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**SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN BORDERLANDS.
TOWARDS NEW THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL
APPROACH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA**

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PART ONE

DIAGNOSIS OF THE SITUATION
AND IMPACT OF THE COLONIAL HISTORY

Problem of borders and borderland is crucial for contemporary Africa, especially for Sub-Saharan Africa. Today's borders in Africa do not entirely correspond to ethnic divisions, they are tracing the borders of former colonies. Made by the European states, especially at the Berlin Conference in 1885, separation appeared to be a completely arbitrary division¹, which did not respect the existing natural, cultural or ethnic borders of these

¹ More on this topic read: *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: the Berlin Africa Conference 1884–1885 and the Onset of Partition*, ed. S. Förster, W.J. Mommsen, R. Robinson, Oxford–New York 1988. Clear example of the arbitrary divisions of borders in Africa by the colonizers is the small British colony of Gambia, “small state like a sword that cuts the territory of Senegal – a former French colony”, <http://www.miedzykulturowa.org.pl/cgi-bin/blosxom.cgi/czytelnia/kolonializm> [30.11.2009].

areas (geometric borders represent more than 40% of all interstate borders in Africa). They marked the sphere of influence of colonial powers.

In the late 50^s and early 60^s of the 20th century as well as in the following decades leaders and governments of newly independent states in Africa faced a very important and fundamental problem of the border determination of the new political bodies. While creating the African Charter as the basic document of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa in 1963, it was decided that the old colonial boundaries would serve as obligatory border lines of newly independent states. Thus, the newly independent African states have taken the borders established by the colonial powers. In this way petrification of colonial boundaries division has appeared in Africa. The consequences of those decisions had demographic, social, economic, cultural and of course political outcomes.

Using the terminology of Clifford Geertz, this led to two phenomena: “suffocation” of many ethnic groups through their mixed interference in one state space and the “dismemberment” or in other words division of one ethnic group into two or more as a result of existing borders of two or more countries in Africa². This issue was recently pointed out by the following scholars: Matthew Carter, Robert H. Jackson, Jeffrey Herbst, Pierre Engelbert, Carl G. Rosberg and Stacy Tarango³.

In practice, many times there were situations that areas inhabited by one ethnic group (people or tribe) have been divided among several countries. Existing of two different and often hostile to each other ethnic groups in one state had the most tragic consequences. The functioning of these groups in one a state organism forced them to fight for power, which often was accompanied by bloody carnage. It is claimed that these “old-

² C. Geertz, *The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States*, [in:] *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, ed. C. Geertz, New York 1963, passim.

³ P. Engelbert, S. Tarango, M. Carter, *Dismemberment and Suffocation: A Contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries*, “Comparative Political Studies” 2002, Vol. 35, No. 10, pp. 1093–1118; J. Herbst, *The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa*, “International Organization” 1998, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 673–692; R.H. Jackson, C.G. Rosberg, *Why Africa’s Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood*, “World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations” 1982, Vol. 35, pp. 1–24.

new” boundaries themselves appeared to be a source of many conflicts. There is a large number of tragic examples such as the existence of two hostile tribes, the Hutus and Tutsis, in the territory of modern Rwanda⁴.

To summarize, the boundaries of the colonial and postcolonial Africa were drawn in most cases without taking into account the areas inhabited by different ethnic groups, which resulted in conflicts based on that background, as well as in conflicts for access to natural resources. The views on the absurdity of most post-colonial borders in Africa are also met in journalism⁵. The scale of the problem is caused by the immense ethnic diversity of Africa (over 1.5 thousand ethnic groups) and the fact that during the pre-colonial period there existed native states and kingdoms in a large part of Africa⁶.

ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE SITUATION IN THE PAST

The Concept of dividing the country into provinces, which to some extent preserved the boundaries of ethnic groups and gave the provinces a specific internal autonomy, appeared to be a solution with little effectiveness as regards overcoming the “old-new” borders in Africa. The process of shaping political systems as federal states to overcome the problem of borders and borderlands was conducted in a very ineffective way. In fact provinces never possessed real autonomy and central governments were very anxious to grant it because of fear of separatism and domestic war.

As mentioned above, until recently, the perception of the boundaries issue in Africa was different and had a negative dimension. Focus was put on the legacy of colonialism⁷, and creation of the independent state bodies with the implementation of the nation state concept, promoting the idea of pan-Africanism or revolutionary slogans of African society building and based on the ideology of Marx-Lenin was considered as a way to overcome the “old-new” or “artificial/absurd” borders in Africa.

