

Original Research Paper

Sustainable Peace and Security in Africa: Strategy for Attainment of Agenda 2063 of the African Union

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Abstract: The incidence of violent conflict and insecurity in Africa is evident and apparent. Armed conflicts have become a regular realism in Africa for so long and the continent is predominantly conflict-prone and has also accommodated more than one-third of international armed conflicts in the last few years. The resurgence of conflict in Africa after the Cold War is mostly worrisome and disturbing. Despite these challenges and threats posed by conflict in the region, there is little or no common approach in terms of proper policy formulation or implementation for appropriate prevention and management of these conflicts that occurs in the continent. Therefore, the trust of this study seeks to study these touching issues to offer a conceivable and enduring resolution to the issues. The research was carried out using secondary sources of data and was analyzed qualitatively. The causes of conflict and insecurity were revealed. The paper also observed that the prospect of achieving Agenda 2063 of the African Union profoundly depends on proper institutions for conflict prevention, management, and resolution in the continent. Hence, the paper recommends among others, that efforts must be intensified to harmonize the African strategy on good governance agenda, as APSA and AGA are similar in their visions and objectives. Whereas AGA places emphasis on comprehensive demands of good governance, APSA on the other hand emphasizes the importance of the instruments for proper conflict management, resolution, and by extension on peace-building in the region. Hence, there is a need for both to work together, as this will not only promote the desirable peace, security, and development in the continent of Africa but, will also guarantee a lead way for the Attainment of Agenda 2063 of the African Union.

Keywords: Conflict, Sustainable Peace, Security, Agenda 2063, African Union, Africa

Introduction

Africa as a continent has recorded unprecedented world's most violent conflicts in recent time, particularly in Rwanda, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and most recently, the Mali conflict with consequences of multiple casualties, war-induced starvation and health issues of millions of people. Kane (2008) has noted that the predictability of violent conflicts in Africa has been regarded as one of the most distinctive features of the continent. According to Obasanjo (2014) 'the average or number of African states affected yearly by violent conflict grew from definite number before independence of many Africa countries and dropped again in 2000s though, the number of African countries currently entangled with violent conflict in recent time rose sharply, owing to the

contested legitimacy of post-colonial governance structures. Gilpin (2015) believes that fragile governments, historical acrimonies, exclusionary politics, opposed legitimacy, natural resource rivalry, external political and economic interference, globalized conflicts and terrorist ideologies have cooperate to produce numerous incidents of violent conflict all over the continent of African since many Africa countries got their independence in the 1960s, which has brought about the death of Millions of people, with inexplicable properties destroyed as well. Gilpin (2015) further claim that violent conflict in the continent has also cost many African countries billions of dollars owing to malicious damage and inevitable economic achievements, in spite of many efforts to foster viable and sustainable peace, security and development in Africa.

Though, there are tremendous and positive changes or transformation in the last few years, stretching from communication technology advancement, again fast economic growth prompted by unrestricted growing trade for Africa's produces, and a fast-growing demography able to key into these innovations without a hitch. Similarly, the ability to convert the said achievements into sustainable and enduring peace, security and development in the continent has been relatively hindered due to the persistent danger resulting from violent conflict in the region, along with its transfigurations. Obasanjo (2014) noted that violent conflicts are now a regular and inevitably one of the features of Africa since the attainments of independence in the 1960s by many African countries. He added that the reasons for conflict in Africa are numerous, among the economic causes are:

"unfriendly global economic atmosphere and African weakness to the variations in external settings such as terms of trade, external debt burden, change from a international economy based on the illaudable exploitation of natural resources from most African economies to another based on the exploitation of knowledge, capital flights, brain-drain and information, which have consistently affecting domestic incomes escorted by decrease in social spending, food insecurity, and increasing poverty, low GDP and economic inequities as well as poor economic performance (Obasanjo, 2014)."

On the socio-political and cultural angle, conflicts in Africa are openly connected to the situations on the attainment of independence by many Africa countries, with arrays of ethnic fractions or composition of the independent states. To a large extent, ascending from these issues; brought about unwholesome competition which later included the general label "governance". Marginalization or perceived exclusion from the political process, ethnicity and value variances, absence of socio-political harmony, deprivation of state institutions of governance, over dependence on national and highly modified form of governance, perceived political and economic inequality and high level of discrimination, institute or responsible for major socio-political reasons for conflicts in Africa (Francis, 2011). According to Alabi (2006) 'he attributes most of the conflicts in Africa to be of more historic in nature than external forces as claimed by many scholars, and he further noted that the glitches are triggered by poor leadership and lack of political options by the political elites in the continent. The effect of ethnic diversity in intra-state conflicts is widely debatable in Africa, with contradictions that though, African continental distinctiveness is undoubtedly acknowledged and expounded by all Africans, but the

accomplishment of national identity as a crisis has been more tough in the continent, manifesting into one conflict or the other on daily basis (Alabi, 2006).

Thomson (2004) advanced Colonialism and Imperialism as the reason responsible for the crisis and violent conflicts in the continent. The pattern of antecedent developments, which brought about the formation of the continent contributed or bear sole reason why Africa continent is conflict prone. Though the colonial period in Africa was reasonably short in duration but its effect on the continent of Africa both in political environment and social life was devastating. Zartman (2000) believes that imperial struggle is amongst the factors promoting conflict in Africa.

"The journey for Africa' in the nineteenth century had a deep influence on the creation of the continent and the subsequent expansion of the continent changed the notions of security architectures and pattern of good governance. The persistent and enduring colonial inheritance is possibly best understood in teams of continuing division between French colonies and that of British colonies in Africa (Zartman, 2000)."

Thomson (2004) argues that the reason for this scramble was more of economic reason than political. He arguably believed that the most evident heritage of the colonial masters was the partition of Africa amongst themselves into new states owing to the ratifications of Berlin Conference of 1884–85, which came with multiply effects ranging from "divide and rule" policy, tickly Africa into multiple ethnic groups of over 4, 235 with a continent of 54 nation-states presently.

