and having its sovereignty respected. This posture can relate to a collective vision of regional security. Nujoma also saw in the external alliances' consolidation a way of strengthen Namibia's position in the internal security[45]. In economic terms, Namibia's foreign policy has inserted itself in the current order, but with reformist policies and speeches. On one hand, it has engaged in the regional mechanisms of trade and has adopted liberal policies of opening to the free-market and to foreign investment[46]. On the other, it eventually criticized the current order giving signs of militancy in favor of distributed development[47] .

The acting in the system involved, besides diplomatic means, acting through institutional, economic and military means. In the diplomatic field, the first task of Namibia's foreign policy was to ensure its territorial integrity. The national Constitution had already established the objectives of assuring control over the disputed territories with South Africa, '[...] including the enclave, the bay and Walvis Bay's harbor[48], as well as the islands in Namibia's high seas, and its southern border should be extended until half of the Orange river'[49] (NAMIBIA 1990, art. 1(4)). Furthermore, the country claimed territorial sovereignty over the Kasikili-Sedudu and Situngu islands[50], in dispute with Botswana. In the institutional field, the respect to

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45 The insecurity of allied States was seen, inside the solidarity perspective, as a security challenge to Namibia itself. It was notable that "[...] Namibia's security is too much attached to its neighbors' stability [...]" (and beyond its immediate neighbors) (Matanga 2002, 142).

46 The country sought to increase foreign investments, mainly the miner sector, with Russian contributions (RAO Almazy Rosii-Sakha). *Exporting Processing Zone* received German investments, as, for example, U$ 25 million in Namibia Press and Tools, in the vehicle components area, and Asian textiles (Matanga 2002, 148).

47 Nujoma, in September, 2002, signaled a more scathing revisionist posture, public criticizing European donors and suggesting that Namibia did not need external help. However, the policy hasn't effectively concretized (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 230).

48 Walvis Bay is the only harbor of deep waters of the country and South Africa remained occupying it despite the UN's recognition of the harbor as Namibian. In the first years of the 1990's decade, F. W. De Klerk seemed annoyed by the international pressures and remained indecisive about the issue. Nujoma, on the other hand, recused to establish complete diplomatic relations with the country. Nonetheless, the diplomacy advanced. In November, 1992, the *Walvis Bay Joint Administration Authority* (JAA) was created and included officials of both countries. Finally, after assuring control over this matter, De Klerk's government agreed in transferring the harbor to Namibia. In February, 1994, JAA's work was finished and in March Walvis Nay was given to the country.

49 Another tension issue was given in the establishment of the territorial sovereignty in the southern border, along the Orange River. Before 1990, South Africa demanded sovereignty over the entire river and the ores found in its bay. Posteriorly, the country agreed in moving the border to the center of the river, but claimed the ores of the entire river. The dispute also involved the sovereignty of the riverine islands and the flow of fishing vessels.

50 A third territorial dispute occurred with Botswana, for the sovereignty over the Kasikili-

the political institutions has guaranteed to the country the centrality of its position in the SADC. Windhoek hosts since 1997 the SADC's *Parliament Forum* and is instrumental to maintaining the inter-parliamentary and autonomous character of the forum (Bösl 2014, 18).[51]

The acceptance to the economic order is, nonetheless, marked by a partial and reckless alignment characterized by the attempt of overcoming dependency in face of the former settler, which affects, mostly, the industrialization tasks. More than 80% of the imports come from South Africa, also a great portion of the exports is sent to this country (Matanga 2002, 138). Paradoxically, Namibia has in its regional institutions and in its possible democratization a way of breaking with the dependency from South Africa. Initially, the possibility of a free-market area in the SADC was seen as a potential market diversifier to the country. However, the liberal fundamentals of the organization have only increased the predominance of South Africa's exports to its neighbors. SACU equally ended to assure markets to the South-African products and to increase the economic dependency from the BLNS (BLS plus Namibia)[52]. These countries have pressured South Africa to renegotiate SACU's agreement, which was achieved only in 2002 (Gibb and Treasure 2011, 12)[53]. The attempt to diversify and to overcoming dependency on South Africa is meant to be consolidated by the approximation to Angola and to China[54].

Sedudu (3.5 km² and Situngu (91 km²) in the Linyati- Chobe River, in the Caprivi's region. The situation got worse when both countries sent troops to the islands. A diplomatic attempt to solve the issue bilaterally started in May, 1998, but didn't bring results to the matter and was sent to the ICJ. After the court's decision in favor of Botswana, Namibia accepted to the international law ruling.

51 Besides, the commitment with the liberal political model made Namibia an important partner for the European Union and '[...] a reference to the good governance in SADC's region' (Bösl 2014, 19). Furthermore, the country integrated SACU in 1991, as a way of concretizing its relative alignment to the regional order, even before the political transition in South Africa. Consecutively, the country '[...] gained benefits of SACU's aggregated common incomes, until that, in 2003, these incomes provided 30 to 40% of its GDP' (Mushelenga 2008, 11).

52 In 1993, South Africa "[...] exported to the rest of SACU about 5.7 times the value of its goods and services that it imported from partners" (Matanga 2002, 139).

53 With the difficulties to renegotiate the agreement, Namibia started to adopt an increasingly confrontational posture, besides searching for its economic relations diversification. This was produced with initiatives of connecting infrastructures to other States of the region (Trans-Kalahari Highway and Trans-Caprivi Highway, connecting Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and of establishingAbilateral agreements, as the ones done with Sweden, Germany and the EPA with the European Union in an independent way from SACU (Matanga 2002, 140).

54 In the first case, only after the Angolan civil war there was possibility of increasing the cooperation started in 1990 with the *Angolan–Namibian Joint Commission of Co-operation*

In the area of military operations, the promotion of the peace principle was already in practice in 1993, with the participation in the UN's peacekeeping mission in Cambodia. In southern Africa, the country had pressured for a peaceful transition in South Africa and negotiated efforts in the UNSC (with Zimbabwe) to raise awareness of the international community to support the peace process in Angola and to establish sanctions against UNITA. At the same time, Nujoma tried to make possible a mediation with Jonas Savimbi (Mushelenga 2014, 64). The country sent military contingent and observers to a total of eight UN's missions. They were Angola, Burundi, Cambodia, DRC, Eritrea, Ivory Coast, Liberia and Sudan (two missions)[55]. Besides the actions in peacekeeping missions in the region and out of it, the priority of the regional security and the instabilities in neighbor countries made the country get directly involved in two external armed conflicts, in the DRC and in Angola. In the case of DRC, in August 1998, Nujoma decided to support the SADC's coalition sending from 1,400 to 2,000 troops and weapons. The coalition went to Congo to protect the government of Laurent Kabila against the external invasion of Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi (Castellano da Silva 2012). The decision to send troops was based in the regional security solidarity and connected to the strong bonds with the regimes of Angola and Zimbabwe – old supporters of SWAPO against the counterinsurgency employed by South Africa[56]. Concerning the conflict in Angola, in December 1999, Namibia gave permission to the FAA to

(ANJCC). In 2003 the *Agreement on Reciprocal Protection and Promotion of Investment* was concluded; and so did the *Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation* in 2004. The rapprochement has been focused in the implementation of the Benguela Current Commission and in the establishment of the Trans-Cunene Corridor, which connects by highways and railroads the Wavis Bay harbor to the south of Angola (Lubango), placing Namibia in the center of the commercial conection between South Africa, Namibia and Angola. According to Du Pisani (2014, 116-117), the relations between China and Namibia have developed in the energy, trade, investments, education, cultures, security and multilateral spheres. The bounds were consolidated with five official visits of Nujomba to Beijing, which was maintained in the following period, with the increasing of the bilateral trade in 103% between 2005 and 2006. Between 2001 and 2011 China's imports increased three times more than total imports' additions (WTM 2015).

55 The regional security view advanced to the continental policy. In the OAU and AU, the country has established a pressure policy to achieving a Pan-African force of *peacekeeping* (Matanga 2002).

56 As in the case of Angola and Zimbabwe's participation, Namibia's role in Congo's Second War was relatively compensated (in small amount) with financial negotiations. In Namibia's case, few are the indicators, but it is known that there was a *joint venture* between one Namibian company, *August 26* (with major participation of the Ministry of Defense), COMIEX and a North-American enterprise (UN, 2001). In 2001, Namibia already started to remove its troops. The actions in the DRC were internally criticized, mainly due to lack of any consultation by Nujoma to his Cabinet (Bauer and Taylor 2005, 218).

operate from the north of its territory to promote attacks against UNITA. It also supplied soldiers and weapons to the allied forces[57]. As an answer, this group has promoted retaliatory attacks against Namibia, which led the NDF to get directly involved in the conflict, establishing bases and operations in the Angolan territory and seeking to suppress one of the supporters of its intern separatism in Caprivi.

The external allies' support also sought to ensure guarantees to overcoming internal challenges to the territorial integrity. On August 2nd, 1999, united separatists in *Caprivi Liberation Army* attacked a police station, an army base and the office of *Namibian Broadcasting Corporation* (state TV network) in Katima Mulilo, largest city in Caprivi. The government declared emergency sate in the region and captured hundreds of collaboration suspicious. The movement's leader, former leadership of the DTA in Carivi, Mishake Muyongo, ran to Botswana and Denmark. A lot of other inhabitants of the region went to Botswana. The military aid against the internal threat was ensured by regional allies Zimbabwe, and in a lesser extent, Zambia. Finally, in March 1999, Nujoma visited Gaborone and established with President Mogae the warranty of refugee status to the separatist leaders, if transferred to a third country, which was implemented by Botswana.

Both the participation in the DRC's conflict and the political support to Mugabe had as consequence strong intern criticisms relating to the presidential autonomy to decide the foreign policy. The situation created additional pressures to the future new president of the country.

Elites and regional foreign policy in Pohamba (2005-2010)

Hifkepunye Pohamba took on a different approach when deciding foreign policy. With a more discreet profile and with certain hesitation, the new president regularly consulted the MFA for advices and preferred the existence of a consensus in the Cabinet before defining measures to be taken about a subject of more importance in the foreign policy. The command of Marco Hausiku in the Ministry contributed to this type of approach. He and Pohamba preferred to act without great announcements about external issues, which as consequence had criticisms about the lack of publicity and communication. The successor in the Ministry, Utoni Nujoma, sought to restore the institutional image and increase bilateral visits to Asia, Europe

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57 The alliance has been connected to revolutionary origins of the government parties, to MPLA's support to SWAPO's movement, to the ethnic alignment of the Kwanyama elite in both countries, and to the existence of a consciousness of class between Angolans workers who worked in the Namibian mines during the South African domain period (Matanga 2002).

and the region (Mushelenga 2014, 71). The position adopted in the foreign policy was similar to the one of Sam Nujoma's period, in which policy was both sympathizing and, in some aspects, liberal.

As threatening social groups (separatism) and external pressures were reduced (except by the continuous economic dependency on South Africa), the foreign policy defining elite's safety became more affected by the pressures of opposing elites. The challenges of conservative internal groups and strong criticism to the insulation of Pohamba's presidency pressured for change. There was a need for establishing a new dialogue and more transparency in the foreign policy's composition. Pohamba's profile contributed to the establishment of inclusion and democratic processes in the foreign policy. This process involved, on one hand, the inclusion of the opposition in the foreign policy's definition process, through eventual consultations and participation in significant regional events[58].

