

IPSS

BORDER GOVERNANCE FOR AFRICAN INTEGRATION: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES





The Africa Peace and Security Programme
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY



Border Governance for African Integration: Progress and Challenges

HANDBOOK ON THE MAIDEN EDITION OF THE IPSS ANNUAL COLLOQUIUM

SERIES ON TOPICAL ISSUES OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA

Organized By: Institute for Peace and Security Studies'
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INTRODUCTION

The maiden edition of the Annual Colloquium Series of the African Peace and Security Program – APSP – in the Institute for Peace and Security Studies – IPSS – of Addis Ababa University – AAU – was held, as planned, at the Radisson-Blu Hotel, Addis Ababa, from Monday, 26 November, to Saturday, 1 December 2012. This first in the series, aimed at providing experts in the peace and security sector a regular opportunity to converge on an annual basis to share knowledge and experience on topical issues of African peace and security, has been appropriately focused on African border issues and organized around the more specific theme of ‘Border Governance for African Integration: Progress and Challenges’.

Since the Colloquium is an exercise in policy dialogue between the academic and research communities on the one hand and, on the other, practitioners and actual operators, participation also reflected an admirable mix of

academics and researchers of diverse disciplinary backgrounds in the humanities, social sciences, engineering with special reference to geodesy and surveying, and cartography, as well as professional and occupational locations in relevant policy arenas operating at national, regional and international levels as well as in Civil Society Organizations. The six-day encounter witnessed highly engaging, intensive and extensive interactions, exchanges and networking that cut across boundaries, not only of the worlds of research (academic and policy) and practical operators, but also those of gender, generation and language.

This Report is aimed at two immediacies. The first is for it to serve the purpose of an instant aide memoire for the Colloquium participants. It is, in this regard, intended to keep the subject of the Colloquium alive and assist participants to remain engaged with the networking that has been



initiated at the event. The second is to disseminate information about the Colloquium further afield.

The Handbook is organized in six main sections. The first, this Introduction, presents the overview of the overall outcome of the Colloquium. The second section, the Colloquium Organization, provides information about basic assumptions, rationales and operational dynamics. In the face of the non-inclusion of the papers in this Handbook, the third section, Plenary Presentations, is aimed at providing very short summaries of the contents and the thrusts of the debates that continue into the follow-up Group Discussions. The fourth, Policy Recommendations, flows from the plenary debates and, more especially, the focused discussions and conclusion of the four Working Groups. The fifth, Balancing the Gains,

is aimed at providing some concluding remarks on the future of the dialogue between border studies and border policy-making. The sixth and final section provides the reader with a list of Appendices and the indication of the IPSS archives as the direction in which those keen on more details and fuller information may reliably turn. Appendix IV (List of Working Papers, currently in their unedited English and French originals) should be of particular interest; and, in this regard, it may be noted that there is a proposal for a comprehensive, if not authoritative book on the African border governance policy history. Provisionally titled “African Boundaries: An Anthology of Policy History”, the book, as a major fall-out from the Colloquium, is planned to select from the plenary presentations, as well as from other anecdotal works.



THE COLLOQUIUM ORGANISATION

The Conceptual Underpinnings

The man of affairs has not the time or the temperament to organize the knowledge required to make sound policy decisions; and the man of science has not the power of public decision. Human progress is, therefore, dependent on the close collaboration between the two. The wisdom in these paraphrased words of Woodrow Wilson, the famous 28th President of the United States of America, himself a man of great learning, is at the very heart of the clamor for a systematic dialogue between the policy-making arena and scientific research community as a requirement of any good governance agenda.

The thoughts behind the IPSS Colloquium Series have been evidently inspired by an explicit charge of the African Union for researchers in

African universities and research institutions to recognize that ‘making and maintaining peace and security is also an intellectual challenge.’ In this charge, clearly articulated in the 2009 Tripoli Declaration and so indicated in the IPSS letter of invitation to the Colloquium, ‘the Heads of State and Government, therefore, undertake to build the capacity of our universities and research institutions to explore the nature of African conflicts, to investigate what succeeds and what fails in conflict resolution efforts, and to arrive at African-centered solutions, drawing from our own distinctive and unique experience’. The IPSS ‘has been [specifically] mandated by the African Union Executive Council to partner with the AU Commission in order to tackle the above-mentioned “intellectual challenge”’. The African Peace and Security Program (APSP) of the IPSS is, in this regard, a robust child of the marriage between the IPSS and the AU Commission.



In the keynote delivered by the Director of IPSS at the opening ceremony (Appendix I), he has elaborated on the context of the Institute's response: the imaginative higher degree courses and specialized research projects, illuminating publications and creative outreach programmes. The new agenda for an Annual Colloquium Series is, therefore, the latest product in this wider range of research and training initiatives. The Colloquium Series are, indeed, part of the Institute's Outreach Programme, and it is aimed at providing experts in the peace and security sector a regular annual platform at which to converge to share knowledge and experiences relevant to topical issues of peace and security in Africa.

Rationale for the Focus on Border Issues

The decision to dedicate the inaugural colloquium to a discussion of border issues has been aptly informed by the commonplace fact about borders or, more generically, international boundaries as the most recurrent and topical factor in African peace and security concern. Quite

apart from the ubiquitous and unceasing incidents in all the regions of the continent since early years of African Independence (e.g. the border wars or skirmishes between Algeria and Morocco in 1963; Somalia and Ethiopia in 1961, 1964, and 1977-1978; Mali and Burkina Faso in 1975 and 1985-1986; Nigeria and Cameroon from mid-1970s through mid-1990s; Nigeria and Chad in 1983; Senegal and Mauritania in 1989-1990; and Ethiopia and Eritrea, 1998 to date), the recognition of the border factor in African peace and security is acknowledged at the highest level of policy making in the continent, as evidenced in the insertion of Article 3 of the Charter of the defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the special focus on it in the famous Cairo Declaration of July 1964. The position has since been maintained, even now, as indicated in Article 4c of the Constitutive Act of the succeeding African Union, in favour of the retention of colonially inherited borders, and it has achieved the end objective of preserving the current territorial configuration of states in Africa, based on the European colonial heritage.

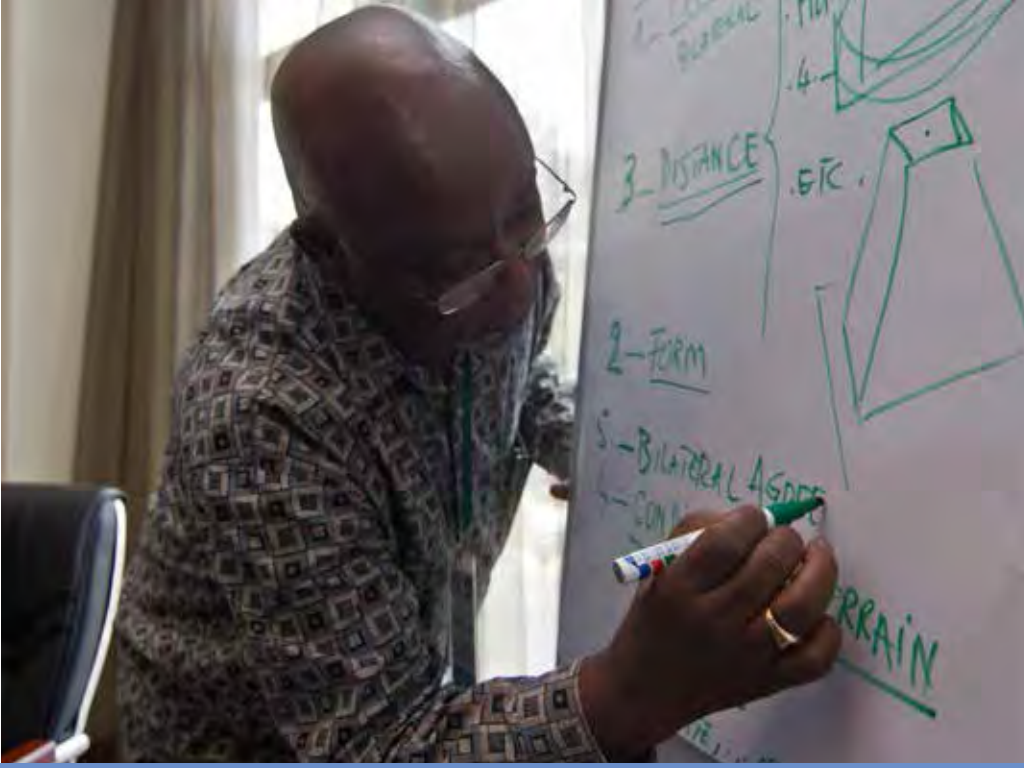


However, the continental-level consensus for retaining inter-colonial boundaries as independent Africa's international boundaries or borders has not stopped agitations for change, first indicated in the objections expressed and policy exceptions taken in respect of the OAU position by Somalia in North-East Africa, Morocco in the Maghreb and, less spectacularly, Togo in West Africa, whose contrary positions are for a redrawing of the borders to accommodate diverse irredentist claims such as the resuscitation of the perceived territorial integrity of the pre-colonial state in the case of Morocco, or the desire to bring within single states people of same ethnic and cultural identities such as the Somali and the Ewe in the respective cases of Somalia and Togo.

