

# Conflict Security and The Right to Development

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**Abstract:** Conflicts are inevitable in human relations; they have been considered a regular part of human existence. The African continent is plagued with a plethora of conflicts, reasons why most scholars have referred to it as the home of conflict. The right to development is a fundamental human right and a third generation right. On the whole this paper presents an examination of conflict security, causes of conflict security and their effects on the right to development, the nexus between conflict security and development within the paradigm of the human security, generic and the human rights-based approach. As a way out of the predicament of wars and conflicts that has affected Africa, it is apt to offer some valuable suggestions based on a thorough analysis of the causes of the problem. In this wise, two major broad solutions may be experimented with intent to bail Africa out of recurrent conflicts and wars. These are committed and sincere leadership and eradication of poverty.

**Key Words:** Conflict, Security Right to Development.

## Introduction

Conflict security and development in Africa has generated such a constant international debate in the recent decades. The prevailing discourse on these matters has been pessimistic. The prevalence of armed conflicts within certain phases of the African colonial state, the regression of socio-economic indicators, poor democratic processes as a result of the bad leadership from political elites and widespread corruption.<sup>1</sup> We must underscore that conflict are inevitable in society however if poorly handled it retard the enforcement of the right to development. This grounded in the human rights-based approach which seeks to ensure that the state who is duty bearer put in mechanisms to ensure that the generic needs of society are identified secured and protected. On the whole this paper presents an examination of conflict security, causes of conflict security and their effects on the right to development, the nexus between conflict security and development within the paradigm of the human security, generic and the human rights-based approach.

## Conceptualizing Conflict Security and Development

### ❖ Conflict

Conflict has been defined variously by scholars. To Holsti (1983:350) conflict is a particular relationship between states or rival factions within a state which implies subjective hostilities or tension manifested in subjective economic or military hostilities. As per Coser<sup>2</sup> on his part views conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to injure or eliminate their rivals. Conflicts could, however, be violent or uncontrollable, dominant or recessive, resolvable or insolvable. This presupposes that violence is not an inherent aspect of conflict but rather a potential form that conflict may take. But then, unfolding events in world history suggest that most conflicts are violent, inflicting life-long injuries on their victims apart causes loss of life.

Two broad categories of conflicts have been identified. These Internal conflicts (or intra-states conflict) is one in which the governmental authorities of a state are opposed by groups within that state seeking to

<sup>1</sup> R. Grasaet *al*, ICIP WORKINK PAPERS: 'Conflict Peace and Security in Africa: Assessment and Questions After 50 years of African Independence, 2010/08

<sup>2</sup>L.A.Coser, "Social, Aspects of Conflict" *International Encyclopedia of Social Science*, New York, (1986)

overthrow those authorities with force of arms.<sup>3</sup> Internal conflict may also be seen as one in which armed violence occurs primarily within the borders of a single states.<sup>4</sup> International conflict or interstate conflicts on the other hand take place between two or more nations and involve forces of more than one state. It is apt to observe that Africa has experienced both types of conflict over the years. However, Africa has also witnessed a third type of conflict, namely”, internationalized internal armed conflict. Such conflicts, which are essentially civil wars, have varying degrees of external involvement. Examples include the conflicts in the Democratic republic of Congo (DRC), Angola and Sierra Leone.

Conflicts are social problems which two or more persons, families, districts, communities, states or nations are at war with each other. Conflict is part of our human existence and a natural part of our daily life”.<sup>5</sup> From the foregoing, it is apt to say that human nature is a perpetual cause of disagreement, conflicts and quarrel if not prevented or resolved have far reaching effects on the right to development.

#### ❖ Security

Security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from severe and widespread threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. This in line with the human security theory which aims at providing a conducive environment for peoples’ survival and dignity.Paragraph 143 on Human Security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document (A/RES/66/290), 10 September 2012 extols on security as: The Resolution saw the General Assembly agree that the human security approach identifies and addresses widespread and interrelated challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people. Based on this, a common understanding of human security was agreed upon: the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair.<sup>6</sup>

#### ❖ The Right to Development

The concept of development is an inalienable human right which is conferred on all human beings to participate in and contribute to, and enjoy economic social cultural and political development. In which all human rights are fully realized. Moreover, development entails complete transformation brought about by economic development through industry and industrialization. Implies amelioration of poverty and of other problems. Expanding the freedoms that people enjoy. Includes whatever is done in the name of development. Furthermore, “Development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting therefrom.”<sup>7</sup>The human person is the central subject of the development process. The creation of conditions favourable to the development of peoples and individuals is the primary responsibility of the State. Equal integration of all international human rights: civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural. Equality of opportunity for development is a prerogative both of nations and

<sup>3</sup>O.Eminue, “Conflict Resolution and Management in Africa: A Panorama of Conceptual and Theoretical Issues” *African Journal of International Affairs and Development*, Vol. 9, No 1 and 2(2004)

<sup>4</sup>David, S.R. “Internal War, Causes and Cure”, *World Politics*, 49. (July 1997).

