CHAPTER 1

Conflit Management: A theoretical perspective

AFRICA
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CONFLICT MANAGEMENT (RESOLUTION): THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Statement Of The Problem:

Africa was one of the last areas to be freed from colonialism. Its long colonial exploitation has bequeathed enormous problems of state-building and national unity. The agenda of most African states, especially those of Sub-Saharan Africa, is to promote rapid economic development, ensure distributive justice, achieve national unity and settle the long mitigated territorial and domestic conflicts which are rooted in the continent. These priorities and programs associated with industrialization and modern civil liberal culture, have to be achieved in societies having strong roots in traditionalism, social distance and differences between the ruling elite and the masses.

The fundamental problem of Africa is to evolve resilient and flexible political and economic systems to cater to the imperative needs of the continent. In the absence of a meaningful intra-regional cooperative framework, it is difficult to conceive the emergence of regionalism. Although regionalism seems to be an absolute necessity for Africa, of late it is becoming the chief concern of African nations, especially in the context of fast deteriorating situation in Sub-Saharan Africa and the changes occurring in the international scenario. Diverse political and economic systems tend to create problems for the effective functioning of the African states' system of security. For the success of regionalism, this situation requires some minimum degree of consensus among the inter-African ruling elite's because, the task of conflict management becomes all the more difficult when perceptions of the ruling
elite’s are mutually antagonistic, and often their legitimacy is subject to challenges of sorts.¹

Further, these contradictions dissension’s and imbalance among the political rivalries have been accentuated by the interventionist role of extra-regional powers, especially the superpowers role in conflicts within Africa, to serve their larger global interest and aspirations. In reality, the interplay between local circumstances and interests of the superpower have contributed in complicating inter-relations between Sub-Saharan African states, and the continent as a whole.²

They are also responsible for the pavlovian behavior of the comparatively week nations of the region. This may be explained in terms of military stimulus provided to them by the weapon suppliers, with the underlying purpose of influencing their military, political, economic, and national life. As a result Africa has not only suffered from the cold war, but also has experienced severe maladies of neocolonialism as well. Thus in such a situation it is imperative for the OAU to develop resilience in Sub-Saharan Africa’s political and economic systems which would help the states not only to withstand the external pulls and pressures but also ameliorate their inherited problems and realize their national socio-economic and political aspirations.³

Throughout the ages man has attempted to cope with the problem of achieving peace within himself and with others. In the current era alienation, lack of identity, race, and the rise and fall of civilization is unquestionably a story of conflict, which is inherent in human activities. The issues of the management of conflicts, especially in its violent manifestation constitutes the crisis of our very existence. In contrast to previous generations, traditional attitudes of pessimism and powerlessness over destiny are being replaced by those of ambivalence and even hope. In view of the tremendous and sometimes awesome achievement of physical science and its
technological applications, some feel that through science, man, who has brought these problems into existence, may develop some measure of control over them before it is too late. 4

The growing worldwide concern has been intensified by one hand by the fact that in a world where a “nuclear-peace” prevailed, for well over half a century, on the other hand a sizable number of emerging new states whether they were located in Asia or in Africa were struggling hard to preserve peace. The situation in Sub-Saharan Africa region was no different - on the contrary it called for comprehension of regional realities. It was in the prevailing socio-cultural, political and economic realities one could trace the ongoing turmoil in African continent. Such measures should also take full consideration of specific values and interests of nations concerned. 5

Research in social sciences and particularly in international relations varied from region to region as it had to take into account the complexity of conflict configuration as well as the distinct political-social-cultural and economic factors which had a bearing on African states. The priorities of the global agenda have been identified from a series of statements issued periodically by major actors who make most of the decisions in the inter-conflict scenario. This include a wide range of socio-economic and political concerns. However, due to constraints of time and resources, this research dwells upon one global issue.

Sub-Saharan Africa has been selected as a testing-ground for this global issue because it is convenient to study a region while being a resident of its most prominent state. It provides greater access to research material and daily happening. Being based in Sudan also provided the necessary concern and impetus for delving into the dynamics of Sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, a three level research plan had been initiated at the M Phil level of my studies thus, research undertaken for M Phil
dissertation on state and the problem of external intervention in secessionist civil wars in Sub-Saharan Africa, proved to be an added advantage. It provided insights into conflict management in Sub-Saharan Africa in the post-cold war era, and the role of OAU and legitimacy concerns which could also be integrated into the Ph D research.

Profound changes have occurred on Sub-Saharan Africa in recent years which signify hope as well as frustration. On the positive side, the cold-war has ended and the bipolar alliance based on the block system is dead. The transformation of the Soviet Union, the end of east-west confrontation, dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the German Unification, and the winding down of many cold war linked regional conflicts have imparted new substance to the international scene.

The proliferation of regional organizations in the third world during the post-cold war era is in some respects an evidence of the aspirations of the third world to protect themselves in an era of increasingly competitive international system. The Sub-Saharan African countries effort to promote and protect their independence through the strategy of OAU is often subject to hindrances from the domestic and external conflicts. However, the noteworthy success of OAU in war-torn African countries, and to a lesser extent in Sub-Saharan Africa, continues to appeal to the ruling elite's of several African countries as a viable scheme for tackling the challenges from the external environment and also for solving their shared problems.

The salient features of the project of OAU as highlighted by the experiences of the western European and South-East Asian countries may be stated in analytical terms as

1. Harmonizing of mutual resources and interest for promoting comprehensive and equitable development among the member states on the basis of their resource endowments and economic systems.
2 Fastening regional cooperation and common perceptions of international problems and prospects among countries.

3. Safeguarding the member states, as well as the region as a whole from functional intrinsic pressures and processes found in the international system, in order to facilitate the prospects of peace, stability and conflict management in the region.

4. Finally, promoting capability and self-reliance on the basis of intra-regional cooperation among the member states, to reduce the dependence of the region on powerful states and also increase their bargaining power and role in international politics through collective strategy.

Given this problem-solving nature of the project, as well as its normative features such as protection of the identity of weak states and reinforcement of independence and autonomy, of regional cultures, OAU has irresistibly endeared itself to ruling elite’s of the continent, especially in those countries which perceived acute vulnerability from the competitive international system, and at the same time experienced debt commitment to national independence. Most of sub-Saharan African countries have demonstrated during the twentieth century the desire to assert their identity, reinforce their autonomy along with establishing their sovereignty in accordance with their historical experience, geographical situation and specific socio-economic conditions. On the international scene, this irresistible desire for the assertion of national esteem finds its expression in the development of various regional grouping in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Many proposals for conflict management have been discussed and a few have actually taken organizational form. For instance, the conference of independent African states (CIAS) established in 1958, was hampered by rivalries among the African leaders, and their conflicting interests. The Casablanca group of 1961 was also never a very active nor cohesive organization, due to the fact that none of the
signatories adhered to it in any way. As for the Monrovia group, it comprised of twenty African countries, but it was boycotted by the Casablanca group countries. In this sense conflict management in Sub-Saharan Africa is divided on many issues. However, the OAU was by far the most important and comprehensive scheme as it brought together all conflicting parties. It was established on 25th, May, 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia with 30 African Heads of state and government being present as signatories of the charter for African unity.

The OAU was formed with a view to resolve the economic and political problems confronting the Sub-Saharan African states. Its main objectives include:

a. Promotion of unity and solidarity;

b. Coordination and intensification of cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for African people;

c. Defend of the sovereignty, integrity and independence of the African states;

d. Eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa; and

e. Promotion of international cooperation while having due regard to UN charter and the universal declaration of Human Rights,

f. Resolve and manage the conflicts in the region.

Though the broad objectives of the OAU are generally accepted by the members, it has remained a loose association of sovereign states, hindered by intra-regional conflicts, rivalries, ideological differences, conflicting ties with major powers and an overriding concern with the presentation of personal power and sovereignty.

