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**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

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**RESEARCH TOPIC:**

The role of the East African Standby Force (EASF) and SADC Standby Force (SSF) in dealing with recurring armed conflict in Kivu, 1998 – 2016

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT**

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	<b>ASSESSMENT ITEM</b>	<b>OBTAINED MARK</b>	<b>MAXIMUM POSSIBLE MARK</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Comprehension of the research process</b>		<b>15</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Clarity of the topic</b>		<b>5</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Familiarity of research methods</b>		<b>10</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Relevance of research methods</b>		<b>10</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Adequacy of data gathered</b>		<b>15</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Clarity of objectives</b>		<b>10</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Adequacy of evidence presented</b>		<b>15</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>Relevance of the problem of statements</b>		<b>10</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>Relevance of recommendations</b>		<b>5</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>Appropriateness of conclusion</b>		<b>5</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>		

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## **APPROVAL FORM**

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommended to the Midlands State University a dissertation entitled: THE ROLE OF EAST AFRICAN STANDBY FORCE (EASF) AND SADC STANDBY FORCE (SSF) IN DEALING WITH RECURRING ARMED CONFLICT IN KIVU, 1998 – 2016

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**DISSERTATION TITLE:** THE ROLE OF EAST AFRICAN STANDBY FORCE (EASF) AND SADC STANDBY FORCE (SSF) IN DEALING WITH RECURRING ARMED CONFLICT IN KIVU, 1998 – 2016

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## **Dedication**

To my children

Wadada and Wakanaka...



## **Acknowledgements**

Studying the Congo has been an eye-opener to a crisis that is hindering African peace, security and development. I have had a special interest in the Congo since Zimbabwe's intervention in the Second Congo War in aid of Laurent-Désire Kabila's under-siege government. It is from this long-standing interest that the opportunity to study International Affairs gave me the chance to contribute to efforts aimed at finding lasting peace in a country that is strategically, politically, economically and socially important to African development.

I would like to first and foremost thank the Almighty God for giving me the wisdom and guidance to conduct this research. I also pay tribute to my family who have endured the long nights of study and block visits to the Midlands State University (MSU) campuses over the past year. My mother, Christina who facilitated my study as a moral and financial benefactor deserves special mention in this regard.

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For Wadada and Wakanaka

## **Abstract**

The research attempts to proffer solution to an armed conflict whose perpetuity is crippling and stifling Africa's peace, security and sustainable developmental thrust. Using both qualitative and quantitative research methods through interviews and questionnaires respectively, and buoyed by an encompassing literature review the research set-out to proffer solution in arresting recurrent armed conflict in eastern Congo. The solution is the role of East African Standby Force (EASF) and the SADC Standby Force (SSF) under the authority and command of the African Standby Force (ASF); can play in dealing with armed conflict in Kivu. The collective security theory was used to provide a guideline and framework within which the envisioned synergy of regional Forces can work in bringing to an end an armed conflict that has spelt-out dire consequences towards African aspirations towards development. The researcher concluded that; African mechanisms towards peace and security need to be given all the internal support Africa through the African Union (AU) can muster in making the ASF viable, vibrant and vigilant in attending to Africa's endemic crises such as the continued unrest in Kivu. Further, the researcher argues that; "bringing an end to the Kivu unrest will bode well for African aspirations towards meeting her developmental pathway ensconced in declarations such as Agenda 2063". Finally, the researcher calls on the AU to institute contributions of US\$ 2 million each from Member States towards making Africa less reliant on foreign funding. The contributions are reasonable and within the capacity of AU Member States to contribute towards the realisation of making the ASF a reality. US\$ 2 million is a modest figure, considering how much money Africa's economies lose out through international crime, for example. Thus, it is the thrust of this paper to advocate the institution of home-grown solutions to home-grown problems.

## Acronyms

ADF-NALU	Allied Democratic Forces-National Army for the Liberation of Uganda
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUPSC	African Union Peace and Security Council
CNDP	National Congress for the Defence of the Congolese People
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EASBRIG	East African Standby Brigade
EAC	East African Community
EASF	East African Standby Force
ECCASBRIG	Economic Community of Central African States Brigade
ECOBRIX	Economic Community of West African States Brigade
FAR	Armed Forces of Rwanda
FARDC	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
M23	March 23 Movement
MONUC	United Nations Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
NASBRIG	North African Standby Brigade
NCIP	Northern Corridor Integration Projects
ONUC	United Nations Operation in the Congo
RECs	Regional Economic Communities

RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
SADCBRIG	Southern African Development Community Brigade
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSF	SADC Standby Force
TFTA	Tripartite Free Trade Area
UN	United Nations
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force
ZNA	Zimbabwe National Army

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1. Research topic

### **The role of East African Standby Force (EASF) and SADC Standby Force (SSF) in dealing with recurring armed conflict in Kivu, 1998 – 2016**

Kivu (North Kivu and South Kivu) remains a volatile and restive region of eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC); following recurrent armed conflict albeit, feeble attempts by the international system of states in brokering lasting peace. The result is a seemingly never-ending conflict that has seen millions of people killed, raped, maimed or displaced.

It is in this light that the topic of the research was formulated in a bid to find lasting peace seeing that the international system under the auspices of the United Nations (UN), has dismally failed Africa and her people in attaining peace, security and sustainable development. Flared-up armed conflict in eastern Congo is one such engagement denoting the glaring failure of the UN whose, “foremost responsibility is related to the maintenance of peace and security but, the system of collective security envisaged by the Charter have never in fact operated as anticipated”.<sup>2</sup>

The conflict has its roots in the Belgian colonial administration which promoted the mass immigration of Rwandans and manipulated ethnic power structures.<sup>3</sup> Rwandan-Tusti

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<sup>2</sup> Renninger, J.P. (ed) (1989). *The Future Role of the United Nations In An Interdependent World*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, The Netherlands, p. 3. Meaning the UN is yet to fully apply and implement the means to effectively achieve global peace and security, if its robust and yet ineffective peacekeeping missions (MONUC and MONUSCO) are taken into perspective. It is in this light that the paper seeks to proffer a home-grown solution through the synergy of EASF and SSF under the auspices of ASF in finding peace and security in eastern DRC.

<sup>3</sup> Jason Stearns has conducted extensive research on the eastern Congo conflict. In this publication *North Kivu: The Background to Conflict in North Kivu province of Eastern Congo* (2012), Stearns provides an in-depth and yet easy-to-read book on the conflict in Kivu.

migrations into Kivu during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods are central to understanding intricate ethnical influences at the heart of the conflict as the study posits.

Relatively, the author identifies the First (1994 – 1996) and Second (1998 – 2003) Congo Wars as having laid the foundations of the recurrent conflict under study in this paper. The volatile situation is further compounded through the control of ‘conflict minerals’ by various armed groups – national armies and rebel militias alike. For example, Coltan<sup>4</sup> has been identified by many scholars into the Congolese crisis as a mineral single-handedly fuelling the on-and-off conflict since, the signing of the Lusaka Agreement in 2002.<sup>5</sup>

The study also takes note of the intricate ethnic, cultural and language dynamics perpetrating the armed conflict. A successful intervention in the Congo will have to seriously consider the ethnic, language and cultural determinants. Africans and Africans on their own are well-versed to relate to these considerations hence, the proposed deployment of East African Standby Force (EASF) and SADC Standby Force (SSF) under the command and authority of the African Standby Force (ASF).

Further, increasingly frustrating failure and slow-pace responses to the armed conflict in eastern Congo have given rise to calls for Africans to find African solutions to African problems. Guided and guarded by Ali Mazrui’s *Pax Africana*, and the African Union’s (AU) Agenda 2063, the author envisages Africa being; able to at last solve her own problems that threaten peace and security.

The preamble to Agenda 2063 reads, “the continent should effectively learn from the lessons of the past, build on the progress now underway and strategically exploit all possible opportunities available in the short, medium and long term, so as to ensure positive

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<sup>4</sup> “Coltan (short for columbite-tantalite and known industrially as tantalite) is a dull black metallic ore from which the elements of niobium and tantalum are extracted. Tantalum from coltan is used to manufacture tantalum capacitors, used in electronic products” – Tantalum-Niobium International Study Centre, [www.tanb.org](http://www.tanb.org)

<sup>5</sup> The Lusaka Agreement signed in Lusaka, Zambia (July 1999) between belligerents of the Second Congo War, dubbed ‘Africa’s World War’ by some scholars of international relations including Louisa Carpenter.

socioeconomic transformation within the next 50 years”<sup>6</sup>, thus giving this study its scope and focus on advocating for the deployment of EASF and SSF in Kivu, a region ravaged by the vagaries of a war that has over the past decade-and-a-half become endemic. Finding lasting peace and security will have far-reaching positivity for the combined citizenry of the east and southern African regions, in which DRC not only finds dual membership in various regional economic communities (RECs) straddling the regions but also, the country is geopolitically strategic for the developmental benefit of millions of people.

According to *The Africa Report*; “DRC borders, Zambia and Angola in southern Africa; Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda in the east and Congo (Brazzaville) and Central African Republic in central Africa”<sup>7</sup> thus, making her a strategic and important political and economic player in Africa.

### **1.1. Background to the study**

The study premises on the conflict in Kivu, and how a collective security arrangement involving the East African Community (EAC) and Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) could be the catalyst to kick-starting the conceived ideal of an effective ASF as the panacea for Africans to solve African problems and desist from overly relying on external participation in the attainment of peace and security.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been the amphitheatre for armed conflict since its independence from Belgium in 1960. However, the study dwells on the period spanning the First Congo War (1996 – 1997) and the Second Congo War (1998 – 2003). It is in this period that the seeds to the escalating violence understudy were sown. Focus is also placed on the instigative role conflict minerals have played in perpetrating the conflict as-well-as, entwined ethnic, cultural and language ramifications many scholars of this conflict have identified as, “catalyst to the prolonged armed conflict in Kivu”.

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<sup>6</sup> Preamble to Agenda 2063 [www.agenda2063.au.int](http://www.agenda2063.au.int)

<sup>7</sup> *The Africa Report*, No. 36, December 2011 – January 2012

Following the end of the Second Congo War in 2003, Kivu has perennially become a hot-bed of armed conflict which lingers to this day. In response, the UN has committed the biggest and most expensive peacekeeping mission in its history. The peacekeeping mission begun as the, United Nations Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), which assumed a largely observatory role in monitoring the implementation of the 1999 “Lusaka Accord”<sup>8</sup>. However, the mission was to later assume stabilisation functions as a protracted stand-off among warring parties continued. According to [www.cfr.org](http://www.cfr.org); “When incumbent President Joseph Kabila Kabange requested the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Congo in 2007, the mission assumed more engaging roles militarily thus becoming the, United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO)”<sup>9</sup>.

Further complicating the brutal intrastate-cum-interstate war is a plethora of insurgent militias both Congolese and foreign, that are both active and inactive causing untold suffering to battle-weary Congolese, Burundians, Rwandese and Ugandans. Ted Dagne observes, “Over the past 14 years, the former Rwandese armed forces and the Interahamwe militia used eastern Congo as a safe haven and carried out many attacks inside Rwanda and against Congolese civilians”<sup>10</sup>.

The ability of insurgent forces to form, cause havoc and vanish, leaving room for others to resurface has seen MONUSCO and the fledgling Congolese army, *Forces Armees de la Republique Democratique du Congo* (FARDC, Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo) failing to bring peace in Kivu. In fact, the changing nature of the peacekeeping mission coupled with; resource exploitation, complex ethnic and cultural linkages seem to have complicated the thrust towards a pacific settlement of the long running dispute. The

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<sup>8</sup> Lusaka Accord was signed on July 10, 1999, in Lusaka, Zambia. Those signing were leaders of six countries involved in the conflict: Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe; leaders of the Congolese rebel groups did not sign. Among its provisions, the accord called for a cease-fire, and deployment of UN peacekeeping troops. ([www.cfr.org/africa-sub-saharan/lusaka-accord-1999/p23760](http://www.cfr.org/africa-sub-saharan/lusaka-accord-1999/p23760))

<sup>9</sup> The author argues in the first instance, the changing nature and weak implementation of the peacekeeping force as being catalyst in the escalation of armed conflict in the Kivus.

<sup>10</sup> Ted Dagne (Specialist in African Affairs), ‘*The Democratic Republic of Congo: Background and Current Developments*’, September 1, 2011. Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report for Congress



research proffers solution through the interventionist role of EASF and SSF in finding lasting peace and security in Kivu.

### **1.1.1. First Congo War:**

“More than three decades after Mobutu Sese Seko seized power in a 1965 coup”<sup>11</sup>, the Congo, which he renamed Zaire in 1972 (in a bizarre nationalisation policy of all things Congolese including the thrust towards indigenous names of people including himself from Joseph-Désire Mobutu to Mobutu Sese Seko)<sup>12</sup>, was apprehensive and had endured enough of his dictatorial, authoritarian and repressive regime.

As if the bizarre Zairisation policy was not enough, the country with all its God-given endowment of various minerals, natural resources, flora and fauna; sunk to trajectory levels of abject poverty, political authoritarianism and totalitarianism. The concomitant problems bedevilling the country led to incitement of an insurgency that gathered momentum and popularity in Kivu which was still recovering from the horrors of the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

A violent rebellion swept across the country in mid-1996 emanating from eastern Congo’s South Kivu province and was led by exiled long-time Mobutu critic, Laurent-Désire Kabila. With the aid of Rwanda, Uganda and a mixture of Hutu Interahamwe fighters with historical linkages to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and ‘Banyamulenge’<sup>13</sup>; Kabila led the rebellion that toppled Mobutu, in the process reversing Zairisation by renaming of the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

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<sup>11</sup> In 1965 after a power struggle had developed between President Kasavubu and his premier, Moïse Tshombe. Mobutu removed Kasavubu in a coup <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Mobutu-Sese-Seko>

<sup>12</sup> The changing of all names including the river, the country and the currency became known as Zairisation

<sup>13</sup> Banyamulenge is a term used to denote ethnic Tutsis, originally from Rwanda, who settled in South Kivu province of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) prior to the colonial period. However, the name Banyamulenge in modern times is also used as a generic term to refer to all ethnic Tutsis in South Kivu province

The author argues; “it is the propensity of Kivu to provide sanctuary for rebellions as illustrated in the both wars of the Congo that gave the current crisis its foundation and forte to launch attacks particularly from Congo’s flip-flop neighbours – Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda”. Further, the author notes, “self-interests of *ex-Forces Armees Rwandaises* (FAR, Armed Forces of Rwanda), Hutu Interahamwe and Banyamulenge who participated in the ouster of Mobutu, gave rise to uneasiness and mistrust among former allies, leading to the commencement of the Second Congo War”.

### **1.1.2. Second Congo War:**

As the gun fire the First Congo War was fading-away; former comrades-in-arms, Laurent-Désire Kabila (now Congolese President) and the uneasy coalition of Rwanda, Uganda combined with *ex-FAR* and Hutu Interahamwe militias turned their guns on each other sparking the Second Congo War.

*Ex-FAR* and Hutu Interahamwe retreated to eastern Congo to continue their offensive into Rwanda where they had sought to dislodge the Paul Kagame-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) that is credited to having stopped the mass genocide of 1994. This prompted Rwanda and Uganda to enter eastern Congo in a bid to thwart the insurgency and depose of the fragile government of President Kabila who ironically, they had helped assume power barely a year before.

For the umpteenth time insurgency emanated from Kivu and Kabila sought help from fellow SADC Member States. “Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe intervened igniting what some notable diplomats termed ‘Africa’s First World War’”, U.S. Defence Attaché, Richard Orth observed.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Richard Orth spent 26 months as the Defence Attaché in Rwanda from August 1996 until October 1998; much of the information in this paper comes from his personal observations and experience. He served as Defense Attache to Uganda from May 2003 until July 2005. However, the author has strong reservations on the Second Congo war being labelled “Africa’s First World War”; as the war only involved African states and had no world-wide engagement to be labelled as such.

Further, as witnessed in the First Congo War, much of the fighting emanated from eastern Congo thus, entrenching volatility in Kivu. The need for an African-led intervention in the Congo gives regional forces the impetus to form a collective security arrangement in dealing with escalating violence in the volatile region.

Ted Dagne, accounts for the effects and influences of the First and Second Congo Wars making Kivu a battlefield, in his Congressional Research Service Report, entitled; *'The Democratic Republic of Congo: Background and Current Developments'*. The report prepared for the United States Congress is an important literature resource in understanding the ramifications of the Congo wars, with the observation that; the wars effectively became the 'launch pad' of the current on-and-off armed conflict at the centre of this study. Dagne (2011: 1) observes; "the first rebellion to oust the late President Mobutu Sese Seko begun in the city of Goma in the mid-1990s. The second rebellion in the late 1990s began also in eastern Congo". The assertions by Dagne depict the region's proneness to armed conflict.

It is worth noting, the history of wars originating in eastern Congo is at the heart of this study hence, the advocacy to proffer solutions to lasting peace, security and development in the DRC. The wars have made Kivu a sanctuary aiding the proliferation of rebel groups.

### **1.1.3. Use of conflict minerals by warring militias:**

Further complicating the perpetual armed conflict is the exploitation of conflict minerals such as coltan by various role players – rebel militias and national armies alike. Coltan is used to enrich the military leadership and sustain the war effort – thereby prolonging the armed unrest in Kivu.

Relatively, DRC's brutal history, the 1994 Rwandan genocide, First and Second Congo Wars and mired ethnic and cultural ramifications play a critical role in making vivid an in-depth understanding of the background to the volatile crisis in eastern Congo. The role of regional forces is a remedy the study prescribes in responding to the armed conflict understudy.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

Congolese instability is detrimental to the peace, security and developmental aspirations of the EAC and SADC regional blocs and consequently, the whole African continent. Belgian colonisation of the Congo, gave a new meaning to violence as noted by narrator/producer Peter Bate in the opening salvos of the *BBC Channel 4* documentary, *Congo – White King, Red Rubber, Black Death*. Bate laments, “When a series of missionary photographs arrived in England in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, they caused outrage. The mutilations had been strategically photographed against white but maximum impact. The child came from the Congo but, the man accused for their suffering was white, European and royal. For over a hundred years evidence has remained dormant on one of the century’s mass murders. Millions of Africans died in one man’s quest for wealth and glory”. The assertive documentary is cognizant in supporting evidence of a prolonged violence in the Congo, which has permeated over the centuries to become the foundation of the violence witnessed today in the restive Kivu.

Academic Monika Thakur says, “The motivations of armed groups and militias operating in Kivu can be understood at three crucially constructive and reinforcing levels. The first and overarching level is an emphasis on personal enrichment (at the individual and leadership levels) and ‘criminal’ economic-related activities (at the organisational level), including occupying and controlling mining areas, keeping supply routes open for arms/ammunition and logistics, arms trafficking, illegal tax collection and looting. At the second level, many militias are motivated by the prospect of providing security for their communities, reinforced by a dangerously ethicized configuration. The third level, which is closely linked to the second level, involves taking advantage of the post-transition political climate and resisting the demilitarisation process”.<sup>15</sup>

The motivations spurring violence in Kivu are crucial in understanding the gravity of the problem. Add to that, a robust but seemingly weak and indecisive peacekeeping mission in operation for over a decade but to no avail. The author berates MONUC and MONUSCO as having failed in their mandate of maintaining peace and security in the Congo. As evidenced elsewhere in Africa the behemoth organisation has grappled and struggled in installing peace and security.

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<sup>15</sup> Monika Thakur is Assistant Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at the American University in Cairo and has carried extensive research on the conflict in Kivu.

Relatively, the use of conflict minerals particularly coltan in financing the war points to a prolonged armed conflict if action is not swiftly taken. “The DRC is rich in minerals, including copper, diamonds, uranium, gold and coltan. Coltan, a combination of columbium-tantalite, is today among the most important strategic mineral found in the Congo”, Moyroud and Katunga (2002: 117) argue. Coltan is extensively used in the manufacture of electrical products and digital devices at the behest of the technological revolution in contemporary international relations.

Entwined ethnic, language and cultural dynamics prevalent in Kivu, can be seen playing a pivotal role in fuelling the prolonged armed conflict. The mass migrations between Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and DRC over the past two centuries are central to understanding the contentious ethnic, language and cultural differences complicating the road to peace and security. Stearns (2012: 7) observes, “Violence has exacerbated tensions between local communities, in particular a rift between so-called indigenous groups – those communities whose presence is most entrenched – and the Hutu and Tutsi populations, most of whom arrived as immigrants during the colonial and post-colonial periods”.

Sexual violence has become synonymous with the unrest in eastern Congo. According to the Human Rights Watch Report of 2002, authored by Juliana Kippenberg; “Sexual violence has been used as a weapon of war by most of the forces involved in this conflict. Combatants of the RCD, Rwandan soldiers, as well as combatants of the forces opposed to them – Mai Mai, armed groups of Rwanda Hutu and Burundian rebels of the Forces for the Defence of Democracy (*Forces pour la defense de la democratie, FDD*) and Front for National Liberation (*Front pour la liberation nationale*) – frequently and sometimes systematically raped women and girls in the last year”.<sup>16</sup>

Relatively, it is in this light that the research has been conceptualised. The author is of the view that; obstacles to sustainable peace, security and development should be dealt with urgently, in a bid to ensure Africa’s developmental thrust surges ahead unperturbed. The

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<sup>16</sup> Juliana Kippenberg, ‘*The War Within War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in eastern Congo*’. Human Rights Watch Report: 2002

Kivu unrest is a problem that presents Africa and her people the opportunity to strengthen the much endeared unity pronounced in 1963. The role of EASF and SSF in bringing peace and security can effectively begin the self-reliance of Africa in solving her own problems as the study posits. Columnist and researcher Adekeye Adebajo supports this author's view on Pax-Africana noting, "Africans solving African problems rekindles the Ali Mazrui *Pax-Africana* ideology".<sup>17</sup>

### 1.3. Research objectives

The research objectives involve among others; "the discovery of new facts, verifications of tests and facts, solving problems, testing research methods and tools and developing analysis into an event, process or phenomenon", according to Chilunjika.<sup>18</sup> Research into the armed conflict in Kivu needs to be undertaken in a bid to fulfil the following objectives:

- Capacitate and ignite the already established but, inactive ASF as a mechanism to effective pacific settlement of disputes and action towards threats to the peace or breaches of the peace in accordance with Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter and Protocol 13 of the African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC).<sup>19</sup>
- Equip Africa's response mechanism to enable Africans to begin solving their own problems in accordance with the AU's Agenda 2063 and the founding ideology of African unity encapsulated by Ali Mazrui's *Pax Africana* doctrine and the; aspirations of Africa's founding fathers, Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Emperor Haile Selassie (Ethiopia) and Sekou Toure (Guinea) among others.
- Give impetus to the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and its most recognisable component the PSC in taking a leading role in solving African problems.

