

Peace And Conflict Resolution In Africa: A Study Of Selected Countries

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Abstract

*Conflict resolutions among other things were the major reasons why OAU which later became AU was formed. Despite the successes recorded so far by AU in her peace-building exercise in Africa, the issue of violent conflicts has continued to be the bane of most African countries today. This paper is poised to look into some selected violent conflicts in Africa with the aim to ascertain the causes, peace building efforts of AU and possible solutions to minimize future occurrence. To achieve this aim, the paper relies on secondary data collection system, while **Structural Conflict Theory** is adopted as the theoretical framework to analyze the study. The structural conflict theorists argue that conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized. It considers social problems like political and economic alienation, injustice, poverty, disease, exploitation, inequality and class domination etc. as causes of conflict and believes that the only solution to this type of condition is revolution, civil war, or some form of violence which will overthrow the exploitative system. This has been the issue in most African crises and if not properly addressed, crises will continue to occur in Africa.*

Keywords: peace; conflict resolution; dialogue; AU; and conciliation.

Introduction

Africa as a continent has gotten more than its fair share of violent conflicts and still counting. In all these conflicts in Africa two things are outstanding at the foundation of all the conflicts namely, the colonial factor and the leadership factor. Further study into the violent conflicts of the African continent revealed that because of the aforementioned factors, conflicts in Africa manifest in the following types; (a) Liberation conflicts (b) Inter-ethnic conflicts (c) Inter-state conflicts. (d) Western/External interest induced conflicts. (e) Civil right conflicts. (f) Annexationist conflicts (g) Political transition conflicts. For better elaboration of the above listed types of conflicts inherent in Africa, the following cases in the countries of Africa have been selected for the study, thus;

1. North and South Sudan conflicts.
2. Libya conflicts
3. Burundi Conflicts

In the face of these conflicts several peace-building efforts have been invested to proffer solution with appreciable percentage of success, still peace challenges abound because as existing conflicts are handled, new ones spring up in different parts of the continent sometimes in the already handled crises areas throwing in diverse peace resolution challenges. In recent time terrorism, insurgency and banditry have been added into the conflict situation of Africa.

Literature Review

Several attempts have been made by scholars to pin down some of the factors responsible for conflict situation in continental Africa. Some scholars have argued that colonial factor and leadership factor were the root causes of these conflicts. Consequently, these two elements would be reviewed in order to put our bearing straight.

Colonial Factor

Achankeng (2014) argues that colonial factor ought to be a consideration in attempts to address African conflicts because the roots of many post-colonial conflicts in Africa remain buried in Africa's past and, specifically, in the colonization and de-colonization processes. He further explained that this situation may be the reason many African conflicts may be suppressed but remain largely unresolved. As Zartman (2000:3) opined that, although the services of seasoned peacemakers with the best of personal skills and recently developed knowledge about ways of managing and resolving conflicts have been engaged in the peace management of conflicts in Africa, international efforts at conflict management have not been particularly effective or efficient in overcoming the disasters that have brought them to the continent. This is largely because one of the fundamental causes of the conflicts, colonial factor is always ignored.

Scholars like, Mokwugo Okoye (1977), Bonny Duala-M'Bedy (1984), Claude Ake (1985) and Herman J. Cohen (1995), argue that several conflicts in Africa occurred as a natural consequence of Africa's colonial past. Okoye (1977:93), for example, posits that 'political instability is rooted in the very structure of society and, for most new countries, in the colonial past'. He also added that 'Africa's post-colonial present can be said to have been fashioned for Africa by Africa's colonial past. The modern African state was created by colonial powers out of ethnic and regional diversities, without proper cognizant to these differences and this rendered these new countries prone to conflicts due to gross inequities in power relations, and in the uneven distribution of national wealth and development opportunities' (Cohen 1995:11). In other words, the basis had been created for many of the conflicts experienced in post-independence Africa. Duala-M'Bedy (1984:10), subscribing to this viewpoint, asserted that 'the problems being experienced by modern African States are based on our colonial experience'.

