

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



**AN ANALYSIS ON THE CHALLENGES AND DYNAMICS TO THE CHALLENGES
TO SYNERGIES FOR SUBREGIONAL PEACE SUPPORT MISSIONS: A CASE OF
THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION (SADC) AND THE
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE GREAT LAKES REGION (ICGLR) IN
THE EASTERN DRC RECURRING CONFLICT**

BY

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF
SCIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEGREE.**

JUNE 2018

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, who through the power and blessings of Almighty God have always and will forever remain the source of inspiration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this project is owed to the contribution and support of people who deserve special mention as without their assistance and encouragement the research would not have been successful.

First and foremost, my heartfelt thanks go to my theses supervisor, Dr Sadiki Maeresera for his academic supervision and guidance from project conceptualization to completion.

I am also grateful to Midlands State University Department of Politics and Public Management for equipping me with the necessary skill and knowledge which guided me throughout study and research exercise.

I would also like to thank the African Youth Commission members for their support and willingness to participate and provide linkages to respondents that contributed to the research. My heartfelt thanks also go to my family for unconditional love and support, special thanks to my parents for standing by my side throughout my study period and encouraging me towards completion of my study.

To my siblings, Mildred, Melba and July, thank you for your encouragement, you have been pillars of strength. Your generosity and support during my studies brought me this far and words alone cannot express how much I appreciate the support and encouragement that you have shown me.

Above all, I thank the Lord God Almighty for his compassion and for taking me this far.

ABSTRACT

This study takes a look at the complexity of the recurring conflict in Eastern DRC and the efforts put in place by the sub regional organizations particularly the SADC and ICGLR in trying to achieve sustainable peace in the war torn region of the Congo. Peace support operations in the 21st century has been undertaken at the multilateral, regional and sub-regional levels in given conflicts by a range of actors. Scholarly questions have been asked the effectiveness of these operations citing the failure to achieve sustainable peace in the war zones. It therefore concerns scholars on the challenges that these efforts are facing which are delaying progress on achieving the desired sustainable peace in the conflict areas. In the case of this study, which focuses on the SADC and ICGLR synergies for peace support in the DRC, questions have been centered on the following: What are the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support operations? What are the dynamics surrounding the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support operations in Eastern Congo? These aspects which are necessary in designing effective approaches to the synchronized efforts for peace support where analyzed and recommendations for effective strategy that applies in the context were also given. In trying to answer the key questions this study uses qualitative approaches in collecting and analyzing data not only from primary and secondary sources, but also from interviews conducted. Thus the findings of this research were analyzed within the framework of the core objectives of the study which seeks to root out the challenges of sub regional synergies for peace support operations in the recurring Eastern DRC Conflict looking at the efforts by the ICGLR and the SADC regional blocs as well as mapping out recommendations tailor made for the specific context of conflict so that future peace support efforts will reap sustainable peace in the Eastern Region of the Congo. The Study therefore seeks to offer policy and strategy suggestions on the execution of future synchronized peace support operations in Eastern DRC recurring conflict. The theoretical concepts of New Institutionalism and Conflict Transformation were used as tools of analysis as they prove a fundamental conceptual link for sustainable results of peace support operations. Whilst existing literature provides universal challenges to the efforts to peace support, this paper makes focus on the interventions of SADC and ICGLR in DRC to identify the challenges that are delaying progress towards sustainable peace politically, socially and economically and also looking into the dynamics of these challenges as well as giving tailor made recommendations fit to address the case in question such as the removal of bias and putting

efforts to ensure inter cultural competence development especially in the Eastern Region and greater part of the great lakes region.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

MSPO	Multiple Simultaneous Peace Operations
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
EU	European Union's
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ADF-NALU	Allied Democratic Forces and National Liberation Army of Uganda
APCLS	Alliance des patriotes pour un Congo libre et souverain
AU	African Union
CEPGL	Communauté économique des pays des Grands Lacs
CNDP	Congrès national pour la défense du peuple – National Congress for the Defence of the People
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EJVM	Expanded Joint Verification Mechanism
FARDC	Forces armées de la République démocratique du Congo- Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo
FDLR	Forces démocratiques pour la libération du Rwanda – Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
FIB	Force Intervention Brigade
FNL	Forces nationales de libération
GDP	Gross domestic product
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
JIFC	Joint Intelligence Fusion Centre
M23	Mouvement du 23 Mars

MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
NOM	National Oversight Mechanism
OSESG	Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region
PNDDR	National Programme for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
PSCF	Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the DRC and the region
ROM	Regional Oversight Mechanism
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TSC	Technical Support Committee
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
UNISOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the study

Sub regional synergies for peace support missions are not a new phenomenon in International Relations. Although until the 1990s, most peace support operations were usually conducted by only a single organization, the United Nations. In the aftermath of the Balkan wars, there has been an increase in Multiple Simultaneous Peace Operations (MSPOs) with several organizations having their own operations deployed in the same conflict at the same time. For example-UN's United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR1) and United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH2); The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe OSCE and European Union's

1. United Nations Protection Force
2. United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
3. Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina
4. Implementation Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The nearness of peacekeepers on the ground wearing diverse outfits and caps, with various orders, obligations, levels of leadership, coordination and orders from their home office, required some type of collaboration between the universal associations that send peace activities on the ground so they don't, unexpectedly, undermine each other's exertion. Over the past few decades, collaborations and coordination of efforts for peace support has been a significant feature of UN missions. An example of these missions is the UN –NATO Mission in Afghanistan (ISAF) adopting resolution 1386 to train the Afghan National Security forces and assist in rebuilding key government institutions. However this mission like many other missions failed to reach achieved sustainable peace because of challenges to the synergies for peace support in the context of resource scarcity, lack of political will as well as the hegemonic tendencies of the P5 of the UNSC.

The international environment shows that the African continent has had a fair share of sub regional peace support operations as a result of the high prevalence of conflicts in the post-cold war period. The aims of these missions have not been addressed due to the striking

challenges that characterize synchronized peace support missions therefore it has been difficult for sub regional organizations to successfully promote and maintain sustainable peace and security in the continent. Organizations like the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern Africa Development Cooperation (SADC), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and International Conference of the Great lakes Region (ICGLR) have engaged in peace support missions which have not achieved desired results in peace building and conflict resolution and significant challenges have been seen as the hindrance to progress in maintaining regional, continental and ultimately global peace and security. An example can be cited of unsuccessful synchronized peace keeping operations in Somalia in the early 1990s, which was home to the UN- AU mission known as UNISOM1 and UNISOM 2 United Nations Operation in Somalia. This mission saw the UN and AU engaging in synchronized efforts to provide, facilitate and secure humanitarian relief in Somalia and monitor the cease fire of the Somali Civil War. Adopted under UNSC Resolution 751 and 794 respectively, the mission was supported by rebel leaders, relief agencies and Non-Governmental organizations. However, this mission was ineffective as the cease fire was ignored and fighting continued and increasingly put the relief operations at risk. The challenges to successful synergies in peace support operation in this case have been cited to having been as a result of the nature of intra state conflict whereby there were many actors in the conflict and these actors made it difficult for negotiating partners to reach preferred resolution to the conflict. Furthermore, the AU-UN hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID), approved by UNSC Resolution 1769 in July 2007 to bring stability to the war torn Darfur region in Sudan while peace talks on a final settlement continued is another example of the existence of synchronized peace support operations in the continent. The UNAMID mission revolves around peace process, security, rule of law and humanitarian aid and support to recovery. The challenge to the success of this mission once again was centered on the nature of the conflict as it is characterized by ethnic clash between the Arabs and the non- Arabs. This saw the attacking of AU peace keepers and humanitarian workers who were trying to provide assistance to the Darfur civilians. General challenges to the success of the peace support efforts that have been executed in the continent include, resource struggles, dysfunctional state of participating actors in the conflict, imperialist and pan Africanist rivalries, corrupt nature of African regional organizations and individual member states, the interests of the Permanent Five (P5) as well as the pace setting nature of the P5 to peace support operations

as they tend to dictate the trends and methods of engagement in peace support by virtue of hegemonic powers of the UNSC.