The eventual secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia in 1991 and, more recently in 2011, South Sudan from Sudan would appear to raise worrisome specters of new secession bids such as are being currently witnessed in northern Mali, where Islamic fundamentalists have declared an independent

sovereign republic, or the Kivu Province in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where a break-away faction of the national army, coded as M23, recently occupied the provincial capital town of Goma, allegedly supported by the Government of Rwanda.

A similar threat posed to border and territorial security in the continent has been the many decades of the occupation of the overlapping border forest areas of Uganda, South Sudan and Central African Republic by Joseph Kony's notorious Lord's Resistance Army that had wreaked and continues to wreak havoc on the land and local communities, undeterred by efforts of national and regional authorities and support of the international community including a special intelligence service intervention of the US some two years ago. Add the many cases of aggressive and expensive litigations on border disputes that have been and are still being referred to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at The Hague for adjudication, and the aptness of the focus of the maiden edition of the IPSS Colloquium on border issues would be fully appreciated.



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AUBP as Focus

Making the AUBP the focal point of the discussions at the Colloquium requires the underscoring of the point earlier made in passing that the program itself has been a knowledge-led policy product which has drawn its original inspiration from findings of what in the relevant literature has been referred to as “modern” as distinguished from “traditional” border studies.

In the words of an acclaimed expert, while the ‘traditional’ is state-centric and typically explored within frameworks of such establishment-oriented sub- or multi-disciplines as diplomatic history, political geography, international relations and international law, ‘modern border studies’ (also referred to as ‘Borderland Studies’) ‘place emphasis on the socio-economic aspects, focused on the integrative rather than on

conflicting processes, and on problems of border people instead of the nation-states; they are highly valued by local authorities and regional organizations than by national governments, and more than the traditional ones, policy-oriented’. Since the focus is on the border and its localized impacts, or the border in its local and wider regional settings and contexts, the dominant scholarly research interests have been those of local and comparative historians, regional and economic geographers, ethnographers, sociologists, social anthropologists, epidemiologists, environmentalists and regional planners.

In Africa, as in other regions, notably Europe and North America, it was scholars and researchers in the mode of the statist ‘traditional border studies’ that first held sway in policy circles, if and when policy making

ever had cause to seek opinion from organized knowledge. However, from the mid-1980s, African scholarly works that, for some two decades previously, have begun to be produced within the framework of 'modern border studies' began to be significantly noticed in policy-formulating arenas. With particular reference to the AUBP and, especially, the several antecedent policy initiatives, the opportunities that began increasingly to come the way of African borderlands scholars in the 1980s may be recalled here to include invitational participation in and acknowledged contributions to relevant research projects of several policy-influential national and regional institutions whose experiences eventually aggregated to bring about the AUBP.

They include Nigeria's National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Kuru, Jos, North-Central Nigeria and its Border Defense and Security Research Project (1985-1987), which led to the creation of the National Boundary Commission, the case history of which was presented at the Colloquium as an exemplary African border management institution; the UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa, Lome, Togo, and its Ford-Foundation-funded Research Project on the 'Role of Border Problems in African Peace and Security' (1987-1992) and the wide range of the Centre's inter-related high-profile Workshops in Togo and Cameroon during the same period; the UN Centre for Regional Development Africa Office, Nairobi, Kenya, and the Research Project on the Development of Border Regions in Eastern and Southern Africa (1994-1996) which featured two major policy-impactful regional workshops in Kariba and Mutare on Zimbabwe's borders with Zambia and Mozambique in 1995 and 1996 respectively; and, more immediate to the history of the AUBP, the Paris-based OECD Sahel and West Africa Club (SWAC), originally OECD Sahel Club, known for the enormous influence on the launching of Mali's famous concept of 'Pays Frontieres'



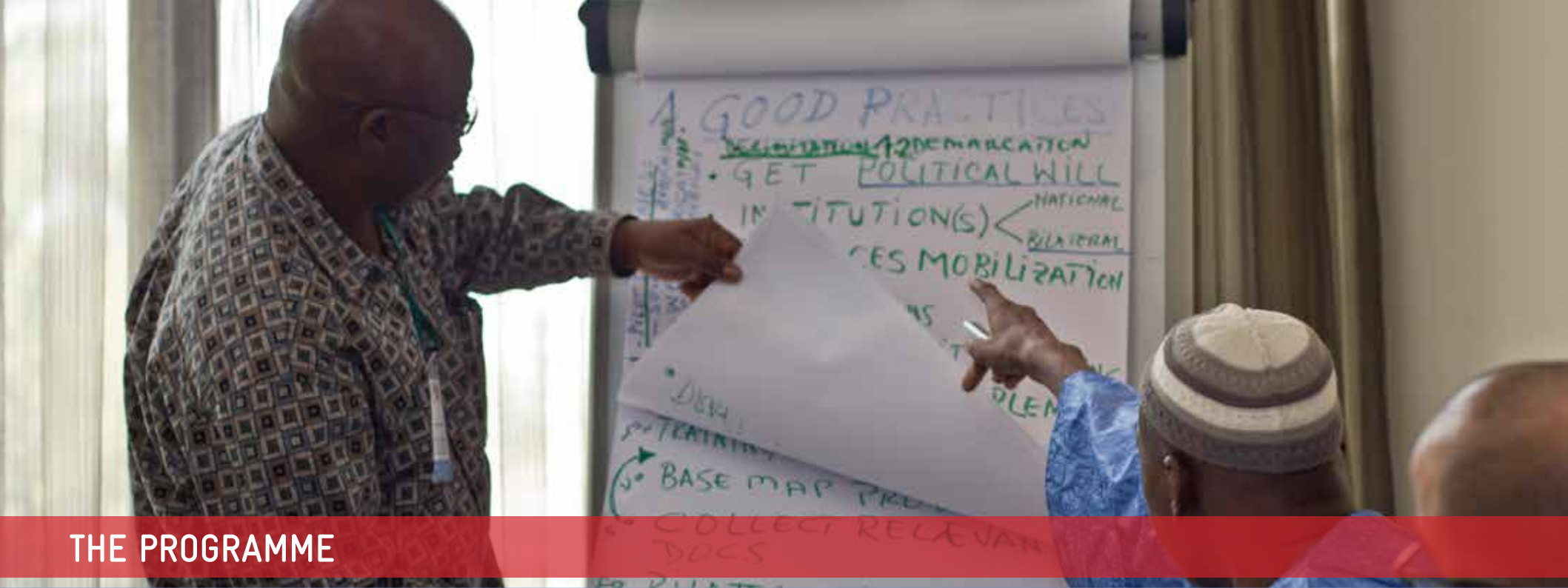


in 2002 and its projection into the wider regional level as ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiatives Programme (CIP) in January 2006.

There is, perhaps, no better indication of the AUBP as the continental end-product of all these knowledge-inspired national and regional border policy initiatives than the participation of all the key experts known to have made acknowledged inputs to the formulations in the historic AU-convened Meeting of Experts in Bamako, March 8-9, 2007, to consider the draft of the AUBP, itself a work of a core of African experts, and prepare the agenda for the first ever Conference of African Ministers in Charge of Border Issues. It is now commonplace knowledge that it was the Report of the Meeting of Experts in Bamako in March 2007 that formed the basis of the Ministerial Conference on June 7, 2007, when the Ministers made the memorable Declaration on the African Union Programme, solemnly adopted by the AU Executive Council in Accra on the 27th of the same month.

