

African Journal of Defence, Security and Strategy

**GHANA ARMED FORCES COMMAND
AND STAFF COLLEGE**

VOLUME 1
AUGUST 2021

ISSN:

African Journal of Defence, Security and Strategy

VOLUME 1 (2021)

ISSN:

Published by:

Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College

Teshie

EDITORIAL BOARD

Chairman/ Editor-in-Chief

Rear Admiral Moses Beick-Baffour

Editor

Colonel Timothy Tifucro Ba-Taa-Banah, PhD

Professor Gordon Adika	- <i>University of Ghana</i>
Dr Kofi Amponsah-Bediako	- <i>Ghana Standards Authority</i>
Dr Vladimir Antwi-Danso	- <i>Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College</i>
Colonel Festus Aboagye (Rtd)	- <i>Ulinzi Africa Resources</i>
Colonel M'Bawine Atintande (Rtd)	- <i>University of Ghana</i>
Captain (GN) Ali Kamal-Deen (Rtd)	- <i>University of Professional Studies, Legon</i>
Dr Nene-Lomotey Kuditchar	- <i>University of Ghana</i>
Dr Naila Salihu	- <i>Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Centre</i>
Dr Alidu Seidu	- <i>University of Ghana</i>
Dr Ken Ahorsu	- <i>University of Ghana</i>

EDITORIAL ADVISORS

- Maj-General Nii Carl Coleman (Rtd) - *Institute for Democratic Governance*
- Professor Eboe Hutchful - *African Security Network*
- Professor Olukoshie Adebayo - *Nigeria*
- Professor Kwesi Aning - *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Centre*
- Colonel Emile Ouedraogo (Rtd) - *Burkina Faso*
- Colonel Comfort Ankoma-Danso (Rtd) - *Ministry of Defence, Ghana*
- Major Albert Don-Chebe (Rtd) - *Yela Associates and Communication Consultants*
- Mr. George Sydney Abugri - *Formerly of Graphic Communication Group*

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS

Nana Tuhufo Quagraine

Ms Fathia Lawal

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial	6
Nene-Lomotey Kuditchar	8
“Silencing African Guns” in the Age of Anthropocene: A Strategic Paradigm for the African Union	
Timothy T. Ba-Taa-Banah	43
Rethinking Strategy in the Quest for African State Capacity in Uncertain Times	
Napoleon Kurantin	67
The Application of Geospatial Intelligence in National Security for Sustainable Development: Resolving the Menace of Illegal Small-scale Mining in Ghana	
Seidu M. Alidu and Alhassan M. Kamil	93
Good Governance, Ecological Footprint and the Fight against <i>Galamsey</i> in Ghana: A Human Security Perspective	
Daniel Atobrah Bondah	114
Natural Resource Exploitation and National Security: A Case Study of Illegal Gold Mining in Ghana	
Isaac Ziem Aratuo	142
Outsourcing Defence Housing: A Comparative Study of the Defence Housing Australia and the Canadian Forces Housing Agency Initiatives	

EDITORIAL

The Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College has, since its establishment in 1963, contributed to scholarly knowledge. It has equally contributed to the development, quality, and maturity of its alumni across the African continent. The College has maintained a House Magazine – *The Flame* – through which students' articles and writings have been communicated to the outside world. The *African Journal of Defence, Security and Strategy* comes to complement existing structures of sharing knowledge generated in the College, by the alumni, affiliates, and stakeholders. This edition is the first-ever refereed academic journal of its kind to be produced by the Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College (GAFSC).

The granting of approval by the Governing Council, the Staff College Control Board, for the birth of the *African Journal of Defence, Security and Strategy* (AJODSS) marks a major milestone in the history of the College. The refereed journal does not just aim at generating and sharing academic knowledge among the local, continental, and global academic communities; it is also meant to stimulate and sustain the interest of graduates of the College and their associates in scholarly writing. It is hoped that articles will be of interest to policy makers across the public and private sectors. Above all, the underlying aim of the AJODSS is to add to scholarship by filling prevailing voids identified in the central thematic areas of Defence, Security, and Strategy as well as sub-thematic areas including Geo-Strategy and Geo-Politics, among others in a manner that captures and propagates the original African experience. These should not only be engaging and relevant to defence and security institutions, but also to industries and security experts with interests about Africa.

The journal which is modeled on the principles of Open Access shall be hosted via a dedicated web portal which shall be accessible at: www.ajodss.com. The journal shall have one edition per annum to coincide with the joint graduation ceremony of the Senior Command and

Staff Course and Master of Defence and International Politics course run by the College. Articles can be submitted through the journal's dedicated web portal by following the required procedures which are equally available on the portal. Alternatively, a prospective author can submit an article to the Office of the College Journal through the email address: editor_journal@gafscmil.edu.gh. Articles intended to be featured in the *African Journal of Defence, Security and Strategy* must meet world class scholarly standards. In this regard, the word count per submitted article should range between a minimum of 6000 and a maximum of 8000 words including references. The journal's accepted referencing style is the American Psychological Association (APA) style. Additionally, a maximum of 5 keywords per article; a single-spaced abstract of not more than 300 words; and a brief biography of the author(s), are required.