In view of such challenges, it is important to note that sub regional synergies for peace support by SADC and ICGLR in the recurring Eastern DRC conflict have been sidelined and overshadowed by the activities of other actors engaging in peace support especially the MONUC mission by the United Nations, which has dampened the spirit in the war torn state in terms of peace support. As such this study made an in depth investigation to find out peculiar challenges faced on the peace support efforts by SADC and ICGLR in DRC. Scrutinizing the activities of these two bodies towards peace support in DRC has help in developing contextual suggestions and recommendation for sustainable strategies to attain peace in DRC utilizing sub regional capacity and support

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Despite the increasing differences in mechanisms in their efforts for peace support in DRC, the SADC and ICGLR continue to face several challenges which have not surfaced due to the overshadowing nature of the operations of other organizations and actors towards peace within the conflict. The MONUC mission by the UN sidelines the efforts of sub regional organizations in DRC and therefore the eastern DRC is characterized with a cyclic conflict which has been one of the longest internal conflicts in the African Continent. A detailed analysis of the synchronized efforts for peace support by SADC and ICGLR in eastern DRC has been conducted with specific focus on the challenges and dynamics of the challenges and recommendations to reaching the desired sustainable peace in the distressed state.

1.2 Preliminary Literature Review

1.2.0 Peace Support Missions Defined

The concept was introduced by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to portray the present complex missions and mirror the conceived incorporated approach including political, military and humanitarian action. NATO characterizes peace support missions as "multi-functional operations conducted impartially in support of a UN/OSCE mandate involving military force and diplomatic and humanitarian agencies and designed to achieve long term political settlement or other conditions specified in the mandate. These include:

peacekeeping, and peace enforcement as well as conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace building and humanitarian operation.”(NATO; 1998)

According to Peter Lang (2001), there are three major reasons why peace support operations have turned out to be progressively perplexing over the years. The principle reason alludes to the idea of intra state clashes. While customary peacekeeping occurred among states and not within, peace support operations are executed in disintegrated and dissolved states and in clashes where genocides and ethnic purging happen. In addition, more players are involved in the conflicts today at local, regional and international level, some of whom are against efforts to end the conflict as they stand to gain power and material profit from ongoing conflict.

The second reason is that peace support operations cover a wide range of issues from political to social to economic as well as humanitarian measures. And the final reason is the need for coordination and integration of the activities of various external actors and players in the form of government, non-governmental, national, transnational and international organizations to create a cooperative strategy which renders successful peace support operations. (Lang ;2001)

1.2.1 Peacekeeping in the context of the UN Charter

According to Richard Caplan, peacekeeping is “the deployment of national or in most cases multinational forces with the aim of helping to control and resolve an actual or potential conflict between or within states.” Most peacekeeping operations are attempted with approval or are frequently driven by the United Nations, however regional organizations may also conduct peacekeeping operations and at times single states have embraced such as well. Usually unarmed, peacekeeping forces are normally deployed with the consent of the parties to a conflict and in support of a ceasefire or other agreed upon peace measures. Princeton (2006)

Traditionally, peacekeeping is based on Chapter VI of the UN Charter which encourages nations to settle disputes peacefully as it states that:

1. *“The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.*

2. *The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.*”

According to Fortna (2008), there are four different types of peacekeeping operations, three of which are consent-based and in line with Chapter VI of the UN Charter and these are observation missions, Inter-positional missions and multi-dimensional missions. However the fourth type of peacekeeping operation is in line with Chapter VII of the UN Charter and is known as the peace enforcement mission which does not require consent.(Fortna; 2008)

During the Cold War, peacekeeping was primarily inter-positional in nature and this period was characterized by consent based missions for example, UNCIP in India and Pakistan. However the post-Cold war era brought with it a paradigm shift on peacekeeping missions to incorporate a multidimensional approach which included the use of preventative diplomacy, peace-enforcement, peace-making, peace-keeping and post-conflict reconstruction to increase the significance of the United Nations in maintaining global peace and security.

Interventions often fall in the category of peacekeeping which is another essential component of cooperation. Conteh-Morgan (2004) characterized peacekeeping as the utilization of military intercession to keep up peace and keep an expansion in encounter. Boutros-Ghali (1992) distinguished peacekeeping as "the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hither to which the consent of all parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is an activity which expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace". With the end goal of this examination, peacekeeping is characterized as the demonstration of keeping up peace using military mediation powers.

In addition, peacekeeping operations require an unmistakable and exact command for operations, which can be unambiguously converted into compelling activity on the ground in the quest for clear goals. Missions should consider the requirement for peacekeeping operations to stay fair-minded in actualizing their central goal and to work with the assent of all organizations to the contention. They additionally should be confined with a view to the quality and amount of assets which the international community would be prepared to submit (Rugumamu 2002).