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<sup>17</sup> Writing in the *Business Day*, October 20, 2014, columnist Adekeye Adebajo observed on Mazrui's ideology; "His idea of "continental jurisdiction" was a sort of a "Monroe doctrine" urging outsiders to stay out of the continent. In the related idea of "racial sovereignty", Mazrui argued that inter-African interventions by brotherly outside states were more legitimate than those of outsiders. So, who killed Pax Africana?".

<sup>18</sup> Aloise Chilunjika MSIA 713: Research Methodology notes on research objectives. Chilunjika is a lecturer in the Department of Politics and Public Management at Midlands State University (MSU), Zvishavane Campus.

<sup>19</sup> Protocol relating to the establishment of the African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC). Adopted by the 1<sup>st</sup> Ordinary Session of the African Union, Durban, South Africa, July 9, 2002

- Challenge the international system headlined by the UN in reforming its operations so that the organisation can satisfactorily meet its Chapter 1 mandate of maintaining international peace and security.

#### **1.4. Research question (s)**

The key research question is: How can the role of EASF and SSF be effective in finding a peaceful solution to armed conflict in Kivu?

Subsidiary questions to the research include:

- What is fuelling continued armed conflict in Kivu?
- What conflict resolution mechanisms were in place prior to the conceptualisation of ASF in 1997?
- Has the January 2016 target to launch the ASF been met?
- Where else in conflict-prone Africa can a synergy of regional Forces deploy in dealing with armed conflict?
- What impact will a successful home-grown collective security arrangement in eastern Congo have for the rest of the continent?
- Why have MONUC and MONUSCO failed to bring peace and security in Kivu?

#### **1.5. Significance / Justification of the study**

The research agitates for the strengthening of the ASF in becoming an effective collective security mechanism in view of UN Charter, Chapters VI and VII requirements towards pacific settlement of disputes and action towards threats to the peace and breaches of the peace; in conjunction with the Protocol Establishing the AUPSC.

Importantly, the study is closer to home since, “the ideal of the African Standby Force was first deliberated on in Harare in 1997 on the occasion of the African Defence and Security Chiefs’ meeting chaired by General Vitalis Zvinavashe”, Major-General Trust Mugoba of the

Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) observes.<sup>20</sup> Zimbabwe's initiative links to the ASF gives credence to Zimbabwean scholars taking a proactive role in the study and research of peace and security issues on the African continent. Relatively, the study complements a rich resource base of similar studies that have been undertaken by various scholars on the Congo. In this light, the study seeks to proffer solutions towards the strengthening of Africa's response to armed conflict.

## 1.6. Theoretical framework

Collective security is the major theory at the heart of the research. However, in a bid to broaden the scope and focus of the study, interdependence and neo-liberalism theories can play a supporting role in enriching the theoretical framework. Collective security theorist George Schwarzenberger (1964) says, "Collective security system is understood as machinery designed to protect a given status quo against being overthrown by force or in any other illegal manner".<sup>21</sup>

In addition, collective security approaches entail, "a commitment by all states to cooperate against an aggressor and also in the face of an internal threat, though the latter has not been experienced in contemporary international relations" Mondhlani argues.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, it is in this light that the role of EASF and SSF will break new ground in countering armed conflict.

Interdependency theories are influenced by the view that; global states are immensely dependent on each other for their very survival raising importance on the role EASF and SSF can play in quelling armed conflict in Kivu. Neo-liberal theories also support the understanding of this topic as they dwell on the increased significance and role of

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<sup>20</sup> Major-General Trust Mugoba is the Zimbabwe National Army's Chief of Staff General Staff. He was speaking to *The Sunday Mail* News Editor Morris Mkwate in Harare on November 25, 2015. The article titled, '*Waging peace: Creating an African Standby Force*' appeared in *The Sunday Mail*, December 6, 2015. p. 6

<sup>21</sup> George Schwarzenberger is one of the foremost proponents of the Collective Security approach. Other notable scholars in this theory include; John Galtung, Elise Golding and Adam Curl among others.

<sup>22</sup> Mondlani, H.M. (1990). *Collective Security in Africa: Problems and Prospects*. University of Zimbabwe, Thesis Collection. A thesis fulfilling part of the requirements of the Master of International Relations degree, p. 1



international organizations in contemporary international relations. The study premises on the AU, UN and RECs giving the neo-liberal theory a foothold in this reading.

“The twentieth-century hope that international organisations might serve to prevent war or, failing that, to defend states subjected to armed attack in defiance of organised efforts to maintain the peace, has been epitomized in the concept of collective security”, Claude, Jr. writes in the opening salvo of his engaging paper – *Collective Security as an Approach to Peace*. The essay intently provides the guidelines upon which collective security machinery comprising of contingents from EASF and SSF can be mobilized and deployed in eastern Congo.

However, it is important to note, the research is open to the use and application of other theories that help in explaining the understating of the eastern Congo conflict. Realism, liberalism, constructivism and structuralism can logically be applied in the theoretical framework. For this research to be replicable it leaves room for the application of any other theory of international relations.

### **1.7. Literature review**

According to [www.writing.utoronto.ca](http://www.writing.utoronto.ca); “A literature review is an account of what has been published on a topic by accredited scholars and researchers”.<sup>23</sup> It is important to note, the conflict in the DRC has over the past three decades witnessed increased study and research giving the subject area a rich literature resource base. The literature review for this study is seen taking a thematic approach as; the study purports to capture through scholarly drafted themes, the root causes of the conflict. Knowing the root causes of the conflict is important in understanding the feasibility of deploying the ASF as the study posits.

According to the Writing Centre at the University of North Carolina; “thematic reviews of literature are organised around a topic or issue, rather than on the progression of time”. The themes devised for this study are in tandem with the various Chapters that have been conceptualised.

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<sup>23</sup> [www.writing.utoronto.ca](http://www.writing.utoronto.ca)

Literature review permeates throughout this paper as seen in through the different Chapters whose scholarly chosen themes benchmark the use of relevant literature. The study provides an in-depth analysis stretching back to when “*Crisis in the Congo*”<sup>24</sup> headlines dominated world news in 1960 following the ouster of the Patrice Lumumba government.

The paper dwells on the literature review to provide a guiding framework to the reader on the type of literature used (books, journals, news articles, documentaries and online sources) in line with the scope and focus of the study – invigorating and instigating the ASF to kick-start deployments in earnest. The literature review is important in reaching the understanding as to why the study is being proffered? The literature used has been academically chosen to answer these and other questions.

### **1.8. Research methodology**

Research methodology or simply, methodology is a significant Section, as it dwells on justifying the research methods used in the paper. The research shall be guided by a mixed methodology that uses both the qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Mixed methodologies are in common-use in contemporary social science research hence, the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Deacon, et al (1998: 1) argue, “A research method offers researchers enormous opportunities to contribute to current knowledge and debate”. Studying the armed conflict in eastern Congo provides numerous opportunities – the proposed deployment of the ASF being the crowning moment for opportunities towards peace, security and sustainable development. The study premises on the use of mixed methods so as to capitalize on the strengths of both the quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

Quantitative methodology is reflective of the cause-effect relationships to phenomena under-study – resolving armed conflict in eastern Congo. What are the causal-effects of the

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<sup>24</sup> *News World* documentary, ‘*The Assassination of Patrice Lumumba*’. Produced by Thomas Giefer on the *Political Assassination Series*.

conflict? The one cause of the war is continued use of conflict minerals such as coltan to fuel and sustain the war. The effect has been continued disintegration and destabilisation of Kivu, giving credence to this study in finding remedy towards peace and security. Causal relationships are ensconced in the quantitative research paradigm.

Further, “quantitative methodology is routinely depicted as an approach to the conduct of social research which applies to a natural science and in particular a positivist, approach to social phenomena”, Bryman (1988: 75) adds. Therefore, it is in this light that the paper uses the quantitative methodology.

Debates and discussions as to which methodology gives better results are common, and researchers are torn between the quantitative and qualitative approaches. Bryman (1988: 75) observes; “the debate over the relative virtues of quantitative and qualitative methodology has gained considerable impetus”. The research herein endeavours to relate to both methodologies in a bid to come-up with an all-round understanding of how best this recurrent armed conflict can be effectively dealt with.

Qualitative research informs the other methodology and is mainly concerned with; “involving an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter, meaning that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them”, Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 2) observe.

It is worth noting, the study will gain invaluable insights if it can be linked in collaboration with Pole Institute and the Rift Valley Institute.<sup>25</sup> The author is of the view that; the methodology used in this research paper is of paramount importance in firstly, understanding the intricacies to the conflict. Understanding these intricacies is drawn from the various militias, national armies and the MONUC/MONUSCO peace-keeping missions to the; ethnic, cultural and language determinants. The concomitant mix of intricacies requires a mixed

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<sup>25</sup> Goma-based *Pole Institute* and Nairobi-based and London-Headquartered, Rift Valley Institute, have been identified as key resource institutions the author hopes to work with in making this research gain voice and impact in calls towards deployment of the ASF in eastern Congo. Pole Institute is in Goma, the epicentre of the conflict over the past two decades, whilst the Rift Valley Institute has conducted extensive research and study into the Kivus.

approach of research methods that includes both the quantitative and qualitative methodology.

Secondly, the use of mixed methodology informs a better understanding of the proposed solution to dealing with this destructive conflict – the role of EASF and SSF under the auspices of the ASF and; mandated by the writs encapsulated in Protocol 13 of the AUPSC. The mixed methodology chosen for this study leads to the following discussions<sup>26</sup>:

- Discussion of literature search technique
- Discussion of data required
- Discussion of alternative methods of data collection
- Discussion of question content and data required
- Discussion of the format of the questionnaire (s) / interview (s)
- Discussion of sample
- Discussion of the phrasing of questions
- Discussion of the response formats
- Discussion of the data collection method
- Note on data analysis technique
- Review of the methodology used for the research

On further cementing the justification of using mixed methods, Hansen, et al (1998: 91) notes; “researchers should not only consider which is the most appropriate method for the study of their chosen topic or problem but also what combination of research methods will produce a better and deeper understanding of it”.<sup>27</sup>

### **1.8.1. Research design:**

- Mixture of quantitative and qualitative research methods as it offers a more engaging uptake in understanding the underlying themes to the conflict

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<sup>26</sup> The discussions on the various aspects of methodology have been adapted from Hazel Hall’s online article, *Dissertation Hints: Writing up your dissertation* – [http://www.nubs.napier.ac.uk/%7EHazel/diss\\_write.htm](http://www.nubs.napier.ac.uk/%7EHazel/diss_write.htm) 12/13/01. The discussions thematically package the methodology section, providing an in-depth understanding of the research methods used in this paper.

<sup>27</sup> Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R., and Newbold, C. (1998). *Mass Communication Research Methods*. London: Macmillan, p. 91

- Use of one-on-one interviews with scholars and other relevant people central to the study such as DRC Embassy staff, Congolese nationals and journalists
- The endeavours to continue through the setting-up of a website / blog on the eastern Congo conflict. Use of online questionnaires and polls will be used to gain insights from the online audiences

### **1.8.2. Sample selection:**

Deacon, et al, (1999: 40) says, “Sampling issues involve all kinds of areas, most commonly people, social groups, events, activities, institutions and texts”.<sup>28</sup> Non-random sampling techniques will be used in this research as the sample selection will not be determined by chance as seen in the random sampling techniques.

As noted earlier, a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods will be employed thereby suiting the non-random sampling techniques. “Although non-random sampling is most commonly a feature of qualitative research, it is also sometimes used in quantitative research”<sup>29</sup> hence, the justification of the sample selection.

Types of non-random sampling techniques include; quota sampling, theoretical sampling, snowball sampling, typical-case sampling, critical-case sampling, convenience sampling and focus group sampling. However, in a bid to remain within the thrust of ascertaining the envisaged successful synergy of regional Forces, the study will premise on the use of theoretical sampling.

Using theoretical sampling is effective as, “the researcher deliberately seeks out respondents who are most likely to aid theoretical development by extending and even confounding emerging hypotheses”.<sup>30</sup>

### **1.8.3. Methods of data collection:**

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<sup>28</sup> Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Golding, P., and Murdock, G. (1999). *Researching Communication: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis*, London: Edward Arnold, p. 40 – 60

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

- Interviews
- Literature review
- Questionnaires

### **1.9. Data analysis:**

Data analysis forms an integral part of the research processes as an in-depth assessment of the information gathered is undertaken. The SWOT and comparative analysis are used in analysing the data collected.

#### **1.9.1. SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis:**

- **Strength:** of the data collected for the study i.e. is the data aiding the understanding, scope and focus of the study?
- **Weaknesses:** in the data collected i.e. what gaps in information collected have been observed?
- **Opportunities:** the data presents to the study i.e. does the data proffer opportunities for the study to make the intended impact the author envisaged in the beginning?
- **Threats:** to the data i.e. is the data authentic? Does it not cause any misunderstanding to the issues under study?

**1.9.2. Comparative analysis:** comparative analysis is a crucial aspect aimed at raising increased understanding and formulation of informed viewpoints of issues in contemporary international relations. The data collected is compared with data collated in similar studies in the arena of global peace and security issues

#### **1.10. Ethical considerations:**

- Seeking clearance to commence research in January 2016. Have already made the following contacts: Major-General Trust Mugoba (ZNA, Chief of Staff General Staff); Joshua Makuva (ZRP, United Nations Peacekeeping Mission to Indonesia); Ibbo Mandaza (SAPES Trust); Morris Mkwate (*The Sunday Mail* – News Editor)
- Remain within the confines of the study which is focused on the synergy of regional forces in dealing with armed conflict
- Study is open to further research as Africa seeks African solutions in solving her own problems

- Inform the supervisor (Mr. Chikerema) of any development at any stage of the research

### **1.11. Delimitations of the study**

The study will be enriched by an intended visit to SADC Headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana, while the rest of the study will be conducted on location in Harare. Engagements will be made with officials from the DRC Embassy in Harare; EAC Headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania; SADC Headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana; and Goma-based Pole Institute. It is worth noting, the envisaged visit to EAC Headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania may be taxing but, a visit to Gaborone will be possible.

### **1.12. Limitations of the study**

Distance and financial resources will be major detriments as the author seeks to go on location into eastern Congo and conduct interviews with both civilian and military elements. Also on the cards is an intended visit to SADC Headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana. Since qualitative research methodology will largely dominate the research pathway, albeit the use of quantitative methods as well, the interview mechanism will remain the focal point of data gathering.

### **1.13. Structure of the study**

The structure of the study is conceptualised through various Chapters of the study:

#### **1.13.1. Chapter 1: Introduction**

The research is imperative in proffering African solutions to African problems in view of the consolidation of ASF; AU initiative Agenda 2063 and importantly, in tackling the scourge of interstate and intrastate wars on the continent. The topic was chosen primarily on the basis of finding solutions to an armed conflict that has dire political, economic, military and social repercussions in both the EAC and SADC regions. Chapter 1 encapsulates the research proposal to this study bent on finding solutions to lasting peace and security in Kivu.

### **1.13.2. Chapter 2: Understanding the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)**

In Chapter 2 the aim is to immediately take the reader into understanding the APSA in terms of; its design, development and mandate. Relatively, the study advocates for the revitalisation of the APSA seeing that international efforts under the stewardship of the UN have not been effective in dealing with the destructive and perpetual armed conflict in Kivu. Understanding the APSA is crucial in aggregating the AU's prerogative towards peace, security and sustainable development on the continent.

### **1.13.3. Chapter 3: Analysis of the Recurrent Armed Conflict in Kivu**

The background to the crisis in the Congo provides an in-depth understanding into the ramifications of the recurrent conflict in Kivu. The main role players notably; the various rebel militias, national armies, international and regional organisations involved in finding peace in eastern Congo are looked at in this segment. Understanding the background and activities on the ground highlights the possibility of the purported mobilisation and deployment of the EASF and SSF.

### **1.13.4. Chapter 4: Africa's Political Economy In View of the Kivu Unrest**

In a bid to understand the possibility of the synergy of EASF and SSF, the paper takes into account Africa's political economy. African countries through their representative RECs have shown willingness to cooperate as-seen-in engagements such as; the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA), the Northern Corridor Integration Projects (NCIP) in EAC and SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP).<sup>31</sup> The developmental initiatives show that, RECs can work together in finding home-grown solutions to home-grown problems. Africa's political economy becomes an important focal point of the study. The DRC provides a fundamental and strategic development platform due to her immense geographical size and location, as-well-as her membership to RECs that straddle the eastern

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<sup>31</sup> Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA), Northern Corridor Integrated Projects (NCIP) in EAC and the SADC Industrialisation Policy, are developmental programmes the paper constantly refers to showing the greater possibility of African countries working together for a common cause.



and southern African regions. Add to that, her vast natural and mineral resources make a strong case for the role EASF and SSF can play in finding peace in Kivu.

#### **1.13.5. Chapter 5: Conclusions, Summary and Recommendations**

Based on an expansive thematic literature review the paper is a replicable study proffering solutions to finding lasting peace, security and sustainable development in Kivu. The conclusions, summary and recommendations take the reader through the main points highlighted in the entwined Chapters but, importantly premises on two major recommendations; wither UN interventions in African conflicts and propel the AU to take a leading role in dealing with African conflicts. The author is of the view that; UN reform and AU reinvigoration towards peace and security on the continent is crucial in effectively addressing the regress defined in Kivu.

## Chapter 2: Understanding the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)

### Introduction

“Africa continues to face serious challenges in the field of peace and security, which undermines socio-economic development efforts, cause catastrophic humanitarian consequences and contribute to project a negative image”, *Southern Africa Today* observes in a February 2015 editorial.<sup>32</sup> The observation paints a grim picture of African efforts towards peace and security hence, the immediacy and urgency the paper places on understanding the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

APSA is designed and developed in the AU’s peace and security ambit, as encapsulated in Article 3 (f) of the Constitutive Act which notes the organisation’s perseverance to; “promote peace, security and stability on the continent”<sup>33</sup> thus, the study seeks to provide an informed understanding of the architecture giving justification to the role of EASF and SSF in dealing with recurrent armed conflict in Kivu.

Solomon Dersso, (2010: 1) argues, “In the post-Cold War era, the peace and security scene of Africa has changed dramatically. This change relates not only to the changing nature of conflicts and the focus of the discourse on security, but also to the various initiatives taken by Africa to institute an effective peace and security regime”.<sup>34</sup>

Prominent scholar on Africa’s peace and security apparatus Dr. Hussein Solomon further argues; “The launch of ASF is critical, given constraints at the UN level – both resource and political (the use of Veto), the establishment of the ASF was truly groundbreaking in that it

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<sup>32</sup> Southern Africa Today, *Peace and Security: The State of Peace and Security in Africa*, Vol. 17, No. 2, February 2015, p. 8 – 10. Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), Belgravia, Harare. Southern Africa Today is published six times a year by SARDC for the SADC Secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana, as a reliable knowledge source on regional development – SARDC

<sup>33</sup> Constitutive Act of the African Union, Article 3 (f), p. 5

<sup>34</sup> Solomon Dersso. *The Role and Place of the African Standby Force Within the African Peace and Security Architecture*, Institute for Security Studies (ISS) Paper 209, January 2010, p. 1

operationalized the term Responsibility to Protect or in traditional African parlance concretising the notion of Ubuntu – our common humanity”.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, this study into home-grown solutions towards peace and security, is important in finding remedy to dealing with armed conflict in Kivu and other African ‘hot spots’ (that include; central Somalia, north-eastern Nigeria and northern Mali). The role of EASF and SSF will be understood better if an in-depth knowledge and investigation of the APSA is undertaken.

Today, Africa is steadfast in instituting concrete dictates towards sustainable peace, security and development as; “the AU shakes off its historical image as an unnecessary bureaucratic organisation with little impact on real issues”.<sup>36</sup> Because the AU is working towards repositioning its long-established aspirations and mechanisms towards peace and security, the APSA becomes crucial in accounting for the progress made thus far.

Therefore, it is in this light that the author envisages the role of EASF and SSF under the command and authority of the ASF as a stepping stone in achieving some of the following:

- Kick-start the already established ASF in Kivu, considering the far-reaching regional implications this conflict has.
- Working towards Agenda 2063 in making Africa adequately responsive to the detriments towards peace, security and sustainable development.
- Strengthening the AUPSC as an effective guarantor of peace and security on the continent.

The author observes; in view of the imploding violence in Burundi following President Pierre Nkurunziza’s contested third-term bid, Kivu could once more be plunged into fresh unrest and outbreak of violence. History has shown armed violence has the penchant to scale-up in countries bordering Kivu at the slightest dent of instability. In this light, the paper gives focus on understanding the APSA so as to advocate for the role EASF and SSF can play in arresting recurring unrest in Kivu.

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<sup>35</sup> Dr. Hussein Solomon is senior professor in the Department of Political Studies and Governance at the University of Free State, South Africa. In *‘Critical Reflections of the African Standby Force: The Case of the SADC Contingent’*, Solomon, addresses the SADC component of ASF

<sup>36</sup> Correspondents: ISS Africa and *Daily Nation* article accessed from; *The Herald*, Tuesday 26 January, 2016. *‘African Union in historical shake-up’*, AU Special Report, p. 8

## 2.1. Background to formation of the APSA

Origins of the APSA can be traced to more than half-a-century ago when the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)<sup>37</sup> was formed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 25 May 1963. OAU through its mandate to proffer African unity effectively gave birth to a continental peace and security framework that was to be fine-tuned and capacitated by the AU nearly four decades later.

Researchers, writers and scholars on Africa's peace and security issues, Alhajo Sarjoh Bah, et al,<sup>38</sup> provide an encompassing and holistic perspective of the origins of the APSA in their book, *Africa Peace and Security Architecture: A Handbook*. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Published book is an important read in understanding the conceptualisation of the APSA.

The book points-out the historical events in the transformation of the OAU to the AU and the structuring of the AUPSC and its linkages to related organs at REC-level; becoming the keynote characteristics of the APSA. Further, the ASF and the continental Early Warning System (EWS) to brewing crisis are important in understanding the APSA.

The 94 page book provides an important literature base as it lays focus on the APSA through its various chapters. Chapter 5 looks in-depth at the ASF. Other chapters in tandem with this paper include: Chapter 2: The Historical Evolution of the African Union; Chapter 3: The Peace and Security Council and Corresponding Organs at the RECs and Chapter 4: The Continental Early Warning System and Corresponding Structures in the Region.

