Dynamics of Local Conflict in Post 1990 Africa: A Case of Border Dispute

Luke Amadi   Imoh Imoh-ita   Akpan Roger
Department of Political Science and Administrative Studies, University of Port Harcourt Nigeria

Abstract

Across African countries, various strands of local conflicts are discernible. In the post 1990 Africa much of the inter and intra country disputes reappears and provides important insights to explore patterns of such local conflicts as themes such as border dispute provide influential prognosis to re-evaluate democracy resurgence and local conflict transformation challenges. The paper contends that borders which are volatile and strategic constitute dominant strands of local conflict dynamics and deploys the incompatibility framework and secondary data sources to explore some theoretical issues raised on African border dispute. It examines the nexus between colonial demarcation of Africa and novel trends such as globalization , from revisionist and anti-revisionist view points to understand the struggles and agitations for border control and ownership which are important in enriching the understanding of Africa's democracy since the end of authoritarian one party system. Findings suggest that despite democracy resurgence, reforms seem minimal. Policy discourse on more collaborative efforts and cooperation aimed at lasting peace is crucial.

1. Introduction

The end of the Cold War provides increasing need to understand dynamics of local conflicts as emphasis have shifted from territorial to intra state conflicts(Amadi and Agena,2014)African states are unequal in size, fragmented, composed of several seemingly incompatible ethnic nationalities, with divergent ideologies, cultural values and norms, coopted as colonial territories with indistinct boundaries under autocratic one party rule.

The resurgence of democracy and multi- party elections in the 1990s provides freedom of choice and expression which gave   impetus to various subjugated groups and dominated territories to seek novel reparation, which included sovereign national conference as in Benin Republic, demands for self-determination as in Sahrawi Republic in the Western Sahara or through plebiscite as in Sudan and South Sudan in 2011 among several others.

What has remained minimally understood is how nascent democracy across Africa has been able to transform local conflicts popularly known in the Post -Cold War era as "new wars". Border dispute is one of such local conflicts which has taken persistent dimensions as intra- state wars in recent decades have been unabated.

Historical evidence recounts that border dispute in Africa is a colonial legacy following the scramble and partition of Africa at the aftermath of the Berlin conference of 1884/85 (Zartman,2011;Ikome,2012). Africa became insignificantly fragmented along colonial lines. At political independence of African states, the artificial and poorly demarcated borders of many countries were considered the most potent source of conflict and political instability.

Post-colonial African states retained the existing borders and similar structures devised by the colonial state, such as the artificial maps and boundaries. Zartman (2011, p.11) reinforces the debate and contends that; "most boundaries are artificial (the exception being water boundaries around islands), because I and you do not separate easily and naturally, and even if we do, there is likely to be plenty of traffic, transport, and communication across the line". These dynamics have had a profound impact on Africa's border dispute and similar local conflicts from West Africa, the Great Horn, the Magreb etc.

A number of problems associated with this trend include internal displacement, violent attacks, out migration, refugees and possible wars (Kaplan,1996,Amadi and Alapiki,2014) .

Ikome (2012) contends that;

> Significantly, as intra-state conflicts replace inter-state conflicts as the principal source of instability on the continent since the late 1980s, the prospect of destabilizing border conflicts is still very real, particularly against the background of Africa's ever-expanding population, which is accompanied by shrinking economic resources and opportunities, and high levels of migration (p.1).

Thus, rapid population growth and non -corresponding economic growth is associated with several problems such as human trafficking, smuggling, struggle over limited natural resources, which results crisis, local conflicts and often deaths. Kaplan (1996) had demonstrated a similar scenario in West Africa and argues that;

> Over the next fifty years the earth's population will soar from 5.5 billion to more than nine billion. Though optimists have hopes for new resource technologies and free

market development in the global, they fail to note that, as the National Academy of Sciences has pointed out95percent of the population increase will be in the poorest regions of the world where governments now –just look at Africa-show little ability to function let alone to implement even marginal improvement(p.55).

Suppression of self-determination are among the corresponding challenges of border dispute across Africa. Western Sahara, which was a former Spanish colony in northwest Africa has been in political and economic subjugation since Spain withdrew from the area in 1976. The annexation of the resource-rich desert territory by Morocco shortly thereafter, which was not internationally recognized has remained disputed. Morocco has steadily built a series of walls known as the 'Berm' some 2,000 miles (3,219 kilometers) long to essentially push the indigenous population, the Sahrawis, out of the area (Conant,2014).

In 2010, just ahead of UN-mediated talks on the future of the territory, several people were killed in violent clashes between Moroccan security forces and protesters near the capital, Laayoune (Conant,2014).

Two significant developments make the study of border dispute very important. The first one is the colonial demarcation of Africa , while the second one is globalization in the neoliberal order which argues on the disappearance of boundaries and integration. The aim is to understand what novel resolutions to border disputes and related problems these changes have brought to Africa with resurgence of democracy.

Also important is to examine whether globalization and the emerging supranational economic zones will reduce the importance of national boundaries. More specifically, whether the decline in dictatorships and a potential shift to new forms of civic restructuring following multiparty elections, the resurgence of civil society organizations (CSOs), the increasing demographic representation of Africa and quest for a more liberalized order at the post 1990s through regional integration will provide needed changes in the status quo.

Consequently, a key contribution of border dispute literature in the study of Africa's development and its focus on the post 1990 era is overlooked. Against this background, this paper provides a critical analysis in the field of development studies which seeks to clarify current understanding of border dispute by   extending the arguments that nascent democracy in Africa in the post 1990s has not transformed local conflicts. The paper contends that border dispute represents major trigger of Africa's local conflict and attempts to explain the development implications of such disputes among African countries.

The rest of the paper is divided into five sections ;the theoretical framework, literature Review, African Border Dispute and Colonialism Nexus, Globalization and Border Dispute in Africa, The nature of Africa's border Dispute since the 1990s, Border Dispute Transformation and Prospects for Africa's Development and conclusion.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

This paper lays out a framework for discussion on border dispute in Africa. The resurgent upheavals in much of post 1990 Africa at the end of cold war opened a new exploration of overt border disputes. Some of the theoretical concerns expressed within the border dispute contexts at the wave of democratization have been minimally captured. The paper builds on John Galtungs's contradiction and incompatibility model.

In this framework, Galtung (2009), argues that what makes the whole idea of contradiction so basic is not the concept of incompatibility, or exclusion, which would also be found in empiricism, but the idea of transcendence. Underlying it is the assumption that known empirical reality is only a fraction of potential reality, and that other realities can be brought into being. Galtung argues that; "what is incompatible today may become compatible,…. tomorrow, even now, here"(Galtung,2009; p.14).