Leadership Factor

Achebe in his book "the problem with Nigeria" (1983) stated that, "The trouble with Nigeria is simply a failure of leadership..." which by extension can rightly be said the trouble with Africa. He went further to say that "the...problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders, to rise to the responsibility and to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmark of true leadership." The conflicts in Africa a greater percentage can be attributed to the highhandedness with which Africans govern their countries.

According to Achankeng (2014), "political repression and non-respect for human rights are synonymous with bad governance. He maintained that political repression in Africa goes back to Africa's colonial legacy and that this was the pattern of leadership adopted by most post-colonial African leaders. Okoye (1977) emphasized the fact that whatever legitimacy or

acceptance which colonialism possessed in Africa was not from any set of agreed rules or consensus, but from the monopoly of the instruments of coercion and violence, and by its divide-and-rule system which was aimed at widening the division along class, tribal, religious sentiments inherent in the social structure which will help them to prolong their rule. Colonialism did not promote the issue of good governance, rather they were concerned with power and violence, and this wrong legacy was the tradition of politics which African leaders took to independence in their respective countries. Ake (1985:1213) argued strongly that 'because many leaders in Africa were insecure when they inherited power, they continued to cling tenaciously to the idea of the ruler's exclusive claim to power'. This situation is evident in most African countries where leaders have been clinging to power for twenty, thirty or forty years – from Uganda and Sudan, through Chad and Cameroon, to Angola, Zimbabwe, and others.

Statement of Research Problem

From the point when most African countries started getting independent from their colonial masters socio-political-economic cum religious tensions and conflicts, both intra and inter states have been a reoccurring decimal in the history of the African continent. The conflicts at different parts of Africa have produced the most serious both in casualties and the threat it poses human lives have been enormous. And its socio-political cum economic loss is unimaginable. Millions of Africa lives have been lost as well. Almost every part of Africa has experienced one sort of large scale conflict or the other. This has affected negatively the political and economic growth of the continent as envisaged by our frontline nationalists who fought for the independent of Africa. To this effect Organization of African Union was established to help in putting issues like this check, but the fact remains that union which now answers AU meaning African Union tries to mediate in a conflict situation in the Eastern part of the continent another one will start in the Northern part. This negative trend has continued to keep Africa at the lower state of real development politically, socially and economically, and there is need for solution.

In dealing with these problems, the following research questions would lend themselves for answers.

Research Questions

1. What types of conflicts are inherent in Africa?
2. Do conflicts in Africa have colonial influence?
3. What efforts has AU made to minimize conflicts situation in Africa?

Methodology

This study relies immensely on the indirect or secondary sources of data collection, especially books, magazines, newspapers, professional journals, seminars papers etc. Also, materials from the internet were used. We acknowledge however, the constraints associated with the studies of this nature which included limited access to vital information, doctored, falsified and biased information either as confidential or classified as well as prejudiced written work and media reports due to cultural, religious, ideological, political and economic reasons, media ownership and publishing leanings.

Types of Conflict Experienced In Africa.

Liberation Conflicts

Liberation conflicts are those conflicts which occur in a situation when the people concerned begin to think about self-determination. Quest for self-determination arises when a group of people seek freedom from any socio-political cum economic arrangement which have denied

them the opportunity and freedom to actualize their full potentials and to live happily in a geopolitical system as equals with their contemporaries in the same system without fear of subjugation and suppression. Achankeng (2014), stated that this type of conflict involve entire nations or peoples who find themselves within the territorial boundaries of given countries by colonial and colonizing arrangements. He further opined that often, these people waged war to liberate themselves when they were unable, through dialogue and the political process, to correct what Cohen (1995) termed the contradictions of colonial rule in some cases, and the failures of de-colonisation in others. This type of situation arises when the people seeking to liberate themselves no longer have any feelings of belonging to the system that have subjugated them. All that matters to them at this point is the desire to have their own country which they can call their own.