Rationale for the Study

Though, many studies have been carried out in previous years on Africa crisis, but these researches were merely on the development status of Africa without looking at some of these factors that have hindered the 'development' in Africa or denied the continent of her "God given blessings" for several years. Hence, the trust of the paper is to examine the complexity of establishing a realistic assessment on peace and security in Africa, discarding the philosophies of the "Afro-pessimistic" rhetoric. Attempt will be made to look at some of these factors that have hindered Africa in attaining her potentials for so many years. To achieve these laudable objectives of the paper, it was further divided into various sections. The first part of the paper looks at the methodology and some of the important concepts in the study. The second part placed emphasis on the trends and nature of conflict and insecurity in the continent, followed by the causes and effects of conflict. The paper also reviews the challenges of AU instruments for conflict

prevention, management and conflict resolution in Africa, and the gap in dealing with them. The results of the findings will be given much needed attention. Some relevant policies will be recommended for sustainably breaking the cycle of conflict and insecurity in a manner that it would bring to bear sustainable peace and development in the region

Concept of Conflict

This part clarifies what conflict involves generally in both academics and professional usage. Though, different scholars have advanced their ideas as to the prevalence of conflict in our environment, including Africa with the causes and effects are also contrasts and debatable. Aside of the devastating effects of conflict, there are also few positive effects of conflict, and not all conflicts are negative in nature. For instance, conflict has positive benefits like assisting people to project a new way to solve their social, economic and political issues and to progress into a better way of life (Cosser, 1956:65). No society is absolutely free from conflict, not all conflicts are destructive, but how is managed or resolved (outcome of the conflict) determined whether is constructive or destructive (Osimen, 2017). Though, every society witness one form of conflict or the other, many scholars still believe that there is synergy or relationship between conflict and progress or development in the society. It is obvious that conflict is natural in our society, and inevitably and undoubtedly present in every society as opposed the concept of peace in the global or universal conception. Human goals and aspirations will always clash owing to societal competitions. It will be therefore irrational for anyone to believe the vision of a conflict free world. Therefore, conflict is certain to always happen in any environment where there is more than one person or group (Albert, 2001:3). It is on this note Cosser (1956:8) define conflict as:

“The scuffle over beliefs or assertions/right to position, authority, and limited means to meet human needs, in which the aims of the individuals in conflict or individuals involved are not only to attain the anticipated beliefs but to offset, hurt, or if possible, to kill rivals”.

Unlike political conflict which usually occurs in a form of verbal expressions of divergence to comprehends physical combat. Faleti *et al.* (2010) sees conflict as an inevitable part of life which have different set of beliefs, backgrounds, opinions, ideas and views about life. However, conflict may occur when incompatible activities transpire between two or more people which, may lead to win-lose or win-win approach depends on the interventional style or mechanisms. The types of conflict resolution and management style will usually influence its

outcome; whether it produces a win-win situation or loose-win situation (Osimen, 2017). Kareen (2000) claimed that conflict is a denial which is attached to behavioural norms in the society. To Boulding (1962:5) conflict is a condition of struggle over limited resources in which the opponents are conscious of the discordancy of possible imminent situations, and in which the parties’ desires to occupy a position that is incompatibly suited with the desires of the other person or groups.

Pruitt and Rubin (1986:4) sees conflict as apparent disagreement of interests, or a credence that the parties’ extant goals that cannot be attained concurrently. Conflict has also been referred to as the presence of divergences and discrepancies among different actors which could sometimes be individuals, groups, establishments or states in their communication on issues of needs, values interests, beliefs, positions, feelings, goals, right, status, limited resources among others.

Adelue and Kamolafe (2000) defined conflict as a disagreement or fight among parties that is considered by unconcealed communication of unfriendliness or external intrusion in the goal accomplishment of the divergent procrastination of other person, group of persons or parties. Imhabekhai (2000) sees conflict as a violent crash, a fight or situation, or a psychological struggle which can be negative in any environment. Akinwunmi (2005) defined conflict as something that exists whenever an action is incompatible with another thus preventing, obstructing and interfering with in some ways that makes the action less likely or less effective.

According to Hogan (2006:76-77) in the scholar’s thesaurus of sociology sees conflict as:

“An action or fight that is consciously initiated between individuals or groups persons for the identical goal. The defeat of the adversary is perceived as vital in realizing the goal”. Hogan further enunciated that ‘during conflict unlike struggle or competition, rivals are mostly concerned with each other rather than toward the object they pursue. Owing to this, the development of strong feelings of hostility maybe put into consideration, the attainment of the goal may therefore be considered secondary to the opponent’s defeat”.

This view directly corroborates with Akpuru–Aja’s definition and position on conflict when he defined conflict as an act, attitude, behavior or action or a practice that presents anxieties and stresses in the relationship among different groups in attainment of incompatible goals (Akpuru–Aja, 2007:15). He is of the opinion and precisely believes that, during conflict, parties see or perceive each other as an obstacle that will block the party involved or maddening others in reaching or achieving

their desired goals. Ntunde and Ugwu (2005:637) 'sees conflict as a clash of interest or total disagreement between parties which most often manifests as a result of opposing interests, value, ideas, beliefs or doctrines, perceptions and orientations in social environment. In other words, conflict could be described as the inner emotional and psychological state of the individuals in conflict or social groups which could be family, communities, state, organizations or even among international communities. Have a better clarity on this when they differentiated between a traditional and the contemporary concept of conflict:

"They view the traditional definitions conflict; as the type of conflict results from opposing interests links scarce resources, goal disagreement and frustration resulting from attaining them. In more modern views of the conflict concept, they submitted that conflicts need not be defined essentially in terms of aggressive behaviour or resentment attitudes, but should be seen more of inharmoniousness in position."

From these definitions, some valuable insights have been given about conflicts which imply that conflict is organic and instinctual, that is to say that conflict is a basic instinct in humans and could be so for other living things as well and such basic instincts can be used for solving both individual and collective problems.

