Endless Conflicts: Source of Unsustainabile Development in Africa

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Abstract:-"The colonialists care nothing for Africa for her own sake. They are attracted by African riches and their actions are guided by the desire to preserve their interests in Africa against the wishes of the African people. For the colonialists all means are good if they help them to possess these riches". Speech at the All-African Conference in Leopoldville August 1960. Patrice Lumumba, A Pan-Africanist and iconic revolutionary, Lumumba

In my free time, I read books, publish articles, read national, regional and international journals, and found that, there is a common image that is attributed to Africa continent, *"Africa is a continent of the most disputed regions of the globe"*. My questions were: Why Africa? How Africa can sustain its own social, economic and political development? What Africa is lacking (Politically and Economically? And when Africa will be mature enough? These questions motivated me to research and share my findings to all concerned while I contributing to my continent development. It is therefore worth it to note that Africa has no monopoly of conflict. In every corner of other regions of the world are also affected and associate with considerable forms of mass atrocities, violence's and conflicts. For matter of facts, Libya, South Sudan and Sudan, RCA, Afghanistan, Syrian, Iraq, India-Pakistan, Palestine-Israel… to mention but a few, are among the trouble parts of non-African continent.

It has been experienced with an instable in various sectors including Politico-social economic, a number of civil wars, armed conflicts, racial, ethnics disputes, recently genocide perpetrated against Tutsi in 1994 in Rwanda, religious radicalism where in it catches the attention of most developed nations as well as both regional organisations, Humanitarians organisations and UN for their own strategic interest over the region other ways. All these issues would ended years and years ago if there was a good intention to Africa but first of all, good will, commitment and vision of leaders. Accordingly, this paper attempted to identify and critically analyse the due reasons for an endless aforementioned challenges throughout the region.

The secondary data from different reliable and verifiable sources have been collected and the data were analysed with a combination of both constructivism and interpretivism to guide the quality of qualitative method of this research. Hence, the unification of African continent is far, though one continent, but diversified intra-state and inter-state conflict among the neighbouring countries. A big number of them were rooting to conflicts, racial, ethnic and religious polarization towards boarder and territorial. Thus, identity based on racial, ethnics, civil war, conflicts, and clan or religious are the instruments of politicians to remain on power through their political parties which provoking the peaceful society to get in to violence for their personal interests at the expense of the community which result, here then is the source of both dictatorial, unsustainable development, corruption, Inept Leadership, illegal migration of Africans and bad governance which drives multifaceted dispute with in a African Community due to mainly of lack of willingness and vision of our African Leaders, own interests rather than people's interests, lack of self-confidence and self-reliance.

Though the continent of Africa has been highly susceptible to intra and inter- state wars and conflicts which, has prompted the insinuation that Africa is the home of wars and instability but there is hope that, Africa can manage at own their issues against stable and sustainable peace and it has power and capacity to prevent the above mentioned issues while anticipating possible conflicts to early warn them, strategic intervention and necessary action by the African Organisations such as EAC, AU, SADC, ECOWAS, IGAD…or partnering with other Africa regional and international organizations. It is worth it, to use cultural conflict resolution, management and transformation methods by initiating Africanism or Pan Africanism approach as case of Rwanda to hamper conflicts escalations.

To end, let me share with readers, the H.E Paul Kagame's inspirational quote *"Transformational leadership that will lead to Africa's prosperity must be confident, assertive, innovative"*

Keywords: Conflicts, Ethnic polarization and Unsustainable development.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Ronald Reagan, was an American politician who served as the 40th president of the United States from 1981 to 1989 cited "*United States of America does what is her best interests*" and when Donald Trump, US president told the crowd at his inauguration repeated the same slogan "*American first, America first*" To this, you can ask yourself, weather "*Does Africa do what is in her best interests*? or "*Do Africa Leaders do what is in the best of its citizens*? I reserve myself from the reply and leave the tasks to the readers.

Conflict as the condition of objective, incompatibility between values or goals, as the behaviour of deliberately interfering with another goal achievement (Ralph H. Kilmann and Kenneth W. Thomas). Conflict is then as widespread and undesirable since, it claims the lives of many people, destroys property, and diverts human as well as financial resources away from development. (Alexander Attilio, 2002). If not mistaken, Africa continent region is one of the most conflict-ravaged areas on the African continent. It is a region well

known in African politics of being a volatile, a continent where none its dream can not be Africa especially to young generations, a poor place to live due to number of reasons including endless conflicts, wars, neo-colorizations, big number of refugees, immigrants…. This does not isolate other continents as most conflictual.

For instance, the number of state-based conflicts has increased in Africa over the past 5 years. In 2017 Africa experienced 18 state-based conflicts. While this is a decrease from the all-time high of 21 in 2016, it is substantially higher than ten years ago, with 12 conflicts in 2007. The main driver of the increased number of conflicts is the involvement of IS in already exists conflict, such as in the North-eastern Nigeria. Further, we also see that while the number of conflicts increases substantially, the number of countries with conflict only increases slightly. In 2007, Africa saw 12 conflicts in 10 countries compared to 18 conflicts in 13 countries in 2017. This suggests that while the number of actors involved in conflicts within each country has increased, possibly increasing the complexity of conflict, the geographic span has not increased to the same extent (Bakken, Ingrid Vik & Siri Aas Rustad, 2018).