Inter-ethnic Conflicts

In any part of Africa where there are issues of genocide, ethnic cleansing and ethnic violent clashes that is the evidence of inter-ethnic conflicts. From Liberia to Burundi, from Nigeria to Cameroun, from Rwanda to Sudan etc. These opposing tribal or ethnic groups are mainly found within national boundaries although the inherent problems of artificial borders caused by colonialism have resulted in some ethnic groups being found in two, three or even more African countries, Achankeng (2014). These conflicts are very recurrent in Africa although with different levels of gravity in terms of the numbers of casualties, refugees and displaced persons, and the spread of disease, famine and environmental devastation, some are more severe while others less. The examples of clan fighting in Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda and Burundi where the control of power at the centre was/is one of the main issues at the high point of inter-ethnic conflicts, in Nigeria virtually everything from political appointments, to resource allocation and control are treated with ethnic sentiment and sometimes it brews conflict situation. This is because inter-ethnic conflicts occur over many number of issues ranging from politics to socio-economic issues such as religion, culture or land and other scarce resources and this present in many African countries. In post-colonial Africa, these conflicts exist because of the neo-colonial arrangements where different ethnic nationalities who do not have anything in common were merged together into one country by colonial masters maybe for administrative convenience and other economic gains. And after independence these fundamental differences have continued to be a crises issue especially where leadership remains in the hands of a particular ethnic divide who continues to serve colonial interests, sometimes those in charge of state apparatus use them to sponsor some inter-ethnic conflicts as a divide-and-rule strategy.

Inter-state conflicts

These are conflicts between the governments and sometimes peoples of two different countries. Inter-state conflicts do occurred mainly over disputed territories like the Chad-Libya conflict over the Aouzou strip, the Nigeria-Cameroun conflict over Bakkassi peninsula etc. There was also the case of the Tanzania-Uganda war that toppled Idi Amin in Uganda. Others included the Kenya-Somali war (1963-1967), the Somali-Ethiopian conflict (1964-1978), the Egypt-Libya conflict (1977), the Eritrea-Ethiopia border conflict (1998-2000).

Civil rights conflicts

Incidences of human rights and civil rights abuses and violations are numerous in Africa and as such form the basis for the eruption and renewal of violent conflicts and civil strife in the continent. In Africa, there are reported incidences of sexual and gender-based violence, reprisal killings, beatings, impunity for state officials and institutions, high social injustice, repressive and brutal leadership, and unequal distribution of state resources among others

(HRW 2003). All these cons 115-127 ive catalysts which are both triggers conflicts and wars in Africa. In Nigeria for example, Annan, N (2014), quoting (Ejibunu 2007) stated that violations of the human rights of local citizens underscores as one of the factors causing the militancy in the Niger Delta region. He further opined that many of the oil companies in the region are reported to be causing environmental pollution and economic marginalization while the state heedlessly looks on. A specific example is the 1992 killings of youth from Bonny, and January 1993 when 300,000 Ogoni protesters were harassed, arrested and killed by Federal government troops when demonstrating peacefully against Shell oil for environmental pollution and economic marginalization Ejibunu (2007) and Brisibe (2001). According to Achankeng (2014), Civil rights conflicts, when left unresolved, can escalate into civil wars as in Liberia, Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, Congo, Chad, Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire. On the basis of the considerations described above, certain conflicts occurring within the national boundaries of given 'nation-states' should not be seen simply as intra-national conflicts or classified too quickly as 'internal affairs of States'. He also explained that this misconception have very often led to drastic consequences in Africa. The Eritrean Independence War was, until the country's independence in 1993, erroneously considered as an internal affair of Ethiopia just as the war in South Sudan was for long considered as Sudan's internal affair.

Annexationist Conflicts

This type of conflict arises when one nation appropriates another nation in part or wholly, or where two nations lock horns over a territorial interests that belong to neither of them from the point of view of history and international law. Annexation conflict is always a grievous kind of conflict, because of the economic attachment, though there are not many examples of it in African continent but however, two such cases stand out prominently. The Western Sahara conflict involving Morocco and the British Southern Cameroons restoration of independence and sovereignty in post-colonial Cameroon Republic are notable example Achankeng (2014). And in these two cases, Achankeng continued, Morocco and Cameroon Republic went beyond their borders to annex and 'colonially occupy' Western Sahara in 1975 and British Southern Cameroons in 1961 respectively, contrary to the UN Charter, the UN General Assembly Resolution 1514(XV) on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (United Nations General Assembly 1960), and the African Union Constitutive Act in its Article 4.