The external posture on the *status quo* remained practically unchanged during Pohamba's presidency. The passive alignment to the social regional order continued to exist. In 2005, SADC's Tribunal became operational in Windhoek and represented the country's credibility and commitment to the *rule of law*, as well as the assurance to rights to the southern Africa society. According to Melber, Pohamba stressed that '[...] the rule of law is one of the pillars of global governance system that seeks to respect and to guarantee human rights, democracy and justice' (Melber 2014, 44). Nonetheless, the political solidarity principle remained a priority in the country's foreign policy. The conflict between Zimbabwe's government and the tribunal's decision in favor of a country's farmer, who appealed to the court against the land grabs done by the government, led to a regional impasse (Murungi and Gallinetti 2004, 130-131). Therefore, the Tribunal had its activities suspended with SADC's leadership meeting in Windhoek on August 16th-17th 2010 and a new protocol started to be negotiated, seeking the transformation of its scope to limit itself to judge disputes between member-States and not individuals anymore (Melber 2014, 444-446). The priority of civil and political rights didn't seem that essential.

Pohamba kept the external posture of African sovereignty's defense, prioritizing it in face of the human rights protection justification. The pan-African solidarity principle and the respect to sovereignty were already present in the AU Summit in Sirte on July 3rd 2009, when Namibia was

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58 For example, the president included in his delegation to the induction ceremony of President Guebuza of Mozambique, the leader of the opposition in the parliament, Ben Elenga. Besides, the president promoted a new foreign policy thinking in face of regular consults to young analysts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Mushelega 2008, 211- 212).

between the countries that would support and repeal the extradition order of the International Criminal Court to Sudan's president Omar Al-Bashir. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Marco Hausiki stated in the occasion that Al- Bashir would be a welcome guest in Namibia (Melber 2014, 443). A stronger position about this matter could be noticed in the condemnation of NATO's attacks in Libya, following resolution 1973 from 2011 of the UNSC. The president maintained support to the African Union Peace and Security Council, which sustained that '[...] any foreign invasion in the domestic affairs of any African state [should be] strongly condemned and rejected.' (Kisting 2011, on-line). The speech given by President Pohamba on the 66th UN General Assembly on September 23 2011 was a milestone of this position:

> The Government of Namibia recognizes the legitimacy of the peaceful demands for democratic changes in the sister countries such as Tunisia and Egypt. It is of paramount importance that the demands for democratic changes be locally driven and owned, but not be used as a pretext by foreign powers to undermine the fundamental principle of sovereignty and non-intervention in the international affairs of independent states. This cardinal principle constitutes the core essence of the United Nations. To maintain its unique legitimacy and universal credibility in the eyes of the vast majority of humanity, the United Nations should respect and uphold this principle. The United Nations, which supported the decolonization of Africa, should now not be seen to be reversing or compromising on this principle by opening up the continent to new threats of external forces. Never in the history of United Nations has the sanctity of the principle of non- intervention been so compromised as we have witnessed recently in Libya. The intervention in Libya by powerful members of the United Nations Security Council represents mortal danger for the security of weak countries. The military intervention in Libya by foreign powers must remind Africa of the infamous 1884/ 1885 Berlin Conference when Africa was carved up by imperial powers (Pohamba 2011, on-line).

The impetus of action in the system, currently, keeps the priority of seeking for diplomatic, economic and institutional alternatives to reform the actual order according to the existing possibilities. The attempt to reinforce the distributive role of SADC remains and Namibia is reticent with South Africa's capability to distribute and not concentrate development in the region (Alfredo Tjiurimo Hengari, 2013, interview). Moreover, the current partnership with China is part of a scope of action in favor of South-South cooperation with Brazil, Cuba and India, as an alternative way of promoting development and technology transference (Mushelenga 2014, 67). Brazil, for example, has been assisting in the process of building the Namibian state capacities, establishing cooperation between the navy forces

and making it possible the organization of the country's Navy (MRE 2011; Abdenur and Neto 2014, 227).

To sum it up, between 1990 and 2005, the high legitimacy of the Namibian state in the post-independency and the initial economic growth were combined with the assured prominence of SWAPO in power, using the symbolic leadership of Sam Nujoma. The UN's legacy to the country's independence led it to a position of respect to the priority of liberal rights. On the other hand, the revolutionary solidarity of the liberation movement encouraged a foreign policy that fought for the guarantee of States' empirical sovereignty and regional security. Although with reduced coercive capabilities, the immediate promotion of regional integrity and of collective security was adopted as an attempt to overcome the challenges that came from separatists and external forces (boarder disputes and security instability). In the Pohamba's period, there was the continuity of the State's stability, since the territorial and security challenges had been overcome, and the maintenance of the political project in part liberal, in part revisionist, of SWAPO. The external instabilities were now reduced, except by the remaining threat of economic dependency from South Africa, and were combined with the increase of intern pressures on the DEPF. The necessity of external action decreased and the actions were restricted to economic and institutional means.

Conclusion

The analysis was based in the explanatory method, which realizes in the external project and in the security of the defining elites the main encouragements to the position and urge in relation to the regional systemic order. This process, focused in the will and in the ability of the DEPF, must be comprehended together with the process of State building, more specifically the available capacities and the State-society relations that define the interests and the acting capabilities of the DEPF. The text was divided into two big parts. The first one evaluated the origins of the process of State building and of the regional foreign policy in the period before independency. It was noticeable that the internal and external legitimacy of the colonial state happened at the same time as the rising of SWAPO's liberation movement, which linked the regional to international credibility, due to the solidarity by the former and the respect to global institutions by the later. This characteristic was determinant to the post-independence foreign policy, evaluated on the second part of this text. The Namibian foreign policy achieved a new credibility from the state and the government (SWAPO) and, although with constrains over coercive and capital capacities, made possible

a revisionist foreign policy in relation to the established regional order, even using military means to solve its own problems as well as its allies'.

Namibian foreign policy was, therefore, essentially influenced by the historic liberation fight. On one hand, SWAPO's predominance in the domestic policy after 1990 directed the foreign policy to the acceptance of the regional liberal order's principles, since Namibia's independency and its own national Constitution were consequence of the liberal global order. On the other, the regional revolutionary solidarity showed that SWAPO was committed to fighting for a more distributive and aligned to a developmental conception order. The internal (separatism) and external (threat to the territorial integrity and instability in neighbor countries) pressures encouraged the use of the State's capacities in external action, including the use of military forces. A later decrease of the foreign and domestic pressures assured a limitation of the urge for regional action to the economic and institutional instruments.

Despite theories of international relations stressing the small systemic impact of countries with reduced aggregated capacities, they do not explain why these States regularly adopt revisionist attitudes in relation to the systemic order and use of a great strength in its performance (breaking with the tendency to *bandwagoning*) (Mearsheimer 2001, 209-210). It happens because they ignore significant aspects of their foreign policy. The sustained thesis is that the characteristics and interests of the defining elite of foreign policy will directly affect its position when related to the systemic order and that the security of this elite in power (available capacities in face of domestic and external pressures) will affect its possibilities of performing its interests. Namibia's case will serve as an example of how small countries, with reduced systemic power can use the transforming and extractive capacities of their (high legitimate) State to act internationally in a revisionist and sustainable way, even with limited impact.

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ABSTRACT

The article addresses Namibia's foreign policy to Southern Africa focusing on the period between 1990 and 2010 and evaluates its position in face of the order of the regional system and the explanations for this behavior, connected to the State building process and to the interests and security of the defining elites of foreign policy.

THE SECURITY INTEGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: SADC AND OPDS[1]

Nathaly Xavier Schutz[2]

Initial Considerations

The integration processes on the African Continent follows a quite particular logic, as a consequence of the historical and socio-political context in which they were conceived. Security and state-building issues are present in most of these processes, especially in the case of Southern Africa. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is one of the most emblematic examples when it comes to security-integration in Africa, as a result of its origin, established on the necessity these countries had to withstand the apartheid regime in South Africa.

As it occurs with other issues, traditional security theories are not always suitable to understand African affairs. In any case, the approach of Buzan and Weaver's regional security complexes provides some useful elements for the analysis of the case of Southern Africa, and SADC, in particular.

Regional security complex is defined by Buzan and Waever (2003, 44) as:

> [...] a set of units whose major processes of securitization, desecuritization, or both are so interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another.

Within this broader concept, Buzan and Weaver (2003) make a distinction between two major types of regional security complexes: the standard, defined as closer to the Westphalian model, where there are one or more regional powers and a predominant and common security agenda;

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and the centered, which a regional or global power dominates the security agenda. In this study, our focus, in particular, is the standard regional security complex, as it is the one that better applies to Southern Africa.

In terms of amity/ enmity, the standard regional security complexes may be conflict formations, security regimes or security communities. The most important aspect of security in such cases is the relationship between the regional powers inside the region. The conflict formations are a pattern of security interdependence determined by the threat of war and expectation of the use of violence. As for the security regimes, they are a pattern of security interdependence still determined by the threat and expectation of the use of violence, but constrained by a set of rules of conduct.

On the other hand, the security community is defined by Buzan and Waever (2003) as a pattern of security interdependence, in which the units do not plan to use force in their relations. Laakso (2005) describes the security community as a group of states among which war becomes inconceivable and where the states share the perception that force must not be used to resolve disputes between them. Thus, there is the possibility of disputes, although the capacity to resolve them in a peaceful manner is essential.

The objective of this article, hence, is to verify the existence or the possibility of establishment of a security community in Southern Africa, centered in SADC. This study starts from the assumption that there is a historical connection between the countries of the region, which mobilized the beginning of the integration process, that is, the restraining of the apartheid regime in South Africa. It is presumed, thus, that not only there is a sharing of values but also that the end of apartheid leads, as well, to a redefinition of the relationship patterns in the region, expressing a positive evolution in the security scope, demonstrating the transition from a conflict formation to a security regime. Regarding this, the SADC and the OPDS are featured as the main forums for managing security issues in Southern Africa.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC)

The **S**outhern **A**frican **D**evelopment **C**oordination **C**onference (SADCC), that a few years later would become the SADC, had a very significant historical origin and was preceded by a number of organizations that culminated in the creation of the Frontline States. The context of the apartheid in South Africa determined, to a great extent, the foreign actions of other countries in the region, and not only it motivated the alliance of

these countries around organizations that aimed coordinating policies against the regime of racial segregation, but also supported the movements of national liberation.

In 1975, the Heads of State from Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique created the Frontline States (FLS). The FLS was born as a forum of cooperation between states, without being a formal institution, with the purpose of coordinating policies supporting national liberation movements, and reducing the dependence of the region's countries in relation to South Africa.

After the independence of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, the Frontline States realized the necessity of addressing economic issues in the region as well. In 1979, the President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, called for a consultative meeting in the city of Arusha, Tanzania. At the time, members of the FLS met to discuss the possibility of an economic alliance between them.

In April 1980, SADCC was formally established by the Lusaka Protocol. While the Frontline States coordinated efforts to support the national liberation movements and to resist the aggressions of South Africa, SADDC tried to reduce the economic dependence of these countries in relation to Pretoria (Murapa 2002). It is important to elucidate, on this matter, that the organization of the Frontline States was not transformed into SADCC: the two organizations coexisted.

The historical moment in which SADCC was created, as well as the background of the organizations that preceded it, make it quite clear that there is a prior history of political and security cooperation over the economic cooperation. In the words of Murapa (2002, 158):

> Thus, SADCC was born from the positive experiences of cooperation between governments and societies of Southern Africa in their struggle against colonial resistance and the apartheid policies in the region. Strong bonds of solidarity emerged from a sense of common purpose and collective action against colonialism and racism.

According to Swart and Plessis (2004), the decade of 1990 was a period of change in the process of integration in the Southern Africa. As it is acknowledged, the beginning of the 1990s presented a changing scenario in the entire international system, with the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In the African continent, especially, it materialized the end of the anti-colonial battles and the abolition of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Consequently, the political and security problems changed, and the opportunity for a greater regional cooperation in these areas arose.