It is against this backdrop of its history as a knowledge-led policy instrument that one must hail the decision of the IPSS Colloquium organization to bring the AUBP back, first time since its formal adoption and the subsequent initiation of the implementation process, into the realm of an organized reappraisal by academic and technical experts as well as other stakeholders, including those with an intimate knowledge of the historical foundations.

The Colloquium programme is focused on three specific dimensions of the AUBP and its implementation, namely: Border Delimitation and Demarcation, including the Border Management Structures and Institutions that have been put in place at national and regional levels; Cross-Border Cooperation; and Resource Mobilization.



THE PROGRAMME

Objective

This section highlights the plenary presentations and the thrusts of the debates they generated, leading to the more focused panel discussions and resultant recommendations narrated in Section 4. In this regard, it is useful to refer to the Reports of the Rapporteurs in Appendix VII (one in form of minutes and the other a verbatim).

The programme, as planned, focused on the three selected components of the AUBP; and the plenary presentations were so structured to address these three broad dimensions, namely:

1. Border Delimitation and Demarcation, including the inter-related subject of specialized Border Administrative Structures that were expected to be put in place by Member States to facilitate the processes and ensure follow-ups in promoting cross-border cooperation

between both sides and the special development focus on the usually structurally marginalized border areas to ensure the support of their strategic populations;

2. Cross-Border Cooperation;
3. Resource Mobilization

As can be easily seen, the sub-themes overlapped, as did the discussions, but this narrative must begin by highlighting the two introductory statements of the Opening Ceremony, which set the tone for the Colloquium and opened the debates.

The Plenaries on Border Delimitation and Demarcation

There were five (5) presentations. The first, of a general introduction on the state of boundaries in the continent, was an historical overview



in which an attempt was made to trace the origins from pre-colonial through the European imperialist intrusion and the imposition of the present colonially inherited configurations and the current challenges for demarcation, re-demarcation and re-affirmation. The presentation drew attention, generally, to issues that were to be more focused in the case studies that followed, namely: the feasibility of the new time-frame, especially the target date 2017 set by Ministers In Charge of Border Issues in their last Conference in Niamey last May; high cost; funding; security challenges; and capacity building. The following four case studies were then presented:

- Mali, by retired Surveyor-General, Mr. Isa Coulibaly
- Nigeria, by Mr. Sanni M. Isa, Director, International Boundaries, National Boundary Commission
- Cameroon, by Engr. Ali Toure, Member of the Cameroon-Nigeria Technical Team for the demarcation of the border in implementation of the 2002 ICJ Ruling; and
- Mozambique, by Engr. J. E. Mucombo

These varied national experiences present with diverse local details but are more fascinating in the commonalities that underlie the varieties of local histories and geography. These commonalities underscore the challenges for the AUBP in respect of the Delimitation and Demarcation component of the Programme. They include:

(i) Time Frame and the Target Date of 2017

All the cases indicate a very slow pace of progress. In Mali, only the border with Burkina Faso, thanks to the GIZ under the arrangement with the AUBP, and Algeria in previous years has been demarcated. For the remainder (Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Senegal and Niger), developments are at various stages of negotiation of the colonial delimitation instruments.

Except for the borders with Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea where some concrete works are in evidence, due to the on-going processes of implementing the ICJ Ruling, Cameroon's other borders with neighbours in ECCAS are not demarcated; and even with Nigeria where the most has been done, only 470 out of the estimated 3000 boundary pillars have been effectively erected!

Nigeria has made much progress on demarcation and reaffirmation with virtually all her boundaries with limitrophe countries; but the observation of Cameroon on their common border shows how far away Nigeria is in completing the demarcation.

Mozambique's experience is not that different: like Mali, it has benefitted from the GIZ funding support in respect of demarcation of the land border and the delimitation of the maritime boundaries, especially with Comoros. However, far more remains to be done.

The Common Challenges include:

- i. High cost of logistics for mobilizing men and material over enormously long distances from and along the borders;
- ii. Insecurity – Landmines in Mozambique, as with most of the other post-conflict states in Africa, dangerous wildlife, and, political crises in states (e.g. Somalia, Northern Mali, Sudan vis-à-vis South Sudan) that are to engage in demarcations;
- iii. Insufficient political will on the part of many a concerned state party, which slows down the speed of agreement between national technical teams;
- iv. Dearth of basic data (maps, charts, treaties etc.), most of which are still being held in the national archives in the ex-colonial European capitals;





- v. Insufficient trained personnel and up-to-date equipment; and
- vi. Threats of insecurity and instability to current state territorial frameworks by actual and potential secessionist bids (e.g. Eritrea from Ethiopia and South Sudan from Sudan in the one case and Islamic fundamentalist occupation in Northern Mali and Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria in the other).

Presentations on Border Administrative Structures and Institutions

The presentations on delimitation and demarcation were followed by those on the inter-related subject of Border Management Structures. The cases were presented to illustrate both their relevance and imperative, namely:

- i. Nigeria's National Boundary Commission
- ii. Mali's National Directorate;
- iii. The Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority, a Mali-Niger-Burkina Faso borderlands development agency, created in 1970 with headquarters in Ougadougou, Burkina Faso.

The history, structure, functions and achievements of these three sample national and sub-regional border management agencies, presented by their chief executive officers, filled the colloquium participants with a sense of satisfaction and inspired them to recommend urgent replication by all other Member States of the African Union and urge the AUBP to facilitate such replication.

The case of Nigeria's National Boundary Commission enjoyed special attention, not just for its record of achievement as facilitator of the

significant achievements in the demarcation of the international boundaries vis-à-vis neighbours in both ECOWAS and ECCAS. The Commission was particularly hailed for its application as agency for a coordinated border region development, including the political engineering that led to the agreement with the island state of the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe to jointly (with Nigeria) suspend their territorial sovereignty claims over the disputed maritime boundary in the Atlantic Ocean; and, instead, to experiment with a joint utilization arrangement for the area. The twin products, the Nigeria-Sao Tome and Principe Joint Development Zone and the Joint Development Authority to administer it, have been so successful as to merit recommendation as the model for Africa for turning border conflict into border cooperation in the rest of Africa.

The Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority has been similarly hailed as an exemplar of inter-African initiatives that has worked against all odds, including the challenge of sporadic Tuareg rebellions, to achieve the set objective of a planned development of the doubly marginalized overlapping border areas of West Africa's three land-locked limitrophe Sahelian States of Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger. It is instructive that the infrastructure of roads, rural electrification, dams, irrigation projects as well as hospitals and veterinary centres located in the highly vulnerable and strategic area of its jurisdiction were never tampered with in the period of the prolonged Tuareg rebellion in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Of similar significance as the Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority has been the Lake Chad Basin Commission, with head office in N'Djamena, Chad, jointly owned and operated by the four inter-lacustrine states of Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria. The Colloquium also noted LGIDA as an exemplar to be replicated in Africa and again urged the AUBP to





Cross-Border Cooperation Plenaries

There were nine (9) substantive presentations, the largest attracted by any of the three dimensions of the AUBP, focused by the Colloquium. This concentration is indicative of this component as the heart of the AUBP, far more so than the aspect of delimitation and demarcation, important as this may be; and, as would be made even clear later in this narrative, the Cross-Border Cooperation component is, in the overall assessment of the Colloquium, the pointer to the future of African boundaries and of AUBP as AU's unrivalled apparatus for the fulfillment of its aspirations of becoming a Union of African people rather than of states.

This narrative on the CBC plenary presentation must begin with the two based on empirical research in the batch: the one, by Dr. Mamadou Abdoul, historian, Enda-Diapol/Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, on 'Cross-Border Cooperation Initiatives at the Grassroots in Africa: Cultural Affinities, Trade and Pastoralism'; and the other, by Dr. Dereje Feyissa, social anthropologist, formerly based at the famous Max Planck Institute of Social Anthropology in Germany but recently relocated to his home university Addis Ababa University, on the essay provocatively titled "'Divided They Stand': Interrogating Local Border-Crossing Practices in Regional Integration'.