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<sup>37</sup> The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (May 1963 – July 2002) preceded the African Union. The OAU's main objectives, as set out in the OAU Charter, were to promote the unity and solidarity of African states; coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States; rid the continent of colonisation and apartheid; promote international cooperation within the United Nations framework; and harmonise members' political, diplomatic, economic, educational, cultural, health, welfare, scientific, technical and defence policies – <http://www.au.int/en/history/oau-and-au#sthash.f0KEuH7T.dpuf>

<sup>38</sup> Alhaji Sarjoh Bah, Elizabeth Choge-Nyangoro, Solomon Dersso, Brenda Mofya and Tim Murithi (2014). *The African Peace and Security Architecture: A Handbook*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Addis Ababa Office and the African Union

Sentiments by Major-General Trust Mugoba<sup>39</sup> of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) captured in an article entitled, *‘Waging peace: Creating an African Standby Force’*, (*The Sunday Mail*, 6 December, 2015: 6); give further testimony to the origins of the APSA. “The 1997 architecture was an improvement to the Organisation of African Unity’s original idea of having an African High Command – a force that would constitute all armies in Africa. It was easier to manage regional economic groupings and establish standby brigades/forces”, Mugoba observed. The article is used as an important literature resource in understanding the origins and composition of the ASF.

Speaking to the author, *The Sunday Mail*, News Editor, Morris Mkwate noted, “origins of APSA need to be well-read from both a military and civilian stand-point so as to understand the impeccable role of the different contingents in this case the EASF and SSF”.<sup>40</sup> The ASF is the most prominent appendage of the APSA and its deployment is cognizant with the role of regional Forces in dealing with armed conflict.

The OAU’s timid approach in dealing with peace and security issues saw the organisation grapple with imposing itself as an authoritative implementer of peace and security. The AU has swiftly acted-upon the weaknesses of the OAU in a bid to cement her mandate of unifying the continent. The assertions captured in the *‘African Peace and Security Architecture’*, Conference Report, 14 – 15 September 2009, justify these claims. “There was a particular discussion of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) and the concern, in the face of conflict and atrocity on the continent, to replace the traditional “non-intervention” stance of the OAU with a stance of “non-indifference” to events elsewhere by the AU”<sup>41</sup>, the Conference Report (2009: 2) reveals.

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<sup>39</sup> Major-General Trust Mugoba is the Zimbabwe National Army’s Chief of Staff General Staff. He was speaking in an interview with *The Sunday Mail*, News Editor, Morris Mkwate in Harare on November 25, 2015. The article titled, *‘Waging peace: Creating an African Standby Force’* appeared in *The Sunday Mail*, December 6, 2015, p. 6

<sup>40</sup> *The Sunday Mail*, News Editor, Morris Mkwate, was speaking to the author in an interview conducted in Harare on Monday, May 9, 2016.

<sup>41</sup> The African Peace and Security Architecture, Conference Report: Addis Ababa, 14 – 15 September 2009, p. 2.

The command-centre of the envisioned synergy of EASF and SSF is an ASF made-up of both military and civilian elements. Major-General Mugoba notes, “Initially, the idea was to form brigades, which was purely a military component. It was then realised that there was need to include police and civilian elements to bring in the multi-dimensional phenomenon common in peace support operations”. The paper lays focus on the civilian and military components in understanding the background to the design and development of the APSA.

### **2.1.1. Military contingents of the ASF**

Bah, et al, (2014: 50) account for the envisioned composition of the different regional Forces observing; “The ASF is organized into five regional standby forces, previously known as regional brigades. The formation of the regional forces includes a full time Planning Element (PLANELM); a Logistics Depot (LD); a Brigade Headquarters; and the Pledged Brigade Units”.

Solomon Dersso (2010: 7), writing in the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) Paper 209, January 2010 accounts for the military contingents of the APSA stating; “In all the five Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the ASF has representation. The ASF was to be organised into five regional brigades: the Southern African Development Community Brigade (SADCBRIG), the East African Peace and Security Mechanism known more commonly as the East African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG), the North African Regional Capability Brigade, better known as the North African Standby Brigade (NASBRIG), the Economic Community of West African States Brigade (ECOBRIg) and the Economic Community of Central African States Brigade (ECCASBRIG) also known as the Multinational Force of Central Africa – each comprising 5,000 personnel, bringing the total to 25, 000 personnel”.<sup>42</sup> The ISS Paper No. 209 critically examines the design and development of the APSA.

As earlier highlighted by Major-General Mugoba, the design and development of the ASF was initially bent on capacitating the military contingents from Africa’s representative

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<sup>42</sup> Dersso, S. (2010) *The Role and Place of the African Standby Force within the African Peace and Security Architecture*. ISS Paper 209, January 2010, Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, p. 7

regions. It is only at a later stage that the police – civilian elements came into being and the Dersso paper is supportive of these assertions. The military contingents are important in understanding the role of EASF and SSF in the envisaged deployment in Kivu where the regional Forces can mobilize more than 10,000 well-trained and equipped military personnel giving credence to the thrust towards finding lasting peace in the volatile eastern Congo.

### **2.1.2. Civilian elements of the ASF**

One of the recognisable features of the ASF is the interactions between the military and civilian elements within the envisaged Forces. The paper, *The Civilian Dimension of the African Standby Force*, co-edited by Cedric de Coning and Yvonne Kasumba is an essential read in understanding the civilian arm of the Force.

The paper delves into the civilian component of the ASF extensively using the experiences of researchers such as; Dorcas Onigbinde, Charles Debrah, Zinurine Alghali and Lamii Kromah in understanding the civilian component of the ASF which places focus on the training of the civilian contingent of the ASF. “Most civilians who are currently deployed in UN or AU missions have not benefited from any peacekeeping training. Individual civilian peacekeepers are experts in their chosen profession, e.g. lawyers, journalists, political analysts, etc. but they need guidance on how to apply their expertise in the highly physically and psychologically challenging, multicultural and dynamic peace operations environment”, (Coning and Kasumba, 2010: 87).

The Coning – Kasumba paper gives the civilian elements of the envisioned ASF prominence highlighting on how civilian dimensions will operate alongside the military contingents. APSA scholars and researchers-alike, have seemingly given prominence to the military element of the ASF thus, making this paper an integral literature resource in understanding the operations of the ASF within the APSA framework.

Therefore, it becomes important for the proposed deployment of EASF and SSF in quelling the Congolese unrest, when the aspirations of the ‘Africa We Want’ are intently looked into. Kick-starting the ASF in eastern Congo is a consideration the AUPSC needs to treat as a matter of urgency.

## 2.2. Kick-starting the ASF in resolving armed conflict

The AU had set January 2016 as the launch of the ASF into active deployment but, missed the deadline. However, the author is adamant the ASF will be launched soon thereby, kick-starting Africa's home-grown solution to peace, security and sustainable development. Mkwate supports the urgency of kick-starting ASF noting, "It is important the ASF is launched sooner rather than later, as this will go a long way in cementing African unity and leveraging the continents' thrust towards peace and security".<sup>43</sup>

Billy Batware another prominent APSA scholar implores the activation of the ASF in his 2011 paper, *The African Standby Force: A Solution to African Conflicts*. The Batware-paper is vivid in advocating for the deployment of ASF in Africa's restive regions as a solution to lasting peace and security on the continent. The paper is resonant with Agenda 2063, whose premise is ensconced in Pan African ideals to unity, cooperation and integration, if the reclamation of Africa is to become a reality hence, fulfilling the long cherished dream to African unity envisioned by our founding fathers – Emperor Haile Selassie I, Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere among others.

Attaining the goals of Agenda 2063 can only materialise if the APSA is revitalized and reinvigorated to procure a holistic African peace and security mechanism. The proposed role of EASF and SSF this paper advocates for is one such mechanism that can usher-in lasting peace crafted by Africans themselves. EASF and SSF are important links to the AUPSC the connoisseurs of the APSA. It is at this juncture that the ASF the most recognisable stratum of the APSA is agitated by this research to be launched as a matter of urgency – starting in Kivu.

The Southern African Resource and Documentation Centre (SARDC) publication, *Southern Africa Today*<sup>44</sup>, captures the Agenda 2063 aspirations in an article entitled, '*African Union*,

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<sup>43</sup> *The Sunday Mail*, News Editor, Morris Mkwate, was speaking to the author in an interview conducted in Harare on Monday, May 9, 2016.

<sup>44</sup> *Southern Africa Today*, '*African Union: Agenda 2063*', Vol. 17, No. 2, February 2015, p. 8 – 10. Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), Belgravia, Harare.



*Agenda 2063: Our aspirations for the Africa we want*. The seven aspirations spelt-out in the article are:

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development
2. An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's renaissance
3. An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law
4. A peaceful and secure Africa
5. An Africa with strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics
6. An Africa where development is people-driven, unleashing the potential of its women and youth
7. Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner.<sup>45</sup>

The ASF has been in place for over a decade now but, has not actively been deployed much to the chagrin of the author and other proponents of African solutions towards African problems. Major-General Mugoba advocates for the launch of ASF noting; “The Force’s activities are political, governed by a political establishment: the AUPSC and Summit. From 1997, subsequent phases entailed drawing a roadmap leading to its operationalisation. Various scenarios were created for its development, with regional economic groupings developing their capabilities”.

In the interview, Major-General Mugoba placed emphasis on kick-starting the ASF with Zimbabweans taking a keen interest since; “the ideal of the African Standby Force was first deliberated on in Harare in 1997 on the occasion of the African Defence and Security Chiefs’ meeting chaired by General Vitalis Zvinvashe”.<sup>46</sup> Zimbabwe’s initiative links to the ASF gives credence to Zimbabweans taking a proactive and leading role in the study and research on peace and security issues on the African continent – it is in this vain the author has chosen to focus on this area of study.

Therefore, kick-starting the ASF is crucial in the justification of this paper which seeks to advocate for the mobilization and deployment of regional Forces in dealing with recurrent armed conflict in eastern Congo.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 8

<sup>46</sup> Major-General Trust Mugoba speaking in an interview with *The Sunday Mail*, News Editor, Morris Mkwate in Harare on November 25, 2015

The research paper by Dr. Solomon Dersso of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) entitled, *'The Role and Place of the African Standby Force within the African Peace and Security Architecture'*,<sup>47</sup> is an important literature resource whose main thrust is, “to highlight the importance and place of the ASF within the APSA and critically examines the potential of the ASF and the challenges facing it as one of the most important mechanisms for the AU’s strategic response to conflicts”, Dersso (2010: 1) argues.

Kick-starting the ASF is important in acknowledging the importance of resolving the Kivu unrest whose repercussions have far-reaching under-developmental implications in both the eastern and southern African regions. Despite a decline in the number of conflicts on the continent in the past decade-and-a-half, African countries are still prone to the incitement of violence, chaos and armed conflict. Recent flare-ups in Burundi, Burkina Faso and the Central African Republic (CAR), give rise to calls for the ASF to be given the much needed boost to take a leading role in resolving African conflicts.

Batware (2011: 1) argues; “The continuation of conflicts in Africa requires a new concept on intervention, one that is fast, reliable and effective. In the mist of UN and international failure to prevent conflicts in Africa, Africans and the African continent through African Union have started to take actions towards solving the conflicts. Many efforts have been made but the African Standby Force (ASF), if successful, might not only be the solution to African conflicts but a model to the UN system as a whole in dealing with maintaining peace in the world”.

### **2.3. Understanding the APSA in terms of the EASF and SSF contingents**

Holistic understanding of the APSA is completed by looking at the EASF and SSF contingents and how they fit into the whole peace and security framework. The logistics and military hardware at the disposal of these contingents is important in giving the case for the role regional Forces can play in the maintenance of peace and security on the continent.

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<sup>47</sup> Dersso, S.A. *'The Role and Place of the African Standby Force within the African Peace and Security Architecture'*, Institute for Security Studies (ISS) Paper 209, January 2010, p. 1 – 24

The role of EASF and SSF is at the heart of this research for it is their envisaged coming together under the ambit of the ASF, which the paper proposes could be the panacea to dealing with a recurrent armed conflict that has destabilized the eastern and southern African regions – politically, economically, socially and militarily.

Relatively, the study is concerned with what the respective standby contingents from EASF and SSF bring to the table in terms of; civilian – military personnel, logistics and military hardware in order for the deployment to become not only a reality but, a resounding success. A successful deployment of ASF in Kivu is heralded to set the tone on how Africa solves her problems in a bid for the continent’s reclamation to kick-off and her nations taking their rightful place in the new world order. Batware (2011) says; “The deployment and maintenance of an effective peace support operation also depends on availability of the necessary infrastructure both for its deployment and an effective and successful execution of its mandate”.

The 2009 article by J. Peter Pham<sup>48</sup> entitled, *Too Few Good Men – and even Fewer Supplies: the Challenge of Peace Keeping in Africa*; identifies the vitality of available infrastructure for deployment to be successful. The article adds to the reader an informed understanding of what peace keeping in Africa entails – the roles, challenges, successes and failures of different United Nations peace keeping missions are analysed.

Understanding peace keeping efforts in Africa brings into sharp analysis, the role of international organisations and RECs in fostering peace and security. The proposed synergy of EASF and SSF should be propelled by the AU which is an international organisation and the EAC and SADC – representing the REC’s.

### **2.3.1. Collective security theory in context of the Kivu unrest:**

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<sup>48</sup> J Peter Pham is a Director of the Atlantic Council’s African Centre and; formerly Senior Vice President of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, and editor of the bi-monthly journal, *American Foreign Policy Interests* – <http://worlddefensereview.com/pham12067.shtml> (accessed 3/12/09)

The paper is guided by the collective security theory in understanding the role of EASF and SSF in finding lasting peace in eastern Congo. Researcher and scholar Inis L. Claude, Jr. writes expressively on collective action in his essay, *Collective Security as an Approach to Peace*. The essay intently provides the guidelines upon which collective security machinery can be mobilized in this case contingents from EASF and SSF.

“The twentieth-century hope that international organisations might serve to prevent war or, failing that, to defend states subjected to armed attack in defiance of organised efforts to maintain the peace, has been epitomized in the concept of collective security”, Claude, Jr. writes in the opening salvo of his engaging paper. The essay unpacks the theory of collective security as an approach to peace – much in the same way this paper envisages collective security in the reality of the role of EASF and SSF in resolving the endemic armed conflict in Kivu.

The role of EASF and SSF in combating armed conflict in Kivu is itself a collective security mechanism embedded in the collective security theory. Each contingent under the ASF is supposed to supply 5 000 civil – military personnel and an assortment of logistics, military hardware, equipment and resources. This constitutes, more than 10 000 personnel; armed, equipped and professionalised better than any of the rebel militias engaged in Kivu.

The composition and military machinery propelling the role of EASF and SSF gives the author all the confidence that deployment of such a Force in Kivu could be the panacea to efforts towards finding peace and security in the restive provinces. It is important at this juncture to look at the EASF and SSF contingents and assess their readiness to deployment.

### **2.3.2. East African Community (EAC):**

International Monetary Fund (IMF), Senior Economist, Hamid R. Davoodi in his 2012 book, *The East African Community after Ten Years: Deepening Integration*<sup>49</sup>; takes stock of what EAC has achieved in the first ten years of its re-launch. Davoodi’s read is important to the

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<sup>49</sup> The book engages the proceedings of a high-level conference that took place in Arusha, Tanzania on February 27 – 28, 2012. The conference was held to celebrate the achievements of EAC in its first decade and look into upcoming challenges in its second decade, (Introduction to the book).

literature resource of this paper as it accounts for the challenges EAC faces in the attainment of regional peace, security and sustainable development.

Importantly, the book heralds the future prospects of the organisation blending well with the reprimands of this study on the instigation of the ASF to achieve the seemingly elusive peace and security Africa savours for. Prominent scholars on EAC among them; Paul Collier, Catherine McAuliffe, Sweta Saxena and Mafafumi Yabara; contribute immensely to this engaging book on understanding EAC in the first decade of its existence.

In a bid to agitate for peace and security in the region EAC established the EASF. Endalcachew Bayeh of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities at Ambo University, Ethiopia provides an in-depth study of EASF in the 2014, academic research paper, *The East African Standby Force: Roles, Challenges and Prospects*. The paper is important in examining the roles, challenges and prospects of the EASF with Bayeh (2014: 197) decrying how EASF, “has a limited role in maintaining peace and security in the region. It has played some supportive roles to the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) peace support missions”.

The author argues: it is from this ‘limited role’ that EASF in conjunction with a better drilled and battle-ready SSF can form a formidable Force to intervene successfully in Kivu. In addition, the paper gives EASF a boost in looking at the future prospects of the ‘green-horned’ Force that; despite the ‘limited role’ and other challenges that include; financial, cultural and political contestations within the region.<sup>50</sup>

“EASF has a good future prospect as can be observed from its current activities. The pre-deployment joint trainings and field exercises”, Bayeh (2014: 204) notes. The joint training and field exercises are testament to a bright workable future within the regional bloc. It is worth noting, the future prospects of EASF are of great interest to the paper despite the ‘limited role’ the Force has had in instigating peace and security in EAC, good measure is on

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<sup>50</sup> The hegemonic stand-off between Ethiopia and Kenya is well-articulated by renowned Kenyan academic, Prof. Korwa Adar in the paper, *Kenya’s Foreign Policy and Geopolitical Interests: The Case of the Nile River Basin*. African Sociological Review 11, 1, 2007, p. 63 - 80

the ground pointing towards the readiness of the Force for deployment if and when the need arises.

Relatively, the World Bank and International Financial Corporation (IFC) co-published book, *Doing Business in the East African Community 2013: Smarter Regulations for Small and Medium Size Enterprises*; is further testimony to the bright future beckoning for EAC. The book gives EAC a ‘thumbs-up’ for promulgating a conducive environment for the growth of business in the region citing, Rwanda, Kenya and Ethiopia as templates for sustainable development in the region.

Regional cooperation in EAC is further denoted in the, “Northern Corridor Integration Projects<sup>51</sup> between Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda”, (*The Africa Report*, No. 66, December 2014 – January 2015: 138). EAC is on fertile ground to work towards the attainment of peace and security in the region – giving confidence that a combined contingent of regional Forces can bring peace and security in the restive Kivu thus, facilitating for economic growth and development in EAC and SADC.

### **2.3.3. Southern African Development Community (SADC):**

Formed in Lusaka, Zambia in 1980, as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) but later changed to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) following the signing of the 1992 SADC Treaty in Windhoek, Namibia.

In their 1994 book, *From the Conference to a Community: In Search of a Common Future, Southern African Development Community (SADC)*; Ibbo Mandaza and Arne Tostensen account for the transition of the regional bloc from SADCC to SADC. The book is important in understanding the underlying issues that have given SADC a good standing in Africa’s RECs. The book is important in understanding the foundations of SADC, and how it has developed to the organisation it is today.

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<sup>51</sup> Northern Corridor Integrated Projects (NCIP) mission is; to promote integration in partner states by fast tracking projects for the benefit of citizens and the development of the region – [www.nciprojects.org](http://www.nciprojects.org)

Like EAC, SADC is a REC, whose primary objective is to ensure peace, security and sustainable development in the southern African region. SADC is directly affected by the conflict in eastern Congo as the DRC is not only a member of the regional bloc but, a geographical, political and economically strategic partner, whose peace and security has potentially unfettered development for both RECs. For example, the Grand Inga Dam Project<sup>52</sup>; has the potential to provide electrical power and energy to both EAC and SADC. The revamp and completion of the Grand Inga Dam is a development worthy of consideration in the greater scheme of Africa's developmental strategies.

Writing in the foreword of the book, *Southern African Development Community: Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan*, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa observes; "The Southern African Development Community (SADC) started the process of reviewing the operations of its institutions in 1999. The process comprised the alignment of regional priorities, review of policies and strategies and restructuring of the supporting institutional framework".

The book importantly looks at the organisation's work behind-the-scenes in ensuring SADC fulfils its mandate of regional development. Further, the book identifies the problems and challenges, SADC faces which include; "poverty eradication, combating HIV/AIDS, unemployment and instability in some countries such as Lesotho and Madagascar".

The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO); are two SADC developmental protocols discussed in length in Chapter 4 of this book. RISDP and SIPO are central in understanding SADC's economic development framework, as shall be discussed in-depth in Chapter 4. "Regional cooperation and integration in southern Africa owes its origin to historical, economic, political, social and cultural factors that have created strong bonds of solidarity and unity among the peoples of southern Africa", (SADC: RISDP).

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<sup>52</sup> Grand Inga, the world's largest hydropower scheme, is proposed for the Congo River in the Democratic Republic of Congo, one of Africa's politically volatile and corruption-plagued countries – [www.internationalrivers.org](http://www.internationalrivers.org)

The author observes; SADC having a much better organisation equipped to tackle armed conflict when compared with EAC. This is mainly due to the organisations' unperturbed existence and experience in the promulgation of peace, security and development. Therefore, it is the premise of this paper to stimulate SADC in taking a leading role of courting EAC in the envisioned ASF for deployment in Kivu.

Deane-Peter Baker and Sadiki Maeresera<sup>53</sup> account for the readiness of SSF to deploy in their research paper entitled, *SADCBRIG Intervention in SADC Member States: Reasons to Doubt*. The paper intently, looks at the SSF and how it can be effective in military interventions when compared with prior deployments in DRC and Lesotho which saw the regional bloc divided over the intervention modus operandi.

“The recent creation of the SADC Standby Brigade has created hope that the sub-region now has a mechanism that will at the very least enable military interventions as envisaged in Article 13 of the Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Commission of the African Union, which allows for intervention in a member state in respect of grave circumstances or at the request of a member state in order to restore peace and security in accordance with article 4 (h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act”, Baker and Maeresera argue.

Relatively, the SADC 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations give credence to an African organisation prepared to deploy a regional Force at the shortest possible notice, as encapsulated in the foreword by Festus Mogae<sup>54</sup> in *SADC Major Achievements and Challenges: 25 years of Regional Cooperation and Integration*; “Our community dear readers is more than a political grouping. It has a past and a future whose roots can be found in the liberation movements and in the Frontline States. But, more fundamentally they are revealed in the hearts and souls of our proud sons and daughters of the soil who have stood together in their insistence that this region be transformed into something new and different”.

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<sup>53</sup> Deane-Peter Baker is Editor of the *African Security Review* and Associate Professor of Ethics at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Sadiki Maeresera is a doctoral candidate in the School of Politics at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Their views on the SSF were shared in their article titled, ‘*SADCBRIG intervention in SADC member states; Reasons to doubt*’, *African Security Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1, March 2009. Institute for Security Studies, p. 106 – 111

<sup>54</sup> Festus Mogae is former President of the Republic of Botswana. He was writing in the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary SADC Report in his capacity as the then-Chair of the regional bloc.



The anniversary report gives the reader an in-depth understanding of what SADC has achieved, the challenges and future prospects. The SADC Industrialisation Policy encapsulated in RISDP, initiated during Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe's tenure as Chair of the regional bloc in 2015 is an example of a programme that needs a peaceful and secure African continent for it to materialise.

Researcher, Joseph Ngwawi, writing in the *Southern Africa Today*<sup>55</sup> observes; "Industrial development has been identified as one of the main drivers of the integration agenda in southern Africa as the region moves away from an economic path built on consumption and commodity exports onto a sustainable developmental path based on value-addition and beneficiation".

