Ethnicity and Nation Building in Contemporary Africa: A Perspective for Nonkilling

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Ethnicity and Nation Building in Contemporary Africa: A Perspective for Nonkilling

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Summary

The wish of every country is to have a harmonious, killing-free society where people's dreams for a prosperous future is realized, and goods of modernity properly distributed fairly. Hence the need for a unifying nation founded on the valued principles of freedom, equality and respect of individual and groups right. The relationships of ethnic groups are frequently difficult and often divides countries into antagonistic bed-fellows or sides partly because of perceived marginalization and threats. This kind of relationships are prevalent in post independent countries of sub-Saharan Africa where government and leaders are trying to create a measure of unity in a culturally diverse society.

Introduction

Governance is a creative art and no leader or government can boast of having a 'magic wand' to nation building in an ethnically diverse society without corruption and effectiveness. Evidently, the expectations of different ethnic groups and individuals have increased over time and the new breed of African leadership cannot afford to relent on their commitments to improve the well-being of their people.

This chapter is tailored to study the impact of ethnicity on the nation building project in Africa. Understanding this will also help us to explain the socio-political and economic problem inundating the continent and its implication for a nonkilling society. For comprehension, the concept of nonkilling was first

introduced into political science by eminent professor Glenn Paige of Hawaii University. He defined "nonkilling as "a human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threat to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change" (2002:1). Navigate the turbulent shores carefully and you will discover that nonkilling global science is not utopian but a safe anchor from the adversarial and lethal world of ours today. Nonkilling as a paradigm (see Evans Pim, 2009) shift is an upgrade in our perception and behavior which illuminates the world around us and impact the choices we make therein. This idea of a world free of killings challenges scholars and political leaders alike to change the adversary assumptions that defined humanity's social, religious, economical and political relations for decades. These assumptions were based on the belief that human beings are 'war-mongers' and that since there is not enough goods to be shared violent competition must be used to achieve a desired goal. This has polarized groups and pitted them against each other in the struggle for scarce resources.

As far as governance is concerned, understanding nonkilling will enable leaders to avoid unpopular decision making that might militate against efforts to construct viable and integrated nation-state. In our contemporary world no justifications and conditions of change would warrant a regime or credible government to use lethal weapons against its people as instrument of maintaining political order. Such a strategy begets violence and killings that stems nation building. Before advancing further, it will be appropriate to try to define a nation.

What is a Nation?

Defining nation is not easy and scholars have been trying to understand it in different ways. It could mean a group of people born in the same place. But when we go further to inquire the values that blend these people together as a nation the question of allegiance or identity props out. The assumption of belonging to any group will include among other things sharing same language, historical, physical, … and cultural characteristics (Graham et al., 2007:184). Although there is no defined behavior, it is believed that some nationalists tend to enforce

behavior on the part of those who identify with the nation (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 22). In spite of that the state has to exact some kind of influence to ensure that the kind of behavior that will be beneficial to all is legally or legitimately enforced.

According to Renan cited in Drogus and Orvis (2009: 128), no particular cultural marker fully distinguishes a nation from an ethnic group". Pertinently a nation remains "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1994: 6) with shared experiences and past. In this respect the term nation-building refers to the processes of national integration and consolidation that might lead to societal change (Tilly, 1975).

The literature on ethnicity is very diverse and complex that this article can only take the most important ones in research. It will mostly concentrate on sub-Saharan Africa. This paper will examine three major theoretic approaches in the study of ethnicity in order to enrich our understanding of the phenomenon and how it impacts societies.

The phenomenon of ethnicity is not only an African problem. It has shown faces in Europe, Asia and the United States of America. Nevertheless, the effects of 'lethal ethnicity' has left an indelible mark on the sand of African political history mainly because of how it was politicized and channelled to a dangerous divisive agenda that has claimed many lives. As we shall see lethal ethnicity is a big obstacle towards realizing the idea of nonkilling nation-building in post-colonial Africa.

Conceptualizing Ethnicity and Ethnic groups

The field of research on ethnicity has become very heterogeneous and dynamic, and scholars have been trying to conceptualize it from different perspectives. Nevertheless, in spite of these attempted theories the concepts have remained slippery or fluid. This is due to both terminological confusion and an inadequate knowledge of the details and background of specific cases (Eller, 1999: chapter 1).

Before we move further, it is pertinent first to explain what ethnic group, which is a derivative of ethnicity means. Anderson (1983) described ethnic groups as "an imagined community" that possesses a "character and quality" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 7 cited in Mare, 1993: 6-7). According to other scholars, ethnic groups are people with common descent, who share language and culture, common history, religion and place of residence

(Gurr and Harff, 1994: 83). Ethnic groups constitute an identity as defined by outsiders who do not belong to the group but identify it as different from their own groups and by "insiders" who belong to the same group. This generally becomes the basis of mobilizing group's consciousness and solidarity and which in certain situation result in political activities (Kasfir, 1976).

It is pertinent to understand that ethnic groups' power would have been useless without competition for resources in a modernising society that creates conditions for ethnic rivalry and exploitation. In Africa, the issues of competition, power and inequality are part of a broad analysis. The post colonial African states for example experienced the intense struggle for resources like those of jobs, government positions, educational enrolments, etc. This conscious behaviour of a group in competition to capture political power and state resources (Osaghae, 1991) is ethnicity. However, Osaghae (1991:44) has cautioned, that "even though ethnicity is a derivative of ethnic pluralism, ethnic pluralism by itself does not lead to ethnicity". However, as a social construct ethnicity is more active (Mare,1992) for particular political objectives and it's salience in African politics cannot be over emphasised . This might be demand for regional autonomy.

Ethnicity become lethal when it is politicized and instrumentalized for a goal that benefits a political leader or group. This lethality which manifest in government institutions, rhetorics and decrees often lead to ethnic killings between advantaged and relatively deprived groups if not managed appropriately. Diversity or ethnic pluralism is not a cause for killing each other. Instead it is a strength to be harnessed for awakening national consciousness in the new nations of Africa.

For the sake of comprehension, it suffice to add that ethnicity in Africa is not only complex but also differs from one country to the other, depending on the differences in their histories and class structure. The comprehension of this phenomenon in Africa, demand that their common colonial history and the origin of ethnicity in the colonial ideology must be properly x-rayed, cognisant of the fact that ethnic consciousness in the continent was a legacy of colonial racism, exploitation and alienation which in effect created lethal ethnicity. Lethal ethnicity germinates in an area of violent competition and prejudice among diverse ethnic groups for goods of modernity and political turf. In extreme cases it has led to unnecessary killings and destruction of properties. In contrast

nonlethal ethnicity or nonkilling ethnicity is a situation whereby diversity is harnessed as strength and opportunity for joint action for nation building and consolidation.