⁴ J. Bar, *Rwanda*, Warsaw 2012, passim.

⁵ I.e. W. Jagielski, *Spokojna republika orzeszkowa*, „Gazeta Wyborcza” 14.09.2000.

⁶ More on this topic: M. Tymowski, *Państwa Afryki przedkolonialnej*, Wrocław 1999.

⁷ I.e. T. Łetocha, *Granice i spory terytorialne w Afryce*, Warsaw 1973.

The problem of borders, and especially borderlands in Sub-Saharan Africa was relatively rarely perceived by Western politicians and government agencies and was presented in a negative perspective as threats not opportunities (SWOT analyses). Western activity was focused on centralized aid to African governments as the main beneficiaries and did not tackle the problems of population of borderlands in a serious way. In turn NGOs' activity on borderlands was ineffective and disperse as well as an overlap. Even African democratic governments which emerged after the waves of democratization of the continent (with support of the West) are not able to solve the problem or, what is more, do not even notice it.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

At present, as far as borders and borderlands are concerned, there exist new research which approaches the new concepts of the politicians and NGOs.

Since the second half of the 90^s of the 20th century the scientific world has been dealing with innovative notions for regional integration and the new role of borders and borderlands. This trend is called New Regionalism, which is a characteristic feature of the globalization era and is treated not only as a result of global processes, but much more as a challenge or search for the response for a new reality in the world. Furthermore, in contradiction to earlier approaches, it examines the processes of regionalization not only from the formal (official), but also from the informal perspective. According to Bjoern Hettne "new regionalism" is developing in the new reality of the multi polar world, which gives it more room for action (maneuver), it is much more spontaneous and results from the need for cooperation in the face of global challenges; presupposes openness and integration in a world economy; with a preferential nature of relationships within the region; is much more complex and involves many areas of international cooperation; co-operation involves not only states but various stakeholders such as representatives of civil society and international organizations⁸.

⁸ *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, ed. B. Hettne, A. Inotai, O. Sunkel, New York 1999, pp. 6–9.

The theoretical basis of this New Regionalism Approach is being formed, and as far as representatives of this trend are concerned the following scholars are most often mentioned: Daniel Bach, Björn Hettne, András Inotai, Timothy M. Shaw, Fredrik Söderbaum and Osvaldo Sunkel⁹. “New Regionalism”, however, focuses mainly on the economic sphere, less on the political and rare social and cultural (including ethnic). The growing attention in scientific works is paid to the African continent¹⁰.

As regards Poland the “new regionalism” is in the process of emerging as a paradigm in scientific research¹¹. There appear first publications on

⁹ *Theories of New Regionalism*, eds. F. Söderbaum, T. Shaw, Basingstoke 2003, passim.

¹⁰ Read: M. Boas, H. Hvee, *Regionalisms Compared: The African and Southeast Asian Experience*, [in:] *Comparing Regionalisms. Implications for Global Development*, eds. B. Hettne, A. Inotai, O. Sunkel, Basingstoke 2001; C. Lesser, E. Moisé-Leeman, *Informal Cross-Border Trade and Trade Facilitation Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa*, “OECD Trade Policy Working Papers” 2009, No. 86, pp. 1–54; I.B. Lundin, F. Söderbaum, *The Construction of Cross-Border Regions in Southern Africa: the Case of the “Maputo Corridor”*, [in:] *Globalization, Regionalization and Cross-Border Regions*, eds. M. Perkmann, Ngai-Ling Sum, London 2002; B. Odén, *New Regionalism in Southern Africa: Part of or Alternative to the Globalization of the World Economy?*, [in:] *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, eds. B. Hettne, A. Inotai, O. Sunkel, Basingstoke 1999; *Regionalisation in Africa: Integration and Disintegration*, ed. D. Bach, Oxford 1999; T.M. Shaw, *Africa in the Global Political Economy: Globalization, Regionalization or Marginalization*, [in:] *The New Regionalism and the Future of Security and Development*, eds. B. Hettne, A. Inotai, O. Sunkel, London 2000; M. Schulz, F. Söderbaum, J. Öjendal, *Key Issues in the New Regionalism: Comparisons from Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, [in:] *Comparing Regionalisms. Implications for Global Development*, eds. B. Hettne, A. Inotai, O. Sunkel, Basingstoke 2001; F. Söderbaum, *The Role of the Regional Factor in West Africa*, [in:] *The New Regionalism and the Future of Security and Development*, eds. B. Hettne, A. Inotai, O. Sunkel, London 2000; idem, *The New Regionalism in Southern Africa*, “Politeia” 2000, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 75–94.