The World Bank and International Finance Corporation (IFC) annual report is also used as a key literature resource in determining the future prospects of the SADC region. *Doing Business 2012: Regional Profile: Southern African Development Community (SADC)*; intently, gives a good picture, not so rosy, but workable, on the prospects of doing business in the region. On this score, it is important to note; the climate is conducive to conduct developmental paths in both EAC and SADC, hence the need for the RECs to come together under the auspices of ASF in deploying an armed Force to combat recurrent armed conflict in Kivu.

## **Conclusion**

Fundamentally, the Chapter was bent on understanding the APSA. Understanding the APSA gives the researcher an informed position in applying the proposed synergy of regional Forces in dealing with an armed conflict that poses threats to the peace and breaches to the peace. Therefore, having looked at the APSA and its prominent appendage – the ASF, it is imperative the understanding of the APSA framework takes into recognition what the

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<sup>55</sup> Southern Africa Today is produced as a reference source of activities and opportunities in the Southern African Development Community, and a guide for decision-makers at all levels of national and regional development – Southern Africa Resource and Documentation Centre (SARDC), 15 Downie Avenue, Belgravia, Harare

proposed EASF and SSF contingent comprise of and bring to the table. Analysing the EASF and SSF is important in completing the understanding of the APSA.

In understanding the design and development of the APSA the Chapter looked at the background to its formation. Tracing its roots to the OAU, the APSA has transverse through numerous challenges to set-up as a concrete peace and security mechanism on the continent. Thus, it is in this vain, this paper advocates for its most vivacious arm the ASF to become the face of the peace and security apparatus.

Therefore, the Chapter laid focus on kick-starting the already formed but, morbid ASF in dealing with the recurrent armed conflict in Kivu. The study premises on the collaboration of the RECs and AUPSC in making the proposed deployment a reality hence, the understanding of the APSA in view of the EASF and SSF contingent was proffered.

The collective security theory was used to provide a better understanding of the ASF the most prominent feature of the APSA. APSA framework is deemed to work only if Africa commits politically, economically and militarily to this cause. Already in place are joint military exercises such as AMANI. “The name of the exercise means ‘peace in Africa’, in Kiswahili, a language widely spoken in several African countries”.<sup>56</sup> The article titled, ‘*SADC prepares to host AMANI II*’, appeared in the *Southern Africa Today* newsletter.

AMANI gives hope to aspirations espoused in this paper towards the effective engagement and deployment of the ASF in Kivu, headlined by contingents from the EASF and SSF. “This exercise is organized by the African Union (AU) Commission to validate its capacity to mandate and deploy a Rapid Deployment Capability of the African Standby Force (ASF) as a start-up operation, and to run a full multidimensional peace support operation”, (Southern Africa Today, 2015: 6).

AMANI II follows-up on, “the first continental exercise of this kind was conducted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in October 2010 with the aim of evaluating the operational readiness of the

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<sup>56</sup> Southern Africa Today. ‘*SADC prepares to host AMANI II*’. Vol. 17, No. 2, February 2015. Southern African Resource and Documentation Centre (SARDC), Harare, p. 6

ASF”, (*Southern Africa Today*, 2015: 6). The AMANI exercises give the author all the hope and promise that an effective synergy of EASF and SSF can be deployed successfully in Kivu.

The Chapter scholarly recommends the need for more financial resources to be accorded to on-going research and investigation into the APSA framework thus, giving it credence as a workable mechanism towards African peace, security and sustainable development. African institutions of higher learning and their related research arms need to afford more research and study into the development of the APSA in a bid to make Africa self-reliant on its home-grown mechanisms towards the maintenance of peace and security on the continent.

The Conference Report, 14 – 15 September 2009 titled, ‘*African Peace and Security Architecture*’, provides the following recommendations on APSA that in tandem with the thrust of this paper:

- International funding should be more targeted to the real priorities of African organizations and less to “technocratic priorities”. The EU should be more flexible in its financing mechanisms criteria’s
- In addition, international partners should better coordinate in order to avoid the de facto overloading AU/REC staff capabilities to deal with them and also to avoid unnecessary duplication and competition
- The structures of the AU and RECs are sometimes poorly adapted to deal with specific security challenges that are not typical peacekeeping issues. The case of the Sahelo-Sahara illustrates that some issues need an ad hoc approach in order to deliver realistic solutions. This should be taken into account by the EU and like-minded states in their cooperation policies but also by Africans (including the AU, RECs and other institutions) who themselves need to enhance their mutual relationships.<sup>57</sup>

AU policy on the APSA needs to be replicated throughout the five RECs and consequently, in all Member States signatory to the AU Charter.

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<sup>57</sup> The African Peace and Security Architecture, Conference Report: Addis Ababa, 14 – 15 September 2009, p. 5  
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## Chapter 3: Analysis of the Recurrent Armed Conflict in Kivu

### Introduction

Chapter 3 provides analysis of the armed conflict in Kivu. Dwelling on what Africa has to offer in terms of her peace and security mechanisms, it becomes imperative to look at the conflict the mechanism is proposed to deal with in ensuring the threats to the peace and breaches to the peace are effectively banished setting the stage for African development to continue unhindered and unperturbed.

The author views the armed conflict in eastern Congo as the ideal platform to put the ASF machinery to work as:

- The conflict has a direct impact on EAC and SADC due to DRC's dual membership to both RECs – politically, economically, geographically and culturally.
- Both RECs have in place active Standby Forces who regularly hold joint training and exchange programmes.
- Both RECs have in place developmental programmes which if put into action will spur growth in these regions. For example, SADC's RISDP and EAC's NCIP<sup>58</sup>.

Relatively, the two-part Chapter premises on the background to recurrent armed conflict in Kivu in the first part. The background is important to the reader as it opens a deeper understanding of the conflict; tracing the Congo's history of violence from the pre-colonial through the colonial and post-colonial eras. The First and Second Congo Wars, conflict minerals as-well-as ethnic, cultural and language dimensions provide in-depth understanding of the conflict.

The study into the main role players involved in the conflict accounts for the other part of the Chapter. The various rebel militias, national armies and international / regional organisations comprise the triad of role players studied in this paper. In a bid to understand the volatility in eastern Congo, the study sought reaction from Congolese nationals resident in Zimbabwe

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<sup>58</sup> SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and EAC's Northern Corridor Integration Projects (NCIP) are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 of this paper.

notably, Malega Samuel Konde and the five respondents to questionnaires sent out to the DRC Embassy in Harare.

Malega Konde hails from Uvira in South Kivu and provided an eye-opening account of the intricate cultural, language and ethnic dimensions while; the respondents to questionnaires highlighted the exploitation of conflict minerals and the repercussions of successive Congo Wars as being the main determinants to the prolonged armed conflict.

### **3.1. Background to eastern Congo unrest**

Understanding the background to the conflict is important in comprehending the solution of deploying the ASF in Kivu. The background to the conflict herein, is an area whereby extensive research and study has been conducted over the years hence, providing a rich literature resource base.

Maurice Carney, Co-Founder and Executive Director of *Friends of the Congo*<sup>59</sup> categorically traces the history of under-development in the Congo. Carney observes; “125 years must be taken into consideration to fully understand why Congo is in a weakened state today. If we look, from 1885 to 1908, we are talking about personal rule, enslavement. From 1908 to 1960 colonialism Congo under colonial rule; Congo finally elects its leader in 1960 and in 1961 he was assassinated, then a dictator was put over the people for another three decades from 1965 to 1997, so now we have dictatorship. Then an invasion was backed from outside Rwanda and Uganda in 1996, a conflict Congolese people suffer from today. So we have 125 years of this and what that does it weakens and eviscerates Congolese institutions”.<sup>60</sup>

The background has been categorised into the following segments: pre-colonial and colonial period in which the historical occurrence of violence in the Congo is captured. The First and Second Congo Wars and the proliferation of armed rebel militias constitute the second

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<sup>59</sup> *Friends of the Congo* (FOTC) is a 501 [c] 3 tax-exempt advocacy organisation based in Washington, DC. The FOTC was established in 2004 to work in partnership with the Congolese to bring about peaceful and lasting change in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), formerly Zaire – [www.friendsofthecongo.org](http://www.friendsofthecongo.org)

<sup>60</sup> Maurice Carney speaking in an interview in a documentary titled, *Crisis in the Congo: uncovering the truth* – <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLV9szEu9Ag>

segment. Conflict minerals highlight how Congolese natural and mineral resources have fuelled and financed the war in the fourth segment. Issues around ethnicity, language and culture round-off the background.

### **3.1.1. Pre-colonial and colonial period:**

The recurrent armed conflict in Kivu dates back to Congo's dejected history of violence captured in her pre-colonial and colonial periods to the country's acrimonious independence in 1960. The author argues; it is the manifestation of violence in the dark years of colonisation that sowed the seeds to armed conflict in eastern Congo. Journalist and explorer, Henry Morton Stanley captures the entrenchment of violence in the Congo in his timeless book, *'Through the Dark Continent'*<sup>61</sup>, first published in 1878 by Sampson Low, London. The book vividly describes the savagery and violent nature of the Congo, during Stanley's African expeditions.

*Through the Dark Continent*, is an important read recommended for anyone attempting to understand why violence and the Congo are seemingly inseparable. The book paints a horror picture of slavery, violence and the effects of the initial steps to colonialism not only in the Congo but, Africa in general. Stanley's book, vividly and descriptively captures the tone and ambience of pre-colonial Congo, a land that was already immersed in violence and chaos way before the onset of colonialism.

Congo's colonialism and structuralized violence is testified further in, *'King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa'*, written by Adam Hochschild and published by Houghton Mifflin of New York. "The exploitation of the land quickly went hand in hand with the exploitation of its people. Leopold II and his executives forced native Congolese to work, often under horrible conditions. Eye witnesses reported the

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<sup>61</sup> *'Through the Dark Continent'*, is Stanley's account of the voyage, which involved enormous hardships and difficulties he undertook in East Africa 1871 – 72. Stanley a freelance journalist was sponsored by the *New York Herald*, to find Scottish explorer and missionary Dr. David Livingstone. In 1874, Stanley undertook another African expedition, also sponsored by *New York Herald* and *London Daily Telegraph*, to explore vast areas of Central Africa – [www.wdl.org/en/item/7770/](http://www.wdl.org/en/item/7770/))

whipping of labourers (even to death), chopping-off, hands and limbs as punishment and many cases of rape”, Hochschild (1998: 161) writes.

The two books are important in highlighting the sordid picture of a history of violence in the Congo, a country synonymous with armed conflict for most of its history. Violence and the Congo seem inseparable, which gives credence to the thrust of this paper in seeking concrete solutions towards sustainable peace, security and development.

Belgian colonisation of the Congo, gave a new meaning to violence as noted by narrator Peter Bate in the *BBC Channel 4* documentary, *Congo – White King, Red Rubber, Black Death*: “When a series of missionary photographs arrived in England in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, they caused outrage. The mutilations had been strategically photographed against white but maximum impact. The child came from the Congo but, the man accused for their suffering was white, European and royal. For over a hundred years evidence has remained dormant on one of the century’s mass murders. Millions of Africans died in one man’s quest for wealth and glory”.

The assertive documentary is cognizant in supporting evidence of a prolonged orgy of violence in the Congo. Occurrence of violence has permeated over the centuries to become the foundation of the violence witnessed today in the restive Kivu. It is in this light that the research proposes the role of EASF and SSF in dealing with this armed conflict

### **3.1.2. First and Second Congo Wars and the proliferation of armed militias:**

The five respondents to the research questionnaire<sup>62</sup> alluded to the ramifications of the Congo Wars as having been central in setting-up the foundation of the prolonged conflict this and other studies seek solution towards. The First (1996 – 1997) and Second (1998 – 2003) Congo wars provide an insight into the upscale in violence in Kivu.

Successive Congo Wars came in the aftermath of the Cold War hence, providing a stern challenge to the international systems’ response and its mandate towards the maintenance of

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<sup>62</sup> The research questionnaire used in this paper can be found on page 106. The respondents to the questionnaire are all members of staff at the DRC Embassy in Harare and they come from different parts of the Congo.

peace and security. Timo Muller and Fidel Balifemba in their paper for the Enough Project titled, *'Taking Back eastern Congo: comprehensively addressing the FDLR and M23 rebel groups'*, identify the proliferation of rebel groups as a key outcome of the Wars. Muller and Balifemba (2013) argue; "Over the past 19 years, one of the most intractable symptoms of mass violence in Congo's eastern regions has been the proliferation of armed groups that threaten security, perpetuate horrific human rights abuses and undermine economic development".<sup>63</sup> The Muller – Balifemba paper is an important read in understanding how rebel militias in the Congo have the capacity to form and advance serialized violence that has come to define the DRC. The paper focuses on the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and March 23 Movement (M23) rebel groups – two of the most prominent rebel groups operating in Kivu over the past decade.

The proliferation of armed groups can be traced to the First and Second Congo Wars – conflicts which were characterized by the emergence of numerous militant groups in Kivu. However, it is imperative to note; armed militia groups have a long history of existence and operation in the Congo but, it is from the ashes of the aforementioned Congo Wars that these groups assumed more engaging and structuralized formats – giving them the wits to perpetrate their campaign of pillage, murder, rape and treason unperturbed by the presence of massive UN peacekeeping missions – MONUC and MONUSCO.

Ted Dagne, accounts for the impact, effects and repercussions of the Congo Wars in his Congressional Research Service Report entitled; *'The Democratic Republic of Congo: Background and Current Developments'*, September 1, 2011. The report prepared for the United States Congress is an important resource in understanding the ramifications of the Congo Wars. The author observes; the wars effectively became the 'launch pad' of the current on-and-off armed conflict at the centre of this study.

Dagne (2011: 1) comments on the Congo Wars noting; "the first rebellion to oust the late President Mobutu Sese Seko begun in the city of Goma in the mid-1990s. The second rebellion in the late 1990s began also in eastern Congo". Break-out of war in Kivu shows the

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<sup>63</sup> Timo Muller and Fidel Bafilemba, *'Taking back eastern Congo: comprehensively addressing the FDLR and M23 rebel groups'*. Enough Project Report, October, 2013



region is prone to armed conflict as-well-as being a sanctuary providing a safe haven for militant groups to proliferate.

It is crucial to note, the history of wars originating in eastern Congo is at the heart of this study, which espouses to proffer solutions to long lasting peace, security and development in the restive eastern provinces of the Congo. The wars seem to create a conducive environment for the proliferation of armed rebel groups to flourish.

Prominent researcher into the Congolese crisis Jason Stearns in a lecture on the Kivu unrest presented to United States military personnel at West Point Department of History in New York City noted that; “They are nine national armies and over fifty armed groups that have been involved in the Congo in the past two decades”.<sup>64</sup> Stearns assertions paint a grim picture of the complex threats rebel militias pose to efforts aimed at finding lasting peace and security in Kivu. Further, Stearns noted that; “more than 5.3 million people died between 1997 and 2007; with 95% of the deaths humanitarian that is, due to hunger and conflict”.

### **3.1.3. Conflict minerals, the mainstay of armed conflict in eastern Congo:**

Many scholars on the armed conflict in eastern Congo have bemoaned the use of Congo’s mineral resources by various warring groups to fund and sustain the war effort, thereby, dealing a deadly blow to efforts aimed at attaining peace and security. Respondents to the research questionnaire used in this paper all lamented the exploitation of Congo’s mineral resources as being central in fuelling the perpetual armed conflict.

Celine Moyroud and John Katunga<sup>65</sup> in, ‘*Coltan Exploitation in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)*’, trace the catalytic role of conflict minerals in sponsoring armed conflict. The article appears in the 2002 Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman edited book entitled; *Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa’s Conflicts*. The book gives the reader an

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<sup>64</sup> Jason K. Stearns presented the lecture titled; ‘*Plan for US Invasion of the DRC*’, on 12/11/2014 at the West Point Department of History in New York, USA. Presented to U.S. military personnel the lecture gave an overview of the crisis and how a possible U.S. invasion of the Congo’s restive provinces could pen out.

<sup>65</sup> Moyroud and Katunga are leading researchers into the role conflict minerals particularly coltan, play in fuelling armed conflict in Kivu.

informed position to understand the intricacies embedded in Africa's seemingly never-ending conflicts. The book is published as a joint project between, African Centre for Technology Studies in Nairobi, Kenya; and the Institute of Security Studies in Pretoria, South Africa.

The article by Moyroud and Katunga, provides an in-depth analysis on how coltan has been used to fund the armed conflict in eastern Congo. "The DRC is rich in minerals, including copper, diamonds, uranium, gold and coltan. Coltan, a combination of columbium-tantalite, is today among the most important strategic mineral found in the Congo", Moyroud and Katunga (2002: 117) argue. In their study, Moyroud and Katunga conceptualised, the *Coltan Exploitation Cycle* into the following stages:

**Stage 1:** Exploration

**Stage 2:** Detection

**Stage 3:** Extraction

**Stage 4:** Transportation

**Stage 5:** Treatment (transformation – commercialisation)<sup>66</sup>

Stephen Jackson, (Associate Director, Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum at Social Science Research Council, New York) in his February 2003, HPG Background Paper; *Fortunes of War: the Coltan trade in the Kivus*, adds weight to the divisive and destructive role coltan is playing in perpetuating armed conflict and unrest in eastern Congo.

The Jackson paper is in tandem with the research this paper posits. Jackson (2003: 15) comments on the research noting; "This study seeks to add to available literature at the micro-level, detailing the war's economic impact on ordinary people's livelihoods beyond the obvious but compelling statistic that more than two and a half million have lost their lives". Jackson's report vividly unmask the under-world of coltan trade. The rise in global coltan demand and the mining activities identified in the *Coltan Exploitation Cycle* by Moyroud and Katunga, also accounts for who controls the rebel militias? At the same time, coltan has unleashed a cacophony of; poverty, hunger, disease, displacements and rape, on the inhabitants of Kivu.

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<sup>66</sup> Moyroud, C and Katunga, J. 'Coltan Exploration in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)' in Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman (eds) 2002. *Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts*. African Centre for Technology Studies (Nairobi) and Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria), p. 155 – 175

The Jackson paper is an important read in understanding the war economy the mineral has created in eastern Congo. The report pays homage to extensive study and research that has been taken in evaluating the role coltan has played in the conflict. Further, the report highlights a new reach and scope in understanding the use of conflict minerals in restive regions. The illicit coltan trade has seen a vast literature resource base accumulate over the years – as scholar after scholar profoundly points at the mineral as being a major catalyst at the heart of the armed conflict under-study.

Suffolk University academic and researcher, Loiusa Carpenter, adds another supportive literature on the impact of coltan trade. Carpenter’s article, *‘Conflict minerals in the Congo: Blood minerals and Africa’s under-reported First World War’*; expressly traces the preponderance of conflict minerals and links it to the country’s long sordid history of plunder and murder. Carpenter talks of a ‘resource curse’<sup>67</sup> having inflicted the Congo. Through her vast natural and mineral resources, the country has endured more of pain and anguish instead of gain and triumph. The research has revealed the important role conflict minerals playing in financing and sustaining armed conflict. In addition, Carpenter discusses the so-called ‘Africa’s First World War’<sup>68</sup>, which is essentially the Second Congo War, as having bred a culture of violence in the restive eastern provinces.

#### **3.1.4. Ethnic, language and cultural dimensions:**

Jason Stearns, identifies and discusses the intricacies presented by myriad ethnic, language and cultural contestations in his 2012 book; *‘North Kivu: the background to conflict in North Kivu province of eastern Congo’*. Published by the Rift Valley Institute in conjunction with the Usalama Project, the 50 page book is affront in curtailing the implications of common

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<sup>67</sup> “The DRC seems to have fallen victim to the so-called ‘resource curse’, a theory which argues that; a higher amount of natural resources in developing nations creates a higher risk for civil war and slower development”, (Carpenter, 2012: 15)

<sup>68</sup> The author argues against calling the Second Congo War, “Africa’s First World War” for among other reasons: it is folly to call the war a ‘World war’ as only African countries participated in the biggest inter-state war in her history. More so, by calling the war, “Africa’s First World War”, insinuations are made to suggest Africa will plunge into another large-scale confrontation in future thus, the thrust of this paper to agitate for the revitalisation of the continent’s peace and security apparatus embodied in the ASF, so that Africans never witnesses the detriment of fighting one another, when unity, peace and security are what we aspire towards.

ethnic, language and cultural linkages running through the fibre of the three countries (Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi) that border Kivu. Stearns (2012: 7) observes, “Violence has exacerbated tensions between local communities, in particular a rift between so-called indigenous groups – those communities whose presence is most entrenched – and the Hutu and Tutsi populations, most of whom arrived as immigrants during the colonial and post-colonial periods”.

It is worth noting; in understanding the recurrent armed conflict in Kivu; the pursuit of this engagement will not be complete if the ethnic, language and cultural dimensions are not captured in the background to the conflict. Journalist and author, Abby Martins says, “With more than 80 million people, 250 ethnic groups and over 700 languages and dialects”,<sup>69</sup> the essence of ethnic, language and cultural ramifications in understanding the Kivu armed conflict become essential tools of analysis.

Speaking to the author in an interview conducted in Harare. Congolese national Malega Samuel Konde<sup>70</sup> added, “In DRC we have more than 400 languages and all the people are trying to see themselves as the real Congolese”. It is at this point the author interjected to find-out who the ‘real Congolese’ are and Konde noted, “the situation in which things are like in the Kivus is that Rwandan and Burundian people are trying to see themselves as the ‘real Congolese’, that’s why you see the rebels are coming in to attack” . In this vain it became clear to the author the engraved divisions Congolese society in Kivu has been subjected to giving impetus to assertions on why the conflict has prolonged. The fact that society continually takes stock of who the ‘real Congolese’ are is scary enough to ignite thoughts on the horrors of the Rwandan genocide.

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<sup>69</sup> Journalist and author Abby Martins observes in the opening salvos of her documentary titled, *How the world runs on looting the Congo*, produced under the Empire Files series. The documentary was accessed on <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mx4bmMkQ0>

<sup>70</sup> Malega Samuel Konde, is a Congolese national, from Uvira in South Kivu province. Konde is resident in Zimbabwe and is part of this study. The author is grateful to Mr. Konde for taking time to participate in this research. He spoke to the author in an interview conducted in Harare on April 28, 2016

Further complicating the ethnic, language and cultural ramifications is the uneasiness so-called indigenous Congolese feel towards the *Kinyarwanda* speakers<sup>71</sup>, and *Banyamulenge*<sup>72</sup>, two groups that are widely blamed for instigating violence in Kivu. “Banyamulenge originated from Rwanda and Burundi and are reluctant to go back to their countries preferring to be identified as ‘real Congolese’ in South and North Kivu”, Konde observed.

Severine Autesserre’s book, *The Trouble with Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peace-building*; is also important in denoting the ethnic, language and cultural detriments at the core of the armed conflict. Autesserre’s argument in the book is premised on the aspect of, ‘state weaknesses’ as having promulgated and perpetuated armed conflict in the DRC in general and eastern Congo in particular. The Congolese state has faced monumental challenges from the onset following independence in 1960.