Border dispute in this line of debate arises from the pursuit of incompatible goals by communities, countries or regions with others. The contradiction and incompatibility model is equally important in understanding national interests that inform core policy decisions of countries and how such interests are pursued among the comity of nations. It emphasizes the poor colonial demarcation of African borders as the nexus of African border disputes and argues for border dispute renaissance through interstate cooperation and collaboration for transformation, it further examines globalization and African border dispute as novel trends on border dispute discourse among the periphery societies.

Similarly, the paper deploys secondary data sources to examine seminal theoretical debates in the literature such as relevant text books, journals, internet resource materials, bulletins etc.

The paper identifies border dispute triggers such as human trafficking, smuggling along border lines, natural resource dispute, geography, land, territorial waters etc in the post 1990 era. It does not wish to make a genealogical mapping of border disputes, rather this period is important in exploring border dispute dynamics in Africa to identify novel changes as taking place since the end of authoritarian one party regime and return to a more competitive liberal democratic order. The paper uses African countries as level of analysis, and outlines some of these disputes. The country level analysis is most appropriate as there are regional variations. Using this criterion, African countries are identified as located within the tropics.

1.1.1 Literature Review: Definition of a Border

There have been a number of debates on aspects of border dispute. Berg (2008) identifies patterns of border dispute in the Tri - Border Region of the Sudan, Chad and the Central African Republic. Despite the proliferation of diverse local conflict scholarship in the field of development theory over the past decades, border dispute in the neo liberal order has been given a scant attention in the discipline.

There is no consensus among scholars on the definition of a border. Baramova(2010)recounts that the border concept appears to have gained importance with the emergence of the concept of territorial states in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when borders became much more visible and began to be considered and discussed in the context of various aspects of state ideology. Topographical features (such as rivers and mountains) and manmade landmarks (fortresses, etc.) began to increasingly serve as borders.

Both Prescott (1987)and Flint (2006) provide explanations of border as the region proximate to the boundary while borderland defines both sides of the boundary. According to Kosolov and Scott (2013);

> Border studies have also become a research field that encompasses a wide range of disciplines: political science, sociology, anthropology, history, international law and, more recently, the humanities – notably art, media studies, philosophy and ethics. Arguably, this disciplinary wealth of borders studies has rendered exclusive fixations with geographical, physical and tangible borders obsolete; equally important are cultural, social, economic and religious borders that even though often invisible have major impacts on the way in which human society is ordered organized and compartmentalized. Furthermore, it is important to mention that the current period in the development of border studies is marked by a proliferation of research centres, study groups and international conferences as well as the publication of numerous books and atlases

Zartman,(2011) contends that boundaries have to do not only with physical separation but also with social and psychological separation: that is, with identity, indicating who we are and who we are not. Since they divide, they also protect what they have divided, again both physically and psycho-socially. Borders as we argue are demarcations that delineate state or quasi-state territorial boundaries.

1.1.2 Border Dispute

The term border dispute is a highly contested concept, subject to a myriad of debates. Border dispute to development scholars, conveys urgency and demands policy attention. While there is no consensus on any definition, traditional conceptions envision the existence of intra and inter- state border disputes. Like any other conflict, the literature on border dispute suggest that border dispute is more of an incompatibility of claims and counter claims on ownership, demarcation or delineation of boundaries between two or more parties.

Across Africa, border dispute in the neo liberal order has received scant scholarly attention despite its reoccurrence. In the Horn, the Eritrean-Ethiopian border conflict has been topical, a study examined the causes of the disputes leading to war and how it was influenced by the dynamics of geopolitical change, which are part of the politics towards the Horn of Africa since the Cold War and argues that the return to conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1998 is part of a 'blame-game' relations influenced by the international arena and there is no one side to be taken from the other, but the influence of power and geopolitical resources are important factors influencing the relations between the neighbor countries and how international agreement and laws are only tools by some against others(Meala,2011).

In many senses, boundary conflicts have all the characteristics of any other conflict. Their special feature is that they involve land and its division. The specialization or territorialization of the conflict gives it a concrete nature that is both a complication and facilitation of conflict management(Zartman,2011).

Gravilis (2008) identifies variations in interstate boundaries which encompasses macro- and micro-level actors and the presence and interests of institutions at local level and their perceptions of borderlands. Where the author acknowledges the importance of borders as "sites of coercion, extraction, and demarcation of territory", some debates on the other hand debunk such perspectives. For instance Rosecrance (1996), Adler and Barnett (1998) recognize boundaries and territory as increasingly irrelevant. Rosecrance (1996) argues that in economies where capital, labor, and information are mobile and have risen to predominance, no land fetish remains. Developed countries would rather plumb the world market than acquire territory.

Border dispute like other local conflicts are conceived as both inter and intra- state in character. However, its transformation at post 1990 era has been a challenge. Africa has been largely described as vulnerable and volatile. Zartman (2011) provides some insightful elaboration of Africa's border dispute including disputes across boundaries, rather than about them: ie where tensions relate to the territory behind the boundary, not the boundary itself.

A number of literature is discussing aspects and implications of border dispute such as displacement.(Gilbert and Sandov, 2011; Amadi and Ogonor,2015) Conflicts inevitably give rise to displacement, sometimes across a border, sometimes internally within the state. In both cases, the victims suffer in much the same way, but those who cross an international border have a separate regime to guarantee them protection, both in the state of refuge and from return to the country where the conflict is occurring (Gilbert and

Sandoval, 2011).

In our context we explore border dispute among countries or states in Africa. State is often conceived as a guarantor of the security of its citizens from the threats of other states (Ayoob,1995;Klare,1996;Mazrui,1995).Such functions of the state are reflective of borderline protection. Mazrui (1995)had identified "state in six functions" which are crucial in appraising state failure; "first sovereign control over territory, second, sovereign oversight and supervision(though not necessarily ownership) of the nation's resources; third effective and rational revenue extraction from people goods and services, fourth capacity to build and maintain an adequate national infrastructure (roads, postal services, telephone system, railways and the like) fifth, capacity to render social services such as sanitation, education, housing, fire brigades, hospitals and clinics, and immunization facilities and sixth, capacity for governance and maintenance of law and order"(p.246).

