Peace and Development in Africa: Prospects and Challenges

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Abstract
This paper provides a critical appraisal of continental peace and development in Africa. Since the formation of Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) in early 1960s, African states agreed to strengthen their relalationship at continental and regional levels. The primary aim was a drive for liberty. With most of African countries attaining independence, there was a shift to regional economic cooperation, trade and conflict issues. Organizations such as the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) emerged in order to address security issues and economic development. This is as a result of the cooperation of countries in specific regions. With growing leadership crises, conflicts have developed in various regions leading to political unrest in most countries. This has led to security issues being focal points of concern. As a result, peace agreements were signed and developmental activities being initiated. The paper examines Global and African peace and security architecture. The paper further assesses prospects that have arisen because of peace. It also analyzes challenges that arise due to peace initiatives and how they affect development in Africa. Particular attention is given to the crises in the Central African Republic, Rwanda, DRC Congo, Ivory Coast, Egypt, Chad Angola, Sudan, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, South Sudan, Uganda, and Somalia.
Keywords: conflict, challenge, development, peace building, and peace Prospects

1. Introduction

Peace research has taken centre stage in Africa during the last few decades. During this period, Africa has witnessed a large number of armed conflicts. There were attempts to resolve these conflicts through peace processes. This explains why this study has focused on peace and developments in Africa. The key research question concerns what challenges and prospects are expected because of peace for development in Africa. Studies on conflicts and conflict resolution in Africa reveal that they are connected to the state and conclude that African conflicts are related to the crisis of state and to unsuccessful state building processes. Currently conflict resolution and peace building in Africa have become very topical academic discourses. It is also due to the fact that conflicts negatively affect Africa's socio-economic and political development. This is in light with Mwajiru (2001) when he noted that features of Africa's political landscape are in many dysfunctional   and protracted social and political conflicts which have had negative consequences, including the interruption of the development and the diversion of scarce resources to the management of these conflicts.

Thus, conflict resolution and peace building processes are important in solving problems of conflicts in Africa to pave way for development. The development is skewed towards positive economic trends in many parts of Africa. The other side of development reflects a state that is well governed and is politically stable. However, with these prospects, corruption connected to natural resources, wealth, weak and divided opposition parties, youth unemployment, and inequality as a result of the revenues allocation threaten peace in the continent. Electoral violence, regionalization, ethnicity, and rebel movements sponsored by external or neighboring countries illustrate further threat to peace. Discovery of new energy resources pose as threats to peace in Africa.

2. Concept of peace building

Johan Galtung (1976) coined the term 'peace building' and developed the core concepts that are applied in peace building as illustrated in the table below:

Table 1: Core peace building concepts as developed by Johan Galtung

CONCEPT	DEFINITION
Negative peace	The cessation and/or absence of violence.
Positive peace	The absence of structural violence. The presence of social justice. The conditions that eliminate the causes of violence.
Indirect violence	Violence that is built into structures and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances. Structural violence accompanies and is an underlying cause of direct violence.
Structural violence	Manifestations of structural and cultural violence, leading to direct violence
Sustainable peace	Peace and processes towards it that address the root causes of violent Conflict

Source: Galtung (1976)

From the table above, peace building involves addressing and removing the root causes of violence, which are the structural and cultural violence that leads into direct violence. The goal of peace building is positive, sustainable peace. Structures should therefore be put in place to remove causes of wars. Consequently, in 2007, UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee defined peace building as strategies coherent and tailored to specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequence (UN, 2007)

All stakeholders including scholars, international organizations, and community groups incorporate these concepts in the ideas of peace building so that peace building is redefined in practical ways. UN established Peace building Commission (PBC) and the Peace building Fund (PBF) in 2006. These structures were put in place due to concerns over the aftermath of conflicts. They assist countries in post-conflict period through funding for political, governance, security, and economic reforms. However, Paris (2004) highlights on the limitations of peace building that focuses exclusively on electoral and economic reforms.