¹¹ As regards topic of „new regionalism” in Poland read: E. Stadtmüller, *Regionalizm i regionalizacja jako przedmiot badań naukowych w stosunkach międzynarodowych*, [in:] *Regionalizacja w stosunkach międzynarodowych. Aspekty polityczno-gospodarcze*, eds. K. Jędrzejczyk-Kulinak, L. Kwieciński, B. Michalski, E. Stadtmüller, Toruń 2008, pp. 22–27; H. Dumala, *Regiony międzynarodowe w teorii i praktyce*, [in:] *Regiony w stosunkach międzynarodowych*, eds. I. Topolski, H. Dumala, A. Dumala, Lublin 2009.

this subject¹², and collective studies put focus on characteristics of regional organizations in Africa¹³.

The theoretical concepts of “micro-regionalism”, which were developed from “new regionalism” also apply to Africa¹⁴. There is also an increasing amount of case studies, which take into account aspects of formal, and especially informal activities¹⁵. Despite this until now most researchers who investigate African borders and borderlands were concentrate on economic issues, sometimes on political matters but rarely on the social and culture complexity of the problems. Meantime they considered only the formal activity not informal which is very characteristic to the African continent. Also very few comparative works on specific borderlands were prepared.

Institutions and research networks that bring together researchers dealing with the issue from a global and African perspective or non-governmental organizations that promote and implement the ideas of cross-border co-operation appear around the world. In its multifaceted research *Centre for International Borders Research*, CIBR, deals with the influence of glo]

¹² D. Bach, *Regionalizm, integracja i transnarodowa regionalizacja w Afryce*, [in:] *Regionalizacja w stosunkach międzynarodowych...*, pp. 268–288; H. Dumala, *Region Afryki*, [in:] *Regiony w stosunkach międzynarodowych...*, pp. 237–262.

¹³ D. Kopiński, *Unia Ekonomiczna i Monetarna Afryki Zachodniej (UEMOA)*, [in:] *Pozaeuropejskie ugrupowania integracyjne*, eds. J. Rymarczyk, M. Wróblewski, Wrocław 2006, pp. 259–277; idem, *Południowo Afrykańska Wspólnota Rozwoju (SADC)*, [in:] *Pozaeuropejskie ugrupowania integracyjne...*, pp. 278–296; K. Czernichowski, *Wspólny rynek Afryki Wschodniej i Południowej (COMESA)*, [in:] *Pozaeuropejskie ugrupowania integracyjne...*, pp. 297–310; idem, *Wspólnota Gospodarcza Państw Środkowoafrykańskich (ECCAS)...*, pp. 311–327; A. Nowak, *Organizacje integracji regionalnej*, [in:] *Organizacje w stosunkach międzynarodowych. Istota – mechanizmy działania – zasięg*, ed. T. Łoś-Nowak, Wrocław 2009, pp. 371–380.

¹⁴ F. Söderbaum, I. Taylor, *Considering Micro-Regionalism in Africa in the Twenty-first Century*, [in:] *Afro-regions – The Dynamics of Cross-border Micro-regionalism in Africa*, eds. F. Söderbaum, I. Taylor, Uppsala 2008.

¹⁵ Case studies cover: *the Maputo Development Corridor, the Zambezi Valley region, the Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique Growth Triangle, the Sierra Leone-Liberia border zone, cross-border micro-regions on the Horn of Africa, the Great Lakes region*, see: *Afro-regions – The Dynamics of Cross-border Micro-regionalism in Africa...*, passim.

balization and European integration on cross-border processes¹⁶. The African Borderlands Research Network, ABORNE is the best known entity engaged in African studies, established in 2007, which conducts interdisciplinary research on the entire spectrum of issues of borders and borderlands on the continent¹⁷. African Borderlands Theories Programme involves nine European countries, including Poland¹⁸. Polish researchers take part in scientific conferences and workshops organized by ABORNE¹⁹.

Additionally ABORNE undertake more practical activities. For example, ABORNE and African Union Border Programme signed a Memorandum of Understanding to formalize their working relationship (on 23 April 2011)²⁰.

There have emerged borderlands initiatives in a particular region of Africa, such as West African Borders and Integration, WABI that promotes cross-border cooperation as a prerequisite for regional development, integration and peace²¹, or the given issue has become a field of interest for the scientific African – study societies such as Belgian Association of Africanists, BAA. The above-mentioned institutions do not perceive the problem of boundaries in the traditional sense, but regard it as a decisive issue for the development of these areas in the economic, social, cultural and participatory democracy spheres.