It is in this context of change and new possibilities that, in 1992, the Heads of State from SADCC's members signed the Declaration and Treaty of the Southern African Development Community, SADC, known as the Declaration of Windhoek, name of the Namibian city where the meeting was held. At that time, became part of SADC the following countries: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In August 1994, after the end of the apartheid and the victory in the elections of the African National Congress, South Africa joined SADC. Four years later, during the meeting in Blantyre, other members were admitted to the forum: Democratic Republic of Congo and Seychelles. In 1995, the Republic of Mauritius also became a member. The last member to join the SADC was Madagascar, in the SADC Silver Jubilee Summit, in 2005.

Map 1: SADC

The Organ for Politics, Defense and Security (OPDS)

As examined earlier, SADC is not restricted to an essentially

economic integration process. The tendency to discuss political and security issues is in the origin of the rapprochement between the countries of Southern Africa, translated into the various organizations created in order to support the national liberation movements in the colonies and to fight the apartheid regime in South Africa.

As the proximity between the countries evolved and there was an increase of institutionalization in this integration process - that occurred with the transformation of SADCC to SADC -, the necessity to create a specific body to deal with political and security issues became evident. It is in this context that it was created the Organ for Politics, Defense and Security (OPDS).

According to Williams (2004), until the creation of the OPDS, the security issues in SADC states could be described as operationalized in three levels. The first level corresponds to the meetings of the Frontline States: the region's leaders met to resolve crises and find the best way to manage security problems collectively. That was the pattern adopted, especially before the creation of SADCC, still in the 1970s.

The second level of operationalization was the Interstate Security and Defense Committee (ISDSC), created under the Frontline States and later incorporated into the SADCC. During the 80s and early 90s, according to the author, the ISDSC coordinated the defense activities of the region's countries. The Committee was formed by three primary subcommittees - defense, policing and public security- which were divided into specialized analysis sectors. The third level arose with the formalization of the OPDS in 1996.

The imperative to create an organ of defense and security in SADC, according to Malan (1998), became more evident in 1994, when the Frontline States decided independently to close the organization's activities and become the political and security-arm of SADC. Furthermore, the SADC Workshop on Democracy, Peace and Security, held in July 1994, recommended that the Organization got involved, formally, in cooperating on matters of security-coordination, conflict mediation and military cooperation.

On the following meeting of SADC's Foreign Ministers, in 1995, it was determined the creation of the Association of the Southern African States (ASAS). The ASAS, according to Cilliers (1999), should act with an independent structure from SADC's Secretariat and would report directly to the Summit of Heads of State or Government of SADC.

The creation of the ASAS, however, was postponed and ended up not occurring. To Cilliers (1999), this delay in the creation of the ASAS

is a consequence of Zimbabwe's President position, Robert Mugabe, that believed he was the one who should play, in this new organization, the same leadership role he had among the Frontline States, which contradicted the increasingly important role of South Africa. Therefore, the establishment of the ASAS, in particular, was not mentioned in the final report of the 1995 Summit, which mentioned only the necessity to establish the Politics, Defense and Security sector and the granting of more time for the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense to discuss the issue.

Once acknowledged the perception that there was an imperative to institutionalize the treatment of political and security issues within the SADC, in January 1996, a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security of SADC was held. As a result, it was recommended to the Heads of State and/or government the creation of an organ that would serve for this purpose. Accordingly, at the meeting of the SADC Summit of 1996, the Organ for Politics, Defense and Security was created.

The OPDS was created with an independent structure from SADC, without the obligation to report to the Summit or any other organ of the organization. This dual structure with two Summits significantly undermined the functioning of the OPDS, creating a situation in which decisions were made in two instances, however, with no hierarchy between them.

This problem was aggravated by the polarization between the SADC member states, represented by South Africa and Zimbabwe. While South Africa, governed by President Nelson Mandela, argued that, based on the SADC Treaty, there wasn't any assumption for the creation of a body that could act separately from the organization; Zimbabwe, represented by Robert Mugabe, as highlighted by Malan (1998), argued that there was no legal restriction to the functioning of the organ independently, and that it would follow the model of the extinct FLS, which was of a more flexible and informal administration.

It must be highlighted that, in addition to a different point of view in relation to technical and legal issues, this two perspectives involved a personal dispute between Mandela and Mugabe, who were, at the time, respectively the Presidents of the SADC Summit and the OPDS Summit. The problem of the independent structure of the Board, as well as the confrontation between the two Presidents, was treated at a Summit of SADC held in the following year, with no practical result. This event, as noted by Malan (1998), was repeated in subsequent meetings. The issue would only be resolved with the restructuring of SADC and the Protocol on Defense, Politics and Security.

In Blantyre Summit, held in 2001, the Cooperation Protocol on Defense, Politics and Security was adopted, and the formulation of the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO[3]), which was signed in 2003, was decided. The Protocol modifies the organ's structure and incorporates SADC's structure itself, ending a long disagreement represented by the positions of South Africa and Zimbabwe. The OPDS operates on a *troika[4]* basis and now the President refers to the SADC Summit. Immediately below the *troika*, there is a Ministerial Committee, comprised by the ministers of SADC who are responsible for Foreign Affairs, Defense and Security.

The Ministerial Committee is divided into two subcommittees: the Inter-state Politics and the Diplomacy Committee (ISPDC), where the Ministers of Foreign Affairs act; and the existing Inter-state Defense and Security Committee (ISDSC) comprising the Defense and Security Ministers. The ISPDC is responsible for pursuing the objectives of the Organ relating to politics and diplomacy, while the ISDSC performs functions of defense and security policies, which were already performed since the existence of the Frontline States[5].

The objectives presented by the Protocol, according to Hammerstad (2004), include both traditional security issues and aspects of human security. Therefore, the concern for the sovereignty and territorial integrity - represented in military relations between states and in the signing of a mutual defense pact –coexists with the protection of the population and with the assurance of a stable environment for the promotion of socioeconomic development, which reinforces the recognition of the necessity to address the countries' internal security problems.

It is present in the Protocol (SADC 2001c) the jurisdiction of the Organ, specifically, the issues in which it has competence to act. Concerning the interstate conflicts, the OPDS should intervene when the contest includes: a conflict over territorial boundaries or natural resources; a conflict in which aggression or other form of military force occurred or is about to occur; a conflict that threatens the peace and the region's security or the territory of a member state that is not a participant on the conflict.

In relation to intrastate conflicts, the OPDS should try to resolve

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3 Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ.

4 Commite composed by three members.

5 Both ISPLC as ISDSC could create substructures to act on specific issues within their areas. The ISDSC at the time of the reform already counted, according to Isaksen and Tjønneland (2001), with a set of subcommittees in its structure, with a very significant presence of the defense subcommittee. Furthermore, it was also submitted to its structure, in the area of public security, the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operationOrganisation (SARPCCO).

conflicts involving: large-scale violence between sections of the population or between the government and sections of the population, including genocide[6], ethnic cleansing and gross violation of human rights; military coups or other threats to the legitimate authority of a state; civil war or insurgency; a conflict that threatens peace and security in the region or territory of another member state.

The action of the OPDS, therefore, is restricted to some conflict situations; therefore, not all conflicts, even the ones involving member states, are subjected to the organ's intervention. In addition, it was not established the methods and criteria to identify and classify conflicts, or threatens of conflict, in those cases. The idea of "threat to peace and security in the region", for example, is very broad. Besides, it allows more restricted interpretations, which would result in a reduced number of possibilities of intervention; or it allows a wider interpretation, which could include, ultimately, any type of conflict.

Cooperation in the field of defense and security in SADC is going through a transitional phase. A significant portion of the problems faced after the end of apartheid and independence, represented by internal conflicts, has been resolved. An example of this achievement is the end of the civil war in Angola. Notwithstanding, new issues emerge, such as the political stability of these countries, and coexist with the permanence of some classic security issues, which have not been solved yet. This combination of contemporary problems that require new strategies of cooperation, with the existence of traditional security issues, obstructs progress in the region's security integration, and brings difficulty even for the choice of which strategy to follow.

One of the aspects addressed by the SIPO is the state security. In this context, it is highlighted the concern shown in relation to threats, both internal and external, to sovereignty and the economic interests of the countries. It is also important to point out the progress in cooperation between the intelligence sectors, including at the bilateral level. Among the most prevalent problems listed, it is evident, once again, the interrelationship between   issues of socioeconomic development, political stability and security: negative effects of globalization, such as increased vulnerability of

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6 Under Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide Crime (1948), genocide is understood as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: a) killing members of the group; b) causing serious injury to the physical or mental integrity of members of the group; c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life that would lead to physical destruction in whole or in part; d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. Similar definition is described in the Statute of the International Criminal Court.

national borders and the rise in drug and human trafficking; effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic; scarce resources; and food safety.

It is important to observe that the question regarding the respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity is always guiding principles and objectives of SADC, even in documents that do not relate to security aspects. This concern is more than natural, since those are countries that have been invaded and colonized and which independences are still very recent. It should remain clear, however, that such posture is not an obstacle for cooperation in political and security issues; the concession of part of the sovereignty should not necessarily be part of the integration process, nor should be seen as an indication for its success.

Advances in security integration in Southern Africa

Security problems in Africa, as highlighted Buzan and Waever (2003), are both at the domestic level and in the relations between states. The origin of these problems, nonetheless, are, mostly, domestic issues such as refugee flows and civil wars; for that reason, the authors declare that the interaction in terms of security in the region is given, much more, by the weakness of the states than by their strength. Söderbaum (1998) share the opinion of the authors, stating that the main sources of insecurity in Southern Africa are domestic conflicts.

Southern Africa can be classified as a standard regional security complex, with a key regional power, South Africa, and a defined regional organization[7]. To Hammerstad (2004), from a historical perspective, the hostilities between the apartheid regime in South Africa and its neighbors were the main reason for the region to have become a regional security complex. Initially, as stated Buzan and Weaver (2003), the tension between the segregationist regime of South Africa and the recently independent countries of the region created a regional security complex of conflict formation. In this sense, the central feature was the mutual interference in domestic affairs divided between South Africa and its allies on the one hand, and the Frontline States, on the other.

Since the end of the apartheid in South Africa, the region has evolved from a conflict formation into a security regime, supported by the creation of the SADC and the incorporation of South Africa. The progress achieved, however, as emphasized by Buzan and Waever (2003), was

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7 According to Buzan and Waever (2003), the correlation between the regional organizations with regional security complex must be made with caution, because not always these organizations correspond to a regional complex.

compromised by disputes, especially between Zimbabwe and South Africa, and the stagnation of the OPDS.

According to Hammerstad (2005), SADC can be understood as an emerging security community, a stage in which they begin to coordinate their actions and raise their interaction in order to increase security and mutual trust. In some sectors, the Community already has characteristics of a rising security community, identified by the construction of regional institutions and by the reduction of the feeling of threat from one country to the other[8].

As highlighted by Kelly (2007), however, one should be careful when using the security theories and integration in developing countries, especially in Africa. The main complications reside in the different problems and concerns that African countries face. In this sense, not always the concept of common enemy is the one that will guide the rapprochement of African countries in terms of security.

It is useful, therefore, to refer to the concept of Job (1997) of 'internal security dilemma'. According to the author, some states are facing internal problems that threaten the stability and the maintenance of the government in matters of power; these would be the states qualified by classical theories of security as weak or failed. In Job's words (1997, 181):

> The fundamental interests of those in power in these states are regime survival and maintenance of the status quo or restoration of the status quo ante. Thus, within their international context, their concern will be to shore up the principles of noninterference in domestic affairs, the preservation of territorial integrity, and the entrenchment of sovereignty. International institutions will be attractive to them to the extent that these institutions foster such norms and are capable and are willing to mobilize on their behalf.