It is against such a somber background that this research project will critically review the new directions in conflict management in Sub-Saharan Africa in the post-cold war era, and assess the OAU’s role in managing conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa, that is the extent to which the organization has been effective in promoting and providing impetus for peace and stability. Such an intellectual enterprise should not
be limited to only the analysis of some specific types of problems such as peace, security or conflict management, but it should be wide in scope based upon examination of a wide array of problems having varying domestic and international contexts.

Africa is also facing serious conflicts. At present, the multipolar world serious political conflicts affect many of the sub-regions of the continent, i.e., Sub-Saharan Africa, Southern Africa, the Horn of Africa, Eastern Africa, and Western Sahara, to mention only the most prominent ones. These conflicts have their impact at all levels—national as well as domestic. Some of these conflicts have ethnic and religious overtones in order to assert their superiority over others. Dominance of the petty bourgeois’s in the governance of states also aggravates the situation—which, in turn, affects the process of nation-building itself. It is a challenging task to harmonize divergent interests claims in the interest of urgent and persistent task of nation-building. Many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa have not been able to work out a regular and effective pattern of political succession. In the absence of peaceful transition—many states undergo the trauma of civil wars within their own boundaries rather than compete for dominance over others. This undermines political stability and causes widespread human suffering.

The research framework also defines the parameters within which its objectives could be obtained. This framework will enable us to understand the role OAU has played in conflict management in Sub-Saharan Africa in post-cold era. Understanding OAU would involve insight into the nature and character of conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa. This implies two identification of salient issues and an adoption of the appropriate methods. The important issues to be considered would be the causes of conflicts, nature of conflicts, pattern of conflicts, effects of conflicts, involvement of external powers in the regional conflicts, the style and nature of this
involvement, and what it entails for peace and security, not only the country or countries directly involved, but for the entire sub-region. Other issues could be, problems, mechanism, and conditions for peaceful resolution of conflicts and effects on the developmental goal, of a country in particular and the sub-region as a whole.

There are several patterns of conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa, secession, ethnic nationalism, or sub-nationalism. It has often turned out that conflicts are apparently caused by ethnic or racial divisions. They are nothing more than a conflict between competing elite’s for the control of state power and consequently, access to certain material resources. It is to the credit of the present generation of African scholars that they have been able to locate them through their academic tools. Another feature of conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa is its recurrence. We have already detailed many instance of current conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa, both at territorial and inter-territorial levels. Since independence there is hardly any African country which has not experienced a major conflict of one kind or another. The geo-politics of the region is such that conflict in one area easily spills-over into another with the danger that they engulf the whole sub-region. For instance, the conflict in Rwanda spilled over into Burundi and Zaire.

The escalation of these conflicts can also be attributed to a large extent to the intervention of external forces at times they are from within Africa or by non-African states. A majority of Sub-Saharan African states are vulnerable to conflicts and that leads to arms supply by outside powers. Some states have treaty agreements. In addition to transfer of arms there have also been bilateral agreements between African countries and certain metropolitans countries, for e.g. the military pacts between France and many of her former colonies are well known. Another, feature of Sub-Saharan Africa is that at times conflicts defy all forms of solutions. Although mechanisms for peaceful settlement of disputes exist in the forms of a mediation and
reconciliation committee of the "OAU", they have not been effective. The OAU was unable to stop the Nigerian civil war. It was also unable to stop the war between Uganda and Tanzania. And so far it has failed to prevent conflicts, in Chad, or in western Sahara, or between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

In recent years, there has been a remarkable resurgence of interest in resolving conflicts among social scientists to focus their attention to the type of crisis African states are undergoing. Highlighting salient points of these theories would reveal that almost all these theories have their limitation in explaining the nature of African politics and society. Six theories have been put forth to explain the nature of conflicts in the post-cold war era in general and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular. Modernization theory, neo-Marxian theory and Dependency theory are important theories. They attempt to explain and evaluate the nature of changes occurring in politico-economic and social-sphere of Sub-Saharan Africa in the post-cold war era.

In Pluralist perspective the state is considered neutral arena in which competition over the authoritative allocation of values takes place. But elite's are critical of pluralistic views. To them the state remains an arena, but it remains so rather than being neutral. They believe that it is biased and in favor of the rich and the powerful. The Marxist perspective on the state on the other hand, views the state as an organizing and coercive mechanism. But even in this view, the state is seen as primarily an arena for revolution, social competition and conflict.

According to Ralph Miliband, the relationship between economic and political powers in the context of state has been inverted, it is not the economically poor who resolve in the winding of political power in the state. However, the state assumes a very high degree of autonomy and indeed becomes almost a state for itself or at least for those who command it.
Almond, on the other hand, emphasizes on an orderly transformation of traditional countries. He expects that it should occur on the model of advanced countries of the west. He further believes in essential continuity between colonial and post-colonial society holding view that nationalist leaders inherent an adequate administrative political apparatus; and were capable of taking their societies in the path of modernization and nation-building. However, application of these approaches to Africa is difficult, as clear-cut class formation has not taken place in Sub-Saharan Africa. So the new modified theories and approaches focuses on a major development in the study of international relations, the emergence of the world society and its implications for the understanding of conflicts and the way in which they may be handled or managed.

With the end of the cold-war a sudden wave of freedom brought mixed blessings to many Afro-Asian countries. But very few could match freedom with a sense of responsibility and commitment. A majority of them were confronted by the backlog of problems left unsolved by the superpower struggle. The end of the cold-war created a vacuum of economic deprivation and political instability which in turn ensured turmoil and a will to govern.

Whatever semblance of governance was there, it did not last long for various reasons. A common denominator which could explain the crisis and problem of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa in post-cold war era is their state of underdevelopment, in economic as well as political arenas. The process of conflict management which began in most of Afro-Asian countries caused varied responses from the developed world. For their vested interest, the developed world did provide generous help to many Afro-Asian countries but it was only to those countries which had fairly good credibility. During this time Sub-Saharan African countries were reeling under a series of economic and political conflicts, they did not receive the required attention.
Rationale Of The Study:-

Conflict management (resolution) is a new field in Africa and this work is an important attempt to sketch out its possible concerns and perspectives. The African continent is today riven by a variety of conflicts that threaten not only human lives and social order, but also prospects for development and even the sovereignty of some states. The inadequate scholarly attention on the conflict management (resolution) is largely due to the hitherto strangle hold of the statist tradition over the mainstream social studies disciplines. After decades of writing on the area of conflict in Africa, and despite the bulk of literature, it is rather strange that a (field) does not exist. This in itself explains the stagnation in the area of conflict management (resolution) studies. And yet there is no dearth of studies on the subject, but with hardly any sense of academic objectives, and without realizing the value of the academic enterprise. A very outlandish kind of desperateness prevails because even if the parameters of a field are unknown, there can be no self-conscious academic activity to sustain a field of knowledge. If not mode of transport is available and if people have no sense of direction about their destination, they continue to keep moving virtually forever and remain, if no literally, then metaphorically, at the same place! This analogy appropriately reflects the state of Sub-Saharan Africa and conflict studies. There is little difference between reading relevant columns of the daily newspaper, or listening to daily-bulletins on the radio, and reading books written on conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. We are indeed informed but remain fundamentally uninformed.