Mazrui points out, that a state's failure to perform the sixth function-governance and maintenance of law and order-sometimes precedes collapse. Clouds of death and displacement appear, and both the people and the state are on the verge of seeking political asylum(Mazrui, 1995).This draws some attention to the need for a more harmonized and secure border relations among states. As border dispute poses threats to such issues as human security.

In these socially constructed border dispute binaries, peace, stability and security becomes devalued and needs a policy relevant revisiting which should serve as a decolonizing process and interrogation of post - colonial tools of analysis in the border dispute debate.

Development scholars argue that from these social constructions, the Western hegemonic interest and neo imperialism undermine efforts at border dispute transformation as the vested post- colonial economic interest is anti -developmental, exploitative and deeply entrenched.

The revisionists argue further that because the postcolonial state was preceded by the truncation of the natural evolution of political institutions in pre-colonial Africa, it has continued to express itself in forms that are in great tension with the well-established and entrenched sociological realities on the ground. They conclude that the problematic nature of the structure of many African states, including their boundaries, institutions and governance, is most clearly reflected in the numerous inter and intra-state conflicts. The only solution, they suggest, is to review Africa's colonial borders, as well as the state system this has produced (ECA,2008).What follows in this literature is in line with this proposition.

The thinking held by the proponents of revisionism is the urgent reconstitution of Africa's inherited borders and state system to rid states of their sociological incongruity, make them more economically viable and help to resolve the multiple crises of legitimacy, identity, development and integration. As far as they are concerned, the post-colonial African state as a mode of organization of African societies and communities will always be alien and will continue hopelessly to aspire to acquisition of the attributes of the classic Westphalia state system (ECA,2008).

While the dominant theoretical debates of the anti- revisionists argue strongly for the maintenance of the status quo, claiming that borders the world over are artificial and the case for African exceptionalism is therefore weak. They further contend that, while African boundaries could indeed be arbitrary, they have actually had fewer deleterious consequences, have presented more opportunities for African peoples and have, in some cases, been a greater asset for state consolidation than the border revisionists have been willing to concede.(Nana-Sinkam,2000).

Border disputes from whatever perspective or ideological leaning as discussed are common component of Africa's local conflict. Several contexts results border dispute such as armed

violence, quest for territorial expansion, elite interest, conquests, colonialism etc. Given the realities of state behavior and the anarchical nature of the international arena, states must "rely on *self-help* for protection." (Beckman, 1994). Thus, for the revisionists, border disputes are inevitable. This represents repeated border insecurity however they posit that states will engage in a variety of strategies to counter and manage such threats.

Conversely, anti-revisionists believe that border disputes can never be fully resolved. That strategy in such direction might be ineffectual as disputes are part of social dynamics. These assertions are supported by the conclusions of others who argue that inter-state war is unlikely to remain a rare phenomenon as conflict of interest could ignite wars.

Though anti revisionism is a long-standing theory of border dispute, its views do not reflect the changing reality of the international system. Even though states still predominate, the vast majority of wars are no longer inter-state but rather intra-state (Human Security Centre, 2005; Romaniuk,2009).

The literature on border disputes in African societies has engaged much more closely with recent concerns raised on how to resolve such conflicts both at the intra and inter- state levels (Prescott, 1987; Donnan and Wilson, 2001; Kornprobst, 2002; Flint, 2006; Gavrilis, 2008; Cohen, 2009; Zartman, 2011; Amadi and Agena, 2014).

This growing concern is demonstrated in the analysis of poor resolution strategies occasioned by some form of economic benefits from porous borders including illicit transactions involving arms race, drugs

trafficking and peddling of country banned goods.

The perceptions and activities of key global actors and cartels such as oil magnates and drug barons are at issue in deconstructing veritable efforts at border dispute transformation. Actors such as smugglers are relevant in the changing forms and patterns of border in shaping or influencing development in the poor societies.

The novel shift in the security discourse from international to regional and more specifically human (Mathews, 1989;UNDP, 1994; Klare, 1996;) tells us not only about its history, but also reveals a great deal about the relevance of human security to border dispute resolution and more importantly, how issues of border should be reframed to meet the dynamic trends in future global development policy.

Some scholars have returned to argue that the pattern of state-making in Africa explains Africa's vulnerability(Ayoob,1995; Mazrui,1995; Klare,1996). Kornprobst, (2002).had observed that such patterns in West Africa explain why only European states were perceived as colonial powers. The whole of West Africa was colonized by European states (with the exception of Liberia from the mid-nineteenth century onwards). African states did not participate in the scramble for Africa and in expansion at the coast of other African states as other African states except Ethiopia in the Horn were former European colonies.

Abbay(1998)observes that Eritrea perceived Ethiopia as an imperial state. That the construction of an Eritrean identity is intertwined with the liberation struggle against Ethiopia. Abbay (1998)further contends that Eritrea has portrayed itself as colonized and subjugated by Ethiopia and defined itself to a considerable extent by constructing Ethiopia as the colonial Other .

1.1.3 African Border Dispute and Colonialism Nexus

Border disputes in Africa have had a sketchy discussion in development circles since at least the 1960s, the nexus between border dispute and colonialism could be subjected to a number of debates, indeed, the debate has moved on. Arguably, one of the key challenges of African boundaries has been their arbitrary colonial origin, as already discussed, alongside the fact that, despite their formal recognition and reification by African governing elites, they have remained porous, undefended and even un-defendable. Their rather haphazard demarcation resulted in the merger of disparate social groups into single polities that have tended to be highly unstable, fluid and even irrelevant in some cases (Membe,2000).

More recent effort is the work of African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (2011) which examines dynamics of poor colonial border demarcation in Africa.

However, the nature of local conflicts in post 1990 era in Africa is changing such that it is currently characterized not by the struggles of one or two contending states over the ownership of all or part of a particular border but rather by various factions taking several colorations such as ethnic militia, trafficking, terrorist and insurgent groups. Such disputes are fundamentally informed by both political, religious, cultural, economic and geographical interests. They constitute frequent struggles over a number of issues such as mineral resource extraction including precious stones like diamond in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Eastern Congo DR, crude oil in Niger Delta, Nigeria and border disputes with Cameroon at Bakassi Peninsula, Oil resource conflict in Sao Tomie and Principe, Morocco and occupation of resource rich Sahrawi in Western Sahara, Ethiopia and Eretria, Sudan and South Sudan, Zairean-Zambia boundary dispute and related experiences. This made border dispute both an economic, political and developmental issue of interest. The central focus of this article is on the later which accounts for the most frequently experienced poverty in Africa.