The conflict between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and La République du Cameroun over the oil-rich Bakassi Peninsula in the Gulf of Guinea is annexationist in type because the Bakassi Peninsula is said to belong neither to the Federal Republic of Nigeria nor to La République du Cameroun, as contained in The London Communiqué of June 1995 (Southern Cameroons National Council 1995). The Southern Cameroons was administered jointly with the Federation of Nigeria from 1919 to 1958 and during this period, all the survey maps which were prepared by the Federal Ministry of Lands & Surveys in Lagos recognized the Bakassi Peninsula as being an integral part of Southern Cameroon territory. The 1961 unification of the Southern Cameroons and La République du Cameroun gave rise to the Federal Republic of Cameroon, which did share a maritime border with Nigeria, with the Bakassi Peninsula becoming part of the Federal Republic of Cameroons, Achankeng (2014). The dissolution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon in 1972 and the effective secession of La République du Cameroun from the union in 1984 and the symmetrical return of the Southern Cameroons to the status of a UN Trust Territory that [sic] La République du Cameroun ceased to share a maritime boundary with the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The westernmost maritime boundary of La République du Cameroun is at the estuary of the

Mungo River. At the same time, the people of Southern Cameroons considered that the present occupation of the Bak 115-127 ula by the Nigerian Army, though provoked by the hostile behaviour of gendarmes from La République du Cameroun, is entirely illegal. Consequently, the case was filed at the International Court of Justice against the Federal Republic of Nigeria by La République du Cameroun, and which is based on the presumption that it is the successor state to the defunct Federal Republic of Cameroun, has no foundation in International Law because La République du Cameroun has no locus standi in the Bakassi Peninsula Achankeng (2014).

Political Transition Conflicts

The Zimbabwe political transition since independence and the Kenyan conflict arising from a general election and complicated by the charges of the Prime Minister and his Deputy by the International Criminal Court are other examples of political transition conflicts. In some of the cases mentioned above, violent conflicts came about by the annulment of an adjudged free and fair democratic process, and in others, serious internal political violence began after what the people saw as flaws occasioned by heavily rigged elections, winners seeking to exclude some actors or whole sections of the country, or incumbents being unwilling to submit to the will of the people as expressed through the ballot box. In some other cases, these conflicts have not yet led to severe violence mainly because the situations were greatly repressed.

Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation

Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) proliferation is one of the major causes of conflicts in Africa. The continent remains an area of considerable SALW proliferation because of their affordability, accessibility and availability; and porosity of the borders and legal frameworks legitimizing their use (Keili 2008). As it stands today, governments across Africa are battling with one terrorist group or another, one militia group, bandit group and insurgent group or another, because of easy access to light weapons and syndicate mercenary groups that specialize in illegal weapon sales and training. Annan (2014) quoted Edeko Sunday (2011), to have reported that West Africa hosts about 7 to 10 million of the world's illegal SALW as well as 8 million out of the 100 million circulating in Africa (Edeko 2011: 55–80; Kwaja 2012). She further said that additionally, 77,000 of the small arms are allegedly within the control of West African insurgent groups (Ebo and Mazal 2003). According to her, the circulation of illegal arms within and across states has increased the proclivity of conflicts within the sub-region. Small arms proliferation has contributed to the mobilization for coups d'état, undemocratic overthrow of governments, increasing casualties and violent inter-communal and intra-state conflicts in West Africa (Ero and Ndinga-Muvumba 2004).. Today terrorist and bandit groups like Boko Harem and Fulani Herdsmen have easy access to more sophisticated light weapons than the Nigerian military. Let us now turn our attention to an examination of the various conflicts in order to categorize them.

Selected Cases of Conflicts in Africa, Causes, and AU Peace Building Efforts

North Sudan and South Sudan Conflicts.