<sup>5</sup> A. Nider, O.M & Mile T.J (eds), *Peace & Conflict Resolution, Basic Concepts, Theories and Issues*, 2003, Success World publications, Makurdi, p 6.

<sup>6</sup><https://www.un.org/humansecurity/reports-resolutions/> accessed on 29/07/2019. The resolution also outlined the principles and the approach for advancing human security and its application to the current priorities of the United Nations. Key human security initiatives undertaken by Governments, regional and sub-regional intergovernmental organizations and the organizations and bodies of the United Nations system were presented as examples of the reach of this important concept and its growing acceptance. The report concluded by identifying the core elements and the added value of human security, and provided a set of recommendations as a follow-up to the above-mentioned commitment.

<sup>7</sup> Para 2 of the preambular provision of the Declaration of the Right to Development 1986

of individuals who make up nations.<sup>8</sup> This adds values to the right of development because human rights are enshrined in a set of internationally agreed legal and moral standards. Such universally agreed standards are largely absent in conventional development theory and practice. Human rights are inalienable, every human being is entitled to the same human rights from birth, human rights cannot be taken away or given up, human rights are universal and human rights treaties establish the basic civil, political, economic, social and cultural entitlements and freedoms of every human being –anywhere in the world –at all times. The understanding of conflict security and the right to development is further enhanced by analyzing the causes of conflict and their effects on developments.

### **Causes of Conflicts and Implications on Development**

The general causes of conflict are sub-divided into root, secondary and tertiary causes.

#### **❖ Inept Leadership**

Africa has consistently suffered from the problem of inept leadership which has retarded political integration and unity in almost all African states. Given the heterogeneous composition of most African states, perhaps what they needed most are the virtues of administrative tact, political tolerance and social justice. These essential ingredients are to be provided by the continent's leadership. Unfortunately, the realities on ground in most African nations have revealed that most African leaders are weak, corrupt and unpatriotic. Apart from retarding national integration and socioeconomic developments, the attitudes of these rulers have sparked off widespread bloody violence. Sudanese, Nigerian, Algerian, Liberian and current Anglophone crisis lend credence to the fact that African leaders have failed to forge national unity in their respective countries.

Based on these conflicts and current observation, one cannot but agree with Adedeji,<sup>9</sup> when he posits that: what African countries have lacked during most of their history, as independent states are leaders who are unifiers, chiefs in the true sense, who bind wounds, hold everything and everyone together, mobilize and motivate their people, pursue a policy of inclusion rather than exclusion and are seen by one and all to be of the highest integrity and beyond suspicion. The point therefore is that African leadership must be acceptable to all sections of the community if the process of integration is not to be halted. Until then, a recurrence of conflicts across Africa may continue to be a common phenomenon which down plays on the right to development.

#### **❖ Corruption**

One of the major factors responsible for internal conflicts in Africa is the devastating impact of corruption. Corruption, manifested in the embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds, has paralyzed development efforts and caused debilitating immobilization in the march towards socio-economic transformation and political integration in Africa. Africa's resources have been badly managed over the years that masses are fed up with their leaders. This has provoked militant nationalism against Africa leaders. The result, expectedly, is the unending conflict across Africa states. The Africa Union itself acknowledges the debilitating impact of corruption on the political and socio-economic stability of Africa states. This perhaps explains the adoption of the "Africa Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption" by the 2nd ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union on 11 July 2003. The convention is meant to, among other things, promote and strengthen the development in Africa by each state party, of mechanisms required to prevent, detect, punish and eradicate corruption in the public and private sectors.