3. Development

Development is a concept, which is contested both theoretically and politically, and is inherently both complex and ambiguous. Recently it has taken on the limited meaning of the practice of development agencies, especially in aiming at reducing poverty and the Millennium Development Goals (Thomas, 2004). Growth and expansion of capitalism is the major characteristic of development. These relations are present in the global capital relocation. Here production is shifted from developed countries to developing countries. Moreover, the relations of power are skewed towards global distribution and accumulation of wealth in which developed countries monopolize. The developed countries enjoy a net gain in global trade at the expense of developing countries. This is because developing countries are no match for the planning and negotiating machinery of the developed world. This relation in development practice has been present in Africa since independence. This is as a result of economic and leadership crises. The economic management system was inherited from imperial powers. Africa's political structures reflect what was left behind by the departing colonial powers. These economic and political structures left behind by colonial powers have negatively affected Africa's freedom to create her own policies on development.

4. Peace prospects and development

Peace prospects that can be realized in Africa include the following: globalization, power sharing, regional integration, and democratization.

4.1 Globalization

Globalization is a process of advancement and increase in interaction among the world's countries. It is facilitated by progressive technological changes as well as interfacing of cultural practices. Globalization is an international institution which incorporates socio-cultural, economic and political processes. These processes are facilitated by policies of governments, and international agencies. It essentially seeks to enhance and deploy a country's economic, political, ideological, and military power. These aspects influence for competitive dominance of the world.

After the end of the Cold war, globalization has taken centre stage. Globalization leads to marginalization, economic reform, political reform, fragmentation, and integration. Not all these all processes are good. I will look at the processes that only lead to development. Hence, economic reform and political reform, and how they positively contribute to development are key. Peaceful environments in Africa have led to developed countries investing in Africa. It has also led to co-operation among governments, corporate sectors and civic societies share interests and combine resources for development. Another example of the effects of globalization is the foreign investment of money and businesses in various African countries. With the end of cold war, China has

taken a leading role in investing in Africa. UK, USA, and France have also emerged as strong actors. Other emerging actors are Japan, Israel, and India. By 2009, China's direct investment stock in Africa was 9.33 billion USD, USA's direct investment in Africa was 44.8 billion USD; and France's direct investment in Africa was 4.04 billion Euros. These countries are taking an increasing role as important investors and developmental partners across Africa. Their projects focus on developing transport and infrastructure as well as energy initiatives. However, they have also invested a lot of money in health and education projects

4.2 Power sharing

Africa is one of the most politically unstable and undemocratic continent of the world. Studies reveal that institutions that allow for higher levels of power sharing are usually stable and uphold democracy. The instrument of power sharing is used to end conflicts sparked by elections. These agreements form the basis for a political transformation process leading to new elections. These arrangements also lead to important reforms. At the same time, there are limitations connected to power sharing. Conflicts are rarely solved through negotiation, but instead are preserved. Conflict-prone Africa provides a hard test for determining how effective power sharing can be effected in various countries. Disputed elections lead to violence and tension between various ethnic groups. This leads to conflict, as it has been exemplified in Rwanda, Angola, Kenya, Zimbabwe, South Sudan, DRC Congo, and Ivory Coast. However, with peace building in these countries, the international community has successfully negotiated power sharing in countries like Kenya, Burundi, and Zimbabwe. This has been theorized to prevent the outbreak of violence. The major stakeholders are brought to table and discuss issues through diplomacy.

Decentralization is important in the vertical power sharing among various government structures. Political and administrative decentralization are the only constitutional solutions to help solve conflict, build peace, and protect minority communities. Decentralized governance generates participation that is more democratic, representative, and accountable. Democratically elected institutions give voters more opportunities to participate in the democratic process. Decentralization reduces corruption by increasing transparency and accountability of elected officials. The advantages of decentralization are of great importance.