The easiest deal in Africa, is to have and form either armed group/militias like Boko-Haram, Al- Shabab, FDLR, Lord's Resistance Army, Balaka, Seleka, M23, P5…. or provide with AK 47 which is well known in African conflicts and wars. In fact, only South Africa, Ethiopia and Sudan are the countries in Africa which produce and manufacture weapons for their army others providers are Eastern Europe, China, Iran to mention but a few but also these armed groups receive supports from governments on high and top secret. It's no doubts that, these challenges and endless conflicts are likely to have significant effects on the increase of poverty status of households in Africa. The facts are simple, Kenya in fiscal year 2016/2017, he invested kenyan shillings estimated to 140 billions to interior ministry and 124 billions of shillings to defence and national intelligence services (Capital FM: June 2016) while Sudan, depending on who you ask, spent between 25% and 70% of its total budget for 2016 on war but on paper, the government has budgeted 17 billion Sudanese pounds ($2.8 billion) for security and defense which takes up a quarter of its total budget. But in fact, economists and think tanks estimate the total spend will be much higher (Quartz Africa: Feb, 2016). I stand to be corrected, but the security expenditure in Africa, is far away to be decreased on benefit of social and economic increase.

Africa continent is marked by inequality, forced displacement, mass atrocities, wars, genocide and violent conflict. Inefficient and wasteful military expenditure in the face of these challenges carries grave economic and social developmental consequences that undermine regional stability. In fact, Africa is composed by different peoples based on its background, people with different colours, different races, clans and ethnics groups, all this, instead of being a factor of unification, co-operation and collaboration

they become, the sources of endless conflicts among Africans, who were supposed to be one people and Africans. Mass killings, wars, human rights violation, crimes against humanity, violence of all forms and genocide, all of these put Africa in deepest hell of unsustainable development. The facts are, destruction of various hard and soft infrastructures and low quality of services delivery, big number of displaced, citizens no longer have trust in their leaders and institutions….

As cited by Muhabie Mekonnen Mengistu, (2015), these effects are likely to push the worse-effected households into extreme forms of poverty and destitution, even if some of these households were not poor initially (see Alderman, Hoddinott and Kinsey, 2004; Verwimp, 2005; Bundervoet and Verwimp, 2005; de Walque, 2006; Shemyakina, 2006; Justino, 2006). Violence often leads to the simultaneous destruction of assets and serious reductions in individual and household nutritional status (e.g. Alderman, Hoddinott and Kinsey, 2004; Bundervoet and Verwimp, 2005). This may push household into poverty, and possibly create poverty traps since under those circumstances the household would have little chance of recovering their economic status by resorting to productive means. Only a serious windfall (e.g. aid) would be able to lift the household back into recovery path (Dasgupta and Ray, 1986).

The neo-colonialism comes in due to these aforementioned African challenges and, reasons why Africa become a so called " Political planned disorder" of the rest of the world including USA, Europe and ASIA where everyone has its own shares to Africa. Its time for Africans peoples, to become true Pan-Africanists, Pro-Africans, to believe that, Africa can be sustainable and stable in all sectors of life (Political, Social and economic development). The Africa strategies to the endless conflicts in the area should be sought in the context of home grown solutions as the case of successful country in Africa, RWANDA with political, social and economic innovations such as "Ndi Umunyarwanda" to mean, I'm Rwandan, "Imihigo" to mean, Performance contracts, "Gacaca" to mean a traditional Courts, "Ubudehe" "Amasibo", "VUP" to mention but a few. Therefore, this study focuses on empirical explanations and critical analysis of the deep roots of conflicts in the Horn of Africa.

1.2. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to identify and analyses the root causes of endless conflicts and unsustainable development in Africa.

1.3. Study Methodology

The study approach was entirely based on secondary data due to time and financial constraints and the collected data were then analysed and interpreted to have quality qualitative method of research.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Meaning and Typology of Conflict

Conflict emerges from the pursuit of incompatible goals, which can intensive struggle between opposing forces, especially in absence of collaborative problem solving mechanisms. In conflict situations, resources are mobilized to force the other party to change their behaviour according to one's own wishes. Mismanagement conflict turns into violence causing mass destruction.

Scholars have defined conflict but still confuse conflict and crisis; therefore there is need of to clarify conflict from crisis. Conflict is commonly of three basic varieties: intra-state, inter-state, and trans-state. Nevertheless, considerable disagreement exists over how to define conflict. Many attempts to define conflict in a way that best sums up its major aspects have been made. One definition, which we find useful for understanding the basic elements and factors involved in conflict, is: "A disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns"

Conflict is said to exist when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals (Jeong, 2000). Using the above definition as a basis, factors of a conflict are Disagreement where people often have disagreements, Parties involved where one might think that it is easy to identify the parties to a conflict and Perceived threat, to this, there is a difference between a perceived threat and a real threat. Perceived means that the threat is anticipated or expected. This means the threat is thought to exist, but it does not necessarily mean it does exist (yet).