The situation described above calls for an intellectual strategy to redress such a sad state of regional affairs. It’s time to labour at such studies which could begin creating the contours of a field of scholarly inquiry. Unlike Urchins who jump into the water in order to frisk around, we need to process ourselves that we can truly enter the water in order to master it, in order to swim and keep a float in order to exercise
control, in the first place, over a phenomena which can bring us either vitality and health or certain death

Studies on this genre in the area of conflict management (resolution) in Sub-Saharan Africa are the rarest to find. If yet another study on the same subject has to be written, it must not be just another study, but one which can go a long way to contribute to a field of study, especially if one has to write a Ph.D thesis in this area of scholarship, it must ensure that it can perform this function or it must not be written at all. Academically speaking the area of conflict management (resolution) in Sub-Saharan Africa studies has been very fertile, and therefore, all the more reason that any further study in this area should be conceptually conspicuous with a self-conscious academic rationale, attempting to reinforce credibility (to carve out a scholarly place within the existing realm of the otherwise common-place can be justified).

The present study, therefore, while apparently working in this common-place area, attempts to work with this jumble of facts and information with a view to begin the process of translating it into a more respectable market of ideas and explanation. Such an initiatory exercise, however tentative, must be credited with originality and significance, especially if the effort ultimately proves to be even moderately successful.

If therefore, such a task are to be accomplished by this study it must possess of a clear conceptual research design. The study which is likely to contribute any new researched knowledge of the sort ordinarily associated with a doctoral thesis, it must not therefore, be judged in relation to its ability to produce any hitherto unknown factual or historical data on the subject or by any such analogous criteria. It needs to be judged on the basis of the nature of its conceptual design and its ability to give new
directions and meaning to subject area serious study, so that the first faint contours of a field begin to emerge.

This is the conceptual design which holds the thesis together, and lends it a particular sense of scholarly directions. Clearly the thesis must begin with a sufficient explanatory statement of the existing field of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. A suitable typology of such studies has been formulated and analytically assessed with the help of a theoretical framework drawn from conflict management (resolution) theory. This critical typologization of the existing corpus of literature serve to explicate why there is justification in believing that a field of conflict management (resolution) in Sub-Saharan Africa has still to emerge.

The thesis is also motivated by the desire to gain sound understanding of the efforts made by the OAU in managing conflict (crisis) in the region. It predicates the desire to acquire theoretical informed understanding of the experience of African’s, with the experiment of conflict management in contrast to acquiring information only on such designs. Consequently, the present study does not aim to provide a comprehensive description of the origin, and functions of OAU in Sub-Saharan Africa, but to analyze the efforts to promote conflict management (resolution) from theoretical and normative points of view to facilitate improved understanding of OAU as an experiment of regional organization in Africa. Also the understanding of OAU will contributes towards the success of such efforts and help to generate themes on this and other aspects of African international relations and development. In regard to this the study is guided by disciplinary, idiosyncratic and normative concerns.

In terms of disciplinary concerns this thesis modestly attempts to overcome the short comings in the study of conflict management (resolution) in Sub-Saharan Africa during the post-cold war era, and by undertaking an assessment of the role played by OAU. Analytically, the OAU, located in a complex setting beset with
multitude problems of nation and state-building and occupying a highly sensitive position in the post-world war geo-political setting can be considered as a representative sample of the experiment of regionalism in the third world. The OAU has been chosen as a case study in order to examine the role it plays in generating new directions in conflict management (resolution) in Sub-Saharan Africa in the post-cold war era, and behavior of African states in regional as well as in international politics. It also helps us to analyze and comprehend the impediments and challenges to African unity and political costs of its maintenance. The OAU shares, though in differing magnitude and context, most problems and prospects experienced by most of the third world countries.

The OAU is not a prototype of any regional organization, in fact, no regional scheme is prototype of another. Each has its own unique contextual features and dynamics, notwithstanding their differences and distinction arising from the socio-political, economic and historically inherited contexts, they share similar constraints and concerns in the spheres of state formation, governance, legitimacy, national social reconstruction, development, national security, and autonomy in international politics. Therefore, a systematic study of OAU as regional organization will inevitably contribute towards better understanding of other regional organizations.

The OAU offers a good sample of a regionalist experiment in the third world. Beside, socio-economic and international political complexities, the OAU is characterized by being the largest regional organization in the third world. Its member states are confronted with numerous problems of state formation and governance. The intra-regional and international relations is characterized by a plethora of divisive conflicts generating political process and tendencies. The existing state structures are dependent upon dominant powers which make the states highly vulnerable to pulls and pressures from the external environment including their
important foreign benefactor states. Consequently, the OAU is representative sample of African states in the third world regional organization and its study offers much scope for examining and furthering a third world theory of conflict management (resolution).

Idiosyncratically, the motivation to select and assess the OAU for analysis comes from a social origin and the advantages offered there, of being an African student who has a wide exposure to domestic and foreign policy makers and diplomats, several of whom have been in some way or the other associated with the OAU or its sub-regional activities, in this sense, the researcher has had better knowledge about the organization. Besides, being knowledgeable on African problems in terms of literature on the OAU, much has been said and written in recent years but no comprehensive study has focused on overall objectives of promoting peace, conflict management (resolution), security, economic cooperation and integrating the African states. What has been written so far has focused on the restricted and narrow view of the concepts of peace and security drawing attention mainly on such issues as inter-state and intra-state conflict and border disputes. Yet, these are the only concerns of the OAU in the important field of peace, security, conflict management (resolution), and social change in Sub-Saharan Africa in the post-cold war era. There has been a change in the nature of inter-state relations over the past two decades. In this regard, conflict management (resolution), economic and developmental issues have risen in importance on the agenda of African and most of the third world politics.

Besides my normative commitment to international peace, development and cooperation as well as amelioration of global inequalities has induced me to study international relations theory especially in those areas which have direct bearing to my value commitments. This normative predilection of mine has also influenced the
selection of the Sub-Saharan Africa for systematic study as a project of conflict management (resolution) in international politics. More specifically, the choice of the OAU has been guided to a great extent by the fact that Africa has been more susceptible to external interference and dominance because of the fragility of African states. The social formations of prolonged imperial domination of Africa and the consequent exploitation of the human and material resources for the betterment of the quality of life of the subjugating nations and enhancement of their ruling classes, impoverished Africa and stifled the growth of African genius and initiative to develop the continent. The backwardness of Sub-Saharan Africa, resulting from blatant exploitation by the subjugating nations, has no parallel interest in the continent. The OAU is an attempt to redress these hindrances and to nurture and promote the growth of African initiative, which should liberate Africa from stark poverty, vicious dependency and raise its status and influence in international politics. In short, the most underlying principle objective of the OAU was eradication of the subjugation syndrome, of the (Dark Ages) of African experience.

The thesis also attempts to justify why the study will be concerned, not with all the extensive implications of a possible field but one important segment of its will deal with an assessment of the role played by the OAU in managing these conflicts in the continent. It is possible in a PhD thesis to elaborate in greater detail the justification for the restriction of the conceptual design to a suitable analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa conflict strategy. But this is a sine qua-non for the larger purpose of this study.

Thus, if the very outer framework of conflict management and conflict resolution can not be matrixes, so to speak or assess, the role of OAU in managing conflicts in the region, can not acquire an identity as a credible regional organization, instrumental capable of serving the key concerns of Sub-Saharan Africa participation.
in world affairs, the larger subject area of study must remain barren. Not even the first, faint contours of such a field can be discerned, identified and made the subject of more advanced studies, nor can the welter of conflict management (resolution) decisions be examined within any unified framework which can make sense of the apparent contradictories of such decisions, can future work credibly undertake integrated studies of the institutional dimensions of OAU policy making and the processes animating them and so on. Accumulatively, oriented fields of conflict management (resolution) in Sub-Saharan Africa must be built upon such foundations as these five chapters attempt to lay.