In Kenya, power sharing has been successful. The judicial and independent boundaries and electoral commission are now independent. The power of the president has also been limited and the tenure of office restricted to two terms of 5 years per term. There are two levels of legislature: the senate and the national assembly. There are also two structures of government: the national government and county governments. Forty seven new counties have been devolved. The new constitution of Kenya was promulgated in 2010 and caters for these reforms. In Zimbabwe, the prospects are not as good as Kenya. Reforms have only been limited. Important areas such as devolution and the limitation of presidential power have never been addressed. In addition, the political clique has not changed much. Hence, these are threats to peace in Zimbabwe.

4.3 Regional integration as Peace prospect

Regional integration is one of the important measures in the fight against conflicts. It is also essential in building peace. It creates conditions of regionalism which are likely to lower the degree of conflicts (Hattne,1998).This is due to the fact that such integration change social economic status of a country's people. In addition, through regional integration ethnic tensions between groups disappear. Regional integration also creates conditions that are not favorable for the operations of warlords.

The various regional organizations in Africa, which include ECOWAS, COMESA SADC, EAC, and IGAD organize intergovernmental conferences. These conferences primarily focus on cooperation between member states. The cooperation mainly pivots on trade policy reforms. The policy reforms lead not only to lower import tariffs but also to reduced rates differences and the abolition of most non-tariff barriers for imports from the African countries. With implementation of these polices, there is further overall tariff reductions.

Generally, there is substantial reduction in the average level of protectionism, both towards external countries as well as within Africa itself. Regional trade substantially changes after formation of trading bloc. In addition, the increase that is realized is at the expense of trade with these regional countries. As a result, trade in different regions of Africa between members has been growing much faster than with non-members. However, with regional integration regions outside Africa also benefit. Internal and external trade liberalization leads to rapid rise in internal and external trade. According to Yeats (1998), the strong deviation is as due to the expected on the basis of efficiency considerations and comparative advantage. He attributes this to restrictive trade policies.

 Trade creation in Africa has become large due to peace in areas that were greatly affected by conflicts. This is demonstrated by remarkable internal and external trade liberalization in Africa. It has led to tremendous rise not only in intraregional trade but also in trade with developed countries. Studies by Diao and Somwaru (2000) shows that welfare among member countries of Africa is raised due to increased investment, production and consumption. These aspects have been realized in Africa. These effects of the regional trade have been positive and this is due to prevalence of peace in these regions.

4.4 Democratization

In the Africa, the period from the late 1980s through the 1990s to the present has been referred to as a period of

democratization. The period is referred to as second liberation of Africa. This implies that the process of nationalist struggles for independence during the 1950s and 1960s was the first wind of change and the first African liberation. The democratization process has taken place during the second liberation. A number of changes have characterized the period. They include the adoption of multi-party politics, multiparty elections, growth, and expansion of the civil society organizations.

The democratization process has been viewed as one of the important aspects in peace building and conflict resolution (Nnoli, 1998). Democratization eradicates negative aspects associated with conflicts. These aspects range from dictatorship tendencies, ethnicity to marginalization and oppression. Peace negotiation resolved that transition period to end with democratic multiparty elections. This then calls for establishment of new constitutions, which can ensure democratic functioning of the multiparty system. This has been demonstrated in Kenya. It paves way for free and fair elections. Politics of reconciliation should be part of the democratization process in order to avoid conflicts. This is characterized by good political leaders with vision, commitment, and democratic tendencies.

5 Challenges facing peace and development in Africa

Threats to strong peace in Africa arise from various reasons. The most common ones in Africa being the following: political systems, bad governance, regionalization and globalization, transition to democracy, climate change and new energy sources.