Koen Vlassenroot and Timothy Raeymaekers writing in the African Affairs 108, 2009 report entitled; *Kivu’s Intractable Security Conundrum*; also acknowledge the vested influence of ethnic, language and cultural differences in the prolongation of the war in eastern Congo.

Author, Theodore Trefon provides further understanding of the entwined ethnic, language and cultural dimensions that define the behaviour and character of Congolese citizens in Kivu and how these dimensions are central to the permeation of armed conflict. Published by African Assignments of London, *Congo Masquerade: the Political Culture of Aid Inefficiency and Reform Failure*; is Trefon’s 2011 book on the effects ethnic and cultural inhibitions are having on distribution of aid in the Congo. The mismanaged and contentious aid distribution channels gives the scholar of Congolese politics every reason to believe ethnic and cultural interests have a catalytic role in continued flared-up conflict.

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<sup>71</sup> Kinyarwanda is a Bantu language spoken with about 7 million speakers who live mainly in Rwanda, where it is the national language along with French and English, and also in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda – [www.omniglot.com/writing/kinyarwanda.htm](http://www.omniglot.com/writing/kinyarwanda.htm)

<sup>72</sup> The Banyamulenge people are mainly Tutsis of Rwandan and Burundian origins (see Mutambo, 1997: 41; Johnstone & Mandryk, 2001: 197), but the community also integrated other Congolese tribes, not necessarily of Tutsi origin, (Rukundwa, 2003: 1)

The background to the Congolese unrest in Kivu is studied through; the pre-colonial and colonial period in which the long history of violence in the country is traced. The First and Second Congo Wars and the proliferation of rebel militias in the aftermath of these wars is also important in understanding the background to the conflict.

Conflict minerals are also identified in the study as being catalytic in fuelling and prolonging the conflict. Intently, ethnic, language and cultural dynamics are also used to formulate an in-depth understanding as to why armed conflict has become endemic to Kivu? The author views these four segments as important indicators of condensing the background to the recurring armed conflict, this research seeks to find lasting solution toward.

### **3.2. Main role players in the Kivu unrest:**

The main role players in the conflict represent the belligerents who have actively participated in the war over the past two decades. Respondents to the research questionnaire used in this study were divided over the effectiveness of international organisations particularly, the UN in bringing lasting peace to Kivu. Three of the five respondents noted that the UN was satisfactorily playing its part in ensuring peace is restored in eastern Congo, while two respondents bequeathed the UN peace efforts through MONUC and MONUSCO noting the organisation was just doing a good job.

On whether an African-led intervention could be the panacea to lasting peace in Kivu, all respondents eagerly noted the need for such as intervention to be given a chance at brokering peace in the volatile region. The response gives the author confidence that the proposed role of EASF and SSF in finding peace and security in Kivu is long overdue thus, making the research viable and relevant. The main role players identified in this study include; various national armies, rebel militia groups and international / regional organisations as illustrated in Fig.1.

Fig.1. shows synergy of the main role players identified in this research as being crucial in understanding the belligerents involved in the armed conflict understudy.



**Fig. 1: Synchronisation of the main role players at the heart of endemic armed conflict in the Kivus<sup>73</sup>**

### **3.2.1. National armies involved in the conflict: Unpacking the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF) matrix:**

Flared-up armed conflict in eastern Congo has characteristically attracted the active participation of various national armies in the period understudy – 1998 – 2016. The Second Congo War in particular, is synonymous with the participation of more than a dozen national armies, leading to some scholars calling the war, ‘Africa’s First World War’, a terminology the author has problems with as noted earlier.

Leading Zimbabwean academic, researcher and expert on the DRC, Ibbo Mandaza encapsulates the prominence of various national armies in his book, *Reflections on the crisis in the DRC*. Published by the Southern Africa Political Economic Series (SAPES) Trust, the book recounts the events leading up to the Second Congo War and the ensuing armed conflict

<sup>73</sup> Fig. 1 is a representation of the synchronisation of the main role players at the heart of the recurrent armed conflict in eastern Congo. The diagram is conceptualised by the author.

that witnessed a SADC coalition of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe deploy to prop-up the under-siege Laurent-Désire Kabila regime, on one hand.

On the other hand was a Uganda – Rwanda coalition coalesced around loose fragments of various rebel militias in eastern Congo, notably, the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) factions, and Jean-Pierre Bemba’s Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC). Following the end of the Second Congo War, both Rwanda and Uganda have notable links to the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (*Forces démocratiques pour la libération du Rwanda, FDLR*) and Allied Democratic Force – National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (ADF-NALU) respectively.

The role of Uganda and Rwanda in the DRC conflict is well documented and Mandaza reflects on the participative role both countries have played in plunging eastern Congo into a destructive conflict. The book, *A Political History of Uganda*, written by Samwiri Karugire<sup>74</sup> in 1980, traces Uganda’s political history and recounts the country’s tragedies defined in the Idi Amin dictatorship and the unrest that followed his ouster in 1979.

Karugire book captures the umbilical-relations Uganda enjoys with the DRC and other Great Lakes countries; Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and South Sudan. It is from these entwined relations, that Uganda can be seen playing a prominent role in the eastern Congo conflict. The author observes Uganda’s central geographical location in EAC as being crucial in understanding the country’s civil – military role in the region. Rwanda like Uganda enjoys engraved ethnic and cultural linkages with the DRC, explaining the country’s penchant to deploy in the Congo at any given point-in-time. In addition, Rwanda and Uganda have the FDLR and ADF-NALU rebel militias that claim intrinsic cultural, ethnic and ideological attachments to these countries, further compounding efforts towards a lasting peace and security solution in Kivu.

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<sup>74</sup> Samwiri Rubaraza Karugire is formerly Executive Director of Makerere Institute of Social Research, and Head of the Department of History, University of Zambia



The *International Crisis Group*, Report No. 26, December 20, 2000, entitled; '*Scramble for the Congo: anatomy of an ugly war*'; assertively accounts for the main role players in Kivu at the height of the Second Congo War. The following table illustrates the report findings.

	<b>Estimated size of forces deployed to the DRC</b>	<b>What they bring to the war effort</b>
ALiR ( <i>Interahamwe</i> and ex-FAR)	30 000 – 40 000	Seen as determined fighters. They are divided between the conventional frontline and the eastern Kivus region.
Angola	2 000 – 2 500	The army is poorly disciplined but heavily equipped. Troops in the DRC are 'second echelon' quality. Nevertheless, their air power is a decisive advantage despite poor equipment maintenance.
Burundi	2 000	Thought to be adequate tactically at the small unit level. But at present are distracted by heavy fighting in Burundi.
DRC (FAC)	45 000 – 55 000	Event the 'elite' troops have proven to be unreliable in battle. This number includes <i>Interahamwe</i> and FDD forces present in the FAC.
<i>Forces de la defense pour la democratie</i> (FDD)	16 000	Burundian rebels who have come to fight in the service of Kabila. Their forces are split between the Congo and Tanzanian refugee camps.
<i>Mouvement pour la liberation Congolais</i> (MLC)	6 500 – 9 000	Troops of various quality and origin. They enjoy the advantage of Bemba's complete control over the movement.
Namibia	1 600 – 2 000	Infantry, some artillery. Generally of little importance to the overall conflict.
RCD – Goma	17 000 – 20 000	Unreliable in battle. Many deserted from the FAC when the rebellion broke out, and have little loyalty to the rebel

		cause.
RCD – ML	2 500	Divided by internal feuds, and little able to assist Uganda with the war effort against Kabila.
Rwanda	17 000 – 20 000	Troops are respected for their determination. The Force, however has little fire power and remains something of a guerrilla army.
Uganda	10 000	Greater fire power than RPA, but troops are less reliable.
Zimbabwe	11 000	Viewed as well-equipped and professional military. However, their performance in combat to date has been poor.

**Fig. 2: Adapted from the *International Crisis Group*, ‘*Scramble for the Congo: anatomy of an ugly war*’, Report No. 26, December 20, 2000, p. 4**

The research brings to the fore, the question: Why foreign states are eager to commit troops in the Congo and show reluctance to do so elsewhere armed conflict rears its head? For example, the timid response by African states to the *Boko Haram* insurgency in north eastern Nigeria leaves a lot to be desired in as far as the continent’s ability to tackle armed conflict is concerned.

The author argues; it is imperative in understanding the recurrent conflict in Kivu and the role foreign states have played in its prolongation, to tracing the design and development of the African nation – state. The understanding will go a long way in deciphering the embedded national self interests represented by the various national armies that have been involved in the Kivus unrest.

*Power, Politics, and the African Condition: Collected Essays of Ali A. Mazrui*, Vol. 3, edited by Robert Ostergard, et al, is a classical literature resource documenting the ideas and thoughts of one of Africa’s leading scholars on the African nation – state formation, Ali Mazrui. The powerful essays capture the initial stages in the development of the African

nation – state. The formation of the African state bear hallmarks of the frail, fragile and fragmented peace and security African countries have today. So pertinent is the ideal of peace and security to African countries as Mazrui queries in the introduction of the book; “Now that the imperial order is coming to an end, who is to keep the peace in Africa?”

The mass participation of foreign nations in the armed conflict in Kivu gives impetus to the thrust of this paper in calling on the ignition of the ASF, which has already established but remains dormant. Realism theorists such as Hans Morgenthau, Robert Gilpin and E.H. Carr, argue that; “nations are predominately guided by their national self-interests”. National self-interests of the African countries that have participated or are still actively involved in Kivu are at the behest of these countries deploying troops in the restive eastern Congo – hence, allowing the preponderance of armed groups to fester. It is important at this juncture to look at the second set of role players – armed militia groups.

### **3.2.2. Armed rebel militias:**

Over-night formation and consequent operation of armed militia groups has been one of the notable characteristics of the armed conflict in eastern Congo. The Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED), D R Congo: Country Report, December 2013<sup>75</sup>, is important to the study as it bases on the research findings on the ground. The situational ACLED Country Report on DRC is important in understanding the environment that allows and facilitates for the easy formation and operation of armed militia. Research fellow and author of the ACLED Report, Emily Cunningham observes, “Kivu province is clearly the most conflict-affected region in the DR – Congo”. Kivu becomes central to this study for it is within its territory rebel militias have caused untold suffering, the research herein endeavours to find solution toward.

As noted earlier, extensive research and study into the eastern Congo conflict has been carried out over the past two decades – hence, the rebel militias operating in the Congo have naturally received overt and covert reportage. In studying the rebel militias operating in Kivu, this study is categorical in allaying focus on the lesser known or talked about militias, for it is

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<sup>75</sup> This ACLED *Country Report* was compiled by Emily Cunningham using ACLED data. [www.acleddata.com](http://www.acleddata.com)

their absence from international scrutiny that has led them to commit heinous crimes and promulgate the illicit coltan trade – all in the name of “protecting their neighbourhoods”.

Further, many people are all too familiar with FDLR, M23 and CNDP rebel formations. Therefore, in a bid to instigate action towards the deployment of regional Forces, the paper seeks to bring attention on the lesser known and talked about groups, who also need full recognition and coverage if they are to be reintegrated and resettled in the envisaged peaceful and secure DRC. Therefore, the rebel militias under study in this paper are; ADF-NALU, Mai Mai and Raia Mutomboki.

**i. The Allied Democratic Forces – National Army for the Liberation of Uganda:**

*(Forces democratiques allies-Armee national de liberation de l'Ouganda, ADF-NALU)*, is described in the International Crisis Group (ICG), Africa Briefing No. 93 of 2012<sup>76</sup> as; “one of the oldest but least known armed groups in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the only one in the area to be considered an Islamist-terrorist organisation”.

Imperatively, it is for these reasons of being; one of the oldest militias and purported links to Islamic terrorism that the author advocates more study on the ADF-NALU to be carried out if the proposed ASF is to succeed. Because ADF-NALU has been in the game for a long time when seemingly more rapacious militias such as the CNDP, RCD and M23 have been contained and their leaders dragged to the International Criminal Court (ICC)<sup>77</sup>. The ADF-NALU remains a threat to the peace.

The ICG report entitled, *Eastern Congo: the ADF-NALU's lost rebellion*; is expressive in detailing the operations and sustenance of ADF-NALU. Initially formed through an alliance of many rebel groups in Uganda and supported by then Zairian dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, the group never found leverage in achieving its aim of wresting power, thus settled in eastern

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<sup>76</sup> International Crisis Group, Africa Briefing No. 93, Nairobi / Brussels, 19 December 2012. (Translation from French), Policy Briefing, p. 1 – 20

<sup>77</sup> The cases of John Bosco Ntaganda and General Laurent Nkunda before the International Criminal Court (ICC)

Congo and took control of trade and logistics routes particularly in the remote mountainous areas.

ADF-NALU has stood the test of time and remained active in causing destabilisation and mayhem in eastern Congo. Unlike, the major rebel militias such as FDLR, M23 and the RCD factions, which have strong historical, ethnic and cultural links to Rwanda; ADF-NALU is linked to Uganda which makes it an interesting port of call in understanding rebel militias involved in the armed conflict.

Hans Romkema and De Veenhoop, write extensively on the history and formation of ADF-NALU in the 2007 report; *Opportunities and Constraints for the Disarmament and Repatriation of Foreign Armed Groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo: the cases of the: FDLR, FNL and ADF/NALU*.<sup>78</sup>

The United Nations Security Council Letter<sup>79</sup> dated; 12 November 2012 is another important literature resource in understanding trends in rebel activity, as it takes stock of the active militias. The report is crucial as it accounts for the rebel militias understudy in this research – ADF-NALU, Mai Mai groups and *Raia Mutomboki*. The 204 page letter, categorically implores the corrupt and underhand activities within the DRC national army – FARDC and how some rogue elements within the Force work in cahoots with rebel militias operating in Kivu, thereby, complicating the road to peace and security the majority of Congolese savour for.

- i. **Mai – Mai rebel groups:** (also known as Mayi – Mayi) is an exciting proposition to the research as it is far widespread in terms of activity, stretching all the way south to the Katanga province. Mai Mai, is comprised of different groups formed to fight other rebel movements particularly, FDLR and M23 which have strong links to Rwanda and Uganda, as well as some rogue elements within FARDC.

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<sup>78</sup> This report is commissioned by the Secretariat of the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP). MDRP is a multi-agency effort that supports demobilisation and reintegration efforts – [www.mdrp.org](http://www.mdrp.org)

<sup>79</sup> UNSC, Letter dated 12 November, 2012 from the Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to Resolution 1533 (2004) concerning the DRC.

Respected scholars on the DRC and armed conflict in Kivu, Jason Stearns and Christoph Vogel capture the formation and activities of Mai Mai militias in; *Landscape of Armed Groups in the Eastern Congo*, a book published by the United States-based, Congo Research Group / *Groupe d'Etude sur le Congo*.<sup>80</sup>

“The most obvious trend among armed groups has been fragmentation”, Stearns and Vogel 2015: 7 observe. The fragmentation of these rebel militias is the root cause for their continued preponderance and the various Mai Mai groups are testament to this observation. The January 2014, *Human Rights Watch Report*, confirms the widespread reach and scope of the various Mai Mai groups. Unlike most of the rebel militias in eastern Congo, Mai Mai fighters, have taken the conflict to other provinces outside of Kivu, notably, Katanga and Orientale, giving a new twist and unforeseen challenges in promulgating peace and security in the DRC.

ii. ***Raia Mutomboki***: like the Mai Mai, is a local establishment formed to “defend” local communities from incessant FDLR and M23 raids, particularly, in the Shabunda forests of South Kivu. The book, *Raia Mutomboki: the flawed peace process in the DRC and the birth of an armed franchise*, written by Jason Stearns is explicit in accounting for the formation, ideology and operations of the rapturous militia, formed to ‘protect’ the neighbourhood, but, implicitly involved in the pillage, plunder and pummel of eastern Congo’s resources and inhabitants.

The 60 page book published by the Rift Valley Institute, gives the reader lens to discover how a rebel militia can easily form and operate in eastern Congo. The book denotes, *Raia Mutomboki* as having gained prominence following the Ihusi Agreement which, “set out the foundations of a comprehensive peace deal, signed on 23 March 2009, which was meant to integrate 22 different armed groups, including the CNDP and Raia Mutomboki”, Stearns (2013: 19) writes.

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<sup>80</sup> Congo Research Group / *Groupe d'Etude Sur le Congo* (CRG) is an independent, non-profit research project dedicated to understanding the violence that affects millions of Congolese. CRG is based at the Centre on International Cooperation at New York University. (Introduction).

It is worth noting, the rise of rebel militias in the Congo is largely, due to the prime opportunities afforded by a weak state seen in the structure and function of the DRC governments under the Kabilas' following the demise of dictator Mobutu Sese Seko in 1997.

The books and reports used in asserting the vagaries of rebel militias provide an in-depth understanding of their activities, ideologies and operandi in the exploitation of Congo's resources for their sustenance. Bujumbura, Kampala and Kigali, are seen in the activities of these regressive groups still intricately, entwined and involved in the perpetual armed conflict, this study seeks to find a solution towards. It is in this light that the third set of actors is looked at.

### **3.2.3. International organisations and RECs:**

International organisations and RECs represent the third arm of the main role players involved in Kivu. The participative role of international organisations and RECs brings to the fore, the thrust of this paper, which is bent on igniting the ASF, an apparatus of the APSA encapsulated in the AUPSC. The author envisages, the EAC and SADC playing a critical role in proffering African solutions to an African problem, thereby, giving the much needed impetus and lift to Agenda 2063, heralded in Ali Mazrui's *Pax-Africana* ideology.<sup>81</sup>

It is important to note, a plethora of international organisations, RECs, NGOs, CSOs and other humanitarian agencies have been actively involved in the Congo for more than two decades but, peace, security and sustainable development remain elusive. For this reason, the paper narrows its focus on the UN and AU as-well-as, the RECs of EAC and SADC forming the bedrock of this study.

#### **i. United Nations peacekeeping missions:**

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<sup>81</sup> Writing in the *Business Day*, October 20, 2014, columnist Adekeye Adebajo observed on Mazrui's ideology; "His idea of "continental jurisdiction" was a sort of "Monroe doctrine" urging outsiders to stay out of the continent. In the related idea of "racial sovereignty", Mazrui argued that inter-African interventions by brotherly outside states were more legitimate than those of outsiders. So, who killed Pax Africana?"

Lisa Howard, in her 2008 book entitled; *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars* traces the wavering role the organisation has played in the DRC since her emotive independence in 1960, to her current state, in which the organisation through variant peacekeeping missions has waded into somewhat of a permanent feature within Congolese society. The Cambridge University published book, is a great read recommended to the scholar of international relations attempting to understand the UN peacekeeping missions, throughout the world. The reader is drawn to shore-up comparisons as to how committed the organisation is in the attainment of international peace and security, albeit, its critics bemoaning its display of ‘double standards’ when dealing with conflict situations. In most cases outside Africa, the UN has managed to find a peaceful progression, for example, Cambodia and Kosovo missions.

The author views the ever-changing and yet ensconced UN missions in the Congo; United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), United Nations Mission in the Congo (MONUC) and United Nations Stabilisation Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO), as having failed to aggregate peace and security, albeit the longevity and resources the UN has committed in bringing peace to Kivu. It is in this light that, the author joins the ever growing calls for UN reform.

The UN as the principal conveyor of global peace and security has had a long standing involvement in attempts aimed at finding peace in the Congo, dating back to the country’s fragile transition from Belgian colonial rule to independence in the. Renowned Kenyan academic, Ali Mazrui, captures the role and effect of the UN in Africa in the 1960s (the watershed decade of African independence), in his 1964 journal, *The United Nations and some African Political Attitudes*.

The journal is vivid in showing the ‘wait-and-see’ attitude the UN has towards African problems hence, the organisation’s prolonged missions in the DRC. In this vain, the author argues for the AU to take full responsibility to protect under the writs enshrined in the AUPSC. Mazrui decries the attitudes displayed by the UN towards newly independent African countries – attitudes of a half-hearted effort in maintaining peace and security on the continent. The same attitudes are today at the centre of growing calls by African countries for UN reform. On the other side, newly independent African countries immediately sought



refuge in the UN, hence cultivating the culture of dependency, contemporary African states seem to display towards the organisation.

The issues of dependency and sovereignty are captured in another Ali Mazuri article entitled; *The United Nations and African State Sovereignty*. Published in 1964 as well, the article goes further in unpacking the attitude of the UN towards African state sovereignty. It is from these early exchanges and engagements of the UN in Africa that, the organisation's role in Kivu comes under scrutiny in this paper. The UN has for a long time committed in bringing lasting peace, security and development in the Congo, judging by its prolonged presence in the country, from ONUC to MONUC, and now MONUSCO – defining in essence the organisation's committal to a peaceful DRC. The question begs, has this prolonged engagement in the Congo, being a success or failure?

The 2009 paper, by Mark Edwards, *United Nations in the Congo: Success or Failure?*, is important in understanding, how the organisation's successive peacekeeping missions in the Congo have fared. The 48 page paper, accounts for the organisation's ONUC and MONUC missions.

[a]. **ONUC:** Author, Rosalyn Higgins says, “The ONUC was established as a result of Security Council Resolution S/4378, calling for peacekeepers in the Congo in July 1960. The force was made-up of civilian and military personal who were under the control of the Secretary-General”.<sup>82</sup> In addition, Edwards notes the UN immediately getting involved in the internal affairs of a newly independent African state, and compares the conditions and circumstances ONUC and MONUC were deployed, in a bid to ascertain their success or failure.

However, Edwards-paper is affront in pointing out the failure of ONUC, as the mission was thrust into the hot-bed of Congolese politics, following the callous murder of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba under the gaze of the United States, Belgium and the UN. Following incessant armed attacks on its personnel and positions, ONUC withdrew from the Congo,

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<sup>82</sup> Rosalyn Higgins, *United Nations Peacekeeping (1946 - 1967) Documents and Commentary; Vol. III: Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 61

albeit, at its height the mission, “By December 1962, ONUC had 13 500 troops deployed in Katanga”, (Durch, 1933: 315). The author views the withdrawal of ONUC from the Congo in 1964, as having set a bad precedence in the way the organisation was to deal with armed conflict in pursuance of its Chapter 1 principle – to maintain global peace and security. The failure of ONUC can be seen having strikingly similar connotations to recent MONUC and MONUSCO missions.

But why did ONUC fail when according to Rajeshwar Dayal a Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General in Congo; “in the absence of an effective government, ONUC assumed many of the law and order functions of a civilian police force, including the apprehension and detention of criminals, as-well-as, establishing and enforcing curfews and conducting short and long range patrols”.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, with all these sweeping powers, the organisation is seen having had the upper-hand in installing a strong-state structure that was supposed to be unique and bear peace and security hallmarks characteristic of the role and function of the UN.