The rest of the thesis attempts to go into a fairly fascinating unexplored field. Perhaps, as it may come to be recognized that so far for decades of such studies in this area have not contributed to the certainty of a field simply because of the existing hiatus between theory and praxis. The latter, it is hoped, will have been clarified in the earlier chapters. The thesis goes into an exhaustive treatment of conflict management (resolution) in its wider dimensions. To clarify the purpose of the present study which will be served if the characteristic of OAU as evidenced in public pronouncement and secondary published scholarly sources is generalized to demonstrate not only the discrepancies between thought and praxis but to unfold the world view inconsistencies in managing conflicts. Such discrepancies and inconsistencies have been mainly responsible for the inability of OAU to shape a credible field of scholarly inquiry. Unless, such incongruances are self consciously internalized by our scholars (and infact, by our decision makers and peace makers), there is little hope that the next forty years can be any more productive than the last forty years have been. A theory need not be a body of positive rules, that is to say, it need not be guided to action. Whenever an activity has, for the most part, continually to do with the same things with the same ends and means, although with small
differences and a corresponding variety of combinations, these things must be capable of becoming an object of observation by reasoning if principles and rules result from the observations that the theory institutes. If the truth itself crystallizes into these forms, then these principles and rules serve more to determine in the reflecting mind, the leading outlines of its accustomed movements than, like sign-posts to point the way for it to take in execution.

Rather than a concise policy maker’s guide to action in every conflict situation, the object here has been to elaborate what might at the most practical level become an “early warning system” for conflict at each significant stage of its development. That goal was pursued by extracting sets of predictive factor patterns from a limited number of historical conflicts through the medium of an analytic system, designed specifically for application to today’s forms of warfare. At the same time, this effort was experimental and proceeded on the basis of a very limited number of case studies. The analytic system employed was accordingly designed specifically to accommodate the increased number of case studies required to give increased statistical comprehensiveness, precision, and confidence to its results. In this sense, the set assumptions, concepts, and techniques presented may be regarded as both experimental and expandable.

Before they are elaborated, we may well observe a prominent study of the subject that among the many theories of conflict “a main dividing line is between those that treat conflict as a pathological state and seek it causes and treatment, and those that take conflict for granted and study the behavior associated with it.” With few notable and generally maligned exceptions, the former has traditionally been the more prevalent mode of analysis. As a result, the existing literature on casualties and, therefore, on appropriate treatment outnumbers the rest. In this regard, it is perhaps
on no longer possible either to discover or to hypothesize a specific cause or underlying source of conflict that has not previously been cataloged.

The central problem in the development of an analytical framework, adequate for the full richness of reality, then, is to determine the particular interconnected and mutually reinforcing combinations, constellations, patterns, or configurations of factors that result in the analytic preconditions of an event or outcome. In short, the effect of the recognition of multiple causality is that the important question, for analysis becomes the determination not of the influence of particular factors but of the way in which mutual reinforcement operates to create an effectual or enabling pattern. Similarly, the overriding question for conflict becomes the determination of the critical or strategic factors that will alter the existing pattern to produce a desired or preferred outcome. For, given a determinate set of factors that define the system in which arms conflict occurs, the difference between an existing and a desired outcome is the difference between the factor patterns that condition their occurrence as distinct (if not independent) events.

An assessment of the OAU needs to be situated in its proper socio-economic, political and historical contexts. This exercise will help us to understand the factors and forces that motivate and shape its institutional and organizational features, as well as those that affect its functioning. Without this context the analysis of the role of the OAU in managing the conflict in the continent will be quite descriptive and formal. Such formal sound understanding of its origin, organization, working and consequently, policy making based on formal studies will lack social purpose, rigour and depth. Therefore, it is imperative to provide the socio-economic, political and historical background which led to the formation of the OAU.

The analytical framework of this research has two-fold dimensions: the international context and the theoretical context. The former consists of the following
First, cold war was a new phenomena that emerged in international politics after the end of the second world war, leaving a deep impact on international life. The emergence of intense rivalry between the USA and USSR (Russia) was characterized by high technology arms race and increasing intervention and pressure on the developing world, and thereby increased the chances of the two superpowers engaging in proxy-wars in the developing world rather than having a direct confrontation. Secondly, it also greatly contributed to the economic difficulties of the superpowers and adversely affected the international economy, i.e., the increased defense expenditure has resulted in high interest rates which in turn brought about numerous economic difficulties. Thirdly, the cold war led the two dominant blocs to impinge on the independence of the third world countries and created among their elite the sensitivity that their independence was in jeopardy and least protected assiduously.

Theoretical Framework:

Events in the past decade have made it abundantly clear, however, that general conflict is far less likely to result from abrasive action in areas of directions confrontation between the great powers than from a series of limited and seemingly rational intensification of a local conflict in an area of peripheral and great-power influence. Such are the conditions of this age that, as increasing détente has been achieved in Europe amid economic prosperity and the nuclear stalemate, events in the “underdeveloped” or “Sub-Saharan Africa” have increasingly embroiled the great powers directly and indirectly in proxy wars for spheres of influence.

In an evolutionary sense, the world conflicts of this century represent the ultimate, mature expression of their genre: the general conflict between discrete, legally definable combatants, was fought in a specified geographic arena until the out-
come was fixed by the relative capabilities of the combatants for mobilization, production, and administration of their resources. In contemporary and future conflicts that conform more or less to the traditional interstate pattern, it is likely that such statements will remain accurate in number and their effective administration will be decisive in any prolonged engagement. The accuracy and hence utility of this paradigm is increasingly less clear. However, in a combat situation in which the time, place, and terms of confrontation are not at the discretion of both combatants, if these are always determined by one combatant, his will to survive may well outweigh and outlast any numerical and logistic superiority of his adversary. But even this situation is likely to occur only under certain conditions, that will obviously be inadequate in the face of superpower logistic capabilities. Clearly, there are certain enabling conditions under which this factor is likely to be of decisive importance in achieving, and others in which it may well be of little relevance to the eventual outcome of hostilities.

This study is founded upon precisely this kind of reasoning that under different conditions the very same act or the very same fact may produce quite a different result. It proceeds from that proposition in belief that analysis and understanding of conflicts in a new age demand new concepts, ideas, direction, and new techniques if any extrapolations are to be made from past experience to future situations and events.

It is ironic, that given a scientific and technological establishment capable of producing the present means of conflict, the study of conflict itself - at other than the tactical level - has remained largely a subjective, impressionistic and unscientific affair. Over a decade ago, this century's preeminent students of conflict theory, surveying the requirements for a systematic and continuing program of research on conflict as an instrument of policy, cited the need, first, to develop an analysis which
appears to be comprehensive and fundamental and then to select detailed studies of conflict situations concentrating their data on all the factors which the analysis considers relevant. Comparison of the cases, thus, analyzed should throw light on the classification of various types of conflict situations, on the probable course of development of each of these types, and on the stages in the course of the conflict situations studied, on which different actions might have changed the course of development. Reciprocally, the study of a considerable number of conflict situations of varied types should throw light on the analysis, indicating relevant factors which have been omitted, and facilitating its continuous improvement.

The aim of this study is to undertake and to establish just such a departure, and to bring the methods of science and the hardware of its technology to bear meaningful and revealing ways upon the structure and substance of conflict harboring the potential for conflict. Its hopeful purpose is to construct an objective, systematic, and partially automated program of research in order to determine and terminate those conflicts. It also explores the contexts within which individual factors operate with specified effects upon their development, specify the resulting “types” of conflicts that occur in real life, and so perhaps better understand and deal with their causes and effects as generic phenomena rather than as random, idiosyncratic events.

To this end an analytic system comprised of an integrated and novel set of assumptions, concepts, and techniques has been developed around the requirements and objectives of the “comprehensive and fundamental analysis” called for by scholars. However, a precise statement of the points in the development of conflicts at which policy measures might be taken to alter their development, as well as the specific policy measure that might achieve this effect. Another, noteworthy feature of the international dimension, is that after the end of second world war liberal ideas became more dominant. They include nation-state, liberal policy and welfare-
economy. The experience of Nazism and Fascism compelled many to embrace liberal ideas. However, most of the emerging African states and war recovering European countries were suffering from the “Huntington syndrome”, that is they were threatened by political instability and disorder. The Europeans were disturbed by two factors namely, the emergence of communism which posed an immediate security problem and the loss of pride arising from dependence on American aid for reconstruction, the Europeans had a fear psychosis that they would be demoted to the status of dependencies if they did not remove themselves out of twin predicament. In this regard they decided to experiment with regional schemes.