Fundamentally, the primary capacity of peacekeeping is to keep diverse armed groups separated and to encourage the change from a condition of conflict to a condition of peace. Peacekeeping is additionally one of the techniques utilized by SADC so as to acquire peace and security in conflicting states. Notwithstanding its parts in peacemaking in a few nations, SADC has through OPDS started the sending of peacekeeping missions as an instrument for conflict management and resolution. Under its power, SADC conveyed missions to Lesotho and DRC.

1.2.2 Unpacking the concept of Peace enforcement

Peace enforcement includes the use of a scope of coercive measures, including the utilization of military power. It requires the express approval of the UN Security Council. Peace-enforcement means to act with or without the consent of the belligerents in order to ensure any treaty or cease-fire mandated by the United Nations Security Council is maintained. This is done primarily under the auspices of Chapter VII of the UN Charter and the forces are generally heavily armed as opposed to the unarmed or lightly-armed personnel frequently deployed as observers. According to Richard Caplan (2017), peace-enforcement means to act with or without the consent of the belligerents in order to ensure any treaty or cease-fire mandated by the United Nations Security Council is maintained. This is done primarily under the auspices of Chapter VII of the UN Charter and the forces are generally heavily armed as opposed to the unarmed or lightly-armed personnel frequently deployed as observers. (Princeton 2006) The Security Council may use regional and sub-regional organizations to implement activity under its power. NATO's cooperation in the Kosovo strife is a case of this, whereby NATO they besieged the two groups in the dispute. Another case of peace enforcement is the dispute in Congo, where the UN powers had order through article VII to utilize all important power to execute peace in the territory. UNOSOM/UNITAF inclusion in Somalia in 1992 is additionally a notable peace enforcement operation.

1.2.3 Peace Building as propounded by Lederach

According to John Lederach, peace building "is more than post accord reconstruction" and is best understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable peace relationships.

In contrast with peacekeeping, the concept of peace-building was used by the UN to describe activities in the post-war context. According to the UN, peace-building refers to “all external efforts to assist countries and regions in their transitions from war to peace, and includes all activities and programmes designed to support and strengthen these transitions” (UN: 2000). Boutros-Ghali (1991) defines peace-building as an “action to identify and to support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict”.

SADC has made efforts towards making a meaningful contribution to combating socio-economic deterioration of some countries in the region. Having recognized the need to establish institutional structures engaging in robust approaches to peace building and reconstruction, SADC adopted a Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) to promote socio-economic development in Southern Africa (SADC Communiqué 2003).

SADC’s potential to contribute to peace building efforts in the DRC, Angola, Zimbabwe and Lesotho is limited by the nature of conflicts in the SADC region and the lack of financial resources. For example, in the case of DRC, SADC has recognized the need to establish institutional structures to engage in a robust approach to peace building and reconstruction in the Congo. In particular, it has established a joint peace building office with African Union in Kinshasa to help implement Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) in the DRC in consultation with the Congolese government, the UN and other external partners in the process (Karinga; 2015).

From the above analysis of the mechanism of conflict resolution, it is possible to conclude that various conflict resolution mechanisms noted above have been employed in order to bring peace and stability in conflicting states. However, there are underlying challenges that affect the success of these operations and the utilization of these mechanisms which if identified may bring about a new paradigm in peace building in the African context and at a global level.

1.2.4 Defining Conflict Prevention

According to Ackermann, (2003), despite the facts that focus on conflict prevention only emerged at the close of the Twentieth century, the concept is not a new one. With no doubt, it

can be traced back to the Congress of Vienna 1814-1815 which had the objective to prevent new wars by giving measures and principles such as the creation of a demilitarized areas and impartial states. In addition, Chapter IV and V of the UN Charter also state a number of coercive and non-coercive measures which are aimed at preventing violent conflict from erupting and recurring. As result, a large number of UN regional and non-governmental organizations share concern about conflict prevention and the creation of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) High Commissioner on National Minorities in 1992 is an edifying example.

The Carnegie Commission's Final Report 1997 argues that although these developments existed, hopes for peace were lost as the international community failed to find a diplomatic resolve to the break-up of Yugoslavia. This resulted from the failure of early diplomatic attempts to prevent violence. Also, while the war in former Yugoslavia continued, the international community failed to prevent war and destruction in Somalia (1993) and Rwanda (1994). Particularly, the genocide in Rwanda permeates UN documents and other initiatives with an argument for greater effort to intervene earlier in potential conflict zones. Further enshrined in the NATO late intervention in Kosovo in 1999, the concept of conflict prevention has wide spread confusion and has triggered great debate among scholars.