Border dispute in Africa has not been given adequate attention in the neo liberal order. It has been a major source of dispute among fragmented and unequal African states. Debates advanced in this literature seek for options for checking new threats posed by border dispute as it argues that the post -colonial nature of African border prevents it from viewing the whole picture such as security, insurgency, terrorism, and similar threats it poses to development. The discussion now is whether decades of post-colonial rule and nascent democracy these borders are mutable which gives credence to the exploration of novel border trends such as globalization.

1.1.4 Globalization and Border Dispute in Africa

Globalization is arguably a new trend in border dispute discourse in Africa. Although Africa is an enormous region and cannot sensibly be analyzed as a single entity. Because the continent is land-abundant yet low-income, natural resource endowments loom much larger in its fortunes than for any other region except the Middle East. However, they are unevenly distributed (Collier,2006). Such uneven distribution of African resource endowment results infighting and rent seeking in virtually all resource abundant African countries and has a fundamental correlate with local conflicts.

The African borders have been described variously as 'arbitrary' and 'artificial' colonial constructs, imposed on unwilling and unparticipating African peoples who have either suffered dearly from their impact, or simply ignored them (Ikome,2012).

Although the number of wars that occur between states has declined rapidly for the past two decades, a trend that persists to date is local conflicts now known as "new wars"(Ikome,2012;Amadi and Alapiki,2014). This marked decline in inter-state war saw a rapid increase in intra-state conflict during the waning years of the Cold War inclusive of intra and inter border disputes (Ikome,2012).As globalization results the constellation of

states, this makes increasing demands on the exploration of the dynamics of border disputes.

Between the late 1950s and 1990s, more than half of African countries were involved in some form of boundary-related conflict(Ikome,2012). Thus, the border regions are sensitive and prone to complex security challenges. Dynamics of mobility at such border regions are complex and contradictory yet new border trends are taking place which are expedient for scholarly interrogation.

Among the recent changes in border dispute discourse is globalization in the present world order which implies the "disappearance" of boundaries. The understanding of the place of such phenomenon is germane to explore whether Africa is missing out or benefiting and how globalization could be a veritable tool in border dispute resolution or otherwise. Much of these issues are important in contemporary border dispute debates in the poor periphery societies such as Africa. Rosenau (1997) recounts that what distinguishes globalizing processes is that they are not hindered or prevented by territorial or jurisdictional barriers (p.123).

Kaplan (1996) observes that as many internal African borders begin to crumble, a more impenetrable boundary is being erected that threatens to isolate the continent as a whole: the wall of diseases.

In our views this is recently experienced in the ongoing Ebola Virus(EBV) across Africa which entered Nigeria through a Liberian diplomat, Patrick Sawyer in 2014.These are some of the challenges of the porous colonial African borders. Africa's 53 sovereign states are divided by over 165 borders, making it one of the most bisected continents in the world (Mbembe,2000).

Globalization has been the focus of emotive debates over the years, animated by two schools of thought – the revisionists and the anti-revisionists. The revisionists argue that globalization should be revisited as its structure and content is anti- developmental and non pro poor. (Bello,2003).While on the contrary, the anti-revisionists posit that globalization should be upheld in its entirety(Palmer,2003).

The debate advanced here is in line with the former as it seeks to interrogate the content and development purport of Western globalization in African border dispute transformation which has been largely unknown as globalization remains elitist and exploitative in character, premised on advanced technological paraphernalia that rarely understands the poverty and local conflict dynamics of Africa. Central to this is economic integration which creates asymmetrical constellation of economically strong and economically weak societies in the international capitalist system (Amadi,2012).

The linkages between globalization and Africa's border dispute dynamics is found in regional integration of Africa which was pronounced at immediate post- independence of most African countries as a number of African states expressed a growing desire for more unity within the continent. Two major blocs emerged in this respect namely; the Casablanca and Monrovia bloc.

Led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the Casablanca bloc founded in 1961 wanted a federation of all African countries. It included Ghana, Algeria, Guinea, Morocco, Egypt, Mali and Libya. The Monrovia bloc, led by Senghor of Senegal, advocated for unity of Africa through economic cooperation. It was less inclined to political federation. Members included Nigeria, Liberia, Ethiopia and most of the former French colonies.

As ideological dissonance existed between the two groups, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia invited the two groups to Addis Ababa, where the OAU and its headquarters were subsequently established on 25 May 1963. The Charter of the Organization was signed by 32 independent African states. Morocco left on 12 November 1984 following the admission of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic as the government of Western Sahara in 1982.This reflects such incompatibility of goals that confronts local border dispute transformation in Africa.

However, in the 1990s,Africa's regional integration and possible border dispute transformation continues to resonate. In June 1991, the OAU Heads of State and Government signed the Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC). Since May 1994, the OAU operated on the basis of the OAU Charter as well as the AEC Treaty, and the organization was officially referred to as the OAU/AEC.

In an Extraordinary Summit of the OAU held in Sirté, Libya on 9 September 1999 -Sirté Declaration, there was the establishment of an African Union (AU) in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the OAU Charter and the provisions of the Abuja AEC Treaty, giving rise to the Constitutive Act of the African Union, in Lome, Togo on July 11, 2000.

AU in 2000 became the successor organization to OAU, and Morocco is the only non- member of AU. Although sub regional groups are also in existence, "the concept of regional integration in Africa was at the early days championed by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) as its structure had proposed the division of Africa into regions for the purposes of economic development in the mid-1960s. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) initiative promoted the Lagos Plan launched by the OAU as a special project towards African integration. The creation of three regional arrangements which were separate but convergent and over-arching, were setup aimed at developing integration in three sub-Saharan sub-regions"(Oneya,2007). The central objective of regional integration arrangement is a preferential and reciprocal agreement among countries aimed at reducing barriers to   transactions. Africa's current regional integration linkages encompasses an array of Regional Economic Communities. Specifically eight are considered the building blocs of the African Economic

Community.

First, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS -) was established in 1975. The main objectives of the bloc are: to promote cooperation and integration in the context of an economic union of West Africa in order to raise the living standards of the people, maintain and increase economic stability, strengthen relations among the Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent(ECA,2008). The Community however took on political and security issues as well. In 1990, it established a peacekeeping force (ECOMOG) to help deal with various conflicts in the region such as the Liberian civil war etc.

Second, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) was established 'as an organization of free independent sovereign states which have agreed to co-operate in developing their natural and human resources for the good of all their people' and more importantly to promote peace and security in the region (ECA,2008).