¹⁶ More on this topic see: <http://www.qub.ac.uk/research-centres/CentreforInternationalBordersResearch/> [30.11.2009].

¹⁷ More on this topic read: <http://www.aborne.org/neu/index.php/research> [30.11.2009].

¹⁸ They are: Switzerland, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Portugal, Denmark, Austria, Great Britain and Poland. Poland is represented by Jerzy Zdanowski.

¹⁹ I.e. Krzysztof Trzcinski, (University of Warsaw), *Border issues as a topic in contemporary African philosophy*, The Third ABORNE Annual Conference, Johannesburg 2009; Andrzej Polus (University of Wrocław), *Does Botswana create a new Gaza Strip? The analysis of the 'fence discourse'*, The Fifth ABORNE Annual Conference, Lisbon 2011.

²⁰ <http://www.aborne.org/african-union-border-programme.html> [4.02.2012].

²¹ More on this topic read: http://www.afriquefrontieres.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=54&lang=en [20.11.2009]. In terms of the cross-border cooperation the following programmes have been realized: „One park, three countries” – 2005; „Long live cross-border areas” 2006; “Here, there, elsewhere... the migrants” – 2006; “Food security, a cross-border issue” – 2007.

EXISTING LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE –
AFRICA AND EUROPE

In addition to political will, practical political decisions concerning borders and borderlands in Africa are made, as well as a proper legal infrastructure is created. The Declaration of the African Union signed in Addis Ababa on 7 June 2007 concerning the promotion of the border / borderlands in Africa has positive features even in its title – conflict prevention and promoting integration²². The main aim is to create a united and integrated Africa with peaceful, prosperous and open borders.

Encouragement of cross-border integration development and promotion of various types of cross-border initiatives on a large scale it is to be directly inspired and carried out by local partners. It is assumed that a new form of pragmatic border management, aimed at promoting peace, security and stability, and opportunities for the acceleration of the integration process and sustainable development in Africa are to be formed. To help achieve that is the main task of a special research and education program as well as it is necessary to create so-called pilot regions.

Implementation of this program is carried out at three levels: continental, regional and national based on the principle of subsidiarity. Moreover, in order to implement this program the cooperation with partners outside Africa, mainly the United Nations, but, above all, with the European Union, including Association of European Border Regions, AEER is assumed to be formed. One of the last examples of the activity of AEER was a workshop on “Opportunities for Cross-border Cooperation in Africa” organized in the Canary Islands on 7–8 November 2011²³.

In addition, for several years, the African Union has been trying to coordinate the cooperation of the continent states as regards the delimitation and demarcation of borders. This process is supposed to be completed by 2012²⁴. In 2007, the chairman of the Peace and Security Council of that organization Said Djinnit stated that “the precise and appropriate bound-

²² *Declaration on the African Union. Border Programme and its Implementation Modalities. Preventing Conflicts, Promoting Integration*, Addis Ababa 7.06.2007.

²³ http://www.aebr.eu/en/news/news_detail.php?news_id=121 [25.01.2012].

²⁴ The current implementation of the delimitation and demarcation of borders in

aries determination would cement the process of African integration”²⁵. The problem of precise boundaries determination is so important that it is given that out of over 100 borders between countries in Africa as many as 80 of them are officially questioned²⁶ and less than 25% of them were delimited and demarked²⁷. The presence of many of these zones represents a real obstacle to the deepening of the integration processes within the continent.

A given issue is presented in the development programme of the African Union, earlier the Organization of African Unity – The New Partnership for Africa’s Development, NEPAD), especially in the implementation of infrastructure projects.

Programs concerning borders and borderlands are created in Africa by regional organizations. A special role is played by the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS. In October 2005, ECOWAS adopted the Convention on Cross – Border Cooperation²⁸ and prepared three memoranda in this regard during 2005 and 2006²⁹.

It should be underlined that it is a political wish among African leaders to promote ideas of cross-border cooperation and creation of Afroregions.

Africa leads to the conclusion that the process will be much longer. These procedures are given under control of sovereign states.

²⁵ *Unia Afrykańska: Wielka korekta granic*, <http://fakty.interia.pl/newsroom/news/unia-afrykanska-wielka-korekta-granic,921340> [30.11.2009].

²⁶ More on this topic read: *Róg Afryki*, eds. J. Mantel-Niećko, M. Ząbka, Warsaw 1999.