As for the Sub-Saharan African countries, they were facing similar predicaments but in their case these problems were more acute. Expectations on the state were there but there was absence of loyalty to it. The colonial legacy had left deep seated divisions which did not get resolved even after many if not all of the African states attained independence. The existence of multiple problems compelled them to adopt regionalism, attempting to emulate the European scheme although it should be pointed out that the inherited experience was significantly different to that of Europeans.

The impetus for collective self-reliance had its origin in the liberation and anti-colonial movement after the second world war. Uniting bonds were forged on the basic principles of collective action and self-reliance. As a result the African countries including those on the verge of independence were questioning the basic foundation and management of conflicts, international relations and the global division, which were an outgrowth of colonial era.

The second dimension, i.e., theoretical, pertains to how the research project aims at tackling the research problem by formulating the relevant hypothesis and situating it in the existing corpus of theoretical literature pertaining to the phenomena.
One would not be accurate in saying that OAU originated with a framework for the promotion of peace and rapid social development. However, over the years much has been written and theorized on conflict management (resolution) which has been in response to end, as well as affect existing OAU experiments.

The basic question this research poses is to formulate an analytical framework to systematically examine conflict management (resolution) in Sub-Saharan Africa and put an assessment to the role played by OAU, in managing conflict in the region, and what are the new directions it adopted in solving this conflict in the post-cold war era? What are the internal factors and forces in Sub-Saharan Africa which have had a bearing on the OAU? What is the institutional structure of the OAU has facilitated generations of integrative process? That is, the organization's achievements and expediencies are to be evaluated within the context of African regionalism? What role has the OAU played in international conflicts? What has been the role of the OAU in the promotion of cooperation and socio-economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa and promotion of political stability, legitimization of governance and conflict management (resolution) among and within its member states?

The problem concerning organizing devices need to be discussed before the framework of analysis in this research is presented. What should we use as major unit of analysis in inter-state conflict? Should we focus upon the actions and attitude of individual settlement makers? or might we assume that all settlement makers act essentially the same way once confronted with similar situations, and therefore concentrate instead on the behavior of the state? Could we remove ourselves even further from individual African states in conflicts, and examine internal conflict from the perspective of entire systems of states? or should we regard the world conflict as a single "global problem"? for example, if we view the world from global perspective, our attention will turn to various kinds of problems caused by the spread
of conflict, i.e., resources depletion, destruction of ozone layer, air and ocean pollution, and the destruction of natural habitats, to mention just a few. These kinds of issues require action at all levels: individual, community, region, state, and beyond.

The question remains, however, how such propositions may be analyzed and tested, especially in light of the traditionally frustrating problem of establishing the significant new work of structural patterns that reside among a large set of variables. To that end, a provisional and theory of conflict, descriptive model of its significant stages, a technique of data collection, and methods of data manipulation, analysis, and presentation, have been developed.

The result, it is felt, is a set of concepts, assumptions, and techniques so integrated and complementary in terms of the analytic objective as to constitute a whole. For the purposes of clarity of presentation, one shall make a brief note here of the research strategy followed, and of the purpose and requirements of each analytic element before it is presented separately and in detail.

In the formation of both the strategy and the tactics of this study, the dominant consideration has been that conflict and the potential for conflict simply are ends, so long as the means for war exist. No amount of institutional safeguards will alter this fact, as these devices are merely its evidence. When ever policy makers feel constrained with respect to alternative policy options and convinced of its cost effectiveness with respect to established goals, conflict may be expected to ensue. Man's capacity for rationalization in the face of any amount of contradictory evidence is such that, once the objective is determined to be worth the candle, sufficient justification will always be found for conflict. Still there are the difficulties of selecting the specific factors and of precisely formulating them in terms so that the resulting test instrument is equally applicable to all forms of conflict involving the
potential for conflict. For, there is no reason to assume that the traditional, inter-state colonial, or other distinctions that have long dominated both conventional and scholarly thought are meaningful, viable, or practical with respect to the policy issue of controlling and managing conflicts.

It is deemed appropriate to proceed the analysis of the OAU by a critical appraisal of the contending theoretical perspectives on conflict management (resolution). Appraisal of the contending theories will help us to highlight the contending preferences and world-views which will provide valuable analytical and explanatory insights on prospects and challenges to OAU. This will lend analytical rigour, systemization and relevance, to the present research project on the OAU and new directions, it may adopt in managing conflict in the continent which is replete with tensions and variations and consequently defies straight jacketing to any particular theoretical or conceptual scheme. The appraisal of the contending theoretical approaches will provide relatively a more comprehensive and representative analytical setting having the scope to deal with conflict experiments in the Sub-Saharan Africa in post-cold war era with strong societies and not deeply entrenched state formation.

Hypothesis: -

The hypothesis for the present study emerged out of observations made in the main concern, the literature review, and the rationale of the research. It can be enumerated as Sub-Saharan Africa is riddled with intra as well as inter-state conflicts which restrict its role in the post-cold war era. Due to this, Sub-Saharan Africa prospects in the contemporary international scenario are viewed with reservation, even pessimism of the OAU, and can be explained on the basis of conflict theory of international relations. This hypothesis is directional as well as causal as it
makes explicit connections between various variables. The variables of conflict management (resolution) in the Sub-Saharan Africa are directly influenced by the conduct of intra- as well as inter-state relations in the continent. Internally and externally motivated conflicts and crisis are the variables which affect the conduct of these relations and consequently the imperative stability and welfare. All these together adversely affect the global variable in which OAU desires to play a significant role.

The main focus of the study is the genesis of conflict in the Sub-Saharan Africa, related with the role of OAU played in managing those conflicts. There are four main dimensions of conflict management (resolution), the individual level, the social/national level, the trans-societal/international level, the global level.

Each of these four levels are characterized by factors which separates them in terms of their causes and approaches to manage. The hypothesis that emanates the study are evolved out of an extensive literature review. This hypothesis has been stated point wise for ensuring greater clarity and understanding.

1. Sub-Saharan Africa, or the entire African continent poses a theoretical challenge to scholars who are otherwise groomed and trained in a contextual setting which was predominantly influenced by theories propounded in the west - where from idealism to neo-realism provided main themes.

2. The proposed study would reveal distinctive features of conflicts in sub-Saharan region and their resolution with the help of OAU.

3. Certain precise patterns of factors exist in Sub-Saharan Africa that variously condition the development and termination of conflict harboring the potential for war.

4. Sub-Saharan Africa is still in the process of evolving as a region, because an adequate degree of complementrity of interests among the countries in this region has not been achieved as yet.
Sub-Saharan Africa inheres inadequate level of instability, internal divisions, owing to the persistence of various intra and inter-state conflicts (as explain on the basis of conflict management (resolution) and the role played by the OAU)

Sub-Saharan Africa as a set of countries in a close geographical proximity with each other, can be categorized as a region when they share a certain communality of interests. These interests could incorporate a whole gamut of conflict settlement, cultural, social, economic, political, historical, tradition, etc

The world in which peace and war occur is not only a complex but also comprehensible system of structural parts or variables, and that changes in the state of that system are occasioned by observable shifts in the structural interconnections among the variables

**Literature Review:**

The research problem elaborated earlier gains merit on the basis of a literature review conducted along the lines of the subject under investigation. The present research itself has benefited tremendously by the inclusion of a detailed literature review on specified as well as general theories of international relations, and other related issues. The main sources of review however, have been limited by the constraints of time and availability. Most of the literature review was obtained from different universities libraries and material provided by certain scholars of the relevant theories.