The frustration-aggression thesis is one of the theories that have got weight in the social-psychological conceptualization of conflicts in recent time mostly in Africa. The theory believes that grievance is a stimulus built on perceived injustice in such a manner that certain social groups feel unjustly treated. The justice-seeking motivation possibly appears when a group of ethnic people are denied the benefit of their region's resource wealth. Most of the conflicts in Africa could better be explained using frustration aggression theory, which was propounded. The theory believes that aggression occurs when people are blocked, denied or frustrated in an effort to attain a certain goal. It attempts to give better clarification as to the cause of violent conflict. The theory states that frustration brings about aggression, but when the basis of the frustration is not challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target. The frustration aggression model sees conflict as a resultant of poverty, rejection and perceived or real injustice, exclusiveness or marginalization, among others. Africa has been on this lane for many years and this perhaps may have been responsible for the reoccurrence of armed conflict in the region. The recollections of political humiliation, political oppression and economic marginalization, both factual and imaginative, are

prompted through new threats of conflicts in Africa (Azar and Moon, 1986; Deutsch, 1991; Ross, 1993; Brown, 1993).

Concept of Security

Though, the concept of security has been creating a great argument among scholars in recent time. Nevertheless, it is worth explaining what is really constituted the concept 'security'. But then, neither security as a concept nor its contrasting, insecurity is quantifiable in terms of human feelings. Wood and Shearing (2007) argues that security is more "Imagined". The present knowledge of the world in recent time stresses the need in shift in security architectures (Osimen and Aisedion, 2022). Traditionally, the state is directly in charge and decisive recipient of the monopoly use of strength as claimed by Max Weber. Monsuru (2014) sees security as any form of internal or external threat which defies the power of the state in every attempt to attain certain goal through forcible or coercive means. Though, it will not be a mischief to say that security is a contestable concept as several definitions are currently being used without much agreement among scholars in their individual conceptualization though, it also depends on what necessitates security in the mind of scholars (Uwa and Aisedion, 2021). Thus, South Africa White Paper on Defence, sees security as:

All-inclusive situation in which people live in free will, peace and safety; partake fully in the process or affairs of governance; appreciate some basic human rights; have unrestricted access to resources of the state and the basic necessities of life; also occupy an atmosphere which is suitable and not unfavorable to their condition and safety, but not only in terms of the internal security of the state, but in terms of food security, health, resources and trade. (South Africa White Paper on Defence, 1996).

Therefore, security is a state of can simply be referred to as liberty from danger or threat that surpasses military actions but other forms of threats. Adetula (2015) opines that threats to government security are usually measured in terms of the degree of risk they institute to the pursuit of national interests. In most cases, the security condition of a particular country is usually a function of its capacity to forestall, avert, accomplish and efficiently respond to threats. Uwa and Aisedion (2021) believes that threat assessment should be comprehensive and incorporating enough to accept all types of intervention within a state's security of its domains; to include economic threat, social threat, military, territorial threat, political threat, cultural threat among others. There is certainly great sense in moving outside the uncluttered model of threat (Ukpabi, 1987). Therefore, the ultimate concern of any government as it relates to security

should be the protection of national values against prevailing and potential risk or attacks.

Concept of Peace/Sustainable Peace

Sustaining peace requires a comprehensive of the fundamental basic drivers of conflict beyond the instantaneous causes. Therefore, a clear distinction between the “absence of conflict” and “long-lasting peace” must be emphasized (Igbuzor, 2006). The absence of conflict does not automatically suggest that a society is functioning at the frontline of peaceful environments. Though, conflicts may be intense in an environment and the primary risk factors could be widespread. The latency of conflict has always submitted that it is serious to address the fundamental drivers of conflict even in the absence of conflict thus:

The assessment of conflicts must “go beyond the opposition on fragility, and look for other proportions of fragility that may occur even in purportedly non-fragile countries” (UNDP, 2016). Though, peace has been defined by most scholars, as the nonexistence of war, danger, fear, threat, conflict, anxiety, travail and violence but, this has not reflected the presence of justice which is core value of peace (Francis, 2006; Igbuzor, 2006).

Galtung (2011) made an attempt to offer a complete and universal notion of peace when he links peace directly to the concept of sustainable development. To him, peace is a practice involving actions that are associated with aggregate development on the contrary, which limit conflict situation, in an exact society or global community. Ibeanu (2003), notes that peace is the absence of conflict and by rational extension; conflict is the nonexistence or lack of peace. Nevertheless, He further claimed that the simplistic understanding of peace is keen, and insufficient for appreciating the factual connotation and nature of peace, thus requiring the need to discover additional understandings, particularly those of instrumentalists, functionalists, sociologists and other scholars. Therefore, the notion of peace and security basically mean sacredness of life and the total need to safeguard and protection of both lives and property. It also implies lack of danger to life, property and socio-economic welfare of the general society (Arisi, 2013). Peace is also a situation or environment without social conflict hence, individuals or groups are able to achieve their basic needs, goals and aspirations without any interruption. Traditionally interpretation of peace implies the nonexistence of war or violent conflict which may not sufficient to achieve sustainable peace in any society. If armed conflicts are put an end to by delivering a ceasefire without tackling its fundamental factors or root causes, conflict may reoccur again, which may subsequently upset commercial activities and aggravating suffering, injustice,

poverty, hunger, and inequality by logical extension, growth and development.

Galtung (2011) categorized peace into two types; negative (harmful) peace and positive (progressive) peace. According to him, peace is negative when there is nonexistence of war, conflict or violence, he further, categories violence into three; direct, structural and cultural. He sees structural violence as a situation of unfair society which not built on egalitarian structure, certain people are often marginalized while, cultural violence described the social norms of the society, it defends both direct and structural violence as well. The direct violence on the other hand, is been regarded as war and crime, with particular reference to the outcome of both structural and cultural violence. Galtung (2011) further listed eight elements that enhance or promote positive peace, which is regarded as Galtung Eight Pillars of Peace:

Active and performing government; Comprehensive and good business environment; Rightful sharing of power and other resources; Recognition of the rights of everyone; Decent dealings with neighbors; Unrestricted dissemination of ideas, knowledge as well as useful info; High levels of human and capital development; High level of accountability and transparency; Absence of corruption.