#### **❖ Poverty**

<sup>8</sup> Intrinsic Elements of the Right to Development 1986

<sup>9</sup> Adedeji, A *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The Search of Sustainable Peace and Good Government*, London, Zed Books, (1999)

Africa is one of the poorest continents of the world. This is largely due to harsh environmental conditions, corruption and huge foreign debt that exacerbate the conditions of poverty.<sup>10</sup> For instance, desertification has contributed to famines in a number of African states such as Ethiopia and Mali. As a result, the number of people living in extreme poverty in sub-Saharan Africa grew from 217 million in 1987 to more than 300 million in 1998.<sup>11</sup> If therefore the saying is true that a hungry man is an angry man, then conflicts may for long be a part of Africa life owing to this situation of absolute poverty prevalent across the continent.

#### ❖ **Unemployment, Lack of Education and Population Pressure**

Countries with high levels of unemployment among young men and where male educational levels are low face a far higher risk of conflict. Throughout Africa, factional conflict has drawn on a pool of marginalized or socially excluded young men. Increase in insecurity over land tenure in Rwanda and the high levels of rural unemployment provided a ready group of participants in the genocide there. The conflict in Liberia and the conflict in Anglophone region is was fought by socially marginalized young men.<sup>12</sup> The fact is unemployed persons cannot live dignified lives which is the purpose of the 1993 Vienna Declaration and program of action in its Article 1 Para 9 provides for economic reforms jobs and liberalization of the private sector as a mean to foster economic growth and development.

#### **Effects of Conflict security on Development**

The unending political tensions, wars and conflicts in the continent have had lasting negative impact on the socio-economic development of Africa because socio-economic development cannot be sustained in an environment riddled violence insecurity with violence, instability and insecurity. Some of these are examined here-under.

##### • **Poor Reconstruction**

Impact of wars and conflicts on Africa's development. All countries coming out of conflict face major challenges of reconstruction in order to avoid a recurrence to violence. It is needless to state that during war times, infrastructural facilities are wantonly destroyed while loyalty, patriotism and mutual relations are broken between hitherto friendly peoples and nations. Such broken relationships must be mended to ensure lasting peace between belligerent groups while the destroyed facilities are to be replaced. It is worthy of note that this amounts to a total waste of material resources and unnecessary dissipation of energy on unproductive ventures. This has been the general trend of events in Africa and has been retarding growth and development in the region.<sup>13</sup>

##### • **Unemployment**

Wars and conflicts in Africa have combined to compound the problem of unemployment in the continent. Today, throughout Africa, high rate of unemployment, particularly of youths, is a major source of concern. It has been growing at an annual rate of 10%. In countries coming out of conflict, many young people not only lack employment; they have also been denied education and economic empowerment because of war. It is instructive to note that former combatants

<sup>10</sup>S. M Patience Munge, 'Impacts of Financial Aid of Financial Aid on the Respect of Human Rights and Development in Cameroon' *African Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol9, No.2, 2018

<sup>11</sup> C, Cook, and Killingray, D. (1983). *African Political Facts Since 1945*, London/Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd.

<sup>12</sup> International Crisis group, 2017

<sup>13</sup>Global Coalition for Africa (2004). *African Social and Economic Trends, 2003/2004*, Washington, D.C

without any gainful employment will engage in crimes especially in a country where there is less control over firearms. The prevalence of such downplays the right to development in society.

- **Death and Loss of Lives**

A good number of Africans have perished as a result of conflicts; young men and women and children due to the various wars and conflicts on the continent. For instance, in Rwanda about 800000, people were reportedly massacred. Similarly, in Burundi about 200000 lives were claimed in a civil war in the year 2000. In Liberia about 250,000 lives were lost between 1990 and 2004 a similar story could be recounted for Sierra Leone in which 200000 lives were claimed from 1991 to 2001 the Anglophone regions under crisis in Cameroon are nearing 1000 deaths.<sup>14</sup>

However, the most disheartening case was Sudan which claimed the lives of over 2 million it is disheartening to note that this unprecedented loss of lives in Africa as a result of wars and conflicts is having debilitating impact on human resources available to Africa. The services of the departed souls whom God has endowed with great skills, talents and potentials are no longer available to be harnessed for Africa's development

- **Refugee problem**

A refugee is a person who owing to his well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or political opinion outside his country of nationality, not having nationality and being a former habitual residence and unwilling to return to it as a refugee.