The definition of "conflict prevention" itself is highly debated upon among scholars. The different explanations differ according to the aim of prevention, from reducing violence to resolving the inconsistency, the time outlook and the means, in particular with regard to their coerciveness (Wallenstein & Möller; 2003).According to Michael Lund (2009) Conflict Prevention is an entity of a wide variety of strategies and initiatives which are put in place with the aim of avoiding the intensification of a dispute. It incorporates the monitoring and putting measures to stabilize a potential conflict to prevent an outbreak by introducing actions to address the main triggers of the clash. According to his view, another component of conflict prevention is that it establishes early warning signs detection tools that record indicators that predict potential violence. It also uses planned coordination to prevent conflict creation in the process of development and delivery of humanitarian aid. In addition, it also sets the concept of preventing conflict at a local, regional and international level.

According to World Bank, World Development Report 2011, conflict prevention is multidimensional, and consists of efforts to prevent violent conflicts from breaking out, or

from escalating, or recurring. The UNSC focuses on the prevention of conflict relapse specifically under its peacekeeping and peace building operations as well as conflict management efforts. Elizabeth M. Cousens (2004). There is however increased debate on the rational and effects of conflict prevention policy as highlighted below.

1.2.4.0 Central complications with Conflict Prevention

The idea of a preventive approach and the structure of the global framework are not compatible in general. Other challenges involve issues of forecast and early action, distinctive interpretations of the dynamics of the conflict and patterns as well as the constitution of basic avoidance.

1.2.4.1 Conflict Prediction

In the case of internal war, it is difficult to predict conflict in the early stages. (Wallensteen; 2002) Wallensteen further states the complexity of establishing the possibility of escalation of violence as it could lead to false alarms and in most cases external actors are not keen to delay beneficial change and fear that interference may increase pressure rather than decrease it. His view is informed by Stedman (1995), who argues that the track record in forecasts is not a basis for confidence, and policy makers are not psychic, as they do not have “crystal balls”. Grounded on the breakup of Soviet Union scenario, it is evident that early prediction is an essential reality, and so “early warning systems focusing on signs of impending conflicts are still most valuable”. (Wallensteen and Sollenberg; 1999).

1.2.4.2 Motivating Action

A major problem of the conflict prevention process is the recruitment of willing external actors when there is no urgent need for intervention or immediate threat to the International System. (Michael Lund; 1996) Michael Lund, points to the realist mindset, that causes governments and players in the international system to be reluctant to reexamine international principles of non- interference and state sovereignty as well as lack of interest to interfere in regions of little or no strategic interest to them. (Lund; 2002) It is of paramount importance to note that, conflict prevention is considered to be very costly, risky and potentially counterproductive. (Stedman; 1995). The cost of prevention is disputed, since at the early stages of conflict prevention the type of financial commitment required is often difficult to accurately estimate. A lack of international consensus on how to act often leads to a “wait

and see” attitude. However, reasonably the cost of military intervention outweighs the cost of early prevention. (Lund; 2001)

Decision-making processes in governments are not conducive to conflict prevention, and while lack of action is often accredited to political will, some scholars of political science state budget over political will to explain the lack of priority given to conflict prevention policy.(Gareth Evans;2001). André Ouellette, further highlights how definitional problems do not make conflict prevention an attractive option for policy-makers, nor does the wide nature of the concept translate into policy for adaptation.

1.2.5 Humanitarian interventions

The post-Cold war era has seen an increase in discussions and concern over the promotion of human rights in the international system. This has led to the development of linkages between human rights violations and security at an international level. The possibility of intervention with or without the authorization of the UNSC has been on the increase in the post-Cold War era due to the non-static nature of the international system. As such, discussions on humanitarian interventions have escalated with significant rise in literature as well as state practice.