The aforementioned elements are consistently and constantly lacking in the continent of Africa states since independence of many African countries. It does not appear any of African leaders is ready to abide these pillars into governance any time soon that would enhance and promote positive peace according to Galtung Osimen *et al.* (2022). Galtung (2011) further recognized the need to integrate human welfare into governance which must include; preventing or putting an end to all forms of violence. Therefore, just social structures and social norms must be improved to prevent the incidence of violence be it direct or indirect. The eight pillars of positive peace reinforce a state from failing or total collapsing by creating enabling environment that cultivates upright society and supports initiative which are often required for socio-political and economic advancement and development.

Nature and Trends of Conflict in Africa, 1960-2020

Since 1960 till day, over 50% of number of states in Africa has been affected by one form of conflict or other (Obasanjo, 2005). The post-Cold war conflict renaissance in most African states are alarming and disturbing. Armed conflict in continent has been a cyclical realism in the explanation of postcolonial Africa. The continent has been exceedingly vulnerable to various forms conflict and war. Alabi (2006:41) notes that African is full documented with conflict and war. From the south to

north, west to east is overwhelmed with conflicts and wars. Lindemann (2008), argue that since the beginning of 1960s, a total of 25 sub-Saharan African countries, which represents average of 50% of number of states in Africa that have been grievied with one form of armed conflict or the other, while over 22 other countries have narrowly circumvent it. Ranging from independence wars, obstinate wars, deputation wars, supernumerary wars, or wars regulated from abroad. Post-Cold War conflicts in Africa have glinted a serious analysis of its reasons and consequences, at times very predisposed and reductionist, grounded on very diverse bases and approaches. Aside of series of civil wars, Africa have also experienced quite a number of recurrent border and inter-state conflicts notably among which are the following.

The Congo Conflict (1960-1965; 1966-1967), Katanga Insurgency (1960), Bizerte Conflict (1961), Eritrean War of Independence (1961-1991), Portuguese Colonia War (1961-1974), Angolan War of Independence (1961-1974), Guinea-Bissau War of Independence (1963-1974), Mozambican War of Independence (1964-1974), Tuareg rebellion (1962-1964), Sand War (1963), Shifta War (1963-1967), Bale Revolt (1963-1970), Ethiopian-Somali Border War (1964), Simba Rebellion (1964-1965), Rhodesian Bush War (1964-1979), Zanzibar Revolution (1964), First Chadian Civil War (1965-1979), South African Border War (1966-1989), Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), Western Sahara Conflict (1970: 1975-1991), First Eritrean Civil War (1972-1974), Oromo Conflict (1973-2018), Ethiopian Civil War (1974-1991), Angolan Civil War (1975-2002), Cabinda War (1975), Mozambican Civil War (1977-1992), Libyan-Egyptian War (1977), Ogaden War (1977-1978), Shaba War I & II (1977/1978), Uganda-Tanzania War (1978-1979), Chadian-Libyan Conflict (1978-1987), Second Eritrean Civil War (1980-1981), Ugandan Bush War (1980-1986), Entumbane Conflict (1981), Gambian Coup d'état attempt (1981), Casamance Conflict (1982), Ndogboyosoi War (1982), Ethiopian-Somali Border War (1982), Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005), Agacher Strip War (1985), United States bombing of Libya (1986), Lord's Resistance Army Insurgency (1987), Mauritania-Senegal Border War (1989-1991), First Liberian Civil War (1989-1997), Rwandan Civil War (1990-1994), Tuareg Rebellion (1990-1995), Djiboutian Civil War (1991-1994), Sierra Leone Civil War (1991-2002), Algerian Civil War (1991-2002), Somali Civil War (1991), Burundian Civil War (1993-2005), Republic of the Congo Civil War (1993-1994), Bopthuthatswana Conflict (1994), Caprivi Conflict (1994-1999), Ogaden Insurgency (1994), Second Afar Insurgency (1995), Hanish Islands Conflict (1995), Allied Democratic Forces Insurgency (1996), First Congo War (1996-1997), Republic of the Congo Civil War (1997-1999), Eritrean-Ethiopian War (1998-2000), Second

Congo War/Six-Day War (1998-2003: 2000), Guinea-Bissau Civil War (1998-1999), Second Liberian Civil War (1999-2000), Ituri Conflict (1999), War on Terrorism/Islamic Terrorism in Egypt (2001: 1997), Islamic Insurgency in the Maghreb (2002), Operation Enduring Freedom- Horn of Africa (2002), Rise of the Islamic Court Union (2006), Ethiopian War in Somalia (2006-2009), Operation Enduring Freedom- Trans Sahara (2007), Islamist Civil War in Somalia (2009), Nigerian Sectarian Violence (2009), ISIL Insurgency in Tunisia (2015), Islamist Insurgency in Mozambique (2017), Conflict in the Pool Department (2002-2003), First Ivorian Civil War (2002-2004), War in Darfur (2003), French-Ivorian Clashes (2004), Conflict in the Niger Delta/Niger Delta Conflict (2004: 2016), Central African Republic Bush War (2004-2007), Kivu Conflict (2004), Chadian Civil War (2005-2010), Mount Elgon Insurgency (2005-2008), Bakaasi Conflict (2006-2013), Second Tuareg Rebellion (2007-2009), Kenyan Conflict (2007-2008), Invasion of Anjouan (2008), Kufra Conflict (2008), Djiboutian-Eritrean border Conflict (2008), Sudanese nomadic Conflicts/Ethnic Violence in South Sudan/South Sudanese Civil War (2009/2011/2013-2020), Sudan Airstrikes (2009), Dongo Conflict (2009), Second Ivorian Civil War (2011), First Libyan Civil War (2011), Sudanese Conflict in South Kordofan and Blue Nile (2011), Factional violence in Libya (2011-2014), Mali War (2012), Heglig Conflict (2012), M23 Rebellion (2012-2013), Baragoi Clashes (2012), Central African Republic Civil War (2012), Batwa-Luba Clashes (2013), RENAMO Insurgency (2013-2019), Aswan Tribal Clashes (2014), Second Libyan Civil War (2014-2020), Pool War (2016-2017), Kaese Clashes (2016), Kamwina Nsapu Rebellion (2016), Anglophone Conflict (2017), Tigray War (2020).