It is sad to note that violence and lawlessness have caused a severe humanitarian crisis in Africa as many displaced people are now spread throughout the continent. For instance, in Liberia, the 2004 Report of the Global Coalition for Africa,<sup>15</sup> noted that an estimated 700,000 were internally displaced as at 2003. The spill-over effects of the Liberian conflicts were felt in neighbouring countries through increased refugees flows. About 3000 Liberians were hosted by Nigeria at the height of the crisis while an appreciable number of them also became refuge in Guinea. In Sudan, an estimated 4.7 million Sudanese were displaced during the nation's prolonged civil war. Currently, in Cameroon the displaced people stand at 530000 internally displaced and 35000 refugees in Nigeria.<sup>16</sup> This condition unfertile for growth and development.

#### **A way forward to Conflict Security and the Right to Development**

As a way out of the predicament of wars and conflicts that have bedeviled Africa, it is apt to offer some valuable suggestions based on a thorough analysis of the causes of the problem. In this wise, two major broad solutions may be experimented with intent to bail Africa out of recurrent conflicts and wars. These are committed and sincere leadership and eradication of poverty.

- **Committed and Sincere Leadership**

African states need committed and sincere leaders that will lead by example and who act as good, responsible and responsive fathers to all the component sections and peoples in their countries so as to promote peace and harmony within the confines of their respective countries.<sup>17</sup> This can be done in several ways as examined seriatim.

- **Even Distribution of Resources**

African leaders must ensure an even distribution of resources among the various geo-political zones in their countries. Marginalization of one unit/

<sup>14</sup> International crisis group report 2018

<sup>15</sup>Supra Foot note

<sup>16</sup><https://www.crisisgroup.org/Africa>. Accessed 29/06/2019

<sup>17</sup> Article 1 and 7 UBDRD



group should not be allowed in order to win the support and cooperation of all and sundry and to avoid any feeling of alienation.<sup>18</sup>

- **Promotion of the rule of Law**

African leaders should also endeavor to promote the rule of law.<sup>19</sup> This involves equal access to justice by all citizens irrespective of their status, respect for court decisions by the government and influential, and conduct of free and fair periodic elections among others. When and where leaders promote the rule of law as indicated above, there are a guarantee of peaceful coexistence among people and a peaceful transition of power from one government to the other. Succession dispute related conflicts that are very rampant in Africa may thus be easily eliminated.

- **Respect, Fulfilment and Protection of Human Rights**

African leaders should also promote, protect and guarantee the fundamental human rights of their citizens.<sup>20</sup> In particular, the fundamental rights of freedom of speech<sup>21</sup>, association and religion should be guaranteed.<sup>22</sup> People should be free to assess and criticize the performance of government without fear of persecution. Opposition must be tolerated while the fourth realm of government, the press, must not be censored. In this wise governments would always be kept on their toes to deliver qualitative leadership, provide a conducive environment for development as underpinned by the Human rights-based approach, in line with the triple pronged theory making the government the duty bearers to guarantee the right to development.

#### **Relationship between Conflict Security and the Right to Development.**

The first step in creating a more satisfactory basis for managing the interrelationships between security and sustainable development is to broaden our vision. Conflicts may arise not only because of political and military threats to national sovereignty; they may derive also from environmental degradation and the pre-emption of development options. There are, of course no military solutions to 'environmental insecurity'. And modern warfare can itself create major internationally shared environmental hazards. Furthermore, the idea of national sovereignty has been fundamentally modified by the fact of interdependence in the realm of economics, environment, and security. The global commons cannot be managed from any national center: The nation state is insufficient to deal with threats to shared ecosystems. Threats to environmental security can only be dealt with by joint management and multilateral procedures and mechanisms.

Contemporary wars are intrastate conflicts, which often have far-reaching regional as well as international dimensions and ramifications. Such conflicts not only rupture a country's development; they are often the consequence of the failure of a country's developmental efforts. The nexus between development and security is an important one, but it is only beginning to be understood and addressed by the international community<sup>23</sup>.

For better comprehension of this nexus, we will narrow it down to Africa. Connection between conflicts in Africa and its lack of development seems to speak for themselves. The 1990s saw three million African people killed while 160 million lived in countries 79 of the 82 conflicts of the last decade and 90% of casualties were civilians<sup>24</sup>. Average income per capita in the continent is less than the 1960s, and it has largest proportion of the world's poor<sup>25</sup>. African wars are fought with few military resources so that appropriation of natural resources is a natural form of accumulation. Resources become used for pillage protection money, to trade for arms, labour exploitation, land, and to claims for its mineral and water

<sup>18</sup> Article 8(1) UNDRD

<sup>19</sup> Article 3 UNDRD

<sup>20</sup> Article 5 UNDRD

<sup>21</sup> Article 6 UNDRD

<sup>22</sup> Preamble Cameroon Constitution 1996 as amended in 2006, Article 45 make it law.