These seemingly opposing perspective presentations speak to the heart of concern about the CBC component of the Colloquium programme and, indeed, of the IPSS as its initiator and lead sponsor, namely, the seeming dilemma between Cross-Border Cooperation and Border Security; between, on the one hand, innocuous and ordinary use by kith and kin on both sides, farmers, pastoralists, traders; and, on the other, a predisposition to infiltration and exploitation by the clandestine and plainly criminal (smugglers, human traffickers, hard drug peddlers, gun runners, armed bandits, rebels, 'terrorist'); it is the core of the problem of the campaign for

‘free movement of persons and goods’ and the challenge posed to law and border enforcement to keep the illegals out. While Dr. Abdoul’s argument is about the largely historically grounded border-crossing practices by local kinship groups, farmland owners, operators of traditional periodic markets, pastoralists and host sedentary farmers; Feyissa’s analysis stands the same argument on its head by a privileged emphasis on those who see and systematically exploited borders and borderlands as invaluable ‘resources’ and whose exploits almost always run counter to legitimate demands and expectations.

The remaining six presentations on CBC are focused, largely, on matters of ‘best practices’, and strategies for their advancement. If, as it was the case, Dr. Muhamed Muktar’s presentation on ‘A Fragile Peace Between Sudan and South Sudan’ was an expression of the frustrations that currently attend efforts at exploring the enormous cross-border cooperation and regional integration potentials between the two states; the fascinating essay by Gerome Dakouo, Manager of the GIZ-assisted joint Health Centre Project on Mali-Burkina Faso border, points to prospects for using well conceived development projects to turn around situations of conflict and wars into ones of cooperation and peace, as well as of the deepening of the regional integration process and ensuring sustainable development.

The star presentations by Mrs. Kinza Jawara-N’Jai, Gambian-born Principal Programme Officer in the Department of Free Movement in the ECOWAS Commission, Abuja, Nigeria, addressed two distinct though clearly interrelated sub-themes of the CBC component of the Colloquium programme. The first, titled ‘Free Movement Campaign in ECOWAS: Progress and Constraints’, provided rich details about the energetic effort of the Department of Free Movement of the Commission to implement the Protocols on Free Movement within the larger framework of the





Commission's determination to turn ECOWAS from a Community of States and state territories to one of the people and the region.

This presentation was not only widely acclaimed as a parameter for recommending ECOWAS as African 'best practice' to the other RECs, it satisfied the yearning 'for Africans to Africanize themselves', expressed in the paper titled 'The Border Regime that African Citizens Would Want to Have', presented by Mr. Senato Oleparpai of the Centre for Citizens' Participation in the African Union, Nairobi, Kenya. In the paper, Mr. Oleparpai, an Il-Masai, has argued for a border regime that allows African citizens to move freely, without hindrance, from one to any other part of the continent, one that would facilitate the conferment of African continental citizenship on all Africans and authorize the issuance of African passports that legitimize the peoples' movement

and right of residence and establishment in any member state of the African Union.

The second and equally well-received presentation by Mrs. Kinza Jawara-N'Jai was her communication on 'ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiatives Programme and the Implementation Process', which was a contribution to the bracket of presentations on the sub-theme of 'Legal Instruments and Comparative Perspective'. This segment of the discussion of Cross-Border Cooperation featured, principally, the presentation by Mr. Sessay of the AU Commission Department of Legal Affairs, titled 'The Evolving African Convention on Trans-border Cooperation (The Niamey Convention)', which was part of the Declaration of the Third Conference of African Ministers in Charge of Border Issues in Niamey, Republic of Niger, in May 2012.



Unlike the other presentations on the Cross-Border Cooperation component, which were all moderated by Professor John Igue, arguably a leading 'doyen' of 'modern border studies' and policy advocacy in Africa, the presentations and lively discussions on the sub-theme of Legal Instruments and Comparative Perspectives was moderated by Mrs. Lina Zedriga, Ugandan jurist, a former Magistrate in the Lower Bench of Ugandan Judiciary, and, currently, Director, Women, Peace and Security (WPS), Regional Associates for Community Initiatives (RACI), Kampala, Uganda. The lead presentation here was that by Mr. Sessay of the AU Commission Legal Affairs Department. He detailed the provisions of the newly adopted African Convention on Trans-border Cooperation, attached to this publication as Appendix V. Clearly an unprecedented milestone achievement of the AUBP, the Convention is evidently

modeled after the 1984 European Outline Convention on Trans-frontier Cooperation Between Territorial Communities or Authorities; and it holds the prospect, when ratified and applied, of radically reducing, if not totally eliminating conflicts and, therefore, of deepening the regional integration process.

Mrs. Jawara N'Jai's presentation on 'ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiatives Programme: Progress and Constraints' underscores the prospects for the African Convention. To appreciate this underscoring is to remember that ECOWAS CIP, adopted in January 2006, was the source of the immediate inspiration for the AUBP. Kinza's presentation has not only provided a spectacularly illuminating account of milestone achievements in implementation of the CIP, thanks to the support of the OECD/SWAC, which have helped in initiating and sustaining of such critical pilot



projects as the Sikasso-Bobo Dioulasso-Korogho (coded SKBO), launched in September 2005; the Southern Senegambia (Senegal, Gambia and Guinea-Bissau), inaugurated in October of 2005; and the Kano-Katsina-Maradi (K2M), established in September 2007.

The presentation on the CIP also nicely reflected and honestly acknowledged the indebtedness of the policy initiatives in West Africa and, indeed, Africa, to such contemporary European ‘best practices’ as the Association of the European Border Regions (AEBR), the International Region Development (INTERREG) and the EU Regional Development Fund. One other important European ‘best practice’, which is calling to be noticed in our own continent is MOT (Mission Operationelle Transfrontaliere), a relatively recent policy innovation which France has adopted to engage limitrophe neighbouring countries in integrated development of overlapping border areas.

The so many potential African candidate sub-regions that stand to benefit from the spectacularly impressive performance of the French MOT vis-à-vis its limitrophe neighbours in Europe include areas covered by the case studies presented in this Colloquium, notably Nigeria and proximate neighbours in West and Central Africa; Mali and its neighbours in the West African Sahel; Cameroon and its neighbours in Central Africa, and Mozambique and its neighbours in SADC. A particularly telling example, detailed by Dr. Cyril Musila in his excellent presentation to the Colloquium, is ‘Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and its Limitrophe Neighbours’ in three different RECs – ECCAS, SADC and EAC. Another, though not discussed at the Colloquium, is ‘Le Senegal et Ses Voisins’, so scholarly documented in a book of exactly this title, edited by Momar-Coumba Diop and published in 1994 by Societes-Espace-Temps in Dakar.

On the whole, the main thrust of the debate generated by the nine presentations on Cross-Border Cooperation, moderated by Professor Igue and Mrs. Lina Zedriga, is that of a general approval and a superbly higher rating for CBC than for the D&D (Delimitation and Demarcation)



component of the AUBP, and one that appears to augur better for the future of Africa of prosperous borders. The consensus is that resources should be mobilized more in support for CBC and cognate capacity building, including the highly supportive knowledge production in frameworks of 'modern border studies'. The mood of the Colloquium on the CBC is aptly captured by the blurb of a recent book co-edited by Professor Igue, significantly titled 'Frontieres, Espaces de Developpement Partage' (Paris: Karthala, 2010) and displayed at the Colloquium. The blurb, in its rough English translation, is cited hereunder, as it appears to sum up the thrust of the Colloquium debate on Cross-Border Cooperation component of the AUBP:

The future of colonially inherited borders is linked to the co-management of the spaces that have been spawned and defined by these borders. The success of this co-management will put an end to conflicts which currently shake the state and the mafia-type criminal exchanges that now take place in the frontier areas.

It was in this mood of a generalized satisfaction and sense of approval that the Colloquium participants unanimously:

- Applauded the demonstrated advances that have been made by ECOWAS in the implementation of its CIP and recommend that the AUBP facilitates a programme of interaction of the ECOWAS Commission with their sister RECs with a view to replicating its 'best practice' in each of them;
- Urged the AUBP to embark on a planned sensitization mission to the RECs, aimed at applying the usually gentle but firm pressure on constituent member states to accelerate the ratification of the 2012 Niamey Convention; and
- Engaged themselves to reach out to Ministries of Justice of their home states to take immediate measures for the accelerated ratification of the Niamey Convention.