There is no doubt, Africa as a continent has recorded unprecedented world's most violent conflicts in recent times, particularly, Rwanda, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, among others.

Types and Causes of Conflicts in Africa

The causes of conflict in Africa and elsewhere are countless and numerous (Osimen and Adi, 2022). Conflict can be derived from one or varies of sources. Albert (2001:4-5) has acknowledged, among others, struggle for resources or uneven distribution of resources, unnecessary manipulation of information, marginalization, emotional needs and contradictory value systems as main causes of conflict in human societies. When conflicts are not properly resolved, they may lead to escalation, and to violence which may, in turn, engender destructive consequences of unimaginable dimensions.

Many factors are combining directly or indirectly to be responsible or triggered the persistent conflicts in Africa. These factors are mostly depending on the country involved, the nature of the conflict and the intensity or duration of such

(Osimen, 2017). However, few of the factors highlighted underneath are said to have been responsible for a larger per cent of the conflicts in the region:

- i. First, the political or multiplicity factors; poor governance, bad leadership, state building progressions such as the competition for control of state institution, and undemocratic changes of government remain significant in conflict drivers. Similarly, political manipulation, indiscriminate borders created by the colonial masters, diverse ethnic configuration of African states, ineffectual political headship, and corruption among others
- ii. Economic or the greed factors; such as high level of corruption, struggle for ownership of resources, poor resources management or control of natural resources, undesirable external debt problem, unemployment and poverty, as well as inadequate distribution of these available resources mostly, among the citizens constitute foremost issues that trigger conflicts across the continent of Africa
- iii. Social factors; such as insufficient capacity for multiplicity or diversity administration, the factual or perceived unfairness and discrimination against certain groups or minority ethnic groups, marginalization along social, economic and religious lines coupled with the alienation and consequent disappointment of the youth as a result of expectations are further accompaniments of conflicts in Africa (Obasanjo, 2014)
- iv. The boundary partitioning and regional conflicts related conflicts; such as the Bush war (Angolan) in South Africa between in 1966-1989; the conflict between Morocco -Algeria on the Atlas Mountain area of 1963; the territorial pressures between Eritrea and Ethiopia around 1998-2000; the war in Kenya-Somali between 1963-67; the conflict in Somali-Ethiopian between 1964-78; the conflict between Egypt and Libya in 1977, and the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon in 1994 over Bakassi Peninsula and among others
- v. The resource-based related conflicts; like the Niger -Delta conflict in Nigeria, the Abyei conflict in Sudan region, the conflict in Congo-Brazzaville in 2007), the conflict in Senegal/Mauritania that occurred in 1989; and the eastern Congo conflict owing to resources over a long period of time. Between 2010 and 2019 for example, resources based related conflicts is said to have exceeded 35% of all conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa
- vi. Conflicts related to secessionist agitations; like the case of Sudan and South Sudan between 1983 and 2011; the persistent Casamance uprising in Senegal; the Cabinda nervousness in Angola; and the Biafra civil war in Nigeria between 1967 to 70, which has recently resuscitated owing to all form of marginalization by certain ethnic group, distrust and suspicion among ethnic groups as this was how the civil war of 1967-1970 in Nigeria started. For instance, the south-east region of Nigeria are sensing been marginalized by other regions, coupled with the recent arrest and unnecessary detained of the IPOB leader, Nnamdi Kanu , which has not only provoke but called or agitating for secession or breakout of Nigeria into Biafra Republic though, other regions like the south-west are also agitating for separation led by one, Chief Sunday Igboho who was recently arrested and detained for over a year in Republic of Benin in an attend to escape to Germany
- vii. Identity-based related conflicts; such as inter-ethnic or inter-tribal conflicts have been discovered to be responsible for many conflicts in the continent of Africa. Alabi (2006:57) and Cammack *et al.* (1988:13) claim that the Africa contact with colonial masters in the 1990s twisted the political units and subsequently divided many Africans into artificial ethnic groups or joined rival groups in some areas without considering their background or identity. Some of the examples includes; the Rwanda conflict that resulted to Genocide in 1994, the massacres in Burundi conflict
- viii. The annexationist related conflicts; like the taking over of Western Sahara in 1975 by Morocco and the British annexation of Southern Cameroons in 1961 are two major examples of conflicts that arises in Africa based on annexation though, there were other cases of partial or total or even where two or more states fight over benefits that fit in to neither of them from the onset of the past and law of nation
- ix. Military factor or unconstitutional change of governments related conflicts; military takeover (overthrow) remains one of the major dilemmas bedeviling Africa as a continent as military government always lack the legitimacy and experience to govern or control institutions of government constitutionally. Generally, the number of coups in Africa remained remarkably consistent with devastating effects since 1990s of independence of many African states. According to UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres in 2021, “believes that the instability in most African countries is triggered by consistence and extensive military rule in the continent, which remains endemic for so many years in the continent. Though, Africa have had condition common for coups, like bad governance or leadership, high level of youth unemployment, poor economic performance yet, is still not enough to applaud military rule in Africa. Because it has been said that, ‘the worst civilian government is better than the best military rule’ (Osimen *et al.*, 2022)
- x. Lastly, colonization and decolonization in Africa, which brought about the creation of unnecessary and

artificial states predominantly in the 1990s as compared to other continents after the post-war time. After the liberation of many Africa states, the leaders faced with multiplicity of issues including the challenges of state building, while instantaneously, building all-encompassing identity issues among different cultural groups in the continent. However, many advanced states in the continent had had it struggled in responding to these problems distinctly and successively, while, the new sovereign African states were obligate to solve both issues concurrently. It was obvious that colonialism was not meant at producing robust, feasible, independent states

Effects and Consequences of Conflict in Africa

The Violent conflict in sub-Saharan Africa has remained accountable for the casualties or deaths of millions of noncombatants and is also responsible expressively to the poor rate of human security and economic growth in the continent. Many of the states in sub-Saharan Africa have been entangled in one particular violent conflict or the other, which has brought about high level of poverty, insufficient service delivery, political unpredictability, and underdeveloped economic and other issues leading to general under-development conditions which discourage or detraction of human security (Bowd and Chikwanha, 2010).