²⁷ *Declaration on the African Union. Border Programme and its Implementation Modalities. Preventing Conflicts, Promoting Integration*, Addis Ababa, 7.06.2007, p. 3.

²⁸ Cross-border cooperation should address the following areas: health, education, transport, tourism, transport infrastructure, industry, trade promotion, agriculture, environmental protection, energy. Text of the Convention in French see: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/37/24/38447627.pdf> [12.10.2009].

²⁹ ECOWAS Memorandum 1: “Cross-Border” Concept or Local Integration since 2005; ECOWAS Memorandum 2: “Assessment and Perspective of the Implementation of the Cross-Border Initiatives Programme” since 2006; ECOWAS Memorandum 3: “Cross-Border Initiatives Programme” since 2006, see: http://www.oecd.org/document/28/0,3343,en_38233741_38247095_38446876_1_1_1_1,00.html [20.11.2009].

The European Union is involved on the African borderlands³⁰. Although the document “The Joint Africa-European Union Strategy” adopted during the Lisbon Summit in 2007 and its “First Action Plan 2008–2010” is quite large and is missing direct references to the issue of borders, borderlands and cross-border cooperation on the African continent. The problem of borderlands and cross-border cooperation is not directly mentioned and is limited only to drinking-water, sanitary and security of energy matters³¹. Moreover, it is only given that, in accordance with the document signed on 3 June 1993 the Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, trade and integration is considered to be the basic elements of a broader process of regional integration and development³². However, the EU stresses the role of regional and sub regional organizations in the economic development of Africa. Meantime, the document signed agreements between the EU and African countries, unfortunately, do not significantly affect the development of intra-African market.

The following 3rd EU – Africa Summit in Tripoli, on 29–30 November 2010, however, focused mainly on conflicting issues. The third EU – Africa Summit also adopted the Second Action Plan (2011–13) of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy. In addition to the thematic partnerships previously mentioned in the Action Plan for 2008–2010, it was stated that the substantial engagement of African regional and sub-regional economic communities (RECs) is crucial for the EU – Africa Partnership³³.

³⁰ European Union pay main attention to the interregional cooperation, see: F. Söderbaum, L. van Langenhove, *The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism*, “Journal of European Integration” 2005, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 249–262; M. Farrell, *A Triumph of Realism over Idealism? Cooperation between the European Union and Africa*, “Journal of European Integration” 2005, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 273–280.

³¹ *Common strategy Africa-European Union and its first action plan (2008–2010)*, Brussels 2008, pp. 28, 77.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 16.

³³ *The Action Plan (2011–2013)*, <http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/node/398> [15.01.2012].

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN BORDERLANDS
AND THE ACTIVITY OF POLAND

Sub-Saharan Africa is a region marginalized in Polish foreign policy. The Polish declarative activity is a part of the activity related to bilateral and multilateral development assistance depending on the organization of cooperation with the given country – the recipient or the region and the ongoing initiatives realized at forums of international organizations. It forms part of the Millennium Development Goals adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2000. Supporting regional cooperation plays an important role in these efforts, and strengthening local structures and the development of cross-border cooperation is one of the most noticeable aspect of the given activity³⁴. Since 2004 Poland has been represented in the institutional structures of the European Union – a group of African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP), the Council of Ministers, Ambassadors Committee and the Consultative Assembly. Moreover, since 2007, Poland has participated in EU – Africa summits (twice)³⁵. Despite participation in the various structures of the European Union Polish activity in the context of building relations between the EU and Africa is moderate³⁶. Additionally, the Polish development assistance is not focused on Africa, and among the priority countries to which such assistance is directed on the list of the Polish Foreign Ministry there was only one African country – Angola. Similar fairly peripheral attitude to the involvement in the affairs of relations between the EU – Africa was observed during the Polish Presidency at the European Union Council (1.07.2011–

³⁴ *Strategy of Polish cooperation for development*, Adopted by the Council of Ministers on 21 October 2003, Warsaw, October 2003, p. 7; *Polish strategy for the developing countries outside Europe*, Warsaw, November 2004, p. 13. NB: the contents of these two documents overlap.

³⁵ K. Zajączkowski, *Polityka Unii Europejskiej wobec Afryki. Implikacje dla Polski*, „Debata” 2011, No. 6, p. 22.

³⁶ Paper by Jan Wieliński from the Department of Africa and the Middle East, the Polish Foreign Ministry under the title: “Institutional cooperation EU – Africa. The Polish experience” at a scientific seminar “The European Union – Africa. Challenges for the Polish Presidency”, Warsaw, 29 March 2010, „Studia Europejskie” 2011, No. 1, pp. 199–200.