According to Adam Roberts (1993) humanitarian interventions, are military operations within a state, with the purpose of preventing suffering or death of civilian population. These operations are done without consent of the state authorities. Martha Finnemore (1996) goes on to define humanitarian interventions as “military interventions with the aim of protecting the lives and welfare of foreign civilians”. They can also be defined as dictatorial or coercive interference in sphere of influence of a sovereign state, motivated by humanitarian concerns. (Tonny Brems Knudsen: 1997) Bhikhu Parekh (1998) puts it in the following words, "an act of intervention in the internal affairs of another country with a view to ending the physical suffering caused by the disintegrations or gross misuse of authority of the state, and helping create conditions in which a viable structure of civil authority can emerge". A legal view of the term by Wil D. Verwey (1998), states that the term refers “only to coercive action taken by states, at their initiative, and involving the use of armed force, for the purpose of preventing or putting a halt to serious and wide-scale violations of fundamental human rights, in particular the right to life, inside the territory of another state”.

It is of paramount importance to note that, conceptualization of humanitarian interventions can be traced back as early as the 16th and 17th century, looking at the work of international law writers that focus on the just war theory; Vattel, Grotius, Gentili, Suarez as well as Vitoria. Moving into the 18th and 19th Centuries, liberalism thinkers such as Mills have aligned the concept to human rights (Parekh; 1999)

In addition to the scholarly conceptualization of humanitarian interventions, in the 19th Century, the term was generally aligned to state practice as states came up with justification for their interventions. As such the UN Charter brought about a solution to use of force in the international system by striving to legitimize the use of force in the international system and imposed limits upon it. The Charter managed to extend the principle of non-intervention to all state making it a universal norm. It also allowed the use of force, only in self-defense and measures of collective security. (Chapter VII of the UN Charter). In essence, this action brought about a stench of threat of peace and security in the International arena as the only justification for intervening in domestic affairs of a sovereign state. In addition, intervention in domestic affairs of a sovereign state representing the international community can only be done with the approval of the UN. Together with the rise of non-intervention as a global standard; a UN-originated comparable development was in conflict with this code: the expansion of human rights as a global matter. Article 1 of the Charter puts emphasis on the promotion of human rights and justice as a fundamental mission of the institution. In Article 55 comes the statement that points to the UN promoting and respecting human rights and basic freedoms, and successive UN initiatives have reinforced these claims. Humanitarian intervention, as the most insistent form of human rights promotion at a global level and was plainly discordant with standards of non-intervention and state sovereignty.

At the end of the Cold War significant change came in the concept and practice of humanitarian intervention, entrenched in different developments. A change of the international system can be noted as an important factor, with the end of superpower rivalry eliminating the universal restraints on intervention in domestic affairs. The culmination of the philosophical confrontation has essentially challenged the motivation for associate exploitive regimes to avert them from sinking into the other faction. This is particularly true as far as the US is concerned. Humanitarian interventions are not only reactions to the misery instigated by oppressive regimes, but they are also focused on situations produced by internal conflicts, state dissolution and state failures, as a consequence of which human rights are unacceptably

violated. The devastating majority of armed conflicts in the post-Cold War era are internal or civil war. This has resulted in an escalation of the number of circumstances desperate for humanitarian involvement, and the possessions can be seen in the mounting figure of UN Security Council Resolutions under Chapter VII. In some circumstances, the Security Council demarcated gross violations of human rights and civil conflicts as a 'threat to international peace and security' and imposed economic sanctions or approved the use of force. Since 1989, it has enacted economic sanctions on 14 cases (matched with twice between 1945 and 1988), and used force 11 intervals other than for self-preservation (as compared to three times from 1945-1988).

1.2.6 Challenges of Synergies to Peace Support Missions: the Eurocentric and Afrocentric debate

There are generally recurring and agreed challenges to synergies for peace support which have been highlighted within the existing board of knowledge, and these challenges can be seen from two viewpoints, namely the Eurocentric and the Afrocentric schools of thought. Scholars that support the Eurocentric view base their argument on stating that synergies for peace support have not been successful in achieving desired sustainable peace due to challenges which generally include lack of unity of purpose, lack of institutional cohesion, lack of political will from state actors, divergent interests national or otherwise, inappropriate prioritization of resources as well as governance issues.