Plenaries on Resource Mobilization

There were three substantive presentations. The first, by Ambassador Agibou S. Diarra, Head of the AUBP Unit in the AUC P&SD, titled 'Mobilizing Resources for the AUBP: The Journey So Far', presents an account of efforts that have been made to secure a diversification of sources of funding for the Programme. He drew attention to the fact that, so far, the only source of funding support for the Programme is GIZ, formerly GTZ of the German Government, without which the AUBP would have remained only at the stage of its declaration and adoption. He informed about a donors' conference that is in planning in early 2013.

The second presentation, by Mr. Ulrich Jeanen of GIZ-AU, titled 'The GIZ Experience in Funding the AUBP', provided key information on

the funding arrangement as falling within a wider framework of a cooperation agreement between the AU and the German Government. While the future of the arrangement looks good, the German Federal Office that provides the funds is subject to the vagaries of economic fortunes of the Government; and that this could adversely affect the support for the AUBP in the long run.

The third paper, 'Reshaping the AUBP: Implications and Policy Proposals for Delimitation and Demarcation', was presented by Doug Momberg, a graduate student in the Global Studies Programme of Leipzig University. It made useful contribution to the debate of the Colloquium, though only tangential to the specific subject of resource mobilization.

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While noting the plan to organize a donors' conference in 2013, it is the unanimous view of Colloquium participants that the search for support should look more inward.

The debate that ensued pointed in the following directions:

- i. (i) Applause for the GIZ support and encouragement for them to do more;
- ii. (ii) A general sense of disappointment in the apparent indifference of the big-time European states (UK, France, Italy, Portugal and Spain) who were historically responsible for creating Africa's problematic borders, some calling for a reparation of sorts;
- iii. (iii) The focus on the African states, citizens, corporations and institutions to wake up to their responsibility for funding African development process and turn the present situation around whereby our continent's development processes have almost always been dependent on external support.
- iv. (iv) While noting the plan to organize a donors' conference in 2013, it is the unanimous view of Colloquium participants that the search for support should look more inward. Some suggestions made include appeal to philanthropic African individuals, telecommunication corporations (MTN, GLO etc.) and taxation of cross-border businesses.





RECOMMENDATIONS

Framework

This Section of the handbook is not intended to rehash the policy recommendations so solidly formulated and clearly articulated in the Reports of the Working Groups which, for ease of reference, are annexed as Appendix VI. The purpose, rather, is to conclude the narrative in the preceding Section 3 by providing commentaries which, hopefully, clarify and reinforce the Working Groups' recommendations, which flowed from the debates at the plenary sessions.

The Section is, therefore, structured to follow the order of the arrangement of the plenaries and of the four Working Groups, namely:

i. Delimitation and Demarcation (Feasibility of Completion in 2017);

ii. Border Management (Dilemma of Cooperation and Security)

iii. Fostering Local Initiatives and Accelerating the Ratification of the Continental Instrument on Cross-Border Cooperation (Opportunities and Challenges); and, finally,

iv. Resource Mobilization (Generating and Sustaining Resources for AUBP from Within Africa and Development Partners)

As the narrative would show, the Working Groups' mandates, work and reports of the Groups deliberately overlap, thus permitting important repetitions that make for necessary emphases.

Demarcation and Delimitation

On this obviously important matter, as well as for the AUBP as for the Colloquium that was purposively focused on the AUBP's 'demands and needs', three broad overlapping issues of policy would appear to have been raised, discussed and recommended upon, namely:

- i. Necessity;
- ii. Strategy (the need, for example, for hi-tech application to the matter of demarcation; in place of the relatively primitive, current, cumbersome, time-consuming and terribly expensive practice of having to erect environmentally disruptive heavy and high concrete pillars in intervisible distances along borders that run thousands of kilometers for the most part and in forbiddingly varied terrains); and
- iii. Feasibility of the Critical Date of 2017 for completing all the demarcation works on the continent.

(i) Necessity

On this aspect, there was a reasonable consensus, given the well-considered retention of the principle of 'intangibility' of the colonially-inherited borders in the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the reality of the nation-state territorial structure and framework in Africa and internationally.

Attention was, of course, drawn to the threat posed by secessions (Eritrea from Ethiopia and South Sudan from Sudan), secession bids (e.g. the current situation in Northern Mali and the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria). It was, however, made manifestly clear that, on the whole, the territorial framework of states in the continent is relatively stable, even far more so than those of erstwhile colonial Europe which imposed them in the first instance, that the secession is more the exception than the rule; and that demarcation would assist prevailing stability and stem the trend of disruptive instability.





It was argued quite convincingly that a great deal of the threats posed to territorial stability of states in the continent have to do less with borders than the challenge of good governance within and across them. Given sufficient political will on the part of states, especially the limitrophe ones sharing common borders, to engage in co-management of common border areas and joint utilization of cross-border strategic resources, secessionist bids that drive conflict and territorial instability would be eliminated.

Nigeria's 'best practice' (see the next segment of this narrative on Border Management), which has dramatically transformed conflict

into cooperation with Sao Tome and Principe over the exploitation of straddling hydro-carbon resources in their disputed maritime border, has demonstrated that mutual agreement on joint utilization of cross-border resources is far more the matter for the cause of peace than technically complicated and terribly expensive issue of border demarcation.

In respect of cost-sharing without recourse to donor intervention, there are the 'best practices' of Nigeria vis-à-vis Benin and Niger; Mali and Algeria; and Kenya and Uganda; and even in cases of donor assistance, as in Mozambique, the local contributions in human skills, labour and service cannot be underestimated.

(ii) Strategy for Demarcation

The plenary presentations on border delimitation and demarcation demonstrate that demarcation is more the problem than delimitation. However unsatisfactorily, all the colonially inherited borders have been delimited in relevant treaties, maps and charts as agreed between the colonial boundary makers. The case studies also demonstrated the enormous challenges, mostly logistical, in having to physically erect massive concrete pillars in inter-visible distances in mostly inaccessible difficult terrains. It was made clear in continent-wide cases presented (Mali and Nigeria in ECOWAS, Cameroon in ECCAS and Mozambique in SADC) how terribly slow, expensive and inefficient the traditional method in use has been.

It is against this background information that the Colloquium warmly welcomes the alternative proposal for the adoption of modern hi-tech digital methods based on satellite imagery, once agreements have been reached by the state parties on the delimitation instruments to be adopted for the demarcation of particular borders. This suggestion has been especially inspired by the lived experience within the highly-reputed Nairobi-based Regional Centre for Mapping of Resources for Development. It has been found to be more cost-effective and technically efficient, apart from being less disruptive to the physical environment and more demonstrable of the state parties' common commitment to cross-border cooperation and the deepening of the regional integration process.

The challenge here, of course, is, as always, how best to sensitize the member states to embrace this hi-tech alternative strategy. The recommendation, therefore, is that the AUBP should sensitize the Member States through the RECs, with a view to getting them to muster that resource of inestimable value, political will.





(iii) The 2017 Critical Date

This issue was elaborately discussed at the plenary but surprisingly omitted in the Report of the Working Group One. In the plenary debates, the rationale for the new date of 2017 was integrated in the absence of information that guided the 2012 Ministers' Conference in arriving at the decision about the 2017 date extension of the 2012 set by the Heads of State and Government at their Summit in Durban, South Africa, 2002. If in ten years, not much has been achieved, how would the enormously more work that remains to be done be expected to be accomplished in only half of that time, between now and 2017? What is the magic intended by the Ministers?

The answer is, perhaps, in the silence on the issues of the critical date in the Report of Working Group 1, made up of seasoned surveyors, serving and retired senior civil servants in their different national bureaucracy. Reading the Working Group's highly detailed Report, which lists both the challenges and responses, putting the issue of political will at the top of both lists, suggests a highly conditional positive response: provided the enormous challenges currently obstructing progress are dealt with, principally securing the political will of the state parties, the 2017 target date is feasible. State parties' political will is important, even for the national technical teams to adopt the hi-tech alternative strategy that holds the prospect of achieving the demarcation works even ahead of 2017.



Border Management

The policy issue here, as stipulated in the task assigned to Working Group 2, is in resolving what appears to be a dilemma between promoting cross-border cooperation and ensuring free movement on the one hand; and, on the other, preventing abuse by criminal elements (smugglers, human and drug traffickers, gun runners, rebels and terrorist groups using cross-border areas as asylums or sanctuaries).