Osimen *et al.* (2022) argues that the consequences and effects of violent conflicts in Africa are various and numerous which have not only contributed to economic downturn and insecurity in Africa but has also been identified as one of the most important and instantaneous triggers for force migration and displacement of people in the region. Nnoli (2003:71) has highlighted the negative consequences of conflict in Africa. According to him, conflicts in Africa have resulted in deaths of millions and uncounted properties destroyed, well as the destruction of the environment variances. He further stressed that, conflicts in the region have affected development and also weakens the stability of communities involved. The rapid increase in refugee and migration flows in Africa according to statistics revealed or shows that the Eastern part of Africa and the Horn of Africa currently harbors the highest number of refugees in Africa with over 3.4 million which represents 32% of total refugees in Africa with Sudan (1,040,308), Uganda with 1, 05 million follow by Ethiopia with 800,464. This is creating both economic and security challenged in Africa. Conflict has over time sees by many scholars as a major factor or root-cause of Africa problems. Armed conflicts in the continent have also cooperated with other issues to promote poverty and youth unemployment in the continent. As at today, the rate of unemployment, mostly among the youths is high, which constituted about 70% of the population of Africa are worse affected, aside of unemployment and poverty,

death/ loss of lives are so high due to civil wars and social conflicts in the region. A good example is the Rwanda genocide of 1994, which according to Global Coalition for Africa (2004:7) estimated the number of deaths to about 800,000 who were allegedly murdered. Similarly, the civil war in Burundi that occurred in 2000 was stated to have claimed over 200,000 people as well. The civil war in Liberia was accounted to have claimed over 250, 000 people between 1990 and 2004. Basically, poverty has unrelentingly and continued to trouble and destabilized socio-political and economic structure of the continent owing to several civil wars or social conflicts which has not only affected the people but, also hurt the region's economic prosperities. Undeniably, the unruly effects of conflict on the economy have been substantially disturbing and harmful. Similarly, outbreaks of conflict or civil war in the continent has intermittently resulting to political instability, that have combined with other factors to significantly and cumulatively resulted to deteriorating Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the African continent for too many years, and this has also displayed in form of low export and high import,' a continent with low production but, with high taste for foreign produced for consumption' better still tricky balance of trade, balance of payment and national debt jam.

African Union Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution

The African Union as pointers policy making and execution of decisions in the continent is meant at ensuring that Africa realizes Aspiration 4 of Agenda 2063 which seeks for "a peaceful and secure Africa" the various mechanisms of the AU are aimed at promoting dialogue-centred approach to peace-building, early warning signs detection, and other conflict resolution mechanisms that would in turn recognized the culture of peace and tolerance in the continent of Africa through peace research and education. The protocol came into force on December, 26 2003 after the approval of the document by twenty-seven of the AU's 54 member states (Cilliers and Sturman (2004). The Agenda 2063 leading initiative of eliminating or total eradication of small arms and light weapons from the continent of Africa is at the fundamental of actions being put in place to guarantee Africa as a more nonviolent, stable safe continent. The main AU Organ with responsibility of achieving these initiatives of upholding peace and security in the continent through Peace and Security Council (PSC) which also serve as a standout decision-making organ of the AU for prevention of conflict and resolution. It is also a shared early warning prearrangement proposed to simplify, promptly and efficient interventions to conflict and emergency circumstances in Africa as fully stated in Article 2(1)) of the Assembly of the African Union. Also, it is the main mainstay of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which is the

charter for upholding peace, security and stability in Africa. The replacement of PSC in the Cairo Proclamation took instance over the resolutions and pronouncements of the OAU's MCPMR. The purposes of the AUPSC are thus, not fresh to the African political setting, and they were recognized to complement the principles conserved in Article 3 of the CAAU while, echoing the shared security program endorsed by the Kampala Draft Document of 1991 for the convention on security, stability, development and cooperation in Africa. Some of the main objectives of the AUPSC are but not limited to:

- i. Uphold peace, security and stability
- ii. Guarantee security and the protection of life and property, the welfare of the citizens of Africa and their surroundings, as well as the formation of environments favorable for viable improvement
- iii. Project and avert incidence of conflicts in the continent
- iv. Encourage and execute policies on peace-building and conflict transformation events
- v. Organize and complement regional struggles in the preclusion and fighting against global terrorism
- vi. Improve on a collective security plan; and
- vii. Support and boost constitutional system of governance, to promote fundamental human right of all the citizens among others

However, the department of peace and security of the African Union Commission (AUC) was given the mandate to assist and encourage the AUPSC in implementing its functions under the PSC agreements and to lead the AUC activities associated to peace, security and stability across the continent of Africa. The department will assist several peace and security agencies and missions to work with special agent who is elected by the AUC chairman as concern peace and security in the continent. It is also the duty of the department of African Centre for Research on Terrorism including advocating for the adoption and ratification of various treaties in the areas of peace and security among the AU member states.

OF the Aspiration 4: A "Peaceful and Secure Africa" in Agenda 2063 of the African Union

"The anticipated 2030 Agenda for sustainable development emphasized that sustainable development is unachievable without sustainable peace and security in the region; that peace and security will be at danger without sustainable development. Therefore, realizing sustainable development and sustainable peace are the two sides of the same coin, signifying the two pillars of the UN organization. "No peace, no development", "no peace, no justice" and "no development,

no security" are generally used slogans that demonstrate the impracticality of unraveling one from the other (UNDP, 2016)."