According to Ottaway and Sadany (2012), Sudan had been officially divided into two areas: the North and the South, even during their colonial days. The North, are predominantly Arab and Muslim. Every available resources and development in that country concentrated in that area. The Southern Sudan are black Africans and heathen so to say, they live in the remote region without resources and were left to its own local devices and the only help they could get were Christian missionaries. When Sudan became independent in 1956, the South found itself in an extremely disadvantaged position because they were dominated and ruled by the

North. The South was generally resentful of the dominant North but also deeply divided, particularly along tribal lines; these divisions were systematically exploited by northern governments to weaken the secessionist movements: the Anya-Nya in the early years and, after 1983, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and its army Ottaway and Sadany (2012). The territorial war over who owns the oil rich zone in that country escalated the crises even more. Oil was discovered in commercial quantity in 1978 by Chevron near the towns of Bentiu and Heglig, close to the North-South boundary. The discovery made it all the more important for the North to maintain control, and this discovery gave the southern rebels more reason to fight for control of the territory also.

Before now Sudan has been in conflict because of Northern dominance and Southern resistance through their rebel group until an agreement was signed in Addis Ababa in 1972 which put to an end to the southern uprising, transforming Sudan into an asymmetrical federation where southerners held positions in the central government but also enjoyed a degree of autonomy. Three things happened that triggered conflict in the country again, one was that their President Jafaar Nimeiri, proclaimed that Sudan would be ruled by Sharia, and this created resentment and fear among the country's large non-Muslim population, especially in the South. Two he started dismantling the Addis Ababa agreement that he helped to negotiate, by abolishing the South's elected assembly. He also went ahead to divide the southern region into three separate provinces an act which the South Sudan viewed as a blatant divide-and-rule maneuver. Thirdly, was the discovery of oil in a commercial quantity in Sudan, and in a boundary disputed area of the country between the south and the north.

Summarily, it could be said that the major causes of the crises in Sudan was, ethnicity which was seen in the altercation between Arab north and the African south in the country. The discovery of oil in commercial quantity in a disputed territory, leadership struggle, weak institutional capacity, lack of justice, human rights violations and mismanagement of economic resources are indeed the root causes of these conflicts.

Libya conflicts

Libya got her independence from United Nations (UN) trusteeship in 1951 as an amalgamation of three former Ottoman provinces, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan under the rule of King Mohammed Idris. By 1969, King Idris was dethroned in a coup staged by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. Gaddafi immediately abolished the monarchy, revoked the constitution, and established the Libya Arab Republic. By 1977, the Republic was transformed into the leftist-leaning Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. In the 1970s and 1980s, Gaddafi's Libya pursued a "deviant foreign policy", epitomized by its radical belligerence towards the West and its endorsement of anti-imperialism. In the late 1990s, Libya began to re-normalize its relations with the West, a development that gradually led to its rehabilitation from the status of a pariah, or a "rogue state." As part of its rapprochement with the West, Libya abandoned its nuclear weapons programme in 2003, resulting in the lifting of UN sanctions, (Michelle Mendi Muita 2018) edited. Libya is an oil and gas rich nation with 80% of her oil deposit in Sirte.

In 2010, the UN Human Development Report ranked Libya as the 53rd most advanced country in the world and the most advanced in Africa in terms of the Human Development Index. In the midst of these economic and social gains, 2010 ushered in a new geopolitical era across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Beginning in Tunisia in December 2010, a series of popular protests commonly referred to as the "Arab Spring", shook the long-ruling autocratic regimes throughout the MENA region. In Libya, demonstrations began in February 2011 and, with the help of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Gaddafi regime was dismantled following his death in October 2011. However, the euphoria following the NATO-led military intervention and the end of the regime was short-lived, as

the country quickly descended into a major civil war; the First Libyan Civil War from February-October 2011, followed by the Second Libyan Civil War from 2014 to date, (Michelle Mendi Muita 2018) edited.

Causes of the Conflict in Libya

Autocracy

During his 42 years rule in Libya, Gaddafi de-institutionalized the Libyan state, prevented the country from establishing a modern democratic dispensation, ruled without any formal constitution, deliberately decimated independent media and civil society and prohibited the establishment of political parties etc. He also clamped down on oppositions both real and perceived and the animosity was building up.

Weak and Unprofessional Security System

Gaddafi focused his security network primarily on safeguarding the regime and preventing crime. Gaddafi deliberately weakened the country's military to prevent possible forceful regime change by the radical elements in the military. But he strengthened militias from the Qadhadhfah, Maqariha and Warfalla tribes that had sworn allegiance to him. This was one of his undoing, this is because when the crises that brought about his death started there was no formidable professional military to withstand the heat and Libya was plunged into anarchy and chaos.