The Report of Working Group 2 would appear to have taken the reasonable position that, rather than a dilemma, there is a functional relationship: no border security, no cross-border cooperation. The one side of the coin (cross-border initiatives and stakeholders), is

the constituency to be mobilized to partner with the states' law and border enforcement agencies to keep out unwanted border-crossing practitioners whose focus is on the generally clandestine exploitation of borders and borderlands as 'resources' for their usually illegal and nefarious activities.

In fact, as has been the practice on the Nigeria-Benin border, institutionalized cooperation between police authorities on both sides, which has been operating joint border patrols, should be harnessed into the local cross-border initiatives and practices. On a wider regional scale, a good practice in ECOWAS is the Committee of Inspectors-General of



Police, which meets regularly to review the effectiveness of collaborative cross-border security management in the REC.

The plenary debate and focused Group Discussions underscored the role of specialized state agencies such as Nigeria's National Boundary Commission, Mali's National Directorate of Boundaries and the triparty Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority. The records of performance of these border management structures and institutions, not just as facilitators of delimitation and demarcation, but more particularly as agencies for planned border region development and promoters of trans-border cooperation and joint venture, were applauded at the Colloquium and unanimously recommended for a continent-wide adoption. Specifically, all AU Member States are encouraged to establish similar functional border management institutions; and the Colloquium participants were delighted about the report that the AUBP Unit is already in the process of producing a guidebook on the subject, to stimulate Member States through the RECs to take necessary steps.

The success story of Nigeria's National Boundary Commission, in mid-wifing the imaginative conflict-prevention Nigeria - Sao Tome & Principe Joint Development Zone (JDZ) and Joint Development Authority (JDA) in 2005, has been so well received and specially recommended to the AUBP for replication in the African continent. Similarly recommended is the joint border infrastructural development model of the GIZ-supported Health Centre on the Mali Burkina Faso border, which has turned a locality that had known a deadly cross-border armed conflict between two limitrophe local villages, into one of cooperation and permanent peace.

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the need and, indeed, the imperative of strengthening existing ones and creating new initiatives. It may be especially noted here the desirability of encouraging the new initiatives in the areas of Cross-Border Community Development Associations that may lead to regional and continental associations on the model of the Association of European Border Regions, which is known to have wielded enormous positive influence on border governance and regional integration policy issues in Europe.

We have referred in Section 3 to several potential African candidate regions and sub-regions where certain strategic Member States of the AU could initiate certain planned co-management and development of shared border regions on the model of France's Mission Operationelle Transfrontaliere (MOT) as another relevant European 'best practice'. It may be added that the on-going decentralization reform in centralist francophone African States should facilitate this.





Fostering Local Initiatives and Accelerating the Ratification of the Continental Instrument on Cross-Border Cooperation

The basic document in focus here is the Report of Working Group 3; and, because of the obvious overlap of the first part, “Fostering Local Initiatives”, with the policy task assigned to Working Group Two (Border Management: The Dilemma Between Cross-Border Cooperation and Cross-Border Security Concerns), commentary on the illuminating Report of the Working Group 3 will be limited to the policy recommendations in respect of the ratification of the African Convention on Cross-Border Cooperation, very lucidly enumerated in Part II of the Report.

As has been noted in Section 3 of this handbook, it may bear repetition that the African Convention on Trans-Border Cooperation has been modeled after the European Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation

Between Territorial Communities or Authorities, an instrument of the Council of Europe, opened for the signatures of the Member States at Madrid, Spain, in 1980, and fully ratified in 1984 when it entered into force.

Like its European predecessor, the African Convention is aimed at providing a continental umbrella for existing and, more particularly, new instruments that are aimed at facilitating cross-border initiatives at the lower levels of the RECs, the Member States and their constituent regional and local authorities or communities. Perhaps, at ratification, the next possible direction in its development would be, as with the European Outline Convention, to provide prototype agreements that may help the RECs, Member States, regional and local territorial authorities and communities to negotiate instruments appropriate to their needs.

ECOWAS, once again, has provided us with concrete examples of concrete anticipatory developments. Apart from the fact of a similarly crafted Convention

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The point about these comparative references, European and West African, is to emphasize the fact that there are existing 'best' practices that should help the sensitization task for the AUBP for the acceleration of the ratification process for the African Convention.

already in the process of ratification at the REC level, there is a Treaty on Trans-border Cooperation between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Republic of Benin, based on the recommendations of the historic Nigeria – Benin Trans-border Cooperation Workshop held at the Administrative Staff College of Nigeria, Topo, Badagry in 1988.

The treaty, which has since been in negotiation, was recently endorsed by both State parties. Under this bilateral umbrella, local-level agreements have been concluded between Beninois Communes such as Adjarra and Ifangni of the Departement de L'Oueme, headquartered in Porto Novo, and their Nigerian analogue, the Ipokia Local Government in Ogun State with its headquarters in Abeokuta, Nigeria.

The point about these comparative references, European and West African, is to emphasize the fact that there are existing 'best' practices that should help the sensitization task for the AUBP for the acceleration of the ratification process for the African Convention. The plenary presentation on ECOWAS Cross-Border Initiatives Programme (CIP) and its advanced implementation should also be noted as part of the existing African 'best practices' that should encourage AU Member States in other RECs as well as ECOWAS to fast-track the ratification of the African Convention.





Resource Mobilization

The key policy recommendations and the focused discussions that led to them are contained in the Report of the Working Group 4. Important additional information and insights concerning the Report of Working Group 4 can be gleaned from the details relating to it in the Report of Rapporteurs A (Minutes of the Daily Proceedings).

From the Reports (the Group's and the Rapporteurs's) and the narrative on the relevant plenary presentations and thrust of the debate that was generated, detailed in Section 3 of this handbook, we may provide some comments on the main policy recommendations in the Resource Management Group Report.

The points in emphasis may be summarized to include:

- i. Definition of 'Resource Mobilization' must be understood to be more inclusive than 'money', important as this may be. There are such other important elements as the human and technological experts.
- ii. Dependence on the donor community or development partners requires that the AUBP as well as the RECs, States and other beneficiaries should be assisted with the necessary capacity-building for understanding the external environment, including a good knowledge of the donors' preferences.
- iii. African decision-makers and philanthropists also stand in need of being specially targeted for sensitization to make contributions.

- i. Points (ii) and (iii) above call for consideration for specialized training and, more particularly, the creation of specialized desks and focal points in the AUBP, RECs and National Agencies, completely dedicated to fund-raising to support the AUBP. Much of the recommendation in the Report of the Working Group 4 has, happily, been anticipated by some of the AUBP Unit's own action plans. These include:
- ii. The preparation of a 2012-2017 Strategic Plan, drafted by a consultancy firm. This was the subject of a meeting of experts and some shareholders in April 2012.
- iii. A donor conference in 2013, similar to the first in Djibouti in early December 2007. The Strategic Document, billed to be further perfected before the conference, would facilitate the discussions at the 2013 Conference. The cardinal objective of turning the searchlight for resource mobilization inward must prioritize attention on existing 'best practices' within Africa, with a view to capitalizing on them and ensuring their replication elsewhere in the continent. They include:
 - i. The concrete example of complete funding by Nigeria, jointly with Benin and Niger, to demarcate and re-affirm their common borders. A similar achievement is credited to Mali vis-à-vis Algeria and Kenya vis-a-vis Uganda.
 - ii. Even in cases, such as in Mozambique, where external support has been important, the contributions of the technical skills, labour and service by Mozambique and limitrophe countries must not be underestimated, but properly demarcated. Add Nigeria's self-funding of its border region's development programme, and Benin's initiative of the EU Commission-funded study for its border region development plan. A similar observation applies to the enormous local input made into the execution of the research project organized in 1994-1996 by the UN Centre for Regional Development Africa Office in Nairobi to sensitize the planned development of border regions in Eastern and Southern Africa.





BALANCING THE GAINS

Between the AUBP and IPSS

The IPSS Colloquium, from all accounts, has delivered on the set goal of responding ‘to the demand and need of the AUBP, specially’. As noted and elaborated in Section 2, the Colloquium brought the AUBP back to the university environment in acknowledgement, as it were, that the original ideas that informed its design first took root within formal research environments. Hopefully, the Programme has gained in energy and vitality from this first home-coming since its delivery as Africa’s flagship policy apparatus for border governance in African integration.