The articles in this maiden volume and edition of the *African Journal of Defence, Security and Strategy*, are a compilation of rigorous research and analyses undertaken by distinguished and knowledgeable scholars of African descent, on the thematic and sub-thematic areas of concern to the principles of the journal. Thus, the Office of the College Journal anticipates that these articles would be a good read and provide the journal's readership with an opportunity for a better appreciation of the subject matters conveyed by these articles to the target audience and consumers.

“Silencing African Guns” in the Age of Anthropocene : A Strategic Paradigm for the African Union

Nene-Lomotey Kuditchar¹

Abstract

The African Union (AU) while commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 2013 made a Solemn Declaration to make the continent peaceful at the end of 2020 which came to pass without the goal being achieved. In addition to pre-existing conflicts, wars induced by human-created ecological crisis – Anthropogenic conflicts – have also begun. The objective of this paper is to attempt a retroactive analysis of this outcome regarding the theoretical distinction between negative and positive peace. Using a macro-level normative qualitative analysis of secondary data and informed by Pan-Africanism, this paper argues that the prospects for peace have eluded the continent primarily due to the predominance of the negative peace approach (a colonial legacy) which privileges armed confrontation rather than a positive peace strategy which upholds the constructive resolution of conflicts through negotiated joint communal initiatives. Africa is replete with centuries-old traditions of positive peace which are still practised in local communities. Given that the negative peace model has not proved its worth and cannot address the root causes of war triggered by ecological crisis, the AU through the APSA ought to leverage and amplify the existing positive peace regimes of the continent to achieve the goal of silencing African guns.

Keywords: Anthropocene, Africa, Negative Peace, Positive Peace.

1 Dr Nene-Lomotey Kuditchar is a Lecturer at the Political Science Department of the University of Ghana. nkuditchar@ug.edu.gh.

Introduction: AU's Agenda 2063 and the Imperative of Formalized Pacific Pan-Africanism

In 2013 African governments, under the aegis of the African Union (AU), rededicated themselves to the ideals of Pan-African unity and signed a Solemn Declaration to that effect. The event, which was to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), was expressed as a commitment *to achieve the goal of a conflict-free Africa, to make peace a reality... , and to rid the continent of wars... and not bequeath the burden of conflicts to the next generation of Africans*. The OAU's Assembly of Heads of State and Government set to achieve the said objective at the end of 2020 (African Union, n.d.). Consequently, Agenda 2063, a continent-wide social contract made up of 7 Aspirations and detailing a 50-year transformation vision from 2013 to 2063, was adopted by the AU and civil society actors in 2015. The 4th Aspiration: *A Peaceful and Secure Africa*, popularly known as *Silencing the Guns*, stated that...

[M]echanisms for peaceful prevention and resolution of conflicts will be functional at all levels. As a first step, dialogue-centred conflict prevention and resolution will be actively promoted in such a way that by 2020 all guns will be silent. A culture of peace and tolerance shall be nurtured in Africa's children and youth through peace education. Africa will be a peaceful and secure continent, with harmony among communities starting at the grassroots level. The management of our diversity will be a source of wealth, harmony and social and economic transformation rather than a source of conflict. (African Union, n.d.)

Aspiration 4 was then operationalized through initiatives centred on the *African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)* made up of the *Panel of the Wise*, a *Continental Early Warning System (CEWS)*, the *African Standby Force (ASF)* and the *Peace Fund*. Other sub-institutions such as a *Military Staff Committee*, *Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution* (Ba & Cold-Ravnkilde, 2021) external

partnerships with, for example, the EU (Mabera, 2020) and the United States (Williams, 2011) were set up.

Be that as it may, the formal end of Aspiration 4's time run in 2020 did not coincide with a continent at peace with itself as anticipated. Just as was the case at the beginning of Agenda 2063, Africa is still home to the world's most fragile states (Fragile States Index, 2021) and with certain regions trapped in (intractable) war (Palik, Rustad, & Methi, 2020). The underlining factors for such disturbances include unresolved pre-colonial ethnic group differences (Zezeza, 2008; Nasong'o, 2015; Wig, 2016) and the conflict inducing structure of the African state (Zolberg, 1968; Raleigh, 2014). In recent times anthropogenic disruptions (environmental damage caused by human activities) have also been cited as important triggers of war on the continent. Indeed, several instances of violence are said to result from the effects of environmental damage interlocking with and sometimes superseding the underlying causes of armed confrontations (Kalmoy, 2019; Crawford, 2015)(Kalmoy, 2019; Hendrix & Salehyan, 2012; Mbiyozo & Maunganidze, 2021; Yanda & Bronkhorst, 2011; Crawford, 2015).