Though topic-specific theorizing follows in the subsequent chapters, presented below are a few comments from diverse literature reviewed during the course of this research study. Since the pivotal concern of this research is conflict management (resolution) in the Sub-Saharan Africa, vis-à-vis OAU’s role in managing it, it would be appropriate to begin with a general remark on the contemporary international
scenario which shapes and influences the post-cold war era. “The last decade of the twentieth century is likely to witness remarkable and dramatic changes that are regional in scope. These developments are transnational in research and depth, and will affect both the developed industrial nations and the developing countries of the third world.”

Further, “In an era when the concept of nation-state comes increasingly under questioning, when military power declines in its utility as a tool of politics among the developed nations, and ideology ceases to be the great divide as it was assumed to be, the non-military threats appear to be overtaking the military threats as of primary concern to humanity as a whole. A world hitherto preoccupied with the cold-war era is just now waking up to find that it has to attend to a new set of concerns.”

The most interesting and important debates in recent years concerning conflict and the role of OAU in managing it, have been taken up by important scholars of African continent situation and international politics (relations). The nature of the contemporary scenario has been explained by John Burton, and his colleagues who wanted to test whether or not it is possible to induce representatives of parties to meet with each other unofficially during periods of a lack of an official. Such an exercise will be academic in nature and they will be participating only as private citizens and not as official representatives.

Crucial to the approach, is allowing the participants to present their own views of the conflict without interruption by the facilitators, except in order to request clarification. In this stage, the role of the facilitators was more active in that they would attempt to suggest a parallel with other conflicts which could be useful in arriving at agreed interpretations.

According to Burton, in his book, a global conflict the domestic sources of inter-development, he has provided us with a radical intellectual base by which we
can judge the quality of the whole social system including the international sub-
system after years of scholarship at his best, he has learned, invented, practiced and
written about conflict thought. Burton speaks about the outmodedness of the power
politics and formulates an analytical framework which will focus on the role of
transaction and valued relations in contemporary society. He argues that the power
theorist have it all wrong - the world hungering to satisfy the identity needs of
individuals and groups. Security is not a limited strategic resource, rather, it's
abundant and unlimited. The more one is secure, the more everyone else is
individuals and ethnic and cultural groups, seek acceptance and recognition in their
immediate and larger environments, principally to satisfy their internal needs. The
world international conflicts are a spillover of the domestic one’s and the obverse is
ture also.

Burton gives interactions and transaction a well-placed prominence in this
well-placed general theory. He posits that cultural and ethnic acceptance in the
world, and therefore, peace between and within nations, will necessarily increase, and
a function of the increase in volume and quality of managements. Thus, politics and
policy must engage in designing present and future roles for the members of the
international system which satisfy dearly held valued

According to Burton, his reasoning is that conflict management (resolution) is
a complex but rewarding enterprise. It is a process by which conflicting parties are
made to see themselves in a win-win situation. Peace making events and legalistic
focus on the single, dramatic events of cease-fire to those societally and inter-
societally valued relationships.

Burton’s colleagues believe that, there is encouragement to be found,
however, for generations, scholars in the field, have been aware of a long series of
insights, finding hunches, perspectives and partial theories that seem to hint new ways
of looking at all problems of international politics. The analysis of conflict has therefore, sought the cooperation of a cross-section of Burton's colleagues, former students and friends in putting together the literature. Its function is not only to mark his contribution, and honour him in making it, but also to explore some of the many questions which his book inevitably has left as yet, unanswered.

Each scholar was invited to combine exposition with criticism and also extend the discussion of a given aspect of world society thinking, in an effort to develop it, in trying to answer the questions that are usually asked after a first encounter with Burton's work. But it is apparent that there are too many of them ranging too widely to treat comprehensively in a single work. For example, how far is this approach wholly new and how far does it merely restate the well-known idealist assumptions about world politics? How does it relate to the behavioral movement? Do human needs differ from human rights? Can there really be constructive solutions to zero-sum conflicts? How can a political society be stable without some powerful authority to keep much attention paid to strikes, ethnic attitudes, deviant conduct and other domestic matters? Surely violence is inevitable, and warfare prominent, in international politics.

Harbart Kelman's forward, opens the discussion with a personal account of the impact of Burton's work, especially on those scholars who, like Kelman himself, have sought to make a contribution to the history of thought in international relations, with a focus on recent trends. His argument is that world society perspective is not idiosyncratic, as is sometimes suggested, but is simply the logical extension of the pluralistic world-view which most scholars in the discipline now accept.

Robert North, and Mathew Willard, then assessed the implications of post-behavioral thinking for research on international relations. They first they employed an analysis of recent discoveries in the philosophy of science to show thrust.
behaviorist - traditionalist confrontation between “hard theory” and “soft theory” has now between transcended. In an argument which implicitly echoes Burton’s frequent calls for the direct involvement of social scientists in ongoing real world conflict management (resolutions), they conclude that future progress will be possible only through artistic creation of better theory, firmly linked to the gathering and skillful management of better data.

Sandole’s presentation receded off the necessity for an adjustment in thought that must be made if the new perspective is to be fully appreciated. This process usually known as a paradigm shift is a feature of the world society approach that has often led to misunderstandings. Sandole begins by contrasting the society paradigm with that of the realist school. He then points out that the appropriate judgment to be made is not that of deciding which is right and which is wrong. Rather, it is a matter of recognizing how and why those thinkers within each paradigm belong to different mental worlds. Like the editor, he deflects signs that paradigm shift is now underway in the international relations.

Richard Little, takes the problem of social stability. If it is valid for the new perspective to employ, the domestic analogy to examine the world as a whole, it then becomes crucially important to identify the means by stable social relationships established and maintained within states. Grouping the issues under the headings of social order, conflict management and mechanisms of social control, Little summarized the existing state of knowledge and Burton’s contributions to it. In doing so, he notes that all forms of social order appear to rest upon ideological functions, and if that is the case then the world society perspective must be presented and judged as an ideological interpretation.

A word is needed in order to understand the spirit of this research and the theoretical enterprise behind it. This is best expressed in Burton’s world society
perspective in a passage with which many scholars in international relation are uneasily familiar. Any branch of research reminds us, can over time-become a strenuous and devoted attempt to force conflict into conceptual boxes supplied by professionals. This is a research by people who are worried about the confinement in those conceptual boxes, and are hopeful that Burton's world society perspective may just possibly have pointed to a way out in managing or resolving conflicts in the continents.

To develop a logic of conflict and efficient management, the world society theorist's, objective was to discover in the literature of social sciences, ideas which would enable the international relations discipline, for the first time, to view conflict much as the physician regards pain in medicine, to suppress pain with sedatives or pain killers is not enough, the main therapeutic effort must be directed at underlying disorders. So also in the world society the forcible conflict - suppressing devices employed - power balancing, peace-keeping, and hostile intervention would need to be replaced with other procedures which would not only control conflict symptoms, but also develop the capacity of the world society to become self-regulating and capable of avoiding destructive conflicts.

The search for relevant insights dictated an alliance between the world society thinkers work of the peace research movement, heavy concentration on conflict analysis and also a wider exclusion into literature of behavioral sciences to find ideas which could illuminate the problems of fear and insecurity at the inter-state level. The world society perspective, therefore, was forced to go beyond the standard talking points of the post-behavioral phase, inter-dependence, extreme complexity of decision making and the activities of transnational actors. It also considers the linkages between domestic and inter-state conflict, the successful record of conflict.
management (resolution) in domestic contexts, and the academic literature on problems of deviant behavior, perception, human needs and political socialization.