31.12.2011)³⁷. The Polish Foreign Ministry has not developed any programs concerning the support of cross-border cooperation in Africa, including sub-Saharan Africa.

To sum up, the problem of borders and borderlands in Africa has little reflection in the activities of the Polish authorities. For now, the aim is to develop a comprehensive concept of Polish cooperation with Africa taking into account the need for bilateral relations and multilateral circumstances, especially in conjunction with the documents concerning the Strategic Partnership between Africa and the European Union adopted at the Second Summit of the European Union and Africa in Lisbon on 8–9 December 2007³⁸. From time to time the issues of borders and borderlands in Africa are taken into account by scholars in Poland, and the conference “The space and boundaries in contemporary Africa” (Olsztyn, 25 May 2009) and the publication of a post-conference volume can serve as an example for the scientific research in this regard³⁹.

³⁷ Paper by Patryk Kugiel from the Polish Institute of International Affairs under the title “Polish development assistance for Africa and the Presidency in the EU” at a scientific seminar “The European Union – Africa. Challenges for the Polish Presidency”, Warsaw, 29 March 2010, “Studia Europejskie” 2011, No. 1, pp. 205–207.

³⁸ See for ex. meeting on the activation of Polish collaboration with the African states from 2 April 2008, <http://www.ms.gov.pl/Wspolpraca,Polska,-,Afryka,,,UE,-,Afryka,16107.html>. [30.11.2009].

³⁹ The publication is entitled *Przestrzeń i granice we współczesnej Afryce (Space and borders in contemporary Africa)*, ed. by A. Żukowski, Serie Forum Politologiczne (Political Science Forum), Vol. 10, Olsztyn 2009, pp. 502. The contents includes following papers: Jacek Łapott, *The hidden dimension of the African space* (pp. 19–28); Rev. Jacek Jan Pawlik, *Living Space as Sacred Space: A Case Study from Konkomba People of North Togo* (pp. 29–48); Katarzyna Podyma, *Religious space in Africa. Islam – between religion and social movement – practice of everyday life* (pp. 49–68); Lucjan Buchalik, *Ethnic borders in relations between Mossi and Kurumba in Burkina Faso* (pp. 69–84); Tomasz Klin, *Africa in the classic and modern geopolitical thought* (pp. 85–112); Tomasz Bichta, *Boundaries, territory and space in Africa according to Achille Mbembe* (pp. 113–124); Bara Ndiaye, *Monetary space and borders in contemporary Africa – an example of AFC franc zone* (pp. 125–142); Maciej Plonowski, *Informal economy – factor strengthening or weakening regional integration in Sub-Saharan Africa* (pp. 143–188); Kamil Zajączkowski, *Territorial space and borders versus regionalism in Sub-Saharan Africa: African and European perceptions* (pp. 189–224); Arkadiusz Żukowski, *Sub-Saharan African borderlands – regions of cooperation or regions of hostility?* (pp. 225–242); Krzysztof Trzeciński, *The*

PART TWO

A NEW PROPOSAL ACCORDING TO THE NEW REGIONALISM AND MICRO REGIONALISM

Integration in terms of the African Union or many regional organizations similar in their geographic and subject matter, face many difficulties (membership of one state in a number of regional organizations of a similar nature). Having put aside the declaration sphere, one may get the impression that African authorities are reluctant to conduct actual integration. Despite the relatively large number of regional organizations and regional integration programs there is still a lack of real integration links, particularly on the borderlands.

A list of problems faced by modern African states is a long one. Among the unfavorable political phenomena it is necessary to underline the following: large internal instability of states, lack of effective state structures combined with an extremely extensive bureaucracy, numerous ethnic conflicts for power leading to civil war and the exodus of the population,