5.1 Political systems

After attainment of independence by African countries, the next wave for Africa is and it seems to run out of control. The major challenge between people's aspirations for democratic governance and determination leadership was emergence of a conducive environment for democratization. Most countries in Africa have the poor design of democracy. They militate their politics. In democratic countries, aspects socio-economic, religious, rural, urban, ethnic cultural, and support to the government are present. These aspects which are catalysts of development are absent in systems of various countries in Africa. In addition, the identities of ethnicity, religion, and region have dominated ideologies of political parties. These anomalies have contributed to conflicts. As a result political order has not been able to respond to societal challenges, and in the end conflicts intensified.

The emerging conflicts are caused by electoral violence. When election results are announced, some political leaders refuse to accept the election results after its announcement. In some circumstances serving heads of do not concede defeat. As a result, defeated or intimidated candidates incite their followers to participate in violent activities. This has been experienced in post election violence in Kenya, DRC Congo, Zimbabwe, and Ivory Coast. Incidents of electoral violence are not limited to the three African states. Countries such as Nigeria and Uganda have experienced violence in form of intimidation, harassment, and riots. The electoral violence reflects poor governance. This has evolved from colonial legacy. Destructive consequences of colonialism were due to the approach in administration by various colonial powers. The British had a policy of indirect rule while the French had the assimilation policy. These policies culminated in politics of divide and rule. Colonialists were involved in physical killing of leaders who could have become founding fathers of their independent nations. These actions affected Rwanda, Burundi, and DRC Congo, which became political orphans in the wave of decolonization.

5.2 Regionalization

A second type of security threat is linked to regionalization of armed conflict. Rebel movements are sponsored by external forces or neighboring countries. This has also been influenced by the colonial legacy. This has motivated conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi, DRC Congo and Uganda. The colonial powers created boundaries for African kingdoms. The colonial approach was contrary to African setting. The new borders integrated different ethnical groups within the same colonial territories .However; their integration in post colonial has been problematic since some tribes were distributed across national borders. For example, the Rwandan descents were distributed in different colonial territories. This has often led to violent conflicts in DRC Congo. The M23 rebel group in the DRC Congo receives support from Rwanda. The threats of ethnicity also arise internally in these countries. Ethnic diversity has been experienced in Sudan, South Sudan, Zimbabwe, and Kenya. Conflicts in these countries are not only related to ethnicity but also to self-determination.

 Africa is that is conflict free should be to appreciate our divides, but not colonial boundaries. Colonial boundaries led to conflicts in Africa. She is now geared towards economic interest to be exploited in order to develop Africa. The potential would be trade-link between Africa and other continents. The issue of saying that there are many landlocked countries in Africa is a false position. We would want to see a situation where Africa is land-linked, which is, in terms of resources, linked together. That is when we will truly discover the true identity of Africa.

5.3 Bad Governance

Bad governance has led to conflicts in Africa. This is in line with Chazan, (1999) when he notes that regime

evolution in post colonial Africa portrays cases of mismanagement, official pillaging, dictatorships, irresponsibility, vacillation and confrontation. Rwanda, Burundi, DRC Congo, Central Africa Republic, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Egypt, Libya, and Uganda are among African countries that have displayed poor leadership. Corruption, nepotism, exclusion, injustice, and unequal distribution of national resources are indicators of bad governance experienced in these countries. Bad governance leads to poverty and destroy social cohesion leading to violent conflicts. The conflict-generating political systems represent poor governance. Due to poor governance, there is inequitable social and economic system, leading to exploitation and economic inequalities. The critical issue for Africa today is to embrace democracy. This aspiration of the African states is the apparent determination of their democratic leadership style.

Due to lack of leadership element in Africa, the continent has persistently suffered in the confines of conflict. Leadership that is visionary should embrace in Africa. This type of leadership will be willing to fight the various ills that the continent has experienced over many years. The ills include corruption, bad governance, dictatorial rule, and staying in power forever. This leadership should have the capacity to control resources. If African leaders could mobilize the resources and use them adequately and involve their populations, and allow civil societies to grow and to flourish, Africa can progress in the right direction. All the problems on the African continent stem from bad governance. When effective governance replaces poor governance, there will be change and the continent will experience peace. With poor governance, resources are poorly distributed and the wealth of the continent is not shared among its people. Consequently, this is one of the root causes of conflict. When Africa is devoid of conflict, it becomes the greatest continent on the planet.