Third, Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) as recognized as a regional economic community during the thirty sixth ordinary session of the Conference of Leaders and Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Lomé, Togo in 2000 (ECA,2008). CEN-SAD has concluded partnership agreements with numerous regional and international organizations with the purpose of consolidating collective work in so many political, cultural, economic and social fields (ECA,2008).

Fourth, the East African Community (EAC) with the primary objective of widening and deepening co-operation among the Partner States within political, economic and social fields for their mutual benefit. To this extent the EAC countries established a Customs Union in 2005 and a Common Market in 2010 (ECA,2008).

Fifth, Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) has its fundamental objective as the promotion and strengthening of harmonious cooperation and a dynamic, balanced and self-sustaining development in all areas of economic and social activity in order to achieve collective self-reliance and raise the standard of living of the population (ECA,2008) .

It also pursues the promotion of peace and stability in Central Africa, and supports the electoral process in the Member States. It represents a market of over 124 million people. (ECA,2008)

Sixth, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was primarily established to   advance the cause of national political liberation in Southern Africa, and to reduce dependence particularly on the then apartheid era in South Africa; through effective coordination of utilization of the specific characteristics and strengths of each country and its resources (ECA,2008) .

The objectives of SADC, as stated in Article 5 of the SADC Treaty (1992) include among others to achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration among others.

Seventh, UMA - Arab Maghreb Union aims to rationalize their policies and strategies for sustainable development in all sectors of human activities (ECA,2008). UMA's objectives among others include; the consolidation of fraternal relations binding the Member States and their peoples, the realization of progress and well-being of their communities and the protection of their rights; The progressive realization of the free movement of persons, services, goods and capital between Member States etc (ECA,2008). Much of economic transformation at the instance of the RECs have been minimal.

Against the above background, there is need to explore Africa's borders as contributory to local conflicts and possible   threats they pose to economic development, peace and security despite regional integration.

Fig1:Map of Africa Showing countries and borders

Source: Maps of the world available at http://www.mapsofworld.com/africa

Fig.1 Above shows a number of African countries and their various border lines. Africa is a mosaic of unequal sized countries. It is the second largest continent in the world and has an area of 11,699 square miles, more than three times the size of USA. In 1990, Africa had a population of 642 million representing 12% of the world's population (Ajayi,2006).The wide geographical spread of the continent could be seen from the above figure along West, East, South, Central and North Africa.

1.1.4 The nature of Africa's border Dispute since the 1990s

Zartman (2011) identifies two types of trans boundary disputes: disputes over (about) boundaries and disputes over (across) boundaries. Disputes about boundaries occur because we do not know where the line is, or we do not like where the line is. Disputes that cross boundaries are more complex. They are likely to involve other bordering areas between the two countries, often otherwise not in dispute.

Africa's cross border dispute takes various forms such as inter and intra state dimensions. Within both dimensions are insecurity, conflicts, refugees/displacement and poverty etc.

There has been dramatic deterioration of security along African borders. For instance in Somalia, South Sudan and Darfur border security situations have been challenges resulting from spill -over of conflicts in these areas. The debate on insecurity along African borders demonstrates the nature of Africa's border and fragility where disputes over a number of issues repeatedly arise along border lines such as natural resources. This is further elaborated in debates which seek to explore the resource curse dynamics of Africa (Amadi and Alapiki,2014).

Similarly, Klein (2011) reveals how natural resources are drivers of border disputes including blood diamonds in West Africa; mineral trading in the African Great Lakes and economic integration in the Maghreb. Driven by this plague of border dispute, African countries are repeatedly conflict prone.   "Cross-border trade in high value natural resources such as minerals, timber or oil can complicate regional peace and security"(p.112). Using case studies,   Klein (2011) explains that ;

> Not all of the case studies have significant cross-border economic or environmental conflict dynamics – although such dynamics are fundamental to the west and central African examples', Rather, the common denominator among the case studies relates to the cross-border peacebuilding response, and the premise that economic or resource cooperation across borders in pursuit of a shared goal – access to end markets for local traders, regional economic interaction to promote development and integration, or better management of shared natural

resources – can act as an entry point for peacebuilding; for example, opening trade channels that contribute to building trust, or establishing interdependencies across borders that provide incentives for cooperation and collective action and increase the costs of war (p.113).

A growing body of studies engage in debates on refugees and border dispute nexus, and has drawn attention to refugee movements and cross-border raids in neighboring areas in eastern Chad and the north of the Central African Republic (Berg, 2008).

Border issues increasingly become both political, economic and analytical tools to evaluate inter and intra-regional and territorial harmony and mobility. There are variations in effects of these disputes across Africa. The literature on Africa's territorial border does not account for this variance of conflict management across sub-regions. It holds that there is a region-wide agreement in Africa on the territorial integrity norm (Foltz, 1973; 1991; Jackson and Rosberg 1982; Herbst, 1989; Kornprobst,2002).

Kornprobst (2002) observes that the management patterns of border disputes in West Africa and the Horn of Africa are almost diametrically opposed. Displacement and refugees are issues arising from border disputes. For instance, several Nigerians were displaced during the Nigeria/Cameroon border dispute. There are also several internally displaced persons(IDPs)in the north east Nigeria following Boko haram terrorism. Gilbert and Sandoval(2011) posit that the cross-border impact of a conflict raises questions going to the essence of modern international law, especially pertaining to the international law of armed conflict (ILAC), international human rights law (IHRL), international criminal law (ICL), the law relating to the protection of internally and internationally displaced persons, as well as the emerging field of transitional justice. Moreover, it is in relation to these branches of international law that the classical model is challenged and where other actors – individuals, non-state actors and international organizations – interact with the state.

Poverty underscores the nature of Africa's border dispute like most other local conflicts in Africa resulting conflicts. Collier (2007) identifies "conflict trap" which explains why certain economic conditions make a country prone to civil war, and how once conflict has started, the circle of violence becomes a trap which it is difficult to escape. Collier focuses on the plight of the poorest billion people on the planet, the vast majority of whom reside in Africa.

The border dispute literature has presently critiqued the mainstream conception of local conflicts as synonymous to Africa with weak state structures and advocates for a multi-dimensional and multi-level re-definition of border dispute resolution. Even though a push for increased participation in the relevant decision-making spheres is accompanied by attempts to alter the present discourse by emphasizing various devalued local conflict resolution principles, which are integral part of Africa's existential realities.

In view of the foregoing, the paper seeks to provide answers to some fundamental questions such as; how African border dispute and related challenges could be resolved in the neo liberal order to institutionalize peace, security and sustainable development. The objective of the present research is to examine theoretical debates and issues raised on the evolving changes and challenges of border dispute in Africa. And how border dispute resolution can influence and draw attention of policy makers for a more peaceful and secure border in Africa.