The attention, consequently, turns to the intrastate over the interstate conflicts. In this sense, Ayoob (2002, 35) states that the process of decolonization and the subsequent necessity for state-building, in a much more vulnerable environment to external interference than that in which the construction of European states occurred, is the explanatory factor for a large part of the conflicts in these countries. The new states thus "redefined the very notion of security dilemma by making it primarily a domestic rather than an interstate phenomenon."

Many African countries still face problems related to sovereign consolidation, especially from the domestic point of view. This, as noted

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8 The final phase would be the mature security community in which the degree of mutual trust is high and the war becomes unlikely.

by Kelly (2007), turns the subjects of internal security into a much more important issue than those of external security, making interstate wars very rare in those countries. Such countries would not have the intention to conquer the territory of its neighbors; on the contrary, they would desire to cooperate to oppose the internal threats, which are very similar.

The Southern Africa region, despite having passed through a period of stabilization and conflict solving during the 1990s, with the end of the civil war in Mozambique, and the abolishment of the apartheid regime in South Africa, still presents instability outbreaks and some relevant conflicts. Table 1 shows the conflicts in SADC countries that currently involves seven of them: Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

According to Ngubane (2004), the sources of military insecurity in Southern Africa, most of the time, do not correspond to the traditional threat, that is to say, a military conflict between two or more countries. On the contrary, the insecurity emanates from the conflicts that have ended and the challenges of (re)build the stability and security of the State and its population. The author's statement is confirmed with the data in Table 1, since most conflicts are now internal and, in many cases, derive from the confrontations originated during the process of decolonization and independence, as is the case of Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

From the political perspective, the major challenge is state stability and political control of its territory. As noted by Ngubane (2004), in many cases, the source of insecurity comes from the perception of the state as the exclusive center of power, and the dispute for the state control by different actors, viewed as the only way to ensure their interests. This situation is aggravated, and often made possible, by the illegal arms trade, which was originated from past conflicts, especially during the Cold War, when the different sides of the conflict were supported and armed by the US and USSR.

In general, with the exception of the Democratic Republic of Congo[9],

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9 The case of the Democratic Republic of Congo is an exception in many ways. First, because it is not an exclusively intrastate conflict, since it clearly involves Rwanda and Uganda. Second, the conflict relations also involve Central Africa. Third, the conflict is of greater intensity than other conflicts of the region: while others are categorized as violent crisis (intensity 3), the Democratic Republic of Congo has war (intensities 4 and 5). The peculiar situation of the DRC, thus,creates difficulty in its analysis, especially in comparison to other crises in Southern Africa, since the Congolese question involves countries outside the region and, to some extent, compromises the stability of sub-Saharan Africa as a whole. Thus, it is understood that considering the advancement or retreat of the conflict only from the point of view of Southern Africa would be an excessive reduction of the analysis; similarly, consider

Table 1: Conflicts in SADC (Source: Elaborated by the author, utilizing data from Conflict Barometer (2012).

Country	Conflict	Conflict Parties	Start	Motivation	Intensity*
Angola	Yes	FLEC; Government	1975	Separatism; resources	1
		UNITA; Government	1975	Central power	3
		Angola; RDC	2009	Territory; resources	1
Botswana	Yes	Basarwa; Government	1997	Resources	1
RDC	Yes	Congolese Rally for Democracy – Goma (ex-CD-G); Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR); Interahamwe militia; Government	2004	Regional control; resources	5
		Enyele; Government	2010	Regional control	1
		Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC); Rally for Congolese Democracy (RDC); Government	1997	Regional control; resources	4
		RDC; Rwanda	2002	Resources	3
		FDLR; Nyatura; Mayi-MayiCheka; RaiaMutomboki; FDC; APCLS; Mayi-MayiShetani; M23	2011	Regional control; resources	4
		Hemamilitia; Lendumilitia; Mayi-Mayi; Government	2004	Regional control; resources	4
		Uganda; RDC (Lake Albert)	2007	Territory; resources	2
Lesotho	No	-	-	-	-
Madagascar	No	-	-	-	-
Malawi	No	-	-	-	-
Mauritius	No	-	-	-	-
Mozambique	No	-	-	-	-
Namibia	No	-	-	-	-

Seychelles	No	-	-	-	-
South Africa	Yes	Swaziland; South Africa	1902	Territory	1
		IFP; ANC (KwaZulu-Natal) (1990)	1990	Regional control	3
Swaziland	Yes	People's Democratic Movement (PUDEMO); Swaziland Youth Congress (SWAYOCO); Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (STFU); Government	1998	Central power	3
		Swaziland; South Africa	1902	Territory	1
Tanzania	Yes	Uamsho; Government	2010	Separatism	3
		CUF/Zanzibar; Government	1993	Autonomy	3
Zambia	No	-	-	-	-
Zimbabwe	Yes	Movement for Democratic Change (MDC); Government	2000	Central power	3

*1: Dispute; 2: Non-violent Crisis; 3: Violent Crisis; 4: Limited War; 5: War

it is possible to separate conflicts into two major groups. The first group includes the conflicts caused by some sort of regional demand for greater participation and / or political representation, which is the case in Tanzania with the region of Zanzibar, and South Africa with the Kwa Zulu region. The second group involves countries in which the conflict takes place due to some sort of restriction on political participation and / or the persecution of the opposition, which includes the cases of Angola, with the long-running dispute between UNITA and MPLA, Swaziland, with restrictive legislation for political parties, and Zimbabwe, with the violent acts against the MDC.

Some characteristics are common to most of the conflicts mentioned, and once respected the peculiarities of each case, this fact allows us to draw a pattern of security issues and democratic institutionalization faced by the Southern African region. The first aspect of these crises and/or conflicts is the source: except for Angola[10], all the others have roots in the 1990s, during the reconfiguration of the international system in the post-Cold War. During the Cold War, many conflicts and governments were promoted and sustained by the economic and military resources provided by the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The end of the Cold War alters, significantly, this pattern of relationship. The decline and consecutive disintegration of the USSR drastically reduced the support sent to African countries; the US, however, no longer had much interest in Africa, since its main purpose - to contain the spread of communism - supposedly had been reached. In this new context, many governments failed to receive assistance, whether from the US, or from the USSR. This fact allowed, in some cases, an advance of the opposition forces.

In addition to the beginning of the post-Cold War period, the 1990s were also a time marked by two other aspects of great importance: the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa and the adoption of economic and political liberalizing reforms in the African continent. The transformations in South Africa had not only a domestic impact, but in the entire region of Southern Africa, as discussed throughout the study. The reintegration of the post-apartheid South Africa, which was represented by the country's admission into SADC, reconditioned relations in Southern Africa. As noted by Clapham (1996), the 1990s featured a context of reforms in most African countries, which, being economically fragile and suffering not only the impact of the end of the Cold War and the supposed victory of liberal

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all the other regions involved exceeds the objectives of this study.

10 Even though the conflict in Angola has its origins in 1975 with the independence, or even more remotely, in the 60s, with the beginning of the liberation struggle, the 90s marks a new era in the civil war, in virtue of the effect of reduced presence of powers, USA and the USSR, and the peace attempt in 1991.

regimes but also the rising of a more expressive public opinion in Africa, are externally pressured to implement multiparty governments.

Another characteristic to be highlighted in these crises is the subject of political representation and elections. The problem of political representation and restriction of parties, both in its functioning and in its participation in the elections must not be minimized. It is evident, however, that this is a step forward in the pacification process of the region. In most cases, the greatest violent crisis, civil war itself, has come to an end, thus opening space to a later stage in development, the rearrangement of forces and political representations. It can be said, therefore, that these political crises are part of the process of state building in Africa, after decolonization. Undoubtedly, African countries are also in the process of structuring its institutions; a period, in particular, suitable to disputes and conflicts. That is why regional organizations can play a key role in helping these processes and support the implementation and maintenance of democratic institutions, especially in missions of election observation.

Although not among the countries in conflict, Madagascar is an important example of the role of regional organizations in domestic crises. The role of SADC in Madagascar has been significant since the beginning of the crisis: in 2009, a series of protests and manifestations took place, carried out by supporters of Rajoelina, the primary opponent of President Ravalomanana, when the television channel owned by Rajoelina was closed by Government. This event was followed by acts of repression, deaths and an army's rebellion. Ravalomanana then delivered the power to a military joint, which by its turn, passed the power to Rajoelina, obligating Ravalomanana to leave the country.

The new government was not recognized internationally and Madagascar was suspended from both SADC and the African Union. Initially, SADC defended the restoration of the Ravalomanana government, including through OPDS[11]statements. As the situation unfolded, SADC changed its position and indicated the former Mozambican president Joaquim Chissano to mediate negotiations between the different political forces. The negotiation concluded, according Cawthra (2010), with an agreement that established a fifteen months transition with a coalition government. The elections of 2013, supervised by SADC, marked the resumption of the democratic path for the country, which went through four years of political and economic destabilization.

Unlike the other operations implemented by SADC before the 2001

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11 According Cawthra, it was considered including an intervention by SADCBRIG, position taken by Swaziland.

reforms, the missions in Madagascar occurred with prior authorization of the Community, in consonance to the provisions of the Treaty and the Protocols. A consequence of this is the absence of significant questioning about the legitimacy of the operation.

Moreover, it can be recognized a greater unity between SADC members. Even though there was the selection of a head of Mission, from a determined country, there was not, at least not in an intensified and declared mode how it had been in previous operations reform, a position of division between countries in relation to the Mission. Of course, in part this is related to the very planning of the operation and legitimacy already mentioned. On the other hand, it is also indicative of the existence of a shared vision of SADC States in relation to security and political and institutional stability, demonstrating a significant improvement compared to the 90's.

It is noticeable that there have been significant progresses in the political and security issues in the Southern African region. The improvements in the regional context, although some conflicts still exist and there are questions to be resolved, elucidate the importance of the main regional organization in this process. The strengthening of SADC and, in particular, the institutionalization of OPDS were indispensable facts to the evolution of security cooperation between countries, in the same way that represents the major forum for addressing these issues.

Final considerations

Southern Africa has undergone major changes, from the decolonization process until the last decade. It is clear that the initial problems, originated from the states' independence and from the construction of its political and bureaucratic structures, have now been largely solved. Other subjects, however, arise from the very development of those states.

One of the aspects addressed in the SIPO relates to these latest issues: the concern for common values and state-building in the region. SIPO (SADC, 2003: 16) states that:

> The strengthening of existing common values and culture is at the center stage of cooperation among Member States. Whereas conventional borders confer nationality to citizens, cultural values transcend boundaries. The process of building the nation-state is taking place in tandem with the process of building the SADC Community.

There is, therefore, the recognition of the process of state building as being concomitant to regional integration. It is of great value, thus,

resuming the assertion that in the case of Southern Africa, participation in an integration process is not seen as a loss of sovereignty, but rather as an affirmation of its mechanism. Likewise, it doesn't seem appropriate that, for every integration process, transferring part of sovereign, namely, the degree of supra nationality should be used as an indicator for the integration success.

It must be mentioned the position of part of the literature, which argues that the lack of construction of common values between the states of the region likely leads to a failure of the integration process. For Nathan (2004), for example, one of the major problems that prevent the creation of effective security cooperation between the countries of Southern Africa is the lack of common values among the member states. Distinctively, Hammerstad (2003), defends that despite the countries of the region diverge between the traditional view of security and human security perspective, this does not indicate the absence of common values among the leaders of Southern Africa. The history of struggle for independence and against colonialism and the mobilization against apartheid, with the exception of South Africa, assure the sharing of common values.

