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"Democracy, Regionalism, and the Search for Pax Africana"



"Pax Africana" refers to the movement toward African self-pacification and self-stabilization; "Pan-Africanism," a quest for African unity. There is a distinction between Pan-Africanism of liberation and Pan-Africanism of integration. The former occurs when Africans unite in pursuit of independence, or against apartheid, colonialism, or racism. There has been spectacular progress in Pan-Africanism of liberation. Pan-Africanism of integration refers to Africans uniting to further development and national advancement. Pan-Africanism of integration has been on the whole a failure.

"Pan" movements are born out of a combination of nightmare and dream, of anguish and vision. Pan-Europeanism had two parents, poetry and war. Poetry provided the vision of being

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European; war provided the practical impetus through conquest as nations expanded and contracted, or through the desire to avoid future war. Likewise, the United Nations was born out of the nightmare of World War II and the dream of peace.

Will some future crisis lead to Pan-Africanism of integration? The stimulus for Pan-Africanism has been the combination of poetry and imperialism rather than poetry and war. **The poetry of democracy in Africa has been thwarted by imperialism: the artificial borders created by colonial rule, the standing armies inherited from the colonial order, and the painful gap between new political institutions and old cultural continuities.**

The balance between these three impediments varies from country to country. In some countries one is a bigger cause than another. In Rwanda and Burundi, their boundaries are not artificial and the Hutu and Tutsi have been living together for generations. So why are they killing each other? There is a gap between the new political institutions and old cultural realities, and the conflict has been militarized.

How can regional integration help? The danger of genocide will continue in Rwanda and Burundi unless regional integration takes place. They need to enter into a federation with Tanzania which would make them part of a larger area far less homogeneous than Rwanda and Burundi, but a little more stable. Minimum levels of stability are indispensable for democracy. A voluntary federation is likely to yield constitutional guarantees for all parties, including a Bill of Rights.

Are there forms of recolonization which are positive? European recolonization is definitely negative. Would a U.N. trusteeship, provided it is not administered by Europe, be benefi-

cial? What if it were administered by India, or strong African countries?

There are precedents. In 1964, President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika was under great pressure from President Lyndon Johnson to take over Zanzibar because Johnson thought it would be another Cuba on the East African coast. President Nyerere got Dictator Abeid Karume of Zanzibar to help create the United Republic of Tanzania. Nobody consulted the Zanzibarees as to whether they wanted to give up their independence or being represented in the United Nations. Their sovereignty was extinguished through inter-African colonization. It was a forced marriage, but the terms between the two countries were very good. The republic still exists today.

In 1979, Tanzania moved troops into Uganda, all the way to Kampala, to throw out Idi Amin, a dictator responsible for eight years of brutality.

Is it conceivable for Africans to control each other more benevolently? I think it can be done, but it needs to be institutionalized. We need a miniature U.N. within Africa, an African Security Council, complete with five permanent members: one in the North, Egypt; one in the South, South Africa; one in the West, Nigeria, not yet stable, but we're thinking long term; one in the middle, Zaire, very unstable at the moment; and one on the East, Kenya or Ethiopia.

Along with these five pivotal powers, we can have a Pan-African emergency force and an African High Commissioner for Refugees. Africans don't participate in their own decision-making, let alone in financing their rescue operations. We need to participate in dealing with our own problems.

The ultimate goal of regional integration is federation. Will there be an African Federation continent-wide? I don't think it will happen in the near future, but I do think sub-regionally, some-

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thing like federations are quite feasible in Eastern Africa, in North Africa, in West Africa, and in Southern Africa. The last is possible under the leadership of the Republic of South Africa since apartheid has ended. The most urgent is a federation of Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania -- a merger between the old German East Africa, combining Tanganyika, Rwanda, and Burundi -- and the subsequent East African community, combining Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda.

The future of democracy in Africa is linked with both Pax Africana and regional integration. The goals of democracy and Pan-Africanism have had a long history in Africa. We've had enough nightmare. It's time for poetry and dreams.