Conflict has been defined variously by scholars but in my opinion, different scholars, researchers and academicians defined and attempt to explain factors leading to conflicts, such as Kaplan1 (1994) cited in Muhabie Mekonnen Mengistu (2015), who perceived the African continent as wild and backward, to Huntington (1993) explained conflicts due to the interaction of different cultures leading to clashes, radicalisation and fundamentalism. Thus, the literature available regarding the causes of conflict often showed that, defined causes and nature of conflicts depends of cultures, geo-politics···due to country particularities. The causes and natures of conflicts in Africa are far different to those of Us, Europe and Asia or Arab countries even with Africa, causes and nature of conflicts are different from Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Central Africa Republic, Syria, Iran, Sudan and South Sudan to mention but a few.

2.2. Causes of conflicts

Conflicts in Africa may be said to have been caused by a multiplicity of factors such as: Inequality between groups is probably the foremost cause of conflict in Africa, the collapse of state institutions has caused internal and regional conflict, Natural resource wealth, high rate of Unemployment, lack of proper and quality education, abuse of ethnicity can lead to Genocide as the case of Rwanda, Availability of arms specifically those of small arms in Africa is a major factor in sustaining and fuelling conflict and Inept Leadership, Corruption and Poverty.

Thus, there is a need of an effective response to any continent and country conflict requires agreement on and understanding of its real causes, otherwise, failed to understand the context within which continent or country's conflict has and will continue to handicap the proper strategies to address causes. As cited in Fonkem Achankeng I. (2013), some scholars on conflict in Africa (Obasanjo 1991, Anyang' Nyong'o 1991 and Msabaha 1991) agree that conflict in Africa stems primarily from crises of national governance and from the failure of governmental institutions in African countries to mediate conflict, this article engages the colonial factor as the root of many conflicts in Africa, in fact, they consider the numerous conflicts in Africa as a natural consequence of Africa's colonial past.

Significant attention has been devoted to the role of ethnicity and ethnic tensions as a cause of conflict and a key feature of new wars. Recent examples include Rwanda, Burundi and the Balkan wars. To this, causes and nature of conflicts may depend to various angles such as a social, political and economic perspective also consider geographical situation. Salim (1999) on his hand classifies conflicts in Africa as follows: boundary and territorial conflicts, civil wars and internal conflicts having international repercussions, succession conflicts in territories decolonised, political and ideological conflicts, others including those related to transhumance and irredentism.

However, most writers especially Westerns tend to diabolize Africa thinking of conflicts in Africa as being political conflicts such as wars between states, armed rebellion against states (ranging from small-scale low intensity conflicts to large-scale civil war), armed secessionist rebellion (also of various scales), and coup d'etat. Indeed, most African conflicts which are reported and which draw international attention, are those, which fit the above description.

In the light of these dimensions, we can consider African conflicts as belonging to the following six types as cited in Fonkem Achankeng I. (2013), inter-ethnic conflicts, inter-state conflicts, liberation conflicts, civil rights conflicts, annexationist conflicts, and political transition conflicts. Each conflict type is discussed briefly below with examples provided.

- *Inter-ethnic conflicts*: 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. The examples of clan fighting in Somalia and Liberia where the control of power at

the centre was/is one of the main issues are the high point of inter-ethnic conflicts.

- *Inter-state conflicts:* These are conflicts between the governments and sometimes peoples of two different countries. These conflicts have been relatively few in Africa in spite of the problems caused by artificial borders inherited from colonialism and the lumping together of different nations to make up new countries at independence.

- *Liberation conflicts:* Liberation conflicts are those conflicts that involve entire nations or peoples who find themselves within the territorial boundaries of given countries by colonial and colonising arrangements.

- *Civil rights conflicts:* Civil rights conflicts arise mainly over issues of participation, distribution, and legitimacy in the politics and governance of nations.

- *Annexationist conflicts:* Annexationist conflicts arise when one nation annexes another nation in part or wholly, or where two nations lock horns over interests that belong to neither of them from the point of view of history and international law.

- *Political transition conflicts:* Mainly within states, political transition conflicts arose in many African countries out of rising tensions resulting from a stalemated transition to the democratisation of political life in the 1990s.

As cited in Thomas Diez et al, (2007), conflict is a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Back to our clarifications related to three basic varieties the following has defined by JANUSZ BUGAJSKI (2011) as follows:

Intra-State Conflicts: These include civil conflicts precipitated by deepening political cleavages, economic distress, and growing inequalities, which in worst case scenarios can lead to the erosion of government legitimacy, a breakdown of law and order, and escalating ungovernability.

Inter-State Conflicts: These may include conflicts over the status of disputed territories and the treatment of ethnic kindred in which intra-state conflicts can pull neighbouring powers into the fray.

Trans-State Conflicts: These could include international terrorism, economic sabotage, and cyber attacks that precipitate state paralysis, undermine national security, or provoke international conflicts with sponsoring states.

Natural Crises: All three-conflict types can instigate Crises, but they can also be precipitated by natural disasters such as drastic climate change, floods, droughts, food and water shortages, epidemics, earthquakes, volcano eruptions, or rising sea levels.

Ending conflicts and tensions between African countries, is the most challenging tasks of African leaders and the African Regional Organisations. The roots of conflict on Africa continent, are much deeper and complex, and are embedded in the interplay of historical factors, socio-economic crisis, legacies of authoritarianism and the politics of exclusion, international forces, and local struggles (Obi 2012). Even though there are several other specific causes of violent conflicts and civil strife in Africa. The following are most relevant in Africa as cited in Nancy Annan, 2014.