The historical factor, therefore, once again is relevant to the construction of the integration process in Southern Africa. The idea of sharing common values to the formation of effective security cooperation does not necessarily require the identification of a common external enemy. Shared values, in the case of Southern Africa, are present in the history and construction of these states, which, in turn, also define security relations of the South African sub-regional system.

It seems plausible, therefore, to conclude that Southern Africa - and SADC, in particular -is in a process of construction of a security community, even though it is at its embryonic phase. The consolidation of the organization, as well as the strengthening and expansion of the OPDS performance, indicate a maintenance road to build these ties among states in the region. In addition, they strengthen the conception of a collective vision on security issues that must be addressed in consonance, since they relate to the region, and not only to certain states, establishing thus the SADC as the principal forum not only for the resolution of disputes, but also to formulate joint policies.

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ABSTRACT

The African continent's security problems are, for the most part, originating in the processes of colonization and decolonization occurred during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Southern Africa, particularly the apartheid regime from South Africa marked, in a very significant way, the construction of a common identity and the rapprochement among other countries in the region around security issues. The objective of this study is to evaluate the evolution of SADC over the 1990s and 2000s, with regard to International Security aspects in order to analyze to what extent the organization has contributed or not to the resolution of the political and security problems in the region, especially in periods of crisis. The analysis will focus on the creation and the modifications of the Organ for Politics, Defense and Security (OPDS) of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The central hypothesis of the study is that the SADC, and the OPDS in particular, are the main spheres of treatment of securitarian issues in Southern Africa and, over the years, contributed to the evolution of solving these problems. The study will use bibliographic and documentary review, adopting a historical approach, aiming a temporal comparison of the case.

KEYWORDS

Africa; Southern Africa; Integration; OPDS; SADC.

REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN WEST AFRICA (1960-2015): BALANCE AND PERSPECTIVES

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To reflect about West Africa is always a pleasure, however, to write this article now is even better. First, because it marks the 40th birthday (1975-2015) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); second, because it marks the fifteen years of the existence of (2001-2015) the African Union (AU). At last but not least, it marks fifteen years of our important academic life in Brazil, which is a starting point for opening a new dialogue, reflections and exchanges among Brazilian Africanists and the world. Besides, it is the result of a long period of dedication researching, teaching and participating in extension projects of the Brazilian Center for African Studies (CEBRAFRICA) of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. That said, this article seeks, throughout a historical analysis of the regional West African integration process, to reaffirm the pioneering region in terms of socio-economic, political and cultural integration, but also to highlight the persistence of the difficulties and the challenges of the political unity consolidation in the region, especially after the internalization of colonial boundaries. The article has set as a goal the understanding of why, despite the enormous efforts and several attempts, the pan-Africanist dream of autonomy, unity and development is still below the expectations. It starts with the hypothesis that the difficulties are historical in nature (colonial heritage) and structural, connected to the difficult relationship between the internal processes of state-building and the inclusion of it in the international system dominated by the capitalist imperialism of the colonial and neo-colonial countries. In a nutshell, the low speed of the economic, political and socio-cultural integration process and, especially, the lack of autonomy are closely tied to the unfinished independence processes due to

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endogenous and exogenous factors.

Historical analysis

After over fifty years of African independence and forty years of the main Organization of West African regional integration, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), it is important to measure the progress, the achievements, the problems and the prospects of the regional integration of the West Africa. The purpose of this section is to analyze the historical background of the different stages of African regional integration in order to show that integration is not a new theme in the political life of the West African region, and neither in the continent as a whole.

However, if, in the past, despite the lack of physical and political independence structures, there was some harmonization of ideas and actions leading to the independence of the region's countries in the 1960s, then, there has been a divergence between elites that led to the creation of multiple organizations non-viable in the political, economic and socio-cultural fields. This favored the deployment of imperialism and neo-colonialism, both in the region and in the rest of the continent, at the expense of the unity to socio-political and cultural development of the region.

The main idea behind African integration comes from the nationalist movements in general and, specifically, from Pan-Africanism, which through its mobilization, first externally and then internally, formed the basis for claiming political independence between the beginning of the 1960s and mid-1970s. In this regard, pan-Africanism can be defined as the expression of the aspirations of the of the African peoples' descendants (Nkrumah 1963; Wade 2005). In other words, it is a movement created by the Diaspora's Africans and transported later by the independency African elite, such as Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Sedar Senghor and Cheikh Anta Diop, Senegal; Patrice Lumumba, Congo; Jomo Kenyeta, Kenya; Julius Nyerere, Tanzania - to name only a few that stood out for their dedication supporting the pan-Africanism and the construction of the African unity, on regional or continental level.

Therefore, the pan-Africanism can be defined in a simplified way as an aspiration of blacks from Africa and from the Diaspora who culturally identify themselves by their belonging to the black and African civilization, which seeks its strength in the blacks' long-term resistance to slavery and colonization. According to Wade (2005), this is the aspiration that is projected to the regional and continental political unity, first under

the form of regional integration and later under the form of the United States of Africa. Consequently, the origin of the African integration man be confused with the pan-Africanism, which was born in the Caribbean and North America (USA and Canada), in the late nineteenth century, as a result of a long and violent confrontation between, on one hand, the authorities and the slaves and, on the other, the free blacks and the slaves.

The current West African countries, along with the rest of the continent, thought about uniting in order to stand up both to the past of slavery and colonialism as to the domination of imperialism and of the Western neo-colonialism, besides to the challenges of development, socio-political and cultural emancipation of their people in a globalized world. It was facing the challenges and opportunities offered by a globalized world that they thought about economic, political and sociocultural integration in the 60's of the twentieth century, as a precondition to competitively participate in the international geopolitics. However, fifty years after the African independence, it is observed that, on one hand, regional integration among West African states is not new (N'Guessan 2010), and, on the other, that it can be said that this regional integration progress, efficiency and effectiveness is far below what was expected. This means that despite the progress and the important accomplishments by organizations such as ECOWAS, the main economic integration bloc in the region, the achievement of the pan-Africanist most important objectives and dreams is still far from happening.

One possible explanation to this situation can be found by analyzing the history of the West African countries' groupings, especially when taking into account the context in which they started these processes. From the historical point of view, one can identify the origin of the first West African regional integration projects in the context of the French colonization of the nineteenth century, which, by looking for management convenience, set a standard and a common management structure of the region's political entities. Obviously, this administrative option was a way to save an inherited political structure of African administers from the Mali Empire, which makes even more incomprehensible and unacceptable the stagnation, or even the retrogression, of these processes, since the region is a pioneer on the implementation of integrationist ideas in Africa. Roughly speaking, we can see that attempts to establish a political, economic and unified cultural structure in the West African region begins with the traditional empires (Mali), continues in the French colonial administration (French West Africa-AOF) before being thought by the independence elites (Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Ahmadou Toure, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Modibo Keita and others) in the decade of 1950-1960. In this sense, Nunes (2011) calls attention to the

fact that the region presents, throughout its history, ambitious cooperation initiatives for development before the globalizing liberal waves (1980-1990), considered the main bases of the current regional integration processes. In the African case, integration is an idea that arises as a form of resistance and struggle against external aggression that the continent and its people have suffered throughout history. That is, the idea of unity, regional and continental integration in Africa arises in the same way and with the same goals as the pan-Africanism and nationalism. These processes and movements seek to join forces and oppose external aggression; therefore, we must say that the importation of an integration model in Africa goes beyond the idea of "copy" and enters in the logic of historical heritage, and is justified by the necessity of opposing the domination and establishing itself as a nation (Diallo 2015). According to Ouadraogo (2005), globalization has been a strong motivation for the will of the African leaders in building a continental force based on pan-African cooperation. However, the historical origin of African regional integration dates back to the period of independence of the former colonized territories. Due to various problems and shortcomings inherited from colonization, the newly politically emancipated states have seen in integrating the ability to face and overcome the challenges of economic, political and socio-cultural development, to intend an effective and respectful participation in international geopolitics.

Thus, at the beginning of the independences, there were several uniting initiatives between the different states in order to find a complementary strength when looking for solutions to the different and huge security, socio-economic and cultural development problems. The countries of West Africa, from the 1960s, as the rest of the liberated and politically independent world, were, at that moment, facing the challenge of overcoming the development barriers that first appeared in the demographic and economic levels, in which the very small socioeconomic spaces obligate the new rulers to seek the extension of political and geographical borders (integration) to postulate any kind of development.

This broadening of political and geographic boundaries allows the reduction of the unitary cost of production, thanks to the economy of scale, to the higher degree of specialization and economic competition, to the access of technology and to a better sharing of ideas and experiences in all the levels of the economic activity. In other words, the first justifying element of the integration projects comes from the claim that the fragmentation of the region in small states constitutes an obstacle to socioeconomic development. This argument is based on the hypothesis of Balkanization (fragmentation) in 54 states, which relations can be the focus of potential conflicts, since they can be easily manipulated by rivals or opponents of the

pan-African idea. The second paradigm regards to the time factor, which, according to Nkrumah (1963), works against the formation of the African state, since the less fast the process is, the more consolidated is the national consciousness on the balkanization. The later, in turn, approaches the Africans'consciousness over the need of the continent and its islands to quickly become a territory of united people in a United State of Africa. This united continent should guarantee to all African people economic security, a common foreign policy and an economic and socio-cultural development (Tchuigoua 2007, 89).

In a nutshell, it could be stated that the great quantity of projects and movements, such as the Pan-Africanism and the nationalism, were generated outside the continent. Integration can also be considered an import; however, it was conditioned by the historical past of the continent, characterized by resistance and opposition to the colonial/neocolonial system and foreign domination (Dieng 2005). Consequently, from a historical point of view, it can be said that while the African state is one of the newest in the international system, the idea of regional integration can be considered as one of the earliest, since it began as a form of slavery resistance in the 19th century and was strengthened in face to the colonial system and to Western imperialism. Then, it became a symbol for the economic, political and cultural development in the 1990s. Within the African continent, the western region is a pioneer in this process, which was led by traditional leaders, known for their resistance to the processes of occupation and domination of Africa by the powers in the nineteenth century.

According to Wade (2005), the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 set the division and occupation rules of Africa on the map, between the major colonial powers of the time - France, England, Germany, and Belgium. However, it lacked to these powers the occupation of the territories. On this second phase, despite the sophisticated weapon arsenal, the Europeans were faced with an organized resistance, especially located in West Africa, where black leaders had the opportunity to acquire weapons in Sierra Leone, since the nineteenth century, from former slaves, freed by the United States of America. The U.S, by the way, for not being threatened by the new wave of Western occupation in the region, has expressed a sense of solidarity with the region's traditional leaders (Chaka, Samory Touré, Ousmane Dan Fodio, Alboury Ndiaye, El Hadj Omar Tall, Ahmadou Bamba). Ouédraogo (2005, 69) argues that these are the traditional leaders who coined the first integration projects with the ambition of frightening against colonial occupation and rebuilding the vast supra tribal political groups that existed on the continent before slavery. Roughly speaking, the myth of unity that

remerges in the Americas, through the diaspora, supported by the pan-African ideology, is a recovery of the resistance spirit that existed on the continent before colonization and it is the same idea that will guide the mobilization of African elites both of the diaspora and of the continent in favor of regional and continental integration in the decade of 1960-70. That is, in terms of evolution, it can be said that the current state of the projects and African regional integration processes, contrary to what one thinks and says, was only accelerated by globalization and/or mundialization.

