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# An Alternative Approach on Ethnic Conflicts Resolution in Africa<sup>1</sup>

Jean Roger Edgard Bagamboula

## 0. Introduction

The main purpose of this article is to show that Ethnic conflicts in Africa aren't caused by any irrationality, there are caused by real objective factors which may be found on different levels. For analytic purpose, I have divided my methods in four dimensions: The national dimension, sub-regional, continental dimension and the international one. Any longtime solution on Ethnic conflict in Africa should be based on reforming these 4 dimensions.

## 1. Reforms at National Level

### 1.1. Political Aspects

We believe that it is only through national dialogue and concertation that response on the nature and form of institution, which encourages the mass participation, could be found as stated by the Lincoln 'Democracy is the power of people for the people and by the people'<sup>2</sup>. However, if democracy seems to be the prime condition toward the resolution of African ethnic conflicts, it should reflect the African realities by including some aspect of universal values. African should not copy the western model blindly, as it was the cases in 1960s, but should develop its own constitution or political system based upon its unique culture, history, and experiences (Furley 1995: 328).

At first, this process of democratization should establish the multiparty party system, this is so because in this system, the opposition can make constructive criticisms on the performance of the government, thereby helping to ensure a good governance. By contrast in one party states, where organized opposition does not exist, there is no opportunity for open discussion of the actions and measures of the government, so the government and the public do not benefit from responsible

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<sup>1</sup> This Article is a revised version of the chapter 10 of my doctoral thesis Presented in 1997 at Kinki University, Graduate school of law, Osaka, Japan.

<sup>2</sup> The Gettysburg Address is a speech by US President Abraham Lincoln delivered during American Civil War on the afternoon of Thursday, November 19, 1863, at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery in Pennsylvania.

criticism (Rupesinghe(ed.) 1999:110)<sup>3</sup>. And also, in the multiparty system is that national differences can be compromised in parliament. In one party states, no such opportunity may exist, as the only and ruling party has the sole voice in national affairs (Ibid:110). Government of collision, for instance, seems to be one of the best means of finding national unity. The application of political consensus. Compromise and tolerance is also very important

In Nigeria for instance, during the second republic, many constitutional devices have been installed in order to resolve the question of regionalism and ethnic conflict. The result of this process was very encouraging because we saw a change in party system and vote behavior. But what has lacked in Nigeria was the democratic political culture. The political elites couldn't find compromise based on mutually accepted consensus. Arend Lijhart, in his book, - democracy in plural societies- argues that elite's cooperation is a very crucial element in consociational democracy. He states: consociational democracy entails the cooperation by segmented leaders in spite of the deep cleavages separating the segments.... elites must therefore continually perform a difficult balancing act (Rabushka and Shepsle 1972:63).

Second, it should deal with decentralization. In fact, the fear and resentment which groups have of the current state system in Africa., as well as their tendency to view separation as a solution, can be tempered if the state is viewed as intermediate institution rather than the institution of final resort to work out problems, as it has been to date. by transferring some powers to the local governments, this will encourage local initiatives, and also relieve the burden of the central Government. It may be better he to adopt a very loose federal system of governance or a confederation. In some case where the minority groups are asking for recession.

The confederation type is the one which is rooted in indigenous African political culture. It guarantees a greater amount of autonomy, and it was this autonomy that allowed the various ethnic groups to cultivate and maintain their own distinct identities (Ayittey 1992:328). Thirdly, it should deal with the recognition of Ethnic Identities. In fact, this question is one of the most controversial issues in Africa. It is controversial because people recognize their ethnic identity in private, but in public pretends to value most the national identity it is like having two identities on the same level is wrong, but when it is about to advance their political interests, many politicians use their ethnic identity or base to get some supports. So, at the end, we have ethnic tensions and so on. Because of this hypocrisy, the diversity of ethnic identity which should be consider as a positive heritage

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<sup>3</sup> Conflict resolution is conceptualized as the methods and processes involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of conflict and retribution. Committed group members attempt to resolve group conflicts by actively communicating information about their conflicting motives or ideologies to the rest of the group.

becomes a negative one. A handicap to the fostering of national unity. A mechanism must be found to legitimize ethnic identity in Africa without making it incompatible with the formation of a larger unit of identity based on mutuality and beneficial collaboration (Rupensinghe and Tishkov 1996:46).