future of the African state and borders: an alternative perspective (pp. 243–262); Agnieszka Pawłowska, *German colonies in Africa in the Polish historiography* (pp. 263–278); Edward Janusz Jaremczuk, *The Sahel as a border zone between Sahara and rainy forests of Sub-Saharan Africa* (pp. 279–318); Rev. Jarosław Różański, *Diversity in recognition of borders and ownership of lands in the Republic of Chad* (pp. 319–336); Selim Chazbijewicz, *Political conflict on Western Sahara territory* (pp. 337–352); Degefe Gemechu, *Ethiopian border disputes with its neighbors: the endless war* (pp. 353–372); Wojciech Kotowicz, *Problems on the African-European border – Spanish enclaves in Morocco* (pp. 373–390); Akhmed Dzhanamirov, *A dispute about the Nile water supplies in the Central and North-East Africa: A short sketch of the problem* (pp. 391–402); Maciej Ząbek, *The Borders and national order of things and African refugees* (pp. 403–414); Anna Maria Bytyń, *Strangers among one's people – camps for internally displaced persons in Sudan* (pp. 415–428); Rita Sobczyk, *Senegalese Diaspora in Spain – a transnational community* (pp. 429–460); Aneta Pawłowska, *Common ground of artistic search in “white” and “black” art in the Republic of South Africa* (pp. 461–480); Anna Nadolska-Styczyńska, *To show Africa on two hundred square meters (after-thoughts of museum officer)* (pp. 481–498).

the world's most corrupt, particularly at the highest government levels. The list is even longer if you take into account negative phenomena in the economic, commercial and social spheres including the following aspects: low competitiveness of the economies with monoculture character (exporters of minerals and agricultural products); high transport costs (particularly for raw materials and export goods), the low level of trade between African countries on the background of the total foreign trade turnover (from few to several percent), poor transport infrastructure mainly adapted to overseas export, high tariffs and very long custom clearance procedures between African countries, high unemployment rates, especially in the provinces. Therefore, taking into account aspects emphasised above the implementation of the African Economic Community concept based on the European model seems unlikely.

In the case of sub-Saharan African countries in particular, cross-border cooperation may be considered as a remedy for the bulk of economic, social and political issues. A wide range of common border problems and threats may be solved through the cross-border cooperation.

Research indicates that the boundaries and border areas in Africa may be the source of economic opportunities for development and stabilization than the division of communities inhabiting them. Dismembered (split) ethnic groups inhabiting the border between different countries are not specially resistant against interstate borders, but they tend to form a strong identity on the border. The citizens in turn often successfully establish informal agreements and links with central government officials at the state border⁴⁰.

In contrast to Europe Africa lacks a strong attachment of residents to the state borders, especially of those who live in border areas, and the example may be the people of Zande (Azande) who as a result of the colonial division of Great Britain, Belgium and France appeared to be in

⁴⁰ J. Vorrath, *African Borderlands: Below, Beyond or Against the State?* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, 48th Annual Convention, Chicago, February 28, 2007, http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p179779_index.html [30.11.2009].

the territory of Sudan, Republic of Central Africa and the Belgian Congo (now Democratic Republic of Congo)⁴¹.

Cross-border cooperation is treated not as an aim, but as a tool for achieving the aim. It is based on the involvement of local authorities, NGOs and small private entrepreneurs, who often are connected by bonds of ethnic or religious character.

EXPERIENCES OF EUROPEAN BORDERLANDS AND EURO-REGIONS

In theoretical and practical stages of the “new approach” experiences of European borderlands and Euro-regions functioning should be used. Especially helpful are experiences of these cross-border cooperation areas which include territories of the European Union and NATO members and nonmembers. Exemplification of the problem could be Polish–Russian borderlands (Warmia and Mazury Region from the Polish side and Kaliningrad Region on the Russian side).

The research on the topic was conducted by the Institute of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn (Poland). As long as 10 years ago the Institute started a multi-aspect survey on socio-political reality of the Russian Kaliningrad Oblast and its international surroundings as well as Polish–Russian borderland. Among others the following topics were investigated: „Political, historical, economic, social and cultural determinants and specifically of the Polish–Russian borderland”; “The institutional-legal basics of contacts on Polish–Russian borderland concerning the role of legal and institutional factors in stimulating cross-border cooperation”; “Cooperation of regional and local authorities of Warmia and Mazury Region with the Kaliningrad Region”; „Polish foreign policy and cooperation with the Kaliningrad Region”; “European Union and cross-border cooperation with the Kalin-

⁴¹ As Polish missionary from the Order of Friars Minor reports: “(...) Little does it matter that the main road has sign saying «state border», 50 metres away there is a forest or savanna with thousands of tracks, contracting like cobwebs. Wandering the paths Zande had never paid attention to the fact that they cross borders, those were not their boundaries”, o. Kordian, http://www.misje-ofm.org.pl/misje2008/Skoczek__III.doc. [30.11.2009]

ingrad Region”; “Poland in relation to the Kaliningrad Oblast in the face of the changes in European political order”; “Cross-border cooperation of districts and communes through Euroregions ‘Baltic’, ‘Nieman’, ‘Lyna – Lawa’ and ‘Sesupe’”; “The level of local democracy on the Polish-Russian borderland and its implications for cross-border cooperation”; “Relations between citizen and office in the perspective of mutual cooperation on the Polish – Russian borderland” (see: among others research projects and publications of Marcin Chelminiak, Wojciech Kotowicz, Wojciech Tomasz Modzelewski, Arkadiusz Zukowski)⁴². The findings of the researchers show that cross-border cooperation defined as “small foreign policy”, impacts positively international and bilateral relations, regional stabilization and the development of the borderland.