The *Second Progress Report to the Secretary-General* (2 November, 1960) becomes an integral part of this literature review, as it dwells on the UN peacekeeping missions from the 1950s to date. “The first peacekeeping operation that used armed military personnel was the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), established by the General Assembly in 1956 to supervise the ceasefire in the Middle East after the Suez invasion”, (*Second Progress Report to the Secretary-General*). The author raises concern on the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions from the onset. If UNEF was authorized to use armed force, why then did ONUC not immediately impose the use of armed force which had proved effective in the Middle East?

[b]. **MONUC:** like ONUC before rekindled the UN’s lukewarm and staid efforts in maintaining peace and security in one of the most volatile countries in the world – DRC. Prominent authorities on African affairs, Jakkie Cilliers and Mark Malan of the Institute of Security Studies (ISS), capture the organisation’s lukewarm response to armed conflict in

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<sup>83</sup> *Second Progress Report to the Secretary-General from his Special Representative in the Congo:* Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal. United Nations Document S/4557 (2 November 1960)

Kivu, in their 2001 report entitled; *Peacekeeping in the DRC: MONUC and the road to peace*.

Cilliers and Malan report, is important to this study as it puts MONUC under scrutiny thus, giving the reader an informed position on understanding the mission's successes and failures. "MONUC was mandated among others, to develop an action plan for the overall implementation of the ceasefire agreement", Cilliers and Malan (2001) write. The ceasefire agreement did not hold, as violence and armed conflict reigned supreme giving credence to the thrust of this study in proffering solutions aimed at finding peace and security in Kivu.

The paper desists from carrying out a full scale comparison of the different UN peacekeeping missions so as to remain within the thrust of this research – which is to find solution to an armed conflict wrecking havoc to developmental plans in EAC and SADC. Relatively, the seemingly lacklustre UN response to recurring conflict in Kivu can be blamed on the organisation's indecisive missions. For example, MONUC's main task was implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.<sup>84</sup> However, it is in the aftermath of this agreement that, scaled-up violence and formation of various rebel militias increases tremendously from 2003 to date.

Julie Reynaert's 2011 book, *MONUC/MONUSCO and Civilian Protection in the Kivus*, published by the IPIS Interns and Volunteers Series is an important read as it, accounts for the successes and failures of both missions. The book essentially tackles the transition from MONUC to MONUSCO. Reynaert (2011: 19) comments on the transition saying; "Under Resolution 1925 (May 2010), the Security Council decided that, starting from July 2010, MONUC would be transformed into the United Nations Stabilisation Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO). Due to the evolved political context, MONUSCO will mainly focus on stabilisation and peace consolidation".

Reynaert brings to the attention of the scholar on the DRC, the reality of the MONUC failure despite the mission being allowed, "To use all necessary means to protect civilians, including

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<sup>84</sup> Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement signed between Angola, DRC, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe, July 1999 in Lusaka, Zambia to bring an end to the Second Congo war.

use of force”, (Reynaert, 2011: 20). The study has identified the MONUC mission as having been set-out to monitor the implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement thus, with the added mandate to use force if need be, MONUC should have been an outright success in quelling recurrent conflict in Kivu.

Reynaert (2011: 38) brings in an interesting viewpoint on UN intervention noting; “On the 30<sup>th</sup> of May the United Nations Security Council adopts Resolution 1484 by which it agrees to the creation of an emergency international force to secure Bunia, the regional capital of Ituri. Codenamed *Artemis*, the force, deployed by the European Union under French command is composed of 1 850 troops from nine countries, mainly France”. The question is: why did the special mission to ‘save’ Bunia not become the face of the MONUC / MONUSCO missions, in as far as deployment of an effective force is concerned? Surely, such a widespread engagement would have facilitated for the eradication of armed conflict not only in Kivu, but throughout the DRC.

[c]. **MONUSCO:** Relatively, it is in this light that MONUSCO comes under scrutiny, for the stabilisation mission has sweeping-powers in using force when compared with its predecessor – MONUC. MONUSCO’s use of force is encapsulated in Christoph Vogel’s research paper, published under the African Policy Brief series, and entitled; *Islands of Stability or Swamps of Insecurity?: MONUSCO’s Intervention Brigade and the Danger of Emerging Security Voids in Eastern Congo*. The paper is forthright in highlighting the stabilisation mission as having instituted the United Nations Intervention Brigade (UNIB), as a turning point in the history of the megaphone organisation which has throughout its history sparingly used force in attaining its Chapter I principle of maintaining peace and security.

Simon Chesterman (2004: 3), the Executive Director of the Institute of International Law and Justice at New York University adds on the use of force noting; “The United Nations has generally being reluctant to allow military units under its command to use force. The three peace operations in which troops under UN command engaged in the use of force on a significant scale – Congo from 1960 – 1963, Somalia in 1993 and Bosnia and Herzegovina 1994 – 1995 – were traumatic experiences for the organisation”.

Therefore, the timid use of force can be pointed out as being central in understanding why the organisation has had a prolonged stay in the DRC. Simon Chesterman's paper, *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations*<sup>85</sup>, is crucial in understanding the UN's use of force. Further, Retired Major-General, Patrick Cammaert and Fiona Blyth<sup>86</sup> writing in the July 2013 Issue Brief entitled, *The UN Intervention Brigade in the Democratic Republic of Congo*; denote the intervention brigade as a new dimension the UN peacekeeping mission MONUSCO is taking in arresting the scourge of armed conflict in eastern Congo.

“After nearly fourteen years of peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the United Nations established a new, more aggressive kind of force for the conflict-stricken nation in March 2013: the Intervention Brigade. Situated within the existing MONUSCO, this offensive combat force is designed to break the persistent cycles of violence in DRC by carrying out targeted operations to neutralize rebel forces”, Cammaert and Blyth (2013: 1) observe on UNIB in their engaging paper.

The author, through the premises of this study advocates for the use of force in quelling recurrent armed conflict in Kivu. It is in this vain, the paper envisages the use of such force to assume a largely, African identity. However, UN efforts have to be commended despite having flagrantly failed in instituting lasting peace and security in Kivu. The AU comes into the picture at this juncture.

## **ii. African Union: Implementing collective security action:**

The paper seeks recourse and remedy in solving the endemic armed conflict in the AU through the AUPSC. The calls to seek African solutions to African problems is central to the ideologies of the author and thus, the study is premised on the ideal that; only Africans can be masters of their own destiny through solving their problems. Interestingly, these thoughts are captured in the 2014 African Union Report, *'Agenda 2063: the Africa We Want'*, which

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<sup>85</sup> This paper draws upon passages from one of Chesterman's publications, *You The People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>86</sup> Maj-Gen (Ret.), Patrick Cammaert is former military advisor in the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations and former Eastern Division commander of the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Fiona Blyth, research assistant at the International Peace Institute (IPI).

reverberates with the ideas and thoughts of Ali Mazrui's 'Pax-Africana' ideology. "We echo the Pan African call that Africa must unite in order to realise its Renaissance. Present generations are confident that the destiny of Africa is in their hands, and they must act now to shape the future we want", the report reads in its opening sentiments.

Unification of Africa through the heralded ASF comprised of civil – military contingents from EASF and SSF is central to the thrust of this research which seeks lasting solutions towards peace, security and sustainable development. Peace in Kivu is expected to chart the developmental way forward in the EAC and SADC regions. The AU is called upon to vigorously work towards the activation of the ASF which has lay dormant in the face of growing threats to the peace, all-around the African continent.

The collective security theory is central to this study as a lens through which the understanding of how the envisioned ASF proposed to be deployed in the Congo can be a resounding success. Consequently, the success of the ASF in Kivu can provide a template upon which Africa can deal with conflict elsewhere on the continent.

George Schwarzenberger is recognised as one of the foremost proponents of the collective security theory and his 1964 book, *Power Politics*; published by Stevens & Sons Ltd, of London, is a central literature resource in this study. The book is clear in spelling out the salient features of the collective security theory. "Collective security system is understood as machinery designed to protect a given status quo against being overthrown by force or in any other illegal manner", Schwarzenberger (1964: 278) writes. The collective security Africa has employed can be seen in two AU-led peacekeeping initiatives – AMISOM and AMANI.

**[a]. AMISOM:** African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) is an important milestone in the history of African-made solutions towards peace and security. AMISOM defines the steps home-grown solutions to peace and security have come thus far hence, the importance of the mission to this study that promulgates the implementation of African solutions towards peace and security.

The newsletter, AMISOM Review, Issue 13, August – December 2013 titled, '*AMISOM Expands: AU Welcomes Increase in Troops*'; is a crucial resource in understanding the roles

and functions AMISOM is carrying-out in war-torn Somalia. Though peace and security remain elusive in the Horn-of-Africa country that has seen a prolonged period of violence spanning over two decades, AMISOM has been credited for bringing relative stability in the troubled country.

The report is important in accounting for the successes AMISOM has scored in fostering peace and security in Somalia. The increase in troops deployed in Somalia and use of foot patrols together with the missions' civilian efforts through engaging the Somali-Diaspora in economic revival and development is testament to how African efforts can be used to effectively bring peace in our restive regions.

Another AMISOM success has been the increased recognition of women in Somalia following relative peace in some regions of the restive country. The establishment of AMAN radio is one such example of women empowerment that AMISOM has facilitated through the instigation of peace and security. "Launched by Nasib Information and Media Center for Women with financial support from active female Somali journalists in Finland, the radio's mission is to raise the profile of Somali women by discussing topics related to them as well as providing media training to get more women qualified".<sup>87</sup>

**[b]. AMANI means peace:** the Kiswahili word meaning, 'peace' is behind the AU initiative towards peace and security on the African continent. AMANI defines the military training exercises the ASF carries out to gauge its readiness for deployment. Institute for Security Studies (ISS) Media Toolkit reveals, "The AMANI Africa II field training exercise at the SA Army Combat Training Centre in Lohattha, South Africa from 18 October – 5 November 2015 is aimed at testing the operational readiness of the ASF and its rapid deployment capability".<sup>88</sup>

The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) report titled, '*Understanding the African Standby Force, rapid deployment and Amani Africa II*', fundamentally captures the ASF and how

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<sup>87</sup> AMISOM REVIEW '*AMISOM Expands: AU welcomes increase in troops*'. *AMAN Radio: Empowering the women of Somalia*. Issue 13, August – December 2013, African Union, p. 10

<sup>88</sup> '*Understanding the African Standby Force, rapid deployment and Amani Africa II*', Institute for Security Studies (ISS), ISS Media Toolkit, 4 November 2015, p.4

ready the Force is to be deployed anywhere in Africa, threats to the peace and breaches to the peace are violated. The report dwells on the ASF training exercise held in South Africa towards the end of 2015 giving credence to the advocacy of this paper calling on the eminent role EASF and SSF can play in arresting armed conflict in eastern Congo.

Relatively, the role of EASF and SSF can be seen as collective security machinery in the realm of international relations. The Protocol Establishing the African Union Peace and Security Council (AUPSC), Article 13.1, supports this assertion stating; “In order to enable the Peace and Security Council perform its responsibilities with respect to deployment of peace support missions and intervention pursuant to article 4 (h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act, an African Standby Force shall be established. Such Force shall be composed of standby multidisciplinary contingents, with civilian and military components in their countries of origin and ready for rapid deployment at appropriate notice”, (Batware, 2011: 1).

Furthermore, the popular book, *The Anarchical Society*, written by Hedley Bull in 1977 and published by Palgrave Macmillan, essentially captures the driving force behind successful collective security, as being fostered by international organisations hence, the calls from this paper for the AU to take a leading role in ensuring African peace and security becomes a reality to her developmental agenda. Prominent international relations scholar and researcher Martin Griffiths<sup>89</sup> describes the book as, “In perhaps his most well-known work, *The Anarchical Society*, Bull analysed the nature of the moral and normative rules and constraints of international order and decision-making”, (Griffiths, et al<sup>90</sup>, 2009: 211).

Relatively, the role of international organisations in attaining collective security is vividly captured in a Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences paper, co-authored by Stefan

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<sup>89</sup> Martin Griffiths is Associate Professor in the School of Politics and International Studies at Flinders University, Australia. Griffiths is author of, *International Relations Theory for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (2007).

<sup>90</sup> Steven C. Roach and M. Scott Solomon are co-authors (with Martin Griffiths) of the book, *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, p. 211



Aleksovski, Oliver Bakreski and M.A. Biljama Avramovska<sup>91</sup> entitled, *Collective Security – the Role of International Organisations – Implications in International Security Order*.

The paper focuses on the collective security theory and how it is proffered in a wide range of international organisations that include; UN, NATO, EU and OSCE, “which all attempt to uphold international peace and stability”, Aleksovski, et al, (2014: 1) write. It is in this light that the AU can borrow from the experiences of these prominent international organisations seen as central to the unparalleled peace and security Europe enjoys today.

The author argues further; ASF can work and bring lasting peace and security in the Kivus an occurrence which is envisaged to spread to other hot-spots of instability, violence and armed conflict in Africa – central Somalia, north east Nigeria and northern Mali, come to mind. The argument for a successful deployment of ASF in eastern Congo is further strengthened by what the EAC and SADC will bring to the multinational standby force.

**iii. Other RECs:** as already noted in Chapter 2, the DRC has engraved influence in the RECs of EAC and SADC hence, the thrust of this study to seek the deployment of the EASF and SSF in arresting the Congolese unrest. However, it is imperative worth mentioning the importance of the DRC in other RECs such as the; International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR); the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (ECGLC) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).

Despite not having substantive military power ICGLR, ECGLC and ECCAS are important role players from a civic-economic perspective. The sentiments are encapsulated in *The Africa Report, Doing Business in Africa Supplement* entitled, ‘*Investing DR Congo 2015*’.<sup>92</sup> The report observes the impeccable role and function the DRC has to play as a potential economic powerhouse in the aforementioned RECs.

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<sup>91</sup> Dr. Stefan Aleksovski, is Full Professor in the Faculty of Law. Dr. Oliver Barekski is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Philosophy, at the Institute of Security, Defence and Peace in Skopje. M.A. Biljama Avramovska is with the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Macedonia.

<sup>92</sup> *The Africa Report, Doing Business in Africa Supplement, ‘Investing DR Congo 2015’*. Fact File: *International Organisations*. Groupe Jeune Afrique Publication, p. 22

## Conclusion

The Chapter goes a long way in proffering remedy and recourse towards an African solution to an African problem – armed conflict in Kivu. The proposed role of EASF and SSF is the remedy and recourse the paper advocates to be a solution towards peace, security and development.

Finding an African solution to an African problem rekindles the spirit of independent Africa in the 1960s, and bodes well with the AU's Agenda 2063 pronouncement that has Ali Mazrui posthumously singing "*Pax Africana*". The author is a proponent of the *Pax Africana* notion, hence the thrust of this study to seek African-tailored recourse to African problems.

Relatively, the Chapter dwelt on a background to the conflict so as to capture the underlying determinants of the unrest. In addition, to knowing why this armed conflict has become endemic to the Congo. A resourceful thematic literature review aides the understanding of this conflict and the proposed remedy and recourse.

The author proposes two recommendations: first, wither the UN intervention in the Congo and facilitate African-led efforts, through the ASF. Second, propel a revamped AU to take a leading role in finding solutions to African peace and security. Indeed, sceptic elements will be quick to denounce the AU but, all hope has not been lost as the organisation through its own reform can be better equipped to deal with threats to the peace through the established but, moribund ASF. The paper is a megaphone and vociferous challenge to the AU to kick-start African efforts at achieving peace and security needed for development.

The author joins the growing global calls of discontent clamouring for UN reform arguing that; reforming the UN will make the organisation formed in 1945 more conversant and effective in attaining its Chapter I mandate – maintaining global peace and security.

Prominent columnist in Zimbabwe's daily newspaper, *The Herald*, Nick Mangwana<sup>93</sup> commented, "The use of the United Nations as a convenient tool for big nations when it suits them is what that speech in Addis Ababa was all about. It was about the emasculation of Mr Ban ki-moon and his institution when it suits certain nations and its selective re-empowering to provide a ready narrative for their extra-territorial adventures as happened in Iraq and Libya". Mangwana was commenting on President Robert Mugabe's speech at the 26<sup>th</sup> AU Summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 26 – 28 February, 2016. In his speech, President Mugabe for the umpteenth time used the gathering of African states to voice his calls for UN reform.

The paper has identified migraine problems UN missions – MONUC / MONUSCO have encountered in bringing peace and security in Kivu. It is in this light that a revamped and representative United Nations Security Council (UNSC) can offer a more robust proposition to global peace and security. For example, the crisis in Burundi following President Pierre Nkurunziza's third-term bid, where hundreds of thousands of people were either killed, maimed or displaced. The lukewarm international reaction to the festering Burundian conflict shows UNSC's timid response to a current African problem as being staid and melancholy – horrifyingly recapturing the international systems' glaring failure to maintain peace and security in the 1994 Rwandan genocide whose after-shocks are still being felt in eastern Congo.

The Burundian crisis is important in understanding why eastern Congo is prone to armed conflict as the country borders the South Kivu province tightly linking it to the armed conflict under-study in this paper. This crisis has seen more than 400 dead, with over 200 000 displaced or uncounted for. United States Ambassador to Burundi, Samantha Power observed, "There is a '*cri de coeur*' from many people in Burundi for outside help and for urgent mediation to get a solution", (*The Herald*, Monday 25 January, 2016: 7).<sup>94</sup> Alas! The Burundian government has buffed at the prospect of outside intervention, including the AU and UN.

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<sup>93</sup> Nick Mangwana is the Zanu-PF chairperson in the United Kingdom. The article '*Call for UN reform finds resonance*', appeared in the column, 'View from the Diaspora', *The Herald*, Tuesday 9 February, 2016 p. 8

<sup>94</sup> *The Herald*, Monday 25 January, 2016. '*UN, AU hold crisis talks on Burundi*', adapted from AFP. Article focused on crisis talks following an up-scale in violence in Bujumbura, the Burundian capital.

Therefore, the Chapter recommends the AU to be internally equipped and funded to wield power and influence through its various organs – AUPSC, AU Commission, and AU Court of Justice etc. Home-grown efforts to equip and fund the AU are perceived to make the ASF assume full responsibility to protect (R2P) in Africa’s restive regions.

The author is of the view that; Africa’s seems content in disparaging the UN and calling for its reform, whilst flagrantly overlooking how the AU can be reshaped, refocused and reformed to achieve its mandate of African unity, peace, security and development. Calling for UN reform is noble but, the AU in this time should focus on ways in which the organisation can duly reinvigorate its systems for the ASF to take-off.

The paper calls for AU reform as supported by Zimbabwean foreign affairs minister, Simbarashe Mumbengegwi in an opinion piece in the *Sunday Mail*, “Under President Mugabe, Summit adopted a resolution, with the AU committing itself to financing hundred percent of its operational budget – at least seventy-five percent of its programmes budget and twenty-five percent of its peace keeping budget within the next five years”,<sup>95</sup> Mumbengegwi wrote.

Therefore, the research is moulded on the recommendation calling for reform of both the AU and UN in effectively encountering the regress defined in Kivu. The author recommends:

- Capacitate African institutions of research and higher learning to continue with research and investigation into how a collective security system can work in Africa.
- Make the AU self-sustaining to ignite the workings of her dormant mechanisms to peace and security such as the ASF.
- Benevolent governance and leadership throughout the African continent

Joyce Muraya and John Ahere writing in the Occasional Paper Series, published by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolutions of Disputes (ACCORD) entitled, *Perpetuation of Instability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: when the Kivus sneeze*,

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<sup>95</sup> Simbarashe Mumbengegwi is Zimbabwe’s foreign affairs minister. He was speaking in an interview with *Sunday Mail* news editor Morris Mkwate.

*Kinshasa catches a cold*'; gives an engaging and well-arranged overview of the dire situation in eastern Congo.

“The steadiness of Kinshasa, as the capital of the DRC, is important since it is the locus of legitimate power. Each rebellion that has been mounted in the Kivus in recent years has had Kinshasa as the ultimate target. The strength of Kinshasa is therefore symbolic of the general stability of the DRC, and by extension, the Great Lakes region”, Muraya and Ahere (2014: 8) observe. The Muraya – Ahere paper is an important literature resource in concluding this Chapter. Muraya and Ahere take the reader through the situation in the Congo; why the conflict seems intractable and provides an in-depth look at recovery efforts and recommendations.

The study proffers scholarly, policy and institutional recommendations, as remedy to arresting armed conflict in eastern Congo and consequently, elsewhere in Africa’s ‘hot spots’ of instability and unrest.

Beswick and Jackson (2011: 24) argue that; “the nature of conflict and war in the developing world has led to important questions being asked about the essence of development, particularly whether the process of development is linked to violent conflict, and about the justifications for and practice of international humanitarian intervention”. The assertion brings to the fore the vitality of understanding Africa’s political economy, as an important stratum expected to finance, support, develop and sustain the APSA in which the ASF is ensconced. Justifying the case for possible deployment of EASF and SSF under the command of the ASF is supported by a concerted read on Africa’s political economy.

## Chapter 4: Africa's Political Economy In View of the Kivu Unrest

### Introduction

“In 2013, Africa maintained an average growth rate of about 4%. This compares to 3% for the global economy and underscores again the continent's resilience to global and regional headwinds”, is according to the African Economic Outlook (AEO). AEO is an important resource in understanding the continent's socio-politico-economic dynamics. The 2014 edition in particular is fundamental to the scope and focus of this study as, “AEO 2014 is the 13<sup>th</sup> edition which for the first time covers all 54 African countries”.<sup>96</sup>

The book co-published by consortium teams from the African Development Bank Group (ADB); the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is an encompassing read drawing on the vast experiences, knowledge and technical aptitudes of the contributors to the study hence, giving a clear understanding of Africa's political economy. Providing a holistic overview of Africa economic performance, the report notes that; “growth in sub-Saharan Africa was 5% in 2013 and is projected to be 5.8% in 2014. Excluding South Africa, the figures are 6.1% and 6.8% respectively. East and West Africa recorded the fastest growth in 2013, 6% or above”, AEO (2014: 22).

Understanding Africa's political economy is important as it justifies the proposed deployment of EASF and SSF in Kivu and beyond. The author is of the view that; Africa's political structures are strong and well-entrenched hence, the facilitation of the AUPSC and the AU Commission, to proffer solutions to the maintenance of the peace. However, it is Africa's weak and fragile economic structures that need to be strengthened for possible deployment to materialise.

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<sup>96</sup> *African Economic Outlook (AEO) 2014, Special theme: Global Value Chains and Africa's Industrialisation. Co-published by the African Development Bank Group (ADB); the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)*

Researcher and scholar on African affairs, Paul Collier provides an easy-to-read but well thought account of the African political economy in his paper entitled, *'International Political Economy: Some African Applications'*. The Collier-paper is an integral literature resource in understanding Africa's political economy from a global perspective. Effectively, addressing the question, how Africa's political economy fits-in the larger international political economy.