Religious Extremism

With the formation of some jihadist cells in the eastern part of the country in the 1970s, and the return of an estimated 800-1,000 Libyan volunteers that participated in the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan in the 1990s religious extremism escalated in Libya.

Burundi Conflicts

Burundi got her independence from Belgium in 1962, and since after that, the country has been plagued by ethnic violence and the widening social divisions between the two ethnic groups in the country. The majority ethnic group called Hutu which constitutes 85 per cent of the population and minority Tutsi which has 15 percent of the population. During the Belgian colonial rule, ethnicity was marked on their identity cards, which guaranteed special preferential treatment for the Tutsi community especially their elites by the colonial authorities. It is believed that violent repressions of the Hutu population in 1965, when King Mwambutsa IV refused to appoint the elected Hutu Prime Minister and in 1972, when the armed forces again struck against the Hutu population happened to be the main contributors to the political upheaval that produced the uncontrollable civil war in 1993, (Akpowoghaha, Agunyai et al 2013). The assassination of Burundi's first democratically elected and first Hutu President, Melchior Ndadaye in 1993 after four months in office led to widespread ethnic violence that lasted for more than a decade.

About 200,000 people were killed in the process and this also sparked an unprecedented refugee and internally displaced people. As rightly noted by, Akpowoghaha, Agunyai et al 2013, as the conflict was going on in Burundi, fighting also spilled over into their neighboring countries like Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo who have been involved in funding of rebel groups, also Burundi has been used as a sanctuary for rebels fighting the Kinshasa administration. The conflict got the attention of the international community and because its intertwined nature in the region, international conference on the Great Lake Region was launched in Nairobi, Kenya, in 27th July, 2004.

African Union's Missions and Limitations in Africa

AU Peace Building Efforts in the Sudan Conflict

The Darfur experience in peace building adventure for the AU was successful at the beginning. The Union's mediation team and the Abuja inter-Sudanese Peace Talks was able

to negotiate the N'djamena 115-127 an Ceasefire Agreement on 8 April 2004 and the Darfur Peace Agreement between the government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army. According to Egonu and Ezibe (2014), AU received their major funding from Canada, the EU, Germany, Great Britain and the United States of America (USA), the mission was still underfunded, and this is a serious impediment to the AU peace mission in Darfur. They went further to say that from International Colloquium report (2012), that over 90 percent of the AU's peace and security efforts are funded by external actors. Another weakness of the AU in peace building in Africa is lack of influence over external interventions in conflicts and resolution situations in the continent. This external intervention is always led by the UN Security Council and its five permanent members (P-5) namely the United States (US), China, Russia, France, and Britain – who often have their own more parochial interests, has sometimes resulted in undesirable outcomes Egonu and Ezibe (2014). Also AU was unable to clearly state their mission in Darfur, this was due to the divergent views of the member states of the AU about the mission's rule of engagement (Nikitin, 2010) in Egeonu and Ezibe (2014). Therefore, AU accepted its limitation and adopted the UN mission plan which gave rise to the UN-AU Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

AU Peace Mission in Libya

To a great extent, the 2011 conflict in Libya lends a measure of credence to growing claims that the AU is ill-prepared to steer the regional economic organizations with the view to inspire peace and security in Africa. Faced with emergent conflicts in the North African belt, the AU had opportunities to test and operationalize its security apparatus. The AU started out confidently and convincingly its interventionist effort to curb the crisis in Libya with a five-point plan AU resolution. Specifically, they pledged to do the following:

1. The protection of civilians and the cessation of hostilities;
2. The humanitarian assistance to affected populations both Libyans and foreign migrant workers, particularly those from Africa;
3. The initiation of political dialogue between the Libyan parties in order to reach an agreement on the modalities for ending the crisis;
4. The establishment and management of an inclusive transitional period;
5. Adoption and implementation of political reforms necessary to meet the aspirations of the Libyan people. Essentially, the five-point plan, which was announced on March 10, 2011 by the Heads of State and Government in attendance at the meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, showcased the AU's resolve to secure Libya peacefully. The communiqué by the African Union expressed "...deep concern at the situation in Libya, which poses a serious threat to peace and security in that country and in the region" (AU Communiqué, 2011: 2).