Review of the literature shows that there is research lag in the ongoing problems of border disputes as well as the prioritization of amenable strategies of resolving such disputes. There appears to be little efforts and consensus in the literature on how best local African conflicts such as border disputes could be sustainably transformed. The dearth of studies seeking for linkages and broader illumination of border disputes in Africa with democratization at the post 1990 era do not match the actual importance of economic mobility and transformation of the poor societies of Africa. Accordingly, an alternative is proposed in this paper that advocates focusing efforts to include more international collaborative efforts in policy discourse which derives from traditional strategies and a further emphasis on border dispute transformation in Africa.

1.1.5 Border Dispute and Prospects for Transformation and Development

Africa has viable prospects for economic development despite the post -colonial draw backs and capitalist exploitation. However internal conflicts have constituted a substantial part of derailed economic development of Africa. There are a number of implications of border dispute in Africa such as loss of human and material resources , infighting, insecurity, displacement, refugee and out migration, wars etc. Resolving these disputes could be veritable development paraphernalia for Africa.

In the context of integration and collaboration for peace, the African Union (AU) Border Programme is now actively working on devising effective modalities in this direction. However, weak governance, increasingly underpins conflict in Africa. A major challenge is how to mainstream peace building initiatives with multiple mandates. The profit versus peacebuilding components of cross-border trade is illustrative (Klein, 2011).

Disputes about boundaries can be handled preventively by simply establishing clearly demarcated boundaries. The effort to delimit and then demarcate involves cooperation between neighbors, itself a step toward conflict reduction (Zartman,2011).

Recent interest in border dispute gave rise to alternative perspectives such as inter and intra-regional

border dispute resolution dialogues. These dialogues conceive border dispute resolution as a developmental model.

Building infrastructures of peace are time tasted strategies of border dispute resolution. Thakur (1994) argues for a UN transition from "peace keeping" to "peace enforcement" in studying UN peace operations in Somalia.

In the Maghreb as in most conflict prone regions. Kornprobst (2002) highlights the need for regional cooperation, in particular between Algeria and Morocco, as a conflict prevention measure among the countries and territories of the region.

Accordingly, during the first Ordinary Session of Heads of State and Government in Cairo in July 1964, the leaders adopted resolution AHG/ Res.16 (1) on the management of disputes among African states. This, inter alia –

■ Solemnly reaffirmed the strict respect by all member states of the OAU for the principles laid down in paragraph 3 of Article III of the Charter of the OAU

■ Solemnly declared that all member states pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence (OAU,1964).

Despite these propositions there have been contentions on challenges of border conflict resolution. Ikome (2012)observes that while some of these conflicts were resolved speedily through bilateral negotiations or third-party facilitation (Côte d'Ivoire–Liberia 1960/1961, Mali–Mauritania 1960/1963 and Dahomey–Bissau–Niger 1963/1965), others were very protracted, e.g. Ethiopia–Somalia (1950 to 1978 and beyond) and Cameroon–Nigeria (1963 to 2002),others could only be resolved after referral to the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

There have been four major cases in this regard, including the Tunisia–Libya boundary dispute that received an ICJ ruling in 1994, the Guinea Bissau–Senegal border conflict that was brought to an end by an ICJ ruling in 1992, the Libya–Chad claims over the Auzou Stripe, which was only brought to closure by an ICJ verdict in 1994, and the Cameroon–Nigeria border conflict that was settled by a 2002 ICJ verdict (Ikome,2012). Ikome,(2012) further observes that;

> Nigeria proposed the establishment of an OAU Boundaries Commission at the 37th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers in Nairobi, Kenya, in June 1981. The proposal was aimed at evolving a framework that would permit the technical management of all Africa's border problems with as little political interference as possible" "The proposal was referred to an ad hoc ministerial committee that had been mandated to study an earlier proposal by Sierra Leone for the establishment of a Political Security Council The Secretary-General of the OAU was directed specifically to obtain the views of member states on the establishment of a Boundaries Commission.

The ministerial committee subsequently recommended that a Boundaries Commission should be established as a technical subsidiary organ of the proposed Security Council, or alternatively that it should be made one of its permanent committees(Ikome,2012).However, the mandate of the ad hoc committee was abruptly terminated by the 41st Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers on the grounds that prevailing circumstances on the continent did not permit the establishment of a Political Security Council. Since the establishment of a Boundaries Commission had been linked to the establishment of a Political Security Council, the Boundaries Commission idea died with the ministerial committee (Ikome,2012).

Table 1.SOME AFRICAN BORDER CONFLICTS (1950 -2000)

Conflicting parties	Conflict period	Trans-boundary minority	Trans-boundary resources	Frontier/ decolonisation	Agreement implementation	Status in 1997
Ethiopia/Somalia	1950–61; 1963–77; 1977–78	+	+	+	+	Managed in 1964, 1967 and 1968
Cameroon/ Nigeria	1963–2002	+	+	-	-	Agreement in 1976; ICJ award in 2002. Effectively ceded by Nigeria in 2008
Algeria/Tunisia	1961–1970	-	+	+	-	Agreement in 1970
Algeria/Morocco	1962–1970	–	+	+	-	Agreement in 1970
Ethiopia/Kenya	1963–1970	–/+	–/+	+/+	–/–	Agreement in 1970
Côte d'Ivoire/ Liberia	1960–1961	+	–	+	–	Agreement in 1961
Mali/ Mauritania	1960–1963	+	+	–	+	Agreement in 1963
Chad/Libya	1935–1994	+	+	+	–	ICJ award in 1994
Guinea Bissau/ Senegal	1980–1992	–	+	+	–	ICJ award in 1992 (referred by the UK)
Dahomey/ Bissau/Niger	1963–1965	–	–	+	-	Agreement in 1965
Kenya/Somalia	1962–1984	+	–	+	+	Agreement in 1984
Tunisia/Libya	1990–1994	–	+	+	+	ICJ award in 1994
Malawi/Tanzania	1967	–	–	–	+	No agreement/ not active
Mali/Burkina Faso	1963; 1974–75; 1985–86	+	+	+	+	No agreement/ not active
Ghana/Upper Volta/Burkina Faso	1964–66	–	-	?	-	No agreement/ not active
Equatorial Guinea/Gabon	1972	–	–	–	–	Colonial agreement/ not active
Ethiopia/ Eritrea	1952–1992; 1998–date	–	–	+	+	Changes: state formation/ active

Key to table: (+) indicates the presence of a major conflict issue, (++) the very strong presence of a major conflict issue, (–) the absence of a major conflict issue, and (-/+) a greater or lesser presence of a major border issue.