According to Nolan (2011), the absence of unity of purpose among African states is a principal issue that goes back to the colonial era. At that point, the divisions brought about the development of coalitions, for example, the Casablanca, Monrovia and Brazzaville gatherings (source). This prompted a general accord that the underlying arrangement of the AU was compromised. Such divisions showed themselves again at the season of the change to the AU. The progressive solidarity that the recently free African nations supported in 1963 is still preferred in the present day and, it is an impression of trade off legislative issues that serve short-term goals. African states have continued to favor compromise politics because of the emphasis on the Westphalia concept of state sovereignty that focuses on state rights without duties. AU member states are still not enthusiastic about devolving sovereignty to the continental organization as a supranational body. The result has been, among other issues, ambiguous provisions within the Constitutive Act and the focus on sub-regionalism as opposed to regionalism which was quite evident in Libya where it became clear that there

was no joint coordination in policy between the AU and the Arab League (Dubbelman 2012). In addition, this lack of unity has often been responsible for the perceived failure by the AU to attain a common position on critical issues. The collapse of many African countries into devastating armed conflict illustrates the consequences of perpetual inaction of the continental body. The inaction could be a possible reason why, in most instances, the peace missions that are deployed by the AU have restrictive mandates, that is, the missions are confined to observation instead of protection of the civilian population through the use of force when necessary.

Scholars that subscribe to the Afrocentric School such as Mwesiga Baregu, Anneke van Woudenberg, Alpha Sow and Lawrence Smith are of the view that peace support operations are unsuccessful because they face a number of challenges which include external actors, i.e., the UNSC, setting the pace for how and when to take up peace support operations. Peace support missions usually face the challenge of clashing with the interests of the P5 therefore delays and prolonged decision making processes before engagement. Another challenge is that of resources; scarcity and availability altogether have proved to pose challenges to successful synergies for peace support missions.

According to Mwesiga Baregu, resource availability and scarcity impinge heavily on regional peace processes. UN reports have also acknowledged the prolongation of the conflict in the DRC to be as a result of the illegal exploitation of the precious and strategic resources feeding upon the virtually collapsed state. (UN; 2002) In the DRC these resources have attracted all manner of plunderers combined with gun smugglers, drug pushers, money launders and war entrepreneurs and these have generated endless cycles of violence and predation by warlords. This alliance has been seen as the obstruction to the Lusaka peace agreement as other actors in the region are fueling the proliferation of arms. (Khadiagala; 2006) However, in a different view point, the scarcity of resources has also unleashed conflicts. Although DRC suffers the pains of abundant resources, some parts of the Great lakes region have resource scarcity resulting in resource conflicts and deepened poverty. Land hunger and the misdistribution of land in Rwanda and Burundi have for aggravated internal conflict, the outflow of refugees and the quest of additional territory. (Bigagaza, Abong and Mukarubuga; 2002) As a result Rwanda has procrastinated drawing forces into DRC as they have something to gain in the continued conflict with the hope of possible annexation of the northern Kivu region to its territory.

Existing literature on challenges peace support effort in eastern DRC dwell mainly on efforts by UN through the MONUC mission and scholars like Mwesiga Baregu (1999), Anneke van Woudenberg (2003), Alpha Sow, Lawrence Smith cite the challenges to the MONUC mission reaching desired results to include Resource struggles, Dysfunctional state in the DRC, Imperialist and Pan Africanist Rivalries, Refugee problems, Ethnic nature of the conflict and Ad Hoc conflict resolution initiatives among others. It is important to note that the eastern Congo conflict is an area of peace and security responsibility of both the SADC and the ICGLR, however, Rugeje and Maeresera (2016) note the sidelining and overshadowing of the synchronized efforts of these two sub regional groupings by the activities under the mandated MONUC. In this view, this study feeds into the existing academic knowledge bank by scrutinizing the effort for peace support by the SADC and ICGLR in the recurring eastern Congo conflict and will give an analysis of the peculiar challenges and dynamics that make their efforts fail to curb the cyclic conflict. The study has also attempted to bring to light the political, social, economic and military dynamics that affect successful realization of sustainable peace and conflict transformation through synergies of sub regional organization in the case of ICGLR and SADC in DRC. It also suggests possible solutions and recommendation to policy makers especially within the two groupings which can be implemented to ensure the achievement of sustainable peace in eastern Congo.