5.4 Climate change and new energy sources

Climate change and the discovery of new energy sources pose security threat to Africa. The two are interlinked with economic, social, and political concerns. They negatively affect strong peace. Variations in temperature and rainfall are the main environmental causes of conflict. This is because in pastoral regions of Africa and there are severe droughts and floods which are as a result of change in climate. It directly affects national economies, governance, and development. This leads to conflicts in these areas. The pastoralists and farmers compete over scarce pastures and water resources. This has been experienced in arid and semi arid lands of Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, and Uganda. Conflicts in agricultural areas have also increased in Mali and Chad near Sahel region that experiences shorter rain seasons. Heavy rainfall has led to floods and landslides resulting in the destruction of cultivated land and inhabited areas. This has led to low food production and has affected development. This has been experienced in Kenya. Further threats to peace arise from the drying up of lakes and rivers, as have been experienced in Kenya and areas around Lake Chad.

The demand for minerals and especially petroleum has resulted in hunt for land and exploitation of the resources in Africa. The initiative has led to the discovery of oil and gas primarily in Southern, eastern, and Western Africa. Conflicts both internally externally arise. Countries that face this threat are Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Namibia, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, and Ghana. Katanga region of DRC Congo, which is rich gold deposits, has experienced violence. The *boko haramu* in Nigeria has caused instability due to oil deposits in northern Nigeria

5.5 Transition to democracy

Conflicts in Africa are not a product of are a result of weakness of states to transit effectively to democracy. It is within this background that conflicts in Africa are best understood. The transition from the colonial to the independent states in late 1950s and 1960s, in Nigeria, Rwanda, Burundi, the Congo, and Uganda all failed this transition and this failure led to internal conflicts in these countries. After transition from colonial powers, Africans followed undemocratic regimes to democracy. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda, conflicts in Burundi, Sudan, Somalia, Egypt, South Sudan, and DRC Congo were due to the failure in managing transition. Uganda and Kenya kept the one-party system and this increased political conflicts.

Most African countries have experienced violent conflicts in the recent past. In these countries, the willingness of combatants to shift allegiances between conflict parties and rebel movements has not been possible (Debos, 2008). Violent gangs attack people and, burn down houses in villages. This leads to loss of life and displacement of people from their inhabited lands.

5.6 Internationalization of conflicts

Compared to other continents, Africa is the most hit by internationalization of conflicts. Shyaka (2003) has observed that for the total conflicts, which affected the World between 1945 and 1990, this degree is about 70% for Africa while the average for the World was about 40%. The internationalization of the conflict in the Africa is due to the following factors: economic profits by foreign actors; cultural rivalries; identity based proximities; and geopolitical competition by foreign powers. Internationalization is escalated by the opportunity for external forces to penetrate different countries of following their previous record of colonization. The other aspect is exploitation of African resources through investment. The colonial and investment aspects are aimed at promoting ideologies from these foreign countries.

France leads as a foreign power in involving herself African conflicts. This is because African conflicts are

common in former colonies of France. In light of this, studies conducted by Doumelin, (1999) revealed that in the three decades that followed independences, France alone launched more than 70 military operations in Sub Saharan African states. Twelve of these operations were launched in the Great Lakes Region (DRC, Burundi, and Rwanda) and six in Rwanda alone between 1990 and 1994. Internationalization of conflicts undermines international efforts in building peace in Africa. This is why it was hard for the international community to build peace in Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Central African Republic.