Therefore, the Agenda 2063 of the AU will be at risk without sustainable peace and security in Africa. The agenda is a collective framework for comprehensive growth and sustainable development for Africa to achieve her potentials and purposefulness in the fifty years to come. It is an extension of the pan-African initiative over a period of years, for a common unity, self-determination, liberty, socio-political and economic advancement and shared prosperity that has been long trailed under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance. It is designed to fast-track the implementation of past and present regional initiatives for the attainments of progress and sustainable development. It was unanimously agreed to by all African leaders in 2013 at the fiftieth celebration of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Therefore, Agenda 2063 is moored on the AU vision and is built on the seven aspirations resulting from the consultations of its members, viz.:

A flourishing Africa built on all-encompassing progress and viable growth; 2. A united continent, based on constitutional government, grounded on the principles of Pan Africanism and the idea of Africa's Renaissance; 3. An Africa of principles of rule of law, respect for human rights, uprightness, fairness and justice; 4. A nonviolent and safe Africa; 5. An Africa with a robust national identity and values, Africa with shared culture, morals and consciences; 6. An Africa whose growth is citizens-driven, trusting on the latent of African citizens, particularly its youth and women, as well as caring for children; and 7. Africa with resilient, integrated continent, strong and powerful international actor and partners in development.

Extensively, other notable visions shall include:

- i. There shall be robust mechanisms for promoting nonviolent conflict as well as functional means of peaceful resolution of conflicts at all levels. It shall start with, diplomatic means of conflict prevention and resolution which will aggressively help to eradicate weapons in the continent thereby promoting culture of peace and tolerance that will further cultivate Africans to drive a common goal or vision through peace awareness campaign or education
- ii. Africa shall remain a peaceful and most secure region, with coherence and harmony among groups beginning at lowest to the topmost level. The running of Africa multiplicity shall be a basis for prosperity, harmony and social and economic change instead of spring for conflict.

iii. Africa shall have:

- A rooted and booming nation of human rights, social equality, no discrimination in sex, status, inclusive government and harmony
- A continent with abundant wealth, safety and protection for every citizen, and
- Robust mechanisms for upholding and protecting the region's shared security, peace and harmony

iv. There shall be well recognized affluent, integration and unified Africa, built on decent governance, equality, political inclusion, respect for human rights, as well as upholding to the principle of rule of law which are necessary and pre-conditions for the attainment of nonviolent environment, sustainable peace and development in any society.

v. Africa continent shall continue to experience better human security with shrill decreases in human threat, safe for living and nonviolent crimes all citizens in the region

vi. The continent will be free from all forms of violent conflict, extremism, radicalism, bigotry and gender-based violence, which are main dangers to human security, peace and development. Africa continent will be free from drug zone, free from human trafficking, small arms and light weapons proliferation, robbery, Kidnapping, prostitution, piracy and every other organized crime in the region

vii. In addition, there will be satisfactory promotion of both human and ethical values grounded on inclusion and the denunciation of every forms of radicalism, religious fanaticism and every forms of bigotry, regardless of their drives

Lastly, via 2063, the continent would have developed capacity to uphold peace and defend its citizens and their welfares, through shared security.

Efforts on Achieving a Peaceful and Secured Africa

The increasing efforts in realization of the significance for positive and proper mechanisms for conflict prevent rather than reactive measures to deal with conflicts in Africa brought about the formation of the CEWS. The CEWS is an attachment of the OAU's MCPMR, that has also been incorporated into the AUPSC, and is given the mandate to provide the AU Secretariat the necessary information and to analyze and advice Peace and Security Council on possible conflicts and security dangers to in the continent. Aside advising the council is also to recommend possible action with the aim of taking early exploit as recommended by Article 12(5)-(6) of Assembly of the African Union.

At national level, the national governments have also implemented numerous actions, policies, and inventiveness to uphold peace and security in concern states in Africa. At the sub regional level, ECOWAS has taken a bold step in assuming several responsibilities according to the established Action of the AU, in many instances to revolt against undemocratic alterations of existing governments in the continent, which has brought about impose of sanctions against member states who violate it, and helped facilitate negotiation processes in these conflicts like the case of Mali government in 2021. Also, in many occasions, ECOWAS has initiated ECOMOG and sponsored international observers to promote peace in few of the concern states. At the continental level, the AU, since its change from the OAU to the AU in 2001, has involved in several conflicts and has also initiate various mechanisms in an attempt to promote sustainable peace and development in the region. AU has also move from the principle of non-interference to a principle of non-indifference and the right to intervene in conflict situations. Directed by the initiative of 'African solutions to African problems' with the approval of the Protocol resulting to the creation of the Peace and Security Council, in December 2003, and its agenda for peace-building, conflict prevention, management, and resolution in Africa that brought about the launching of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) are laudable. The realizations of sustainable peace in the continent were in the effort of the Capacity 4 Change (C4C) event on 21 March 2018 at the GIZ summit in Brussels. The main agenda of the debate during the summit was about African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) Impact Assessment and also to comprehend the reaction of individuals that would enable in triggering of violence-induced conflict in the region.

The AU in recent times has also carried out numerous peacekeeping missions in several Africa countries; Burundi, Comoros, Somalia, Darfur, and Central African Republic with good outcomes. Among is the recent initiative of AU Agenda 2063, with emphasis on corresponding states in attainment of sustainable peace, human security and development as its essential priorities, this is also complement the African Common Position on the Post-2015 Development Program which promotes the relationship between peace, security and sustainable development, with the African Governance Architecture (AGA) as well as promoting good governance for viable peace and security. At the international level, the UN has reinforced the refurbishment of peace and security in the continent through the implementation of several policies that in turn recognized the role of peacekeeping missions throughout the continent, with view of rendering financial and technical support. These collective struggles and efforts have long yielded a better result in the continent.

Materials and Methods

The methodology used in this research paper is historical method. The choice is knowledgeable by the need to involve in serious examination of events, progresses and activities, with regard to the needs of this research across time and space so as to assess them given the current situation under investigation. It is in this context that the historical method is considered to be more suitable to evaluate and examine the role of sustainable peace and security in Africa as a strategy for attainment of agenda 2063 of African Union. The documentary research method is also used in gathering and analyzing data for this study. Review of relevant literatures, textbooks, newspapers, internet and other relevant publications and journals on conflict, peace and security shaped part of this study. Hence, the method of data analysis is merely explanatory in nature.