- *Bad governance and corruption:* Post-colonial rule of African countries has been fraught with several challenges. Elemental among them are the issues of bad governance and corruption. Today, these twin factors constitute a major cause of violent conflicts and civil strife in Africa. Several scholarly works on conflicts in the sub-region have identified bad governance and corruption as the underpinning factors fuelling and renewing violence in Africa.

- *Human rights violations:* Incidences of human rights abuses and violations are numerous in Africa and as such this forms the basis for the eruption and renewal of violent conflicts and civil strife in the region. Across the region, 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.

- *Poverty:* Also stands to be one of the major setbacks in the continent of Africa. Consequently, the poverty that many across the continent endure can be seen to be one of the major contributing factors to the occurrence of violent conflicts in Africa.

- *Ethnic marginalization:* Ethnicity by itself is not violent however the concept has been manipulated in 'societies polarized into two imbalanced divides with one faction feeling marginalized.

- *Small arms and light weapons proliferation:* Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) proliferation is one of the major challenges in Africa. The sub-region 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.

To end, cost of conflict to Africa differ far from the rest of the world, for instance, DFID (2001) clarify the impact of conflicts on Africa Continent as following but not limited to:

- *The Human tragedy:* During the last two decades, sub-Saharan Africa has been the most conflict-affected region in the world. Ten of the 24 most war-affected countries between 1980 and 1994 were

African, and four of these (Liberia, Angola, Mozambique and Somalia) were ranked within the five most severely affected countries in the world.

- *Displacement:* Africa has the highest level of internal displacement in the world and some of the largest refugee flows, the majority from countries in conflict.

- *Civilian casualties:* War in Africa causes increasing suffering for civilians. They suffer death and injuries and the indirect consequences of famine and epidemic disease that have followed in the wake of war and In Africa, the number of civilian casualties has continued to increase year by year, unlike in other parts of the world.

- *Violence:* The most disturbing aspect of conflict in Africa is the increasing use of extreme violence, especially over the last ten years. Violence is now deliberately   targeted at civilians rather than armed groups, and at entire groups rather than individuals.

- *Child soldiers:* Children have become one of the main targets of violence and in turn are being used to perpetuate it.

In report on the causes of conflict in Africa (1998), there were 14 countries in the midst of war and another 11 were suffering from severe political turbulence, currently, a just half-dozen of African countries are suffering from serious domestic armed conflicts, among them Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Somalia, Angola, Liberia, South Sudan, Sudan, Central Afric Republic, Ethiopia and Eritrea to mention but a few and very few other countries are facing deep political crises.

The most known resource-centred disputes is that, more than 24 armed groups operating in DRC where mass killing, violence's, gender based violence and crime against humanity are mostly in every corners in addition to the current tension due to Presidential election, in Burundi there is instability of all forms due to lack political and social stability, to the extent, Humanitarian Organisations and other agencies been imposed an ethnic quota while employing, those which refuses, closed activities.

Currently (2019), there is an intention between Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi to the extent there are activities related to geo-politic conflicts and human right violation against citizen's and ordinary people, generally, EAC member States are not safe and stable due to political tensions between countries. In fact, that's why both AU and EAC can not be sustainable once the member states are not cooperating, where there is no common and shared vision otherwise, the recent presidential election clearly defined and demonstrated how much AU is divided where AU (African Union) expressed by the high level consultative meeting in Addis, doubts remain regarding the conformity of the result, but later alone, the

constitutional court of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has confirmed Felix Tshisekedi's presidential election win regardless of AU request and the following day, same of AU member state, confirmed true and fair election and conglaraturate elected president.

According to UN report (January 2019) at least 890 people are believed to have been killed in ethnic violence in northwestern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in mid-December 2019. In addition to this, conflict has a direct and indirect impact to Africa economic, where by Africa's development is threatened by conflict. Armed conflict has become one of the most important causes of poverty in Africa, leading to displacement of people, and the destruction of communities' livelihoods.

2.3. Types of Conflict

Experience in human society has shown that there are degrees of variation in conflicts. Conflicts are in types. Psychology as a discipline has espoused on intra-personal conflict. Sociology identifies inter-personal as well as intra-group or intra-unit conflict, as well as inter-group conflict. According to Dr Sheriff F. Folarin, Political Science and History have identified inter-ethnic or intra-state conflict as well as international conflict.

Intra-personal conflict

This refers to a state of implosion in an individual shaped by the state of mind. It is however important to know that such human state is largely dictated by circumstances around him. Such situations are anger, depression, confusion, frustration, which could lead to aggression, erratic behaviour, and addiction and in extreme cases, suicide (Ross, 1993).

Inter-personal conflict

This is what has been described as "man against man" in the micro sense. This type of conflict may be direct opposition, as in exchange of blows, a gunfight or a robbery, or it may be a more subtle conflict between the desires of two or more persons (Nikolajeva, 2005)

Man against society; man against nature

This is an interesting type of conflict. Morell (2009) posits that "man against society" type of conflict arises when man stands against a man-made institution or practices.

Family conflict

This type of conflict occurs in a family unit. Sociologists would describe this as intra-unit conflict.

Inter-Group conflict

This refers to the kind of disagreement or feud that takes places between two or more sectarian or religious groups, ethnic groups, communities, or interest groups.

2.4. Natures of conflicts

Conflict dates from the beginning of human history and will probably never end due to the human factors. The issue is now, how different peoples, communities, societies and countries manage the various features of conflict that is fuelled not only by seemingly incompatible interests and values but also by hostilities.