Source; Quoted inIkome(2012) Institute for Security Studies No;223,Extracted from Table 2 in Kjell-Ake Nordquist, Boundary conflicts and preventive diplomacy, 4−6. Available at http://www.Wilsoncenter.org/subsites/ ccpdc/pubs /zart/ch2.htm

The table above highlights major border disputes in Africa in a five decade span. This demonstrates the growing incidence and trends of border dispute which have not abate since democracy resurgence in the 1990s.

1.1.6 Conclusion

Significantly, many intra-state conflicts in Africa have been sparked by the forceful fusion of incompatible national groups into one state by the imposition of artificial boundaries by colonial powers. With regard specifically to the African state, the importance of boundaries is not in question(Ikome,2012).The intensity, effects and management of these disputes equally varies among African regions. Kornprobst (2002) identifies the difference between West Africa and the Horn of Africa and posits that border disputes are much more likely to escalate into war in the Horn than in West Africa.

These challenges are dynamics of colonial legacies. The inability of the colonial state to transform Africa is replete in any accurate analysis of colonialism and its associated failures which border dispute is but one. A key challenge of African boundaries has been their arbitrary colonial origin, alongside the fact that,

despite their formal recognition and reification by African governing elites, they have remained porous, undefended and even un-defendable (Ikome,2012).

Globalization and "disappearance of boundary" is yet to be an integral part of Africa's boundary dispute transformation. This accounts for the growing sceptism of development purport of globalization among the poor societies as Africa is missing out on globalization. The article posits that, failure to take both the inter and intra dimensions of these disputes into consideration could trigger enormous problems that risk peace building strategies and possible escalation of the conflicts. What is needed, in addition to the peace building policies that are now central to peace infrastructure, is peace enforcement that could address cross- border conflict dynamics and reintegrate parties for future collaborative development. The neo liberal order of the post 1990s, and the resurgent multiparty system from the fore going has equally not transformed Africa's local conflict. Most discernible is the inability of liberal democracy to foster "democracy culture" among Africans other than mere "multiparty system" and competitive elections which are barely free, fair and credible. These have been challenges to Africa's nascent democracy and democratization.

Discourse on the arbitrariness and ill-defined character of Africa's borders and the controversy over the associated policy of border status quo maintained by Africa's governing elite since the 1960s have been emotive and sentimental (Ikome,2012).The reality of the situation is that, on the one hand, it has been practically impossible to have sustainable stability and long-term peace and security within and among many African states and, on the other, the porous and unviable African borders have resulted in the regionalization of instability and conflict, producing chaos and even anarchy in areas such as the Mano River in West Africa, the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa (Ikome,2012).

African states should evolve home grown strategies such as institutionalization of infrastructure of peace and revisiting African cultural values and norms that promote peace and harmony.

The article advances a theoretically valid debate that argues that border dispute transformation is central to Africa's economic development and territorial peace and provides comprehensive review of literature on border dispute in Africa to identify gaps in literature and possible policy discourse on institutionalization of infrastructure of peace for development. As the period under review suggests, democracy culture is essential for local conflict transformation in Africa.

Border disputes and similar local conflicts as discussed have continued to be among the major challenges facing the continent and remains a formidable obstacle to Africa's development. The arguments advanced in this paper lays out theoretical debates and discussions on border dispute as a strand of African local conflict and examined recurring incidence and possible resolution of such disputes. The contention has been that despite nascent democracy local conflicts have persisted and remains minimally transformed.

A growing body of evidence and practice point to the importance of local conflict transformation in Africa which is an enabling factor and element of process that affects a wide range of development outcomes including sustainable peace and economic transformation. The evidence for the relationship between certain elements of border dispute and African local realities have been salient, although more research and improved measurement tools are needed.

Local conflict dynamics in Africa reveals the enormous challenges which confronts democracy and changing realities of post -colonial Africa as colonial legacies such as border demarcations do not reflect the true identity of Africa which is asymmetrically fragmented .Border realities are increasingly changing to reflect contradictions of colonial rule. Globalization has also furthered these contradictions and complexities . The various conceptions and causes of border dispute, including differing substantive and cultural commitments and the variety of institutions involved, can redirect efforts at amenable strategies to curtail soaring local conflicts in Africa.

Nonetheless, the evidence described in this paper suggests some specific modalities through which local conflicts resolution are central to development. It should be possible to focus on certain pathways and outcomes that are most relevant to sustainable development such as a transition from peace building to peace enforcement while ensuring flexibility and adaptability to local contexts. A robust discussion on amenable peace strategies in a nascent democracy could lead to collective local conflict transformation.

There is need for renewed commitment of the international community and policymakers to local conflict transformation. The deliberations for collaborative efforts to provide a unique opportunity to translate this commitment to local conflict transformation into action. Borders are important and sensitive ,fragile and volatile nature while reflecting a diverse set of perspectives on border and identifies novel trends in border discourse such as globalization and integration in Africa. However the central contention has been the persistent poverty and conflicts in Africa which interrogates the structure and content of globalization and plausibility of revisionism which are contemporary development challenges for Africa in the neo liberal order.

References

Abbay A(1998). Identity jilted or re-imagining identity. The divergent paths of the Eritrean and Tigrayan

nationalist struggles. Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press.

Alder E and Barnett M (1998) Security Communities. Cambridge University Press.

Amadi L and Alapiki,H (2014a). Perspectives and Dynamics of the Natural Resource Curse in Post 1990 Niger Delta, Nigeria. *Journal of Advances in Political Science*.1, . 41-62

Amadi L and Agena E (2014) "The Role of the *Umunna* and Age Grades in Traditional Conflict Management in Igboland" In Indigenous Conflict Management Strategies in West Africa**:**Beyond Right and Wrong Akanmu A, Brandon L, Jesse B, Joseph A(eds) Lexington Books,USA.