Theoretical Approaches to Ethnicity

Since the end of the Second World War, several theoretical approaches have emerged on ethnicity and the study of the persistent ethnic group behaviour in Africa. A perspective on these approaches is necessary to provide a springboard to tackle the issue.

Modernization Approach of Ethnicity

Post colonial political leaders saw ethnicity as an obstacle on the way to nation-building and they did not want to tolerate it. Their belief was that "Africa would prosper on condition of rejecting itself" (Davison, 1992: 199), that is throwing away African culture and traditions some which were described as primitive. Nevertheless, from their own perspective, Lakes and Rothschild argues that, ethnicity is not an evil to be afraid of in Africa, since "most ethnic groups, most of the time, pursue their interest peacefully through established political channels," (1998: 7).

This new perception about ethnicity in Africa, tend to replace decades of misconceptions about developments in the continent, especially in the post-independence period, that was examined from "tribal" perspective. Little wonder during this period, scholars like David Apter (1955: 55-93 as quoted in Nnoli Okwudiba, 1980) expected to see the collapse of tribalism in modern Ghana, directed by the new educated elites of the colonial colleges. This was linked to the modernization approach of ethnicity which gave impetus to many countries in the continent to embrace the much-evangelised gospel of "nation-building" which was prevalent until late 1980s.

Modernization was a strategic approach to bring development closer to the doorsteps of Africans. This strategy would make Africans to abandon their beliefs and stop looking at events from the lenses of "tribalism". Furthermore, embracing modernization will eventually integrate Africans into the modernising society where assimilation might take place. Ethnicity has been condemned as inimical to the planned nation building project. Hence governments started enacting policies to stem expression of national identities. A good example was in Ghana

where the constitution prohibited the use of the word "tribe" from all documents (Bagulo R. Bening, 1995: 57-59). It further banned facial markers that represents ethnic belonging etc.

But the consequences of this theory, was that it corrupted mostly African elites and leaders who were power thirsty, and encouraged them towards the path of authoritarianism (Coleman, J.S. and Roseberg, Carl R, 1964: introduction). The idea of democratic or multi-party dispensation was no longer given consideration, because of feared divisive politics, which according to African elites does not augur well for national unity (O'Brien, Cruise 1972: 362). The attractiveness of authoritarianism in Africa gave way to a new type of leadership made up of military dictators who took over power from the civilians promising to build the nation, and latter plundered it and unleashed killings in their countries.

Therefore contrary to the belief held by Van den Berghe (1967) and others, that ethnic competition will replace the paternalistic relations of traditional societies like in Africa or Asia in the course of societal modernization, ethnicity and ethnic conflict has continued to resist the modernists incantations to exorcise it (Robert Melsen and Howard Wolpe, 1963).

Theorists have earlier disagreed with modernisation theorists on the premise that modernization of a society brings not only goods, but also increases inter-ethnic or racial rivalry and conflicts thereby continually reviving ethnic consciousness and making them look attractive. For example in Nigeria, sequel to the urbanization process and the opportunity for economic and social mobility it permits through education, jobs etc. the relations between ethnic groups in the cities have been characterised as very competitive. The migrant Ibos from the East had clashed with their Hausa counterparts in the North over job opportunities, while in the South-west the Yoruba have pitted against Hausa migrants and Igbos in Lagos over scarce resources (see Nnoli, 1980). This often results in ethnic prejudice, and jealousy of one group against the other. Also in South Africa, modernization brought about intense rivalry and conflict between the Afrikaners and the British settlers over the control of the diamond mines, bureaucracy, education and development projects. Modernization therefore seems to have within it engrained lethality that could lead to "a killing" society if not managed.

Primordialism

The next theoretical approach, which scholars use to explain ethnic conflict or ethnicity, is the primordial school of thought, which considers ethnicity as a fixed character of individual, and communities (Geertz, 1963; Van den Berghe, 1981).

Although recognising that ethnic rivalry is not constant state of affairs, primordialists see ethnicity as something "natural" that existed for a long time, and could be defined by "criteria as kinship, language, culture, phenotype physical characteristics, including skin colour, facial features and hair" (Drogus and Orvis, 2009: 125). For example, Anthony D, Smith argues that, ethnic conflict and "killings" follows inevitably from ethnicity. He added, that "when ethnic nationalism has taken hold of populations, there one may expect to find powerful assertions of national self-determination, that if long opposed will embroil whole regions in bitter and protracted ethnic conflict" (1993: 40). The primordialist point of view stresses the uniqueness and overriding importance of tribal identity. For them peoples religious identity and culture have deep social, historical and genetic foundation.

The primordialist approach have not been spared by critics, mostly by some African scholars, (Nnoli, 1980; Leroy Vail, 1989; Osaghe, 1990; Bowen, 1996), who argues that African ethnicity should not be regarded as primitive, but as a vital component of African politics. They contend that racial colonialism in Africa and state building has made members of vast ethnic groups to oppose, kill, and compete with each other in the bid to acquire goods of modernity which was very scarce.

Instrumental Approach

The next popular theory is the instrumentalist approach which rejected the opinion of the primordialist that killing in societies exist because of their diversity. The instrumentalists view ethnicity as a powerful tool used by political leaders or ethnic groups to achieve a particular goal. The scholars of this school of thought treat ethnic loyalties as a product of economic or political interest of the people involved. This has been recognised as an important factor in ethnic dynamics by various authors (Cohen, 1974; Patterson, 1976). What this approach tend to impart is that alliance of groups is always mobilised to challenge competitors whenever the stake is high.

The foundation axiom of instrumentalist theory as Keyes (1981:10) puts it is "that ethnicity is salient only in so far as it serves to orient people in the pursuit of other interests vis-a-vis other people who are seen holding contractive ethnic identities". This however implies that in-group conflict; ethnicity becomes a vital means in competition for scarce resources (Donald, 1981; Young C, 1976; Lake and Rothschild, 1998).

The instrumentalist theory could also be necessary as a response to the logics of state system and globalisation, but it draws on historical and cultural elements that are already present and invoke the "threat", posed by other real or emergent ethnicities as a reason for its own formation (see Raànan, et. al. 1991).