By its very nature, conflict is a process of polarization and receding opportunity. When two people or parties are in conflict, they characteristically move to opposite sides of an issue. They fortify their position by overstating their case, creating further distance between themselves. As the conflict escalates, they become more resolute in defending their position and destroying that of their opponent's. Conflict is a process of simplification (Kerry Bowman, 2000).

To Ho-Won Jeong (2008), conflict represents the persistent and pervasive nature of inter-group and international competition among disparate interests and values that underlies power dynamics. The comprehension of mass violence and war needs to be based on an understanding of institutional roles besides the psychological and behavioural elements that instigate aggression.

The essential nature of a conflict situation is easily understood in terms of the difficulties involved in meeting everyone's aspirations simultaneously (Pruitt and Kim, 2004). Goals and activities become incompatible when one's own interests are threatened by the actions of another. Parties to conflict make attempts to prevent each other from achieving desired objectives, in part, owing to percep- tions of divergent interests. Tensions essentially emerge due to the pursuit of different outcomes or disagreement on the means to attain the same end.

The idea of conflict is basic to our understanding and appreciation of our exchange with reality--of human action. Conflict can be treated broadly as a philosophical category denoting the clash of power against power in the striving of all things to become manifest. Or, conflict can be seen simply as a distinct category of social behaviour as two parties trying to get something they both cannot have. Moreover, conflict can be apprehended as a potentiality or a situation, as a structure or a manifestation, as an event or a process.

According to R.J. Rummel, the concept of conflict is multidimensional; it envelops a family of forms. We select one depending on our analytical purposes and practical problem. Because my concern is to understand conflict as social field phenomena, I must first consider conflict as a general category. From this most general conception I can work towards comprehending social conflict, and its empirical manifestations. Most fundamentally, therefore, conflict is correlative to power. Power, simply, is the capability to produce effects; conflict is the process of powers meeting and balancing. To understand what powers become succeed requires comprehending their conflicts; to understand conflict involves untangling the powers involved.

III. DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT THEORY

While the notions of development and underdevelopment are most commonly discussed in an economic context, the process of development encompasses a broad range of factors, social, political, ethnicity, geography, etc, distinct to the environment in question. It should be understood that development is relative in nature, as countries in the Third World are only considered "underdeveloped" in comparison to the industrialized nations of world. More importantly, the concept of underdevelopment, especially as it pertains to the former colonies of imperialist nations, inherently implies a relationship of economic exploitation imposed from the imperialist nation onto lesser-developed nations. Through these systems of economic exploitation, the consequences of underdevelopment are perpetuated; very often producing a host of corresponding societal ills that further impede efforts towards reform.

As cited in Alice Binti Mutambala, development is expansion of the economic capacity of a country and of the state of society and its institutions as whole while underdevelopment: the term is only meaningful in comparison to levels of development; when one group appears to become wealthier, is happens with a contrasting outcome. Another crucial component of underdevelopment is a dimension of exploitation of one country by another.

Historically, the rate and success of development has been dependent on a multitude of factors– both internal and external. Internally, the capacity of the society to utilize their environment (i.e. geography, natural resources) is naturally based on the level of intellectual and technological advancement, in combination with the degree to which the labor is organized efficiently. The development of civilizations across the world developed at somewhat proportionate rates for millennia, but the course human development accelerated at an unprecedented rate through Europe's transition to capitalism and the subsequent industrial revolution. Capitalism connoted a novel concept to modern society– an international competitive initiative to make the maximum profit out of production. This transition to mass scale production capabilities provided incentive to outsource human labor and natural resources at minimum cost from the colonial subjects. While capitalism brought unprecedented levels of development to Europe, the legacy of this exploitation has persisted since colonial independence in the form of prolonged economic dependence, internal political ethnic conflicts, and inadequate government programs and infrastructure.

IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1. African Regional and Sub-Regional Organisational Conflicts Profile

Historically in Africa, the number of people killed in conflict has increased when the number of conflicts increased. While there has been a slight increase in battle-related deaths, 2017 saw less than 7,500 battle-related deaths. This is a decrease compared to the past three years. If we look at the relative size of the number of battle deaths, i.e. the number of people killed per million inhabitants, 2017 was the 9th least violent year since 1950 (Ingrid Vik Bakken et Siri Aas Rustad (2018).

The same report indicated that, in 2017, the majority of battle deaths occurred in three countries, Nigeria, Somalia and DR Congo, none of which exceeded more than 2,000 people killed in state-based conflicts. Thus, while we see a considerable increase in conflicts, the number of people being killed is relatively low, suggesting that the increase in conflict has not led to a substantive increase in intensity of conflict. In fact, 2015-2016 were the two years with by far the highest number of conflicts since 1946 (Ingrid Vik Bakken et Siri Aas Rustad (2018), that increase in number of conflicts in recent years can in large part be explained by the rise of the Islamic State (IS) and other armed groups operating in different countries of Africa. All these armed groups, are most of the times, considered as the creator of not only the new conflicts, but also fueled existing ones. The most forms of the conflicts in Africa are relatively State-based conflict, non-state conflict, and one-sided violence.