Ayoob, M. (1995). The third world security predicament: State making, regional conflict and the international system. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Baramova, M (2010).Border Theories in Early Modern Europe, in: Europäische Geschichte , Mainz European History Online (EGO), published by the Institute of European History (IEG), [Online] Available:http://www.ieg-ego.eu/baramovam-2010-en (July 4 2015

Beckman, P. (1994)"Realism, Women, and World Politics," In Women, Gender, and World Politics, eds. Peter R. Beckman and Francine D'Amico, 15-27. Westport: Bergin & Garvey

Berg,P (2008). The Dynamics of Conflict in the Tri-Border Region of the Sudan, Chad and the Central African Republic. Friedrich Ebert Foundation

Collier, P.(2007)The Bottom Billion Why the Poorest countries are Falling and What Can be done About it. Oxford University Press

Collier, P.(2006)Africa: Geography and Growth, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economies, Oxford University.

Conant, E.(2014) 6 of the World's Most Worrisome Disputed Territories National Geographic.[inline]Available: http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/03/140328-disputed-territories-geography-russia-crimea/.accessed March4 2015.

Cohen, B. (Ed). (2009). Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Plymouth 2nd Edition.

Donnan, H. & Wilson, M., (2001).Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State. Berg Oxford.

Economic Community for Africa (2008) Assessing Regional Integration in Africa 2008 Towards Monetary and Financial Integration in Africa " Macro-economic Policy Convergence, Financial and Monetary Integration".(Online)Available :http://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/macroeconomic-policy-convergence-financial-and-monetary-integration May 8,2015.

Flint, C. (2006). Introduction to Geopolitics. Routledge London.

Foltz, W. (1991).The Organization of African Unity and the resolution of Africa's conflicts ', In F. Deng & I. Zartman, eds., *Conflict Resolution in Africa*. Washington: Brookings, 347-66

Foltz, W. 1973.` Political boundaries and political competition in Tropical Africa', in S.

Eisenstadt and S. Rokkan, eds., *Building States and Nations : analyses by region*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 357-83.

Galtung, J .(2009).Theories of Conflict Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, Formations New York: Columbia University Press.

Gilbert, G and Sandoval, C.(2011)Cross-border conflict and International law.ACCORD Issue 22,pp.20-24

Gravilis, G. (2008).The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries. Cambridge University Press

Herbst J (1989) `The creation and maintenance of national boundaries in Africa', *International Organization* 43, 4: 673-92.

Human Security Centre. "Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century." The University of British   Columbia.(Online)   Available:http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index. php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itmid=63 (May9 2015.)

Ikome, F.(2012) .Africa's international borders as potential sources of conflict and future threats to peace and security. *Institute for Security Studies Papers* 233.pp1-14

Jackson R and Rosberg C(1982). `Why Africa's weak states persist : the empirical and the juridical in statehood', *World Politics* 35, 1: 1-24

Kaplan R (1996)The Coming Anarchy How security crime, overpopulation, tribalism and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet, *The Atlantic Monthly* ,pp 44-76.

Klare, M. (1996). Redefining Security: The New Global Schisms.*Current History*.95, (604 November) 353-58.

Klein, D. (2011) Section Introduction: Funding War or Facilitating Peace? Cross-border trade and Natural Resources. ACCORD Issue 22,pp77-80.

Kolossov V and Scott,J (2013). Selected conceptual issues in border studies, *Belgeo* ,[Online]Available a: http://belgeo.revues.org/10532 April 12 2015.

Kornprobst, M.(2002).The management of border disputes in African regional subsystems: comparing West Africa and the Horn of Africa Journal. of Modern African Studies, 40, 3 , Cambridge University Press

Mathews , J. (1989).Redefining Security , Foreign Affairs, 68:2 (1989:Spring) p.162

Mazrui, A. (1995). "African State as a Political Refugee",. In D. Smock & C. Crocker (Eds.), African conflict resolution: The US role in peacemaking. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press

Mbembe,A (2000).At the edge of the world: boundaries, territoriality and sovereignty in Africa, translated by Steven Rendall, *Public Culture* 12(1) , 259−284

Meala M (2011.) "The Causes of Return to Conflict and The Geopolitical Dynamics in The Horn of Africa:The Eritrean-Ethiopian Border Conflict" MA Dissertation in Politics, University of London.

Nana-Sinkam,S(2000). The sources of conflict, paper presented at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research(UNITAR) training programme to enhance conflict prevention and peace building in Africa, Dakar, Senegal, Goree Institute, 9−20 October

Organization of African Unity (1963) .Africa's International Borders as Potential Sources of Conflicts.[Online]Available: www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper_233.pdf (April10 2015)

Oneya, A. (2007) ."The Challenges and Prospects of the future of Integration in the African Union Comparisons with the EU" Masters Dissertation submitted to the Robert Gordon University Aberdeen, Aberdeen Business School Department of Law, Economics and Public Policy

Palmer ,G. (2003). "Globalization, Cosmopolitanism, and Personal Identity Etica & Politica / Ethics & Politics", Cato Institute [Online]Available: http://www.units.it/etica/2003_2/PALMER.htm Accessed April 42015

Prescott, J. (1987). Political Frontiers and Boundaries. Unwin Hyman London.

Romaniuk, S. (2009).Engaging Gender (In) Security.Gender and Media Diversity Journal. pp 141-152.

Rosecrance, R .(1996).The Rise of the Virtual State: Territory Becomes Passé. *Foreign Affairs*

Security Council (2004)."Cross-border issues in West Africa" Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, 2004-2007.Oxford Press

Thakur R (1994).From Peacekeeping to peace Enforcement: the UN Operation in Somalia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Pp. 387-410

Tickner, A.(1992).Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security. New York: Columbia University Press.

UNDP Human Development Report 1994 "Redefining Security: Human Dimensions". Oxford University Press.

Zartman, W. (2011).Cross-border peacebuilding concepts and themes Boundaries in war and peace. ACCORD Issue 22 pp11-15

The IISTE is a pioneer in the Open-Access hosting service and academic event management. The aim of the firm is Accelerating Global Knowledge Sharing.

More information about the firm can be found on the homepage:
http://www.iiste.org

CALL FOR JOURNAL PAPERS

There are more than 30 peer-reviewed academic journals hosted under the hosting platform.

Prospective authors of journals can find the submission instruction on the following page: http://www.iiste.org/journals/   All the journals articles are available online to the readers all over the world without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself. Paper version of the journals is also available upon request of readers and authors.

MORE RESOURCES

Book publication information: http://www.iiste.org/book/

Academic conference: http://www.iiste.org/conference/upcoming-conferences-call-for-paper/

IISTE Knowledge Sharing Partners

EBSCO, Index Copernicus, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, JournalTOCS, PKP Open Archives Harvester, Bielefeld Academic Search Engine, Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB, Open J-Gate, OCLC WorldCat, Universe Digtial Library , NewJour, Google Scholar