This means that the processes that have led to the creation of organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 are something new, in form and in context. However, the idea of the creators is to rescue the historical memory in order to face the new strategy of balkanization and domination of the region by the new colonial system known as "Neo-Colonialism". The penetration and permanence of neocolonialism occurred through the state's creation according to borders and structures defined by colonization, which turned for example, the French West Africa (AOF), that was a federation of eight French territories in Africa, into eight countries (Mauritania, Senegal, French Sudan (now Mali), Guinea, Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and Dahomey (now Benin). This fragmentation has being indicated as one of the integration blocks, and, albeit the ideological and political differences among elites since independence, it has always been sought the regional integration as the most appropriate mean of achieving the African dream of the region's economic, political, and, especially, socio-cultural development. It is not only about the market expansion efforts, because, according to N'Guessan (2010, 142), in the case of West Africa, the size of the states is not the only blocker element of development. The size of the state can be totally secondary, since these small states know how to multiply and facilitate their relations with other countries in the region or in the world. That is, if on one hand the age of projects and federalist ideas facilitated the achievement of the independence of African countries and the grouping of them around the regional integration idea as a mean of strengthening their autonomy, on the other, the colonial heritage created endogenous and exogenous barriers that make West Africa and the rest of the continent to live cyclical periods of advances and setbacks, optimism and pessimism. Aware of this facts, and taking into account the forty years (1975-2015) of existence of the main regional integration block of West Africa, the next session of this reflection focuses on the analysis of endogenous and exogenous factors that prevent the development of West African regional integration , as well as block the balance of the achievements and challenges of ECOWAS.

ECOWAS and the barriers of integration: endogenous and exogenous factors

The West African region is characterized by other elements that prevent the development of the National States, where beyond the limited physical space, are highlighted the diversity and ethnic or religious rivalries, found in countries like Ivory Coast and Nigeria. At the regional level, a set of institutional, legal and infrastructural obstacles are seen as barriers for the socio-economic, cultural and political development. In a few words, they are considered as barriers for the development of regional and international cooperation, as West Africa is being increasingly marginalized on the world markets, technological networks, large telecommunications systems, and on the international community at large. Thus, the creation of a variety of regional organizations was the way in which the leaders sought to face these obstacles and challenges. A more detailed analysis could describe each of these integrationist initiatives in West Africa, to show that the major integration projects that emerged in this part of the region between 1950 and 1975 (see Table 1) were decisive in the history of regional integration in West Africa and in the continent as a whole. This is because the West African integration initiatives have been the source of convergence and divergence on the political and ideological agenda that guides, to the present, the inter and intra-African relations.

Table 1 - The several attempts of creating regional integration organizations in West Africa between 1959 and 1975

Creation date	Regional Organization	Intervention Area	Member countries
1959-1960	Mali Federation	Politics and economics	Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Benin,
1959-1960	Ghana-Guinea Union	Economics	Ghana, Guinea e Mali.
1959-1962	West African Customs Union (SUDAN)	Economics	Cote d'Ivoire, Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Mauritania, Senegal and Mali (French Sudan).
1963-2001	Organization of African Unity (OAU)	Various	The 32 independent states of the continent

1964	Financial and economic agreement	Economics	Sierra Leone and Guinea
1966	Customs Union of the States of West Africa (UDEAO)	Economics	Ivory Coast, Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Mauritania, Senegal and Mali (French Sudan).
1966	West African Common Market	Economics and politics	Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d´Ivoire and Guinea.
1970	Economic Community of West Africa (CEAO)	Economics and monetary	Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal.
1971	Economic Cooperation	Trade and social service	Sierra Leone and Liberia
1973	Mano River Union	Customs and Economic Union	Sierra Leone, Guinea and Libéria.
1973	West African Monetary Union (WAMU)	Economics	Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo.
1973	Economic Community of West Africa (CEAO)	Monetary Integration	Ivory Coast, Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Mauritania, Senegal and Mali (French Sudan).
1975	Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	Economic and monetary integration	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo

Source: Diallo 2015.

This table shows that regional integration has always been on the mind of West Africans since the first years of independence, a fact that owes much to the memory of the great empires (Benin, Mali, Songhai) that marked the region before the European settlement. Another important point

to note in this context is that only ECOWAS, established in 1975, resisted the difficult times of the Cold War, the liberal and neoliberal wave. These can be remembered by the difficulties of the lost decade that led to the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programs (PAES) (1980-1990). The lost decade consequences were strengthened after the fall of the Berlin Wall, when the region and the African continent were challenged by the implosion of fragile states in National civil wars (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi, Guinea Bissau). As Adebajo (2013) would say, the Berlin curse continues to haunt Africa's future, because, while conflicts and disputes such as those mentioned above had more immediate internal roots, conflicts and disputes between countries, such as the disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia, Libya and Chad, Nigeria and Cameroon are the result of the colonial legacy between countries.

To Adebajo (2013), if during the Cold War in Africa they feared international intervention, in the post-apartheid period the marginalization was the major concern. This occurred because the continent progressively called less attention, the foreign investment was transferred to the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and, later, the resources began to be diverted from African countries in conflict to boost the reconstruction efforts of countries like Afghanistan and Iraq until 2003. From this analysis, it can be stated that it is the perception of this "abandonment" of the continent by its traditional partners that motivated the African reaction, which resulted in the African renaissance, by the replacement of the Organization of African Unity for the African Union (2001) and the establishing the New Partnership for Africa's development (2002). This led to a phase of strengthening of the African Regional Integration organizations, including ECOWAS. This phase was seen as the first step in overcoming the colonial heritage, major exogenous barriers of the state formation and of the strengthening of regional integration, but according to Adebajo (2013, 03):

> Africans have not overcome the colonial legacy of Berlin. As economic and political systems, they were still tied to the legacy left by the imperial political leaders in Berlin. African leaders also have failed to create effective regional integration schemes to overcome the legacy of the Berlin conference. It is, thus, a metaphor to describe colonial and post-colonial Africa experiences, as well as its continuous challenges to break the links of the political, economic and cultural legacy chains of the colonial state.

The colonial legacy continues, as we can see, to be one of the main obstacles to state's formation and the regional integration of the African continent's processes. When we analyze the endogenous and exogenous factors of West African Integration, we realize that both emanate from the

same source. That is, both endogenous as exogenous barriers are the result of the colonial legacy, which gained more sophistication and deepening with the political elites who administered and managed African states after independence.

What would be these barriers? How to attribute them to colonial heritage? Does it mean that colonization is responsible for all the ills that affect West and the continent as a whole? Here are some questions that mobilized the West African Community between 2006 and 2010, with support from UNESCO and from the different governments of the fifteen membership states of ECOWAS, in order to analyze all the problems, successes and possibilities or potentials of the region and to triage new pathways to integration, socioeconomic, political and cultural development of the region.

Among the barriers identified by the collection of books produced in the period above indicated, are the political fragmentation of the region because of the adoption and internalization of borders drawn by colonization and major milestones of nation states. The rest of the barriers of the West African regional integration revolve around the states, especially in the way they are managed, and the way dictatorial governments and parties somehow annihilated some kind of internal dialogue, fueling corruption and clientelism (Sanankoua 2007, 16). Other elements ,identified in Bamko Congress (2007) as the regional West African integration problems, are, among others, national egoism, the transposition of the operating modes of the states in regional bodies, the lack of democratic culture, the preponderance of individual and ideological ambitions and the weak involvement of civil society in regional affairs (Sanakoua 2007; Sidibe 2007). These are some of the explanatory elements of the malfunction of institutional mechanisms of integration that demonstrate the weight of the nation state in the region, its role in the failure to comply with Community decisions, as well as the weak linkages between regional and national structures. It may be added in these elements set the lack of the so-called rule of law culture and of democratic culture, which suggest the urgent need of reform of regional integration organizations, such as ECOWAS. It is important, at this point, to say that these lacks highlighted above may not be noted as an Africans' normal and common thing, but rather, as a heritage that elites received from colonial school and that was reinforced by neo-colonial pacts and the international context of the Cold War.

The consequences of these internal practices supported by international partners, "the famous Friends of Africa" also known as traditional continent's partners (France, England, Portugal, United States of America), are seen today in terms of lack of infrastructure, ineffective management of

resources and socio-political, economic and cultural problems of the states. All of it ends up increasing rivalries among states and among elites, which generated, despite of the problems, the proliferation of regional integration organizations. However, the integration has always been on the priorities of states and of the political elites of Western Africa. Following this logic, Sanankoua (2007) states that regardless of the problems and difficulties encountered in the way, regional integration remains a central element in the discussions due to the ongoing globalization, but, mainly, because of the African governance issues, crises and armed conflicts, economic problems, poverty and the failure of states. Thus, it is recommended to leave aside at least part of the sovereignty principle to allow the autonomous functioning of community structures and the effective implementation of the decisions taken under the supranational organizations. We have to agree with Kamian (2007) when he states that integration is an indispensable condition for the development of the continent and when he wonders if the African Union, the latest version of integration at the continental level, managed to triumph in the face of the diversity and complexities of the problems to be surpassed, such as the language issue, which in our view is wrongly seen as a barrier to integration. Considered as one of the elements of domination and colonial influence, the language is of fundamental importance in African culture and consequently in the regional West African integration process. However, from the official adoption of the Western languages, the African linguistic diversity came to be regarded as brakes to the approximation of Africans in the context of regional integration processes. In this sense, there are important considerations to the importance of language before it is seen as a barrier to integration as well illustrates Diop (1960), in the following lines:

> The influence of language is so important that the different European countries think they can, without great harm, pretend to politically withdraw from Africa, but continue in a real way in the economic, spiritual and cultural domain (Diop 1960, 26).

This Diop's statement makes clear the strategic importance of convincing Africans to embrace English, French or Portuguese as an official language, on the pretext that it is the only way to unite Africans. However, one wonders: how? Surely, the only right answer to this question would be to admit that the languages of the former colonial powers unite Africans in suffering, in submission and in the perpetuation of cultural, economic and political alienation (Diallo 2015). In this light, we hear that the language and cultural diversity are the main problems of building the nation-state in Africa, and unfortunately, this idea was internalized and accepted by Africans in

general and particularly by the ruling class. Therefore, to be eloquent and to well express ideas and thoughts in French, Portuguese or English are factors that have become synonymous of intelligence, intellectuality or simply the main element of symbolic power as Pierre Bourdieu would say. This author believes that there is a symbolic power, on which the ruling classes are benefiting from a symbolic capital, disseminated and reproduced through institutions and social practices that enable the exercising of power. For Bourdieu (2001), these symbols are instruments of social integration and make it possible to achieve consensus on the meaning of the social world, which fundamentally contributes to the reproduction of the dominant order.

In the case of West Africa, despite the language differences and "dialects" that exist in the region, there is the existence of vehicular cross-border languages that enable communication between the different peoples of the region. According to Sangare (2009, 217), the concept of vehicular language applies to languages that have crossed their regional berths and are used to compensate for inter-ethnic communication needs, while the cross-border language applies to those who, even though within its regional birthplace, are found at least in two neighboring countries. These two types of languages are characterized by the fact of presenting themselves as the place or element in which are based national and ethnic differences. Applying these concepts to the region, we find several vehicular languages among which may be mentioned the Akan, Mandinga, Dioula, Ewe, Fula, English French, and Portuguese. Therefore, if we consider that only the colonizer's languages are spoken by all, to make the Portuguese, English and French the official languages of different West African States, we will see that there are other African languages that are regional and therefore could likewise serve as means of communication between the majority populations. Thus, one can agree with the idea of much of the literature that argues for the promotion of African languages and which claims it is never practical to advocate the use of simultaneous French, English and Afrikaans, and that there is also no reason to advocate for the exclusive use of French or English (Diop 1960; Sangare 2009).