Unlike much of the optimistic forecasting literature, it does not seek to describe a preferred world that does not yet exist. Instead it draws upon elements that already do exist, both in real world activities and in ideas about them, to compose a new portrait of Sub-Saharan Africa society. As yet, the portrait is crudely drawn and unfinished. But it holds not only the promise of OAU for better understanding, but also the prospect of improved management of political problems.

According to Raimo, the resolution of violent conflict is usually considered a politically desirable objective. It saves human lives, prevents the internal disorganization of nations and restores stability in their external relations. Conflict management (resolution) is a path to peace, at least to a negative peace, and serves other values, such as social order and economic development, as well. In his approach, conflict management (resolution) becomes an autonomy of political violence. It is supposed to single out the causes of violence and to do away with them in an appropriate manner. In this way he feels an effort is made to serve the link between the cause of conflict and decisions of actors to resort to it.

Such a pragmatic approach neglects however, the functions of political conflict in national and international relation. This is hardly justified as a clear analysis of this function and may often provide a key to the understanding of the cause. The function of conflicts include the takeover or preservation of power, and the maintenance of internal expansion. Conflict many also be a bargaining ingredient and a way to make the power-holders perceive an unbearable situation as a problem.

The analysis on the functions of political conflict stares away from the notion of conflict management (resolution) as a problem solving theory. Such an approach is an encouragement to the development of techniques by which the problems can be
abolished. In particular, various bargaining tactics to achieve concrete solutions are popular objects of analysis. As bargaining behavior often includes coercive and threatening measures, contributing more to the problem than to its solution, there are efforts to develop a variety of constructive solutions to violent conflicts. They stress, for instance, the enhancement by common and possible honorable retreat.

According to him, the problem-solving approach often considers the prevailing power relations and institutions given, thus shunning the alliteration of their basic nature. In that sense, it is non-structural and historical, and it is more concerned with the tactics than with strategy. This kind of conflict management may rely on empirical research which seeks for invariance between underlying causes of violence and the conflict process. In the spirit of applied research, there is then, an effort to eliminate political conflict by controlling or manipulating its causes by the means available to the authorities.

On the other hand, the focus on the functions of conflict leads to questions on the nature of social order in which it occurs. The study of conflict assumes a broad economic, social, and political perspective. The consideration of social order and their proneness to conflict, internal and external hints. Thus, consideration of the functions that conflict injects, in contrast to problem-solving theory and conflict management is a normative element into the effort made by the OAU to resolve conflicts. In doing so, conflict management (resolution) is better equipped to avoid the pitfalls of political engineering and the neglect of the structural context of conflict.

Political conflict may become an ideology, a form of life, without any clear-cut objectives. Then it is practiced almost ritually. More often conflict is however, an instrument intended to produce desired political effects. Such an instrumental view may define conflict either as a means of management or as a methods of destruction. Conflict may send unilaterally, a message of the actors grievances or its effort to
break-out of isolation. The destruction of life and property is intended to force social change that have not been achieved by non-violent methods or means.

Leading African scholars, such as Samir Amin, Archie Mafaje, Emmanuel Hansen, Nzongola-Ntalaja and Okwondiba Nnoli, confronted the issues that peace and conflict studies raise in an African regional context. They believe, that various sources of conflict are investigated and the effectiveness of some of the institutions involving tensions and fastening development.

All the African scholars agreed that it is important to notice these differences not for the purpose of scoring political or intellectual points but to lay down the basis for a meaningful intellectual confrontation and a common struggle for conflict management (resolution). We find that in certain crucial matters such as the concept of peace, the nature of the peace and the ways to seek conflict management (resolution), our position tends to crystallize around certain ideas and themes and differs from mainstream African thought or the views held by the leaders of Sub-Saharan African states.

Most scholars believe that the continent faced serious problems at social and political levels. At present, serious conflicts affect many of the Sub-Saharan Africa regions i.e. southern Africa, the horn of Africa, Eastern Africa, to mention only the most prominent ones. In addition to these sub-regional conflicts there are other less serious conflicts at national and local levels. Both the scholars agreed, that the sources of conflict are many. For instance, they can be manifested as ethnic, religious, cultural, secessionist, etc. They also believe that conflict can arise in the process of nation-building itself. It is tricky to harmonize particular interests and claims with the urgent and persistent tasks of nation-building and we cannot always be sure that the necessary tension can be handled in such a way that conflict can be avoided or minimized. Many countries in Africa are not able to work out effective and regular.
patterns of political succession, and competing dominants often take recourse to gun - with tragic consequences. This undermines political stability and causes untold human suffering.  

Emmanuel Hansen, believes that, the basic point for the study of peace, in conflict management (resolution) is only a minimal condition for the achievement of stability. The first, real condition is to understand the nature and character of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. This implies two things - an identification of the salient issues and adoption of the appropriate methods. On the question of issues of peace and security, some of the important ones to consider might be, the causes of conflict, the nature and dynamics of conflict, the patterns of conflicts, the effect of conflict, the involvement of external powers in Africa's conflicts and so on. Other issues could be, problems of conflict management (resolution) and the mechanisms for peaceful resolution of conflict and the conditions for peace management and the effects of conflicts on the developmental goals of the country and the sub-region as a whole.

The present collection is an attempt to fill this vacuum and other gaps apparent in the dominant paradigm, not by extending the range of orthodox causes and concerns but rather by switching to an alternative mode of analysis. This mode might facilitate exploration and explanation, for instance, conflict management and transnational linkages by situating them in the context of the national components of a world system. And given the continent's common inheritance and articulation, difference in strategy could be identified and explained.

Sub-Saharan Africa has the potential, then to become a popular field of analysis at sub-national, and regional continental levels - in some part because of the multiplicity of countries on the continent and in other because of certain common features present amongst those countries. The majority of African states were incorporated into the world system in response to external rather than internal
changes. And this vulnerability to pressure and demands from the relatively advanced industrialized states has continued to the present day through the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods. As Christopher Clapham notes in his own review of African crisis studies; “The states of Sub-Saharan Africa have enough in common to make treatment of their crisis making process a matter of more than simple geographical convenience”.

Continuing in the same vein, scholars opine about Sub-Saharan Africa is that the region “has a rich diversity of political systems having most varieties extend in third world countries in the post-colonial era. Although most of the region emerge from its colonial past with a political elite that shared a common heritage of institutions and values, socio-economic pressures and political vicissitudes have led to the evolution of distinctly different political styles and systems. The tremendous diversity in national value systems have certainly been a major obstruction to regional unity and integration. At the same time however, it can be assumed that same degree of consensus on political systems does contribute to regional unity. Moreover, when states are geographically so situated that they impinge on each others security and economic development, it becomes imperative for them to interact with each other, despite systemic differences”.

The study of such patterns of conflict management (resolution) and cooperation among sub-Saharan African countries is a part of this research. The analysis has been limited to particular stages in Sub-Saharan Africa due to the following reason. “Sub-Saharan Africa has inherited a volatile ethnic, religious and social mix that generates powerful cross-currents of tension between the states of the region. Because of the complexity and difficulty of the Sub-Saharan Africa, attention has focused on problems associated with its immediate neighborhood and on nation-building, than those of Sub-Saharan African regional conflicts, let alone the world”.

This is exactly what has been proposed by the present research study. It seeks to understand the internal as well as external dynamic of the Sub-Saharan Africa states, as the cause of conflict and crises in the region. For, it has been observed that “in a world where super-powers rivalry is now over, threat perception in Sub-Saharan Africa generate right within the boundary of the region. Moreover, the real threat perception in the region emanates more from the socio-economic political, and psychological factors than from military build-up or power relations between states.