Lastly, it should deal with Respect of Human Rights. Ethnic groups are not political entities but they can be politicized for different reasons to serve different interests, including and excluding the interests of the ethnic group itself. While conflict between ethnic groups is not inevitable, given that different ethnic groups can live together in peace and share common interests, ethnic conflicts may arise out of uneven distribution of wealth and resources and unequal sharing of power, regardless of the kind of political system (Beetham 1995:192)<sup>4</sup>. The respect for general human rights is one of the first measures to combat ethnic conflicts because individuals from different ethnic origins will be treated as equal citizens who have equal rights before the laws (ibid:192).

## **1.2. Economic Aspects**

First, in many African' countries, socio-economic conditions are favorable to conflicts development because of economic development policies; most of them are based on the export of agricultural and mineral raw material needed in the industry of developed countries. This extreme dependence of the continent as a whole on external forces has limited the possibility of developments from within, and also gives Africa a certain uniformity. So, nearly all states have failed to affect the developments which they promised would transform the lives of ordinary people (Nyong'o (ed.) 1987:40-41).

Second, they should deal with economic and institutional development for a rational integration. Africa states should try to develop local areas and give them real power in order to participate effectively in the management of conflicts. This is so because in the distribution of budgetary resource sharing and responsibilities, the economic policy of most African states has been largely urban- oriented, reflecting the polarization of economic and political power in the urban areas. At the same time, institutional capacity at the local government level has been allowed to remain extremely poor, with minimal attention from the central government and the donor community (Deng et al. 1996:104-110). Nowadays with people political rise, and the effect of economic restructuration, this contradiction is easily exploitable by the local politicians by generating the

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<sup>4</sup> David Beetham is a social theorist who has made extensive contributions in the fields of how the subject of human rights impacts on contemporary politics and on the discipline of political science. This volume assesses the role of human rights in political theory, international law and international relations and in relation to the politics of different regions of the world.

feeling of sub-nationalism. Local governments without a resilient institutional capacity could not provide effective avenues for channeling resource claims, with imminent danger of the fragmentation of the national political-economic system (ibid:104-110).

To avoid any political instability, there should be a clearly defined devolution of responsibilities to each level of government -local, state, and central- based on ability to carry out effectively the attendant functions. Second such an assignment of responsibilities, according to the so-called principle of subsidiarity, should be supported by well-defined and stable sources of funds. To the extent possible, the lower levels of government should generate their own resources from quasi-automatic or intergovernmental transfers on stable and clearly identified bases. Third, the management of local government affairs, including finance, should be supported strongly, including personnel training and the development of suitable system (ibid:104-110).

Thirdly, they should promote the policy of Privatization. In fact, the politics of state hegemony over economic activities had brought collapse and encouraged the ethno-politicization of African society. Therefore, to remedy this situation, there is a need to privatization which is also urged by the IMF (international monetary fund) and other international financial institutions.

We do recognize this necessity because we believe that it will ease state's burden related to the mass demand of employment and also foster economic competition which is an important factor to creativity and dynamism. However African states should pay attention to some problems related to this process, like: the creation of equal and favorable conditions for all the people willing to accede to the privatization funds and establish strong institution able to manage the program properly.

If African states fail to do that we will see private economic sector dominated by the dominant political group and foreigners and also the policy shift is in many cases occurring at a time when large numbers of politicized employees are being cut from the public enterprises, the civil service., and the military. These employees, who will have to find alternative employment in traditional agriculture and the informal sector, will probably provide a fertile breeding ground for organizers of zero-sum demands, exploiting ethnic, racial, and other forms of identity (ibid:104- 110).