In a bid to understand the role of EASF and SSF in quelling armed conflict, the paper scrutinizes Africa's political economy. Collier (2006: 2) observes, "Political economy is about the sources of political power and its uses for economic ends. The sources of political power are coercion and legitimacy in varying combinations. The study of this struggle for power is part of the subject of political economy". Therefore, according to Collier's assertions, the study dwells on the sources of political power encapsulated in the APSA.

Lasting peace and security in Kivu can be a huge step towards sustainable development, thereby justifying the economic ends in Collier's views. African countries and their representative RECs have shown through engagements such as the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA), the Northern Corridor Integration Projects (NCIP) in EAC and SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP)<sup>97</sup>, for example, that, they can work together in finding home-grown solutions to home-grown problems – as the paper proposes.

Africa's political economy becomes an important focal point of the study. Guided by Ali Mazrui's *'Pax Africana'* ideology, the collective security theory and Agenda 2063 programme, calling for Africa to unshackle its dependency on foreign assistance. The author joins calls for Africa to become self-reliant so that programmes such as the possible synergy of EASF and SSF, not only become a possibility but, a reality that, charts the way forward in making Africans assume their own responsibility to protect and steadfastness in solving their problems.

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<sup>97</sup> Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA), Northern Corridor Integrated Projects (NCIP) in EAC and SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP); are developmental programmes the paper constantly refers to showing the greater possibility of African countries working together for a common cause.

Relatively, the DRC is an important and strategic economic development platform due to her immense geographical presence and membership in various RECs in both eastern and southern Africa. Furthermore, her vast natural and mineral resources make the country a potential economic heavyweight on the continent. The Chapter will give focus to the various regional economic programmes and the DRC's economic potential, to make case for the possibility of deployment in Kivu.

#### **4.1. Analysis of various regional economic programmes**

Africa various RECs all have economic programmes, policies and developmental goals that are central in understanding increased cooperation and integration among African states. The paper focuses on the prominent developmental agenda's at regional level in order to gauge and herald the possibility of deployment of troops in Africa's restive regions.

The paper focuses on three economic programmes; SADC's RISDP, EAC's NCIP and the encompassing TFTA. The justifications for choosing these particular development programmes for this study are:

- RISDP and NCIP represent developmental plans of the EAC and SADC blocs, the RECs immediate to the thrust of the study that focuses on the role of EASF and SSF in countering armed conflict in eastern Congo
- TFTA is an important recent development in Africa's political economy as it is an established free trade area whose membership straddles the COMESA, EAC and SADC regions<sup>98</sup>

##### **4.1.1. Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP):**

Approved by SADC leaders in 2003 as a blueprint to regional development, "the RISDP is a long-term development strategy for economic growth and development and requires major

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<sup>98</sup> TFTA has been chosen for this study as a new and recently implemented developmental programme the paper intends to publicize and understand, bearing in mind members of both EAC and SADC, the two RECs understudy in this paper also find membership in TFTA.



commitment of sustainable financial and human resources”, (RISDP).<sup>99</sup> The SADC published book, *Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan*, is an important literature resource as it provides an in-depth understanding of the transition from SADCC to SADC.

The book through its seven chapters, traces the origins of SADCC and its transition to SADC, the socio-economic situation, and the existing economic and social policies and strategies. A look at the sustainable financing of the RISDP in Chapter 5 is important in highlighting good financial management in making the programme a success. Implementation and coordination mechanisms as-well-as the monitoring and evaluation of the programme are also looked at in the book.

Writing in the foreword of the book, former Tanzanian president and SADC chairperson, Benjamin Mkapa, comments; “The challenges facing the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO) have to be seen against the background of a region that has gained a lot of experience in promoting regional co-operation and integration”. To say the SADC region is firmly poised for growth through uninterrupted co-operation and integration gives credence to this study on regional co-operation through the role of EASF and SSF in dealing with recurrent armed conflict in Kivu.

Relatively, RISDP is in tandem with the advocacy of the author as supported in an article titled, *‘RISDP task force to discuss revised RISDP’*, in the *Southern Africa Today* newsletter, which notes, “the four main priorities to be pursued by the region from 2015 – 2020 are:

- Priority A seeks to promote industrial development and market integration through, among other things, strengthening the productive competitiveness and supply side capacity of Member States as well as improving movement of goods and facilitating financial market integration and monetary cooperation
- Priority B is on provision and improvement of infrastructure support for regional integration

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<sup>99</sup> Southern African Development Community: Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan. Published by SADC, Government Enclave, Post Bag 0095, Gaborone, Botswana – [www.sadc.int](http://www.sadc.int)

- Priority D is on promotion of special programmes of regional dimension under clusters such as education and human resource development; health, HIV and AIDS and other communicable diseases; food security and trans-boundary natural resources; environment; statistics; gender equality; and science, technology, innovation and research and development
- The above three priorities will be underpinned by Priority C on promotion of peace and security co-operation as a pre-requisite for achieving the regional integration agenda”.<sup>100</sup>

Priority A gives the study a Zimbabwean feel, for it was during the chairmanship of President Robert Mugabe (August 2014 – August 2015); the SADC Industrialisation Policy came into being. “SADC should also wean itself from exporting raw materials, but instead seek to create value chains that lead to the exportation of finished goods”, Mugabe said at the 34<sup>th</sup> SADC Summit in Victoria Falls, upon assuming chairmanship in August 2014.

Priority C is crucially important to the scope and focus of this study for it is the need to strengthen SADC and consequently, Africa’s peace and security mechanisms for sustainable development to become a reality as posited throughout this paper. “We therefore feel that the current process underway to review the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan should not be a mere academic exercise but a reality check which should redirect us”, Mugabe added.<sup>101</sup> RISDP becomes an integral developmental framework the study uses to account for the SADC region’s developmental agenda.

#### **4.1.2. Northern Corridor Integration Projects (NCIP):**

Prominent scholars on EAC, Stefan Reith and Moritz Boltz comment; “‘One people, one destiny’ – so runs the slogan of the East African Community (EAC), which was re-established in 2001. Few of the numerous African regional organisations set their sights quite so high. Integration – for which the EU, NAFTA and ASEAN provide inspiration – is seen as

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<sup>100</sup> Southern Africa Today. *‘RISDP task force to discuss revised RISDP’*, Vol. 17, No. 2, February 2015, SARDC, Harare, p. 3

<sup>101</sup> Southern Africa Today. Joseph Ngwawi. *‘SADC chair urges “reality check” as region reviews blueprint’*, Vol. 16, No. 6, October 2014, SARDC, Harare, p. 4

the road to affluence and growth”.<sup>102</sup> The article titled, *‘The East African Community: Regional integration between aspiration and reality’*, by Stefan Reith and Moritz Boltz<sup>103</sup> is a crucial literature resource as it traces the long history of integration in the region to pre-colonial times and through the colonial era. “The first moves towards cooperation between states were made in 1919. Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda – all of them under British administration – formed a customs union”, Reith and Boltz (2011: 92) comment. It is crucial to immediately grasp the long-established culture of cooperation and integration as the cornerstone upon which the NCIP is built.

It is worth noting, regional integration and cooperation has not always been smooth-sailing in EAC. For example, “In 1967, the East African Community was founded. It collapsed in 1977 due to its lack of steering functions, the unequal distribution of benefits and the differences of opinion between the leading players”, (Reith and Boltz, 2011: 92). Therefore, it is from these challenges the paper draws inspiration of the NCIP to re-establish and cement that tradition of cooperation and integration in the re-launched and reinvigorated EAC.

NCIP is at present comprised of six countries; Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan and Uganda. The framework is built on cooperation and integration in the key areas of peace, security and sustainable development. NCIP has the potential to be a wholly encompassing regional developmental programme in the same dimension as the previously discussed RISDP penning out in the SADC region.

*The 6<sup>th</sup> Northern Corridor Integration Projects, Ministerial Report*,<sup>104</sup> is a crucial literature resource in understanding the deepened levels of regional cooperation and integration in the regional developmental programme for the EAC. The author notes; the various backgrounds, skills and experience the representatives of the six Member States plus the EAC

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<sup>102</sup> Stefan Reith and Moritz Boltz, *‘The East African Community: Regional Integration Between Aspiration and Reality’*. KAS International Reports, 9/10/2011. Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), Tanzania Office, p. 92

<sup>103</sup> Stefan Reith is the Resident Representative of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Tanzania. Moritz Boltz is studying politics, economics and law at Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich. From May – July, 2011, he was based at the KAS office in Tanzania while he researched the East African Community.

<sup>104</sup> The 6<sup>th</sup> Northern Corridor Integration Projects, Ministerial Report. Lemigo Hotel, Kigali Rwanda, July 2<sup>nd</sup> 2014

representative brought to the meeting as being crucial in understanding the level of cooperation and integration NCIP aspires towards.

Intently, the levels of cooperation and integration mooted for through the NCIP give the EAC the merits to be a willing-partner to SADC in the proposed deployment of the envisaged EASF and SSF this research paper posits. The report is important in cultivating greater understanding of how RECs can work together for a common goal towards unbridled peace, security and sustainable development on the continent.

#### **4.1.3. Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA):**

The article titled, *'Launch of Grand FTA set for December'*, by Kizito Sikuka of SARDC is an important read in understanding the TFTA. "Commonly known as the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA), the integrated market will comprise the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC) and SADC", Sikuka writes.<sup>105</sup> TFTA is crucial in understanding recent developments in Africa's political economy. TFTA is encompassing in that; within its membership are members of the COMESA, EAC and SADC regions – giving credence to this paper's advocacy towards increased regional cooperation and integration through the role EASF and SSF can play in promulgating peace and security in the respective RECs.

Numerous studies on Africa's developmental programmes have been carried out over the years and it is imperative that new studies and research into TFTA are conducted in understanding the coordination of the African political and economic structures. TFTA as a new economic development provides interesting reading into the contemporary African political economy. More so, studying TFTA is important in keeping-up with the paper's intention of giving publicity and prominence to recent economic developments on the continent.

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<sup>105</sup> Southern Africa Today. Kizito Sikuka. *'Launch of Grand FTA set for December'*, Vol. 17, No. 1, December 2014, SARDC, Harare, p. 7

The March 2015 Briefing to the European Parliament titled, *'The Tripartite Free Trade Area Project: Integration in Southern and Eastern Africa'*, is a fundamental literature resource that intently looks at the design and development of the TFTA. "The African continent could soon witness an important milestone on its path towards economic integration with the completion of the Tripartite Free Trade Area covering 26 countries and representing more than half the continent's gross domestic product (GDP)", the Briefing reveals in its opening remarks.<sup>106</sup>

The Briefing takes the reader through the issues of designing and developing the TFTA with the three RECs (COMESA, EAC and SADC) coming under close scrutiny as to their role and function in this economic development. The paper importantly tackles the benefits and challenges of the proposed TFTA as-well-as EU trade relations with some Member countries of the TFTA in their individual and membership capacities.

Relatively, the e-COMESA newsletter, Tripartite Summit Bulletin 2 titled, *'Cape to Cairo Free Trade Area now a reality'*, adds value to the understanding of the TFTA as a key economic developmental programme Africa has recently adopted. The newsletter notes that; "Fifteen of the 26 countries that comprise the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite signed the Free Trade Agreement on the spot during the third Tripartite Summit in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt. The rest of the Member States said they needed more time to complete their internal processes before signing the documents, which are binding international agreements. However, 23 of them signed the Sharm El Sheikh Declaration, which is a political undertaking to launch the Tripartite FTA".<sup>107</sup>

The three programmes discussed are important in highlighting Africa's increased cooperation and integration within the larger African political economy from the viewpoint of COMESA, EAC and SADC economic development initiatives. Combined with initiatives in other RECs not discussed herein, Africa is indeed poised for a boon only if and when peace and security is attained in strategic and important countries such as the DRC.

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<sup>106</sup> The Tripartite Free Trade Area Project: Integration in Southern and Eastern Africa. March 2015, Briefing to the European Parliament

<sup>107</sup> e-COMESA Newsletter. *'Cape to Cairo Free Trade Area now a reality'*. Tripartite Summit Bulletin 2, 15 June 2015. Published by COMESA Secretariat, Public Relations Unit, p. 1 – 4

In all the programmes, the greater desire to come together and work towards a common goal is intently espoused, further giving impetus to the thrust of this study that posits the synergy of EASF and SSF as the panacea to dealing with the recurring armed conflict in Kivu. In this light, the engraved importance of the DRC to the African political economy comes under scrutiny.

#### **4.2. The importance of the DRC to Africa’s political economy**

The advocacy to have peace and security prevail in the DRC is influenced by the potential the country exudes towards not only her sovereign economic development but, that of the larger African continent. “With a population of more than 70 million people and foreign direct investment (FDI) of well over US\$2 billion”, according to *The Africa Report*,<sup>108</sup> add to that a plethora of natural and mineral resources and abundant flora and fauna, it is no wonder prominent Congolese author and activist, Mpepongo ‘Dedy’ Bilamba describes the DRC as, “Congo is like a nightmare in heaven”.<sup>109</sup> “*And this also...has been one of the dark places on earth*”, novelist Joseph Conrad uses these words to describe the Congo, a country blessed with vast amounts of resources and cursed with the aftermath of greed.<sup>110</sup>

The *Groupe Jeune Afrique* Publication supplement, under the Doing Business in Africa series entitled; *Investing DR Congo 2015* sheds more light on the economic potential of the country. The outlook article, ‘*Clear signs of an improving economy*’ observes; “While the mining sector is still the engine of the economy (21.9% of GDP), there are other sectors such as agriculture, timber, construction, trade, transport, telecommunications and the manufacturing industry – especially the food, beverages and tobacco industries – that contribute more actively to growth, particularly since 2010”.

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<sup>108</sup> *The Africa Report*, No. 66, December 2014 – January 2015. Country Profiles: Democratic Republic of Congo: ‘*Presidential wait-and-see*’. Groupe Jeune Afrique Publication, p. 154

<sup>109</sup> Mpepongo ‘Dedy’ Bilamba speaking in an interview produced by advocacy group *Friends of the Congo*, based in Washington, DC. The interview titled, *Crisis in the Congo: uncovering the truth*, was accessed on: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vLV9szEu9Ag>

<sup>110</sup> Louisa Carpenter’s Working Paper titled; ‘*Conflict Minerals in the Congo: Blood Minerals and Africa’s Under-Reported First World War*’, is an eye-opener as to the well-crafted conflict minerals trade in the Kivus.

*The Africa Report, Doing Business in Africa* supplement is an engaging resource giving the reader an appreciation of the economic potential of the DRC as a key economic power-house on the continent with salient focus on the country's hydroelectricity power generation, mineral wealth and agricultural potential. The quarterly-supplement magazines intently give focus on a chosen country's political, economic, investment and business prospects. The supplements are an important literature resource in understanding Africa's political economy from the view point of the different African countries – and how the countries contribute to the larger African economy.

#### **4.2.1. Hydroelectricity power generation:**

The engraved importance of the DRC to Africa's developmental thrust is further encapsulated in the Inga Dam. "With a potential of 40,000 MW, Inga is the largest hydropower site in the world".<sup>111</sup> A look at the Inga Dam and the massive electric-power potential it boasts for the Congo and beyond gives the reader into Africa's peace and security mechanisms the urgency of having lasting peace prevail in this very important country.

Congo's massive hydroelectricity power generation is competitively comparable to other power generation projects around the SADC region. Powered by the colossus Congo River, Congo's hydroelectricity capacity is of paramount importance as illustrated in table from the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP). SAPP is an important and strategic regional initiative bent on harnessing the region's energy resources in driving economic development.

Therefore, understanding SAPP is important in ascertaining the importance of the DRC in the provision of power in particular hydro-electric power. SARDC places engraved emphasis on the prime importance of SAPP and covers developments in regional energy debates in its newsletters this study has extensively used as a literature resource. The following table shows a comparative analysis of various SADC countries contributions to the SAPP:

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<sup>111</sup> *The Africa Report, Doing Business in Africa* Supplement. Investing DR Congo 2015. Power and Water: 'Big Hydroelectric Power Projects'. Groupe Jeune Afrique Publication, p. 62

<b>Projects to be commissioned in 2015</b>					
	<b>Utility</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Capacity (MW)</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Eskom</b>	<b>South Africa</b>	<b>Medupi</b>	<b>Coal</b>	<b>738</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Eskom</b>	<b>South Africa</b>	<b>Ingula</b>	<b>Hydro</b>	<b>333</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>IPP</b>	<b>South Africa</b>	<b>Cogen</b>	<b>Gas</b>	<b>335</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Eskom</b>	<b>South Africa</b>	<b>Cogen</b>	<b>Gas</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>IPP</b>	<b>South Africa</b>	<b>Round 3 Renewables</b>	<b>Renewables</b>	<b>322</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>TANESCO</b>	<b>Tanzania</b>	<b>Kinyerezi 1</b>	<b>Gas</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>SNEL</b>	<b>DRC</b>	<b>Inga 1</b>	<b>Hydro</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>SNEL</b>	<b>DRC</b>	<b>Inga 2</b>	<b>Hydro</b>	<b>320</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>ZESCO</b>	<b>Zambia</b>	<b>Ithezi Tezhi</b>	<b>Hydro</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>ZESCO</b>	<b>Zambia</b>	<b>Lusiwasi</b>	<b>Hydro</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>IPP</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>	<b>Pungwe</b>	<b>Hydro</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>12</b>	<b>IPP</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Ressano Garcia</b>	<b>Gas</b>	<b>175</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>IPP</b>	<b>Mozambique</b>	<b>Kuvanianga</b>	<b>Gas</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Total</b>				<b>2,763</b>	

**Fig.3 Source SAPP<sup>112</sup>**

According to the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP) table above, the DRC is seen contributing 430MW of hydroelectricity power making it the largest single contributor in this type of electric power to the regional grid.

#### **4.2.2. Is Congo’s mineral wealth the proverbial ‘Midas touch?’**

A plethora of minerals is undoubtedly the country’s ‘Midas touch’. Buoyed by a catalogue of minerals that include; gold, diamonds, copper, tin, platinum group metals (PGMs) and coltan among others. The author views Congo’s mineral wealth as the wish of the legendary King

<sup>112</sup> The Southern African Power Pool (SAPP), plans to commission new projects that will add 2,763 megawatts to the regional grid this year as the region targets to meet its energy needs by 2018 – Southern Africa Today. ‘SAPP to commission 2,763MW new generation capacity’. Vol. 17, No. 3, April 2015, SRADC, Harare p. 9



Midas, who wished everything he touched turned to gold only to regret that wish, when the gold became a curse including his own daughter who had turned into a golden statue.

The article in the *Doing Business in Africa* supplement titled, *'Ever-increasing output'*, is categorical in identifying the DRC as a mining giant noting; “DR Congo possesses deposits of over 1,100 different minerals, including world class reserves of cobalt, industrial diamonds and copper. There are also significant deposits of niobium (or columbium), tantalum, tungsten, tin and gold, as well as secondary deposits of zinc, lead, nickel, uranium, manganese and silver”.<sup>113</sup> It is no wonder prominent Congolese researcher and scholar, Louisa Carpenter says, “DRC suffers from a resource curse”, meaning the vast mineral wealth is seemingly a curse for it has brought civil strife, sexual violence and armed conflict in the Kivus, instead of financial gain and development.

Therefore, it is in this light that the paper increases its calls for the deployment of a joint EASF and SSF in finding lasting peace in Kivu that could kick-start Congo’s long overdue political, economic and social recovery. It is a pity the Congo has not been able to enjoy her vast mineral wealth following successive trajectories defined in her sordid history of plunder, murder and perpetual anger.

#### **4.2.3. Dormant agricultural potential:**

Relatively, the agricultural sector is another bastion of Congolese importance to the continent’s political economy. It is a given many years of civil strife and armed conflict particularly in the eastern provinces have derailed the country’s agricultural output. However, “the country’s once-thriving agricultural sector is recovering. The priority is to make it the main engine of the economy through modernisation, partnerships and state commitment”.<sup>114</sup>

The importance of the DRC to Africa justifies the proposed deployment of EASF and SSF in Kivu. A peaceful DRC can be a key country in spearheading former South African president

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<sup>113</sup> *The Africa Report, Doing Business in Africa Supplement. Investing DR Congo 2015. Mining and Minerals: 'Ever-increasing output'*. Groupe Jeune Afrique Publication, p. 34

<sup>114</sup> *The Africa Report, Doing Business in Africa Supplement. Investing DR Congo 2015. Agribusiness: 'A new Wave of Prosperity'*. Groupe Jeune Afrique Publication, p. 52

Thabo Mbeki's, 'African renaissance' vision and/or Ali Mazrui's '*Pax-Africana*' ideology. Further, a peaceful DRC can be the cog-in-the-wheel towards Agenda 2063.

## **Conclusion**

The Chapter forthrightly looked at Africa's political economy and where the DRC stands in contributing to its (African political economy) design and development. Considering the DRC's massive potential as an economic powerhouse, the need for peace and security to be installed in the country grows with each passing day hence, the paper's advocacy towards the deployment of the EASF and SSF under the command and authority of the ASF.

Successful deployment in Kivu is expected to spread to other restive regions on the continent where the ugly-head of warfare, violence and chaos continually raises its head thereby, derailing Africa's developmental programmes. The author is of the view that; Africa's development is at the mercy of the contestations between political and economic power. Politically, the continent has matured incredibly since the turn of the century with the transition from the OAU to the AU headlining that political maturity. However, it is the slow-pace of economic cooperation and integration that is at the heart of Africa's continued subsumed status in global affairs.

Therefore, the Chapter focused on the developmental programmes that have been initiated in Africa such as SADC's RISDP; EAC's NCIP and the wholly encompassing TFTA, as keynote economic development programmes that need the necessary political support for them to reach fruition.

Focus was also given to the DRC's engraved importance as a major political and economic hub based on her abundant mineral wealth, potential hydroelectricity capacity and a recovering agricultural sector buoyed by, "an outstanding potential 80 million hectares of arable land", according to *The Africa Report*.

The Chapter recommends that; standing African policies towards economic cooperation and integration need to be given support and uniformity that permeates throughout the 54 African countries. Already, Africa has numerous economic development policies most of which have

failed or are struggling to meet their aims and objectives for one reason or the other. Speaking during his assumption of the SADC chairmanship in August 2014, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said, “We also should not be tempted to introduce or embrace too many programmes which, in the end, we fail to fund from our own resources”.<sup>115</sup>

Developmental programmes already in place need the continent’s full attention for them to reach their mandate. A developing African continent is better suited to put in place peace and security mechanisms such as the proposed synergy of EASF and SSF into practice thus, cultivating a culture of Africans taking the lead and charge in resolving their own problems. Further, the Chapter recommends that; more resources need to be afforded to Africa’s institutions for more profound research and study into her political economy to be widely and effectively carried-out.