Regarding the cross-border languages, considering the ECOWAS space that occupies the former space of the Mali Empire, there are, today, among the thirteen languages[2] recognized as national by the current state of Mali, ten that are spoken beyond the country's borders. Among these may be mentioned the Mandingo language (Mande), which is spoken in Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Mali, Senegal and therefore more spoken than any other European language of the region,

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2   São Bamananka, djula, Dogã, Fula, Hasanya, Maninkankan, Soninké, Synara, Senoufu,Kassonké etc.

not only in geographical terms but also at the level of society. French is the official language of most countries in the region, eight of the fifteen ECOWAS countries, but it is a language used by the educated minority while the Mandingo is spoken by both French ex colonies (Ivory Coast, Mali, Burkina Faso Guinea Conakry), English ex colonies (Gambia) and Guinea Bissau (Portuguese colony) and is used by most of the population, whether literate or not. In this case, it appears that there is more than one reason to adopt an African language instead of opting for one inherited from colonization. The latest, besides being accessible only to a minority in their country, creates beyond the physical borders one cultural and dialectic border, and hinders, in one hand, the approach of its own elites with the population and, in the other, allows the continuation of foreign interference of ex. colonial powers. This rivalry is presented in the region since before independence until today, and can be illustrated in the following words of Cheikh Anta Diop:

> "We should be extremely suspicious of the discrete attempts to 'saxonisation' of black Africa, due to the width of the British colony territories." The combined effort of England, and especially the United States of America, tends to disrupt the habits of "intellectuals" and thus bring the old French, Portuguese colonies etc. in opting for the English so that linguistic unification is done from this language. But the linguistic unity on the basis of any foreign language, regardless of a point of view or angles, that preconizes would be a cultural abortion. It would hopelessly consecrate the death of authentic national culture, the end of our deep spiritual and intellectual life, to reduce us to the role of eternal shepherds who have failed in their mission in this world (Diop 1960, 24).

This text shows that the intention of creating a linguistic unit in West Africa based on English or French would not, in any way, have the desired effect, which is to facilitate regional integration and closer ties between Africans, but it also makes clear the existence of rivalries between Anglophone and Francophone in the region. This rivalry transposed on these terms reinforces the differences between Africans and hides the real problem of the matter that is the rivalry between individual and selfish interests of the ruling elite of the internal and external point of view, besides the antagonism between the interests of the former metropolises to maintain its influence in the region and the local need to build a viable economic space, politically and socially.

Thus, considering that, in general, the critical point of economic integration is the promotion of trade and welfare within member countries. Egoscozábel (2004) states that, for developing countries in general, and particularly for Africa, the key factor of integration is not so much the

commercial expansion which growth potential is limited by other factors, but the stimulus effects of other variables, such as investment on the objectives of growth and human development. Thus, it can be said, from the historical analysis that regionalism results in sub-Saharan Africa, although positive, continue to face enormous challenges and problems forty years after the creation of the ECOWAS (1975-2015).

However, it is noteworthy that the West African integration, as well as integration blocs in other regions of the continent, gained more momentum after the creation of the African Union (AU) in 2001 and the New Partnership for African Development in 2002. These two facts (creation of the AU and NEPAD), on one side symbolize the African Renaissance and on the other reaffirm African loyalty to the principles of Western countries. It is in this perspective that Otávio and Cardoso (2014, 45) state that:

> On the one hand, the AU is the expression of African adaptation to the post-Cold War world, as it turns to points advocated by Western countries such as the enhancement of democracy, human rights, good governance. On the other, the AU also represents the response of Africa to its challenges, such as conflict resolution and peace on the continent.

From this statement, one may wonder if indeed the creation of the AU can be considered a break with the historical past of the continent marked by colonial and neocolonial domination. That is, can we consider the creation of the AU and NEPAD as symbols of independence and self-assertion of the continent? The answer to this question may be positive if we consider the first decade of the AU and NEPAD (2001-2011) and negative if we look at the continent after the called Arab Spring in 2011.

In the first decade, we saw an Africa that seemed refreshed, more confident and optimistic which, through various initiatives and programs, could attract new partners without alienating old ones, thus generating a significant step forward in the realization of the Pan-Africanist dream of seeing the continent united towards the socio-economic, cultural and political development. In this line, it can be stated that the ECOWAS countries were ahead, with positive results in conflict resolution (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau) and in the imposition of peaceful and legal ways of accessing power, solving, this way, almost definitely the applicant issue of united scams, non-transparent or at least questionable elections (since they were always won by the ruling parties), and political instability in the region. This new wave started in Senegal in 2000 with the famous political change that occurred with the victory of the opposition party coalition, called the *Front pour l'alternance* (FAL), led by the candidate Abdoulaye Wade's of Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS). The victory of the FAL in the second round of the

elections on March 19, 2000, not only heralded the end of forty years of the Socialist Party rule (PS), but also marked an empowerment of African youth through the ballot box, another form of continue along the path of the pan-Africanist revolution, repeatedly confiscated by the elites and their Western allies. Thus, Senegal taking the direction of change exactly a century after the first pan-African conference in London (1900-2000), announces a break with the colonial past, the only party, the lifelong presidents (...), the end of what Bruno Jaffré (1989), analyzing the voltaic break (Burkina Faso) that brought Thomas Sankara to power in 1983, describes as a result of progressive wear of the political system inherited from colonization (Jeffre 1989, 11). Also were noted significant progress in the integration infrastructure, which somehow facilitated the socioeconomic development of the region, the advancement of democracy and respect for human rights.

Coincidence or not, it should be noted that the climate called for experts and African political commentators as le "vent du changement" (the wind of change) entered the region through the same door, where, about two centuries ago, came the French colonialism. To mark this symbolism, the new Senegalese government funded the construction of two monuments respectively symbolizing the African renaissance (a statue that have become a tourist attraction in the Senegalese capital) and the opening of the continent to the rest of the world, the work of the Senegalese architect Pierre Goudiaby, known by the nickname of Atepa (the builder in Diola), which also states that Senegal is the gate of Africa. Therefore, "l'Alternace politique" (the alternate policy) can be interpreted as the entry of a new era in the region and on the continent and, in this sense, one might expect difficulties and even confrontations between pro and against this new political climate.

This duality, a result of the polarization of inter-African relations (Diallo 2015), will be the cause or justification of the fall of this new optimistic phase of West Africa, effectively starting with the breaking of democratic rules, disregard to the results of the polls and redemption of the old rules of clientelism between African political elites and colonial powers, anxious to safeguard their interests and influences. It is in this perspective that arises Ivory Coast crisis, a direct result of the electoral deadlock in November 28, 2010, when the victory of opposition leader Alessane Ouattara, announced by the Independent Electoral Commission supported by the UN, was blocked by the President of Laurent Gbagbo who had in his support the Constitutional Council of the country, maximum legal organ of the state (Diallo, Kerr Oliveira and Silva 2011, 4).

The situation led to a national and international dead lock and mostly allowed the strategic resurgence of French neocolonialism, which

again managed to put the Africans against each other, not only in Ivory Coast - where the political debate ended with the Civil War - but also between the countries of ECOWAS, who have chosen (or not) for aligning the ideals of European intervention against the African version of trading, supported tacitly by the AU leading countries such as South Africa, Angola and Libya. Thus, it has begun the negative phase, not only of the African Union, but also of ECOWAS, making room for the new west interventionism (Ivory Coast, Mali, Libya, and Central African Republic) destructing African soils (especially ex French ones). Since then we are witnessing, in the framework of the ECOWAS, insecurity and instability policies with serious socio-economic consequences, the basis of the new wave of international migration in general and, particularly, the African migration towards Europe. The region is facing the same security dynamics of the Cold War period, characterized by internal political instability and the continuous French military intervention in its former colonies in favor of their interests. In this sense, Cardoso (2015) shows that, contrary to what was expected in the post-independence period, France increases its political influence and military strategy in West Africa through the defense pacts signed with other countries of the region.

In the positive phase of the AU, there was a tendency to decrease the French military presence in the region, with the closure of one of the main French military base at the fifty years of independence celebration, on April 4, 2010 by the then Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade. This decision, put into practice in 2010, was made in 2008 as a way to mark the rupture they have been waiting for fifty years. In the opinion of President Wade, the presence of the French army in Senegal after fifty years of independence was not understandable and acceptable anymore. Thus, Senegal would not be the last country to maintain French military bases in Africa, mainly because the justification for this military presence no longer holds itself, because "There can be no external damage to the country. I reflected a lot, I do not see who can harm Senegal". This Senegalese posture follows up the changes announced by the 2000's democratic alternation, followed by the African renaissance symbolized by replacing the OAU by the AU in 2001 and the creation of NEPAD in 2002. For the symbolism that Senegal represents in African international relations, an energetic reaction of France and its Western allies was expected, to halt the advance of these changes that reinforce the autonomy and safeguard the sovereignty of African countries. Therefore, we can assign the internal and external movements, mobilization of the press and of French and Senegalese media against the Senegalese regime as the first step of this reaction. In this sense, the creation of youth movements (Yana Mar), to fight against Wade and his

government in Senegal, will have the same political effect of the coup that overthrew Amado Toumani Toure (ATT) in Mali, the civil war that brought Alassane Ouatara to power in Ivory Coast and Gaddafi's Libya invasion by NATO troops, led by France. The strategic objective of all these facts is the same: to create chaos, to overthrow the pro change governments, to bring back the friends of France to defend the need for the French stay through the famous cooperation agreements as shown in the statement of Macky Sall, new president of Senegal, elected in the second round of the 2012 elections:

> "The application for the withdrawal of the French military base is a mistake, which came from a nationalist feeling which, in some extent, was misplaced. Without such bases in Africa, Mali would have disappeared from the map and our country would certainly have felt the negative consequences of terrorism advance. Yes, I declare to have signed a new cooperation agreement that allowed relieve devices, but we need that the French troops of Senegal can be strengthened to educate and train the Senegalese forces and their neighbors in the ECOWAS." (Sall 2013)[3].

This statement of the new Senegalese president, matches the profile of the new political leadership of the region, but also indicates a new phase of French Africa relations underway in the region with all the adverse consequences for regional integration processes, stability and West African security. Thus, just as in previous periods, named the Cold War (1960-1990) and post-Cold War period (1990-200) - the search for socio-economic and political development, the main objectives of ECOWAS creation, are no longer the focus of the regional organization that happens to prioritize the issue of regional security. According to Cardoso (2015, 115), this can be generalized to the other Regional Economic Communities (RECs) on the continent, as if everyone had, at the time of the creation of such organisms, concerns centered on the searching for solutions to the socio-economic problems of the Member States. With the end of the Cold War and the worsening security situation in the continent, we are witnessing the African RECs' agenda expansion to include issues related to defense and security. It's worth to remember that ECOWAS is a pioneer in this matter on the continent, taking as its starting point the ECOWAS intervention in the Liberian Civil War in 1990 (Cepik 2010; Cardoso 2015).

Elements such as the drastic deterioration of the continent's

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3 Our translation, original text in french: « *la demande de retrait de la base française était une erreur qui relevait d'un sentiment nationaliste quelque peu mal placé. Sans de telles bases en Afrique, le Mali aurait disparu de la carte et notre pays aussi aurait peut-être subi les conséquences très néfastes de l'avancée des terroristes* », a indiqué le chef de l'Etat sénégalais. Qui déclare avoir « *signé le nouvel accord de coopération qui a permis d'alléger le dispositif* ». Mais, a-t-il renchéri, « *nous avons besoin que les "Eléments français du Sénégal" puissent être renforcés pour former et entraîner les forces sénégalaises et de ses voisins de la Cedeao*».

security situation in the 1990s, the abandonment of Africa by the old powers operating in the region and the uncertainty of the international community to intervene in African conflicts, the OAU's inability to solve the continent's security problems, increased regional powers interest (Nigeria, South Africa) to assume responsibility and leadership in stabilizing the continent, the growing UN acceptance of the regional security role and the success of the intervention of ECOMOG in the Liberia civil war, stand out as explanatory facts of the greater involvement of African RECs in the security and defense issues (Cardoso 2015) from the 1990s and its strengthening since 2001. In this context, it is worth mentioning the role of ECOWAS and its member countries in catalyzing the continental efforts in finding solutions to African problems, reinforcing, thus, the historical continuity of leadership and the west African pioneering in the revolutions and struggles for autonomy from the mainland along the story.