For instance, in 2007, Africa saw 12 conflicts in 10 countries. Ten years later, in 2017, the number of conflicts was 18, taking place in 13 different countries and that conflicts caused around 7,500 battle-related deaths, the majority of battle deaths in 2017 occurred in three countries: Nigeria, Somalia and DR Congo. The relatively low number of battle deaths suggests that the increase in conflicts has not led to a substantive increase in the intensity of conflict (Ingrid Vik Bakken et Siri Aas Rustad (2018)

4.2. Weaknesses of regional and sub-regional in conflicts resolution and management

In Africa, the number of non-state conflicts has increased dramatically in recent years, peaking in 2017 with 50 non-state conflicts, compared to 24 in 2011. This makes Africa the continent with the highest number of non-state conflicts while battle deaths caused by one-sided violence, the worst year by far was 1994, when the genocide against Tutsi caused the death of more than one million of innocent Tutsis.

For matter of facts, a summary of conference proceedings from the April 10, 2008 symposium entitled, African regional and sub-regional organisational as per AMIR Stepak, the arbitrary and porous nature of national borders has occasioned the spilling-over of many intra-state rebellions into neighbouring states, as has been the case in Somalia and in the Horn of Africa. These unique characteristics make regional approaches particularly suitable for mitigating conflict in Africa.

Still, in many parts of Africa the situation remains grim for a number of reasons such as failure to address the root causes of conflicts: lack of adequate peace-building mechanisms to monitor and stabilize post- conflict areas; and, finally, the overlap and confusion caused by the multiplicity of regional, continental, and international actors, all vying for a place at the table.

Of the 53 Africa Union Countries, 48 have endured post-independence armed conflict. Most of these conflicts have been intra-state rather than inter- state and have largely taken the form of rebellions against the central government, including civil wars and insurgencies involving armed factions. In some instances, rebel groups have fled to neighbouring states to launch their insurgencies, such as northern Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels operating from Sudan; rebels from Sierra Leone operating from Liberia; and Rwandan rebels such as FDLR, P5···which operating from the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

In the Horn of Africa, a 21-year-old conflict between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) of southern Sudan and the Sudanese government festered since the early 1980s with almost two million lives lost while in the Great Lakes region, the inter-relationship among the various conflicts enables one to loosely refer to them as a "conflict system" that has largely assumed ethnic dimensions. The 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, which resulted in the killing of close to over one million innocent people from one ethnic community (Tutsi), is still very fresh in the minds of many. This genocide became a defining moment for Africa and the world at large, forcing a review of the lack of intervention strategies in internal conflicts.

Conflicts in West Africa have, for the most part, involved various armed groups challenging the central government. Liberia's civil war started in 1980 after Samuel Doe's military coup and saw the displacement of over half of the country's population; meanwhile, in neighbouring Sierra Leone conflict erupted in 1991 and lasted for over a decade. Both produced an outflow of refugees into neighbouring countries. Finally, fighting in Côte d'Ivoire has turned a once stable and prosperous nation into a tumultuous and divided country.

There is a hope in Africa after a decade of conflicts, since the inception of the African Union in 2002; Africa has witnessed a dramatic reduction in the number of armed conflicts. The AU is now equipped with diplomatic prevention mechanisms, such as the Panel of Wise Men, and standing units that can be deployed quickly in order to terminate ongoing conflicts (the African Standby Force). These have played an important role in Côte d'Ivoire as well as in Sudan.

There are, however, organisations whose activities are particularly important in African conflicts resolution and

management. These are the Organisation of African Unity (**OAU**), the Economic Community of West African States (**ECOWAS**), the Southern African Development Community (**SADC**), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (**IGAD**), The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (**COMESA**), African Union (**AU**), Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (**CEPGL**), East African Country (**EAC**), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) to mention but a few, all these organisations have mechanisms that, employs in handling conflict among the members and have adopted different approaches to the different types of conflict it faced.

Nevertheless the failures of the above mentioned regional and sub-regional organisations, are due to challenges and problems encountered in conflict resolution as been noted in ABIODUN Alao (2000). It has to be noted that many of the regional and sub-regional organisations that took charge of conflict in the post-Cold War era were not specifically designed for the purpose. Most are, indeed, economic organisations, founded for economic purposes. Among the constraints highlighted are the following:

- *Structural*: Needed for conflict management; the example is ECOWAS without a section akin to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) even South African Development Community (SADC);

- *Financial constraints:* Is a major problem, as none of these organisations has the resources to mount some of the operations needed in some of the countries to bring peace and this mean, they cannot mount a more straightforward and standard traditional peacekeeping operation, let alone the more complex peace support operations that are required for this new generation of conflicts.

- *Political divisions and "side-taking":* This is the case where, only countries within a region or sub-region are willing to resolve crisis in their own neighbourhoods. This problem was apparent in Liberia, where Nigeria , Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso were believed to have taken different sides in the conflict or Rwanda-Burundi and DRC conflicts.

- *Regional hegemons:* This leads to the issue of regional hegemons, which have become "necessary evils" in many regions. On the one hand, the smaller nations resist the bigger and better-endowed ones for fear that they will always seek to dominate their region. Yet, on the other hand, these big countries are relied upon in times of conflict, to provide the resources to maintain the vital lifeline of peace operations.

- *Legal relationship with the global organisation and legitimacy:* Regional organisations face a problem of legitimacy if they are perceived to be acting without the authorisation of the global organisation - the United Nations - particularly where the action entails the use of force.