A close reading of the AU's 2014 Climate Change Strategy (2020-2030) reveals an implied awareness of the continent's susceptibility to the dangers posed by anthropogenically induced ecological stress. It notes that the continent is the 'most vulnerable' and 'least prepared' continent to manage the negative effects of climate change and related scourges. Consequently, the prospects of an African renaissance by way of developmental progress are imperilled (African Union, 2014, p. 12). Furthermore, in a communique issued by the APSA's PSC in 2021, the link between climate change and violence was affirmed. It recognized the need for the AU to more effectively mitigate the negative effects of climate change at both, national, regional and continental levels, and the imperative of a continental framework for a proactive response to the security threats posed by climate change-related phenomena (African Union, 2021).

The dawn of the AU signalled the intention of the continent's statesmen to chart a new path to enhance the human conditions of existence.

Nevertheless, and as is true with any human endeavour, how *intent* is conceptualized or how the ideational basis of aspirations is framed ultimately determines the pace and direction of progress, learning and re-evaluation. Whether or not *the will* to proceed on any given positive tangent evolution will occur is a function of the structure of concepts that drive and shape the character of interventions at any point in time (Potucek & Vass, 2019). This tendency also determines whether or not the credible commitment of critical constituents can be mobilized in support of public aspirations. A cursory assessment of efforts to achieve peace on the continent seems to be predominantly defined by the *negative* conception of peace: the cessation of violence. Negative peace is in contrast to a *positive peace* which includes and goes beyond the cessation of violence to embrace an open-ended quest to restore harmony in social transactions and communal initiatives such as a collective defence of the commons (Galston, 2013). As such, positive peace provides the ideational basis for interdependence and civility not only in human relationships but also between humans and natural systems and as such defines the logic which governs political relationships (Plater, 1996).

Unlike strained human relationships (e.g., war) caused by ideological differences or grievance through offence which may be resolved through confrontation, anthropogenic causes of unsettled human relationships cannot be addressed as such. Confrontation works only when rival actors are either vanquished or when the risk of attrition leads to a truce. Either way, peace achieved through confrontation lasts until dissatisfied actors (re)gain power to challenge the status quo (Weisiger, 2014; Luttwak, 2001; Parrish, 2017). The use of confrontation to resolve violent conflict rooted in anthropogenic factors is counterproductive in the long run even for actors who emerge victorious. This is because such an outcome does not tackle the root causes of violence in the first place; military confrontation may address a symptom, but not necessarily the underlying causes of violence. Thus, negative peace may be effective in the short to medium term but blunt in the long run.

The AU's experience with Aspiration 4 ought to be assessed in the light of the foregoing. This paper uses a macro-level, normative,

historiographical analysis to propose that the AU adopt the tenets of positive peace as its standard paradigm of conflict resolution. This is not to suggest that the AU is unaware of the imperative of this need. There is ample evidence to prove that the contrary is true. See (ACCORD, 2014, p. 16;26). What seems to be lacking is a concrete strategy which may guide a shift from negative to positive peace. This is the basis of the proposal made in this paper. The paper is structured as follows: the next section focuses on the colonial roots of the prominence of negative peace in Africa. This is followed by a sketch of the anthropogenic undercurrents of structural violence in Africa; an assessment of negative peace approaches to conflict resolution on the continent; an outline of the theory of positive peace as propounded by Galtung; a sampling of African positive peace experiments; discussions on the prospects for African positive peace systems; and proposals for an institutional redesign of the APSA instead of a conclusion.

A Note on Methodology and Method

This paper is based on a macro level normative descriptive analysis of historical data from secondary sources. Since it is based on a positive inclination towards the tenets of Pan-Africanism, it has a subjective taint and is informed by a personal conviction in harmonious human relation management regimes based on communal solidarity and the tolerance of diversity. It is also positively aligned to the Pan-African ideological orientation of the AU (Pardos, 2016). The historical data is sourced from reports, journal articles as well as published and unpublished resources. The theoretical foundation which informs the burden of this paper is primarily inspired by the humanitarian thinking of Galtung and *African sagacity* as propounded by Odera Oruka and Wiredu (Oruka, 1983; Wiredu, 1998). The theoretical methodology of this paper is thus in sync with the normative orientation of the AU in general and Agenda 2063 in particular. Being so, the theoretical contours of this piece provide a framework for a diffused critique of coercive methods as a means to manage conflict in African human systems.