According to Bennett (1975: 4) ethnicity has not only become an identity badge in "search for self and definition of group boundaries", but is also a behavioural strategy "for acquiring the resources one needs to survive and consume at the desired level". Ethnicity is therefore expressional (Barth, 1969) in contact in urban townships were it is commonly asked for and given. Sometimes the importance of one knowing if a participant is Zulu, Hausa, Afrikaner or Ibo is to avoid provocative jokes or statements, which might strain relationships. The situational character of ethnicity manifests itself mostly where the government implements affirmative action policy, and in order not to be marginalized ethnic groups often change identity. The ethnicity of stakeholders, will be known when interaction with others is facilitated, and will be left latent when it hinders interaction.

In Africa where poverty and deprivation is becoming endemic, mostly because of resource distributive injustice, ethnicity remains the effective means for folks to survive. This group, which constitutes itself as ethnic according to economic or political expediency, easily would disband after achieving their objectives. This corresponds with Benedict Andersons (1983) view of ethnicity as "a construct" of the political leadership rather than a constant. To buttress this fact, Paul Brass argues that ethnic groups "are created and transformed by particular elites ... and this process involves competition and conflict for political power, economic benefits, and social status between competing elites, class and leadership groups" (1991: 25).

Critics of instrumentalist theory argue that ethnicity is not something that can be decided upon by individuals at will, like other political affiliations but is embedded within and controlled by a larger society (Lake and Rothschild, 1998). They

also referred to inherent social nature of all ethnic identities, arguing that ethnicity can be understood within a "relational framework" (Esman, 1994).

Rational Choice

Another theoretical perspective for treating ethnicity is the rational choice theory. This is a theory supported by Bates (1983) who argues that "ethnic groups represent in essence coalitions which have been formed as part of rational efforts to secure benefits which are desired but scarce" (Bates, 1983: 152). The rational choice theory has also been criticized for failing to take into consideration the collective dynamics of much ethnic behaviour and under estimating the irrational side of ethnic group's behaviour (Stone, 1996). In spite of these critics, the theory receives good mark from other scholars who opine that it "provides an elegantly parsimonious model of ethnicity with the assumption that the political world is composed clearly of demarcated, collectively, calculating ethnic groups (Crawford, 1986). In my view since ethnic group is a composite of behavioural and nonbehavioural characteristics, the rational theory is not exclusive. It is, a theory of ethnicity, which is positive and plausible.

Creation of Ethnic Groups in Africa

Enamoured with the prevalent theory of race and tribe the European colonialists wanted to create a system in Africa that would be harmonious and conducive for their imperialist design. Thus the temptation to create and resettle ethnic groups in Africa (Hobsbawn and Rangers, 1983; Anderson, 1983). These ethnic groups were introduced to new forms of integration, new symbols, and interest to defend and even propagate. Good examples were the Tesos of Uganda, the Pare, Nyakyusa and Nyasa in Tanzania. By this design the imperial powers have sown the seeds of killing societies and conflicts in Africa.

The colonial administration in Africa employed the services of cartographers and ethnographers to draw new ethnic maps of Africa, and developed scholarly Atlases for their colonies. Cultural traits associated with ethnic groups, were defined and stressed through the codification of languages and the writings of "tribal" histories and ethnographies. By so doing, they neglected the relationship of the groups to others. Furthermore, the colonial elites and administrators have created ethnic boundaries,

and identities in Africa. In many independence states, the colonial activities led to the denial of ethnic pluralism, and the neglect of the existence of minorities (Ucko, 1994).

The creation of tribes was also possible through the organization of census in the colonies. This however gave the colonialists possibility to classify different ethnic minorities. The census exercises conducted in most towns and villages were flawed because of inflated figures, and the uncooperative spirit of the people who feared the details might be used to hunt them down to pay taxes. As Aidan Southall (1970: 30) notes without such head counts, ethnonyms such as Gisu, Acholi, Kiga, Sukuma, or Luhya would have not been created.

In his study, Crawford Young (1985: 26-27) further exposed how the colonial states in Africa freely used these ethnonyms to create ethnic groups in Central Africa. According to this account, the Belgians made use of the term Ngala to distinguish the people living alongside the Zaire River.

The creation of ethnic groups in Africa was also supported by the early church missionaries who invented some of African custom and ethnic identities. The missionaries were aware that without any acceptable means of communication, their work in Africa will not be successful. Therefore, speaking the peoples language will help to build confidence and trust among the tribal communities. In this vein, the missionaries tried to produce educated elites who as potential future leaders were keen to construct ethnic ideologies based on local idioms, invented languages and spread these through local administrators and tribal rulers.

John Peel (1989: 201-3) gave a classic example of the missionary impart on Yoruba language and culture. He explained that the "vast bulk of people who now know themselves as Yoruba ... did not do so in the 1900. Originally the word referred only to one Yoruba grouping, the Oyo. Yoruba ethnic identity began to be adopted by other groups (e.g. Ilesha, Egba, Ijebu, Ekiti and Ondo) from the 1920s, as migration, cash cropping, education, and conversion to the world religions drew more people into new sphere of social relations in Nigeria.

Although the missionaries helped the colonial administration in creating ethnic identities in Africa, they equally played role in preparing the people for a new role in a modernizing society through education. They built schools, hospitals, and provided other humanitarian assistance to the poor in the colonies while maintaining their ministries (Crowder, 1966: 134-149). Many

prominent African elite were educated even though the education was not equally distributed to all regions. This mistake widened the social distance between ethnic groups and prevented efforts to build a nation. For example, in Nigeria, the southern Christian communities, Ibos and Yoruba were favoured by education more than the Muslim north. In Kenya, the story was the same as the missionary and colonial educational system favoured the Kikuyu more than the Massai ethnic group.

These false ethnic identities given to many Africans led in the monster called "tribalism", which was a precursor of lethal competition. Crucial to the emergence of ethnic prejudice and conflict was the economic changes during the colonial period and the administrative divisions of the colonial state, which activated local identities and underlined the differences between major ethnic groups. In the literature there is a linkage between peoples dissatisfaction and ethnicity. According to Lewis, "as long as the overall security and well-being of the individual are not provided by the state, independently of tribal affiliation, he will be encouraged to rely upon traditional tribal principles of cooperation" (Lewis: 51). What this mean is that poor living standard combined with lack of political participation causes ethnic groups divergence and killings.