<sup>23</sup> Flavius. P, the security-development nexus: conflict, peace and security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. International peace institute 2004.

<sup>24</sup> *Conflict, Peace and Development – Rights and Human Security in Africa*, by Steve K. 2003.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid

resources. Conflict is obviously anti-developmental, and an arena where the civilian poor, and women in particular are likely to be the major casualties.

Within Africa four key structural conditions lead to violent intra-state conflict: authoritarian rule, marginalization of ethnic minorities, socio-economic deprivation and inequality, and weak states lacking capacity to manage conflict effectively. The potential for conflict is heightened when these conditions are simultaneously present. Other problems add to that potential – lack of fit between nations and states due to the imposition of the 80,000 kilometers of colonial borders, land and environmental pressures, the small arms trade in itself linked to resource-based conflict, debt, and economic imbalance and unfair trade practices.

Within the last fifteen years the inter-relation between conflict and lack of development has been overlaid by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Conflict has arisen in response to stabilization programs where Southern regimes under pressure from Northern financial institutions and growing balance of payments constraints introduced policies abandoning social services. Policy moved from fulfilling popular demand to the removal of market barriers so that state-society relations become highly confrontational.

But conflict, including violent conflict, can also drive forward development and the fight for liberation and justice, as in South Africa. It is the reaction of social elites which determines whether such conflicts become violent. Violence may also be a liberating outlet for disaffected youth with no economic future and available for clan warlords as in Somalia or for gerontocratic leaders hanging on to power like in Cameroon. Equally, development can provoke conflict over resources and/if its benefits are inequitably distributed arguably a contributory factor in the Rwanda genocide). Emergency aid in 1980s Somalia for victims of war and drought subsidized clan warfare. Terrorism is not strongly linked to poverty, but more to frustration, alienation and humiliation by, for example, colonization or marginalization. Peace (or negative peace in the words of Johan Galtung's) may hide major fault lines and human rights abuses, as is currently happening in Cameroon. Often gender discrimination is the most hidden, which poses problems for those who want a quick fix in peace-making and development.

At the moment we see a number of paradoxes when analyzing the link between conflict and development. Indeed, historically, those working in peace/conflict resolution and those in development (for cynics neither of them spectacularly successful) long occupied different spheres (first- and second-generation human rights). Rethinking, started in the mid-90s after post Berlin Wall hopes of a new international order were dashed by Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Angola. Conflicts subsumed under Cold War ideologies have now become more properly understood. The conflict and development disciplines are edging closer to each other nervously bringing 'identify', 'democracy and good governance' with them. Increasingly, both spheres are aware that globalization in making the world safe for investment is simultaneously widening inequalities and provoking insecurity as it reaches into less opened up regions. In response, there have been the beginning of a reordering of international human rights work marked by: new international institutions like the International Criminal Court and various tribunals, qualifying absolute state sovereignty in the interests of a people's right to protection ('responsible state sovereignty'), tying basic human needs (including the right to enjoy self-ascribed identity) into conflict avoidance or management (human security) and a critical examination of humanitarian intervention and the role of the UN (including the Brahimi Report).

It is clear that the right to development is an inalienable right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized<sup>26</sup>. The human person is the central subject of development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development<sup>27</sup>. However, the presence of conflict hinders development. The human person is equally the central subject of conflict. Consequently, when there is conflict, the human rights to development cannot be exercised.

<sup>26</sup> Art. 1 Declaration on the right to development.

<sup>27</sup> Art.2UNDRD

Therefore, for the right to development to be effectively realized and enjoyed, there must exist security and positive peace. It should be noted that not all conflict situations will hinder development as some conflict situations like political liberation will bring about development.

The maintenance of peace and security is the responsibility of nation states. They are to promote the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security. By so doing, the right to development will be attained<sup>28</sup>.

### Conclusion

Summarily, conflict security and the right to development and two sides of the same coin. This is because the presence of conflict security signifies to a greater extent the absence of development, while the absence of conflict and the presence of peace and respect of human rights will pave the way for the promotion and respect for the right to development, which is a fundamental human right.

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<sup>28</sup> Art. 7 of the Declaration of the right to development.