In this process of privatization, attention should be paid to some social field such as education and welfare which, as basic human needs should be free because the great part of African mass are still poor and can't afford to pay the school and welfare fee themselves. The control of government power is still the primary source of accumulating wealth and of new class formation. Therefore, control of state power becomes a violent and bitter struggle. Claude Ake states: A desperate struggle to win control of state power ensues since this control means for all practical purposes being all powerful and owning everything. Politics becomes warfare- a matter of life and death<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> *West Africa* 1981/May/25, pp.1162-1163, London: West Africa Publishing Company Limited.

### **1.3. National Reform on Peace Making and Peace Keeping Policy**

Process of conflict resolution at national level should be integrated with the sociocultural aspect. The problem in Africa is that conflict resolution process at the national level does not reflect the cultural practice of African people.

Firstly, "National Elders' Peace Committees" should be established. The observation of traditional African society shows to us that the elder people were the most respected people. Through the use of their knowledge, they came to deal with many conflicting situations

This role made them the natural winner of legitimacy. That was the natural peace-making body in traditional Africa. Even at present day, African people still have a high esteem for the elders. When an elder die in Africa, it is like burning of library, which illustrates well the African people's special consideration of the elders.

So, Joan burke introduce her report on conflict among the Kongo people of lower RDC where conflicts are experienced as a group crisis rather than simply as an individual or interpersonal issue. If the conflict is not resolved directly, either party may, in time, invite a mutually acceptable third party to serve as a mediator (not an arbitrator) to assist in reaching a resolution. The weight of respect owed by the younger to the elder makes direct mediation inappropriate. The younger is required to initiate the resolution process, no matter who has committed a socially recognized wrongdoing, but eventually the concern of all who are involved is the reestablishment of harmonious relationships.

If mediation in either horizontal or vertical conflicts fails to bring about resolution, the matter will be referred to the clan palaver, where the community as a body seeks to find a way to amend the broken relationship before it creates wider division. The palaver proceeds slowly toward consensus by wells-practiced steps.

The chief or his chosen representative acts as facilitator and postpones his own contribution until the time is ripe. This is equally true across west Africa, where the chief may make recommendations, assign blame, apply sanctions, assess payments. and define the final settlement. The palaver is an all- community hearing that is meant to ensure equal justice to all parties. As the Basa of Nigeria say, "The palaver drum is not beaten only on one side." It takes two hands two complementary beats-that is, resolution requires rituals involvement of the two sides (Augsburger 1992:211-212)<sup>6</sup>. This shows that African people have rich and effective tradition of conflict resolution and that this is toward peaceful live than violence. However, the question remains to see

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<sup>6</sup> This addresses different cultural conflict patterns and models of conflict resolution. The book presents a way to understand how our own and other cultures' responses to conflict are formed through our cultural myths, history and values.

if this rich tradition may be adapted in the context of new nation-states. The traditional approach needs to be reformed with some new dimensions. At the national level, an institution of conflict prevention, composed by elders of each region could be established. The role of this institution could be to mediate conflicting situations related to ethnic group claims and discrimination based on ethnic belonging. We believe that because of the respect the elders carry, and because of the large popular adhesion this institution could play a preventive role.

Second, each African state has a “National Inter Ethnic Peace Keeping Forces”. In fact, in order to prevent ethnic confrontation, a special peace keeping force incorporated in the national army, may be established at a national level. This force should be constituted by soldiers recruited on ethnic or regional criteria, this force can be a part of AU (African Union) peace keeping force.