Problem of Poly-Ethnic states of Africa

When independence was granted to former European colonies in the early 1960, it was believed that the colonialists were also transferring not only the mantle of power but also enormous responsibility to the western-educated, though inexperienced class of rulers. These political leaders came to office promising to build a prosperous nation and deliver their oppressed people from despair and servitude that characterized the colonial rule.

This new state class were the cream of African society that formed the bedrock of national movements in the colonies. These elite were able to lead a coalition of civil societies, like the trade unions, Welfare associations, women organization, Youth Movements and even student association, and ethnic township unions to struggle for independence from the colonizers. Regrettable this alliances which could have been used to build wide national consciousness and unity, disbanded or where banned later sequel to the inception of ethnicity and its politicisation by the leaders. The cost of this mistake was

ethno-centric politics, undeveloped economic base, abject poverty and ethnic conflicts in the continent. In fact, the vacation of the colonizers seems to have heralded disunity.

Attaining political independence meant that the new leaders and elite should take the opportunity to design a type of government where none shall be discriminated or deprived of basic amenities irrespective of his ethnic or racial extractions. Furthermore, the masses who had suffered untold hardship under imperialism had expected government to provide their psychic fulfilment, physical security, economic goods and a better living condition in both the towns and villages. Unfortunately, the African leadership class failed to answer the following important questions; what type of nation do we have to build? For whom and the appropriate instrument to achieve national unity in an imperfect society left by the colonialists. Reference to the need for good leadership in nation building, Munroe (1993 as cited in Dada, 2007) remarked that "whenever a nation lacks the quality, legitimacy and just leaders, national deterioration occurs. Quality leadership is key to prosperous and peaceful life of a nation".

Given the legacies of colonialism, and undeveloped economic base, it therefore becomes clear that the responsibility of nation building was not going to be an easy nut to crack in comparison with European experience. This is because European states had been in place before the advent of nationalism, extolled the virtues of national congruence and coexistence (Anthony, 1994: 74). The major obstacles the new African state class faced on the path to nation-building were among others, issues of tribalism, religion, language, lack of democracy and basic infrastructures. Historically, the people's lives have been rooted in smaller communities and their first loyalties are to tribes, and region (Geertz, 1963: 105-157). These problems stood as a litmus test for the political leadership and legitimacy as Africans embarked towards nation building.

Problem of Ethnicity/Tribalism

One of the obstacles to resolve before building a nation is the problem posed by tribalism (Vail, 1989) or ethnicity. In Africa, the tribe is still very important as the social organization closest to the people. Through the policy of indirect rule Britain, France and other imperial powers created and preserved these tribes. This nevertheless posed a big threat to

the peace and unity of African countries. After independence, the issue of tribalism or ethnicity was considered archaic, unchanging, and a major obstacle towards modernization by the new elite class. In this vein, the elite sought to exorcise tribalism in an improper manner oblivious of the fact that most Africans derive sense of security from the ethnic group. However, it was not long that the African leaders learned their political lesson (Spanier 1987) from the border conflict of 1977 between Somalia and Ethiopia, when Somalia tried to unite with its ethnic minorities in Ethiopia. Ethnic conflict did not spare Uganda also in 1986 when a military mutiny occurred led by officers of the Acholi tribe protesting marginalization from a government favouring the Langa ethnic group, the hometown of the president. Nigeria was also an example, where ethnic conflict nearly disintegrated the country few years after independence in 1967, when the Ibos in the Southeast attempted secession to protest domination and marginalization in the Federation. The three years of civil war that raged in Nigeria stemmed all efforts to integrating various ethnic groups into a united entity and unleashed unnecessary killings of civilians.

Religious Extremism

The second hurdle to scale through is the effect of increasing religious extremism which often result in killings. Religious differences alone do not invoke ethnic killing, because ethnic groups of different faith can live together without problem. However, wherever religion is politicised or used as instrument by elites to mobilize local supporters for a particular cause, the effect is always devastating. For African leaders this poses a big challenge to nation building. In Nigeria and Sudan, for example religious difference between the Christian South and Muslim North sparked a gruesome conflict that overlapped into ethnic, regional and even economic divide. The 1967-1970 Biafra-Nigerian ethnic conflict was given a religious blend that easily identified the Christian Igbos as responsible for the backwardness of the northern Muslims. Meanwhile in the Sudan, the introduction of Sharia Law in the Christian South cost the country much in loss of human lives in ethnic conflict that has not been satisfactorily resolved. Such a condition does not augur well for a modernizing society. Moreover, it will not be a viable ground for economic survival and nation-building.

Poverty and Economic stagnation

Thirdly, the new independent states also faced the challenges of combating poverty and economic stagnation. Lack of adequate food production and development infrastructures increased poverty, and even caused resource competition and killings between different groups. The craze to modernize and be like France, Britain, or Germany, inspired the drive among the new states of Africa towards industrialization and building of "white elephant" steel projects and even car assembling plants (Roland and Atmore, 2005: 326-7). This strategic mistake led to the neglect of agriculture that is supposed to be the backbone of any growing economy. Myopically, these African states have followed without consideration the footsteps of the colonial state that neglected food production in the rural areas in favour of export crops. Furthermore, the lack of enthusiasm in agricultural production could be attributed to unstable market prices for commodities in international markets, which did not favour the states. In addition, the combination of lack of land reform programme and technical backwardness of rural dwellers contributed to low agricultural development. The new leaders were faced with the need for more food production as a means to feeding the growing population and workers in the industrial sectors.

The cost of agricultural neglect was hunger and near starvation in some of the continent's regions in the 70s and 80s. An example was the Ethiopian episode of 1984 were millions nearly died of starvation under a socialist regime that cared little about economic growth and welfare of the masses. Paradoxically, these countries later depended on importation of food from abroad granted that they are blessed with enormous labour and possibilities for agricultural production and growth. This wrong policy and lack of accountability that inflicted suffering in their states, combined to give ethnicity and rivalry saliency in Africa (Amoo, 1997: 16). This period marked the beginning of Africa's economic problem and difficulties towards nation-building.

Common Language Problem/Regionalism

Lastly, Regionalism and Language form two more problems that militate against national unity and are basic factors in ethnic conflict. As we have observed earlier, the colonial strategy,

which dichotomised societies and introduced unequal distribution of economic resources made some regions a point of jealousy for others. The uneven distribution of wealth and industries created disparity among regions. In Nigeria and Zaire, Immanuel Wallerstein (1961: 81) observed, "Regionalism is understandable because ethnic loyalties can usually find expression in geographical terms. Inevitably some regions will be richer than others, and if the ethnic claim to power combines with relative wealth, the case for secession is strong." Example is Nigeria, where regionalism brought the demise of the First Republic.

Also facing the newly created state of Africa was the lack of common language, considered as a big obstacle towards national unity, and headache for the new leaders. For any ethnic group language is very important. Nevertheless, in the absence of a common language the forging of national values and interests is a mirage. Furthermore, any attempt to impose a particular language on other ethnic groups often invites conflict or protest. What linguistic right means is that every ethnic group will have the right to use their language in schools, communication and be able to develop their culture in prints. Little wonder in some former colonies English or French is a lingua franca which citizens use in official communication, thereby allowing other vernacular languages to be used in the regions.

The above-mentioned problems do not only militate against national unity but are equally ingredients of ethnic "killing society" especially in the absence of a responsible institution that recognises rights of citizens to their respective traditional languages.

Strategies of Nation-Building and Managing Ethnicity

The challenges of post-colonial African states compounded because the leaders lacked reliable architectures and institutions for nation-building that is based on democratic rules. Though some of the leaders promised to introduce democratic rule (Cas de Villier, 1976: 88) their rhetoric were lethal, and did not match the actions taken to tackle problems of ethnicity and regional integration. While nation-building implies 'integration on a variety of levels,' for some new African leaders it was a difficult task to perform because of ethnic differences in the state. However to tackle the issues of ethnic identification, ethnic consciousness, and national unity, some of the African leaders preferred authoritarian rule under a one-party system

of government. They rejected democracy arguing that a single party system would enable them accelerate national development and reduce possibilities of ethnic conflict.

In his autobiography, the former Congolese Prime Minister Moise Tshombe declared, "I believe that we constitute a human group markedly different from others, and I do not think that formula which works in Europe or Asia would be successful with us" (Cas de Villier 1976). According to Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the multi-party system is antithetical to the needs of economic development and national integration (Chazzan, 1988). The leader's rejection of democracy, based on power sharing, led to the consolidation and centralization of administrative power irrespective of the protest of civil societies and sections of the masses. This type of "personal rule" or dictatorship of the African type, systematically embarked upon the exclusion of civil societies, oppressed and harassed opposition politicians.

Chazan (1985: 45) argues that although the new African states inherited a constitution based on pluralistic democracy as practiced in Europe, the dictators found it to be 'a thorn' in their flesh and unsuitable for their political ambition. As a result, the constitutions quickly changed to create a delicate political imbalance in order to guarantee electoral victory for themselves. The 'political architecture' was not participatory and could not be suitable for nation-building or peaceful coexistence of diverse ethnic groups. Theoretically, ethnic differences if well managed appropriately could be a source of national unity and economic progress (Bates, 1999) and nonkilling. Unfortunately, ethnic differences in the continent were steered down destructive path by incompetent leadership, thereby endangering national security and generating conflicts.

The type of authoritarian rule in Africa did not support democratic institutions able to satisfy peoples' immediate needs, of social infrastructures, shelter, education, food and employment casting doubt about the promises of the political leaders to develop their societies. The pressure on African political leaders to improve the welfare of their people increased as peoples expectation quickly turn to 'revolution of rising frustration'.

The performances of African states were very poor because their undemocratic system of administration opened avenues for corrupt politicians to amass wealth, which was used to create patronage networks. By the year 1980, the gap between the bulk of the population and the ethno-nationalist

leaders "widened to an abyss" (Davison 1992) and the credibility of these elite were in doubt. The "Black man's burden", had become heavier and unbearable because of unrealistic policy choices made by African political leaders. This scandalous situation in the continent reflected in the high external debt problem of African countries, which increased from 6 billion US dollars in 1970 to 90 billion in 1980. By 1992, the debt had more than tripled to 292 billion dollars.

The economic situation in most countries became dire and lethal because it failed to prevent misery and famine that killed many poor citizens. In the urban areas crime, drug trafficking, prostitution was rampant as the only possible way for the army of unemployed to survive. These social ills characterises a weak state, and exposed the inability of African political leaders to perfect a nation-building process that is capable of creating "an ultimate awareness of membership in a common polity" (Tice, 1974: 211). This absence of a common polity gave impetus to aggrieved communities and regions to clamour for regional autonomy. In extreme instances some ethnic groups have attempted secession. In addition, this situation pointed to dissatisfaction in wealth distributive arithmetic that was not favourable to all ethnic groups. Political fragility and states weakness reflected in many coups and counter coups, and civil wars. Some weak states of Africa often use the unpopular instruments of postponing of elections, declaring of state of emergency and oppression to quell opposition. These instruments are not democratic and had instead aggravated the crisis in these societies.

The significance of these are that nationalist leaders and governments have not been able to convince the people on why they should transfer their loyalty to the nation when economic development or growth is not achieved which could have improved the living conditions of the poor people and make them think national. In some countries blessed with natural resources like oil, endemic corruption and unequal distribution of resources have been experienced. The new states poor economic policy choices brought in what Ted Gurr (1970, 1994) called "relative deprivation", where majority of the masses feel that their condition of livelihood is not improving. Such condition would not augur well for any meaningful nation-building project. A good example is Nigeria, where bad economic policy and mismanagement fuelled ethnic conflict and protests between the marginalized minority groups in the South and the majority in the north.

The government of these countries did not give priority should have been given to construction of such industries with specialization and division of labour, linking different parts of the country together, where people from diverse ethnic groups and religion work together because of the imperative of economic interdependence. As these groups work together, national consciousness is developed, as they all are poised towards one goal (Spanier, 1987: 459). Giving individuals the opportunity to earn money in an open-market economy may temper down ethnicity and prejudice. As Keynes (1935) would like to state it, dangerous human declivities can be canalised into comparatively harmless channels by the existence of opportunity for money-making and private wealth. This opportunity was a scarce commodity in authoritarian socialist regimes that ruled some states in Africa from 1960-1985.

Furthermore, the political leaders also failed to transform the sluggish African economy because of intrinsic leaning on waste (Elsenhans, 1994: 109) and uncritical following of eastern bloc theories of economic growth. According to Elsenhans, such "rent based classes are organised in segments which strive for income influence and prestige" (ibid.). This however explains why leaders like Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic spent 20 million dollars to crown himself emperor in 1972. In the Ivory Coast, President Houphout Boigny spent 360 million US dollars to build a Basilica for catholic mission in his home town of Yamassoukrou (Ayitteh, 1992). This financial wastage was done for prestige and influence in the face of excruciating economic hardship and poverty in the two countries. The hash conditions in some African countries invited the wrath of the military who took over governments to re-establish peace and security. Examples were in Nigeria, Ghana and Liberia where the military intervened in late 1980s.

The military had always justified their intervention in government as patriotic and in the interest of national unity. However, just like the politicians their rhetoric had always been in direct conflict with their corporate aggrandizement (Spanier, 1987: 464). Admittedly, they must have done well in containing social dissent and looming ethnic conflicts (Villiers, 1976:59-60), but unfortunately, their undemocratic dispositions would not allow for political pluralism and respect for human rights (Nordlinger, 1977). Although many Africans initially heaved a sigh of relief when the Generals took over the mantles of power, they

were quick to blame the military for the worsening of their plight instead of alleviating it. The unannounced suspension of the constitutions and the denial of human rights of groups and individuals diminished the confidence reposed on the military as nation builders, hence the call for restoration of democratic multiparty dispensation in late 1980s and 90s.

Like their civilian counterparts, the military officers in the guise of being a corrective regime, started indulging in stealing and misappropriation of public funds. From their behaviours, they were not insulated from politics because they went even to the extent of building and consolidating patronage links especially in their ethnic homelands in preparation to contest as civilians in forth coming elections. Lavish entertainment, presents, jobs opportunities and even vague promises of more developmental projects were strategies used to woo allies. As far as ethnicity is concerned, such corrupt behaviour created social distance and further stratified the society placing a question mark to the commitment of the leadership to nation-building. For instance, General Sani Abacha of Nigeria appropriated huge sums of money, which he distributed to members of his ethnic groups, and friends for his re-election came civil rule in the country. Other examples include Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, General Samuel Doe of Liberia and Captain Jerry Rawlings of Ghana who were influenced by militias drawn from their ethnic regions and the victims were ethnically selected (Amoo, 1997: 21). These corrupt practices therefore matches many African leaders to what Basil Davison called "pirates of power", who had acted outside and against the rules and restraints of historical culture betraying the responsibility to build a nation for all. There is no gainsaying that some of the African political leaders had failed to build a harmonious society free from oppression and violence. According to Ake, what concerns the leaders most is "a desperate struggle to win control of state power .... since this control means for all practical purposes being all powerful and owning everything. Politics becomes warfare, a matter of life and death." (Ake cited in Amoo, 1997: 20).

A Case for Nonkilling

Nation-building in poly-ethnic countries of Africa is 'hydra-headed' with many problems that have become complex over time because of lack of political creativity and commitment from the elite to manage it constructively. The post-colonial leaders

failed to create a public awareness about the political system of their countries. The constitutions of some countries failed to make clear what citizens can do or cannot do, as a result it has become a weak platform for the economic and political architectures for nation-building. Most post-colonial African leaders on the path of transformation also failed to achieve their objectives because they were afraid of uncertainty in the new states and more especially afraid to lose their position. In this situation the political leadership was oblivious that history is not happening to them but that they are making history in their societies through their attitude. In the course of their lives they share one thing in common: making decisions, forming opinions and acting as if they were true. Some of these decisions were not adequate blocks for nation-building because of inherent seeds of ethnic divergence, rivalry and killings. According to scholars "the political architecture of a society is a core element in its ability to serve the public. In politics the machinery produces policies, decisions of all sorts, judgements and prescriptions" (Lawrence et al., 2007:158). But what this article tries to show is that lack of reliable political and economic architectures affected the efforts to build a nation free of violence and killings.

Nation building is not a onetime event, but a process sequentially embarked upon to create an outcome. This outcome is the core of this article which focuses on the prevention of killing, change, and transformation of societies. There is no place where this kind of transformation is needed most than in poly-ethnic countries of Africa, where after decades of colonialism the "white-man's burden" has turned to be "the black-man's burden". This burden reflects in the problem posed by ethnicity, conflict, poverty and economic stagnation facing the post colonial states as they try to build a united polity. The Economic Commission of Africa estimates that between 1980 and 1988 alone war in southern Africa cost the region between US$62.45 billion. The human cost is estimated at 1.5 million deaths, including 925,000 infants and young children (Rimmer 1995: 300-1 cited in kalu kelechi, 2005: 27). Additionally, the United Nation's Security Council reports that "since 1970, more than thirty wars have been fought in Africa, the vast majority of them are intra-state in origin. ... The consequences of those conflicts have seriously undermined Africa's efforts to ensure long-term stability, prosperity and peace for its peoples." (The Secretary General's Report cited in kelechi Kalu, 2005: 26.)

As shown in this article the poly-ethnic countries of Africa were overwhelmed by the enormity of their problem after gaining political independence. Nevertheless, respectful of the political turmoil and economic underdevelopment in Africa, nation-building still matters and should be given priority because it will simultaneously provide the template for a nonkilling societies. In a nonkilling society, ethnic groups will be able to celebrate life and enjoy common goods provided by the states. Nation-building that will be capable of holding a nonkilling society would imply pertinently democratization based on the assumption of "democratic peace", that democratic states do not fight among each other or even tries to provoke a situation that will cause killings.

Nonkilling society can become a reality in Africa, and if taken seriously by the political leadership of the continent might be the 'stone the builders rejected that shall be the head corner stone'. This is because of ingrained human values in the idea which will help to transform and cleanse African societies of stereotypes, and cognitive behaviours that have been a cog-in-the-wheel of building an integrated nation.

In Africa, nation building still means different things to different leaders or individuals and this has to be understood before the project will be successful. This mistake was evident in their "false start" after independence and later political choices in decision-making. Some African leaders like Idi Amin of Uganda, Emperor Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, Mobutu Sese Seko and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, understood nation-building to be an opportunity to marginalize ethnic groups, build-up patronage net-works, and create their own token of reality whereby human rights of citizens were violated. Such misunderstanding of nation building and elite behaviour cannot support peaceful coexistence of groups in a country. Instead it increases groups' anger and discontent which also lead to lethality in various government institutions manifested in different forms in relationship to others (see Paige, 2002). Furthermore, the concept of nonkilling political science is new and might as well be misunderstood by sceptics as unrealizable in the African environment.

Nevertheless, state's strategies for nation-building will be enriched if simultaneously combined with a "nonkilling approach of governance. The combination will form a formidable block for effective transformation and development of new behaviours and system that are useful for harmonious and stable nations in Africa. As evidenced in this article, African elites cannot build a

strong nation when hatred, and cognitive biases are increasing among groups partly because of structural injustices inherent in political systems of various countries.