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<sup>115</sup> Southern Africa Today. Joseph Ngwawi. ‘SADC chair urges “reality check” as region reviews blueprint’, Vol. 16, No. 6, October 2014, SARDC, Harare, p. 4

## Chapter 5: Conclusions, Summary and Recommendations

### Introduction

In conclusion, the paper goes great lengths in proffering home-grown solution and remedy to an African problem – armed conflict in Kivu. The solution and remedy is encapsulated in the proposed synergy of EASF and SSF under the command and authority of the ASF, which has been developed since 2003 but, is yet to be launched.<sup>116</sup>

Following this research, the author has gained-in confidence that the proposed role of EASF and SSF can be deployed under the ASF's "rapid deployment capacity (RDC)".<sup>117</sup> The recurrent armed conflict in Kivu fits the bill, as a critical area in which the ASF comprising contingents from the EAC and SADC blocs can be deployed. War crimes, genocide and gross human rights abuses are the order of the day in Kivu thus, the justification for deployment can never be any stronger.

In addition, the study is propelled as an instrument of instigation judging by the fact that, the research has been conducted during the proposed launch of the ASF. In this light, this study is proposed to reach the corridors of power at the African Union and throughout the institutional framework of peace and security organisations on the continent chief amongst them – Institute for Security Studies (ISS), African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR).

### 5.1. Research summary:

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<sup>116</sup> The ISS paper, (*Understanding the African Standby Force, rapid deployment and Amani Africa II*), Institute for Security Studies (ISS), ISS Media Toolkit, 4 November 2015, p.2), denotes January 2016 as the expected period in which ASF will be launched.

<sup>117</sup> Rapid Deployment Capacity; "This is the rapid response force that can be deployed anywhere on the continent within 14 days in emergencies such as cases of war crimes, genocide and gross human rights abuses. The RDC is made up of 2 500 personnel per regional economic community/regional mechanism (REC/RM)". Ibid. p. 1

Chapter 1 of the paper laid focus on the research proposal. The Chapter played an integral introductory role as it put into perspective the research topic, background to the study, statement of the problem, literature review technique and research methodology among the main topics.

Chapter 2 immediately, takes the reader into understanding the APSA the framework in which the proposed synergy of regional Forces finds life through the ASF the APSA's prominent appendage. Understanding what Africa has to offer in terms of her peace and security mechanisms is importantly linked to the armed conflict understudy. In this vain, comparisons can be immediately made with other conflicts in which the APSA mechanisms have to contend with.

Chapter 3 was an analysis of the armed conflicts drawing on a comprehensive understanding of the background to the Congolese unrest in her eastern provinces. The history of violence documented in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods is important in noting how the country has throughout its sordid history being the amphitheatre of violence and armed conflict. Overt and covert use of the Congo's unbridled mineral wealth by the various warring parties also took centre-stage in highlighting the extent of exploitation a country's resources can be used towards under-development. Further, Chapter 3 identified the intricate ethnic, language and cultural dynamics as being consistent enablers to the prolonged armed conflict, with the devastation of the First and Second Congo wars permeating throughout the determinants of the war.

Chapter 4 dwelled on Africa's political economy as a way of assessing how economically viable Africa can chart the way forward in her developmental quest. An economically stable and growing Africa will be in a better position to fund and facilitate the envisaged deployment of regional Forces in quelling armed conflict in eastern Congo.

The Chapter also laid focus on the DRC's economic potential as one of the most important and strategic African countries that can lead the reclamation of Africa as pronounced in Ali Mazrui's '*Pax-Africana*' ideology and the AU's *Agenda 2063* proclamation. The Chapters were scholarly chosen on the back of a well-stocked literature resource as the Congo is one of

the most fascinating countries in the world hence, numerous research and study has been and continues to be carried out on her.

## 5.2. Did the research meet its aims?

A mixed reaction to this pertinent question is proffered. On one hand the research did meet its aims through:

- Timely agitation for the deployment of EASF and SSF in arresting armed conflict in Kivu seeing, that 2016 is the year the ASF is expected to be launched. Therefore, the research adds voice to aspirations towards Africans at long last taking charge of their own affairs in as far as instituting peace and security on the continent is concerned.
- Giving attention to the need for deployment hence, weaning Africa-off entrenched dependency on the international system that has failed to consistently apply UN Charter Chapter I reprimands towards the maintenance of global peace and security.
- Highlighting that deployment of a synergy of regional Forces to quell breaches to the peace and threats to the peace is now a reality in contemporary African affairs.
- Adding value to understanding the conflict bequeathing a country that has been extensively studied over the past two centuries.

On the other hand, the vision of the research to advocate for the deployment of regional Forces in Kivu is threatened by Africa's incapacity to fund its own programmes hence, the slow pace of launching the ASF, which has been in developmental mode since 2003. The ISS paper, *'Understanding the African Standby Force, rapid deployment and Amani Africa II'*, is affront in highlighting the paralysis of external funding for African programmes. The paper observes, "Funding arrangements for the ASF are still to be finalised. In line with the goal for Africa to play a more prominent role in the continent's peace operations, it is expected that the AU will contribute 25% of the funding for the ASF. The ASF will remain reliant on external (UN, EU and bilateral) support for 75% of funding".<sup>118</sup>

The author calls on the African leadership to work towards revamping the AU capacities in making funding internal. Surely, the resource beneficiation and value addition can internally fund Africa's peace, security and developmental programmes. The author recommends a fixed-contribution say

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid. p. 3

US\$2 million per annum, per AU Member State which translates to more than US\$ 100 million going into the organisation's coffers.

### **5.3. Main findings of the research:**

The encompassing research established numerous findings that could aid in advocating for the deployment of a synergy of EASF and SSF in arresting the recurrent armed conflict in Kivu. *The Sunday Mail*, News Editor, Morris Mkwate observed; “There is need for more engrossed interaction and cooperation among African countries towards the consolidation of the peace and security systems”.<sup>119</sup>

The need for increased cooperation and integration becomes an important finding the paper bases-upon in view of the proposed synergy of regional Forces under the banner of the ASF and within the framework of the APSA. Relatively, the book, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*, written by Jason Stearns and published in the United States by the Public Affairs, a Member of the Perseus Books Group.

Speaking in an interview with Voice of America's (VOA), Chief of Swahili Service, Mwamoyo Hamza, Stearns talks on how the title of the book was conceived noting, “The title of the book is a quote from Laurent-Désire Kabila during a rally in Mbuji Mayi told cheering crowds that, fixing the Congo was not about one man's faults as, ‘I have seen all of you dancing in the glory of the monsters’”.<sup>120</sup> Kabila meant all the people of the Congo were responsible for the sorry state their country was in.

Stearns book is important when looking at the main findings of this research, which denote an entrenched crisis that needs urgent attention from Africans themselves to address hence, the proposed synergy of regional Forces in dealing with this seemingly never-ending armed conflict that has regressive ramification towards peace, security and sustainable development

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<sup>119</sup> Morris Mkwate, *The Sunday Mail*, (News Editor) was speaking to the author in an interview conducted in Harare on Monday 25 April, 2016.

<sup>120</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uyjTj2KmWI>

in central, eastern and southern African regions. More so, the book is a must read for any scholar willing to understand the dire situation penning-out in Kivu and how solutions to lasting peace and security can be proffered having grasped that understanding of the intricacies embedded in this conflict.

The author notes the other findings of the research as:

- Need for concerted efforts to be made towards the launch of the ASF which is long overdue considering ASF has been in a developmental cycle dating back to 2003.
- Calls for the AU to instil through the Summit, AU Commission and AUPSC a sense of ‘political will’ among Member States in having peace and security transcending throughout the five regions of the continent.
- As much as African leaders call for the reform of the United Nations, the reform of how the AU tackles issues of peace and security also need to be taken into consideration so as to facilitate for the AU to take a leading role in finding lasting peace and security in Africa’s restive regions.

#### 5.4. Recommendations:

<b>Scholarly recommendations</b>	<b>Policy recommendations</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Capacitating African institutions of higher learning and research to be financially viable and attract the best research skills on issues of peace, security and sustainable development</li> <li>- Call for more African graduates in the fields of politics, public management, developmental studies, social science and international affairs to employed within the AU and various RECs</li> <li>- African Union to have its own higher learning platform much in the same breath as; the United Nations University. The proposed university will have representative campuses in all the regions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Integration of regional developmental policies towards working together in spreading the developmental agenda. For example, integrating the NCIP and RISDP in EAC and SADC respectively</li> <li>- AU to adopt strict policies on issues of governance, elections, human rights and leadership throughout the continent</li> <li>- Calls for AU policy towards making the organisation more self-sustaining and self-regulatory on the back of Africa’s mineral and natural resources</li> </ul>

**Fig.4. Table of recommendations conceptualised by the author**



**Conclusive remarks:**

The author envisages EASF and SSF playing a critical role in ending armed conflict in Kivu. The deployment is both a reality and possibility which could kick-start developmental strides Africa and her people have been yearning for since the 1960s wave of independence. The research has been carried out as an advocacy and activism towards agitating African leaders and African institutions in working towards the attainment of peace and security on the continent.

The AU and its appendage RECs/RM need to be accorded full support (financial, personnel and equipment) in the development and consolidation of the peace and security mechanism – which should become the template of how the organisation works. The authors’ view of each African country contributing a modest US\$2 million per annum to the AU in some form of “membership fee” should be given full consideration. Surely, US\$ 2 million towards equipping and capacitating the continent’s peace and security apparatus is the starting point to making *Agenda 2063* a reality of our time.

Peace in the Congo is envisaged to propel Africa’s developmental thrust to greater heights hence; it is in this vain the paper seeks to posit solution to lasting peace through the deployment of the EASF and SSF under the command and authority of the ASF.

## Questionnaire on the recurrent armed conflict in Kivu

### Hypothesis:

1. The recurrent armed conflict in the Kivus has destabilised the eastern and southern African regions
2. Synergy of East African Standby Force (EASF) and SADC Standby Force (SSF) is proffered as a solution to lasting peace, security and sustainable development

### Questionnaire:

(Please tick in the appropriate box)

#### 1. Sex

Male	
Female	

#### 2. Are you Congolese?

Yes	
No	
Other (specify)...	

#### 3. Age

20 – 25	
26 – 30	
31 – 35	
35 and above	

#### 4. What is the highest level of education you have attained?

High School	
Undergraduate	
Post-graduate (Honours)	
Post-graduate (Masters/PhD)	

#### 5. From which province of the DRC do you come from?

North Kivu	
South Kivu	

Other (specify)
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6. How do you rate your knowledge of the crisis in eastern Congo?

Good	
Satisfactory	
Very good	
Excellent	

7. What in your view is perpetrating armed conflict in the Kivus?

Ethnic, language and cultural dimensions	
Conflict minerals	
Historical outcomes of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods	
First and Second Congo Wars	

8. How do you rate United Nations peacekeeping missions (MONUC and MONUSCO)?

Good	
Satisfactory	
Very good	
Excellent	

9. Do you think an African-led intervention Force (e.g. the proposed synergy of East African Standby Force (EASF) and SADC Standby Force (SSF), could be the solution to bring peace in the Kivus? Give reason[s]

Yes	
No	

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.....

10. Besides the proposed synergy of regional Forces, what suggestions can you give in resolving the Kivus unrest?

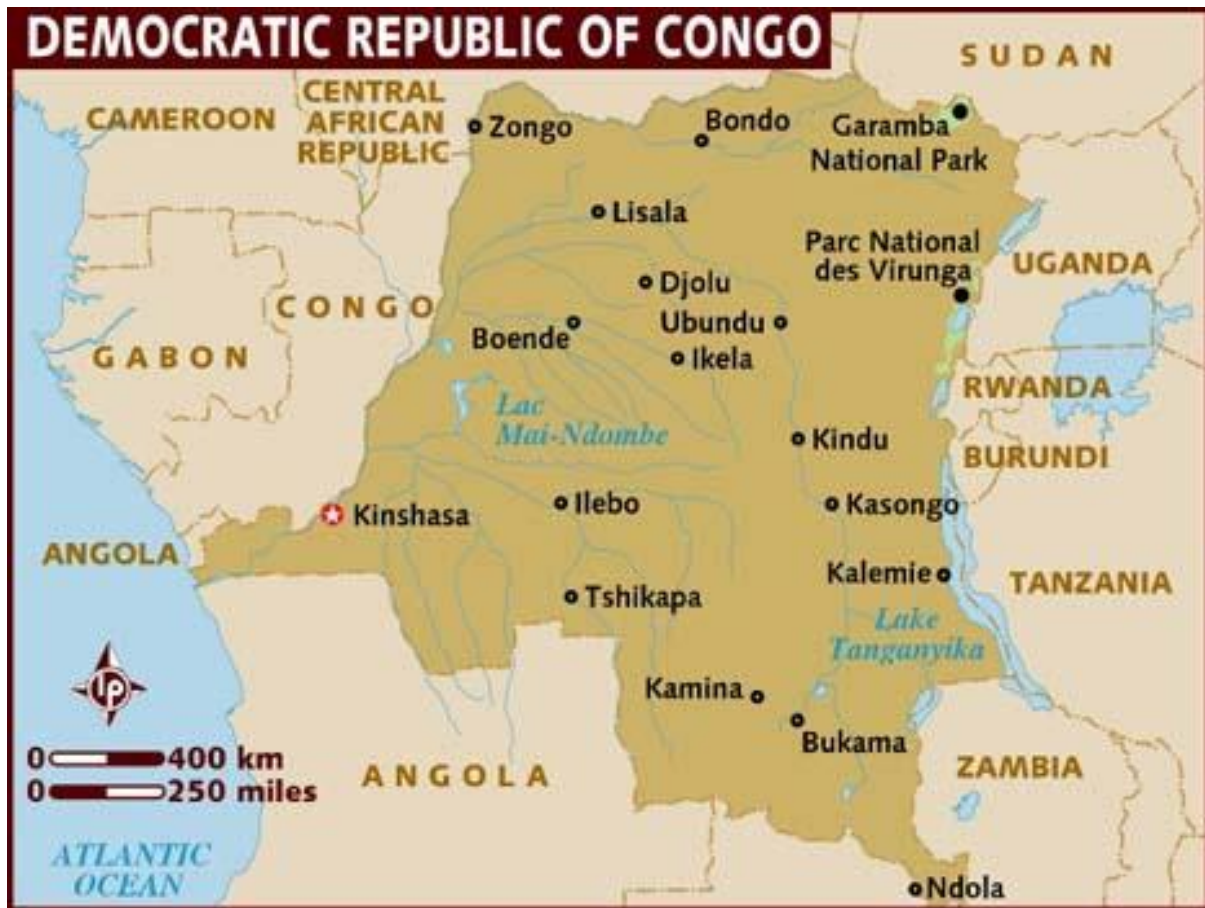
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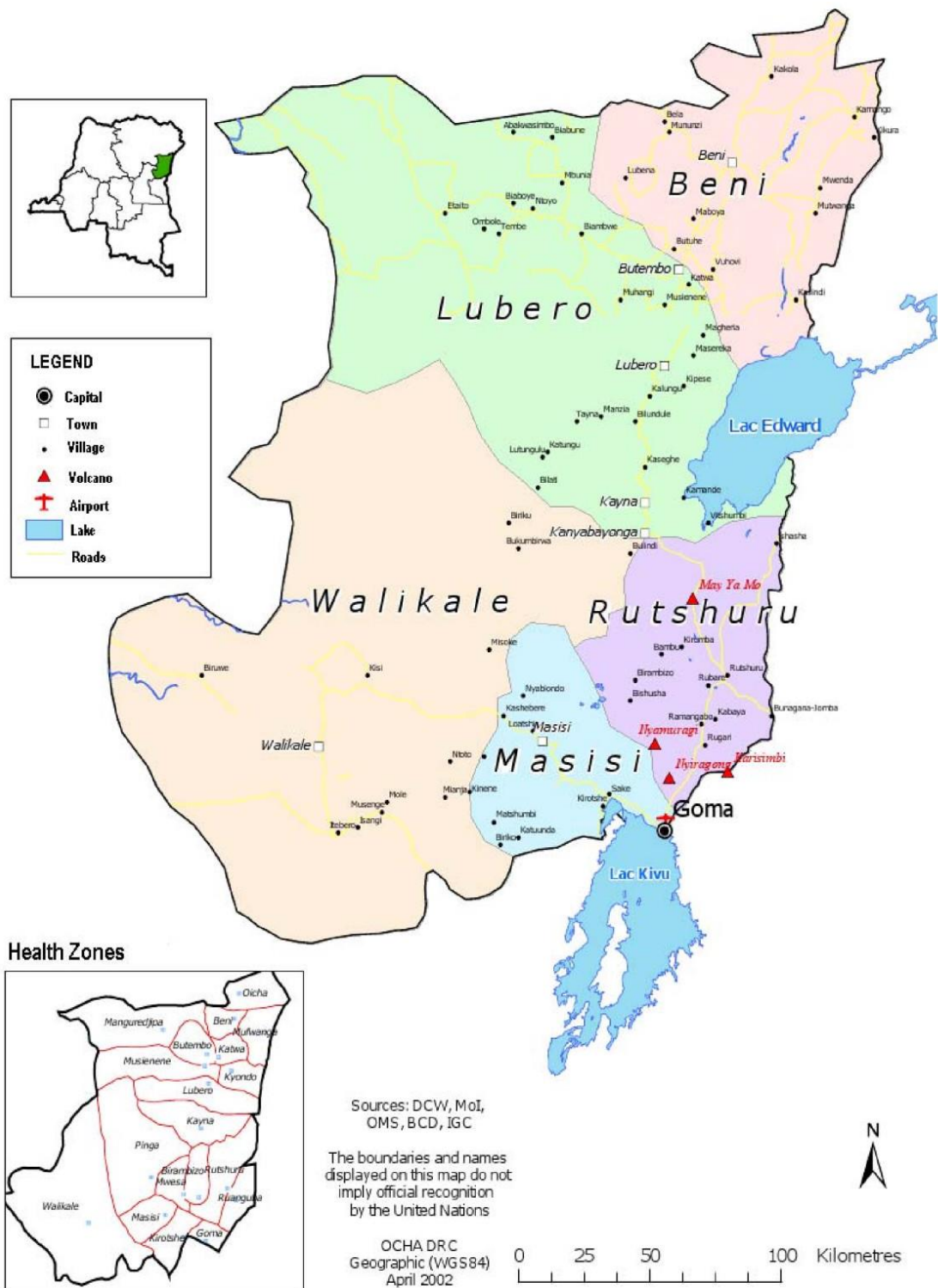
11. Any other information you would like to bring to the attention of the researcher

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**N.B: Thank you very much for taking time to respond to this questionnaire. The outcome of the research will be made known to all respondents.**

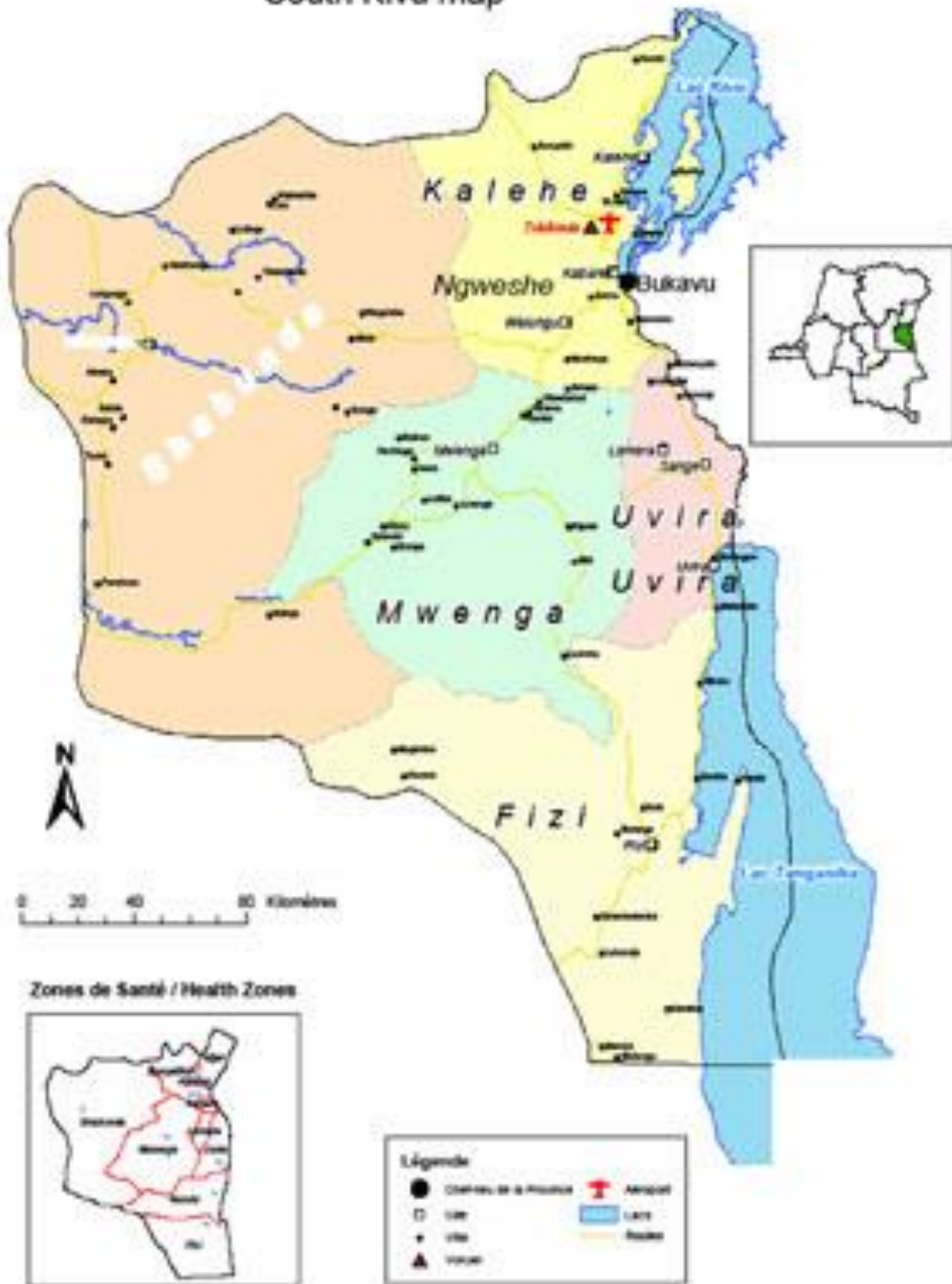


Source: [www.lonelyplanet.com](http://www.lonelyplanet.com)



Source: <http://static-content.springer.com/image/art>

### South Kivu map



Source: [www.fondamu.org](http://www.fondamu.org)



Source: [www.grinda.no/detail/mineral-deposits-in-eastern-congo\\_96cc](http://www.grinda.no/detail/mineral-deposits-in-eastern-congo_96cc)



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### **Other:**

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