The question in this concluding Section of the narrative on the Colloquium is whether or not the IPSS and Addis Ababa University, as windows on the wider world of other African universities and research

institutions, has also gained in insight and vision. What implications and indications for follow-up research and training in support of AU in its quest for appropriate responses to the continent’s myriad peace and security challenges, with special reference to the border issues focused at the Colloquium? To answer these and related questions is to be able to predict the future, a task that is obviously beyond the scope of this handbook. What can, of course, be done is to offer some suggestions for the consideration of the IPSS, AAU, and indeed, other African universities and research institutions; and to do this, we have chosen to go the conventional wisdom way of stepping back in time in order to safely leap forward into the future.

Since the collaborative research efforts of these research institutions were driven by demands and needs of the OECD-SWAC, formerly OECD SAHEL Club, created in response to disasters and tragedies of periodic droughts and famines in the mostly Francophone Sahelian zone of west Africa, the focus was on the subject of food security, notably agricultural production



Looking Back to Move Forward

The past that brought about the Colloquium, which itself is fast receding into history, is one of fruitful dialogue, between the man of affairs who has not the time to organize the knowledge he needs to make sound public decisions, on the one hand; and, on the other, the man of science whose stock in trade is to collect and analyze data but has no power of policy decision. With particular reference to African border policy history, which culminated in the adoption of the AUBP in 2007, it has already been noted how much debt is owed to a burgeoning of research output in the relevant area of borderlands studies, that has been on the upward swing since the mid-1960s but had only begun to be noticed by Africa policy-making in the mid-1980s at the levels, first, of certain states and regions, notably Nigeria

and Mali in West Africa, where borderlands perspective research was first concentrated, and ultimately, the African continental level itself.

The instructive point here is that the observable effect of the coupling between African borderlands studies and policy-making is a further entrenchment and phenomenal expansion of academic interest and productivity. The OECD-SWAC's interest in West African integration is, for example, known to have singularly driven fundamental research projects in cross-border exchanges by many universities in the region, notably in francophone countries, principally Benin, which networked with others in France. Of particular significance in this regard was the networking partnership between the expertise initially based in the

Department of Geography and History of the Faculty of Arts (FLASH – Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines) of the Université nationale du Bénin (UNB), Cotonou, now Université d'Abomey-Calavi, Republic of Benin, in West Africa and, in France, INRA-ESR (Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique (Département d'Économie et Sociologie rurale), Montpellier, and IRAM (Institut de Recherche et d'Application des Méthodes de Développement), in Paris.

Since the collaborative research efforts of these research institutions were driven by demands and needs of the OECD-SWAC, formerly OECD SAHEL Club, created in response to disasters and tragedies of periodic droughts and famines in the mostly Francophone Sahelian zone of west Africa, the focus was on the subject of food security, notably agricultural production and cross-border trade in cereals and other agricultural products (local and imported). Because of its regional status, research attention came to be focused on Nigeria and the impact of its cross-border business transactions with its immediate neighbours. Hence the typical publication of the OECD Sahel Club, titled *Market Driven Integration in the Eastern Sub-Region, Nigeria's Impact on its Immediate Neighbours*, published in 1993, to mark the end of the collaborative research undertaken from 1987 to 1992.

Eventually, the Cotonou/Abomey-Calavi-based expertise pulled out of mainstream university framework and got reconstituted into LARES (Laboratoire d'Analyse Régionale et d'Expertise Sociale), Cotonou, a lucrative privately incorporated consultancy outfit which, however, has continued to draw on the human resources in the local university and



partner institutions in France. LARES has also remained a privileged recipient of research grants of OECD-SWAC and inter-related French funding institutions, notably those of French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. LARES' success story as a scholarly and policy-sensitive research institution has continued to be celebrated in the wide range of esteemed publications including the book, *Frontières, Espaces de Développement Partages* (Paris: Karthala, 2010), co-edited by Professor John Igue, LARES' founder and Scientific Director and one of the lead



participants at the IPSS Colloquium. A Collection of essays by the mostly local younger experts raised under the auspices of LARES, the book was brought to the attention of the Colloquium participants.

On the other side of Benin's eastern border with Nigeria was what simultaneously emerged as the Lagos School of African Borderlands Studies, based in the Department of History, University of Lagos, Yaba, Lagos. As with its Cotonou counterpart, the evidence here is also one of mutually productive interaction between scholarly research output

and eventual patronage by policy making. Beginning with the highly policy-impactful Inaugural Lecture of the School's protagonist, titled *Artificial Boundaries*, delivered and simultaneously published in December 1984, public interest and advancement of cognate scholarly research became manifest not only with the invitation to participate in the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) Research Project on Border Security and Defence (1985-1987) which, as already noted, led to the creation of the National Boundary Commission, there was also the funding support by the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs for the hosting of the first in the Series of University of Lagos Faculty of Arts Annual Seminars, focused on Issues of Borderlands in Africa in March 1985.

The Seminar resulted in the book, *Borderlands in Africa: A Comparative and Multidisciplinary Focus on Nigeria and West Africa* (Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1989) which, in spite of its numerous editorial shortcomings, has remained an internationally acclaimed contribution to the rapidly growing comparative borderlands research literature. Of similar import were the subsequent publications arising from the programme of the National Boundary Commission, notably the books on the proceedings of the Consultative Transborder Cooperation Workshops and Border Region Development, initiated by the same protagonist of the University of Lagos School of Borderlands Studies when he served as foundation Commissioner (International Boundaries) of Nigeria's National Boundary Commission from 1988-1994. The illustrations include the books on *The Nigeria-Niger Transborder Cooperation* (Lagos and Oxford: Malthouse Press, 1993);



The Nigeria-Benin Transborder Cooperation (Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1994); The Nigeria- Equatorial Guinea Transborder Cooperation (Lagos: National Boundary Commission, 1997); and Border Region Development (First and Second Editions, 1993 and 2007) (Lagos: National Boundary Commission,);

The reputation of the scholarly and policy-sensitive research activities of the Lagos School of African Borderlands Studies transcended the Nigerian shores. Especially spectacular in this respect was the MacArthur Foundation-supported Programme on International Cooperation in Africa (PICA), jointly initiated by the highly reputed Program of African Studies and Programme on International Cooperation of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, U.S., and launched in the Fall of 1989/1990. it is explicitly stated that PICA drew its inspiration from the findings of the now well known edited volume titled Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations Across

Africa's International Boundaries, 1884-1984 (Lagos / London / New York : University of Lagos Press/ C.Hurst and Co. Publishers / St. Martin's Press, 1984/1985). In the words of its proponents.

[PICA] is an interdisciplinary research program that... looks at the problems and opportunities presented by national borders established by colonial powers and inherited, largely without modifications, by African states at independence. Research will revolve around a broad range of regional issues that have implications for more than one African country and involve cooperation between African countries. These include, for example, the problem of refugees; labour migration; famine and drought; environmental management; public health; local economic and social relations between communities across borders; languages and lingua Franca spoken across borders; the politics of Islam ... Special attention will be given to public policy aspects of these and other issues



... (PICA Doc cited in Asiawaju, A.I. *Artificial Boundaries/ Les Frontieres Artificielles* 1990, 7-8)

An earlier exposure of the Lagos School of 'modern border studies' to the North American comparative perspective was the involvement of its leader in the U.S-Mexico Borderlands Research, based in University of Texas at El Paso Centre for Inter-American and Border Studies (UTEP-CIABS) from April to September 1983. This resulted in a seminal seminar presentation published in November under the title of *Borderlands Research: The U.S.-Mexico Comparative Perspective on Africa with Focus on Nigeria* (N0.6 Border Perspective Series UTEP, CIABS), and wider acknowledged contributions as a member of the Association of Borderlands Studies (ABS), so enrolled in 1983, and elected into the Governing Board in 1999-2002 and honoured with appointment to the International Advisory Editorial Board of its *Journal of Borderlands Studies* (JBS) since its inception in 1986.