#### **1.4. Constitutional Reforms**

The constitutional amendments or reforms if needed and permitted by the constitution should be done in order to regularize structural and institutional relations in proper ways in order to avoid conflicts. This is so because we consider that because of the inability to respect the presidential mandates, presidential elections period is source of political instability. So, in any process of conflict resolution, constitutional reform or amendment is of great importance. In our view, constitution is an ensemble of principles and norms, translated into juridical terms and which serve to establish pacific sociopolitical relations. And also establish strong institutions.

Constitutional reforms should deal with the questions of presidential election formula. In most African states, it doesn't reflect the sociological reality. This is so because most presidents may come from the majority group or the dominant group and this pride may hurt the pride of minority groups especially in the case where they use to select a king. To avoid this situation of frustration, we think that a process of presidential election based on a rotative principle may be of great use in order to foster the feeling of national unity.

They may decide that candidates to a national election be selected from one state or region. In this case, all the parties may be allowed to present their candidates. If such a process could succeed, it presents two positive elements. First, it could assure the minority groups that they are not excluded in the process of nation building. Second it could accelerate the process of forming a nation because these parties could realize the need of promoting the regional branches.

#### **1.5. Educational Reforms**

The African state education system should be reformed in order to respond to the real needs of their societies. The education program should include the following aspects. Firstly, the promotion of ethnic culture and language studies. Second, the construction of inter-ethnic cultural exchange

centers. Thirdly, studies of ethno-development. Lastly, the introduction of compulsory educational system.

## **2. Reforms at the Sub-Continental Level**

The realities have demonstrated that because of the nature of African states system. Ethnic conflicts have some serious impacts on the political stability of neighboring countries therefore, it is important that at the regional level, proper preventive measures be introduced. These measures could be in the installation of regional institutions in which integrated policies, to deal with regional problems could be formulated. Regional grouping to foster political and economic cooperation, including coordination of economic policies, collective self-resilience for joint regional development and mobilization to deal with peculiar regional problems created and strengthened.

### **2.1. Sub Regional Political Reforms Aspects**

The democratization process should be encouraged at the regional level through the creation of democratic forum where the political leaders may cooperate in search of peaceful solutions. The creation of a supra-state regional structure, in which the various groups in the region have a say but which is capable of dealing with problem that cannot be dealt with at the state level, could have a salutary effect on the conflicts between the state and the various groupings within it (Rupesinghe and Tishkov 1996:47).

This natural space will give ethnic groups a larger vision of regional identity. Creating a regional framework with a move toward regional integration could permit the relaxation of strict boundary demarcation, allowing freedom of movement and interaction between peoples it could reduce the pressure for the creation of new independent states by disaffected groups. Since there would be a new regional forum to redress their grievances or address their interest and rights without their being forced to resort to secession (ibid:47).

The concept of regional identity arising from a vision of regional integration could create a less threatening, consociational process where all the actors in the region could be engaged in building a more equitable and peaceful social contract that could lead to mutually enriching relationships (ibid:47). Regional identity would not be an end in itself but a step in a transition to more inclusive identities.

### **2.2. Sub Regional Economic Reforms Aspects**

Already, some encouraging initiatives have been made like the creation in 1975 of the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West Africa States) by the treaty of Lagos as an integrative and cooperative venture among the member states which seeks to reduce the dependence of



member -states on their former colonial metropolis and on other highly industrialized nations; to promote trade between member states; to create a free trade area, and a customs union, having a common external tariff; and to promote cooperation and development in the fields of transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, monetary and financial questions, social and cultural matters (Ohaegbulam 1990:250). In 1980 there emerged the SADCC (Southern African Development Coordinating Conference) among the specific aims of the organization are: Firstly, economic liberation of member states through regional and coordinated efforts; secondly, reduction of economic dependence of the republic of south Africa or on any external state or group of states; thirdly promotion and assurance of the strength and survival of member- states as well as the basic needs of their citizens; fourthly, the coordination of the transport systems and industrial development of member states and lastly part of the political aim of the organization is the termination of apartheid and white minority rule in South Africa. Each of member state is assigned a specific field of research and action and also SADCC Members hold one annual mandated conference with invited guests to discuss SADCC's program, goals achievements and problems and to seek mutual understanding and ways of improving the organization's performance (ibid: 251).