As already highlighted, certainly this pioneering and engagement explains why the West African region is also the prime target for international predators such as the imperialist and colonial countries (France and England mostly) and international terrorism (Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda Maghreb Al Sabab), which challenges constantly the ECOWAS. In this sense, one can say that forty years after its creation (1975-2015), ECOWAS, has a positive balance despite the difficulties and shortcomings found. The role of ECOWAS has contributed and continues to contribute not only in solving various problems of the region but also on the whole continent. However, there is a need to strengthen the union, harmonize positions and policies of countries in the region with the world in general, France and multinational companies from various fields in particular, to end the intervention cycles and foreign interference in the region, preserving its autonomy, independence and interests. Without the sacrifice, the union and the harmony the positive actions of ECOWAS will always be barred by globalizing systemic interests that are inexhaustible sources of political instability, economic inefficiency, socio-cultural issues, impoverishment and fragmentation that generate consequences as migratory crises. Fall (2012) sees the African and West African immigration, in particular, because of the inherent pauperization from the economic crisis and its many consequences. To address these crises and challenges that affect the periphery of the capitalist world system, the populations of southern countries ended up electing international migration as a survival strategy in the same way it was during the seventies (1970). However, the tireless thirst for evasion of the African youth, since 2000 clashes with the strengthening of protectionism in the El Dorados.

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ABSTRACT

This article seeks, through a historical analysis of the regional West African integration process, to reaffirm the pioneering region in terms of socio-economic integration, political and cultural, but also to highlight the persistence of the difficulties and challenges of the political unity consolidation in the region, especially after the internalization of colonial boundaries. The article has set the goal to understand why, despite the enormous efforts and several attempts, the pan-Africanist dream of autonomy, unity and development is still below expectations? It starts with the hypothesis that the difficulties are historical in nature (colonial heritage) and structural linked to difficult relationship between the internal processes of state-building and the inclusion of it in the international system dominated by capitalist imperialism of the colonial and neo-colonial countries. Namely, the low speed of the economic integration process, political and socio-cultural process and especially the lack of autonomy is closely tied to unfinished independence processes due to endogenous and exogenous factors.

BOOK REVIEW

"A RELAÇÃO BRASIL-ÁFRICA: PRESTÍGIO, COOPERAÇÃO OU NEGÓCIOS?"

by Paulo Visentini[1]

Nathaly Xavier Schutz[2]

The international projection of Brazil in the last decade and a half caught the attention of the great powers and this includes more intensity and quality in Brazil's relations with Africa. Even in the academy, studies about those ties between the Global South are, in many cases, laden with distorted, biased and shallow visions. In this sense, both Brazil and the African countries lack deeper and less speculative analysis of the roles that they play in international relations.

Visentini's book overpasses this superficiality, bringing up highly relevant questions and developing a pertinent historical analysis. The book has six chapters that cover a period since the relationship existed within the colonial logic up until the strategic resizing of the XXI century. The first chapters are dedicated to the historical analysis. By using major milestones of world history, of the African history and of the Brazilian foreign policy, the author traces objectively the path taken by the country and the continent for building their relations. The periods of distancing and rapprochement become evident and the conjectural reasons are presented, which allows the understanding of the multiple analytical levels: national, regional and global.

After analysing the historical dimension, Visentini then presents the transitions and changes occurred in the post-Cold War. After intense relations during the military regime, the neoliberal reforms that marked the last decade of the twentieth century affected not only Brazil and its

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1 Visentini, Paulo Fagundes. 2016. *A Relação Brasil-África: prestígio, cooperação ou negócios?* Rio de Janeiro: Alta Books.

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African partners at the domestic level, but also the relations between them. The work clarifies the contrast between this period and the early years of the twenty-first century. The changes are not limited to the intensity of the relationships, but mainly to the qualitative dimension of them. Africa starts to occupy a prominent role in Brazilian foreign policy and the cooperation between the country and the region gains strategic outlines. The relations are not restricted to economic issues since they cover areas such as global diplomatic arrangements and technical cooperation.

In the second half of the work, the author goes on to consider more specific aspects of these new spheres of the relations between Brazil and Africa. Not much explored in previous analysis, the multilateral dimension of these relations highlights the importance of both Latin America and Africa in contemporary international relations. Moreover, the preference for multilateralism is one of the characteristics of Brazilian foreign policy, evidenced by political arrangements such as the IBSA, the Africa-South America Summit (ASA) and the Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA).

Even though the African continent has common characteristics, it cannot be treated as a homogeneous unit. Visentini does not neglect these features and brings up analysis of bilateral relations with the most relevant nations in the fifth chapter. The deepening of some bilateral relations and the differences in the type of the relations with the various African regions show that Brazilian diplomacy in Africa is settled in medium and long-term goals. Brazil - as well as China, India and Russia - see the potential of the African continent both from an economic and political point of view.

Finally, the author steps into the regional issues of the South Atlantic and puts the Brazil-Africa relations in a strategic context of unique importance in the current scenario. The relations between the countries of the Southern half of the globe go well in addition to the economic sphere. Therefore, what has been conventionally called South-South cooperation embraces a complexity of connections in areas ranging from economy to important policy and security issues. The geopolitical position of countries as Brazil and South Africa leaves no doubt about the relevance of this region and the need to understand deeply such connections. Finally, a detailed chronology of Brazil's relations with Africa is an indispensable query tool to the public concerned.

Africa currently is in a position of great importance for international relations. Although it is often considered in the analysis as a subordinate part of European history, the continent has its own dynamic. After the departure of the European colonizers, Africa begins to be restructured presenting itself as a prominent region because of not only its economic potential, but

also its political, strategic and security relevance.

The analysis made by the author is sophisticated and profound, since it is the result of a long research work and experience gathered in the Brazilian Centre for African Studies (CEBRAFRICA). The sources of bibliographic information about Africa are not always reliable and even today are scarce and with important gaps. Visentini overcomes these difficulties conducting field research, interviewing and establishing contacts and relationships with academics, diplomats, employees and politicians of that continent. This results in a qualified research which presents Africa - and its relations with Brazil - from an inside look of a continent that projects itself at the international scene with their own views and interests.

The work helps to fill an important gap in the Brazilian academic researches about Brazil and Africa. The analysis in the work of Visentini traces a historical overview without forgetting specific aspects that are fundamental for an understanding of the circumstances surrounding this strategic partnership between Brazil and African countries. In a time in which one questions Brazil strategies' and priorities' in its foreign performance, the author brings important contributions to understand the role of Africa in this context. There's no doubt that it is a reading of great value for many Africanists and Brazilianists who work with the arduous task of trying to understand the trajectory of these rich and complex countries. And it tries to answer the question of the title: are these relations aiming diplomatic prestige, partnerships or profitable business?

PARTNERS

NERINT

The Brazilian Centre for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT) was the first center dedicated to the study and research in International Relations in Southern Brazil. It was established in August 1999 at the ILEA/UFRGS aiming the argumentative and innovative study of the main transformations within the post-Cold War international system. Since 2014, it is located at the Faculty of Economics of UFRGS (FCE-UFRGS). In parallel, NERINT has sought ways to contribute to the debate on a national project for Brazil through the understanding of the available strategic options to consolidate an autonomous international presence for the country, from the perspective of the developing world. Brazil's choice of an "active, affirmative, and proactive diplomacy" at the beginning of the 21st century has converged with projections and studies put forward over numerous seminars and publications organized by NERINT.

An outcome of its activity was the creation of an undergraduate degree on International Relations (2004), ranked the best in Brazil according to the Ministry of Education (2012), and a graduate level program, the International Strategic Studies Doctoral Program (2010). Two journals were also created: the bimonthly *Conjuntura Austral* and the biannual and bilingual *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations*. Thus, besides ongoing research on developing countries, NERINT is also the birthplace of undergraduate and graduate programs, not to mention its intense editorial activities.

CEBRAFRICA

The Brazilian Centre for African Studies (CEBRAFRICA) has its origins in Brazil-South Africa Studies Centre (CESUL), a program established in 2005 through an association between the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) and Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão (FUNAG), of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its research activities are developed in cooperation with the Brazilian Centre for Strategy and International Relations (NERINT).

In March 2012, CESUL was expanded into CEBRAFRICA in order to cover the whole of Africa. At the same time, the South Africa series, which published five books, was transformed into the African Series, with new titles. The centre's main objectives remain the same as before:

to conduct research, to support the development of memoires, thesis and undergraduate works, to congregate research groups on Africa, to organize seminars, to promote student and professor exchanges with other institutions, to establish research networks and joint projects with African and Africanist institutions, to publish national and translated works on the field, and to expand the specialized library made available by FUNAG.

The numerous research themes seek to increase knowledge of the African continent and its relations to Brazil on the following topics: International Relations, Organizations and Integration, Security and Defense, Political Systems, History, Geography, Economic Development, Social Structures and their Transformations, and Schools of Thought. CEBRAFRICA counts among its partners renowned institutions from Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, Mexico, Canada, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Senegal, Cape Verde, Egypt, Nigeria, Morocco, Portugal, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Sweden, Russia, India, and China. Current researches focus on "Brazilian, Chinese, and Indian Presence in Africa", "Africa in South-South Cooperation", "African Conflicts", "Integration and Development in Africa", "African Relations with Great Powers", and "Inter-African Relations".

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2.   The journal is divided in two sections: Articles (Artigos) and Book Review (Resenhas);
3.   The research articles must contain a maximum of 50 thousand characters (including spaces and footnotes). Use only the standard format; the book reviews must contain a maximum of 4,5 thousand characters (spaces and footnotes included);
4.   The footnotes should be of a substantive and complementary nature;
5.   The bibliography must follow the rules of the Chicago system (Author-date or note-bibliography), specifying the used literature at the end of the text;
6.   Contributions must be original and unpublished and can be submitted in Portuguese, English or Spanish;
7.   Contributions must contain the full name of the author, their titles, institutional affiliation (the full name of the institution) and an email address for contact;
8.   The complete filling of the submission form by the authors is mandatory.
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11. Contributions must be accompanied of: 3 keywords in Portuguese or Spanish and 3 keywords in English; Title in English and in Portuguese or Spanish; Abstract in English and in Portuguese or Spanish, both with up to 50 words.
12. Submissions must be made by the journal website: www.seer.ufrgs.br/rbea

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As part of the submission process, authors are required to check off their submission's compliance with all of the following items, and submissions may be returned to authors that do not adhere to these guidelines.

1.   Contributions must be original, and shall not have been submitted for publication in another journal; otherwise, it must be justified in "Comments to the Editor".
2.   Submitted files must be in Microsoft Word, OpenOffice or RTF (as long as their size is up to 2MB) format.
3.   URLs must be informed in the references when necessary.
4.   The text must be single-spaced; Times New Roman typeface 12 pt must be used for the body of the text; italic is to be used instead of underline (except in URL addresses); Figures and Tables must be embedded in the text.
5.   The text must follow patterns of style and bibliographical requirements described in Author Guidelines, in the section "About the Journal".
6.   The identification of authorship of the work must be removed from the file and the Properties option in Word, thus ensuring the confidentiality criteria of the journal, if it is to be subjected to peer review (i.e. articles), accordingly with available instructions in the website.