STAFF OF THE PROJECT AND SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Who should conduct and implement such a project? At least four groups should be engaged. The staff should be recruited from researchers who have had previous experience in functioning European borderlands and Euro-regions, with particular knowledge of such specific territories as Polish – Russian borderland and other borderlands between the European Union. Three other groups should include: Africanists, mainly ethnologists, anthropologists, economists, lawyers, social scientists (who have had previous experience in the field of investigations in African borderlands); African researchers and members of local governments, leaders of local communities, local NGOs.

Owing to the situation of implementation of the project should be conducted on three levels: Sub-Saharan Africa (objective area – whole continent), regional and local (Afro-regions, borderlands). To achieve the goals of the project not only engagement of the European Union institutions, including Association of European Border Regions but also at least formal support from the United Nations and the African Union as well from African governments should be shown.

⁴² http://www.uwm.edu.pl/inp/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=94&Itemid=41&lang=pl [13.01.2012].

THE STAGES OF RESEARCH

The first stage of research should concern theoretical approach to the problem. The main aim would be an adoption of theoretical achievements of investigation regarding European regional policy, developments and cross-borderland studies for the contemporary African context using the latest findings included in works on African borderlands.

In the second stage of research further theoretical assumptions would be developed for more practical matters. On the basis of modern theories and experiences from case studies on African borderlands the model and region and cross-border cooperation will be created and conditioning factors of that model would be formulated (considering contemporary determinants and determinants from the past, e.g. possibility of raising the former pre-colonial ties on borderland, which may be regarded as dead at present. After that conclusion they will have a question and answer debatt – which borderland regions in Sub-Saharan Africa could fulfil criteria of the model and why.

The third stage of research should be related to empirical endeavours. Case study of the chosen borderland region (pilot Afro-region) would be conducted. The spectrum of investigation would cover economic, political, social and cultural aspects.

The project would possess interdisciplinary character, especially the third stage of research. The project should be compassed together with African partners.

IMPLEMENTATION AND RESULTS OF THE PROJECT

The results of the project should have not only strictly scientific dimension but should be useful for decision-makers. The future situation on borderlands is crucial for the African continent and particularly African states. Cross-border cooperation could make regions politically stable and then stimulate their sustainable development. Cross-border cooperation could start a real integration processes in Sub-Saharan Africa. Cross-border cooperation could have a great contribution, among other things, to: the minimization of border conflicts; limit of “unwilling” migrations,

mutual understanding between borderland inhabitants; shaping new common borderland identity, empowerment of self-governing (local governments); economic development; labour market; stimulation of education and cultural exchange; mutual initiatives in transport and telecommunication infrastructure and environment protection.

* * *

Cooperation in terms of Afro-regions should largely be based on the experience of Euro-regions, but necessarily must take into account African specifics, especially through the use of a far greater degree of informal cross-border economy and trade.

Borderlands as regions of cooperation constitute the realization of the idea of integration from the bottom. This will foster a process of open borders, which in turn will lead to a real acceleration of the integration processes. Moreover, on both sides of the border / boundaries it is possible to start the process of regional identity, especially among the young generation, which would be a kind of “resurrection” of existing links from the pre-colonial past.

From this perspective borderland may be considered as a response to the dangers posed by globalization and the actual policy of the West and the newly emerging state powers, particularly China, which continues to treat Africa as the main resource base for its economy.

The solution of borders and borderlands issue is deemed to be a key factor for overcoming a large number of contemporary African “disasters”. Cross-border cooperation is regarded as a *sine qua non* condition of regional development, integration and stability. A new approach should be absolutely based on the rank-and-file initiatives and should be implemented under the *principle of subsidiarity*. New positive perspectives should not only be the scientific approach but first of all a political concept – Sub-Saharan African borderlands should be regions of cooperation.

According to the submitted project of the „new approach” the Sub-Saharan African borderlands should turn into hotspots of peace and social and economic activity.