In addition to the aforementioned challenges, Africa's regional/sub-regional organisations have three main criticisms against the UN: First, it is often said that the UN's involvement in African conflict always comes late, Second, there are allegations that, in the course of their intervention in African conflicts, UN personnel often exhibit a flamboyant lifestyle that often doesn't reflect the prevailing socio-economic realities of the conflict in which they are intervening and finally, the UN is often accused of not encouraging local initiatives, especially with regards to encouraging local activities geared towards conflict prevention and resolution ABIODUN Alao (2000).

V. DIMENSIONS OF ENDLESS CONFLICTS AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Among other dimensions of endless conflicts and underdevelopment in Africa are those related to social and cultural Causes, political causes and Economical causes that affect Africa development, to this makes Africa the most vulnerable and unstable continent worldwide.

5.1. Social and cultural Causes

5.1.1. Extreme Religious Politics

The most danger and challenge that the world is facing today, is the conflicts and wars resulted and based to faiths. Recently, we have witnessed by Sudan and Somalia, where Islamic religion fundamentalists who may escort in to rivalry between Sunni and Shi'ite Islams athwart the horn threaten the region, Uganda with Lord Resistance Army and the tensions of civil war in Central African Republic (CAR), where there was a fights between the government of the Central African Republic's former Séléka coalition of rebel groups, who are mainly from the Muslim minority, and the mainly Christian anti-balaka coalition.

5.1.2. Ethnic Polarity

Many people have the mistaken impression of Africa as a group of one people like you might expect to see in a country, but they fail to consider that Africa is a huge continent. There are over 3,000 different ethnic groups speaking more than 2,100 different languages in all of Africa. The people there practice a variety of religions, including Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and traditional religions specific to their ethnic group. Though there was no census on ethnics in Africa, what is sure is that, there are thousands of ethnic groups in Africa and each has its own language and culture.

Ethnicity refers to a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, with ethnic groups distinguished from other kinds of group's nations, races, classes, and interest groups by a sense of in-group connectedness that is rooted in a notion of shared cultural peoplehood. This connectedness assumes that

individuals of different ages, status, and wealth are linked (and simultaneously differentiated from ethnic others) through a conjoining of cultural similarity and a perception of common descent as defined by Gabrielle Lynch (2018).

Ethnic is one of the major factors that direct the intrastate conflicts in any country worldwide. By Rwandan experience, the Politian's elites, used this as a fertile ground for manipulation of ethnic and regional sentiments which resulted Genocide against Tutsis in 1994 where more than a million of innocent Tutsi been killed and this also, is happening in Burundi or elsewhere in Africa due to the legacy of colonialism, several ethnic groups like Somalia- Moquadisho with that of Ethiopian Somalia and Kenyan Somalia who claims homogeneity are today straddling across international boundaries between neighbouring states.

5.2. Political causes

Africa is well known as a continent with unstable political due to various reasons: Power Struggle, high rate of corruption, poor governance, lack of transparency and inept political leadership. In fact, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), sub-Saharan Africa remains one of the poorest parts of the world.

Most of the African countries are known as instable which at the end directs to their fragmentation and failure. The ruling parties ignore power sharing and try to preach the people, as they are democratic ones. It is rely to observe peaceful and fair election. Most often the successors came in to power either by force or external support rather than by the full consent of the people. The political crises of the area are explained by civil wars, the restraining of civil liberties, abuse of human rights later alone, genocide.

Africa is also noted in endless underdevelopment due to corruption and poor governance, because most of African leaders lack vision and doesn't have aspirations and needs of their people as they treat their offices as a form of personal property and a source of private gain. They openly appoint under-qualified and incompetent personnel through nepotism which undermining development. In fact, corruption and ineffective leadership have impacted negatively on Africa' s democratic stability and its economic development has been undermined therefore.

To end this point, incompetence in leadership in most African countries is not only the problem of people who occupy positions in government. Leaders don't serve; they are served, because occupying leadership positions make leaders superior and unaccountable to the people they lead. Africa needs leadership development systems, and it is incumbent on development partners and global leaders to understand how cultural differences affect these, SAM Adeyemi (2017). Therefore, to be successfully in Africa, there is a need to democratize the leadership development process in the developing world.

5.3. Economic causes

It has been almost a worldwide agreed principle and undisputable that Africa is the poorest continent in the world though is the richest in terms of natural resources, the easiest explanation today is that, this tarnished image to African continent is mainly due to high rate of corruption and leadership crisis which results to endless conflicts, wars of all forms and lack of good governance.

As far as African continent still being a scene of various forms of conflicts civil wars, these will be undoubtedly major cause of African underdevelopment, therefore Africa need an appropriate policies depend on the specific situation not a copy and paste of the Western approaches which of these underlying causes is most applicable. Africa also for prevention mechanism, it has no other choice other than to address political as well as economic inequalities.

There is a tendance to contribute contemporary conflicts to fundamental differences arising from ethnicity or religion but there are many examples where different multiethnic or multireligious societies live together and peacefully.

According to Graham K. Brown and Frances Stewart CRISE (2015), there are four economic explanations which have dominated this: the first points to group motives and group inequalities as a source of conflict; the second focuses on individual gains from conflict; the third is derived from a failed "social contract"; and the fourth theorizes that environmental pressures are a major source of conflict ("green war").