Results and Discussion

The study revealed that, since the beginning of 1960s, a total of 25 sub-Saharan African countries, which represents average of 50% of number of states in Africa have been grievied with one form of armed conflict or the other, while over 22 other countries have narrowly circumvent it. Ranging from independence wars, obstinate wars, deputation wars, supernumerary wars, or wars regulated from abroad. Post-Cold War conflicts in Africa have glinted a serious analysis of its reasons and consequences, at times very predisposed and reductionist, grounded on very diverse bases and approaches. Aside of series of civil wars, Africa have also experienced quite a number of recurrent border and inter-state conflicts.

However, the paper revealed that these lingering armed conflicts in the continent were only manage or resolve superficially, without addressing the root causes and their intensity notwithstanding. For instance, despite the intensity of Burundi conflict, the attention was only based on diplomatic involvements through concern agencies and state actors. These involvements or support concluded with the launching of War Crime Tribunals without giving any consideration to the actors involved in the conflict for the purpose of addressing the profound considerations to parties in the conflict. The tribunals also seem to have been envisioned for grueling people selected for punishment by the influential individuals rather than addressing the root cause of conflict which persist deeply and entrenched in the relevant societies. Therefore, is hard to conceive how the War Crimes Tribunal established in Rwanda assisted to promote uprightness and fairness to the condition created, for example, by imperialism and the de-colonisation process in Burundi and Rwanda, which was also not different in case of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

Similarly, result also show that the obstinate fratricidal conflict in South Sudan, where the mediation process was primarily erratic from 1990 and assumed by the Djibouti-based IGADD/IGAD. Regardless of the colonial influence on this conflict, it was hard-hitting for so long to obtain any form of political will on the part of various interventions body or agencies to achieve a long-lasting result in dealing with the deep roots of the conflict. Also, the East Africa sub-region, this is generally area where African Unity (AU) or the United Nations Organization placed efforts but with little success to prevent or manage conflict meaningfully outside philanthropic involvement or support. In West Africa sub-region, ECOWAS has involved in various peace-keeping processes through ECOMOG with little success, particularly the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone remained two major area or occasions in which ECOWAS leads peace-keeping operations with human capital and material capital backing or assisting as international community.

Consequently, records show that within the space of 1960 to 2020, the continent of Africa has uninterruptedly witnessed over 559 civil wars and social conflicts. In recent years predominantly in 2018, Africa witnessed an upsurge of civil wars from 18% in 2017 to 21%, and this represents one of the highest figures of social conflicts since 1946, with 21%. This also equaled the record of 2015 and 2016 respectively. In addition, there has been a broad escalation or increase with countries nurturing social conflict on their terrain. Though, the number of battle-related deaths owing to civil wars in the region was relatively lower compared to previous years, since 2012 which resulted to approximately 6,700 deaths. While non-state conflicts in the continent remain high for long period of time, however, the situation witnessed constancy in 2018 for the first time in ten years. Currently, the numbers of non-state conflicts in the continent remain staggered.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Despite all these efforts by various successive leaders and stake holders in promoting peace and security in the continent the questions remain; what will the future hold for Africa? Is sustainable peace and security in Africa attainable? And will these efforts be enough to eliminate conflict by 2063? Definitely yes! But we must put more efforts or do more. The much efforts will also depend on our capacity to involve in stiff shared thoughtful in positive direction that would enable us to inject flexibility, when necessary, viz.... There is no doubt that the existence of violence conflict and insecurity on the African continent is palpable and apparent, but all is not self-evidently depressed. In the previous years, there have been signs of the winds of change gusting through the continent. Africans can easily point to cases of efficacious conflict resolution and conveniently take advantage of

them. An important moment is now upon Africans and they cannot afford to circumvent them. The long-running argument on realizing sustainable peace and security in Africa is more like a marathon race. Therefore, implementing present agendas and initiatives must require resilience, commitment, capitals, and tolerance; possibly more tolerance than ever before. Africans must therefore set their minds and put their hands together to accomplish this imperative order for the continent. According to words of iconic late South African President Nelson Mandela, “It always seems impossible until it’s done.” Let Africans match on in this belief then to work strongly and reliably, towards achieving the goals for sustainable peace and security in the continent of Africa. We as Africa must place our priorities on the initiative ‘African solution to African problem’ as it concerns conflict prevention, management, resolution and transformation to fast-track the needed sustainable peace and development in the continent, of course, its achievable, if only the following are given utmost importance:

- i. The EU, global communities and national government must continue to reinforce their support and try as much as possible to join hand with AU to eliminate or eradicate conflict and insecurity in the continent of Africa
- ii. Constitutional Government must form the basis for running every affair of government in the continent of Africa through which, peace; security and good governance will be fellow passengers for the Africa we want
- iii. Africa leaders must as a matter of urgency launches Pan-African military Force to supplement state’s efforts in resolving conflict that occurs in the continent. This would not only act as a symbolic fire brigade, but it will help to reduce conflict or war in Africa
- iv. African leaders must also restate their commitments in terms of human and material capital, and also must be ready to prove the political will necessary to guarantee proper implementation of African solution to African problem initiative mostly as its relate to peace and security in the continent
- v. The full operationization of the African Governance Architecture must be given the desired precedence as APSA and AGA are two sides of one coin. While AGA emphases a wider issues on governance, APSA places stress on the mechanisms for conflict management, resolution, and peace-building in the continent
- vi. African leaders at all level should immediately make rigorous efforts to promote existing mechanisms and initiatives, building strong

substructure of government and feasible institutions to deal with teething problems of Africa mostly as it relates to conflict

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Author’s Contributions

Osimen Goddy Uwa: Participated in all experiments, coordinated the data-analysis and contributed to the writing of the manuscript.

Emeka Charles Iloh: Participated in all experiments, coordinated the data-analysis and contributed to the writing of the manuscript. Also advised on the nature of methodology.

Ethics

The paper adhered to ethical rules. The article is purely original and has not been published or submitted to other journal outlet for publication. The materials used are duly cited and referenced. The corresponding author confirms that other authors have read and approved the manuscript, hence no ethical issues involved at any stage.

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