The extension of the same influence into Europe came with the invitational participation in the work of the now well-known International Boundaries Research Unit (IBRU) of the University of Durham in England, U.K., since the inception of the Unit's famous bi-annual Conferences in September 1989. There were also important research engagements in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France, in 1984 and again 1990 and 1999. But, by far, the most profound exposures to the European comparative research environment has been the invitations to the University of Edinburgh Centre for African Studies in 1993 and the same university's International Social Science Institute (ISSI) in 1996/1997, the first resulting in the co-edited book on *African Boundaries: Barriers, Conduits and Opportunities* (London: Frances Pinter, 1996), with a Spanish edition published in Barcelona in 1998. In September 2000, the Lagos School of African borderlands studies was formalized by the decision of the Senate of University of Lagos to



establish the University's own Center for African Regional Integration and Border Studies (CARIBS), aimed at replicating PICA for Africa. The African Regional Institute at Imeko, Ogun State, for training and research in cross-border initiatives and border region development, operates essentially as an extension of CARIBS in a typical 'Cross-Border Area' or 'Pays frontiers'

Since the AUBP, the trend of mutual reinforcement between borderlands research and policy-making has continued to be on an upward swing. Of the several illustrative engagements, two stood out very prominently. The first was the initiation of a UNESCO-sponsored Series of National Seminars on the theme of 'Nation-State and the Challenge of Regional Integration in West Africa', which resulted not only in the range of fascinating publications on the national case studies by Karthala Press in Paris, but also in the establishment of the West Africa Institute in Cape Verde, to which we have made references, as Professor Igue, one of the

participants at the Colloquium, has been the foundation Director-General.

The second is the Edinburgh-based African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE), initiated shortly after the AUBP Planning Meeting of Technical Experts in Bamako in March 2007 and established in Edinburgh at a foundation conference on 13 June 2007, just the week after the formal Declaration of the AUBP in Addis Ababa on 7 June 2007. ABORNE has enjoyed a major funding by the European Science Foundation for its ever increasingly prominent programme of outstanding annual conferences and publications series, including a Special Issue of the ABS' prestigious Journal of Borderlands Studies, titled 'From Empiricism to Theory in African Border Studies' (Vol. 25, No. 2, 2010), guest-edited by David Couplan, Chair in Social Anthropology, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. ABORNE, significantly, is a scientific partner of the AUBP, based on a Memorandum of Understanding between both.



Looking at the Future in the Face

Given this scenario that interaction with policy-making has been quite positive for the advancement of 'limeology', as someone has called the scientific study of boundaries and borderlands, the IPSS Colloquium on Border Governance for African Integration can only be expected to lead to the further flowering of research and training programmes on the subject, both at IPSS and the wider AAU community as well as other African universities and research institutions. The evidence of the expansion of interest in border and borderlands research in support of the AUBP is provided by a report of funding of Higher Degree Courses, mostly at doctoral levels, in some African universities by the GIZ-AU Desk in Addis.

Though this begs the more systematic and comprehensive approach, indicated in all Declarations of the Conference of Ministers In Charge of Border Issues since the first in 2007, asking for a prior comprehensive Inventory of Relevant Research Institutions and Programmes in and outside Africa, the current effort will hopefully be advanced into a more

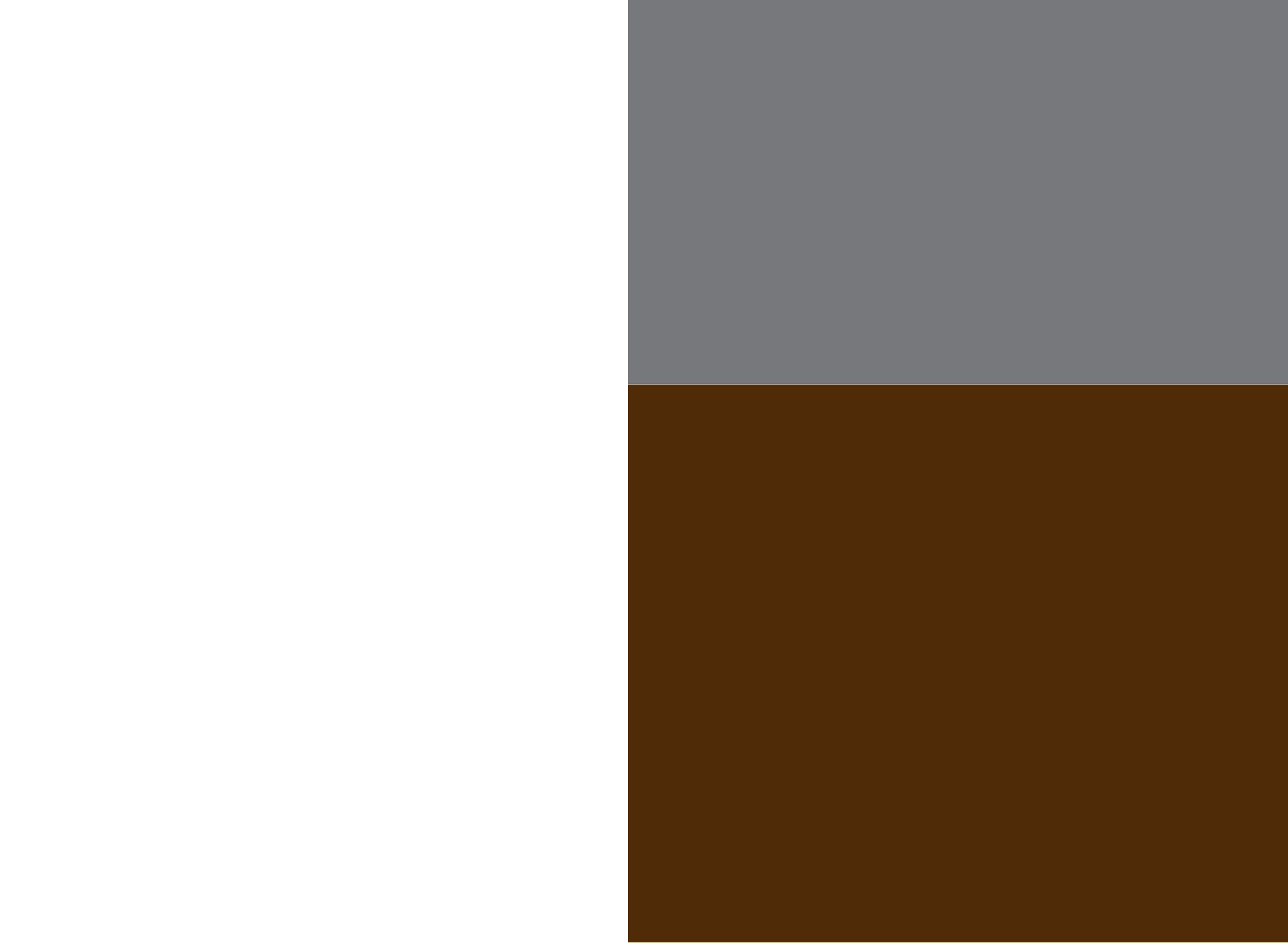
thorough survey study that would facilitate a more rational choice of university institutions that should serve as Centres of Excellence deserving appropriate support. At that stage, support would be based on a rationalized competition among candidates in more systematically selected and networked universities with records as recognized 'Centres of Excellence'.

For IPSS specifically and AAU in general the expectations must include:

- i. A reinvigoration of existing policy-instant research projects in South Sudan, Somalia and the DRC;
- ii. Expansion of more fundamental theoretical and empirical research that must lead to a more visible connection with older faculties in the near-by Main Campus, notably the Faculties of Arts; Social Science; Law; Medicine with special reference to Public Health and Epidemiology, and so on;
- iii. Enrichment of the existing Masters Degree Courses, by inserting explicitly border-focused Modules (History, Politics, Economics, Geography, etc.);
- iv. Outreach programmes for:
 - (a) Border-Enforcement Agency Personnel, to stimulate Cross-Border Cooperation for Border Security Management, including the practice of joint patrols;
 - (b) Regional Planner, to focus on Border and Cross-Border Regional Planning and Development;
 - (c) Border Community Development Associations, Youth and Women's Groups, Local and Territorial Authorities and Communities, focusing on Cross-Border Initiatives.

Participants in the Colloquium and other readers of this handbook, based in the Universities in other parts of the continent may consider these and other suggestions for their own institutions as well.





BORDER GOVERNANCE FOR AFRICAN INTEGRATION: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGES

HANDBOOK ON THE MAIDEN EDITION OF THE IPSS ANNUAL COLLOQUIUM
SERIES ON TOPICAL ISSUES OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA