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A Critical Analysis of the Republic of Togo's Diplomacy in Conflict Resolution in Africa

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the role and impact of republic of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa, with a focus on the West African region. The study adopts a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative data from secondary sources, such as books, documents, articles and journals. The study analyses the motivations, strategies, challenges, and outcomes of Togo's diplomatic engagement in various regional and continental initiatives, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), and the United Nations (UN), as well as its participation in peacekeeping missions in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Mali. The study argues that Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa is driven by its national interests, its commitment to regional integration, and its solidarity with fellow African countries. The study also contends that Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa has contributed to the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts, as well as the promotion of democracy, human rights, and development. However, the study also acknowledges that Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa has faced some challenges, such as the lack of adequate funding, equipment, and training for its peacekeepers, the complexity and diversity of the conflicts, and the interference of external actors. The study concludes by providing some recommendations for enhancing Togo's diplomatic capacity and credibility in conflict resolution in Africa.

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List of abbreviations

AfCFTA: African Continental Free Trade Area
AGOA: African Growth and Opportunity Act
AMU: The Arab Maghreb Union
APRM: African Peer Review Mechanism
ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEOWA: African Union Support to Ebola Outbreak in West Africa
AU: African Union
BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation
CIA: Central Intelligence Agency
DUP: Democratic Unionist Party
EAC: East African Community
ECOMOG: Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States
EU: European Union
FRG: Federal Republic of Germany
GCB: Global Corruption Barometer
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
GDR: German Democratic Republic
IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency
ICC: International Criminal Court
ICTR: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF: International Monetary Fund
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NLMWT: National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland
NPFL: National Patriotic Front of Liberia

NPT: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

NNWS: Non-nuclear-weapon states

RCSDC: ECOWAS Regional Centre for Disease Surveillance and Control

RSP: Regiment of Presidential Security

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SAP: Structural Adjustment Programs

TI: Transparency International

UN: United Nations

UNOCI: United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire

UNAMID: United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur

MINUSMA: United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

UNMIL: United Nations Mission in Liberia

UNAMSIL: United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

UNMISS: United Nations Mission in South Sudan

UNISFA: United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei

UNOWAS : United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel

WHO: World Health Organisation

WTO: World Trade Organisation

Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Background

Conflict resolution is one of the most pressing challenges facing West Africa, a region that has experienced several violent conflicts in recent decades. These conflicts have resulted in massive loss of lives, displacement of populations, disruption of economic activities, violation of human rights and deterioration of social cohesion. According to the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS), there were 1,600 violent incidents and 7,000 fatalities in West Africa in 2020 alone. Therefore, there is an urgent need to understand the causes, dynamics and consequences of these conflicts and to find effective ways to prevent, manage and resolve them.

One of the actors that has played a significant role in conflict resolution in West Africa is the Republic of Togo, a small country located on the Gulf of Guinea. Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution refers to the role that Togo has played or can play in addressing the conflicts and crises that affect its region and continent. Togo is a member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), a regional organisation that has been actively involved in peacekeeping and mediation efforts in West Africa. Togo has also participated in other multilateral forums, such as the African Union, the United Nations, and the Francophonie, to promote dialogue and cooperation on security and development issues. Togo has been involved in several diplomatic initiatives and mediation efforts to address various conflicts in the region, such as the Liberian civil war (1989-2003), the Ivorian crisis (2002-2011), the Malian coup d'état (2012) and the Burkinabe uprising (2014). Togo has also hosted several peace talks and summits involving regional leaders and stakeholders. For instance, in 2018, Togo hosted the ECOWAS summit that adopted a roadmap for resolving the political crisis in Togo itself.

However, Republic of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution has also faced challenges and criticisms from various sources. The opposition and civil society have accused the regime of using diplomacy as a tool to legitimize its authoritarian rule and to avoid implementing genuine reforms. They have also questioned the impartiality and effectiveness of some of the mediators, such as former Ghanaian president John Kufuor, former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, and Guinean president Alpha Condé. The international community has expressed concern over the human rights situation in Togo and has imposed sanctions and suspended aid at various times. The regional and continental organizations have also exerted pressure on Togo to respect the democratic principles and norms enshrined in their charters. Despite its active involvement in conflict resolution in Africa, Togo has received little attention and recognition from the international community and the academic literature. There is a lack of comprehensive and systematic analysis of Togo's diplomacy and its impact on conflict resolution in the region. Moreover, there is a need to examine the motivations, strategies and challenges that Togo faces as a small state in a complex and volatile regional environment.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The problem of the critical analysis of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa is to evaluate the extent to which Togo has contributed to the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts and crises in its region and continent, and how this has affected its own political and socio-economic development. The problem also involves examining the factors that shape Togo's

foreign policy choices and actions, such as its domestic situation, its regional integration, its international partnerships, and its diplomatic culture. The problem further entails exploring the opportunities and challenges that Togo faces in enhancing its diplomatic role and capacity in conflict resolution in Africa.

One of the factors that shape Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa is its domestic situation. Togo has experienced political instability and social unrest since its independence from France in 1960. The country has been ruled by the same family for over five decades, with President Faure Gnassingbé succeeding his father Gnassingbé Eyadéma in 2005. The opposition and civil society have been demanding constitutional reforms, including the introduction of presidential term limits, to end the dynastic rule and ensure a more democratic and inclusive governance system. These domestic challenges have influenced Togo's foreign policy choices and actions in two ways. First, they have made Togo more sensitive to the risks of political violence and instability in its region and continent, and more willing to cooperate with regional and international actors to prevent or resolve them. Second, they have also made Togo more vulnerable to external pressures and criticisms from its neighbours and partners, who have questioned its legitimacy and credibility as a peace broker. Therefore, Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa has been driven by both a sense of responsibility and a need for survival.

Another factor that shapes Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa is its regional integration. Togo is a member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), a regional organization that has been actively involved in peacekeeping and mediation efforts in West Africa. Togo has participated in several ECOWAS missions, such as those in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina Faso, and The Gambia. Togo has also hosted or co-hosted several ECOWAS summits or meetings on regional security issues. By doing so, Togo has demonstrated its commitment to regional solidarity and cooperation, as well as its willingness to share the burden and cost of peace operations. However, Togo's involvement in ECOWAS has also posed some challenges and dilemmas for its diplomacy. For instance, Togo has sometimes faced tensions or disagreements with other ECOWAS members over their respective roles or interests in certain conflicts or crises. Moreover, Togo has sometimes had to balance its loyalty to ECOWAS with its relations with other regional or international actors who may have different or competing agendas or approaches to conflict resolution. Therefore, Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa has been shaped by both opportunities and constraints arising from its regional integration.

1.3 Objective of the study

The objectives of this study are to examine the historical evolution and development of Togo's diplomacy in Africa since its independence in 1960, to analyse the main features and characteristics of Togo's diplomacy in Africa, such as its principles, goals, instruments, and actors, to assess the effectiveness and impact of Togo's diplomacy on conflict resolution in West Africa, using case studies of selected conflicts that Togo has been involved in, to identify the opportunities and challenges that Togo faces as a small state in promoting peace and security in West Africa.

The significance and contribution of this study are twofold. First, this study will enhance the knowledge and understanding of Togo's diplomacy and its role in conflict resolution in West Africa. This will fill a gap in the existing literature on West African politics and security studies. Second, this study will provide insights and recommendations for policymakers, practitioners and

stakeholders who are interested or involved in conflict resolution in West Africa. This will help to improve the effectiveness and impact of diplomatic efforts and initiatives in the region.

1.4 Research questions

The study of a critical analysis of Republic of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution aims to answer the following research questions:

- How has Togo's diplomacy contributed to the prevention and resolution of conflicts in Africa?
- What are the main challenges and opportunities for Togo's diplomacy in the context of the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the African Continental Free Trade Area?
- How does Togo balance its relations with its traditional partners, such as France and Germany, and its emerging partners, such as China and Turkey, in pursuing its diplomatic interests and objectives in Africa?
- How does Togo cope with the internal and external pressures for democratic reforms and human rights protection in its diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa?

1.5 Policy relevance and justification of the study

The study is important and relevant because it can provide a better understanding of the motivations, strategies, challenges, and outcomes of Togo's involvement in regional and international affairs, and how this has affected its own stability and development. This can help policy makers and practitioners to assess the strengths and weaknesses of Togo's diplomacy, and to identify the best practices and lessons learned from its experience (Adebajo, 2020; Gnanguenon, 2019; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and African Integration of Togo, 2023).

The study is also important and relevant because it can provide some insights and recommendations for Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa, as well as for other small states that aspire to play a constructive role in regional and international affairs. This can help policy makers and practitioners to enhance their diplomatic capacity and effectiveness in conflict resolution, and to foster more cooperation and dialogue among different actors and stakeholders (Adebajo, 2020; Gnanguenon, 2019; Kohnert, 2018).

The study is needed and timely, given the current context and challenges that Togo faces in its region and continent. Togo is located in a volatile and complex region that is prone to various conflicts and crises, such as terrorism, civil wars, coups, humanitarian emergencies, and pandemics. These conflicts and crises pose serious threats to Togo's security and development, as well as to the peace and stability of the region and continent. Therefore, Togo needs to be more proactive and effective in its diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa, to prevent or resolve these conflicts and crises, and to promote a more peaceful and prosperous environment for itself and its neighbours (BBC News, 2021; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and African Integration of Togo, 2023).

The study is also needed and timely, given the increasing competition and pressure from other regional or international actors who have different or conflicting interests or agendas in the region and continent. Therefore, Togo needs to be more strategic and assertive in its diplomacy in conflict

resolution in Africa, to protect its sovereignty and interests, and to enhance its influence and leverage in the region and beyond (Adebajo, 2020; Kohnert, 2018).

1.6 Research Methodology and Data collection

Research methodology is the systematic and rigorous process of designing, conducting, and reporting a research study. It involves choosing the appropriate methods and techniques to answer a specific research question or problem, as well as ensuring the validity, reliability, and ethics of the research. Research methodology for critical analysis of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa would depend on the objectives, scope, and context of the study, as well as the availability and accessibility of data and sources.

One possible research methodology for critical analysis of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa is qualitative, which means that it relies on the analysis of words, texts, images, and other forms of non-numerical data to understand the meanings, patterns, and processes of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa. Qualitative research is suitable for exploring complex and dynamic phenomena that require a holistic and contextualized approach, such as conflicts and crises, as well as the perceptions, experiences, and behaviours of the actors involved in them.

This study will use secondary sources as data sources. The secondary sources include books, articles, reports and media sources from academic scholars, experts, analysts and journalists. These sources will provide second-hand information on Togo's diplomacy and its context, background and evaluation. The data sources will be accessed and selected using online databases, libraries, archives, official statistics, surveys, censuses, administrative records, reports, publications, media and websites. The criteria for selecting the data sources will be their relevance, credibility and currency for the research topic.

1.7 Organisation of the study

The study is organised into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic and provides some background information on Togo's history and political situation. It also states the main research question to be addressed. The chapter two is literature review. This section identifies the main theories, concepts, frameworks, models, and empirical studies that are relevant to the research question. It also highlights the gaps, controversies, or debates in the literature that the study intends to address. The chapter three addresses the Republic of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa by highlighting some cases where Togo were involved in peace resolution. The chapter four addresses the challenges that Togo's diplomacy faced. Finally, the chapter five reviews the findings by concluding the research and suggests further studies to address the existing issues.

1.8 Limitation of the study

A critical analysis of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa is a valuable and relevant study, but it also faces some limitations that may affect its validity and reliability. The availability and quality of data: The study relies on both primary and secondary data sources, such as interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis. However, these data sources may not be easily accessible or reliable, especially in conflict-affected areas. Some data may be missing, incomplete, outdated, biased, or inconsistent. Some data may not be relevant or representative of the research question or population (Mengisteab, 2003).

The access and use of data: The study may encounter some restrictions or regulations on the access and use of certain data sources, especially those that are owned or provided by external actors or authorities. Some sources may require permission, payment, or registration to access or use their data. Some sources may impose ethical or legal obligations or conditions on the use of their data. Some sources may not allow the modification or dissemination of their data (Akokpatri, 2016).

The analysis and interpretation of data: The study may face some challenges in analysing and interpreting the data collected from various sources, due to the lack of familiarity or control over the data collection process. Some sources may not provide sufficient information or documentation about the methods, definitions, concepts, variables, indicators, or measures used in their data collection. Some sources may not align with the theoretical framework or conceptual model of the research. Some sources may not address the specific hypotheses or objectives of the research (Darnton, 2019).

The ethical and practical considerations: The study may have to deal with some ethical and practical issues that arise from conducting research in conflict-affected areas. These include designing a representative sample, collecting data according to the sample, forming an effective data collection team, and protecting researchers and respondents. These issues may pose some risks or challenges for the safety, well-being, dignity, privacy, confidentiality, consent, and participation rights of both researchers and respondents.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This chapter provides a literature review on the definitions and dimensions of diplomacy and conflict resolution. It first reviews the various definitions of Diplomacy from different perspectives and disciplines. Second, It reviews the various dimensions of diplomacy from different criteria and classifications. Third, it reviews the various definitions of conflict resolution from different approaches and schools. Fourth, It reviews the various dimensions of conflict resolution from different stages and levels. Fifth, it then reviews some of the existing literature on peace resolution in the world. Finally, it reviews the gap in the existing literature of Diplomacy in conflict resolution.

2.1 Definitions of Diplomacy

Diplomacy can be defined in different ways, depending on the source and the perspective. However, a common theme among the definitions is that diplomacy involves the management of relations between states or other actors through communication, negotiation, and other means.

Diplomacy is a multifaceted concept that has been defined in various ways by different scholars and practitioners. Some of the common definitions are documented in this section to more understand the concept.

According to Berridge (2015), Diplomacy is “the conduct of relations between sovereign states through the medium of officials based at home or abroad”.

Diplomacy is “the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys” (Nicolson 1969).

Based on the study carried out by Hudson (2014), Diplomacy is “the process through which international actors communicate as they seek to advance their interests through cooperation or competition”.

Diplomacy is “the art of influencing the decisions and behaviour of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence” (American Foreign Service Association 2020).

According to Britannica, Diplomacy is "the established method of influencing the decisions and behaviour of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence.

According to Merriam-Webster, diplomacy is “the art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations” or "skill in handling affairs without arousing hostility : tact."

Diplomacy has been practiced since ancient times, but it became more formalized and institutionalised in medieval and early modern Europe. Diplomacy has also adapted to the changing circumstances and challenges of the modern world, such as globalization, technology, and multilateralism.

The origins and development of diplomatic practices in different civilizations, such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, India, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, Islam, and the Americas. These practices included sending envoys, making treaties, exchanging gifts, conducting ceremonies, and using languages and symbols. The emergence and consolidation of the European diplomatic system in the 14th to 18th centuries, which was based on the principles of sovereignty, balance of power, reciprocity, and international law. This system involved the establishment of permanent embassies, the recognition of diplomatic immunity and privileges, the use of diplomatic correspondence and protocols, and the formation of alliances and coalitions. The transformation and expansion of diplomacy in the 19th and 20th centuries, which was influenced by the rise of nationalism, imperialism, democracy, and ideology. This period witnessed the creation of new diplomatic actors, such as international organisations, non-governmental organisations, multinational corporations, and public opinion. It also saw the emergence of new diplomatic methods, such as summitry, multilateralism, public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, and digital diplomacy. The challenges and opportunities for diplomacy in the 21st century, which are shaped by the dynamics of globalisation, regionalisation, fragmentation, and polarisation. These factors affect the role and relevance of diplomacy in addressing various issues, such as security, trade, human rights, environment, health, migration, and terrorism (Britannica, 2023).

2.2 Dimensions of Diplomacy

Dimensions of diplomacy are the different aspects or perspectives that can be used to analyse and understand the practice and theory of diplomacy. Diplomacy is the art and science of managing relations between states and other actors in the international system, through communication, negotiation, representation, and persuasion. Diplomacy can be studied from various dimensions.

The level of formality and officiality: Diplomacy can be divided into official and unofficial diplomacy. Official diplomacy refers to the diplomatic activities conducted by authorized representatives of states or intergovernmental organizations, such as ambassadors, ministers, or heads of state. Official diplomacy follows certain rules and norms of protocol, etiquette, and communication that are established by international law and practice. Official diplomacy is usually conducted through bilateral or multilateral channels, such as diplomatic missions, summits, conferences, or treaties. Unofficial diplomacy refers to the diplomatic activities conducted by non-state actors or individuals who are not authorized by governments or intergovernmental organizations, such as civil society groups, non-governmental organizations, religious leaders, academics, journalists, or private citizens. Unofficial diplomacy does not follow the formal rules and norms of official diplomacy, but rather relies on personal contacts, networks, influence, persuasion, or mediation. Unofficial diplomacy is usually conducted through informal or ad hoc channels, such as dialogues, workshops, visits, or initiatives (Riordan 2003; Melissen 2005; Aall 2011).

The function and purpose: Diplomacy can be divided into preventive and peace diplomacy. Preventive diplomacy refers to the diplomatic activities aimed at preventing the outbreak or escalation of a conflict. Preventive diplomacy can involve various measures, such as early

warning, fact-finding, confidence-building, mediation, arbitration, or sanctions. Preventive diplomacy can be conducted by various actors, such as states, intergovernmental organizations (e.g., United Nations), regional organizations (e.g., African Union), or non-state actors (e.g., International Crisis Group). Peace diplomacy refers to diplomatic activities aimed at resolving or managing an ongoing conflict. Peace diplomacy can involve various stages and processes, such as ceasefire, negotiation, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, or reconciliation. Peace diplomacy can be conducted by various actors, such as states, intergovernmental organizations (e.g., European Union), regional organizations (e.g., Economic Community of West African States), or non-state actors (e.g., Carter Center) (Boutros-Ghali 1992; Lund 1996; Zartman 2001).

The mode and method: Diplomacy can be divided into coercive and cooperative diplomacy. Coercive diplomacy refers to diplomatic activities that use threats or pressure to induce compliance or concessions from an adversary. Coercive diplomacy can involve various instruments, such as sanctions, ultimatums, or military force. Coercive diplomacy can be conducted by various actors, such as states, intergovernmental organizations (e.g., NATO), or coalitions of states (e.g., P5+1). Cooperative diplomacy refers to diplomatic activities that use incentives or persuasion to induce cooperation or collaboration from a partner. Cooperative diplomacy can involve various instruments, such as aid, trade, or security guarantees. Cooperative diplomacy can be conducted by various actors, such as states, intergovernmental organizations (e.g., WTO), or regional organizations (e.g., ASEAN) (George 1991; Nye 2004; Art and Cronin 2003).

The nature and scope of diplomacy, which deals with the definition, evolution, and functions of diplomacy, as well as its relationship with foreign policy and other fields of international relations (Simpson S. 1968). The types and levels of diplomacy, which categorizes diplomacy according to the actors involved (such as states, international organisations, non-state actors, etc.), the issues addressed (such as security, trade, human rights, etc.), and the modes of interaction (such as bilateral, multilateral, regional, etc.) (Bjola, 2019)

The public dimension of diplomacy, which focuses on the role of public opinion, media, culture, and civil society in influencing and shaping diplomatic processes and outcomes. It also examines the strategies and techniques of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, digital diplomacy, and other forms of engaging with foreign audiences (Gregory, 2016).

The consular dimension of diplomacy, which involves the protection and assistance of citizens abroad, the promotion of trade and tourism, the provision of visas and passports, and the management of migration and humanitarian issues. It also explores the challenges and opportunities for consular diplomacy in a globalized world (Kurbalija, 2007)

The governance dimension of diplomacy, which analyses how diplomacy contributes to the creation and maintenance of rules, norms, institutions, and networks that regulate and coordinate international behaviour. It also investigates how diplomacy adapts to the changing patterns of global governance and power distribution (Melissen, 2011).

These dimensions are not mutually exclusive or exhaustive. They can overlap and interact with each other in complex ways. They can also vary depending on the historical context, the theoretical

perspective, and the empirical focus of the analysis. However, they can provide a useful framework for mapping the boundaries and connections of diplomacy as a field of study and practice.

2.3 Definitions of Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution can be defined in different ways, depending on the source and the perspective. However, a common theme among the definitions is that conflict resolution involves the process of resolving disagreements and coming up with solutions that are mutually agreeable to multiple parties. Conflict resolution skills are useful in nearly every job and industry. Conflict resolution is also a multifaceted concept that has been defined in various ways by different scholars and practitioners. Some of the common definitions are provided here for understanding the concept.

Conflict resolution is “the process of ending a conflict through the reduction, elimination, or transformation of the sources of conflict” (Wallensteen, 2015).

Conflict resolution is “the process of finding a peaceful solution to a disagreement among parties” (Burton 1990).

Conflict resolution is “the process of reaching an agreement among the parties involved in a conflict” (Bercovitch et al. 2009).

Conflict resolution is “the process of transforming a conflict into a nonviolent relationship between parties” (Lederach 1997).

According to the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, conflict resolution is “the informal or formal process that two or more parties use to find a peaceful solution to their dispute.”

2.4 Dimensions of Conflict Resolution

Dimensions of conflict resolution are the different aspects or perspectives that can be used to analyse and understand the process and outcome of resolving disagreements and coming up with solutions that are mutually agreeable to multiple parties. Conflict resolution can be studied from various dimensions.

The stage and phase: Conflict resolution can be divided into pre-conflict, mid-conflict, and post-conflict stages. Pre-conflict stage refers to the period before a conflict becomes violent or intractable. Pre-conflict stage can involve various processes, such as early warning, prevention, or de-escalation. Mid-conflict stage refers to the period when a conflict is violent or intractable. Mid-conflict stage can involve various processes, such as management, containment, or settlement. Post-conflict stage refers to the period after a conflict is settled or transformed. Post-conflict stage can involve various processes, such as reconstruction, reconciliation, or integration (Zartman and Touval 1985; Ramsbotham et al. 2016).

The level and scope: Conflict resolution can be divided into intrastate, interstate, regional, and global levels. Intrastate level refers to the conflicts that occur within a state, such as civil wars, ethnic conflicts, or secessionist movements. Intrastate level can involve various actors, such as governments, rebels, militias, or civilians. The Interstate level refers to the conflicts that occur between states, such as wars, border disputes, or ideological rivalries. Interstate level can involve

various actors, such as states, alliances, or coalitions. Regional level refers to the conflicts that occur within a region, such as Africa, Asia, Europe, or Latin America. Regional level can involve various actors, such as regional organisations, subregional organisations, or regional powers.

The cognitive dimension of conflict resolution, which deals with the way disputants understand and view the conflict, with beliefs, perspectives, understandings, and attitudes. This dimension also involves the use of logic, reasoning, analysis, and creativity to generate and evaluate possible solutions. The emotional dimension of conflict resolution, which involves the way disputants feel about the conflict, the emotional energy, and the emotional expression. This dimension also affects the motivation, commitment, and satisfaction of the parties involved in the resolution process. The behavioural dimension of conflict resolution, which reflects the way disputants act, their behaviour, and their communication style. This dimension also includes the strategies and techniques of negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and other forms of intervention that aim to facilitate the resolution process.

The relational dimension of conflict resolution, which focuses on the impact of the conflict and its resolution on the relationship between the parties, such as trust, respect, rapport, and cooperation. This dimension also considers the role of third parties, such as mediators, facilitators, or supporters, who may influence or assist the resolution process. The structural dimension of conflict resolution, which examines the context and environment in which the conflict and its resolution take place, such as the culture, norms, values, power dynamics, institutions, and rules that shape and constrain the behaviour and choices of the parties (Kilman, 1974).

2.5 Existing literature

2.5.1 The Argentine-Brazilian rapprochement in the late 1970s and early 1980s

The Argentine-Brazilian rapprochement in the late 1970s and early 1980s, which involved official and unofficial diplomacy, preventive and peace diplomacy, and cooperative diplomacy. The two countries overcame their historical rivalry and nuclear competition through bilateral and multilateral negotiations, confidence-building measures, nuclear safeguards, and regional integration. It was a process of improving the relations between the two South American countries, which had been marked by rivalry and mistrust for decades. The rapprochement was motivated by several factors analysed below.

The common threat posed by the U.S. policies of President Jimmy Carter, who tried to prevent the proliferation of nuclear technology and criticised the human rights violations of the military regimes in both countries (Spektor, 2015).

The need to balance the influence of the Soviet Union in the region, especially after the Cuban intervention in Angola and Ethiopia.

The emergence of democratic transitions and civilian governments in both countries, which facilitated dialogue and confidence-building measures (Carasales, 1995).

The desire to promote regional integration and cooperation, especially in the economic and energy sectors.

The rapprochement involved several steps and initiatives, such as:

- The resolution of the dispute over the Itaipu dam, which had been a source of tension since 1973. In 1979, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay signed a tripartite agreement that regulated the use of the Paraná river and its tributaries for hydroelectric purposes.
- The establishment of a bilateral nuclear cooperation agreement in 1980, which aimed to exchange information and technology on peaceful uses of nuclear energy. This agreement also created a joint commission to monitor and verify each other's nuclear activities
- The creation of a Permanent Working Group on Political Matters in 1985, which served as a forum for consultation and coordination on various regional and international issues. This group also initiated a series of high-level visits and meetings between the presidents, foreign ministers, and other officials of both countries (Gardini, 2006).
- The launch of the Program for Integration and Economic Cooperation (PICE) in 1986, which aimed to foster trade and investment between the two countries. This program also laid the foundations for the creation of Mercosur, a customs union that also included Paraguay and Uruguay (Gardini, 2006)

The rapprochement had significant impacts on both bilateral and regional affairs. It reduced the security dilemma and the arms race between Argentina and Brazil. It also enhanced their political and economic influence in South America and beyond. It also contributed to the consolidation of democracy and human rights in both countries. It also inspired other cases of conflict resolution and cooperation in the region (Carasales, 1995).

2.5.2 The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which was signed in 1968 and entered into force in 1970, is a landmark agreement that aims to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and promote peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It has 191 parties, including the five recognized nuclear-weapon states: China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The NPT is widely regarded as the cornerstone of the global nuclear non-proliferation regime and an essential foundation for the pursuit of nuclear disarmament (Miller, 2016). The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is a multilateral treaty that aims to limit the spread of nuclear weapons and promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It also seeks to advance the goal of nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. The NPT was opened for signature in 1968 and entered into force in 1970. It has 191 states parties, making it the most widely adhered to treaty in the field of nuclear non-proliferation. The NPT is based on three pillars: non-proliferation, disarmament, and peaceful use. These pillars constitute a “grand bargain” between the five nuclear-weapon states (NWS) and the non-nuclear-weapon states (NNWS) under the treaty. The NWS are defined as those that manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device before 1 January 1967. They are China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States . According to the treaty, the NWS commit not to transfer nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices to any recipient, or assist, encourage, or induce any NNWS to acquire them. The NNWS commit not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear

explosive devices or seek or receive any assistance in this regard. The NNWS also agree to accept safeguards by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on all their nuclear material and activities to verify their compliance with their non-proliferation obligations. The treaty also recognizes the right of all parties to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, in conformity with their non-proliferation obligations. The treaty encourages cooperation among parties in the development and transfer of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The IAEA plays a central role in facilitating such cooperation and ensuring that nuclear energy is used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The treaty also commits all parties to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race, nuclear disarmament, and general and complete disarmament. The treaty also calls for periodic review conferences to assess the implementation of the treaty and address any issues that may arise (IAEA, 1970).

The NPT is widely regarded as a cornerstone of global efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and foster international peace and security. However, the treaty also faces some challenges and criticisms, such as the existence of four states that possess nuclear weapons but are not parties to the treaty: India, Israel, Pakistan, and North Korea (which withdrew from the treaty in 2003); the lack of progress on nuclear disarmament by the NWS and the perceived imbalance between their rights and obligations under the treaty; the risk of proliferation by NNWS that may seek to acquire nuclear weapons for security or prestige reasons; the threat of terrorism and illicit trafficking of nuclear material and technology; the need to ensure that peaceful uses of nuclear energy do not undermine non-proliferation objectives and finally the divergence of views among parties on how to interpret and implement the treaty provisions.

2.5.3 The U.S. opening to China

The U.S. opening to China, which began with President Richard Nixon's historic visit to Beijing in 1972, was a strategic breakthrough that transformed the Cold War balance of power and paved the way for the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1979. The opening to China also facilitated China's economic reforms and integration into the global system, as well as its cooperation on regional and global issues (Freeman C. W. and Marks S. 2023). The U.S. opening to China, which began with President Richard Nixon's historic visit to Beijing in 1972, was a major diplomatic initiative that aimed to improve the relations between the two countries and alter the balance of power in the Cold War. Nixon's visit was the result of secret contacts and negotiations between his National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, who agreed to invite Nixon to China in July 1971.

The main outcome of Nixon's visit was the signing of the Shanghai Communiqué on February 28, 1972. The communiqué was a joint statement that summarized the views and principles of both countries on a range of topics. It acknowledged their differences and disagreements but also expressed their willingness to seek common ground and cooperate on matters of mutual benefit. It also affirmed their respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and their desire to reduce tensions and promote peace in the world. The U.S. opening to China had significant impacts on both bilateral and global affairs. It marked the beginning of a gradual normalisation of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China, which was formally established in 1979. It also created a new strategic triangle among the U.S., China, and the Soviet Union, which influenced

the course of the Cold War and the détente policy. It also encouraged other countries to engage with China and recognise its role as a major power in Asia and beyond. The U.S. opening to China is widely regarded as one of Nixon's greatest foreign policy achievements. It was also a remarkable example of personal diplomacy and political courage by both Nixon and Zhou. It demonstrated that even adversaries could find ways to communicate and cooperate for mutual interests and global stability.

2.5.4 The Camp David Accords

The Camp David Accords, which were signed by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in 1978, after 13 days of secret negotiations mediated by U.S. President Jimmy Carter, were the first peace treaty between Israel and an Arab state. The accords ended the state of war that had existed since 1948 and established diplomatic and trade relations between Egypt and Israel. They also provided for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai Peninsula and a framework for resolving the Palestinian issue (Freeman C. W. and Marks S. 2023). The Camp David Accords were a pair of political agreements signed by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin on September 17, 1978, following twelve days of secret negotiations at Camp David, the country retreat of the President of the United States in Maryland. The agreements were witnessed by US President Jimmy Carter, who played a key role in facilitating the talks and mediating the disputes between the two leaders. The first agreement, titled "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East", dealt with the Palestinian issue and the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It proposed a five-year transitional period of Israeli withdrawal and Palestinian self-rule, followed by negotiations on the final status of these territories. It also called for the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the recognition of Israel's right to exist by all its neighbours. The second agreement, titled "A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel", laid out the principles and steps for achieving a full peace treaty between the two countries, which would be the first such treaty between Israel and any of its Arab adversaries. It included the normalization of diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations; the withdrawal of Israeli forces and settlements from the Sinai Peninsula; the demilitarisation of the Sinai; and the establishment of security arrangements and dispute resolution mechanisms. The Camp David Accords were hailed as a historic breakthrough that ended 30 years of hostility and war between Egypt and Israel. They also paved the way for the 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty, which was signed on March 26, 1979, in Washington, D.C. The treaty implemented the provisions of the second agreement and formally ended the state of war between the two countries. Sadat and Begin were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978 for their contributions to the Camp David Accords.

However, the Camp David Accords also faced some challenges and criticisms from both sides and from other parties in the region. Some of these were: the failure to implement the first agreement on the Palestinian issue, due to disagreements over its interpretation, lack of participation by other Arab states and Palestinian representatives, and continued violence and settlement activity in the occupied territories; the isolation and assassination of Sadat by radical Islamists who opposed his peace initiative with Israel; the opposition and resentment from other Arab states, especially Syria and Iraq, who accused Egypt of betraying the Arab cause and breaking ranks with the Arab League;

the dissatisfaction and frustration from some Israelis who felt that Begin had made too many concessions to Egypt and had neglected other security concerns; The difficulty and delay in normalizing relations between Egypt and Israel, due to mutual mistrust, public opinion, and political changes.

The Camp David Accords remain a landmark achievement in Middle East diplomacy. They have been praised for their courage, creativity, and persistence. They have also inspired other peace efforts in the region, such as the Oslo Accords between Israel and Palestine in 1993.

2.5.5 The reunification of Germany

The reunification of Germany, which was achieved in 1990, after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, was a historic event that marked the end of the Cold War and the division of Europe. The reunification of Germany was the process of re-establishing Germany as a single sovereign state, which took place between 9 November 1989 and 15 March 1991. The day of 3 October 1990, when the Unification Treaty entered into force, dissolving the German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) and integrating its re-established constituent federated states into the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, or West Germany), has been chosen as the customary German Unity Day and has thereafter been celebrated each year as a national holiday in Germany since 1991 (Britannica 2023). The reunification of Germany was triggered by the collapse of the communist regimes in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which allowed thousands of East Germans to flee to the West through Hungary's newly opened border with Austria or seek asylum in the West German embassies in Prague and Warsaw. The mass protests by the East German citizens, known as the Peaceful Revolution, led to the fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 and the first free elections in East Germany on 18 March 1990. The reunification of Germany was achieved through a series of negotiations between the two German states and the four occupying powers in Germany: the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union. The main agreements that facilitated the reunification were:

- The Unification Treaty (Einigungsvertrag), signed on 31 August 1990 by representatives of East and West Germany, which stipulated the terms and conditions of the integration of East Germany into West Germany, such as the adoption of the West German constitution, currency, laws, and institutions by East Germany; the establishment of five new federal states in East Germany; and the recognition of Berlin as the capital of united Germany.
- The Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany (Vertrag über die abschließende Regelung in Bezug auf Deutschland), also known as the Two Plus Four Treaty, signed on 12 September 1990 by representatives of East and West Germany and the four occupying powers, which granted full sovereignty to a reunified German state; confirmed its borders with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and Belgium; renounced any claims to former German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line; committed to reducing its armed forces to no more than 370,000 personnel; affirmed its membership in NATO; and pledged to respect human rights and democracy.

The reunification process involved complex negotiations among Germany, the four Allied powers (France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union), and other European countries, as well as constitutional amendments and referendums in both East and West Germany. The reunified Germany became a member of NATO and the European Union, and a key partner for peace and stability in Europe (Freeman C. W. and Marks S. 2023).

The reunification of Germany had significant political, economic, social, and cultural impacts on both sides. Some of the benefits and challenges of reunification were:

- The end of the Cold War division of Europe and the restoration of German unity and sovereignty
- The improvement of human rights and civil liberties for East Germans
- The increase of trade and tourism between East and West Germany
- The expansion of educational and employment opportunities for East Germans
- The reduction of military tension and nuclear threat in Europe
- The contribution to European integration and cooperation
- The high cost of rebuilding and modernizing East Germany's infrastructure and industry
- The disparity in living standards and income between East and West Germans
- The rise of unemployment, inflation, and social problems in East Germany
- The adjustment difficulties and identity issues for East Germans
- The resentment and prejudice between East and West Germans

The reunification of Germany was a historic event that marked a new era for Germany and Europe. It was also a complex and challenging process that required courage, compromise, and cooperation from all parties involved. It is still an ongoing process that requires further efforts to overcome the legacy of division and achieve full integration.

The creation of the European Union (EU), which is a political and economic union of 27 member states that are located primarily in Europe. The EU has developed an internal single market through a standardized system of laws that apply in all member states in those matters, and only those matters, where members have agreed to act as one. EU policies aim to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital within the internal market; enact legislation in justice and home affairs; and maintain common policies on trade, agriculture, fisheries, and regional development (Freeman C. W. and Marks S. 2023). (The EU traces its origins to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), established by six countries in 1951 and 1957 respectively. The Maastricht Treaty established the EU under its current name in 1993 (Hutchings R. and Suri J. 2015).

2.5.6 The Oslo Accords between Israel and Palestine in 1993

The Oslo Accords between Israel and Palestine in 1993, facilitated by Norway. The Oslo Accords were a series of agreements that marked the first official recognition of the mutual legitimacy of the two parties and created a framework for interim self-government and negotiations on final status issues. The accords were facilitated by Norway, which acted as a third-party mediator and hosted secret talks between Israeli and Palestinian representatives. The accords consisted of two main documents: the Declaration of Principles (DOP) signed on September 13, 1993, in

Washington, D.C., and the Interim Agreement (IA) signed on September 28, 1995 in Cairo. The DOP established the principles and objectives of the peace process, such as mutual recognition, renunciation of violence, resolution of all outstanding issues through negotiations, and implementation of interim arrangements. The DOP also outlined a five-year transitional period, during which Israel would gradually withdraw from parts of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and the Palestinians would establish a self-governing authority (the Palestinian National Authority or PNA) with limited jurisdiction over these areas. The DOP also envisaged further negotiations on final status issues, such as Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security, borders, and relations with neighbouring states. The IA elaborated on the details and mechanisms of the interim arrangements, such as the division of the West Bank into three areas (A, B, and C) with different levels of Israeli and Palestinian control; the redeployment of Israeli forces; the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the PNA; the establishment of a Palestinian police force; the holding of Palestinian elections; the coordination of economic, social, and security matters; and the creation of joint Israeli-Palestinian committees. The IA also reaffirmed the commitment to negotiate on final status issues no later than May 1996. The Oslo Accords were hailed as a historic breakthrough that opened a new era of dialogue and cooperation between Israel and Palestine. They also received international support and recognition from various countries and organizations, such as the United States, Russia, the European Union, the United Nations, and the Arab League. However, the Oslo Accords also faced many challenges and criticisms from both sides, such as opposition from hardliners and extremists; violations of agreements and commitments; outbreaks of violence and terrorism; lack of trust and goodwill; political instability and leadership changes; and delays and deadlocks in negotiations. The Oslo Accords ultimately failed to achieve a comprehensive and lasting peace agreement between Israel and Palestine. This was a breakthrough that recognized the mutual legitimacy of the parties and created a framework for interim self-government and negotiations on final status issues. The dialogue process involved unofficial actors from both sides, trust-building measures, and creative problem-solving (Day A. & Pichler-Fong A. 2018).

2.5.7 The Northern Ireland peace

The Northern Ireland peace process that resulted in the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, supported by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Ireland. This was a comprehensive settlement that ended decades of violence and established a power-sharing government and institutions for cross-border cooperation. The peace process involved multi-party talks, civil society engagement, and public referendums (Day A. & Pichler-Fong A. 2018). The Northern Ireland peace process that resulted in the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 was a complex and long-term effort to end the violent conflict known as the Troubles, which had lasted for almost 30 years and claimed more than 3,500 lives. The peace process involved multiple actors, such as political parties, governments, civil society groups, and international mediators, who engaged in various forms of dialogue, negotiation, and cooperation to address the root causes and consequences of the conflict.

The conflict in Northern Ireland was mainly between two communities: the unionists, who wanted to remain part of the United Kingdom, and the nationalists, who wanted to join the Republic of Ireland. The conflict also had religious, ethnic, and historical dimensions, as most unionists were Protestants and most nationalists were Catholics. The conflict was marked by sectarian violence, paramilitary attacks, human rights abuses, and political deadlock.

The peace process began in the early 1990s, when several factors created a window of opportunity for dialogue and compromise. These factors included:

- The end of the Cold War and the emergence of new global challenges and opportunities
- The changes in the political landscape of Ireland and the UK, such as the rise of Sinn Féin (the political wing of the Irish Republican Army or IRA) and the election of Tony Blair as Prime Minister
- The influence of external actors, such as the United States (led by President Bill Clinton), the European Union, and the United Nations
- The exhaustion and disillusionment of both sides with the violence and its costs
- The pressure and demand from civil society and public opinion for peace and reconciliation

The peace process consisted of several stages and milestones, such as:

- The Downing Street Declaration (1993), which affirmed the principle of consent for any change in Northern Ireland's constitutional status and the right of self-determination for its people
- The IRA ceasefire (1994) and the loyalist ceasefire (1994), which created a more conducive environment for negotiations.
- The Framework Document (1995), which outlined a possible structure for a new government in Northern Ireland based on power-sharing and cross-border cooperation
- The Multi-Party Talks (1996-1998), which involved representatives from most of the political parties in Northern Ireland (except for Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party or DUP) and the British and Irish governments.
- The Good Friday Agreement (1998), also known as the Belfast Agreement was signed on 10 April 1998 after intense negotiations. It was a comprehensive political deal that addressed various aspects of the conflict, such as:
 - The constitutional status of Northern Ireland within the UK, subject to the principle of consent
 - The establishment of a devolved power-sharing government in Northern Ireland, known as the Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive
 - The creation of new institutions for North-South cooperation between Northern Ireland and Ireland, such as the North-South Ministerial Council
 - The development of new mechanisms for East-West relations between Britain and Ireland, such as the British-Irish Council
 - The recognition of the right of people in Northern Ireland to identify themselves as British or Irish or both, and to hold both British and Irish citizenship
 - The decommissioning of paramilitary weapons under independent supervision
 - The reform of policing and criminal justice in Northern Ireland
 - The release of prisoners affiliated with paramilitary groups
 - The promotion of human rights, equality, and parity of esteem for both communities

The Good Friday Agreement was endorsed by referendums in both Northern Ireland and Ireland on 22 May 1998. It received overwhelming support from both sides: 71% in Northern Ireland and 94% in Ireland.

The implementation of the Good Friday Agreement was not easy or smooth. It faced many challenges and obstacles, such as:

- The disagreement over the timing and modalities of decommissioning
- The suspension and restoration of devolution several times due to political crises
- The opposition from hardline factions within both communities, such as the DUP and dissident republicans
- The outbreak of violence and sectarianism on several occasions, such as the Drumcree standoff (1998), the Omagh bombing (1998), and the Holy Cross dispute (2001)
- The lack of trust and cooperation between some of the parties involved in power-sharing

Despite these difficulties, the Good Friday Agreement has been widely regarded as a successful example of conflict resolution. It has brought about significant changes in Northern Ireland's political, social, and economic landscape, such as:

- The reduction of violence and deaths related to the conflict.
- The improvement of security conditions and human rights standards
- The increase of cross-community contact and dialogue
- The growth of trade and tourism between Northern Ireland and Ireland
- The participation of women and young people in politics and civil society

The Good Friday Agreement has also inspired other peace processes around the world. It has been praised for its creativity, inclusiveness, flexibility, and durability. It has shown that even seemingly intractable conflicts can be resolved through dialogue and compromise.

2.5.8 The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which is a regional organization of 15 countries that aims to promote economic integration and cooperation among its members. ECOWAS has also played an active role in diplomatic methods of conflict resolution in West Africa, such as mediation, conciliation, and arbitration. ECOWAS has successfully used these methods to restore peace in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Senegal, and Gambia (Okere L. 2015). ECOWAS has also been involved in peace resolution in recent years, as the region has faced various conflicts and crises, such as terrorism, civil wars, coups, humanitarian emergencies, and pandemics.

In 2022, ECOWAS leaders agreed to create a regional peacekeeping force to intervene against jihadism and to help restore constitutional order in the region. The force would be composed of troops from ECOWAS member states and would operate under the mandate of the African Union and the United Nations (DW 2022). In 2021, ECOWAS suspended Mali and Guinea from its decision-making bodies after both countries experienced military coups that ousted their elected presidents. ECOWAS also imposed sanctions and demanded the restoration of democracy and the rule of law in both countries. In 2020, ECOWAS mediated a political dialogue between the government and the opposition in Cote d'Ivoire, following a disputed presidential election that sparked violence and unrest. ECOWAS also deployed an election observation mission to monitor

the electoral process and ensure its credibility and transparency. In 2019, ECOWAS deployed a military intervention force to The Gambia, after former President Yahya Jammeh refused to accept his defeat in the 2016 election and hand over power to his successor, Adama Barrow. ECOWAS also supported the transition process and the national reconciliation efforts in The Gambia. In 2018, ECOWAS facilitated a peace agreement between the government and the rebels in Mali, who had been fighting since 2012 over the control of the northern part of the country. ECOWAS also contributed troops to the UN peacekeeping mission in Mali, MINUSMA, to help stabilize the security situation and protect civilians (ECOWAS 2023).

These examples show that ECOWAS has played an active and constructive role in peace resolution in recent years, by using various diplomatic and military tools, such as mediation, facilitation, sanctions, observation, or intervention. However, ECOWAS has also faced some challenges and limitations in its peace resolution efforts, such as the lack of resources, influence, leverage, or security guarantees; the tensions or disagreements with other regional or international actors; or the unpredictability and volatility of the situation (Bureau of African Affairs 2002). Therefore, ECOWAS needs to continue to enhance its diplomatic capacity and effectiveness in peace resolution, as well as to foster more cooperation and dialogue among different actors and stakeholders.

2.5.9 The Carter Center

The Carter Center, which is a non-governmental organisation founded by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his wife Rosalynn Carter in 1982. The Carter Center works to advance human rights, democracy, health, and peace around the world. The Carter Center has engaged in preventive diplomacy and mediation in several African countries, such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Mali. One of its notable achievements was the negotiation of the “Guinea Worm Ceasefire” between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement in 1995, which allowed the Carter Center to treat communities affected by the guinea-worm disease (Hara F. 2021). The Carter Center works in partnership with Emory University, as well as with various governments, international organizations, civil society groups, and donors. The Carter Center is governed by a Board of Trustees, consisting of business leaders, educators, former government officials, and philanthropists. The current chief executive officer of the Carter Center is Paige Alexander. The Carter Center has received many awards and recognition for its work, such as the Nobel Peace Prize in 2002 for President Carter’s efforts to find peaceful solutions to international conflicts, advance democracy and human rights, and promote economic and social development through the Carter Center. The Carter Center also publishes annual reports, newsletters, blogs, podcasts, and videos to share its achievements and challenges with the public (The Carter Center 2023).

2.5.10 The Mozambican Peace Process

The Mozambican Peace Process, which was initiated in 1990 after a decade of civil war between the ruling FRELIMO party and the rebel RENAMO movement. The peace process involved direct talks between the two parties, facilitated by the Community of Sant’Egidio (a Catholic lay organisation based in Italy), with the support of the UN, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU),

and several countries such as Italy, Portugal, France, and the United States. The peace process resulted in the signing of the General Peace Agreement in Rome in 1992, which ended the war and paved the way for democratic elections and national reconciliation (Akokpari, 2016). The Mozambican Peace Process was a series of negotiations and agreements that aimed to end the civil war that had ravaged Mozambique since 1977. The civil war was fought between the ruling party, the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), and the rebel movement, the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo), which was supported by South Africa and Rhodesia. The war caused massive human suffering, displacement, and destruction, and claimed an estimated one million lives (Rupiya M.1998). The peace process was initiated in 1990, when both sides agreed to hold direct talks in Rome, Italy, under the mediation of the Community of Sant'Egidio, a Catholic lay organization. The talks were also facilitated by representatives of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, Italy, France, Portugal, Britain, and the United States. The talks lasted for two years and involved several rounds of negotiations on various issues, such as political reforms, ceasefire arrangements, demobilization and reintegration of combatants, humanitarian assistance, and international guarantees (Gentili, 2013).

The peace process resulted in the signing of the General Peace Agreement (GPA) on October 4, 1992, in Rome. The GPA consisted of seven protocols that covered all aspects of the transition from war to peace. The main provisions of the GPA included:

- The recognition of Renamo as a legitimate political party and its participation in multiparty elections
- The adoption of a new constitution that guaranteed democracy, human rights, and national reconciliation
- The establishment of a ceasefire and a joint commission to monitor its implementation
- The creation of a United Nations peacekeeping operation (ONUMOZ) to supervise the ceasefire, demining, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of over 90,000 combatants
- The formation of a new national army composed of former Frelimo and Renamo soldiers
- The provision of humanitarian aid and development assistance to the war-affected population
- The establishment of a National Commission for Reconciliation to promote dialogue and healing among the communities (Momodu S. 2018).

The peace process was widely praised as a successful example of conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. It ended one of Africa's longest and deadliest wars and paved the way for Mozambique's democratic transition and economic recovery. It also demonstrated the role and contribution of various actors, such as civil society groups, regional organizations, international donors, and the United Nations, in supporting and sustaining the peace process (Armon, J. et al. 1998).

2.6 Theoretical framework

2.6.1 Regional security complex theory (RSCT)

This theory, developed by Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, argues that security is not only a matter of individual states, but also of regions, where states share common security threats and interdependencies. According to RSCT, regions can be divided into security complexes, which are groups of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another. Within each security complex, there are different patterns of amity (friendship) and enmity (hostility) among states, as well as different levels of polarity (distribution of power) and penetration (influence of external actors). This framework can be used to analyse how regional actors, such as ECOWAS in West Africa or ASEAN in Southeast Asia, engage in diplomacy and conflict resolution within their respective security complexes, and how external factors, such as the U.S., China, or the U.N., affect their dynamics and outcomes. Some of case studies on regional security complex theory (RSCT) are analysed in section.

The first case study is about the security dynamics of the Middle East and how RSCT can be used to explain the regional conflicts and cooperation. It argues that the Middle East is a regional security complex that is characterised by multiple security issues, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iranian nuclear program, the Syrian civil war, and the rise of ISIS. It also discusses the role of external actors, such as the US, Russia, and China, in influencing the regional security agenda. (Senam, 2022).

The second case study is about the security challenges of the Arctic region and how RSCT can be applied to understand the interests and strategies of the Arctic states. It examines the factors that shape the security environment of the Arctic, such as climate change, resource exploitation, territorial disputes, and military activities. It also analyses the prospects for cooperation and conflict among the Arctic states and how they interact with non-Arctic actors, such as the EU and NATO (Sunawar, 2018).

The third case study is about the security integration of Southeast Asia and how RSCT can be used to assess the role and performance of ASEAN. It explores the historical development of ASEAN as a regional security organization and how it has dealt with various security issues, such as territorial disputes, maritime security, human rights, and transnational crime. It also evaluates the challenges and opportunities for ASEAN in enhancing its regional security cooperation and identity. (Buzan & Wæver, 2003).

There are some criticisms of RSCT that have been raised by various scholars and analysts. RSCT is too state-centric and does not adequately account for the role and influence of non-state actors, such as transnational corporations, terrorist groups, civil society organizations, and regional institutions, in shaping regional security dynamics. RSCT is too static and does not capture the changes and transformations that occur in regional security complexes over time, such as the emergence of new actors, issues, threats, and opportunities. RSCT is too deterministic and does not allow for the possibility of agency and choice by actors in defining and pursuing their security

interests and strategies. RSCT is too geographically bound and does not consider the effects of globalization, technology, and interregional linkages on regional security interactions.

These are some of the main criticisms of RSCT that challenge its validity and applicability in the contemporary world. However, RSCT also has some strengths and merits that make it a useful and insightful framework for analysing regional security issues. For example, RSCT emphasizes the importance of historical and cultural factors in shaping regional security patterns, recognizes the diversity and complexity of regional security dynamics across different regions, and provides a holistic and multidimensional perspective on security that goes beyond the traditional military dimension. Therefore, RSCT can still be a valuable tool for understanding regional security, as long as it is adapted and updated to reflect the changing realities of the international system.

2.6.2 Public diplomacy

The theory was developed by Pratkanis in 2009. This is the practice of communicating and engaging with foreign publics to advance the interests and values of a state or an organisation. Public diplomacy can be used as a tool for conflict resolution by influencing the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours of foreign audiences, either by persuading them to support a certain position or policy, or by opening political space for dialogue and cooperation. Public diplomacy can also involve cultural diplomacy, which is the exchange of ideas, values, traditions, and other aspects of culture among nations and peoples, to foster mutual understanding and respect. This framework can be used to examine how public diplomacy can help resolve protracted conflicts, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the Korean Peninsula conflict, by addressing the underlying issues of identity, ideology, mistrust, or anger. Some of case studies for public diplomacy that use the theory developed by Pratkanis in 2009 are analysed within this section.

The first case study is about the public diplomacy campaign of the United States to counter the propaganda of ISIS and other extremist groups in the Middle East. It analyses how the US used various communication strategies, such as social media, radio, and television, to challenge the narratives and credibility of the terrorists and to promote alternative messages of peace and tolerance. It also evaluates the effectiveness and limitations of the US public diplomacy efforts in this context (Lynch, 2016).

The second case study is about the public diplomacy strategy of China to enhance its soft power and image in Africa. It examines how China used different instruments, such as economic aid, cultural exchange, media cooperation, and peacekeeping, to build trust and friendship with African countries and to showcase its development model and values. It also discusses the challenges and opportunities for China's public diplomacy in Africa amid the competition and criticism from other actors (Zhang & Swaine, 2018).

The third case study is about the public diplomacy initiative of Canada to foster dialogue and cooperation with Iran after the diplomatic rupture in 2012. It explores how Canada used various platforms, such as academic exchange, civil society engagement, cultural events, and online media, to maintain communication and interaction with Iranian people and elites and to support human rights and democracy in Iran. It also assesses the impact and challenges of Canada's public diplomacy in Iran amid the political and security tensions (Hampson & Beaudry-Mellor, 2017).

Pratkanis' theory of public diplomacy is based on the idea that persuasion is a process of social influence that involves four steps: pre-persuasion, source credibility, message, and delivery (Pratkanis, 2009).

Some of the criticisms of this theory are as follow: It is too simplistic and does not account for the complexity and diversity of public diplomacy contexts, audiences, goals, and outcomes (Gilboa, 2008). It is too rational and does not consider the role of emotions, values, identities, and cultures in shaping public opinion and behaviour (Nye, 2008). It is too optimistic and does not acknowledge the limitations and challenges of public diplomacy, such as the credibility gap, the boomerang effect, the hostile media bias, and the counter-propaganda (Entman, 2008). It is too normative and does not address the ethical and moral issues of public diplomacy, such as the manipulation, deception, coercion, and propaganda of the publics (Melissen, 2005).

These are some of the main criticisms of Pratkanis' theory that question its validity and applicability in the contemporary world. However, Pratkanis' theory also has some strengths and merits that make it a useful and insightful framework for analysing public diplomacy. For example, Pratkanis' theory emphasizes the importance of strategic communication, audience analysis, message framing, and media selection in public diplomacy. It also provides a clear and practical guide for designing and implementing effective public diplomacy campaigns. Therefore, Pratkanis' theory can still be a valuable tool for understanding public diplomacy, as long as it is adapted and updated to reflect the changing realities of the international system.

2.6.3 Culture and conflict management

The theory was developed by LeBaron in 2003. This is the study of how culture influences the way people perceive, interpret, and respond to conflicts, and how cultural differences affect the processes and outcomes of conflict resolution. Culture can be understood as a system of shared meanings, values, norms, and practices that shape the behaviour and expectations of individuals and groups. Culture can affect various aspects of conflict management, such as the definition of conflict, the preferred style of communication, the choice of conflict resolution strategies, the role of third parties, and the criteria for evaluating solutions. This framework can be used to explore how culture can facilitate or hinder diplomacy and conflict resolution in different contexts, such as inter-state conflicts, intra-state conflicts, or transnational conflicts. Here are some examples of case studies for culture and conflict management that use the theory developed by LeBaron in 2003.

The first case study is about the role of culture in the mediation of the Aceh conflict in Indonesia. It analyses how the mediators from the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) used cultural sensitivity and creativity to facilitate the dialogue and negotiation between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). It also examines the challenges and opportunities for implementing the peace agreement in a culturally diverse and complex context (LeBaron & Pillay, 2006).

The second case study is about the impact of culture on the conflict resolution training of UN peacekeepers. It explores how the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) designed and delivered a training program on conflict resolution skills for peacekeepers from different

cultural backgrounds and contexts. It also evaluates the effectiveness and limitations of the training program in enhancing the peacekeepers' intercultural competence and performance. (LeBaron & Carstarphen, 2010).

The third case study is about the influence of culture on the restorative justice practices in Canada. It investigates how different cultural groups, such as Indigenous, immigrant, and mainstream communities, perceive and participate in restorative justice processes, such as victim-offender mediation, circle sentencing, and family group conferencing. It also discusses the implications and recommendations for improving the cultural responsiveness and inclusiveness of restorative justice in Canada (LeBaron & Acland, 2013).

LeBaron's theory of culture and conflict management is based on the idea that culture is a dynamic and creative process that shapes and is shaped by human interactions, especially in situations of conflict. LeBaron argues that culture influences how people perceive, interpret, express, and resolve conflicts, and that conflict resolution practitioners need to be aware of and responsive to the cultural dimensions of conflict. LeBaron also proposes a model of cultural fluency that involves four elements: awareness, attitude, knowledge, and skills (LeBaron, 2003). Some of the criticisms of LeBaron's theory are analysed in this section.

It is too vague and broad and does not provide clear definitions and measurements of culture and cultural fluency (Avruch, 2004). It is too optimistic and idealistic and does not address the power imbalances and structural inequalities that often underlie and exacerbate conflicts (Cohen, 2004). It is too relativistic and pluralistic and does not offer any criteria or guidelines for evaluating the ethical and moral aspects of conflict resolution practices (Lederach, 2004). It is too individualistic and voluntaristic and does not consider the role of social institutions, norms, and values in shaping and constraining cultural expressions and interactions (Ross, 2004).

These are some of the main criticisms of LeBaron's theory that challenge its validity and applicability in the contemporary world. However, LeBaron's theory also has some strengths and merits that make it a useful and insightful framework for analysing culture and conflict management. For example, LeBaron's theory emphasizes the importance of creativity, dialogue, empathy, and reflexivity in dealing with cultural differences and similarities. It also provides a holistic and multidimensional perspective on culture that goes beyond the static and essentialist views of culture as a fixed set of traits or categories. Therefore, LeBaron's theory can still be a valuable tool for understanding culture and conflict management, as long as it is adapted and updated to reflect the changing realities of the international system.

2.7 Gaps or controversies in the literature

There are several gaps or controversies in the literature on diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa. Some of them are analysed below.

The quality and effectiveness of diplomacy and mediators in resolving conflicts. Some scholars argue that African diplomacy suffers from a lack of professionalism, expertise, and resources, and that mediators often lack impartiality, credibility, and leverage. Others contend that African

diplomacy has shown creativity, adaptability, and resilience, and that mediators have played positive roles in facilitating dialogue, building trust, and finding solutions (Akokpari, 2016).

The role and impact of external actors and interventions in conflicts. Some scholars criticize the interference and influence of external actors, such as former colonial powers, the United States, China, the European Union, and the United Nations, in African conflicts. They claim that these actors often pursue their own interests, agendas, and values, and undermine the sovereignty and agency of African states and regional organizations. Others acknowledge the contribution and assistance of external actors in providing financial, technical, humanitarian, and peacekeeping support, and enhancing the legitimacy and capacity of African diplomacy (Were, 2021).

The relationship between military and diplomatic approaches to conflict resolution. Some scholars question the effectiveness and appropriateness of military intervention as a means of ending or preventing conflicts. They argue that military intervention often escalates violence, violates human rights, and creates dependency and resentment. They advocate for more emphasis on diplomatic efforts, such as mediation, negotiation, and dialogue. Others defend the necessity and utility of military intervention as a complement to diplomatic efforts. They assert that military intervention can deter aggression, protect civilians, enforce agreements, and create conditions for peace (Kurbalija, 2022).

These are some of the gaps or controversies in the literature on diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa. They reflect the complexity and diversity of the causes, dynamics, and outcomes of conflicts in the continent. They also challenge the scholars and practitioners of diplomacy to critically examine their assumptions, methods, and goals in addressing conflicts.

Chapter 3. Research methodology

3.1 Introduction

Research methodology is the practical “how” of a research study, including the type of data to collect, the sampling strategy, the data collection method and the data analysis methods. Research methodology helps researchers design their study in a systematic and scientific way, to ensure valid and reliable results that address the research aims, objectives and research questions. Research methodology also helps researchers justify their methodological choices and follow ethical guidelines while conducting research.

3.2 Research design

Research design is a framework that outlines the methods and procedures for collecting and analysing data in a research study. It is the blueprint that guides the entire research process, ensuring that the study is systematic and coherent. Some of the common types of research design are listed below.

Descriptive design is the type of design that aims to describe the characteristics, trends, or patterns of a phenomenon or population. It often uses quantitative methods such as surveys, observations, or secondary data analysis to collect numerical data and report descriptive statistics. For example, a descriptive design can be used to measure the satisfaction level of online learners in Africa.

Correlational design is the type of design that aims to explore the relationship between two or more variables. It often uses quantitative methods such as surveys, experiments, or secondary data analysis to collect numerical data and report correlation coefficients. For example, a correlational design can be used to examine the association between online learning and academic performance.

Experimental design is the type of design that tests the causal effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable. It often uses quantitative methods such as randomized controlled trials, pretest-post-test designs, or factorial designs to manipulate the independent variable and measure the dependent variable. For example, an experimental design can be used to evaluate the impact of a new online teaching strategy on student learning outcomes.

Quasi-experimental design is the type of design that is similar to experimental design, but it does not use random assignment to create comparable groups. Instead, it uses existing groups or non-random methods to assign participants to different conditions. For example, a quasi-experimental design can be used to compare the effect of online learning versus face-to-face learning on student achievement.

Qualitative design is the type of design that aims to understand the meaning, context, or experience of a phenomenon or population. It often uses qualitative methods such as interviews, focus groups, observations, or document analysis to collect textual or visual data and report themes, patterns, or narratives. For example, a qualitative design can be used to explore the challenges and opportunities of online learning for teachers and students.

Different scholars may have slightly different definitions of research design, but they generally agree on its main elements and purposes. Here are some definitions of research design by scholars.

According to Creswell (2014), “a research design is a set of advance decisions that make up the master plan specifying the methods and procedures for collecting and analysing the needed information”. According to Kumar (2019), “a research design is a procedural plan that is adopted by the researcher to answer questions validly, objectively, accurately, and economically”.

According to Bryman (2016), a research design is a framework for the collection and analysis of data. According to Trochim and Donnelly (2020), “a research design is the plan for a study that specifies who, what, when, where, why, and how data are to be collected and analysed”. According to Kothari (2004), “research design is a plan, a roadmap and blueprint strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions”.

De Vaus (2001) defines Research design as the overall strategy chosen to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, ensuring the research problem is effectively addressed. It is the blueprint for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data.

For Selltitz (1962), Research design anticipates and specifies the decisions connected with data collection, processing, and analysis, presenting a logical basis for these decisions.

According to Creswell (2014), the design of a study defines the study type, research problem, hypotheses, independent and dependent variables, experimental design, and, if applicable, data collection methods and a statistical analysis plan¹.

Research design is a critical aspect of any study, and understanding its advantages and disadvantages is key to selecting the most appropriate approach for a given research question. Here are some advantages and disadvantages of research design.

A well research design has some advantages. Experimental designs allow for control over variables, which can lead to a better understanding of cause-and-effect relationships. A well-designed study can be replicated by other researchers, which is essential for the validation of results. Qualitative designs offer flexibility to explore complex issues in depth and respond to new discoveries during the research process.

Further to research design, there are some limitations. Some designs can be complex and difficult to implement, requiring significant resources and expertise. Researcher bias can influence the outcomes, especially in qualitative research where the researcher has a high degree of interaction with the study. Results from studies with specific designs, such as case studies, may not be generalisable to larger populations.

These points reflect the trade-offs that researchers must consider when planning their studies. It's important to align the research design with the objectives of the study and the nature of the research question to mitigate potential disadvantages.

3.3 Research method

A research method is a specific technique or tool used by researchers to collect and analyse data in order to answer a research question or test a hypothesis. Different scholars may have slightly different definitions of research method, but they generally agree on its main elements and purposes.

According to Scribbr (2021), “Research methods are specific procedures for collecting and analysing data”. According to Research Method (2024), “research methods refer to the techniques, procedures, and processes used by researchers to collect, analyse, and interpret data in order to answer research questions or test hypotheses”. According to Oxford Reference (2024), “research methods are the specific techniques of data gathering and data analysis”.

Waltz and Bausell (1981), Research is a systematic, formal, rigorous, and precise process employed to gain solutions to problems or to discover and interpret new facts and relationships.

According to American sociologist Earl Robert Babbie, Research is a systematic inquiry aimed at describing, explaining, predicting, and controlling observed phenomena. Some common research methods are described below.

Experimental research method tests the causal effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable by manipulating the former and measuring the latter. For example, an experiment can test the effect of a new drug on blood pressure.

Survey research method collects data from a large sample of respondents using questionnaires or interviews. For example, a survey can measure the attitudes, opinions, or behaviours of a population.

Observational research involves observing and recording the natural or artificial behaviour of individuals or groups without intervening. For example, an observation can study the interactions between children and teachers in a classroom.

Case study research is in-depth and detailed examination of specific events, actors, or processes that are relevant to the topic of interest. Case studies can provide rich and contextualised insights, test or generate hypotheses, and explore causal mechanisms or processes. For example, a case study can explore the causes, consequences, or solutions of a problem or issue. However, case studies may also suffer from selection bias, limited generalisability, and difficulties in establishing causality.

Content analysis research method involves the systematic and objective examination of the content and characteristics of texts or images. For example, a content analysis can identify the themes, patterns, or biases in a media source.

In conducting our research, we will use case studies approaches as part of the research method to answer the objectives set in the chapter one.

The case study method offers several advantages. Case study design allows researchers to delve deeply into intricate issues and situations. By focusing on a specific instance or event, researchers can uncover nuanced details and layers of understanding that might be missed with other research methods, especially large-scale survey studies.

Building on the above point, case studies help us understand a topic holistically and from multiple angles. Researchers aren't restricted to predefined questions; instead, they can explore various perspectives and contextual factors related to the case study. This depth of analysis provides rich insights into the underlying factors and dynamics of the studied phenomenon.

Case studies are essential when studying rare and unusual occurrences that might be seen as outliers in population studies. For instance, consider a child genius. A population study would treat this child as an outlier, but an in-depth case study allows researchers to understand the unique environmental conditions that led to the child's remarkable cognitive development.

Unlike other research methods, case studies do not require sampling. Researchers focus on a specific unit or individual, allowing for a deep exploration without the need for statistical sampling. Case studies offer a continuous analysis of facts related to the specific phenomenon. Researchers can collect data over time, observing changes and developments. Case studies are valuable when formulating hypotheses. Researchers can explore specific instances to generate hypotheses or test existing ones.

By examining real-life cases, researchers contribute to the accumulation of knowledge in their field. Case studies provide insights that can inform theory and practice. Researchers can compare different cases to identify patterns, differences, and commonalities. This comparative approach enhances understanding and generalizability. Case studies capture personal experiences and provide a detailed account of events, actions, and outcomes. This authenticity contributes to the richness of the research.

Case study method also has some limitations. Findings from a single case study are not usually generalisable to broader populations. Since case studies focus on specific instances, it is challenging to infer trends across larger groups based on one unique case. Researchers' subjective feelings and biases can influence case study findings. The interpretation of data may vary based on the researcher's perspective, potentially affecting the objectivity of the study. Case studies can be difficult to replicate due to their unique context and specific conditions. Replication is essential for establishing the reliability of research findings. Conducting a thorough case study requires extensive data collection and analysis, making it more time-consuming and expensive compared to other research methods. Case studies provide descriptive information but do not necessarily allow for causal conclusions. Researchers cannot establish cause-and-effect relationships solely based on a single case study. Case studies may focus on unusual or exceptional instances, which might not represent the broader population. These unique cases can limit the generalizability of findings. Case studies are not universally applicable. Researchers must carefully consider whether this method aligns with their research objectives and the specific context they are studying.

3.4 Data collection

In the realm of diplomacy and international relations, secondary data plays a crucial role in enhancing our understanding of global affairs. Here are the details on how secondary data is utilised in this context.

Archival Records and Dispatches: Diplomatic dispatches, telegrams, and official records provide valuable insights into historical events, negotiations, and diplomatic interactions. We analyse these materials to understand the decision-making processes, policy shifts, and international relations of the past.

Newspaper Cuttings and Transcripts: Media coverage reflects public perceptions, government statements, and international reactions. We examine newspaper articles and transcripts to gauge the impact of diplomatic events and policies.

Maps and Geospatial Data: Maps help visualise territorial disputes, border changes, and geopolitical dynamics. We use historical and contemporary maps to study territorial claims, resource distribution, and strategic interests.

Photographs and Visual Materials: Photographs capture diplomatic meetings, state visits, and significant moments. We analyse visual materials to understand diplomatic gestures, cultural exchanges, and historical contexts.

Political and Economic Reports: Reports from government agencies, think tanks, and international organizations provide data on economic trends, trade relations, and political developments. We rely on these reports to assess the impact of policies and diplomatic initiatives.

Accounts of Visits and Tours: Diplomatic visits, official tours, and state receptions generate firsthand accounts. We analyse narratives from diplomats, leaders, and observers to gain insights into diplomatic engagements.

Minutes of Meetings and Conference Proceedings: Records of diplomatic meetings, summits, and conferences offer details on negotiations, agreements, and disagreements. We study these minutes to analyse diplomatic strategies and outcomes.

Letters, Leaflets, and Ephemera: Personal correspondence, official letters, and propaganda materials contribute to our understanding of diplomatic communication and public diplomacy. We examine these documents to explore diplomatic messaging and public perception.

Secondary data sources provide a rich tapestry of information for scholars in diplomacy and international relations. By analysing historical records, media archives, and official reports, researchers can uncover hidden patterns, contextualize diplomatic events, and inform contemporary policy discussions.

When utilising secondary data in research, researchers encounter several challenges. Ease of access to secondary data does not necessarily guarantee its credibility. Researchers must critically evaluate the reliability and accuracy of the existing data. Secondary data can sometimes be outdated, leading to potential inaccuracies or changes over time. Secondary data often relies on

primary research already conducted by others. If the original research had any bias, it may inadvertently influence the secondary results. Secondary data is not tailored to the researcher's specific needs. It was collected for a different purpose or research question. Researchers may find that the secondary data does not precisely address their current research objectives. The quality of secondary data can vary. Some sources may lack rigor or have inconsistencies. Researchers should assess the validity, relevance, and completeness of the data. The original data collection process may have involved certain assumptions, sampling biases, or measurement errors.

Overcoming challenges related to using secondary data in research requires thoughtful strategies. Some approaches will be taken to address these challenges. To verify the credibility and reliability of the data, we will be looking for reputable institutions, government agencies, or well-established research organisations. For cross-reference secondary data, multiple sources will be used to ensure consistency and reliability.

3.5 Research limitations

Diplomacy is an important tool for resolving conflicts peacefully and promoting cooperation among African countries. However, there are also some limitations and challenges that affect the effectiveness of diplomacy in the African context. Here are some possible limitations of research conducted on diplomacy of Togo in conflict resolution in Africa.

Diplomatic activities are often confidential and sensitive and may not be easily accessible to researchers. There may be gaps or biases in the available information, especially on the motivations, interests, and strategies of the actors involved. Moreover, some African countries, including Togo, have weak or unstable institutions, which may affect the quality and reliability of official records and statistics.

African conflicts are often multifaceted and involve multiple actors, issues, and levels of analysis. They may have historical, political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental dimensions, and may be influenced by regional and global factors. Therefore, it may be difficult to isolate the role and impact of diplomacy from other factors, and to generalize the findings across different cases.

African countries, especially small and poor ones like Togo, may face constraints in their diplomatic capacity and resources. They may lack skilled and experienced diplomats, adequate funding, and logistical support to engage in effective diplomacy. They may also depend on external actors, such as the United Nations, the African Union, or former colonial powers, to facilitate or mediate their diplomatic efforts, which may limit their autonomy and influence .

Diplomatic efforts may result in agreements or resolutions, but they may not necessarily lead to lasting peace and stability. There may be challenges in implementing and monitoring the agreements, such as lack of political will, compliance, or enforcement. There may also be spoilers or new developments that may undermine or reverse the diplomatic achievements. Therefore, diplomacy may need to be complemented by other measures, such as security, development, and reconciliation, to ensure the durability and effectiveness of conflict resolution.

Chapter 4. Republic of Togo's Diplomacy

4.1 Introduction

Republic of Togo's diplomacy in Africa is the conduct and management of its foreign relations and interests with other African countries and organisations. Togo's diplomacy in Africa is guided by its national vision, values, and objectives, as well as by the principles and norms of international law and cooperation. Togo's diplomacy in Africa aims to promote its peace, security, stability, development, democracy, and human rights, as well as to contribute to the regional and continental common good.

Togo's diplomacy in Africa has four main dimensions: regional integration and cooperation, conflict prevention and resolution, human rights and international justice, and economic development and social welfare. These dimensions are interrelated and mutually reinforcing, as they reflect Togo's interests and aspirations, as well as its challenges and opportunities.

Regional integration and cooperation is the first dimension of Togo's diplomacy in Africa. Togo is a founding member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU), two regional organisations that promote integration and cooperation in various fields, such as security, trade, energy, agriculture, health, education, culture, and sports. Togo has played a significant role in the development and functioning of both organizations, by hosting their summits and meetings, by chairing their committees and commissions, by contributing to their budgets and funds, and by participating in their initiatives and platforms. Togo has also maintained good relations with other regional organizations in Africa, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU).

Conflict prevention and resolution is the second dimension of Togo's diplomacy in Africa. Togo has been actively and constructively involved in mediating and resolving conflicts in West Africa, such as in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Mali, and The Gambia. Togo has also contributed troops and resources to regional and international peacekeeping operations in these countries. Togo has also facilitated dialogue and reconciliation between the different political and social actors in these countries. Togo has also condemned and supported the prosecution of atrocities such as the genocide in Rwanda. Togo has also supported the efforts of the African Union's Panel of Eminent African Personalities, headed by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan of Ghana, to mediate the political crisis in Kenya, which was triggered by a disputed presidential election between incumbent Mwai Kibaki and opposition leader Raila Odinga. Togo's President Faure Gnassingbé was a member of the panel, along with former Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkapa and former Mozambican First Lady Graça Machel.

Human rights and international justice is the third dimension of Togo's diplomacy in Africa. Togo has ratified most of the major international human rights treaties and conventions and has cooperated with the relevant mechanisms and bodies. Togo has also supported the establishment and functioning of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the International Criminal Tribunal

for Rwanda (ICTR). Togo has also implemented some domestic reforms to improve its human rights situation, such as abolishing the death penalty, decriminalizing homosexuality, promoting gender equality, and strengthening civil society.

Economic development and social welfare is the fourth dimension of Togo's diplomacy in Africa. Togo has pursued a diversified and sustainable economic development strategy, that relies on agriculture, phosphate mining, manufacturing, tourism, and services. Togo has also invested more in education, health care, infrastructure, innovation, and environmental protection. Togo has also benefited from regional and continental trade agreements, such as the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS), the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), and the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) . Togo has also received development assistance and cooperation from various partners, such as France, the United States, China, Israel, Germany, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, and the European Union .

Togo's diplomacy in Africa is a dynamic and evolving process that reflects its national vision, values, and objectives, as well as the principles and norms of international law and cooperation. Togo's diplomacy in Africa aims to promote its peace, security, stability, development, democracy, and human rights, as well as to contribute to the regional and continental common good. Togo's diplomacy in Africa has four main dimensions: regional integration and cooperation, conflict prevention and resolution, human rights and international justice, and economic development and social welfare. These dimensions are interrelated and mutually reinforcing, as they reflect Togo's interests and aspirations, as well as its challenges and opportunities.

4.2 Republic of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa

Togo has experienced political instability and social unrest since its independence from France in 1960, especially under the authoritarian rule of Gnassingbé Eyadema from 1967 to 2005 and his son Faure Gnassingbé from 2005 to present. Togo has faced several challenges in its diplomacy and conflict resolution efforts in the region. Togo has engaged in diplomatic efforts related to conflict resolution in Africa. While the country's specific role may not be as prominent as some other nations, it has contributed to regional stability through various means. Togo's diplomacy contributes to conflict resolution efforts in Africa, albeit within the broader context of regional and international cooperation. While its impact may not always be headline-grabbing, every effort counts toward a more stable continent.

4.3 The 1986-1987 border dispute with Ghana over the Volta River

The 1986-1987 border dispute with Ghana over the Volta River was a result of a disagreement over the ownership and use of the river and its resources, especially the Akosombo Dam, which was built by Ghana in 1965 to generate hydroelectric power. The dam created Lake Volta, the largest artificial lake in the world, which partly extended into Togo's territory. Togo claimed that the dam had adverse effects on its environment, economy, and security, such as flooding, erosion, loss of fishing grounds, and increased smuggling and piracy. Togo also demanded compensation from Ghana for the use of the river and its water.

The border dispute escalated in 1986, when Ghana accused Togo of violating its sovereignty and territorial integrity by building a bridge across the Volta River at Dzodze, a town near the border. Ghana claimed that the bridge was part of Togo's plan to annex part of Ghana's territory and divert water from the river. Ghana also alleged that Togo was supporting rebel groups in Ghana, such as the National Liberation Movement of Western Togoland (NLMWT), which sought to secede from Ghana and join Togo.

The border dispute led to diplomatic tensions and military confrontations between the two countries, which threatened to destabilise the region and undermine regional integration and cooperation. The dispute also attracted international attention and intervention from regional and continental organisations, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). ECOWAS and OAU initiated negotiations and mediation between Ghana and Togo to resolve the dispute peacefully and amicably. The negotiations and mediation were led by Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida, who was the chairman of ECOWAS at the time.

The negotiation and mediation resulted in the signing of a Joint Communiqué on February 23, 1987, in Lagos, Nigeria. The communiqué provided for a series of measures to resolve the dispute and improve relations between Ghana and Togo, such as:

- The withdrawal of troops from both sides of the border and the establishment of a joint security committee to monitor the situation.
- The suspension of the construction of the bridge at Dzodze and the establishment of a joint technical committee to study its feasibility and impact.
- The recognition of the existing boundary between Ghana and Togo as defined by the Anglo-German Agreement of 1914 and confirmed by the Exchange of Notes between Ghana and Togo in 1962.
- The establishment of a joint commission to review and update the boundary demarcation and delimitation.
- The cessation of any support or encouragement to subversive activities or groups in each other's territory.
- The promotion of cooperation and integration in various fields, such as trade, transport, energy, agriculture, health, education, culture, and sports.

The Joint Communiqué was hailed as a landmark achievement in resolving the border dispute between Ghana and Togo and enhancing peace and stability in West Africa. It also demonstrated the effectiveness and relevance of ECOWAS and OAU as regional and continental mechanisms for conflict prevention and resolution. However, the implementation of the communiqué was slow and incomplete, leading to some unresolved issues and challenges, such as:

- The lack of adequate resources and capacity to carry out the boundary demarcation and delimitation.

- The persistence of some disputes over specific areas along the border, such as Lolobi-Kumasi in Ghana's Volta Region.
- The impact of political changes and instability in both countries on their bilateral relations.

Despite these challenges, Ghana and Togo have maintained cordial relations since the signing of the communiqué and have continued to cooperate on various issues of mutual interest.

4.4 The 1991-1992 civil war in Liberia

The 1991-1992 civil war in Liberia was a continuation of the conflict that started in 1989, when Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) launched a rebellion against the government of Samuel Doe, who had seized power in a coup in 1980. The NPFL was supported by Libya, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire, while Doe's government was backed by the United States and Nigeria. The war resulted in the death of more than 200,000 people and the displacement of more than one million.

Togo was one of the West African countries that participated in the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), a regional peacekeeping force that intervened to restore order and democracy in Liberia. Togo sent about 300 troops to join ECOMOG in 1990, under the command of Nigerian General Joshua Dogonyaro. Togo also supported the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, which was signed on October 30, 1991, between Doe's successor Amos Sawyer and Taylor. The accord provided for a ceasefire, a disarmament and demobilisation process, and the formation of an interim government of national unity.

Togo's role in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Liberia was motivated by several factors, such as:

- Its solidarity and commitment to regional integration and cooperation within ECOWAS and the African Union (AU).
- Its experience and expertise in dealing with similar situations in West Africa, such as Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso.
- Its concern for the humanitarian and security impact of the war on its neighbours and trading partners.
- Its recognition of the importance of restoring democracy and human rights in Liberia.

Togo's role in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Liberia was appreciated and recognised by the international community. For example, in 1992, Togo received an award from the UN for its contribution to peacekeeping operations. Togo also received praise from the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who said: "I commend Togo for its active participation in ECOMOG and its support for the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. Togo has shown great leadership and responsibility in promoting peace and stability in West Africa.

Togo's role in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Liberia also had some positive outcomes for its own security and development. For example, Togo improved its military capacity and professionalism through its participation in ECOMOG. Togo also benefited from the regional initiatives and platforms established by ECOWAS and the AU to enhance security cooperation and development assistance.

4.5 The 1994 genocide in Rwanda

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda was one of the most horrific events in human history, in which more than 800,000 people, mostly from the Tutsi minority, were killed by extremist Hutu militias in a span of about 100 days. The international community failed to prevent or stop the genocide, despite the warnings and pleas from the victims and the UN peacekeepers on the ground.

Togo was one of the African countries that condemned the genocide and supported the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to prosecute the perpetrators. Togo voted in favour of the UN Security Council resolution 955, which created the ICTR on November 8, 1994. Togo also cooperated with the ICTR by arresting and transferring two accused persons, Joseph Nzirorera and Edouard Karemera, who were former high-ranking officials of the ruling party in Rwanda during the genocide. Togo also assisted the ICTR by implementing protective measures for witnesses in its territory. Togo's role in condemning and supporting the ICTR was motivated by several factors, such as:

- Its solidarity and commitment to regional integration and cooperation within ECOWAS and the AU.
- Its respect for human rights and international justice, as well as its concern for peace and reconciliation in Rwanda and the region.
- Its experience and expertise in dealing with similar situations in West Africa, such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso.

Togo's role in condemning and supporting the ICTR was appreciated and recognised by the international community. For example, in 2000, Togo received an award from the UN for its contribution to peacekeeping operations, which included its cooperation with the ICTR. Togo also received praise from the ICTR Prosecutor Hassan Bubacar Jallow, who said: "I wish to express my gratitude to Togo for its exemplary cooperation with my Office and with the Tribunal as a whole. Togo has shown great leadership and responsibility in promoting accountability and justice for the Rwandan genocide."

Togo's role in condemning and supporting the ICTR also had some positive outcomes for its own security and development. For example, Togo improved its legal system and judicial capacity through its cooperation with the ICTR. Togo also benefited from the regional initiatives and platforms established by ECOWAS and the AU to enhance security cooperation and development assistance.

4.6 The 1998-1999 civil war in Sierra Leone.

The 1998-1999 civil war in Sierra Leone was a continuation of the conflict that started in 1991, when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), a rebel group led by Foday Sankoh, launched a campaign to overthrow the government of President Joseph Momoh. The RUF was supported by Charles Taylor, the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), who wanted to gain control of Sierra Leone's rich diamond mines. The RUF committed atrocities against civilians, such as killings, rapes, mutilations, and abductions of children to serve as soldiers or sex slaves.

Togo was one of the West African countries that contributed to the peacekeeping efforts in Sierra Leone, as part of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), a regional force that intervened to restore order and democracy. Togo sent about 500 troops to join ECOMOG in 1998, under the command of Nigerian General Maxwell Khobe. Togo also supported the Lomé Peace Accord, which was signed on July 7, 1999, between President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah and Sankoh. The accord granted Sankoh a position in the transitional government and amnesty for him and all combatants, in exchange for a ceasefire and disarmament.

Togo's role in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Sierra Leone was motivated by several factors, such as:

- Its solidarity and commitment to regional integration and cooperation within ECOWAS and the African Union (AU).
- Its experience and expertise in dealing with similar situations in West Africa, such as Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso.
- Its concern for the humanitarian and security impact of the conflict on its neighbour's and trading partners.
- Its recognition of the importance of restoring democracy and human rights in Sierra Leone.

Togo's role in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Sierra Leone was appreciated and recognized by the international community. For example, in 2000, Togo received an award from the UN for its contribution to peacekeeping operations. Togo also received praise from the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who said: "I commend Togo for its active participation in ECOMOG and its support for the Lomé Peace Accord. Togo has shown great leadership and responsibility in promoting peace and stability in West Africa."

Togo's role in the peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Sierra Leone also had some positive outcomes for its own security and development. For example, Togo improved its military capacity and professionalism through its participation in ECOMOG. Togo also benefited from the regional initiatives and platforms established by ECOWAS and the AU to enhance security cooperation and development assistance.

4.7 The 2002-2003 civil war in Côte d'Ivoire

Togo played a significant role in mediating the 2002-2003 civil war in Côte d'Ivoire, which erupted after a failed coup attempt by rebel forces against President Laurent Gbagbo. Togo was one of the first countries to send a delegation of diplomats to Abidjan to meet with Gbagbo and urge him to negotiate with the rebels. Togo also hosted several rounds of talks between the government and the rebels in Lomé, the capital of Togo, which resulted in the signing of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement on January 24, 2003. This agreement provided for a power-sharing government, a ceasefire, and a disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) process. Togo also contributed troops to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peacekeeping force (ECOFORCE) that was deployed in Côte d'Ivoire to monitor the ceasefire and assist the French and UN forces. Togo's mediation efforts were motivated by several factors, such as:

- Its historical and cultural ties with Côte d'Ivoire, as both countries were former French colonies and shared ethnic groups across their borders.
- Its economic interests, as Côte d'Ivoire was a major trading partner and a source of remittances for many Togolese migrants.
- Its security concerns, as the spillover effects of the conflict could destabilize Togo and the region.
- Its regional leadership aspirations, as Togo sought to enhance its reputation and influence in West Africa and the African Union (AU).

Figure 1. Buffer zone map, Ivory Coast civil war, 2007



Togo's mediation efforts were also supported by other regional and international actors, such as ECOWAS, the AU, France, and the UN. However, Togo also faced some challenges and limitations in its mediation role, such as:

- The lack of trust and cooperation between the parties, especially after Gbagbo accused Togo of supporting the rebels and expelled its ambassador in 2004.
- The interference and rivalry of other mediators, such as South Africa, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Libya, who had different agendas and interests in the conflict.
- The complexity and volatility of the conflict, which involved multiple actors, issues, and dynamics that were difficult to address comprehensively.

Despite these challenges, Togo's mediation efforts contributed to the resolution of the civil war in Côte d'Ivoire and paved the way for a peaceful transition to democracy. However, the implementation of the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement was slow and incomplete, leading to renewed violence and a second civil war in 2010-2011. Therefore, Togo's mediation role can be seen as a partial success that required further support and follow-up from other actors.

4.8 The 2007-2008 political crisis in Kenya

Togo was one of the African countries that supported the mediation of the 2007-2008 political crisis in Kenya, which was triggered by a disputed presidential election between incumbent Mwai Kibaki and opposition leader Raila Odinga. The mediation was led by the African Union's Panel of Eminent African Personalities, headed by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan of Ghana. Togo's President Faure Gnassingbé was a member of the panel, along with former Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkapa and former Mozambican First Lady Graça Machel.

Togo's role in the mediation was mainly to provide diplomatic and political backing to the panel's efforts, as well as to offer its experience and expertise in dealing with similar situations in West Africa. Togo had been involved in mediating and resolving conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso, among others. Togo also had historical and cultural ties with Kenya, as both countries were former British colonies and shared membership in the Commonwealth of Nations.

Togo's mediation efforts contributed to the successful outcome of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation process, which resulted in the signing of the National Accord and Reconciliation Act on February 28, 2008. The accord established a power-sharing government between Kibaki and Odinga, who became prime minister, as well as a comprehensive reform agenda to address the root causes of the crisis. The accord also ended the violence that had claimed over 1,000 lives and displaced more than 600,000 people.

Togo's mediation role in the Kenyan crisis can be seen as an example of African agency and solidarity in promoting peace and democracy on the continent. It also demonstrated Togo's commitment to regional integration and cooperation within the framework of the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). However, Togo also faced some challenges and limitations in its mediation role, such as:

- The complexity and sensitivity of the issues involved, such as ethnic divisions, electoral fraud, constitutional reforms, human rights violations, and power-sharing arrangements.
- The interference and pressure from other external actors, such as the United States, the European Union, China, and Israel, who had different interests and agendas in the conflict.
- The lack of adequate resources and capacity to sustain its involvement in the mediation process and to support the implementation of the accord.

4.9 The 2012-2013 coup d'état and insurgency in Mali

Togo was one of the West African countries that participated in the mediation of the 2012-2013 coup d'état and insurgency in Mali, which was sparked by a mutiny of soldiers against President Amadou Toumani Touré over his handling of the rebellion by Tuareg separatists and Islamist militants in the north of the country. The coup leaders, led by Captain Amadou Sanogo, suspended the constitution and dissolved the government, triggering widespread condemnation and sanctions from the international community.

Togo's role in the mediation was mainly to support the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the regional bloc to which Mali and Togo belong, to restore constitutional order and democracy in Mali. Togo's President Faure Gnassingbé was part of the ECOWAS Contact Group on Mali, which was formed to facilitate dialogue and negotiations between the coup leaders and the civilian opposition. The Contact Group also included the presidents of Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Niger, and Nigeria.

Togo's mediation efforts contributed to the signing of the Framework Agreement on April 6, 2012, which provided for a transition period of 12 months, the appointment of an interim president and prime minister, the restoration of the constitution and institutions, and the organisation of free and fair elections. Togo also condemned the declaration of independence by the Tuareg rebels in northern Mali and supported the deployment of an ECOWAS military intervention force (AFISMA) to assist the Malian government in reclaiming its territorial integrity and fighting against terrorism.

Togo's mediation role in the Malian crisis can be seen as an expression of its solidarity and commitment to regional integration and cooperation within ECOWAS. It also demonstrated Togo's respect for democratic values and principles, as well as its concern for peace and security in West Africa. However, Togo also faced some challenges and limitations in its mediation role, such as:

- The lack of trust and cooperation between the parties, especially after the coup leaders staged a second coup in December 2012 to oust Prime Minister Cheick Modibo Diarra.
- The interference and pressure from other external actors, such as France, Algeria, Mauritania, and Chad, who had different interests and agendas in the conflict.
- The complexity and volatility of the conflict, which involved multiple actors, issues, and dynamics that were difficult to address comprehensively.

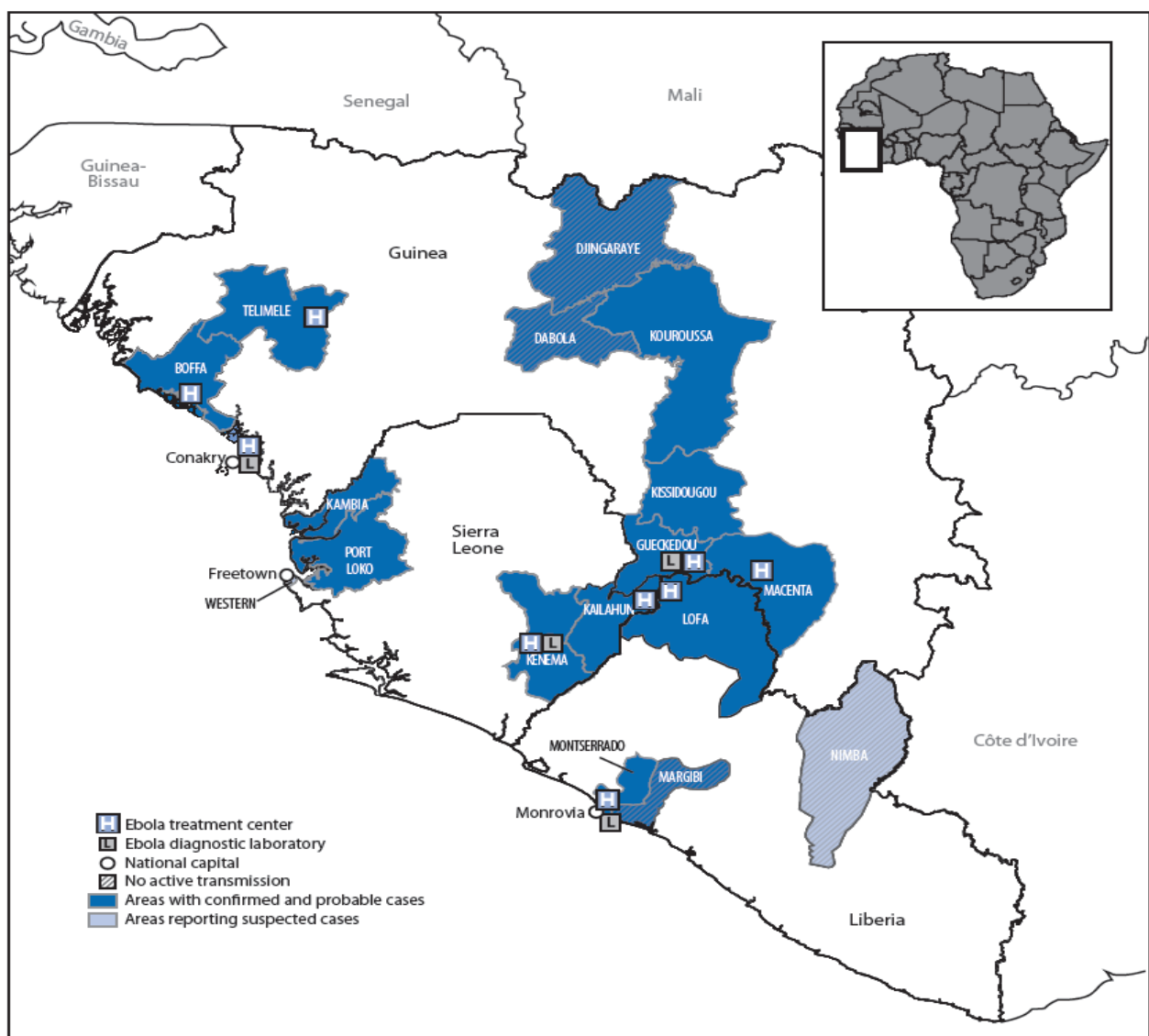
Despite these challenges, Togo's mediation efforts played a positive role in resolving the coup d'état and insurgency in Mali and paved the way for a peaceful transition to democracy. However,

the implementation of the Framework Agreement was slow and incomplete, leading to renewed violence and instability in 2013-2014. Therefore, Togo's mediation role can be seen as a partial success that required further support and follow-up from other actors.

4.10 The 2014-2015 Ebola outbreak in West Africa

The 2014-2015 Ebola outbreak in West Africa was the largest and most complex Ebola outbreak since the virus was first discovered in 1976. It affected 10 countries, mainly Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, and resulted in more than 28,000 cases and 11,000 deaths. The outbreak posed a serious threat to the health, security, and development of the region and the world.

Figure 2. Location of cases of Ebola viral disease — West Africa, 2014



Togo was one of the countries that contributed to the regional and international response to contain and end the epidemic. Togo provided medical personnel and equipment to the ECOWAS Regional Centre for Disease Surveillance and Control (RCSDC), which was established in 2015 with the support of the World Bank to coordinate the regional response to epidemic threats². Togo also participated in the African Union Support to Ebola Outbreak in West Africa (ASEOWA) mission, which deployed more than 800 health workers from across Africa to support the affected countries³. Togo also donated \$500,000 to the African Union Ebola Fund and \$50,000 to each of the three most affected countries.

Togo's contribution to the Ebola response was motivated by several factors, such as:

- Its solidarity and commitment to regional integration and cooperation within ECOWAS and the African Union.
- Its experience and expertise in dealing with previous outbreaks of infectious diseases such as cholera, meningitis, and yellow fever.
- Its concern for the humanitarian and socio-economic impact of the outbreak on its neighbours and trading partners.
- Its recognition of the importance of strengthening health systems and surveillance capacities to prevent future epidemics.

Togo's contribution to the Ebola response was appreciated and recognized by the international community. For example, in 2015, Togo received an award from the African Development Bank for its exemplary leadership and contribution to the fight against Ebola. Togo also received praise from the WHO Regional Director for Africa, Dr Matshidiso Moeti, who said: "Togo has shown great solidarity with its sister countries by sending medical teams to support them in their time of need. This is a commendable gesture that demonstrates African solidarity and ownership of the response."

Togo's contribution to the Ebola response also had some positive outcomes for its own health system and preparedness. For example, Togo improved its laboratory capacity and trained more than 1,000 health workers on infection prevention and control measures. Togo also developed a national contingency plan for Ebola preparedness and response, which was tested through simulation exercises. Togo also benefited from the regional initiatives and platforms established by ECOWAS and the African Union to enhance disease surveillance and response.

4.11 The 2015-2016 political crisis in Burkina Faso

The 2015-2016 political crisis in Burkina Faso was a result of the popular uprising that ousted President Blaise Compaoré in October 2014, after he tried to extend his 27-year rule by amending the constitution.

In September 2015, a failed coup d'état took place in Burkina Faso. Members of the Regiment of Presidential Security (RSP), a controversial autonomous military unit formed under President Blaise Compaoré, detained the country's government. Among those detained were the transitional President Michel Kafando, Prime Minister Yacouba Isaac Zida (who was also the former deputy commander of the RSP), and several cabinet members.

This transitional government had been established after the 2014 Burkinabé uprising, during which a popular movement ousted President Compaoré. Compaoré himself had come to power in a 1987 coup against the left-wing leader Thomas Sankara. New general elections were planned for October 11, 2015. The RSP seized control of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso's capital, and declared a new junta led by General Gilbert Diendéré to oversee the transition to elections. However, protests and pressure from regional leaders and the regular army forced the junta to restore the transitional government, and Michel Kafando was reinstated as president on September 23, 2015.

In October 2016, there was another attempt to overthrow the government. At least 30 ex-members of the elite presidential guard (known as the RSP) planned an attack on three locations in Ouagadougou: the presidential residence, an Army barracks, and a prison. Fortunately, this attempt was unsuccessful.

Burkina Faso has faced significant challenges, including human rights issues, but it has also made strides toward democracy. In November 2015, the country held peaceful and orderly presidential and legislative elections, marking a major milestone in its transition to democracy. However, challenges remain, including reports of torture, violence against women and children, and other human rights concerns.

Togo played a key role in facilitating dialogue and reconciliation between the transitional authorities and the military junta, as well as between the different political and social actors in Burkina Faso. Togo's President Faure Gnassingbé was appointed by ECOWAS as the chief mediator for the crisis, along with Senegal's President Macky Sall. Togo also hosted several meetings and consultations in Lomé, the capital of Togo, to find a peaceful solution to the crisis. Togo's mediation efforts contributed to the signing of a Charter of Transition on September 20, 2015, which provided for the restoration of Kafando and Zida as interim leaders, the dissolution of the RSP and the CND, the release of all detainees, an amnesty for the coup leaders, and a postponement of the elections until November 2015. Togo also supported the implementation of the charter and the deployment of an ECOWAS security force to monitor the situation.

Togo's mediation role in the Burkina Faso crisis can be seen as an expression of its solidarity and commitment to regional integration and cooperation within ECOWAS. It also demonstrated Togo's respect for democratic values and principles, as well as its concern for peace and stability in West Africa. However, Togo also faced some challenges and limitations in its mediation role, such as:

- The lack of trust and cooperation between the parties, especially after Diendéré refused to abide by the charter and attempted to resist the disarmament of the RSP.
- The interference and pressure from other external actors, such as France, Algeria, Morocco, and Turkey, who had different interests and agendas in the conflict.
- The complexity and volatility of the conflict, which involved multiple actors, issues, and dynamics that were difficult to address comprehensively.

Despite these challenges, Togo's mediation efforts played a positive role in resolving the political crisis in Burkina Faso and paved the way for a peaceful transition to democracy. However, the implementation of the charter was slow and incomplete, leading to renewed violence and

instability in 2016-2017. Therefore, Togo's mediation role can be seen as a partial success that required further support and follow-up from other actors.

4.12 The 2016-2017 political crisis in The Gambia

The 2016-2017 political crisis in The Gambia was a result of the refusal of President Yahya Jammeh to accept the outcome of the presidential election held on December 1, 2016, which he lost to Adama Barrow, the candidate of a coalition of opposition parties. Jammeh, who had ruled The Gambia since 1994, initially conceded defeat and congratulated Barrow, but later changed his mind and rejected the results, alleging irregularities and fraud. He filed a petition to the Supreme Court to annul the election and called for a new one. He also declared a state of emergency and dissolved his cabinet.

Togo was one of the West African countries that participated in the ECOWAS mediation team that persuaded Jammeh to step down peacefully and avoid a military intervention by the regional bloc. Togo's President Faure Gnassingbé was part of the delegation of ECOWAS heads of state that visited The Gambia several times to engage in dialogue with Jammeh and convince him to respect the will of the Gambian people and hand over power to Barrow. The delegation also included the presidents of Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Guinea, and Mauritania.

Togo's role in the mediation was mainly to support the efforts of ECOWAS, which had adopted a firm stance against Jammeh's attempt to cling to power and had threatened to use force if necessary to ensure a peaceful transition. Togo also had historical and cultural ties with The Gambia, as both countries were former British colonies and shared membership in the Commonwealth of Nations. Togo also had an interest in maintaining peace and stability in West Africa and preventing a humanitarian crisis that could result from a violent conflict.

Togo's mediation efforts contributed to the successful resolution of the political crisis in The Gambia and the peaceful departure of Jammeh on January 21, 2017. Jammeh agreed to leave the country after receiving assurances from ECOWAS and the AU that his rights, security, and property would be respected. He also received an offer from Guinea's President Alpha Condé to host him as a guest. Jammeh flew to Equatorial Guinea with Condé and Gnassingbé, ending his 22-year rule. Barrow was sworn in as the new president of The Gambia on January 19, 2017, at the Gambian embassy in Senegal, where he had taken refuge for security reasons.

Togo's mediation role in The Gambia crisis can be seen as an example of African agency and solidarity in promoting peace and democracy on the continent. It also demonstrated Togo's commitment to regional integration and cooperation within the framework of ECOWAS and the AU. However, Togo also faced some challenges and limitations in its mediation role, such as:

- The lack of trust and cooperation from Jammeh, who repeatedly reneged on his promises and tried to manipulate the mediators.
- The interference and pressure from other external actors, such as Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and France, who had different interests and agendas in the conflict.
- The complexity and volatility of the situation, which involved multiple actors, issues, and dynamics that were difficult to address comprehensively.

Despite these challenges, Togo's mediation efforts played a positive role in resolving the political crisis in The Gambia and paved the way for a peaceful transition to democracy. However, the implementation of the agreement reached with Jammeh was slow and incomplete, leading to some tensions and disputes over his assets, immunity, and supporters.

4.13 Republic of Togo Peacekeeping Missions

According to the United Nations Peacekeeping, Togo contributes 1,061 troops to peacekeeping missions as of January 2021. This includes 1,006 male and 55 female peacekeepers. Togo ranks 24th among the countries by number of UN peacekeepers contributed². Togo deploys its troops to seven missions, namely: MINUSMA, UNAMID, UNOCI, UNMIL, UNAMSIL, UNMISS, and UNISFA. Togo also participates in the Peace Corps program, which currently has 40 volunteers in Togo.

Togo finances its peacekeeping missions mainly through its contributions to the United Nations peacekeeping budget, which is the collective responsibility of all Member States of the Organisation (United Nations 2023). According to the United Nations Peacekeeping, Togo's contribution rate for the period from 1 January 2021 to 31 December 2021 is 0.004% of the total peacekeeping budget. This means that Togo pays about \$25,600 for the \$6.37 billion peacekeeping budget approved by the General Assembly for the 2021/22 fiscal year. Togo also receives reimbursement from the United Nations for providing troops and police to peacekeeping missions, as well as compensation for death, disability or illness of its personnel. The reimbursement rate for troops and police is \$1,428 per person per month, and the compensation rate for death, disability or illness is \$50,000 per person. Togo may also receive financial support from other sources, such as bilateral or multilateral partners, regional organizations, or international funds, to finance its peacekeeping missions (UN Peacekeeping 2022). Some examples of Togo's peacekeeping missions are discussed below.

In Mali, Togo is part of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), which was established in 2013 to support the political process and carry out security-related tasks in the country. Togo provides troops and police to MINUSMA, which is one of the most dangerous peacekeeping missions in the world. Togolese peacekeepers conduct daily patrols, protect civilians, and support humanitarian assistance in northern Mali.

In Sudan, Togo is part of the United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), which was established in 2007 to protect civilians, facilitate humanitarian aid, and support the peace process in Darfur. Togo provides troops and police to UNAMID, which is the largest peacekeeping mission in the world. Togolese peacekeepers perform various tasks, such as escorting humanitarian convoys, monitoring human rights violations, and supporting local reconciliation efforts.

In Ivory Coast, Togo is part of the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), which was established in 2004 to help implement the peace agreement that ended the civil war in the country. Togo provides troops and police to UNOCI, which is mandated to monitor the ceasefire, disarm ex-combatants, support elections, and protect civilians. Togolese peacekeepers have been involved

in securing the border areas, facilitating the return of refugees and displaced persons, and assisting with the delivery of humanitarian aid (UN Peacekeeping 2023).

4.14 Strategic importance of Republic of Togo in the region

Despite its size, Togo plays an important role in the region, both politically and economically. Togo has several strategic advantages that make it a valuable partner for its neighbours and the international community.

First, Togo is a gateway to the Central Sahel region, which is facing multiple challenges such as armed conflict, terrorism, climate change, food insecurity, and displacement. Togo's coastline on the Gulf of Guinea provides access to the Atlantic Ocean for landlocked countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger. Togo also hosts a regional logistics hub that facilitates the delivery of humanitarian and development assistance to these countries. Togo's port of Lomé is one of the busiest and most modern in West Africa, handling about 80% of the country's trade and serving as a transit point for goods from and to other countries in the region. Togo also has an international airport that connects it to major cities in Africa and beyond. Togo's role as a regional hub is crucial for the COVID-19 response, as it enables the transport of medical supplies and vaccines to the affected countries (World Food Programme 2023).

Second, Togo is a stable country that contributes to peace and security in the region. Togo has been undergoing a political transition since 2005, when President Gnassingbé Eyadéma died after 38 years in power and was succeeded by his son Faure Gnassingbé. Since then, Togo has held several elections that have been deemed free and fair by international observers. Togo has also adopted constitutional reforms that limit the presidential term to two five-year mandates and introduce a two-round voting system. Togo has been engaged in dialogue with the opposition and civil society to address their grievances and foster national reconciliation. Togo is also an active member of regional and continental organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU). Togo participates in peacekeeping missions and mediates conflicts in countries such as Guinea-Bissau, Mali, and Burkina Faso.

Third, Togo is a developing country that is committed to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and improving the living conditions of its people. Togo has made progress in areas such as access to primary education, health care, gender equality, and environmental protection¹. Togo has also launched several initiatives to boost its economic growth and diversify its sources of income. For example, Togo has invested in renewable energy projects such as solar power plants to increase its electricity supply and reduce its dependence on fossil fuels (World Food Programme 2023). Togo has also supported smallholder farmers by providing them with inputs, training, and market access through its national school feeding program that sources food locally. Moreover, Togo has implemented social protection programs such as cash transfers and food assistance to help vulnerable populations cope with shocks such as the COVID-19 pandemic (World Bank 2023).

Togo is a strategically important country in West Africa that plays a vital role in regional integration, stability, and development. Togo's geographic location, political stability, and economic potential make it a valuable partner for its neighbours and the international community.

Togo faces many challenges such as poverty, malnutrition, inequality, and insecurity, but it also has many opportunities to overcome them with the support of its partners. By working together with other countries in the region and beyond, Togo can achieve its vision of becoming an emerging country by 2030 (World Bank 2023).

4.14.1 Geography

Togo has a diverse and complex geography. It covers an area of 56,785 square kilometers. Togo is bordered by Ghana to the west, Burkina Faso to the north, Benin to the east, and the Gulf of Guinea to the south. Togo has six main geographic regions: the coastal region, the Ouatchi Plateau, the tableland, the Togo Mountains, the sandstone plateau, and the higher region.

The coastal region is the narrowest and lowest part of Togo, with an average width of 50 kilometers and an elevation of less than 100 meters above sea level. The coast consists of sandy beaches, tidal flats, shallow lagoons, and mangrove swamps. The largest lagoon is Lake Togo, which is connected to the sea by a channel. The coastal region has a hot and humid climate, with an annual rainfall of about 1,000 millimeters. The main economic activities in this region are fishing, tourism, and agriculture (especially palm oil and coconut).

The Ouatchi Plateau is a flat and fertile region that stretches about 30 kilometers inland from the coast. It has an elevation of 60 to 90 meters above sea level and is composed of reddish clay soils that are rich in iron. The Ouatchi Plateau has a tropical savanna climate, with two rainy seasons and two dry seasons. The main crops grown in this region are maize, cassava, yams, sorghum, millet, and cotton. The Ouatchi Plateau is also home to most of Togo's population and urban centers, such as Lomé, the capital and largest city.

The tableland is a hilly and wooded region that lies northeast of the Ouatchi Plateau. It has an elevation of 200 to 500 meters above sea level and is drained by the Mono River and its tributaries. The tableland has a tropical wet and dry climate, with a single rainy season and a long dry season. The main crops grown in this region are coffee, cocoa, bananas, pineapples, and citrus fruits. The tableland also has some mineral resources, such as phosphates, limestone, marble, and iron ore.

The Togo Mountains are a range of hills that run across the central part of Togo from southwest to northeast. They have an elevation of 500 to 1,000 meters above sea level and are composed of metamorphic rocks such as gneiss and schist. The Togo Mountains have a tropical highland climate, with cooler temperatures and higher rainfall than the surrounding regions. The main crops grown in this region are potatoes, beans, vegetables, and fruits. The Togo Mountains also have some natural attractions, such as waterfalls, caves, and forests.

The sandstone plateau is a dry and rocky region that lies north of the Togo Mountains. It has an elevation of 300 to 400 meters above sea level and is drained by the Oti River, a tributary of the Volta River. The sandstone plateau has a semi-arid climate, with hot temperatures and low rainfall. The main crops grown in this region are millet, sorghum, peanuts, and sesame. The sandstone plateau also has some wildlife reserves, such as the Kéran National Park and the Fazao-Malfakassa National Park.

The higher region is the highest and northernmost part of Togo. It has an elevation of 400 to 600 meters above sea level and is composed of granite rocks. The higher region has a tropical wet and dry climate, with a single rainy season and a long dry season. The main crops grown in this region are cotton, tobacco, and shea nuts. The higher region also has some cultural diversity, as it is inhabited by various ethnic groups, such as the Kabaye, the Moba, and the Bassar (Leigh, 2018).

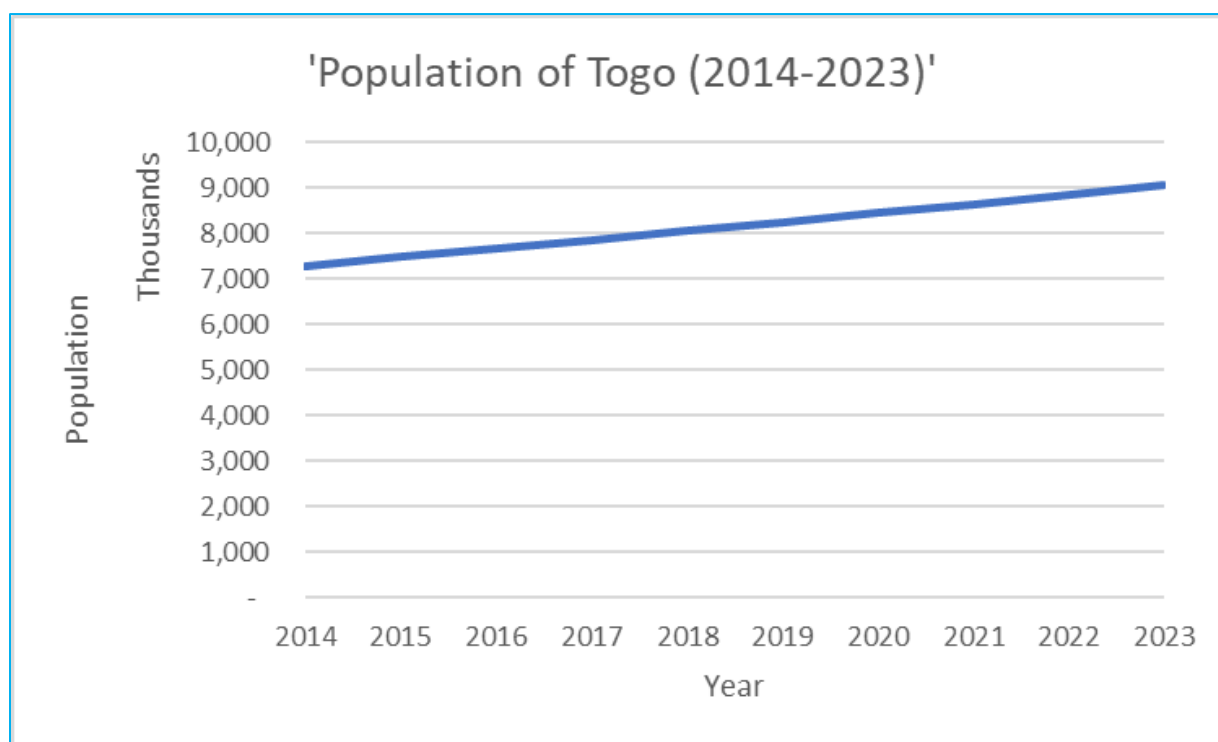
Togo is a country that has a varied and rich geography, with different regions that have different physical features, climates, resources, and cultures. Togo's geography has influenced its history, economy, society, and politics, as well as its relations with its neighbours and the world. Togo's geography also poses some challenges and opportunities for its development and sustainability.

4.14.2 Population

Togo has experienced a rapid and sustained population growth since its independence from France in 1960. According to the UNFPA, the population of Togo in 2023 is estimated to be 9.05 million, which is more than five times the population of 1.65 million in 1960. This essay will examine the trends, causes, and consequences of Togo's population growth, as well as the challenges and opportunities for its development and sustainability.

The main trend of Togo's population growth is that it has been increasing at a high rate, especially in the second half of the 20th century and the early 21st century. The average annual growth rate of Togo's population was 2.68% from 1960 to 2023, which is higher than the average of 2.38% for sub-Saharan Africa and 1.57% for the world¹. The highest growth rate was recorded in 1968, when the population increased by 4.87% (World Bank 2021). The lowest growth rate was recorded in 1993, when the population decreased by 0.68% due to the political and social unrest that caused many deaths and displacements³. The growth rate has been declining since the late 1990s, but it remains above 2% (World Bank 2023).

Figure 3. Population of Togo over the last ten years (2014-2023)



Source : UNFPA

The main causes of Togo's population growth are the high fertility rate and the low mortality rate. The fertility rate of Togo is the number of children that a woman would have in her lifetime if she followed the current age-specific fertility rates. The fertility rate of Togo was 5.7 children per woman in 2020, which is higher than the average of 4.6 for sub-Saharan Africa and 2.4 for the world. The fertility rate has been decreasing since the late 1970s, when it was 7.5 children per woman, but it remains above the replacement level of 2.1 children per woman. The mortality rate of Togo is the number of deaths per 1,000 people per year. The mortality rate of Togo was 7.6 deaths per 1,000 people in 2020, which is lower than the average of 8.2 for sub-Saharan Africa and higher than the average of 7.4 for the world. The mortality rate has been decreasing since the early 1960s, when it was 23.5 deaths per 1,000 people, mainly due to the improvements in health care, sanitation, nutrition, and education (United Nations Population Fund, 2018).

The main consequences of Togo's population growth are the changes in its demographic structure and its socio-economic development. The demographic structure of Togo is the distribution of its population by age and sex. The demographic structure of Togo is characterised by a young and growing population, with a high dependency ratio and a low median age.

The dependency ratio of Togo is the ratio of people who are not in the labour force (under 15 or over 64 years old) to those who are in the labour force (15 to 64 years old). The dependency ratio of Togo was 80.9% in 2020, according to the World Bank. This means that for every 100 working-age people in Togo, there were 80.9 dependents, either children or elderly. This is higher than the

average dependency ratio of 77.1% for sub-Saharan Africa and 54.1% for the world (World Bank 2021).

A high dependency ratio indicates that the working-age population and the overall economy face a greater burden to support and provide social services for the dependents, who are often economically inactive. A high dependency ratio can also affect the savings, investment, and consumption patterns of a country, as well as its human capital development and demographic transition. Therefore, Togo's high dependency ratio poses some challenges for its economic growth and social development.

However, a high dependency ratio can also present some opportunities for a country, if it is able to harness the potential of its young and growing population. A high dependency ratio can be reduced by increasing the labour force participation, productivity, and income of the working-age population, as well as by improving the health, education, and empowerment of the dependents, especially women and children (United Nations Population Fund 2018). Therefore, Togo's high dependency ratio can also be an asset for its future development, if it is able to implement effective policies and programs that address the needs and aspirations of its population.

Togo is home to 37 recognised ethnic groups, each with its own language, culture, history, and identity. The ethnic diversity of Togo reflects the complex history of migration, colonization, and independence that shaped the nation. However, the ethnic diversity of Togo also poses challenges for national unity, social cohesion, and political stability.

The largest ethnic group in Togo are the Ewe, who make up about 21 percent of the population and live mainly in the south and along the coast. The Ewe are believed to have arrived in the region between the 12th and 14th centuries from present-day Nigeria and Benin. They speak the Ewe language, which belongs to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family. The Ewe have a rich culture and tradition, based on the worship of ancestor-spirits and the veneration of nature. The Ewe are known for their art, music, dance, and textiles. The Ewe have also played an important role in Togo's history, as they resisted colonial domination by Germany and France and fought for independence in 1960.

The second largest ethnic group in Togo are the Kabaye, who make up about 14 percent of the population and live mainly in the north and central regions. The Kabaye are thought to have migrated from present-day Burkina Faso and Ghana between the 17th and 19th centuries. They speak the Kabaye language, which belongs to the Gur branch of the Niger-Congo language family. The Kabaye have a strong sense of identity and loyalty, based on their clan system and their attachment to their land. The Kabaye are known for their agriculture, ironwork, pottery, and architecture. The Kabaye have also dominated Togo's politics since 1967, when Gnassingbé Eyadéma seized power in a coup d'état and ruled until his death in 2005. His son Faure Gnassingbé has been president since then (Togo Ethnic Groups 2016).

The third largest ethnic group in Togo are the Ouatchi, who make up about 10 % of the population and live mainly in the south-eastern part of the country. The Ouatchi are closely related to the Ewe, as they share a common origin and language. However, they have developed their own distinct identity and culture over time. The Ouatchi have a matrilineal society, where women inherit land

and property from their mothers. The Ouatchi have a diverse economy, based on fishing, farming, trading, and crafts. The Ouatchi have also been involved in Togo's history, as they participated in the anti-colonial struggle and supported democracy movements (Africa.com, 2019).

Other ethnic groups in Togo include the Moba, who live in the north-eastern part of the country and practice a form of Islam; the Losso, who live in the central part of the country and are known for their weaving skills; the Kotokoli, who live in the central part of the country and follow a syncretic religion that combines Islam and traditional beliefs; the Mina, who live on the coast and are closely related to the Ouatchi; the Adja, who live on the border with Benin and are closely related to the Ewe; the Ana-Ife, who live in the center of the country and are related to the Yoruba; the Gourma, who live in the north-western part of the country and are related to the Mossi; and many other smaller groups such as the Peul, who are nomadic pastoralists; the Tamberma, who live in fortified mud houses; and the Losso (Minority Rights Group, 2018). Some challenges related to ethnic diversity in Togo have been highlighted.

For ethnic conflicts and violence, Togo has experienced several episodes of ethnic clashes and tensions, especially between the Ewe and the Kabye, who have competed for political and economic power. The most violent period was in the early 1990s, when pro-democracy protests led by the Ewe were brutally repressed by the Kabye-dominated military, resulting in hundreds of deaths and thousands of refugees (Africa and The World 2023). Ethnic violence also erupted in 2005, after the death of President Eyadéma and the succession of his son Faure Gnassingbé, who faced allegations of electoral fraud and human rights violations. Ethnic divisions have also fuelled armed groups and security forces to kill villagers at the border with Burkina Faso (Amnesty International 2022).

On the issue of ethnic discrimination and marginalisation, Togo has been accused of discriminating and marginalizing some ethnic groups, especially those who are perceived as opposed to the ruling party or supportive of the opposition. For example, the Mina and Ouatchi ethnic groups, who are closely related to the Ewe, have faced harassment, intimidation, and exclusion from public services and employment opportunities. Other ethnic groups, such as the Peul, the Tamberma, and the Losso, have also suffered from poverty, illiteracy, and lack of access to basic socioeconomic facilities (Africa and The World 2023).

For ethnic identity and national unity, Togo has struggled to foster a sense of national identity and unity among its diverse ethnic groups. Many people tend to identify more with their ethnic group than with their nation, which can undermine social cohesion and trust. The lack of a common language, culture, history, and vision can also hamper communication and cooperation among different ethnic groups. Moreover, the legacy of colonialism and authoritarianism has eroded the legitimacy and credibility of the state institutions and the rule of law (Amnesty International, 2022). Some initiatives to promote social cohesion in Togo are highlighted. The Gulf of Guinea Northern Regions Social Cohesion project is a regional initiative that aims to improve the living conditions and resilience of the communities in the northern parts of Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Togo. These areas are exposed to various risks such as conflict, violence, climate change, food insecurity, and displacement. The project seeks to foster regional collaboration and dialogue

among the four countries, as well as to support local development and social inclusion through community-driven interventions (World Bank, 2022).

The Project to Strengthen Social Cohesion in Togo (PARSCOT), funded by the African Development Bank, which aims to support the implementation of the National Policy for Social Protection and Promotion, and improve the living conditions of vulnerable populations (AfDB 2023).

The National Agency for Grassroots Development (ANADEB), which is responsible for coordinating and implementing community-based projects that foster social inclusion, local governance, and economic empowerment.

The National Commission for Human Rights (CNDH), which is an independent institution that monitors and protects human rights, promotes civic education, and mediates conflicts.

The National Reconciliation Commission (CNR), which was established in 2009 to address the legacy of past violence and human rights violations, and to promote dialogue, justice, and healing.

4.14.3 Natural Resources

Togo is a small country in West Africa that has a diverse and rich geography, with different regions that have different physical features, climates, resources, and cultures. Togo's geography has influenced its history, economy, society, and politics, as well as its relations with its neighbours and the world. Togo's geography also poses some challenges and opportunities for its development and sustainability. One of the aspects of Togo's geography that is important to understand is its natural resources. Natural resources are the materials or substances that occur naturally in the environment and can be used for economic or social purposes. Togo has numerous natural resources within its borders, ranging from arable land, beautiful scenery, minerals, and forests. This essay will examine the types, distribution, uses, and impacts of Togo's natural resources.

Arable land is the land that is suitable for cultivation of crops. According to the CIA World Factbook, arable land in Togo accounted for 5.2% of the total land area following the estimates of 2011. The arable land is cultivated for a wide range of crops, and subsistence agriculture is the most dominant in the country. Some of the agricultural crops include cocoa, coffee, yams, cotton, cassava, beans, corn, rice, sorghum, millet, and more. Both cash crop and food crop production in the country employ a significant proportion of the country's labour force and contribute about 42% of the country's GDP. Cocoa and coffee are the major cash crops in the country which are cultivated particularly for export. Cotton production increased significantly in the 1990s, and by 1999 the output of cotton in the country stood at 173,000 metric tons. In 2001 there was a decline in crop production in Togo and output stood at 113,000 metric tons and the following year there was a rebound in production reaching 168,000 metric tons³. Most of the country does not receive sufficient rainfall; however, the country has managed to achieve self-food sufficiency. Most of the farms in the country are smallholders and the average farm size is about 1 to 3 hectares.

Arable land is a valuable natural resource for Togo as it provides food security, income generation, employment opportunities, and export earnings for the country. However, arable land also faces some challenges such as soil erosion, deforestation, desertification, climate change, pests and

diseases, low productivity, and market fluctuations. These challenges affect the quality and quantity of arable land and threaten its sustainability. Therefore, Togo needs to implement effective policies and programs that address these challenges and promote sustainable agricultural practices such as soil conservation, irrigation, crop rotation, fertilization, pest control, organic farming, and value addition.

Minerals are the natural substances that are formed by geological processes and have a definite chemical composition and physical properties. Togo has several minerals resources such as phosphates, limestone, marble, gold, diamonds and iron ore. Phosphates are the most important mineral resource for Togo, as they account for about 40% of the country's export earnings and 10% of its GDP. Togo has the fourth largest phosphate reserves in the world, estimated at 2 billion tons. The main phosphate deposits are located in the southern part of the country, near the towns of Hahotoé and Kpémé. The phosphate industry is controlled by the state-owned company Togolese Phosphate Office (OTP), which operates two mines and three processing plants.

Limestone, marble, gold, diamonds, and iron ore are other mineral resources that have been exploited or explored in Togo. Limestone and marble are used for construction and decoration purposes, as well as for cement production. Togo has several limestone and marble quarries, such as those in Pagala, Niamtougou, and Dapaong. Gold and diamonds are found in the northern and central regions of Togo, especially in the Atakora Mountains. Togo has several small-scale gold and diamond mining operations, as well as some large-scale projects by foreign companies, such as AngloGold Ashanti and Etruscan Resources. Iron ore is found in the western region of Togo, near the border with Ghana. Togo has an estimated iron ore reserve of 1 billion tons, but it has not been developed yet due to lack of infrastructure and investment.

Minerals are a valuable natural resource for Togo as they provide revenue generation, employment opportunities, and industrial development for the country. However, minerals also face some challenges such as environmental degradation, social conflict, governance issues, and market volatility. These challenges affect the quality and quantity of minerals and threaten their sustainability. Therefore, Togo needs to implement effective policies and programs that address these challenges and promote sustainable mining practices such as environmental protection, social responsibility, transparency, accountability, and diversification.

4.14.4 Economic System

Togo's economy can be divided into four main periods: the post-independence boom (1960-1974), the crisis and adjustment (1975-1993), the political turmoil and stagnation (1994-2005), and the recovery and reform (2006-present).

The post-independence boom (1960-1974) was characterised by high economic growth, driven by the expansion of agriculture, mining, and trade. Togo benefited from its strategic location as a gateway to the Central Sahel region, its rich phosphate deposits, and its preferential trade agreements with France and the European Economic Community. Togo's gross domestic product (GDP) increased from \$0.35 billion in 1970 to \$1.54 billion in 1980, while its GDP per capita rose from \$157 to \$544 in the same period¹. Togo also invested in infrastructure, education, and health, improving its human development indicators (World Bank, 2023).

The crisis and adjustment (1975-1993) were marked by a sharp decline in economic performance, caused by external shocks and internal mismanagement. Togo faced a fall in world prices of its main export commodities, such as phosphate, cotton, and coffee, as well as a rise in oil prices and interest rates. Togo also suffered from political instability, corruption, and fiscal imbalances, leading to a loss of investor confidence and donor support. Togo's GDP contracted from \$1.54 billion in 1980 to \$1.04 billion in 1985, while its GDP per capita dropped from \$544 to \$311 in the same period. Togo also experienced high inflation, debt, poverty, and social unrest. In response to the crisis, Togo adopted several structural adjustment programs (SAPs) under the guidance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which aimed to restore macroeconomic stability, liberalize the economy, and promote private sector development (World Bank, 2023).

The political turmoil and stagnation (1994-2005) were characterised by low economic growth, hampered by persistent political violence and human rights violations. Togo faced a series of protests and strikes against the authoritarian regime of President Gnassingbé Eyadéma, who ruled the country since 1967. Togo also faced international sanctions and isolation, as well as a deterioration of its physical and institutional infrastructure. Togo's GDP grew at an average annual rate of 2.6% between 1994 and 2005, while its GDP per capita increased marginally from \$326 to \$348 in the same period. Togo also lagged behind its regional peers in terms of poverty reduction, social indicators, and governance.

The recovery and reform (2006-present) were characterised by a gradual improvement in economic performance, driven by political transition and economic diversification. Togo underwent a peaceful transfer of power in 2005 after the death of President Eyadéma and the election of his son Faure Gnassingbé. Togo also engaged in dialogue with the opposition and civil society, leading to constitutional reforms, electoral reforms, and national reconciliation. Togo also resumed its cooperation with the international community, receiving debt relief, aid inflows, and foreign direct investment. Togo's GDP grew at an average annual rate of 5.3% between 2006 and 2022, while its GDP per capita rose from \$419 to \$918 in the same period¹. Togo also made progress in areas such as infrastructure development, social protection, renewable energy, agricultural transformation, and regional integration (World Bank, 2023).

Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) are economic policies that aim to promote growth, stability, and development in developing countries. SAPs are usually implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank as a condition for providing loans, debt relief, or aid to these countries (International Monetary Fund, 2023).

In Togo, SAPs were introduced in 1982, following a period of economic decline and external imbalances. Togo faced a fall in world prices of its main export commodities, such as phosphate, cotton, and coffee, as well as a rise in oil prices and interest rates. Togo also suffered from political instability, corruption, and fiscal imbalances, leading to a loss of investor confidence and donor support.

The main objectives of SAPs in Togo were to increase economic growth, limit inflation, reduce external trade and government budget deficits, and improve social services. The reform program,

supported by several credits from the IMF and the World Bank, included fiscal measures, civil service reforms, and public enterprise divestiture. It also comprised initiatives to encourage private sector development and rationalise delivery systems for social services.

However, the implementation of SAPs in Togo was poor and met with strong resistance from various segments of society. The public finance and public sector reforms were interrupted and reforms in the public enterprise sector, agriculture and human resources were only partially implemented. As a result, the macroeconomic objectives were not met. The release of some tranches of the credits was delayed or cancelled due to non-compliance with the agreed conditions. A major factor for poor program implementation was the political turmoil that affected the country from the first quarter of 1991 to the end of 1993. In addition, the reform program in the public sector relied too much on studies, as opposed to effective measures regarding the budget and major public enterprises (International Monetary Fund 2023).

The impact of SAPs on Togo's economy and society was mixed. On the one hand, SAPs helped to restore some macroeconomic stability, reduce inflation, increase exports, and attract some foreign investment. On the other hand, SAPs also contributed to a decline in real income, a rise in unemployment and poverty, a deterioration of social services and infrastructure, and an increase in social unrest and political violence. Some critics argue that SAPs imposed a one-size-fits-all model of development that did not consider the specific needs and realities of Togo's economy and society⁴. Some also contend that SAPs undermined Togo's sovereignty and democracy by giving too much power to external actors such as the IMF and the World Bank.

Togo relaunched its structural adjustment efforts with support from IMF and World Bank programs in late 1994, emphasising privatisation, increased revenue generation, and transparent reorientation of government spending toward real investment and social sectors such as health and education. Since then, Togo has made some progress in areas such as infrastructure development, social protection, renewable energy, agricultural transformation, and regional integration (International Monetary Fund 2023).

Togo's economy has undergone significant changes since its independence in 1960. Togo has faced various challenges such as external shocks, political instability, social unrest, and environmental degradation. However, Togo has also seized various opportunities such as trade openness, natural resources endowment, political transition, and economic diversification.

Figure 4. GDP of Togo from 2013 to 2022

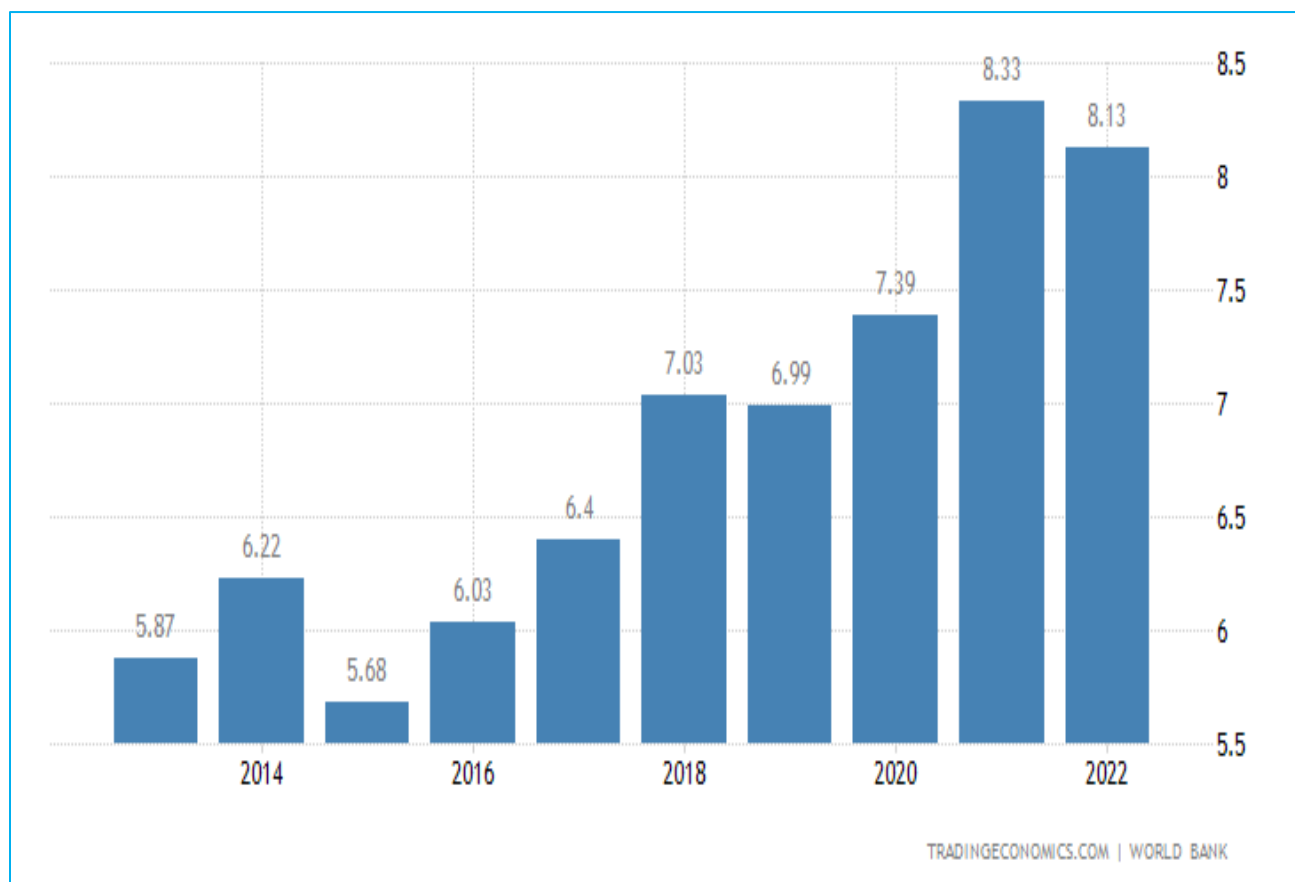
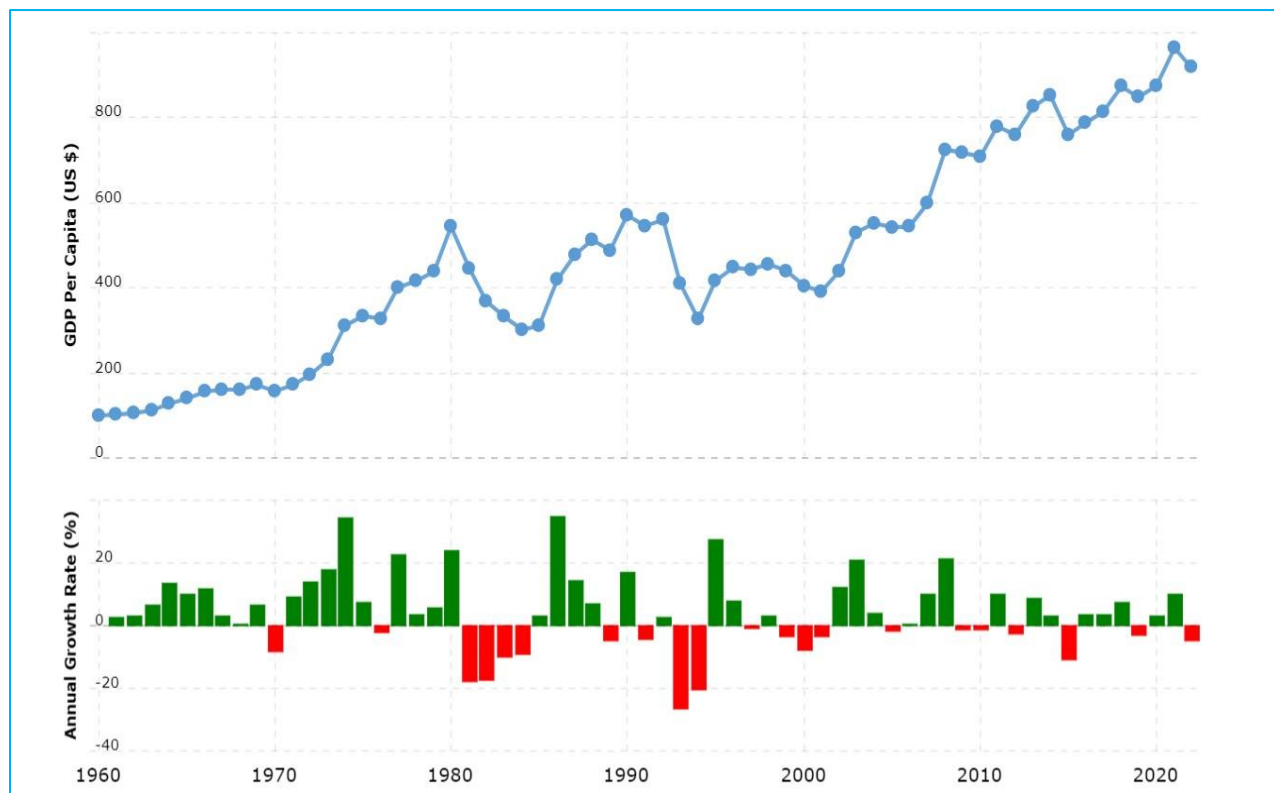


Figure 5. GDP per Capita and Annual Growth Rate



Source: World Bank

4.14.5 Transport System

One of the aspects of Togo's geography that is important to understand is its transport system. Transport system is the network of infrastructure and services that enable the movement of people and goods within and across a country. Togo's transport system consists of four main modes: road, rail, water, and air.

Road is the most dominant and widely used mode of transport in Togo, as it accounts for about 95% of the passenger and freight traffic in the country. Togo has a total road network of 7,520 kilometers, of which 2,376 kilometers are paved and 5,144 kilometers are unpaved. The road network connects the main urban centers and regions of the country, as well as links Togo to its neighbouring countries. The most important road in Togo is the Trans-West African Coastal Highway, which crosses Togo from east to west, connecting it to Ghana and Ivory Coast to the west, and Benin and Nigeria to the east. This highway is part of a regional project that aims to facilitate trade and integration among the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) countries. Another important road in Togo is the north-south route that connects Lomé, the capital and largest city, to Cinkasse, the northernmost town. This route also links Togo to Burkina Faso to the north, and from there to Mali and Niger (CIA World Factbook, 2021).

The main types of vehicles that use the road network in Togo are cars, buses, trucks, motorcycles, and bicycles. Cars are mainly used for private transportation or as taxis. Buses are used for public transportation or as intercity coaches. Trucks are used for transporting goods or as bush taxis. Motorcycles are used for personal transportation or as moto-taxis. Bicycles are used for personal transportation or as bike-taxis. The main challenges that face the road transport system in Togo are the poor condition of some roads, especially in rural areas; the congestion and pollution in urban areas; the lack of safety and security measures; and the high cost of fuel and maintenance.

Rail transportation in Togo has a rich history and plays a crucial role in the country's infrastructure. The railway system in Togo consists of approximately 568 kilometers of meter-gauge tracks. The primary operator of the railways is the Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer Togolais (SNCT), which was established after the restructuring of the Réseau des Chemins de Fer du Togo in the late 1990s. The first railway line in Togo, the Lomé–Aného railway, was constructed in 1904 during the German colonial period. This line was initially used for transporting goods from the port to inland areas. Passenger services were introduced in 1906, and the railway line became an essential mode of transportation for both goods and people. Over the years, additional lines were built, including the Lomé–Kpalimé railway and the Lomé–Blitta railway.

Despite its historical significance, the railway system in Togo has faced challenges. By the late 20th century, passenger services had ceased, and the focus shifted to freight transportation. In recent years, there have been efforts to revitalize the railway network. In 2014, new railway lines for freight transport were opened, including the Lomé to Adétikopé line and a branch from Lomé to Aflao, Ghana. Togo is also a participant in the AfricaRail project, which aims to connect the railways of several West African countries, including Togo, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Benin. This project is expected to enhance regional connectivity and promote economic growth.

Water is the third most important mode of transport in Togo, as it accounts for about 1% of the passenger and freight traffic in the country. Togo has a coastline of 56 kilometers along the Gulf of Guinea, which is part of the Atlantic Ocean. Togo also has some inland waterways, such as Lake Togo, which is connected to the sea by a channel; and the Mono River, which is seasonally navigable by small craft depending on rainfall.

The main types of vehicles that use the water transport system in Togo are ships, boats, canoes, and ferries. Ships are used for international trade or as merchant marine vessels. Boats are used for fishing or as coastal vessels. Canoes are used for fishing or as river vessels. Ferries are used for transporting people or goods across water bodies. The main challenges that face the water transport system in Togo are the lack of adequate port facilities and services; the vulnerability to piracy and smuggling; the environmental degradation and pollution; and the lack of regulation and enforcement.

Air is the least important mode of transport in Togo, as it accounts for less than 0.1% of the passenger and freight traffic in the country (World Bank 2020). Togo has a total of eight airports, of which two have paved runways and six have unpaved runways. The main airport in Togo is the Lomé-Gnassingbe Eyadema Airport, which is located in Lomé and serves as the hub for the

national airline, ASKY Airlines, as well as other regional and international airlines. The other airport with a paved runway is the Niamtougou International Airport, which is located in Niamtougou and serves mainly domestic flights.

The main types of vehicles that use the air transport system in Togo are airplanes, helicopters, and drones. Airplanes are used for transporting people or goods across long distances or as commercial flights. Helicopters are used for transporting people or goods across short distances or as emergency flights. Drones are used for delivering goods or as surveillance flights. The main challenges that face the air transport system in Togo are the high cost and low accessibility of air travel; the lack of adequate airport infrastructure and services; the competition from road and rail transport; and the lack of safety and security measures.

4.14.6 Military Forces

Togo has a diverse and complex geography, with different regions that have different physical features, climates, resources, and cultures. Togo's geography has influenced its history, economy, society, and politics, as well as its relations with its neighbours and the world. Togo's geography also poses some challenges and opportunities for its development and sustainability. One of the aspects of Togo's geography that is important to understand is its military forces. Military forces are the organized armed forces of a state or an international actor that are responsible for defending its sovereignty, security, and interests. Togo's military forces consist of four main branches: the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the National Gendarmerie.

The Army is the largest and oldest branch of Togo's military forces, as it dates back to the colonial era when Togo was under French rule. The Army is responsible for protecting the territorial integrity and national security of Togo, as well as participating in regional and international peacekeeping missions. The Army has a total strength of about 7,500 personnel, of which 6,000 are active duty and 1,500 are reserves. The Army is divided into three main components: the infantry, the artillery, and the support units. The infantry is the main combat element of the Army, as it consists of soldiers who are trained and equipped to fight on foot. The infantry has about 4,000 personnel who are organized into battalions and companies. The infantry has various types of weapons and equipment, such as rifles, machine guns, rocket launchers, mortars, anti-tank missiles, armoured vehicles, and trucks. The artillery is the fire support element of the Army, as it consists of soldiers who are trained and equipped to provide indirect fire support to the infantry and other units. The artillery has about 1,000 personnel who are organised into batteries and platoons. The artillery has various types of weapons and equipment, such as howitzers, multiple rocket launchers, anti-aircraft guns, radars, and trucks.

The support units are the logistic and administrative elements of the Army, as they consist of soldiers who are trained and equipped to provide various services to the Army and other branches. The support units have about 2,500 personnel who are organized into various units such as engineering, signals, transport, medical, maintenance, supply, and military police.

The Navy is the smallest and youngest branch of Togo's military forces, as it was established in 1976 after Togo gained its independence from France. The Navy is responsible for protecting the maritime sovereignty and security of Togo, as well as participating in regional and international

naval cooperation. The Navy has a total strength of about 250 personnel who are organised into two main components: the naval force and the coast guard. The naval force is the combat element of the Navy, as it consists of sailors who are trained and equipped to operate naval vessels and weapons. The naval force has about 150 personnel who operate four patrol boats that are armed with machine guns and cannons. The naval force also has a special operations unit that is trained in amphibious warfare and counter-terrorism. The coast guard is the law enforcement element of the Navy, as it consists of sailors who are trained and equipped to perform various tasks such as search and rescue, fisheries protection, maritime security, and environmental protection. The coast guard has about 100 personnel who operate two patrol boats that are equipped with radar and communication systems. The coast guard also cooperates with other agencies such as the customs, the police, and the fisheries department.

The Air Force is the second smallest and second youngest branch of Togo's military forces, as it was established in 1977 after Togo acquired its first aircraft from France. The Air Force is responsible for providing air defense and support to the Army, the Navy, and other branches, as well as participating in regional and international air cooperation. The Air Force has a total strength of about 500 personnel who are organized into two main components: the flying units and the ground units. The flying units are the operational element of the Air Force, as they consist of pilots who are trained and equipped to fly various types of aircraft and helicopters. The flying units have about 300 personnel who operate 10 aircraft and six helicopters that are used for various missions such as reconnaissance, transport, combat, and training. The flying units also have a special operations unit that is trained in airborne warfare and counter-terrorism.

The ground units are the support element of the Air Force, as they consist of technicians who are trained and equipped to maintain and repair the aircraft and helicopters, as well as to provide various services such as air traffic control, meteorology, communications, and security. The ground units have about 200 personnel who work in various facilities such as the Lomé-Gnassingbé Eyadema Airport, the Niamtougou International Airport, and the Air Force Academy.

The National Gendarmerie is the paramilitary branch of Togo's military forces, as it is part of the Ministry of Security and Civil Protection. The National Gendarmerie is responsible for maintaining public order and security, enforcing the law, protecting the state institutions and officials, and assisting the Army in times of war or emergency. The National Gendarmerie has a total strength of about 5,000 personnel who are organized into various units such as territorial brigades, mobile brigades, intervention groups, special forces, intelligence service, and military police.

The National Gendarmerie has various types of weapons and equipment such as rifles, pistols, machine guns, grenade launchers, armoured vehicles, and motorcycles. The National Gendarmerie also cooperates with other agencies such as the police, the customs, the judiciary, and the civil defense.

4.15 Togo's diplomacy in the context of the A.U's Agenda 2063 and the AfCFTA

Togo has played an active role in regional and continental integration and cooperation, especially in the areas of peace and security, infrastructure development, and trade facilitation. Togo's diplomacy faces both challenges and opportunities in the context of the African Union's Agenda

2063 and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), which are two flagship initiatives that aim to transform Africa into a prosperous, united, and influential global actor.

Agenda 2063 is the blueprint and master plan for achieving inclusive and sustainable development in Africa over a 50-year period, from 2013 to 2063. It is based on seven aspirations, such as a high standard of living, quality of life and well-being for all citizens; an integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance; a peaceful and secure Africa; an Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics; an Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth; an Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global partner and player; and an Africa with world-class infrastructure that crisscrossed the continent (African Union, 2023).

AfCFTA is the world's largest free trade area by number of countries participating, encompassing 55 African countries with a combined population of 1.3 billion people and a gross domestic product (GDP) of \$3.4 trillion. It aims to create a single market for goods and services, facilitate the movement of persons, promote industrial development and sustainable and inclusive socio-economic growth, and resolve the challenges of multiple and overlapping memberships among regional economic communities (African Union, 2023).

Togo's diplomacy can benefit from these initiatives in several ways. First, Togo can leverage its strategic location as a gateway to West Africa and its modern port infrastructure to attract more trade and investment from other African countries, especially under the AfCFTA. Togo can also benefit from the reduction of tariffs and non-tariff barriers, the harmonisation of standards and regulations, and the improvement of trade facilitation measures that AfCFTA entails. Second, Togo can enhance its regional leadership role in peace and security by participating in AU-led peacekeeping operations, mediation efforts, and conflict prevention mechanisms. Togo can also contribute to the AU's goal of silencing the guns by 2020 by addressing its own internal political crisis and promoting dialogue and reconciliation among its stakeholders. Third, Togo can access more resources and opportunities for its development priorities by aligning them with the AU's Agenda 2063 flagship programs, such as the Program for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP), the Boosting Intra-African Trade (BIAT) initiative, and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) (African Union, 2023).

However, Togo's diplomacy also faces some challenges in implementing these initiatives. First, Togo needs to address its domestic challenges, such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, corruption, human rights violations, and democratic deficits. These challenges undermine Togo's credibility and legitimacy as a regional and continental actor and may hamper its ability to benefit from AfCFTA and Agenda 2063. Second, Togo needs to balance its relations with its traditional partners, such as France and Germany, which have provided economic and military assistance to the regime for decades, and its emerging partners, such as China and Turkey, which have increased their presence and influence in Africa. Togo needs to ensure that its partnerships are based on mutual respect, mutual benefit, transparency, accountability, and alignment with its national interests. Third, Togo needs to cope with the external pressures for democratic reforms and human

rights protection from the international community, especially from the European Union (EU) and the United States (US), which have imposed sanctions or suspended aid at various times. Togo needs to demonstrate its commitment to uphold the democratic principles and norms enshrined in the AU's Constitutive Act (World Bank, 2020).

4.16 Togo's relationship with France, Germany, China and Turkey

Togo has a complex and dynamic diplomatic landscape in Africa. Togo has to balance its relations with its traditional partners, such as France and Germany, and its emerging partners, such as China and Turkey, in pursuing its diplomatic interests and objectives in Africa. Some of the factors that influence Togo's diplomatic balancing act are:

For historical and cultural ties, Togo has strong historical and cultural ties with France and Germany, which date back to the colonial era. Togo was a German colony from 1884 to 1914, and then a French mandate and territory until its independence in 1960. France and Germany have provided economic and military assistance to Togo, as well as political support in regional and international forums. Togo also shares linguistic, religious, and ethnic affinities with many Francophone and Anglophone countries in Africa.

For economic interests, Togo has diversified its economic partnerships with other countries, especially China and Turkey, which have increased their presence and influence in Africa. China is Togo's largest trading partner and investor, with projects in infrastructure, energy, mining, agriculture, and telecommunications. Turkey is also a significant partner for Togo, with cooperation in trade, education, health, defence, and culture. Togo benefits from the reduction of tariffs and non-tariff barriers, the harmonization of standards and regulations, and the improvement of trade facilitation measures under the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA).

Togo faces security challenges both internally and externally. Internally, Togo has experienced political instability and social unrest since its independence, with demands for democratic reforms, especially the introduction of presidential term limits. Externally, Togo is affected by the threats of terrorism, violent extremism, transnational crime, and climate change in the region. Togo relies on its traditional partners, such as France and Germany, for security assistance and training. Togo also participates in regional and continental peacekeeping operations, such as in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea-Bissau.

Togo's diplomacy in Africa is shaped by a mix of cooperation and competition with its traditional and emerging partners. Togo has to pursue its national interests while respecting its regional and continental commitments. Togo's diplomacy also requires continuous dialogue, engagement, and monitoring from all stakeholders.

4.16.1 Republic of Togo's diplomatic cooperation with France in conflict resolution

The Republic of Togo's relationship with France in terms of diplomacy in conflict resolution is a complex and dynamic one, shaped by historical, cultural, economic, and security factors. Both countries are members of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie and the United Nations. Togo was a French colony until 1960, when it gained its independence. France and Togo established diplomatic relations soon after and have maintained strong ties ever since. France has

provided economic and military assistance to Togo, as well as political support in regional and international forums.

However, France has also exerted pressure on Togo to implement democratic reforms and respect human rights, especially since the 1990s. France has suspended aid or imposed sanctions on Togo at various times, such as in 1993, 2005, and 2019, due to the political crisis and violence in the country²³. France has also supported regional and continental mediation efforts to resolve the conflict between the government and the opposition in Togo, such as those led by former Ghanaian president John Kufuor, former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, and Guinean president Alpha Condé.

Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution has also involved cooperation with France in other African countries, such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea-Bissau. Togo has participated in peacekeeping operations and mediation efforts led or supported by France in these countries, as part of its regional leadership role in peace and security (U.S. Department of State, 2022).

4.16.2 Republic of Togo's diplomatic cooperation with Germany in conflict resolution

Togo and Germany have a long and complex diplomatic relationship that dates back to the colonial era, when Togo was a German colony from 1884 to 1914. After World War I, Togo was divided between France and Britain and later became independent in 1960. Togo established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the same year, and later with the German Democratic Republic (GDR) after the abandonment of the Hallstein Doctrine by the FRG. Togo maintained good bilateral relations with both German states until their reunification in 1990. Togo's diplomatic cooperation with Germany in conflict resolution has been mainly focused on regional and continental issues, such as peace and security, democracy and human rights, and development and integration. Togo has participated in peacekeeping operations and mediation efforts led or supported by Germany in other African countries, such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea-Bissau. Togo has also supported the integration of Africa into a single market, a political union, and a global actor, in line with the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), which are also endorsed by Germany.

However, Togo's diplomatic cooperation with Germany in conflict resolution has also faced some challenges and criticisms from various sources. The opposition and civil society in Togo have accused the regime of using diplomacy as a tool to legitimise its authoritarian rule and to avoid implementing genuine reforms. They have also questioned the impartiality and effectiveness of some of the mediators, such as former Ghanaian president John Kufuor, former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, and Guinean president Alpha Condé. The international community, especially the European Union (EU) and the United States (US), have expressed concern over the human rights situation in Togo and have imposed sanctions or suspended aid at various times. The regional and continental organizations, such as ECOWAS and AU, have also exerted pressure on Togo to respect the democratic principles and norms enshrined in their charters.

4.16.3 Republic of Togo's diplomatic cooperation with China in conflict resolution

Togo and China have a diplomatic cooperation in conflict resolution that dates back to 1972, when they established diplomatic relations. Since then, the two countries have maintained strong ties in various fields, such as trade, investment, infrastructure, energy, mining, agriculture, telecommunications, health, education, culture, and defence. Togo and China have also cooperated in regional and continental issues, such as peace and security, democracy and human rights, and development and integration. Togo has participated in peacekeeping operations and mediation efforts led or supported by China in other African countries, such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea-Bissau. Togo has also supported the integration of Africa into a single market, a political union, and a global actor, in line with the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), which are also endorsed by China.

However, Togo's diplomatic cooperation with China in conflict resolution has also faced some challenges and criticisms from various sources. The opposition and civil society in Togo have accused the regime of using diplomacy as a tool to legitimise its authoritarian rule and to avoid implementing genuine reforms. They have also questioned the impartiality and effectiveness of some of the mediators, such as former Ghanaian president John Kufuor, former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, and Guinean president Alpha Condé. The international community, especially the European Union (EU) and the United States (US), have expressed concern over the human rights situation in Togo and have imposed sanctions or suspended aid at various times. The regional and continental organizations, such as ECOWAS and AU, have also exerted pressure on Togo to respect the democratic principles and norms enshrined in their charters (The Diplomatic Insight 2022).

4.16.4 Republic of Togo's diplomatic cooperation with Turkey in conflict resolution

Togo and Turkey have a diplomatic cooperation in conflict resolution that dates back to 1972, when they established diplomatic relations. Since then, the two countries have maintained strong ties in various fields, such as trade, investment, infrastructure, energy, mining, agriculture, telecommunications, health, education, culture, and defence. Togo and Turkey have also cooperated in regional and continental issues, such as peace and security, democracy and human rights, and development and integration. Togo has participated in peacekeeping operations and mediation efforts led or supported by Turkey in other African countries, such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea-Bissau. Togo has also supported the integration of Africa into a single market, a political union, and a global actor, in line with the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), which are also endorsed by Turkey.

However, Togo's diplomatic cooperation with Turkey in conflict resolution has also faced some challenges and criticisms from various sources. The opposition and civil society in Togo have accused the regime of using diplomacy as a tool to legitimise its authoritarian rule and to avoid implementing genuine reforms. They have also questioned the impartiality and effectiveness of some of the mediators, such as former Ghanaian president John Kufuor, former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, and Guinean president Alpha Condé. The international community, especially the European Union (EU) and the United States (US), have expressed concern over the human rights situation in Togo and have imposed sanctions or suspended aid at various times. The regional

and continental organizations, such as ECOWAS and AU, have also exerted pressure on Togo to respect the democratic principles and norms enshrined in their charters

4.16.5 Internal and external pressures for democratic reforms and Human rights protection

Togo has faced internal and external pressures for democratic reforms and human rights protection in its diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa. Togo has coped with these pressures in different ways, depending on the interests and pressures of the actors involved. Some of the ways that Togo has coped with these pressures are discussed below.

Negotiating with the opposition and civil society: Togo has engaged in dialogue and negotiations with the opposition and civil society groups that have demanded political change and institutional reforms, especially the introduction of presidential term limits. Togo has also accepted regional and continental mediation efforts, such as those led by former Ghanaian president John Kufuor, former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, and Guinean president Alpha Condé. However, these negotiations have often been marred by mistrust, violence, and lack of implementation. For example, in 2018, Togo agreed to hold a constitutional referendum on term limits, but later cancelled it and passed a controversial constitutional reform that allowed the incumbent president to run for two more terms.

Resisting international pressure: Togo has resisted international pressure from the European Union (EU) and the United States (US), which have expressed concern over the human rights situation in Togo and have imposed sanctions or suspended aid at various times. Togo has argued that these measures are interference in its internal affairs and sovereignty, and that it is committed to uphold the democratic principles and norms enshrined in the African Union's Constitutive Act. Togo has also sought to diversify its partnerships with other countries, such as China, Turkey, and India, which have provided economic and military assistance to the regime without imposing political conditions.

Togo's coping strategies have been driven by a combination of internal and external factors, such as the balance of power between the regime and the opposition, the role of civil society and social movements, the influence of foreign actors and interests, the dynamics of regional integration and cooperation, and the evolution of global norms and values. Togo's coping strategies have shown some signs of progress and compromise, but also obstacles and setbacks. Togo's coping strategies remain a complex and contested process that requires continuous dialogue, engagement, and monitoring from all stakeholders.

Chapter 5. Analysis of Constraints in Republic of Togo's Diplomacy in Conflict Resolution

5.1 Introduction

The conflict in Togo poses a challenge for regional and international diplomacy, as it threatens the stability and security of the sub-region and undermines the principles of democracy and human rights. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been the main actor involved in mediating the crisis, but its efforts have been hampered by several constraints. These include the lack of political will and trust among the parties, the divergent interests and agendas of the regional leaders, the limited leverage and resources of ECOWAS, and the interference of external actors such as France and China.

There are some of the causal factors that have been responsible for undermining Togo's diplomatic engagements in Africa. The long-standing political crisis and conflict in Togo, which has been marked by the dynastic rule of the Gnassingbé family, the repression and violence against the opposition and civil society, the lack of constitutional and electoral reforms, and the violation of human rights and democracy. The isolation and mistrust of Togo from its regional and continental peers, who have condemned its undemocratic practices and imposed sanctions or suspended its membership in organisations such as ECOWAS and the AU. The dependence and interference of Togo on external actors such as France and China, who have supported its regime for economic and strategic interests and influenced its foreign policy and diplomatic positions. The lack of vision and leadership of Togo in addressing the common challenges and opportunities facing Africa, such as security, development, governance, integration, and cooperation (The Economist, 2023). This section examines how these constraints have affected the diplomatic methods of conflict resolution, and what lessons can be learned from this case for future peace initiatives in West Africa.

5.2 Weak State Thesis

The Weak State Thesis posits that certain states lack the capacity to perform essential functions such as maintaining law and order, providing public services, and ensuring national security. This thesis is often employed to explain why some states are more prone to conflict, instability, and underdevelopment. By examining the historical, political, and socio-economic factors that contribute to state weakness, we provide a comprehensive understanding of the Weak State Thesis and its implications.

The concept of weak states emerged prominently in the post-Cold War era when the international community began to focus more on the internal dynamics of states rather than merely their external behaviours. A weak state is typically characterised by its inability to exercise effective sovereignty, which includes the monopolisation of legitimate violence, the provision of public goods, and the enforcement of laws (Rotberg, 2003).

One of the primary factors contributing to state weakness is historical legacy. Many weak states, particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, were former colonies that inherited arbitrary borders and governance structures designed to serve colonial interests rather than the needs of local

populations. This often resulted in fragmented national identities and weak state institutions (Englebert, 2000).

Economic factors also play a crucial role in state weakness. States with fragile economies often struggle to generate the revenue needed to support public services and infrastructure. High levels of poverty and unemployment can exacerbate social tensions and lead to political instability. Additionally, reliance on a narrow range of export commodities can make these states vulnerable to global market fluctuations (Bates, 2008).

Political dynamics within weak states often involve corruption, patronage systems, and a lack of accountability. Such practices undermine public trust in government and can lead to the entrenchment of authoritarian regimes. Furthermore, weak states may experience internal conflicts, such as civil wars or insurgencies, which further erode state capacity and legitimacy (Reno, 1998).

International factors, including foreign intervention and global economic pressures, can either mitigate or exacerbate state weakness. While international aid and development programs aim to strengthen state capacity, they can sometimes create dependencies or support regimes that do not promote inclusive governance (Herbst, 2000).

The Weak State Thesis provides a framework for understanding the multifaceted challenges faced by states that struggle to perform essential functions. By highlighting the historical, economic, political, and international dimensions of state weakness, this thesis underscores the importance of adopting comprehensive and context-sensitive approaches to state-building. Addressing state fragility requires not only strengthening institutions but also promoting inclusive development and political reform to ensure long-term stability and resilience (Rotberg, 2003).

One of the countries that has been classified as a weak state is Togo, a small West African nation that gained independence from France in 1960. Togo has experienced political instability, authoritarian rule, human rights violations, economic decline, social unrest, and regional isolation for most of its post-colonial history. The country was dominated by the 38-year dictatorship of Gnassingbé Eyadéma, who came to power through a military coup in 1967 and died in 2005. His son, Faure Gnassingbé, succeeded him after another military coup and has since won four controversial elections amid allegations of fraud and repression. The opposition parties and civil society groups have repeatedly demanded political reforms, including the introduction of presidential term limits and the restoration of the 1992 constitution, which was amended by Eyadéma to extend his rule. The government has resisted these demands and has used force and dialogue to contain the protests.

Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution has been influenced by its weak state status and its historical and cultural ties with Western Europe, especially France and Germany. Togo has pursued a non-aligned foreign policy and has participated in many international organisations. It has been particularly active in West African regional affairs and in the African Union. However, Togo's diplomatic role has been limited by its lack of resources, legitimacy, and credibility. Togo has often relied on external actors, such as France, the European Union, the United Nations, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to mediate its internal conflicts and to

support its regional initiatives. Togo's involvement in regional conflict resolution has been mainly driven by its security and economic interests. Togo has faced several security threats from its neighbours, such as Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire, which have hosted exiled opposition leaders and rebel groups. Togo has also sought to benefit from regional integration and cooperation, especially in trade, infrastructure, energy, and migration. Togo has played a constructive role in some regional conflicts, such as the Liberian civil war (1989-2003), the Sierra Leonean civil war (1991-2002), the Ivorian crisis (2002-2011), and the Malian crisis (2012-present). Togo has contributed troops to ECOWAS peacekeeping missions and has hosted peace talks and summits. Togo has also advocated for democratic transitions and respect for human rights in the region.

However, Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution has also faced several challenges and criticisms. Togo's mediation efforts have often been hampered by its lack of leverage, capacity, and impartiality. Togo has sometimes been accused of siding with certain parties or regimes in regional conflicts or of pursuing its own agenda at the expense of others. For example, Togo was criticised for supporting Charles Taylor's rebel movement in Liberia and for hosting Laurent Gbagbo after he refused to concede defeat in Côte d'Ivoire's 2010 presidential election. Togo's diplomatic credibility has also been undermined by its poor human rights record and its resistance to political reforms at home. Togo has faced pressure from regional and international actors to implement democratic changes and to resolve its own political crisis.

The Weak State Thesis provides a useful lens to understand Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution. It shows how Togo's weak state status has shaped its foreign policy objectives, strategies, opportunities, and constraints. It also shows how Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution has been influenced by its historical and cultural ties with Western Europe and its involvement in regional organisations. The Weak State Thesis suggests that Togo needs to strengthen its state capacity, governance, legitimacy, and credibility to play a more effective role in regional peace and security.

Some of the main criticisms of the Weak State Thesis are discussed here. It is based on a normative and Eurocentric conception of statehood that does not account for the diversity and complexity of state-society relations in different historical and cultural contexts. It relies on a static and binary classification of states that does not capture the dynamics and variations of state performance and resilience across different dimensions and sectors. It overlooks the agency and interests of local actors and the role of informal institutions and networks in providing public goods and services, maintaining social order, and resolving conflicts. It ignores the external factors and influences that shape the development and behaviour of states, such as colonialism, globalisation, foreign intervention, and transnational networks. It assumes a causal relationship between state weakness and conflict, violence, and instability, without considering the intervening and contextual variables that affect the outcomes. Besides, some alternatives to the Weak State Thesis are developed in the study.

The Myth of International Order: Why Weak States Persist and Alternatives to the State Fade Away by Arjun Chowdhury (2018), challenges the assumption that the state is the best provider of public goods and services and argues that alternative forms of governance, such as markets, civil society,

and customary institutions, can sometimes be more effective and legitimate than the state. Published in 2018, this work challenges the dominant realist narrative that views the international order through the lens of strong state dynamics and geopolitical competition. Instead, Chowdhury presents a compelling argument that the endurance of weak states and the lack of viable alternatives to the state form are rooted in the historical and sociopolitical context of state formation (Chowdhury, 2018).

Chowdhury begins by deconstructing the myth of a cohesive international order where strong states set the norms, and weak states struggle to comply. He argues that this perception overlooks the inherent weaknesses within many states that persist over time. According to Chowdhury, the international system is characterised by a proliferation of weak states that lack the capacity to monopolize violence and provide essential public goods, yet they continue to exist and even thrive in certain contexts (Chowdhury, 2018).

One of the central arguments in Chowdhury's book is that the conditions which led to the formation of strong states in Europe such as high-intensity wars and centralised taxation systems are historically unique and non-replicable. The violent and coercive processes that forged European states created a blueprint that many post-colonial states could not follow. The imposition of this model globally, without considering local contexts and histories, has led to the persistence of weak states rather than their transformation into strong ones (Chowdhury, 2018).

Chowdhury also explores the role of international norms and institutions in sustaining weak states. He suggests that the international community often reinforces the status quo by providing aid and support to weak states, thereby preventing their collapse but also impeding their development into stronger entities. This paradox highlights the limitations of the current international order and the need for a more nuanced understanding of state resilience and fragility (Chowdhury, 2018).

Furthermore, Chowdhury critiques the alternatives to the state that have been proposed over the years. He indicates that these alternatives often fail to gain traction because they do not adequately address the complex socio-political realities of weak states. Instead of seeking to replace the state, Chowdhury argues for a focus on enhancing the adaptive capacities of existing state structures and fostering more inclusive governance practices (Chowdhury, 2018).

Arjun Chowdhury's "The Myth of International Order: Why Weak States Persist and Alternatives to the State Fade Away" provides a thought-provoking critique of conventional state-building paradigms. By emphasising the historical specificity of state formation processes and the role of international norms in perpetuating weak states, Chowdhury calls for a revaluation of how we understand and address state fragility. His work urges scholars and policymakers to move beyond simplistic models and consider more context-sensitive approaches that recognize the diversity of state experiences (Chowdhury, 2018).

Beyond the Other? A Postcolonial Critique of the Failed State Thesis by Jonathan Hill. This article criticises the failed state thesis for being based on a Eurocentric and Orientalist discourse that constructs weak states as the Other and justifies external intervention and domination. It calls for a more nuanced and contextualised understanding of state-society relations in different regions and cultures. Published in the journal *African Identities* in 2005, Hill's work critiques the dominant

narratives that portray African states as inherently flawed when measured against Western models of governance. He argues that these perspectives are deeply rooted in colonial ideologies and fail to appreciate the complex realities of African states (Hill, 2005).

Hill begins by deconstructing the concept of the failed state, which he argues is a term steeped in Eurocentric bias. According to Hill, the term “failed state” often serves to reinforce a binary distinction between the "civilised" West and the "chaotic" non-West, perpetuating an outdated colonial mindset. He speculates that this notion is grounded in a static and ahistorical understanding of the state, one that uncritically assumes Western norms and values as universal benchmarks (Hill, 2005).

In his critique, Hill leverages postcolonial theory to highlight how the failed state thesis overlooks the historical and contextual factors that shape state formation and governance in Africa. He suggests that the legacies of colonialism, such as arbitrary borders and economic exploitation, have profoundly impacted the development trajectories of African states. By ignoring these factors, mainstream analyses of state failure perpetuate a simplistic and reductionist view that blames the victim rather than addressing systemic inequities (Hill, 2005).

Furthermore, Hill emphasises the importance of local agency and resilience. He argues that African states and societies have their own forms of governance and social organisation that do not always align with Western models. Instead of labelling these systems as failures, he advocates for a more nuanced understanding that recognises their validity and potential. This approach calls for a shift away from imposing external solutions and towards supporting indigenous strategies for stability and development (Hill, 2005).

Jonathan Hill’s postcolonial critique of the failed state thesis challenges us to reconsider our assumptions about state failure and governance. By exposing the Eurocentric biases inherent in the dominant discourse, Hill urges scholars and policymakers to adopt a more inclusive and context-sensitive approach. This shift not only respects the diversity of state experiences but also promotes more equitable and sustainable pathways to development (Hill, 2005).

The Resilience Approach to State Fragility by David Chandler. This approach shifts the focus from the weaknesses and failures of states to their capacities and potentials for adaptation and transformation. David Chandler's work on the resilience approach to state fragility offers a critical perspective on traditional methods of understanding and addressing state fragility. Instead of viewing fragility through a lens of deficiency and failure, Chandler suggests a shift towards resilience-thinking, which emphasises adaptability, capacity-building, and responsiveness to various shocks and stresses (Chandler, 2014).

Chandler's approach is rooted in the idea that resilience is not merely about bouncing back from crises but about transforming societies to better withstand future challenges. He critiques the conventional state-building paradigms, which often impose external solutions without considering local contexts and capacities. Traditional approaches tend to focus on creating institutions and structures that mirror Western states, often neglecting the unique historical, social, and cultural dynamics of fragile states (Chandler, 2014).

In contrast, the resilience approach advocates for a more bottom-up methodology. It recognizes the importance of local knowledge and practices, suggesting that states should be supported in developing their own strategies for dealing with fragility. This involves enhancing the capabilities of local communities and institutions to adapt and respond to changes and uncertainties (Chandler, 2014).

Chandler also highlights the political implications of resilience. He argues that framing state fragility through the lens of resilience shifts the responsibility from external actors to the states and their citizens. This can empower local actors and promote more sustainable and context-specific solutions (Chandler, 2014). However, it also raises questions about accountability and the potential for neglecting the role of international assistance in cases where local capacities are severely limited.

5.3 The resilience approach in the conflict resolution

The resilience approach to conflict resolution is a way of dealing with conflicts that focuses on the capacities and potentials of the parties involved, rather than on their weaknesses and failures. It aims to help the parties adapt and transform their relationship and situation in a positive and constructive manner. Some of the ways that the resilience approach can be applied to conflict resolution are discussed. Recognising and appreciating the diversity and complexity of the parties and their perspectives, rather than assuming a binary or simplistic view of the conflict. Encouraging and supporting the parties to express their emotions, needs, and interests, rather than suppressing or avoiding them. Exploring and creating multiple options and alternatives for resolving the conflict, rather than imposing a single or fixed solution. Building and strengthening the trust, communication, and cooperation between the parties, rather than creating or reinforcing hostility, suspicion, and isolation. Seeking and utilising the resources and assistance of relevant third parties, such as mediators, coaches, or experts, rather than relying solely on oneself or one's own group (Stewart, 2018). Learning from the conflict experience and applying the lessons to future situations, rather than repeating the same mistakes or patterns. Some examples of the resilience approach in conflict resolution are discussed to support the facts.

In the Liberian civil war, a group of women led by Leymah Gbowee organised a nonviolent movement that brought together Christian and Muslim women to demand peace and justice. They staged mass protests, sit-ins, and strikes, and even threatened to curse the warlords if they did not stop the violence. They also pressured the international community to intervene and support the peace talks. Their resilience and courage helped end the 14-year conflict and paved the way for the election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Africa's first female president (Shonk, 2023).

In the aftermath of the 2011 earthquake and tsunami that devastated Japan, the people of Rikuzentakata, a coastal town that was almost completely wiped out, decided to rebuild their community with a vision of sustainability and resilience. They engaged in participatory planning and decision-making, and sought to balance economic development, environmental protection, and social cohesion. They also preserved a lone pine tree that survived the disaster as a symbol of hope and resilience (Cherry, 2023).

In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a grassroots organisation called Combatants for Peace was founded by former fighters from both sides who renounced violence and chose to work together for peace and reconciliation. They share their personal stories of transformation, organise joint activities and campaigns, and promote dialogue and understanding among their communities. They also support nonviolent resistance against the occupation and advocate for a two-state solution based on human rights and international law (Doyle, 2022).

5.4 Corruption

Corruption, defined as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain, is a pervasive issue that affects societies worldwide. It undermines democratic institutions, hampers economic development, and contributes to governmental instability.

The root causes of corruption are multifaceted and vary across different contexts. One significant factor is weak institutional frameworks. When legal and regulatory systems are underdeveloped or not enforced, opportunities for corrupt practices increase (Rose-Ackerman, 1999). Additionally, lack of transparency and accountability in government and corporate sectors can create environments where corruption thrives. Economic factors also play a crucial role. In countries with high levels of poverty and inequality, individuals may resort to corrupt practices as a means of survival or economic advancement. Furthermore, low public sector wages can incentivize officials to seek illicit income (Treisman, 2000). Political factors, such as the concentration of power and lack of political competition, can also contribute to corruption. In systems where checks and balances are weak, those in power may engage in corrupt activities without fear of repercussions (Klitgaard, 1988).

The consequences of corruption are profound and far-reaching. Economically, corruption leads to inefficient resource allocation, hinders investment, and slows economic growth. Studies have shown that corruption reduces GDP growth rates by distorting markets and undermining fair competition (Mauro, 1995). Socially, corruption erodes trust in public institutions and diminishes social capital. It exacerbates inequality and reduces access to essential services such as education and healthcare, disproportionately affecting the poor (Gupta, Davoodi, & Alonso-Terme, 2002). Politically, corruption undermines democracy and governance. It weakens the rule of law, fosters political instability, and can lead to the rise of authoritarian regimes. Corruption also impedes the development of robust civil societies and diminishes citizen engagement (Johnston, 2005).

Strategies for Combating Corruption Addressing corruption requires comprehensive and context-specific strategies. Strengthening institutional frameworks is crucial. This includes enhancing the independence and capacity of anti-corruption agencies, improving legal frameworks, and ensuring rigorous enforcement of laws (Rose-Ackerman & Palifka, 2016). Promoting transparency and accountability is another effective strategy. Initiatives such as open government data, public expenditure tracking, and transparent procurement processes can reduce opportunities for corrupt practices (Kaufmann, 2005). Economic reforms, such as increasing public sector wages and reducing economic inequalities, can also help mitigate corruption. Additionally, fostering political competition and enhancing the role of civil society in governance can strengthen checks and balances and reduce the concentration of power (Treisman, 2000). Corruption is a complex and

multifaceted issue with significant economic, social, and political consequences. While combating corruption is challenging, it is essential for fostering sustainable development, enhancing democratic governance, and improving societal well-being. By strengthening institutions, promoting transparency, and implementing targeted economic and political reforms, societies can reduce the prevalence of corruption and its detrimental effects.

Corruption is a major problem that affects the political, economic, and social development of Togo, a small West African country that gained independence from France in 1960. Corruption can be defined as the abuse of public power for private gain, and it can take various forms, such as bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, patronage, fraud, and extortion. The history of corruption in Togo can be traced back to the colonial period, when the French administration exploited the natural resources and human labour of the territory for their own benefit. The colonial system also created a privileged elite class that collaborated with the colonizers and enjoyed access to power and wealth. After independence, this elite class continued to dominate the political and economic spheres of the country, and they used their influence to maintain their interests and privileges. The first president of Togo, Sylvanus Olympio, was assassinated in 1963 by a group of army officers led by Gnassingbé Eyadéma, who later became the president in 1967 through a military coup. Eyadéma ruled Togo for 38 years until his death in 2005, and he established a personalist dictatorship that relied on corruption, repression, and violence to stay in power. Eyadéma created a patronage network that rewarded his loyal supporters with public positions, contracts, favours, and resources. He also manipulated the constitution, the electoral system, the judiciary, the media, and the security forces to ensure his political survival. He suppressed any opposition or dissent from civil society groups, political parties, trade unions, and ethnic minorities. He also exploited the country's natural resources, such as phosphate, cotton, cocoa, and coffee, for his own enrichment and that of his cronies. Eyadéma's regime was supported by France and other Western countries that saw him as a strategic ally in the region.

After Eyadéma's death in 2005, his son Faure Gnassingbé succeeded him as president through another military coup that was later legitimised by a flawed election. Faure Gnassingbé has since won four consecutive elections amid allegations of fraud and intimidation. He has also faced several protests and demands for political reforms from the opposition parties and civil society groups. Faure Gnassingbé has made some cosmetic changes to appease his critics and the international community, such as appointing a coalition government, holding a national dialogue, and organising a constitutional referendum. However, he has not addressed the root causes of corruption and its negative impacts on the country. He has maintained his father's patronage system and has resisted any meaningful reforms that would limit his power or challenge his legitimacy. He has also continued to benefit from the country's natural resources and foreign aid without ensuring transparency or accountability. He has also used violence and repression to quell any dissent or resistance from his opponents.

The extent of corruption in Togo can be measured by various indicators and sources that reflect the perceptions and experiences of different stakeholders. One of these sources is the Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) published by Transparency International (TI), an international non-governmental organisation that monitors and fights corruption worldwide. The CPI ranks 180

countries and territories around the world by their perceived levels of public sector corruption based on expert assessments and surveys. The CPI uses a scale from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean) to score each country or territory. According to the CPI 2021 report, Togo scored 30 points out of 100 and ranked 130th out of 180 countries and territories. This means that Togo is perceived as a highly corrupt country with a low level of public integrity. Compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Togo is below the regional average of 32 points. Compared to its own performance since 2006, Togo has shown some slight improvement but remains stagnant in its fight against corruption.

Another source of information on corruption in Togo is the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) published by TI as well. The GCB is a survey that asks ordinary people about their views and experiences of corruption in their country. The GCB covers various aspects of corruption, such as its prevalence, causes, consequences, solutions, and actors involved. According to the GCB Africa 2019 report, which surveyed more than 47,000 people from 35 African countries including Togo, 57% of respondents in Togo thought that corruption increased in the previous 12 months. Moreover, 32% of respondents who used public services such as health care, education, police, courts, or utilities in Togo paid a bribe in the previous 12 months. This indicates that corruption is widespread and affects the daily lives of many people in Togo. The GCB also revealed that 69% of respondents in Togo thought that the government was doing a bad job of fighting corruption. Furthermore, 54% of respondents in Togo thought that most or all of the following public officials were corrupt: members of parliament, government officials, local government officials, judges and magistrates, police officers, religious leaders, business executives, and traditional leaders. This shows that corruption is pervasive and entrenched in the public sector and beyond.

The causes of corruption in Togo are complex and interrelated, and they can be analysed from different perspectives, such as historical, political, economic, social, and cultural. The legacy of colonialism and authoritarianism that created a centralised and personalised state that served the interests of the ruling elite and excluded the majority of the population from political participation and economic opportunities. The lack of democracy and good governance that allowed the president and his allies to monopolise power and resources without any checks and balances or accountability mechanisms. The weakness of the state institutions and the rule of law that enabled the public officials to abuse their authority and discretion for their own benefit or that of their patrons or clients. The poverty and inequality that forced many people to resort to corruption as a means of survival or advancement in a context of scarce resources and limited opportunities. The culture of impunity and silence that discouraged people from reporting or denouncing corruption for fear of retaliation or stigma. The low level of civic education and awareness that prevented people from understanding their rights and responsibilities as citizens and from demanding better services and governance from their leaders.

The consequences of corruption in Togo are severe and multifaceted, and they affect the political, economic, and social development of the country. The erosion of trust and confidence in the state and its institutions, which undermines the legitimacy and effectiveness of the government and reduces its ability to provide public goods and services. The diversion of public resources from priority sectors such as health, education, infrastructure, and security, which impairs the economic

growth, poverty reduction, and service delivery of the country. The distortion of market competition and investment climate, which discourages domestic and foreign investors from doing business in the country and hampers its integration into the regional and global economy. The exacerbation of inequality and injustice, which fuels social discontent, frustration, and resentment among different groups and segments of society. The increase of conflict and instability, which threatens the peace and security of the country and its neighbours.

The solutions to corruption in Togo require a comprehensive and holistic approach that involves various actors and strategies at different levels. The promotion of democracy and good governance that ensures the separation of powers, the respect for human rights, the rule of law, the transparency and accountability of public officials, the participation and representation of citizens, and the oversight and control of civil society and media. The strengthening of state institutions and the rule of law that enhances the capacity and integrity of public officials, the independence and efficiency of judiciary, the professionalism and discipline of security forces, and the quality and accessibility of public services. The reduction of poverty and inequality that provides more opportunities and resources for people to improve their living standards, education, health, and employment. The empowerment of citizens and civil society that educates them about their rights and responsibilities, encourages them to report or denounce corruption, supports them to organise or mobilise for social change, and protects them from retaliation or harassment. The cooperation with regional and international actors that supports the anti-corruption efforts of Togo through technical assistance, financial aid, diplomatic pressure, or sanctions.

Corruption affects the human rights situation in Togo in various ways. Corruption undermines the rule of law and democracy, which are essential for the protection and promotion of human rights. Corruption allows public officials to abuse their power and discretion for their own benefit or that of their patrons or clients, without any checks and balances or accountability mechanisms. Corruption also distorts the electoral system, the judiciary, the media, and the security forces, which are supposed to ensure the participation and representation of citizens, the independence and efficiency of justice, the freedom and diversity of information, and the professionalism and discipline of law enforcement.

Corruption diverts public resources from priority sectors such as health, education, infrastructure, and security, which are vital for the realisation of economic, social, and cultural rights. Corruption reduces the quality and accessibility of public services, which affects the living standards, health, education, and employment of the population. Corruption also hampers the economic growth, poverty reduction, and service delivery of the country, which affects its ability to fulfil its human rights obligations (The Borgen Project, 2017).

Corruption exacerbates inequality and injustice, which violate the principles of equality and non-discrimination that are at the core of human rights. Corruption creates a gap between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless, the privileged and the marginalised. Corruption discriminates against certain groups and segments of society, such as women, children, ethnic minorities, persons with disabilities, persons with HIV/AIDS, and LGBTQI persons. Corruption also fuels social discontent, frustration, and resentment among different groups and segments of society.

Corruption increases conflict and instability, which threaten the peace and security of the country and its neighbours. Corruption provokes violence and unrest among people who feel oppressed or excluded by the corrupt system. Corruption also undermines trust and confidence in the state and its institutions, which erodes the legitimacy and effectiveness of the government. Corruption also attracts external interference or intervention from regional or international actors who may have ulterior motives or agendas.

Civil society and media can contribute to the fight against corruption in Togo in various ways. Civil society and media can raise awareness and educate the public about the causes, consequences, and solutions of corruption, and empower them to demand better services and governance from their leaders. They can also provide information and tools for citizens to report or denounce corruption and support them to organise or mobilise for social change. Civil society and media can monitor and expose the corrupt practices and abuses of public officials and hold them accountable for their actions. They can also advocate for legal and institutional reforms that would enhance the transparency and accountability of the public sector and promote the rule of law and democracy. Civil society and media can collaborate and coordinate with each other, as well as with other stakeholders, such as regional and international organisations, to share experiences, best practices, and resources in the fight against corruption. They can also create networks and platforms for dialogue and cooperation among different actors in the civil society and media sectors, as well as with the government and the private sector. Civil society and media can set an example of integrity and professionalism in their own work and adhere to ethical standards and codes of conduct. They can also foster a culture of honesty, responsibility, and civic engagement among their members and audiences.

Togo has some successful anti-corruption initiatives in place. The creation of the High Authority for the Prevention and Fight against Corruption and Related Offenses (HAPLUCIA) in 2016, which is an independent body that aims to prevent, detect, investigate, and sanction corruption and related offenses. HAPLUCIA has the power to receive and process complaints, conduct inquiries, refer cases to the judiciary, and propose legal and institutional reforms. HAPLUCIA also conducts awareness-raising and education campaigns on anti-corruption issues.

The adoption of a law on asset declarations for public officials in 2020, which requires the president, the prime minister, the ministers, the members of parliament, the judges, the heads of public institutions, and other categories of public officials to declare their assets and interests before taking office and at the end of their mandate. The declarations are verified by HAPLUCIA and published on its website. The law also provides for sanctions for non-compliance or false declarations.

The implementation of e-Government projects that aim to digitise administrative procedures and public services, such as the online platform for public procurement (e-procurement), the electronic tax system (e-tax), the electronic customs system (e-customs), and the electronic civil registry (e-civil). These projects aim to improve the efficiency, transparency, and accountability of public administration, as well as to reduce red tape, bribery, and racketeering.

Togo faces some challenges and limitations of these anti-corruption initiatives. The High Authority for the Prevention and Fight against Corruption and Related Offenses (HAPLUCIA) faces constraints in terms of human, financial, and technical resources, as well as political interference and resistance from some public officials. It also lacks public trust and visibility, as many citizens are unaware of its existence or mandate. The law on asset declarations for public officials has not been fully implemented or enforced, as many public officials have failed to comply with the legal requirements or have submitted incomplete or inaccurate declarations. There is also no effective verification or sanction mechanism for non-compliance or false declarations. The e-Government projects have encountered challenges such as low internet penetration and access, lack of digital literacy and skills, inadequate infrastructure and equipment, cyber-security risks, and corruption within the digital systems themselves.

Some recommendations to overcome the challenges and limitations of the anti-corruption initiatives in Togo are highlighted. To enhance the effectiveness and independence of the High Authority for the Prevention and Fight against Corruption and Related Offenses (HAPLUCIA), the government should allocate adequate human, financial, and technical resources to the institution, and ensure its autonomy from political interference and resistance. The government should also increase public trust and visibility of HAPLUCIA by supporting its awareness-raising and education campaigns, and by publishing its reports and recommendations (UNDP 2012). To ensure the full implementation and enforcement of the law on asset declarations for public officials, the government should establish a robust verification and sanction mechanism for non-compliance or false declarations and involve civil society and media in monitoring and exposing the corrupt practices and abuses of public officials. The government should also expand the scope of the law to include other categories of public officials, such as local government officials, heads of public enterprises, and members of security forces (Chigas 2019). To address the challenges of e-Government projects, the government should invest in improving internet penetration and access, digital literacy and skills, infrastructure and equipment, and cyber-security in the country. The government should also ensure that e-Government projects are complemented by other anti-corruption measures, such as strengthening oversight and accountability mechanisms, promoting citizen participation and feedback, and reducing opportunities for corruption within the digital systems (Transparency International, 2012).

5.5 Constraints in Republic of Togo's Diplomacy

Togo is a small West African country that gained independence from France in 1960. Since then, Togo has faced various challenges and constraints in its foreign policy and diplomacy, both internally and externally. These challenges and constraints have affected Togo's ability to pursue its national interests, protect its sovereignty, and contribute to regional and global peace and security.

One of the main internal constraints in Togo's diplomacy is the lack of democracy and good governance. Togo has experienced political instability, authoritarian rule, human rights violations, and social unrest for most of its post-independence history. The country was dominated by the 38-year dictatorship of Gnassingbé Eyadéma, who came to power through a military coup in 1967 and died in 2005. His son, Faure Gnassingbé, succeeded him after another military coup and has

since won four controversial elections amid allegations of fraud and repression. The opposition parties and civil society groups have repeatedly demanded political reforms, including the introduction of presidential term limits and the restoration of the 1992 constitution, which was amended by Eyadéma to extend his rule. The government has resisted these demands and has used force and dialogue to contain the protests.

The lack of democracy and good governance has undermined Togo's diplomatic credibility and legitimacy, both at home and abroad. Togo has faced pressure from regional and international actors to implement democratic changes and to resolve its own political crisis. For example, in 2005, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) condemned the military coup that brought Faure Gnassingbé to power and imposed sanctions on Togo until a free and fair election was held. In 2017, the European Union (EU) suspended its budgetary support to Togo due to the lack of progress on human rights and governance reforms. In 2018, Togo was suspended from the International Organization of La Francophonie (OIF) for failing to respect its democratic commitments. Moreover, Togo has faced criticism from its own citizens who have questioned its foreign policy priorities and decisions. For example, in 2019, many Togolese protested against Togo's decision to support Morocco's bid to join ECOWAS, fearing that it would undermine Togo's sovereignty and interests.

Another internal constraint in Togo's diplomacy is the lack of economic development and social welfare. Togo is one of the poorest countries in the world, with a GDP per capita of \$702 in 2020. It ranks 167th out of 189 countries in the Human Development Index (HDI), which measures life expectancy, education, and income. Togo suffers from high poverty, unemployment, inequality, illiteracy, malnutrition, disease, and environmental degradation. It also faces security threats from terrorism, piracy, trafficking, and smuggling in the region.

The lack of economic development and social welfare has limited Togo's diplomatic resources and capabilities, as well as its attractiveness and influence. Togo has relied heavily on external assistance from bilateral and multilateral partners, such as France, Germany, China, the EU, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to finance its budget, development projects, and debt relief. However, this assistance has often come with conditions or strings attached that have constrained Togo's policy autonomy and sovereignty. For example, in 2019, the IMF approved a \$246 million loan to Togo under an Extended Credit Facility (ECF) program that required Togo to implement fiscal consolidation, structural reforms, and social protection measures. Furthermore, Togo has struggled to attract foreign investment and trade due to its poor infrastructure, business climate, and governance. It also has a low level of regional integration and cooperation, especially in trade, infrastructure, energy, and migration.

One of the main external constraints in Togo's diplomacy is the influence of former colonial powers, especially France and Germany. Togo has strong historical and cultural ties with Western Europe, and it has pursued a non-aligned foreign policy. However, Togo has often depended on France and Germany for political, economic, and military support. France and Germany have been among Togo's largest donors, trading partners, and investors. They have also provided security assistance and training to Togo's armed forces. They have also mediated or intervened in some of Togo's internal or regional conflicts. For example, in 2006, France and Germany facilitated the

formation of a national unity government in Togo after a disputed election. In 2017, Germany hosted a summit on the Gambia crisis, which involved Togo as the chair of ECOWAS.

The influence of former colonial powers has sometimes conflicted with Togo's national interests or sovereignty. Togo has sometimes faced pressure or criticism from France and Germany on issues such as human rights, democracy, and governance. Togo has also sometimes diverged or disagreed with France and Germany on issues such as regional integration, security cooperation, and international relations. For example, in 1914, during World War I, British and French colonial troops invaded Togoland, which was then a German colony, and divided it into two parts: British Togo and French Togo. This violated the territorial integrity and self-determination of the Togolese people. Later, in 1963, France was accused of being involved in the assassination of Sylvanus Olympio, the first president of independent Togo, who had opposed France's neo-colonial policies and had sought to establish closer ties with Ghana. More recently, in 2019, Togo opposed the French-backed Eco currency project, which aimed to replace the CFA franc as the common currency of West African countries. Togo feared that this project would undermine its sovereignty and interests, as the Eco would still be pegged to the euro and controlled by the French Treasury. In 2020, Togo supported the candidacy of Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala for the director-general of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), while France and Germany backed the candidacy of Yoo Myung-hee.

Another external constraint in Togo's diplomacy is the competition of emerging powers, especially China. Togo has established diplomatic relations with China since 1972, and it has maintained a friendly and cooperative relationship with China. China has become one of Togo's largest donors, trading partners, and investors. China has provided Togo with economic and technical assistance, debt relief, infrastructure projects, and concessional loans. China has also supported Togo's position on regional and international issues, such as the reform of the UN Security Council and the fight against terrorism.

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The competition of emerging powers has posed challenges and opportunities for Togo's diplomacy. On one hand, Togo has benefited from the increased presence and engagement of China and other emerging powers, such as India, Brazil, Turkey, and Qatar, in Africa. Togo has diversified its sources of funding, trade, and investment, and it has enhanced its bargaining power and leverage in the international arena. Togo has also participated in various platforms and initiatives that promote cooperation and dialogue between Africa and emerging powers, such as the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), the India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS), the Brazil-Africa Forum (BAF), and the Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit (TAPS). On the other hand, Togo has faced risks and challenges from the increased presence and engagement of China and other emerging powers in Africa. Togo has had to balance its relations with different actors and interests,

and to avoid being caught in geopolitical rivalries or conflicts. Togo has also had to deal with the negative impacts or implications of some of the projects or activities of China and other emerging powers in Africa, such as debt sustainability, environmental protection, labour standards, and human rights.

One of the main challenges that Togo faces from the competition of emerging powers is the influence of China on its sovereignty and interests. China is a major power that pursues its own strategic objectives and interests in Africa, which may not always align with those of Togo or other African countries. China often uses its economic leverage and political clout to pressure or persuade African countries to support its positions or policies on issues such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Xinjiang, Tibet, human rights, trade, and security. For example, in 2018, China threatened to cut off aid to Togo if it did not vote in favour of a Chinese resolution at the UN Human Rights Council that opposed Western interference in human rights issues. In 2019, China pressured Togo to sign a memorandum of understanding on the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), a massive infrastructure project that aims to connect Asia, Europe, and Africa through land and sea routes. The BRI has been criticised by some Western countries for creating debt traps, environmental damage, corruption, and security risks for African countries.

Another challenge that Togo faces from the competition of emerging powers is the impact of China on its relations with other partners, especially former colonial powers, such as France and Germany. Togo has strong historical and cultural ties with Western Europe, and it has pursued a non-aligned foreign policy. However, Togo has often depended on France and Germany for political, economic, and military support. France and Germany have been among Togo's largest donors, trading partners, and investors. They have also provided security assistance and training to Togo's armed forces. They have also mediated or intervened in some of Togo's internal or regional conflicts. However, the growing presence and influence of China and other emerging powers in Africa has challenged the traditional role and interests of France and Germany in the continent. France and Germany have often competed or clashed with China and other emerging powers on issues such as trade, investment, security, governance, and human rights.

5.6 Internal instability since 1960

Togo was established as a German colony in 1884, but was divided between Britain and France after World War I. The British-ruled western territory was incorporated into Ghana in 1956, while the French-ruled eastern area became independent as Togo in 1960 (BBC News 2018). The first president of Togo was Sylvanus Olympio, who was elected in 1961 with a pro-French orientation. However, he faced opposition from some segments of society, especially the former soldiers who had fought for France in Indochina and Algeria and were dismissed without compensation. Olympio was assassinated in a coup led by Sergeant Etienne Gnassingbé Eyadéma in 1963, who handed power to Nicolas Grunitzky. Grunitzky's government was weak and unpopular, and faced several coup attempts. In 1967, Eyadéma staged another coup and seized power, establishing a military dictatorship that lasted for 38 years. He dissolved all political parties and created a single-party system under his Rally of the Togolese People (RPT). He also nationalised the phosphate industry, which was the main source of revenue for the country. He ruled with an iron fist, suppressing any dissent and violating human rights. He was re-elected several times in fraudulent

elections, often as the sole candidate. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Togo faced increasing pressure from both internal and external forces to democratise. A series of strikes, demonstrations, and bombings challenged Eyadéma's regime, while France, Germany, and the US suspended aid to push for reforms. In 1991, Eyadéma agreed to share power with a transitional government led by Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, pending elections. A new constitution was approved in 1992, which included a presidential two-term limit and other democratic provisions (BTI, 2022).

However, Eyadéma did not respect the agreement and continued to interfere with the transitional process. He dissolved the government several times, used violence against protesters, and manipulated the electoral commission and the constitutional court. The opposition boycotted the parliamentary elections in 1994 and the presidential election in 1998, which Eyadéma won amid allegations of fraud. UN-OAU inquiry concluded that there were systematic violations of human rights after the 1998 election. In 2002, Eyadéma's party won the parliamentary elections again, with another boycott by the opposition. The parliament then amended the constitution to remove the term limit clause, allowing Eyadéma to run for a third term in 2003. He won again with a landslide victory over six other candidates (BBC News, 2018).

Eyadéma died suddenly in February 2005, after ruling Togo for almost four decades. His son Faure Gnassingbé was immediately sworn in as president by the army, violating the constitution which stipulated that the speaker of parliament should assume power in case of vacancy. This sparked widespread protests and condemnation from both domestic and international actors. Under pressure from ECOWAS and other regional bodies, Faure stepped down and agreed to hold elections within 60 days. However, he remained the candidate of the ruling party and enjoyed the support of the army and the security forces. The opposition was divided and fragmented and could not agree on a single candidate. The main challenger was Gilchrist Olympio, the son of the first president, who had been living in exile since 1992 after surviving an assassination attempt. The election was held in April 2005, amid reports of irregularities, intimidation, and violence. Faure was declared the winner with 60% of the votes, while Olympio received 38%. The opposition rejected the results and claimed that there was massive fraud. The post-election violence claimed more than 400 lives and displaced thousands of people (BTI, 2022).

In order to end the crisis and restore stability, ECOWAS initiated a dialogue process between the government and the opposition, with the involvement of other regional and international actors, such as the AU, the UN, and the EU. The dialogue resulted in several agreements that aimed to create a conducive environment for free and fair elections, as well as to address the root causes of the conflict (Taylor, 2019).

The Global Political Agreement (APG) of August 2006, which provided for a power-sharing government, a truth and reconciliation commission, a new electoral code, a new electoral commission, a new constitutional court, and security sector reform. The agreement was signed by President Faure Gnassingbé, who had inherited power from his father Gnassingbé Eyadéma in 2005 after a disputed election and a violent crackdown, and by the main opposition leaders, who had been demanding constitutional reforms and democratic transition. The agreement was facilitated by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other regional and international actors, such as the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), and the European

Union (EU). The main provisions of the agreement were the formation of a transitional unity government, led by a prime minister from the opposition, to prepare for free and fair elections, the reinstatement of the 1992 Constitution, which included a presidential two-term limit and other democratic guarantees, the revision of the electoral code, the electoral commission, and the constitutional court, to ensure their impartiality and independence, the establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, to investigate and address the human rights violations committed during the crisis and the reform of the security sector, to ensure its professionalism and respect for human rights (GlobalSecurity.org, 2006).

The agreement was seen as a historic opportunity to restore peace and stability in Togo, as well as to promote democracy and human rights in the region. However, its implementation faced many challenges and obstacles, such as the lack of political will and trust among the parties, the divergent interests and agendas of the regional mediators, the limited resources and leverage of ECOWAS, and the interference of external actors such as France and China. As a result, the agreement did not achieve its intended outcomes and instead led to a consolidation of Faure's power and a marginalisation of the opposition. The elections that were held under the agreement were not free or fair, according to many observers, and the reforms that were agreed upon were not fully implemented or respected (AfDB, 2011).

The Lomé Agreement of May 2009, which extended the mandate of the transitional government until the parliamentary elections in October 2009. It was an agreement signed by the government and the opposition of Togo, a small West African country that had been experiencing political instability and violence since 2005. The agreement was facilitated by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other regional and international actors, such as the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), and the European Union (EU) (Peace Accords Matrix (2020).

The main purpose of the agreement was to extend the mandate of the transitional government that was formed in 2007, following the Global Political Agreement (APG) of 2006. The transitional government was supposed to prepare for free and fair parliamentary elections, as well as to implement the reforms agreed upon in the APG, such as the revision of the electoral code, the electoral commission, and the constitutional court. The agreement also aimed to address some of the outstanding issues that had hampered the dialogue process and the implementation of the APG, such as the release of political prisoners, the respect for human rights and civil liberties, the participation of the diaspora in the electoral process, and the reform of the security sector (Binningsbø & Dupuy, 2009).

The agreement was seen as a positive step towards resolving the crisis and restoring peace and stability in Togo, as well as to promote democracy and human rights in the region. However, its implementation faced many challenges and delays, such as the lack of political will and trust among the parties, the divergent interests and agendas of the regional mediators, the limited resources and leverage of ECOWAS, and the interference of external actors such as France and China. As a result, none of the deadlines set by the agreement were met, and the parliamentary elections were postponed several times until they were finally held in October 2018.

The Ouagadougou Agreement of March 2010, which established a framework for dialogue and cooperation between the government and the opposition ahead of the presidential election in March 2010. The agreement was facilitated by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other regional and international actors, such as the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), and the European Union (EU).

The main purpose of the agreement was to establish a framework for dialogue and cooperation between the government and the opposition ahead of the presidential election in March 2010. The agreement also aimed to address some of the outstanding issues that had hampered the dialogue process and the implementation of previous agreements, such as the Global Political Agreement (APG) of 2006 and the Lomé Agreement of 2009. Some of the main points of the agreement were the creation of a joint committee to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the electoral reforms, such as the revision of the electoral code, the electoral commission, and the constitutional court, the adoption of a code of conduct for political parties and candidates, to ensure a peaceful and fair electoral campaign, the provision of equal access to public media for all candidates, as well as the creation of a media monitoring body, the deployment of national and international observers to oversee the electoral process, as well as the establishment of a mechanism for dispute resolution and finally, the commitment to respect the results of the election and to accept the verdict of the constitutional court (UN Peacemaker, 2007).

The agreement was seen as a positive step towards resolving the crisis and restoring peace and stability in Togo, as well as to promote democracy and human rights in the region. However, its implementation faced many challenges and delays, such as the lack of political will and trust among the parties, the divergent interests and agendas of the regional mediators, the limited resources and leverage of ECOWAS, and the interference of external actors such as France and China. As a result, none of the deadlines set by the agreement were met, and the presidential election was postponed several times until it was finally held in April 2010 (Peace Accords Matrix, 2020).

Despite these efforts, the dialogue process faced many challenges and limitations that hindered its effectiveness and credibility. There was a lack of political will and trust among the parties. The government was reluctant to implement some of the key reforms agreed upon, such as releasing political prisoners, reforming the security sector, and ensuring equal access to media. The opposition was also divided and distrustful of each other and of the government. There were frequent accusations of bad faith, violations, and sabotage from both sides. The divergent interests and agendas of the regional leaders: ECOWAS was led by different presidents during the dialogue process, who had different views and approaches to the Togolese crisis. Some were more supportive of Faure, such as Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, while others were more sympathetic to the opposition, such as Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and John Kufuor of Ghana. This created inconsistencies and contradictions in ECOWAS's mediation role. There were limited leverage and resources of ECOWAS. It did not have enough financial and human resources to monitor and enforce the implementation of the agreements. It also did not have enough political leverage to pressure or sanction the parties for non-compliance. It relied on the goodwill and cooperation of the parties, which was often lacking or conditional (Taylor, 2019).

There was an interference of external actors such as France and China. France has been a historical ally of Togo since colonial times and has maintained close economic and military ties with the Gnassingbé regime. France has been accused of supporting Faure's succession in 2005 and influencing ECOWAS's position in his favour. China has also increased its presence and influence in Togo in recent years, providing loans, investments, and infrastructure projects. China has been seen as a counterweight to France's influence and a source of leverage for Faure against ECOWAS's demands (BTI, 2022).

The dialogue process did not achieve its main objective of resolving the conflict in Togo peacefully and democratically. Instead, it resulted in a consolidation of Faure's power and a marginalisation of the opposition. The elections that were held under the dialogue framework were not free or fair, according to many observers. Faure won both the presidential elections in 2010 and 2015 with more than 60% of the votes each time. His party also won a majority in both the parliamentary elections in 2013 and 2018. The opposition continued to boycott or contest some of these elections, citing irregularities or lack of reforms (BBC News, 2018).

Chapter 6. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Summary

The Republic of Togo has taken an active role in mediating and resolving conflicts across Africa, leveraging its strategic position and diplomatic engagements. The country's diplomatic efforts are primarily influenced by its participation in regional and international organisations such as the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the United Nations (UN).

This thesis has thus tune the research with the background of the study which is a brief introduction on the Republic of Togo's diplomacy in Africa in chapter one. Subsequently, the paper identified why the study is considered a problem and set an objective in order to understand the situation.

This chapter includes discussion and future research possibilities to offer some clarifications on the research questions:

- How has Togo's diplomacy contributed to the prevention and resolution of conflicts in Africa?
- What are the main challenges and opportunities for Togo's diplomacy in the context of the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the African Continental Free Trade Area?
- How does Togo balance its relations with its traditional partners, such as France and Germany, and its emerging partners, such as China and Turkey, in pursuing its diplomatic interests and objectives in Africa?
- How does Togo cope with the internal and external pressures for democratic reforms and human rights protection in its diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa?

Reflecting the objective and scope for which this thesis is intended, and owing largely to time interval for research process, restricted data and intelligence systems of the government, the research work is hinged on and limited to issues related to the Republic of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa.

The second chapter delves into the theoretical background of the study and examines the definition and dimensions of diplomacy and conflict resolution. This section explores how ECOWAS has been instrumental in resolving conflicts in West Africa, including Togo's involvement. It highlights the success of mediation and conciliation efforts in countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, and Guinea-Bissau. Also, there was discussing around the Camp David Accords which were a series of agreements between Egypt and Israel, brokered by U.S. President Jimmy Carter in September 1978. The negotiations took place at the U.S. presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland. The key figures involved were Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and President Jimmy Carter. The Camp David Accords were significant because they marked a historic step towards peace in the Middle East, resulting in Egypt and Israel signing a peace treaty in 1979. For their efforts, Sadat and Begin were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978. Others peace resolutions were discussed such Oslo Accords, Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), The reunification of Germany, The Northern Ireland peace, The Mozambican Peace Process, The Argentine-Brazilian rapprochement.

Theoretical framework has been discussed such Regional security complex theory, Public diplomacy and Culture and conflict management. Regional security complex theory (RSCT) is a theory of international relations developed by Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, and advanced in their 2003 work, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. RSCT posits that international security should be examined from a regional perspective, and that relations between states (and other actors) exhibit regular, geographically clustered patterns. Public diplomacy refers to the efforts by a government to communicate directly with foreign publics to inform and influence them, with the aim of building support for the state's strategic objectives. It includes a variety of methods such as media interviews, cultural exchanges, educational programs, and social media engagement. Finally, Culture and conflict management explores how cultural values and norms influence the ways in which conflicts are handled and resolved.

The third chapter outlines the research methodology used by emphasising the design and method used to carry out the study. The research has limitations on data collection while conducting the study. Gaining access to sensitive diplomatic information and official records can be challenging due to confidentiality and security concerns. This limits the availability of primary data for analysis. Due to the difficulty in accessing primary data, researcher often rely on secondary sources such as news articles, reports, and academic publications. While these sources provide valuable insights, they may not always be comprehensive or entirely accurate. Media reports and other secondary sources may contain biases or inaccuracies, which can affect the reliability of the data collected. Researchers must critically evaluate the sources to ensure the validity of their findings. Ensuring ethical standards in data collection, such as obtaining informed consent and protecting the privacy of participants, can be challenging in conflict-affected areas. Researchers must navigate these ethical dilemmas carefully. These limitations highlight the complexities and challenges involved in conducting a thorough analysis of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution. Despite these constraints, researcher employed various strategies to mitigate these issues and enhance the quality of the findings.

The fourth chapter outlines the Republic of Togo's diplomacy in Africa by answering the research questions. Togo has played a significant role in conflict prevention and resolution in Africa through its preventive diplomacy initiatives. Togo has launched notable diplomatic initiatives in the Sahel region, focusing on maintaining domestic peace and security while engaging at regional and inter-regional levels. The country promotes values such as listening, dialogue, solidarity, reconciliation, and mediation. Togo's strategy aims to create a conducive and humanely flourishing context for the stability of states in West Africa and the Sahel. This involves working upstream to address threats to peace and security through consultation, contact, reconciliation of views, dialogue, mediation, and good offices missions. Togo emphasizes solidarity as the foundation of its regional and international commitments. The country believes that the stability of states is interconnected with the stability of the global context, and thus, it works towards maintaining peace and security in the region. Togo collaborates with various international organizations, such as the United Nations, African Union, and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to address conflicts and promote peace. Togo's diplomatic efforts have been recognised for their focus on preventive measures and their commitment to promoting positive peace in the region.

Togo faces both challenges and opportunities as it aligns its diplomacy with the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). For challenges, Togo's

economy relies heavily on natural resources. Diversifying its economy to reduce dependence on these resources is a significant challenge. Implementing trade facilitation measures, such as simplifying customs procedures and reducing red tape, is crucial but requires substantial policy reforms. Togo needs to enhance its regional integration efforts to fully benefit from the AfCFTA, which aims to create a single market for goods and services across Africa. In terms of infrastructure development, improving transportation networks, energy access, and telecommunications is essential for boosting intra-African trade. For opportunities, the AfCFTA has the potential to significantly boost Togo's economy by increasing trade and investment opportunities. The agreement could create millions of jobs, particularly for Togo's growing, tech-savvy youth. The AfCFTA can attract substantial foreign direct investment, helping to modernize Togo's economy. In terms of innovation and technology, promoting research, entrepreneurship, and a green economy can drive sustainable development. Togo's diplomacy will play a crucial role in navigating these challenges and seizing the opportunities presented by Agenda 2063 and the AfCFTA.

Togo skillfully balances its diplomatic relations with both traditional partners like France and Germany, and emerging partners such as China and Turkey. Togo has strong historical and cultural ties with France and Germany, dating back to its colonial period. These relationships are maintained through various diplomatic and economic engagements. France and Germany continue to be significant trade partners and sources of development aid. For instance, the EU, along with France and Germany, supports Togo's sustainable development initiatives. Both countries provide political support and collaborate on regional stability efforts. China has been a major partner in infrastructure development in Togo, contributing to projects like the Gnassingbé Eyadéma International Airport and the Kégué Stadium. China is Togo's principal commercial partner and a significant source of investment. The Belt and Road Initiative has further strengthened this relationship. Türkiye offers scholarships to Togolese students and promotes cultural exchanges, enhancing bilateral relations. By leveraging these relationships, Togo can pursue its diplomatic interests and objectives effectively, ensuring economic growth, political stability, and regional cooperation.

Togo faces significant internal and external pressures to implement democratic reforms and protect human rights. For internal pressures, Togo has faced credible reports of human rights abuses, including arbitrary killings, torture, and restrictions on freedom of expression. Addressing these issues is crucial for Togo's diplomatic credibility. Togo has made progress in democratic governance, but challenges remain, such as limited political freedoms and meaningful opposition. Ongoing reforms are necessary to strengthen the democratic system. The international community, including organizations like the United Nations and the European Union, plays an active role in assisting Togo to ensure human rights are respected. Financial and technical support is provided to help Togo implement reforms. Togo collaborates with regional organisations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to address conflicts and promote peace. ECOWAS has been instrumental in resolving conflicts in West Africa through diplomatic methods. Togo engages with international bodies to address human rights issues and implement democratic reforms. This includes cooperating with the UN Human Rights Council and other international organizations. Togo works closely with ECOWAS and other regional bodies to promote peace and stability in Africa. This involves participating in mediation and reconciliation efforts to resolve conflicts. Togo balances its relations with traditional partners like France and Germany and

emerging partners like China and Turkey to pursue its diplomatic interests and objectives. By addressing internal pressures and leveraging external support, Togo aims to strengthen its diplomatic efforts in conflict resolution and promote peace and stability in Africa.

The chapter five outlines the constraints in Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa. The Weak State Thesis in the context of Togo's diplomacy refers to the idea that Togo, as a relatively small and economically challenged nation, faces inherent limitations in its diplomatic efforts. These limitations stem from both internal factors, such as political instability and economic constraints, and external factors, such as the influence of more powerful states and international organizations. Togo's diplomatic strategies often involve leveraging regional organizations like ECOWAS and the African Union to mediate conflicts and promote peace. However, the weak state thesis suggests that Togo's ability to influence outcomes is constrained by its limited resources and geopolitical position.

The Republic of Togo faces several constraints in its diplomatic efforts, which impact its ability to effectively mediate and resolve conflicts in Africa. Togo's small economy limits its financial resources, which in turn restricts its ability to provide substantial aid or incentives during diplomatic negotiations. Internal political challenges, including governance issues and occasional political unrest, can undermine Togo's credibility and effectiveness in mediating conflicts in other countries. Togo's geopolitical position and limited influence compared to larger and more powerful nations can constrain its ability to assert its diplomatic strategies on the international stage. Limited human and material resources can hinder Togo's capacity to engage in prolonged and extensive diplomatic efforts, especially in complex and protracted conflicts. Togo often relies on regional organizations like ECOWAS and the African Union for support in its diplomatic initiatives. While this collaboration is beneficial, it also means that Togo's influence is sometimes contingent on the agendas and decisions of these larger entities. The historical and colonial legacy in the region can complicate diplomatic efforts, as past grievances and power dynamics continue to influence contemporary conflicts and negotiations.

The sixth and the final chapter outlines a brief summary of the study, which is followed by conclusion of the thesis, and finally offers some underlying recommendations. The research work is exemplified with the reference lists and annexes given at the end.

6.2 Conclusions

In recent years, the Republic of Togo has emerged as a key player in diplomatic efforts to resolve conflicts within Africa. Togo's active participation in regional and international peace initiatives underscores its commitment to promoting stability and development across the continent.

Togo's diplomatic strategy is deeply rooted in multilateralism and regional cooperation. The country leverages its membership in organizations such as the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the United Nations (UN) to mediate and resolve conflicts. Togo's Foreign Minister, Robert Dussey, has played a pivotal role in shaping the nation's diplomatic agenda, emphasizing dialogue, negotiation, and peaceful coexistence (Dussey, 2024). Togo has participated in various regional and continental initiatives, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), and the United Nations (UN), to address the root causes and consequences of conflicts in Africa. Togo has also contributed

troops and resources to peacekeeping missions in countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, and Sudan. Additionally, Togo's commitment to the AU's Agenda 2063 aimed at achieving an integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa further highlights its dedication to long-term conflict resolution and development (African Union, 2015).

Despite these successes, Togo's diplomatic efforts face significant challenges. Critics argue that the effectiveness of Togo's interventions is often limited by the complexities of the conflicts it seeks to resolve. Issues such as entrenched political interests, economic disparities, and ethnic tensions can impede diplomatic progress. Furthermore, Togo's own domestic political situation, characterized by periodic unrest and calls for greater democratic reforms, can undermine its credibility on the international stage (Mentan, 2015). However, Togo has also demonstrated its resilience, adaptability, and creativity in overcoming some of these challenges and enhancing its diplomatic capacity and credibility.

Looking ahead, Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution will need to address these challenges through more inclusive and sustainable approaches. Strengthening institutional frameworks, fostering regional partnerships, and promoting good governance are essential steps towards enhancing Togo's impact on peace and stability in Africa. Togo's continued commitment to multilateral diplomacy, coupled with a focus on addressing root causes of conflicts, will be crucial in shaping a more peaceful and prosperous continent.

6.3 Recommendations

Given the evolving dynamics of conflict resolution and diplomacy in Africa, several avenues for further research emerge from the critical analysis of Togo's diplomatic efforts. These recommendations aim to deepen the understanding of Togo's strategies and the broader implications for peacebuilding in Africa.

Conducting comparative and cross-regional studies of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa with other small states or regions that have similar or different experiences, challenges, and opportunities. This can help to identify the commonalities and differences, as well as the best practices and lessons learned, from various cases and contexts (Adebajo, 2020; Gnanguenon, 2019). To assess the effectiveness and impact of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa, it is useful to conduct comparative and cross-regional studies that examine how Togo has dealt with different types of conflicts and crises in different regions and contexts. Comparative and cross-regional studies are methodological approaches that aim to identify similarities and differences, patterns and variations, causes and effects, and lessons learned across cases and regions. Comparative and cross-regional studies can help to generate generalizable knowledge and testable hypotheses, as well as to provide policy-relevant insights and recommendations.

One way to conduct comparative and cross-regional studies of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa is to compare it with other small states or regions that have similar or different experiences, challenges, and opportunities. For example, one could compare Togo with Botswana, a small Southern African country that gained independence from Britain in 1966. Botswana has been widely praised for its democracy, development, stability, and diplomacy in Africa. Botswana has played a constructive role in some regional conflicts, such as the Angolan civil war (1975-

2002), the Congolese wars (1996-2003), the Zimbabwean crisis (2000-present), and the Lesotho crisis (2014-2015). Botswana has also been vocal on issues such as human rights, democracy, and governance in Africa (Sellers, 2019).

By comparing Togo with Botswana, one could explore the factors that have enabled or constrained their diplomatic involvement and influence in conflict resolution in Africa, such as their historical and cultural ties, their political and economic systems, their regional and international partnerships, their diplomatic skills and strategies, their leverage and capacity, and their impartiality and credibility. One could also evaluate the outcomes and impacts of their diplomatic actions on the conflicts themselves, as well as on their own national interests and security. One could also identify the best practices and lessons learned from their diplomatic experiences that could be applied or adapted to other cases or contexts.

Another way to conduct comparative and cross-regional studies of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa is to examine it within different regional organizations and frameworks that deal with conflict resolution in Africa, such as ECOWAS, the African Union (AU), the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), the African Governance Architecture (AGA), the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), and the Panel of the Wise. These regional organizations and frameworks provide platforms and mechanisms for cooperation and dialogue among African countries on issues related to peace and security. They also offer resources and assistance to countries involved or affected by conflicts or crises (Ahram, Ariel I., Patrick Köllner, and Rudra Sil 2018).

By examining Togo's diplomacy within these regional organizations and frameworks, one could assess the extent to which Togo has participated in or contributed to these regional organizations and frameworks, as well as the benefits or challenges that Togo has derived or faced from them. One could also explore the potential or limitations of these regional organizations and frameworks for enhancing Togo's diplomatic role and performance in conflict resolution in Africa.

Comparative and cross-regional studies are useful methodological tools for analysing Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa. They can help to provide a comprehensive and nuanced understanding of Togo's diplomatic objectives, strategies, opportunities, and constraints in different types of conflicts and crises in different regions and contexts. They can also help to generate theoretical and empirical knowledge, as well as policy-relevant insights and recommendations, for improving Togo's diplomatic effectiveness and impact in conflict resolution in Africa.

Developing and applying new theoretical frameworks or models that can better explain and predict the dynamics and outcomes of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa, as well as the factors that influence its choices and actions. This can help to advance the academic knowledge and debate on the role of small states in African peace operations, as well as to provide more rigorous and relevant guidance for policy makers and practitioners (Adebajo, 2020; Kohnert, 2018).

Exploring and evaluating the impact and effectiveness of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa on various levels and dimensions, such as the individual, community, institutional,

regional, state, and/or international levels, and the political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, and/or human security dimensions. This can help to assess the benefits and costs of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution in Africa for its own stability and development, as well as for the peace and prosperity of the region and continent (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and African Integration of Togo, 2023).

Investigating the long-term impacts of Togo's mediation efforts on the stability and development of conflict-affected regions by using longitudinal studies. Longitudinal studies could provide insights into the sustainability of peace agreements facilitated by Togo. One example of a longitudinal impact assessment in conflict resolution in Africa is the study on the Malawi-Tanzania Lake Malawi/Nyasa border dispute by Sarah Namagonya. This study explores the long-standing border dispute between Malawi and Tanzania, focusing on the various conflict resolution measures employed over time. The findings highlight the importance of sustained diplomatic efforts and the need for joint management of resources to achieve a lasting resolution (Namagonya 2024). The study also emphasizes the role of regional cooperation and the impact of leadership changes on the dispute resolution process. This example demonstrates how a longitudinal impact assessment can provide valuable insights into the long-term effectiveness of conflict resolution measures and contribute to the development of more sustainable peace strategies.

Examining the interplay between Togo's domestic political environment and its international diplomatic actions. Understanding how internal political stability or instability influences Togo's external diplomatic engagements could provide a more comprehensive picture of its capabilities and constraints (Van de Walle, N. 2001). Exploring the role of Togolese civil society organizations in supporting or complementing state-led diplomatic efforts. Research on grassroots initiatives and their impact on conflict resolution could offer valuable perspectives on the effectiveness of non-state actors (Putnam 1993).

Assessing the economic implications of Togo's diplomatic engagements. This includes examining how economic interests and partnerships shape their conflict resolution strategies and the economic outcomes of successful mediation efforts (Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. 2004). Conducting detailed case studies of specific conflicts where Togo has played a mediating role. These studies could provide in-depth insights into the strategies employed, challenges faced, and lessons learned from each case (Zartman, 1995). Analysing how Togo's alliances with regional organizations like ECOWAS and the African Union, as well as its interactions with international actors, influence its diplomatic effectiveness. This could include assessing the role of external support and pressure in shaping Togo's diplomatic actions (Levitsky 2010).

Investigating the cultural and historical factors that influence Togo's approach to diplomacy. Understanding how Togo's history, culture, and national identity shape its diplomatic strategies could provide deeper insights into its conflict resolution methods (Bayart, 1993). Developing policy-oriented research that offers practical recommendations for enhancing Togo's diplomatic effectiveness. This could involve identifying best practices, proposing institutional reforms, and suggesting ways to strengthen regional cooperation frameworks (Rotberg 2004). Encouraging interdisciplinary research that combines political science, economics, sociology, and anthropology to provide a holistic understanding of Togo's diplomatic efforts. This approach could help address the complex and multifaceted nature of conflict resolution (Gurr, 1970).

By pursuing these recommendations, future studies can build on the critical analysis of Togo's diplomacy in conflict resolution, contributing to a deeper understanding of effective peacebuilding strategies in Africa. This ongoing research will be essential in addressing the complex and evolving challenges of conflict and instability on the continent.

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