The attractiveness of nonkilling politics as a building element for a peaceful nation, is that it draws inspiration and experience (Paige, 2002: 68) from humanity that is capable of changing attitudes. The nonkilling global idea for humanity is not utopian if critically examined and adopted. Rather it is a realizable aspiration required for a human-carnage free world which equally respects the cardinal biblical order "do not kill." African governments should not try to discard the idea of a nonkilling society but endeavour to understand its essence if they are sincerely committed to build a viable and peaceful nation. The combination of nonkilling to policy and decision making at any levels adds a value cherished by many people. Such values like respect for individual and group rights, freedom and love are capable of deterging societies of violent competition for resources, hatred and insecurity.

Nation-building project in the 21st century African should be seen as a venture to reclaim the future based on the belief that the people of Africa want to live and enjoy life, in the realization that "together we all sense our duty to ... Celebrate it in ... and in our whole existence and to serve it with the various programmes and structures which support and promote life" (John Paul II, 1995: 142-3) and nonkilling world. In this vein, in order to celebrate life and enjoy the prosperity of a strong nation, African governments should consider reforms and institutionalizing nonkilling in various aspects of life, as a "sincere gift of self, as the fullest way to realize our personal freedom" (John Paul II, 1995: 145).

What is therefore required for a nation-building free of killings in Africa is a fertile social and political environment which the state provides. The environment will determine the outcome of the endeavour, as well as help to facilitate citizen's awareness. Towards this realization, reformed political institutions shall be established that will act as the platform for society transformation and conflict management, because "failure of governments to accommodate rising political demands within an institutional context often culminates to political violence" (Aklaev, 1999: 38). This situation is experienced in many poly-ethnic countries in Africa when politicised and discontented ethnic minorities encounter few institutional channels for expressing political dissent

(Aklaev, 1999). Nation building for nonkilling polarized societies demands creativity and commitment for institutionally backed centres of nonviolence "committed to understanding and facilitating responsiveness to nonkilling needs of all" (Paige, 2002: 143) discontent and marginalized ethnic groups.

In multi-ethnic countries of Africa, envisioning nonkilling society might be challenging in view of the complexities mentioned earlier in this article. Precursors of ethnic competition and violence have been identified by John Burton (1979) to include denial of needs of recognition, security, participation and equality. The satisfaction of these needs are critical to any successful venture in nation construction. Unfortunately, the opportunity to pursue such needs is severely constrained in most countries of Africa, and in order to have a nonkilling environment, groups need ought to be accommodated in both political, social and economical institutions as a requirement for political stability. Where such needs are not met a total apathy will prevail (Burton, 1979) giving rise to conflict and killings.

This 'need-deprivation theory' suggests the imperative of a problem-solving process of transformation in political and economic system for African countries battling not only the horrors of politicized ethnicity but the loss of lives as a result of hunger. Since "the violators and the violated have the same needs" (Paige, 2002: 82) in Africa the future of a nonkilling nation will entail among others, "the institutionalization of conflict resolution as a norm to bring different societies towards a common system, one that is individual-need based, thus reducing tensions between different systems" (Burton, conflict Resolution as a Political system...). What this mean for nonkilling and nation-building ventures in Africa is that governments and political leaders should abandon authoritative and lethal instrument of governance and encourage the participation of their citizens in decision making and nonviolent means of resolving disputes especially that relating to distribution of scarce resources. This is because inequality and deprivation triggers violence. Nonkilling nation-building will also demand governments to consider reducing spending on military hardwares and ammunitions and instead use the resources to improve agriculture which will be used to feed the citizens some of who are living daily with less than two dollars.

The African countries could boast of near cultural and traditional experience that does not condone killings. Their bounda-

ries might be artificial but they have the spirituality and humaneness to overcome their differences and develop a nonkilling society. But for such a nonkilling nation to emerge the Africans must be committed to change their thinking and attitude for the betterment of their conditions of living. Towards this end these countries should reform their educational institutions to raise people's awareness about the fruits of living in a nonkilling environment. This is because he "who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts status or pronounces decisions" (Lincoln 1832-1858 as cited in Myers, 2009: 129). Raising public awareness or sentiment about any particular issue determines whether an idea will be possible or not. Special educational programmes may do well to inform mostly the youths that a nonkilling society is possible and that they can celebrate life in a world free of violence, marginalization and oppression. Though primary and secondary education does not automatically change traditional practices, but it does provide a greater degree of receptivity to new ideas.

A strong educational institution is required which must address the saliency of ethnicity in nation-building in Africa. The educational curriculum should be structured to emphasize strength in diversity, inter-ethnic and cultural relationship and shared values required for a harmonious living while at the same time illuminating the evils of politicized ethnicity which is a harbinger of conflict. A reformed education institution for conflict resolution and nonkilling would institute affirmative policies which might be necessary to equalize opportunities for all ethnic groups to quality education. In polarized societies of Africa, good education is designed to recognise the 'self worth' of individuals or groups to contribute in building a prosperous nation.

Building a shared vision of nonkilling nations in contemporary Africa will demand a necessary steps of institutionalizing a participatory democratic system. Consistent with democratic peace literature this kind of democracy should cool down the cauldron of lethal killings that sporadically ignites between competing ethnic groups and increases the likelihood of the use and effective conflict management instruments. According to a review by Aklaev (1999: 21) "democracy's developmental strength has been its capacity for constructive and nonviolent conflict management. Alone among other forms of government, democracy rests on minimum of coercion and a maximum of consent in its political culture. There is near consensus that

democracy evolves as a contingent outcome of conflicts and represents a set of institutions and rules mediating plural and competing interests to provide a peaceful resolution of conflicts– whether these arise from the clash of interests, cultures, or from uncertainty about the future." Thus democracy have a double effect in preventing ethnic animosity, hatred over distributing of wealth (Gleditsch 1998, cited in Hensel et al., 2006: 383-411) and supports integration of diverse groups in a country.

According to Horowitz (1985: 140), "in severely divided societies (lethal) ethnicity finds its way into a myriad of issues: development plans, educational controversies, trade union affairs, land policy, business policy, tax policy. Characteristically issues that would elsewhere be relegated to the category of routine administration assume central place on the political agenda of ethnically divided societies." This is the case in some poly-ethnic African states where public issues have become a matter of ethno-national rivalry and killing because of lack of virile democratic institution of bureaucracy and mediation. However, this does not mean that ethnicity causes conflict, rather it becomes an obstacle to nation-building when it is politicized (Nnoli, 1980; Irobi, 2010). In some countries where these institutions exists they need reforms in order to be effective and free of corrupt individuals who manipulate them for political and personal gains.