### **2.3. Reform on Peace Making and Peace Building at Sub continental level**

The humanitarian intervention at the sub-continental level should also first focus on peaceful mediation. The process of the mediation should be the continuation of the national one. This means, a parallel mediation institution composed of the elders' regional heads of states should be established and work in collaboration with the national one. In case of the aggravation of the situation, a peace keeping force, composed by the keeping corps of each state could then intervene.

## **3. Reforms at the Continental Level**

### **3.1. The Political Aspects**

Our assumption is that the future of Africa resides in the philosophy of Pan-Africanism. For that purpose, a reconsideration of this concept should be initiated under the direction of AU.

It is obvious to note that at the when other countries more developed than African states are committing themselves to strong unity in the form of greater continental organization like the EC and the APEC. African unity is sacrificed in the name of territorial nationalism.

At the Kampala conference, the secretary general of the AU Dr. Salim ahmed salim, noted what he termed -the emergence of new geo-political balance of forces, as well as a new international economic order that could further marginalize Africa. Concern over marginalization have prompted

the AU, at the level of African heads of states and governments, to issue the declaration that underlines a new determination to further democratize African society, resolve conflict situations, foster sub-regional cooperation, and accelerate socioeconomic growth and development. The declaration state in part: "We realize at the same time that the possibility of achieving the objectives we have set will be constrained as long as atmosphere of lasting peace and stability does not prevail in Africa. We therefore renew our determination to work together towards the peaceful and speedy resolution of all conflicts in our conflicts. The resolution of conflicts will be conducive to the creation of peace and stability thus releasing expenditures on defense and security and direct them as additional resources for socioeconomic development. We are equally determined to make renewed efforts to eradicate the root cause of the refugee problem. It is only through the creation of stable conditions that Africa can fully harness its human and material resources and direct them to development (AU Declaration 1990)<sup>7</sup>.

### **3.2. Reconceptualization of the State Sovereignty and self-determination.**

First, the concept of state sovereignty undermines his action. In the actual situation, it will suffice for any state to claim this right in order to paralyze the action of the AU. Secondo, by limiting the rights of self-determination within the limits of colonial states, the AU seems to look over some rights of minority groups. Therefore, by considering the fact that states in Africa are controlled by the dominant ethnic groups, the AU should establish a kind -sovereignty pact- in which matters concerning the treatment and security of minority peoples are directly under the jurisdiction of AU committee of ethnic problems. The role of this committee is to set- up a general guideline for the promotion of peaceful relations between the states and diverse ethnic groups in the AU and the realization of minority groups self-determination within the limits of existing nation states if needed. The UN should supervise the application of agreement reached between the state and the region on internal self-determination.

We realize that the AU should deal also with the leaders of each state's political parties in establishing a continental code of behaviors and ethics of political parties.

The installation of some kind of- political pact between the AU and all the political parties before the elections. In this pact, the AU will establish a code of conduct in collaboration of all the registered political parties which will become the signatories of this code. So, during the election, in case of any violation, a judgment will be hammered by the AU observers instead of the national

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<sup>7</sup> Declaration of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity on the Political and Socioeconomic situation in Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the world, July 1990.

election committee which is often subject of controversy.

### **3.3. The Socioeconomic Aspects at the Continental Level**

In our view, AU should work in close cooperation with African governments in order to integrate socioeconomic plan. Those plan should be completed gradually.

Actually, some examples already exist. For example, in the critical area of nutrition, an economic summit in Lagos, Nigeria in 1980 the AU adopted a Lagos plan of action which, among other things, endorsed a regional food plan for Africa drawn up by African agricultural ministries in 1978. The plan gave priority to the importance of producing more food for the continent so as to ensure food-self-sufficiency and meet the nutritional needs of all inhabitants of the continent (Keller and Rothchild 1996:46)<sup>8</sup>.