- *Group motivation:* Political conflicts, in contrast to most forms of criminality, consist of fighting between groups that wish to gain independence or take over the state and groups that resist this course of action, aiming to preserve the integrity of the nation or their power and these common purposes may be termed "group motives" for conflict. Although individual motivation is also important, group motivation and mobilization underlie many political conflicts. Example is the internal conflicts, which are often united by a common ethnic or religious identity (Ethnicity in Burundi and Rwanda or between Muslims and other religions in Mali and Central African Republic).

- *Private Motivation:* People who fight have their own private motivations for doing so, as well as loyalty to the group that is fighting and mostly, private or individual motivation as the fundamental cause of conflict (See Political sociologists such as David Keen and Mark Duffield and economists such as Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler:2004).

- *Failure of the Social Contract:* A third explanation of violent conflict points directly to grievances. It derives from the view that social stability is premised on an implicit social contract between the people and

the government. With economic stagnation or decline and worsening state services, the social contract breaks down and violence results. Thus, high (and rising) levels of poverty and a decline in state services would be expected to cause conflict

- *"Green War" (Environmental Scarcity)*: The essence of this perspective is that the contest for control over declining natural resources, often intensified by population pressures, is a major cause of violent conflict around the world. Poorer societies are more at risk because they are "less able to buffer themselves" from environmental pressures.

To explain the economic causses of the conflict on African Continent, we based on the model of the Collier-Hoeffler "**greed**" and "**grievance**" theory in which rebels will conduct a civil war for "loot-seeking" and "justice- seeking" reasons as cited in John C. Anyanwu (2002).

Greed is used here as a desire for private gain. It is argued that the existence of a "lootable" resource base is both a motive for rebellion and a facilitating factor. Rebels have an incentive to challenge governments because of private gain, which is a function of opportunities foregone by engaging in violence and the availability of lootable income, which is the payoff for successfully engaging in rebellion. But greed is explained by atypical opportunities, being one of the chief conditions for profit seeking, rebel organizations to exist.

Rebellions may also be caused by *Grievance* and may aim at achieving justice. The demand versus supply of justice determines the conditions for the onset of "justice-seeking" rebellions. The proxies for the level of grievance include social (ethno-linguistic and religious) fractionalization, the degree of political repression/democracy, ethnic dominance, and economic dysfunction (slow growth; high inflation; high income or asset inequality).

In addition to this, in most of African communities where oil is extracted, conflict has often arisen over local complaints that the community does not adequately reap the benefit of such resources, or suffers excessively from the degradation of the natural environment.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"*Africa should not just wait to be exploited or influenced. No. We should be part of the conversation. We should raise ourselves to a level where there are certain terms we dictate in the conversation because we have a lot to offer*" **Paul Kagame, H.E President of the Republic of Rwanda**

Based on this beautiful statement above mentioned, I want to conclude this paper with a few and very brief points focusing on "*Africa's better future lies in our hands as Africans*"

Firstly, African leaders have to take note and serve their mandate thinking of accountability and transparency to citizens whom, voted them by reducing poverty and increase access to modern health, nutrition, affordable infrastructures i.e accommodation, access to quality education and income-earning opportunities for African youths instead of continues complaints and rely on international platforms rather we all must start addressing issues that affect Africa's development;

Secondly, Africans within have to collaborate and work together without double stands, and motivate the Africa home made towards, increase of our industries and empower our citizens while export and import are relatively balancing;

Thirdly, we must develop an appropriate ideology based on African values that we can use to further the development agenda and consolidate Africa independence. Africa is a continent with young generation and full potentials, it is their responsibilities and supported by their Leaders to shape and develop this ideology. An ideology that adequately, addresses Africa's challenges such as income inequality, poverty, insecurity and lack of visionary leadership.

Fourthly, Africa has potentials: its values, cultures, resources and young generations to be the based on its own development rather than improper management of them and supporting insurgents in neighbouring states to mention but a few.

The African development will remain dreams and leaders songs if dictatorial leadership continue to be observed in most of the African Countries and give less democratic, and this will make task impractical to find sound governance, social and economic policies which will results endless conflicts and wars.

Therefore, there is a need to end the trend of underdevelopment in Africa as we explained reasons aforementioned, a need to rise to the occasion and foster a common social identity, where we all belong with our one diversity. Africa, as one continent, independent and sustainable.

To conclude, this reminded me the speech of the H.E Paul Kagame, the President of the Republic of Rwanda and quotes: *"When it comes to Africa, I think we must take responsibility and accept our failures in dealing with this matters"*

The case of Boko Haram, FDRL are few cases I can talk to. It is a shame that Africa Leaders who should been working together all a long to address these problems that commonly affects our African Countries, Wait until they are invited to go to Europe or else where, seat there and just talk··· or take hours and hours while innocent people are dying and suffer from hunger as it was the case, during the Genocide against Tutsis where more than a million of lives lost while UN and Security Council were only discussing on no sense terms to call what is happening in Rwanda. This shows that, our leaders lack the most important element, which is the "*Political will and Commitment*".

If Africa leaders cannot get themselves together to address problems that affect their citizen's or their peoples then, what do you expect on related sustainable peace, security and social, political and development. What Africa need is, transformational leaders, visional leadership, committed to serve their citizens, ready for accountability and transparency.

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