The region is in the process of nation building with accompanying traumas and upheavals. The countries of sub-Saharan region are struggling with the enormous task of national unity in highly pluralistic social settings. Outcome of this is that the intra-state conflict are frequent and have reached a peak on parochial, religious, linguistic and ethnic difference with their effect spilling-over national boundaries and often turning them, into inter-state conflicts. Thus, any research in the Sub-Saharan African conflicts and the role played by OAU in managing such conflicts would require identification of factors and motive which generated such conflicts and extra-systematic challenges that are salient features of the regional conflicts and the way they interact with each other.”

**Approaches And Methods :-**

It has been mentioned earlier, that the approach of the study is conceptual throughout. Naturally, of course, there has been extensive reference to historical material, and has been treated as the raw material for the derivation of relevant conceptualization. It has been used implicitly to ascertain tests of performance. A conceptual approach makes use of the historical evidence in order to go beyond it to ascertain its meaning and significance for the ordering and evolution of social reality in the present and for the future as well. A proper study of conflict management became critical for the physical survival of human race the necessity for social control and evolution of this dimension of the social reality of men’s universe can
neither be exaggerated nor over emphasized. It must be hoped, that the thesis both in its substance and approach contributes to such fundamental purposes as these.

This conception of the relationship between multiple causation and patterns of factors constituting the systematic and enabling preconditions of events is the methodological touchstone of this study. Moreover, it is assumed that conflict may be the ordained order of things but conflict of such a magnitude which involves the possibility of war is not a random (or even frequent) phenomenon and its development by various configurations of particular values of a determinate set of variables, the courses of such conflict are, in fact multiple and systematic.

The elaboration of a list of factors found or hypothesized by previous analysts, to be influential in determining the course of conflict is no great problem. The literature abounds with such lists. In addition to the traditional historical analysis of conflict, in the past decade a significant trend has developed towards the empirical analysis of armed conflict, and its associated activities and behaviors both within and between nations. Various and increasingly complex statistical technique have been employed to define various types of conflict behavior and their social, economic, and political indicators. Significant progress has been made in defining meaningful and fruitful dimensions, in terms of comparing such conflicts and others that all party to them.

Once formally elaborated, the list of conditioning factors constitutes a test instrument that may be applied to selected cases of past and present conflict at a comparable point, in their development there by establishing a systematic base for analysis of their comparabilities. Two problems remain however: at what point in their life cycle should this instrument be applied to the conflicts selected for study? And what criteria should be applied in the selection of conflicts for analysis? To resolve the first problem, a conceptual model was elaborated, founded on the notion
that a regular and specifiable framework of stages exist, through which all conflicts
pass in their life cycles, the end of each stage being marked by the threshold of the
next. The application of the test instrument to each conflict studied at each threshold
through which it passed therefore, established the basis for determining the patterns of
factors, or the conditions, that apply at those critical turning points in the development
of conflict.

This method also served as the basic frame of reference for the selection of
specific conflicts to serve as a data base for analysis. A range of cases was selected
that would illustrate the various possible modes of passage through the conflict
model. A further consideration in this regard was that the conflicts selected for study
should include representatives from each of the traditional types of internal, interstate,
and colonial noted as earlier, so that the viability of these distinctions might be
examined. The final major consideration in selecting the conflicts was that those
included should represent varying degrees of local rather than general conflict. The
latter, flow only from the former and if the model of conflict employed is appropriate,
should be exceptional and expand cases of the localized conflicts that afford the
analyst greater distinction with respect to the geographic boundaries applying, the
interest at variance, the issues involved, and so on.

Here, then, is the methodological foundation for establishing not only the
enabling condition of the various significant stages of conflict, equally but also the
various types of stages that occur in real life. Thus a base exists in theory for
establishing the various condition, and types of conflict, hostilities, escalation,
descalation, termination, and settlement, or management.

Methodology involves a scientific system of explicit rules and techniques
upon which a particular research is based, and against which claims for knowledge are
evaluated. The methodology used in the present research can be explain as...
1. The research is inductive, it is based on reasoning from specific observations to general theory. In the specific context, sub-Saharan Africa conflicts and crisis observed in the region are analyzed further on the basis of conflict management (resolution) theory of international relations.

2. The research is also deductive, that is it proceeds from general theory to specific observations. After applying the basic premises of conflict management (resolution) theory in sub-Saharan Africa context, certain inferences are drawn as internal inadequacies of sub-Saharan Africa states lead to inter-state, and regional conflicts. These regional conflicts retard the imperatives of order, security, and peace, and consequently, the OAU's role and contribution in the post-cold war era scenario get restricted.

3. This research can be categorized as a case study design because it attempts to test the validity of conflict management (resolution) theory of international relations vis-à-vis the important issues of conflict management (resolution), economic progress, human rights of contemporary world system, the specific case of sub-Saharan Africa states.

4. It is also an experimental research design which implies sufficient control over the research variables, units of analysis, and the research environment. In this research, the testing of the conflict management (resolution) theory provides sufficient control over the order, security, stability, and peace variables. The units of analysis being the sub-Saharan Africa states internal and external conflicts, it is possible to study the OAU role in managing conflicts from various perspectives. Moreover, the historical analysis of interactions between these states has been adopted to the requirement for testing the research hypothesis.

5. This research relies heavily on qualitative methods, such as documents and textual analysis, and historical analysis. A detailed document and textual analysis has
been carried out of books, manuscripts, journals, periodicals, magazines, news papers, articles, official documents and seminar papers pertaining to the research topic. Moreover an historical analysis of sub-Saharan Africa dynamics at both national as well as regional levels has been undertaken in order to determine patterns of conflicts vis-à-vis the conflict management (resolution) theory and world scenario premises of the research.

SCHEME OF CHAPTERIZATION:

In order to provide a thorough and systematic analysis of the subject matter, this research has been divided into five interrelated chapters as follows

CHAPTER - 1:  Conflict Management: A Theoretical Perspective
   a. Statement of the Problem
   b. Rationale of the Study
   c. Theoretical Framework
   d. Hypothesis
   e. Literature Review
   f. Methods and Approaches
   g. Scheme of Chapterization

CHAPTER - 2:  Strategies For Conflict Management (Resolution) The Case Of Sub-Saharan Africa.

CHAPTER - 3:  Evolution Of The Organization Of African Unity (OAU); Origin, Structure, Activities And Factors Motivated Its Establishment

CHAPTER - 4:  Interaction And Intervention Between The OAU And Issues Raised In Sub-Saharan Africa

CHAPTER - 5:  Analysis and Conclusion

In this chapter, there is an attempt to situate this problem in an analysis and conclusion covering two aspects, general as well as particular. And finally, in the context of its hypothesis, it ends with concluding observations on the future prospects of conflict management in Sub-Saharan Africa.
FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES


2. Ibid.

3. For instance, where decolonialization proved to be a messy affair as the former Belgian Congo (now the democratic republic of Congo) and threat to Soviet intervention became a real possibility, the USA intervened using the agency of the United Nation, to keep the Soviet out and to put in power a government which would guarantee the protection of American interests. As a result many African states went through a series of political convulsions between the options offered by the USA on the one hand and those of the Soviet on the other. Notable among them are Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Somalia to mention few.


9. The 30 African States at the Inaugural OAU Meeting were Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville) Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Cost, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta
13 Ibid., p. 2
14 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ralph Miliband, Marxican and Politics, Oxford University Press, 1977, p 108
21 Ibid
27 Ibid., p 218
28 Op cit, 24, p vii.
29 Ibid.
31 Ibid, pp 20 - 21
33 Ibid
34 Op cit, 1, p 11
35 Ibid, p 12 - 22
39 Op cit, 1, p 7
40 Bruce Russett, World Handbook of Political and Social Indications, New Haven : Yale University Press, 1964, for more details see, Q Wright Memorandum on Inter-State Conflicts, New York, 1955, p 2
41 Ibid, P 6