This kind of initiative necessitate from the African states not only a sense of initiative but also a considerable financial capacity and organizational. However, the reality is that African nations government do not have enough money to support the process.

### **3.4. AU Peace Making and Peace Building Approach**

The AU mediation should reflect African culture and tradition remodeled to our modern time. An institutionalized organ of former or elder head of states or politicians should be installed in order to play a non-politicized and dynamic role in conflict resolution. The AU committee could then work in close collaboration with the national and sub regional committees. The management of the conflict at their preliminary stage should be tackled at the national committee which regularly informs the sub regional and the AU committees on the evolutions of their mediation. In conformity to this, a joint committee should request necessary assistance to the sub-regional or AU committees.

What is important in this process is first: the active participation of the respected common African elders.

The second problem is the question of partiality. The problem is how to avoid claims of impartiality? In our logic, the best means is to have a political or social contract between all the political parties and all the mediator organs at all levels before the presidential elections and during all the presidential mandate period.

This pact should be signed and celebrated in traditional way including the sacred invocation and presence of African. ancestors. The realization of such traditional practice will psychologically

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<sup>8</sup> With Africa in a period of rapid change, its leaders are faced with both rethinking old notions of state sovereignty and establishing new guidelines governing when and how international actors should intervene in domestic conflicts.

accommodate political leaders to African ancestors and thus remind that their actions are judged not only by the common peoples but also by our ancestors which the actual African people consider as god.

This mode of mediation would constitute a natural development and institutionalization of Africa's traditional and contemporary methods of conflict management, which emphasize the use of elders and statesman as mediators instead of adjudicators. While combining individual flexibility with organizational leverages (AU Declaration 1990). It will also represent a proud application of the traditional African conception of a family, village or clan elder intervening in a-palaver- not to apportion blame, but to prevent bitter recriminations, so the jarred sensitivities, and seek compromise, giving the disputants the benefit of his wise and perceptive statesmanship the stable environment for negotiation derived largely from the respect accorded to him as an elder.

Further, this method of organizational intervention would facilitate continuous, consistent, and intensive mediation in regional conflicts. Most important, it could insulate the mediation process from the dynamics of regional politics by functionally separating the role of mediator from the role of legitimizer of any outcome of the mediation process.

It would therefore ease the burden of AU. Concerning the peace keeping process, the formula will be to form in each country 50 soldiers of different ethnic groups; if all the AU member states submit to this formula, we will have 2750 soldiers formed for the same purpose.

The second stage will be to continue their formation; at this stage we think that the cooperation of the UN or the great powers through this organization will be in political and military field for the regional peace and security. But, to give this force a real meaning, there is a need to promote a regional pact on sovereignty. In this pact, states will delegate their sovereignty on security matters- ethnic conflict- to a regional force.

#### **4. Reforms at the International Level**

In the preceding sections, we have elaborated some prospects of resolution from national, sub-regional and regional level. At the present level of African states, it is difficult to see a stable prospect of conflict resolutions if the reform envisaged by these states are not followed by any adjustment and assistance at international level because African states are still too weak. The only efficient source of external assistance in waging peace in Africa would be the United Nations. It has the expertise in all aspects of conflict management.

It has the global mandate, the legitimacy, the continuity or staying power, and the political strength to gain adherence to agreements. While the United Nation can insulate reluctant external powers from direct intervention in conflicts in remote corners of Africa, logistic and other material assistance from these powers such as air transportation for troops, supplies, and equipment could

be channeled through the UN system and thereby made more acceptable to all shades of African opinion (Keller and Rothchild 1996:48).