Furthermore, the AU document reaffirmed "... strong commitment to the respect of the unity and territorial integrity of Libya, as well as its rejection of any foreign military intervention, whatever its form" AU Communiqué, 2011, 3). The AU also moved quickly to establish a High-Level Ad Hoc Committee on Libya comprising of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs/External Relations and/or other relevant Ministers of Congo, Mali, Mauritania, South Africa and Uganda as well as the AU Commission Chair. Most importantly, the Ad Hoc committee was part of the series of consultations with the Libyan government and the

Transitional National Council 115-127 med at bringing a political solution to the Libyan conflict. Regrettably, the efforts of the High Level Ad Hoc Committee and the AU were quickly outflanked by the maneuverings of the US and its NATO allies who used the UN Resolutions 1970 and 1973 as a springboard for regime change in Libya and as such escalated the conflict into a full blown civil war that have devastated the country for years now unabated. This singular act of external interference in the affairs of the continent not only weakened the AU's hand on settling the Libya conflict peacefully but also derailed completely its peace efforts with little or no complaints from the majority of African states. This was despite the previous pronouncements of African Heads of state and government on upholding the principles of sovereignty and rejecting external military intervention of any kind in Libya (Ekweakor and Uzodike, 2011).

AU Peace Mission in Burundi

The conference developed a master plan for lasting peace in the region. In addition to developing a regional mechanism for addressing every interests concern in the conflict, it also included plans to address post-conflict reconstruction and development needs in conflict areas. Consequently, the numerous peace agreements, notable among them been the Arusha Accords and the 2006 ceasefire agreement proven to be futile and inter-ethnic conflict violence intensified leading to the death of thousands of souls. Hope came in April 2009 when Burundi's last rebel group, the Forces for National Liberation, laid down its arms and was transformed into a political party. After a decade and half, Burundi's progress in the political situation can be viewed with optimism. Their sharing formula of political presence in government in their ethnically mixed political system of 60 percent Hutus and 40 percent Tutsis in accordance with the constitution seem to have calmed the volatile situation.

In 1990, there were about 20 wars going on simultaneously in Africa but by 2010, there were only four ongoing wars and this is a big success story for AU (Ndiho, 2010). AU's first mission was deployed in Burundi where transition to self-rule was characterized by ethnic violence between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi minority. The failure of Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi signed in 2000 to consolidate the peace process in the country and the ceasefire agreement signed in 2002 without success led to the launching of the Peace Operation in Burundi (AMIB) by the AU (Rodt, 2011). In April 2003, the AU dispatched a peacekeeping mission with the task to protect, disarm, demobilize and reintegrate combatants. The mission was described as one of the AU's biggest success stories. It made concerted efforts to prevent genocides in the Great Lakes region, and played a crucial role in the ceasefire negotiations. AU troops protected returning politicians who took part in the transnational government and provided favourable conditions for the United Nations (UN) troops, which joined in 2004 (Murithi, 2008).

Findings And Recommendations

In conclusion, we found out that most crises in Africa emanate almost in the same pattern and trend. Their causes too are related; that is, the colonial and the leadership factors which trigger the types of conflicts in Africa namely; liberation conflicts, Inter-ethnic conflicts, Inter-state conflicts, external interest induced conflicts, civil right conflicts, annexationist conflicts, political transition conflicts.

We also found out that most of the peace missions embarked by AU were not successful largely because AU depends majorly on external funding during peace missions. The AU does not also have a standing military force that can carry out enforcement on their resolutions and agreements. Sovereignty and non-interference policy limits AU's ability to swiftly move to crisis prone areas.

In a bid to reduce these problems to the barest minimum, we recommend that;

- i) there should be a common purse funded yearly or as may be agreed by member states
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- ii) there should also be a standing army that can take proactive step before any crisis degenerates in any African country
- iii) we recommend that there should be room for timely or emergency intervention on humanitarian ground should there be life threatening situation in a member country
- iv) that member states should be encouraged to embrace good governance that will accommodate all interests as this will in itself prevent crises

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