Nation-building for peaceful coexistence and integration of ethnic groups requires the establishment of institutions for land distribution. In many African countries like Zimbabwe and Namibia, killing over farming land have become a concern that should be resolved if the nation-building project will succeed. Land for Africans is very dear and issues about land distribution often is emotional in some places and could spur inter-village skirmishes. The existence of a nonkilling society in the Sahel regions and southern parts of Africa will depend on the introduction of land reforms and distribution institutions in these countries so that it will reflect the needs of various groups and individuals. This also implies distribution of lands equally without discrimination and bias so that citizens will feel a sense of belonging to an entity. In states where politics have degenerated to violence there is often lack of democracy and good governance, implying that all the existing institutions are weak or have been converted as instruments of killing by the political dictators. These corrupt government institutions cannot count on the people's trust and legitimacy, therefore it might be-

comes an obstacle for an equitable distribution of goods such as land and other resources to needy citizens.

The construction of a viable 'economic architecture' and a good strategy of distribution of wealth will determine the probability for a nonkilling society in Africa. Unbiased strategy of wealth distribution will generate more confidence and trust in the government satisfy the basic need of economic security. African states had enough natural resources to begin well and enjoy reasonable economic growth and well-being, but they lacked reliable institutions and officers to manage the economy. Today the continent is noted to be the least developed region of the Third World. The bleak picture of the continent's economy and how it impacts killing has been examined by Ayitteh (2005). According to the scholar "the statistics of Africa's post colonial development record are horrifying. Indices of Africa's development performance have not only been dismal but have also lagged behind those of other third World regions" (2005: 40). The neglect of agriculture had devastating consequences in the societies because many former food exporting countries are now importing food from abroad which the ordinary citizen in the villages cannot afford.

Decline in food production has caused poverty and hunger while the prospect of recovery remains a far-fetched. Furthermore, lack of accountable and transparent institutions inequalities in distribution of resources in different regions of Africa, are slowing down efforts to reduce poverty and bridge the gaps between ethnic groups. In literature it has been observed that unequal distribution of resources coupled with the historical wide structural inequalities between the 'haves' and 'have nots' constitute one of the major causes of killing and disunity (Horowitz 1985; Husain, 1997: 6 cited in Paige, 2002: 115).

For nonkilling nations to thrive in Africa, governments should try to satisfy the peoples' basic need of food security. This will entail creating an appropriate policy that empowers the masses to utilize available resources for their well-being. A nonkilling and viable nation will not emerge until good legislations are crafted that provides agricultural education, farm implements and cheaper seeds, remove restrictions and taxes that hinders farmers from being competitive in the open markets. Furthermore African nations should try and encourage inter-ethnic trade and investments across regions to foster the integration of national economies and the creation of job opportunities.

It is generally accepted that nation-building and integration of people into a nonkilling society will thrive only where there is independent judiciary and rule of law. For a harmonious nation to succeed, leaders are expected to ensure that the human rights of groups and individuals are not violated and are respected as instituted in the code of law. Nonethnic biased institutions of justice and legislature are therefore required to mediate efficiently citizen's grievances and inspire the spirit of reconciliation between antagonistic groups. In states rife with ethnic-competition, "a legal system obviously becomes a guide to behaviour for general public, for commercial activities, and even for the government. Without it there are no rules of the game by which to judge risk and rewards. Without it the environment is unpredictable and vulnerability rules. Corruption ... finds operating space." (Lawrence, 2004: 160). Corruption is the bane of African political and economic development. The lack of clear distinction from what is private and what is public ushered into many societies a type of greedy accumulation style that have squandered tax-payers fund. Citizens of these countries often bribe government officials to get their problems solved and this signals a weak bureaucratic institution and a challenging task for the judiciary to deliver.

To support nonkilling possibilities in the continent, the legal system and the judiciary must be transformed that will serve all citizens. Africans will feel better if the legal system in their countries are rooted in moral laws inherent in the society and religions that does not support killings in any form. For example giving authentic validity to torture, death sentence, and arbitrary arrests. According to Saint Thomas Aquinas cited by Pope John Paul the second, "when a law is contrary to reason it is called an unjust law; but in this case it ceases to be a law and become instead an act of violence" (John Paul II, 1995: 132). Authoritarian political leadership in some Africa countries have supported acts of violence against their people by enacting unjust laws and legislations that does not take into cognizance the well-being of the citizens.

The bane of governance in Africa is the lack of visionary priorities from the new state elites to address the issues of ethnicity and structural imbalances which were the residues of colonialism. The governments initially did not prioritized promotion of constitutions and viable institutions that maximize individual autonomy and liberty. Nonkilling nation-building architecture therefore requires an integrative strategy that is based on giving incentives (Horowitz,

1985) which will encourage inter-ethnic cooperation and improved relationship. In some regions where the majority has dominated politics for a long period, institutional mechanisms of power-sharing, granting autonomy to different groups, and encouraging participation in decision making processes are prerequisites for a stable and nonkilling country.

A viable nation-building must not be a project designed by external powers, (i.e. in Afghanistan, and Iraq) but a project by citizens of a particular country. When nation-building is home-grown it acquires national legitimacy and the capacity to hold a nonkilling idea. Political leaders committed to the development and security of their society should embrace nonkilling idea as a major pillar of harmonious democratic entity.

Ethnic diversity should not be an obstacle for nation-building in Africa if it is channelled positively. There is always strength in diversity which if harnessed, will provide a template for a society free from carnage. A transforming approach to effective management of 'lethal ethnicity' (i.e. ethnic rivalry, marginalization, …) while building a nation will require values-creating mechanisms. This requires, linking decisions about nation-building to economic development, food production and nonkilling society.

The tragedies and loss of lives in Africa as a result of adversarial policies elevates the need for vision and goal for policies of nation building and nonkilling that focuses on people's needs and welfare in all countries. Until that is done the dream of a harmonious and stable democratic nation in Africa will remain a mirage.

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A wider list of possible research topics can be found in the two following publications: *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (2002; 2009) by Glenn D. Paige and *Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm* (2009), edited by Joám Evans Pim, both available for free download.

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