#### **4.1. Reformulation of the UN Political Approach on Conflict resolutions**

Together with the AU, the UN should encourage flexible application of the principle of internal self-determination. More precisely, it could give it legal expertise to define in proper way the institutional relations between different states or regions. This process of conceptual approach should also include other substantive principles that may be used to govern various situations of conflicts; for instance, basic human needs of identity and recognition, popular choice and decision making through open and fair referendum and elections, popular participation in governance, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and foreign powers interventions. These principles can be useful in limiting the scope of conflicts and defining the formulas for managing and solving them. Such principles have already been suggested by the conference on security and cooperation in Africa (Smock 1993:250-251)<sup>9</sup>. Largely in emulation of the standards set by the conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

Standards and codes of conduct have been vital to whatever stability exists in the African regional system, but they will be crucial when the purpose is to stabilize and channel changes into legitimate and predictable directions (Keller and Rothchild 1996:252).

#### **4.2. Reformulation of the UN Peace Keeping Approach**

First, un peace-keepers are not involved in enforcement operations. To be effective they rely on the consent and cooperation of the parties themselves.

If one or more of these parties decides to escalate the violence, there is little that the un can do to stop this from happenings (ibid:255). this principle needs to be reviewed. We agree that un peace keeping force should be a pacific intervention through what Zartman succinctly calls a cooperative security process (ibid:255).

A good solution should be found in order separates conflicting parties, to protect the civilians and to protect the civilians and to secure the refugee camps. If these three roles are not properly assumed, the international peace keeping force will lose their legitimacy to African common people

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<sup>9</sup> During the past decade or so, Africa has been beset by an extraordinarily high number of wars. Indeed, some two to three million people died because of Africa's warfare in the 1980's alone. That heavy burden of war, most of it originating internally, has been accompanied by frequent external involvement, both in terms of military intervention and through efforts to promote conflict resolution, usually by mediation.

especially, when facing genocide, this force prefers to leave or to nothing at all as it was in Rwanda. Denouncing this fact, Dr. Salim Salim the AU secretary general stated: ...This decision is all the more regrettable coming as it does at a time when efforts are also being made by the AU and the leaders of the region to secure a ceasefire and bring an end to the massacres in the country ... .

I'm particularly disappointed that this unfortunate decision to abandon the people of Rwanda had been taken in spite of the appeal from Africa to the security council to maintain an effective UNAMIR in the country (Ryan 1990)<sup>10</sup>.

#### **4.3. Increase of the un role in The African states development process**

Because of the poverty, Africa states have a lot of faith in the un as the major actor to serve to preserve international peace and security and to promote world-wide economic and social development. They have worked within and through the organization to promote such developments, preferring multilateral aid channeled through the organization to bilateral aid which often is a Trojan Horse (Africa Rights 1995:1101-1103).

#### **4.4. Increasing the un role in coordinating the Action of Super powers**

Positive mediation may be played by super-powers, the Angola conflict provides us good example. On December 13, 1990, representatives of the MPLA, the UNITA, Portugal, the Soviet Union, and the united states met at the state department, agree on a peace plan agreement.

On may 1,1991, the Estoril Accords, were initialed by MPLA and UNITA representatives. They provided for a cease-fire and a settlement to the civil war (Smock 1993:208-215). This positive mediation has been possible through the coordination of the UN security council.

### **Conclusion**

There so, as you may see, Ethnic conflicts or conflicts in Africa are prompted by factors like injustice, discrimination, deprivation and so on. Therefore, there is a need, an emergency to solve this alarming issue other way it will destabilize peace and stability not only in Africa but the global society. And rethinking these four dimensions should be the priority of people interested on world peace and prosperity.

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<sup>10</sup> United Nations is an organization of states. As such it can be expected to represent the interests of its members and uphold a state centric view of international politics. For this reason, it has been suggested that the organization cannot respond positively to ethnic conflicts within states, or across state borders. However, since such ethnic conflicts can be a threat to international peace and security and to internationally accepted norms of behavior, the UN cannot always remain indifferent.

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