There is a lot of foreign interference in African conflicts, both intra-state and inter-state. This is because of foreign interests in Africa. They do this through integration that includes infrastructural integration and economic integration. They look for markets within the continent. They also source for goods and services and for producing them and distribute them both locally and internationally. In doing so, they fuel violence amongst Africans in order for them to benefit by exploiting natural resources.

6. Conclusion

Insecurity and instability in Africa are inter linked. They are linked to the weakness of states as sovereign powers. They are also linked to the limited ability of state structures to maintain social and political order. If governance and leadership does not promote democracy, territorial integrity cannot be ensured. Territorial integration leads to diversification of infrastructure, business development, and wealth creation. In addition, the continent's rich natural resources attract developed countries to exploit these new resources. In the process, they encourage conflicts threatening peace and development in African.

Hence, the major challenge to regional peace and security relates to the issue of political commitment. When political leaders realize that their ability to exert state power is governed by weak institutional structures, capacities, and infrastructure; they turn to their communities for protection and ignore regional cooperation. In the absence of regional consciousness, individual interests undermine regional politics. Thus, community activities are increasingly used by politicians to demonstrate their role as legitimate rulers of sovereign states. They use their communities to defend their political interests. The way in which community communities commit crimes are celebrated. This has been witnessed in Kenya, DRC Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, and South Sudan. This has led to outbreak of violence and conflicts in various regions of Africa.

Africa and the rest of world are involved in peace building and security issues of Africa. They consider both military and non-military elements of insecurity. These elements include structural problems that often are at the base of riots, rebellions, and violence. Current regional organizations in Africa take a leading role in peace building. This deepened regional integration and led to increasing security potential of regional cooperation in Africa. Indeed, it has strengthened and increased participation of civil society. This leads to regionalization, which counterbalance the interest-driven nature of regionalization, and lead to the better handling of underlying interests and greater emphasis on addressing human security needs and concerns. The regional organizations of ECOWAS, SADC, COMESA, EAC, and IGAD are significant as political, economic and security actors. Bi-regional relations are important as they improve African relationship with Europe, America, and Asia.

7 Recommendations:

Arising from the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

7.1 It is necessary for the international community support and encourages progress by regional processes, which are more democratic and effective forms of integration that will give primacy to development and human security. The primacy should be able to respect the principle of responsibility and mutual benefit. These conditions will further develop and exploit the potential of regional cooperation in order to promote self-sustaining peace and security in Africa.

7.2 Most of the conflicts and violence in Africa occurred in the former colonies of France. This is due to the assimilation policy, which France applied during her colonization process of Africa. France should therefore take a leading role in peace building in Africa and be responsible for reconstruction of conflict torn countries in Africa.

7.3 Regional integration emphasizes on socio-economic aspects of integration. The other aspects of political integration and democratic socio-economic developmental Africa have not been incorporated. It is recommended that all aspects mentioned including participation, social justice, equality, eradication of poverty and divisive and segregative ideologies among the people should be incorporated.

7.4 The purpose of this study was not to try to account for every possible factor influencing peace and development in Africa. Power sharing is one of the factors that influence peace and. Power sharing institutions greatly affect regime change and the formation of political parties. They are critical in determining which set of institutions likely to provide democracy and stability for the states of Africa. Power sharing should be established as an important institution in conflict stricken countries.

7.5 Regional organizations have played an important role in peace building in Africa. These organizations include SADC, COMESA, ECOWAS, EAC, and IGAD. The strengthening and consolidation of these regional

organizations should be carried out within the context of the strengthened and consolidated African Union. Strengthened regional organizations will minimize AU's dependency on UN in conflict resolution and peace building mechanisms.

7.6 This study has established that discovery of new energy resources is a threat peace and development in Africa. As exploitation of natural resources become tangible, super powers invade Africa for the purpose of acquiring these resources. They cause economic, social, and political instability in order get these resources. It is therefore recommended that Super powers should desist from fuelling conflicts in Africa.

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