1.3 Justification of the Study

The study makes a contribution to the academic body of knowledge on the challenges to synergies for peace support efforts. It narrows the focus to sub regional as opposed to the global and regional organizations and gives specific focus on the case of SADC and ICGLR in Eastern Congo, thereby filling a gap that exists in the existing scholarly knowledge bank. The study has discovered why the fighting in eastern Congo is continuing in spite of the efforts under the Peace and Security Cooperation Framework. It has also provided recommendations to policy makers on mechanisms that can be adopted by the SADC and ICGLR in peace support efforts in order to achieve sustainable peace in the DRC. The study informs possible strategy for other sub regional groups in attempts for synchronized peace support missions in the African context to attain ultimate global peace and security through effective conflict management.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research study are as follows:

1. To analyze the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support missions with reference to the SADC and ICGLR efforts in the Eastern DRC recurring conflict.
2. To examine the dynamics surrounding the challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions using SADC and ICGLR efforts in the Eastern Congo as a case study.
3. To give scholarly and strategic policy recommendations to counter challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions so as to achieve a sustainable solution to the Eastern Congo recurring conflict.

1.5 Research Questions

The research questions for this research study are as follows:

1. With reference to the SADC and ICGLR efforts in the Eastern DRC recurring conflict, what are the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support missions?
2. What are the dynamics surrounding the challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions using SADC and ICGLR efforts in the Eastern Congo?
3. What scholarly and strategic policy recommendation can be proffered to counter challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions so that a sustainable solution to the Eastern Congo conflict is attained?

1.6 Theoretical Framework

For the purposes of this study two theories were used as tools of analysis, namely the New Institutionalism theories and the Conflict Transformation Model. The theories attempt to interrogate synchronized peace support missions with specific reference to the SADC and ICGLR. The New Institutionalism theory emphasizes the relationship between institutions and action by associating institutions with ‘roles’ to which prescriptive ‘norms of behavior are attached (Lane1995; Hall and Taylor 1996). In this view, individuals who have been socialized into particular institutional roles internalize the norms associated with these roles, and in this way institutions are said to affect behavior. This is useful in understanding the

ICGLR and SADC as institutions, their structure, goals, methods and mechanisms employed towards the DRC conflict resolution process.

This theory is suitable for analyzing the challenges of synchronized peace efforts of SADC and ICGLR in the DRC. The DRC conflict resolution process brought to the fore by the divisions within these sub regional groupings and it is important to look into how this affected the peace support efforts of the sub regional groups.

Rupesinghe's model on conflict transformation provides an important theoretical framework that will guide the study to appraise ICGLR and SADC in the Congo conflict resolution process and to draw lessons from this process. The model emphasizes internal conflicts and multi-dimensionality of protracted social conflicts. Rupesinghe (1995) also proposes a multi-sectorial approach to the complexity of many existing and emerging conflicts. The model has several components that include: pre-negotiation stage; understanding root causes; ownership of the process; identifying all the actors; identifying facilitators; setting a realistic timetable; sustaining the effort; evaluating success and failure; strategic constituencies; the role of outside peacemakers; and the role of local peacemakers (1995)

In the post-Cold War era conflicts have been considerably influenced by changes in the international system. This international system has perceived major changes in the second half of the 20th century. The DRC conflict has an external component such as Rwanda and Uganda's support of the rebel's movements. Furthermore, the model focuses on intra-state wars, and it argues that multi-faceted, prolonged social conflicts must be understood with an understanding of non-linear peace building processes. Rupesinghe (1995) suggests a twofold tactic which entails dealing the complexity of either evolving or prevailing conflicts, for a capable prevention. The Rupesinghe approach stresses the point of the number involved in peaceful transformation of a conflict needs to be increased to reflect all communities within the wider society. As such, there is need for the development of visible and mixed communities that are linked to the political elites of all margins and also to external actors of peacemaking (1996). This means that in the process, all communities of society need to have a stake in the peace process and play a key role in post-conflict reconstruction. According to Rupesinghe (1995) an ordinary transfer of power does not automatically mean a meaningful conflict transformation. Meaningful transformation of conflict includes sustainable functional and attitudinal changes within the larger community and expansion of institutions addressing outstanding issues. The participation of non-state actors is fundamental, especially in internal

conflicts where the state cannot play the role of neutral mediator because; the state is a party to the conflict.

In general, the Rupesinghe model of conflict transformation (1995) suggests that “a more promising approach for ingrained internal conflicts could be a principally transformative process, where coming to an agreement on outstanding issues is of secondary importance to addressing the overall conflict process and coming to terms with the sequential aspects of conflict.” Rupesinghe’s conflict transformation model has the following as the framework for sustainable peace (Rupesinghe 1995; 1996); the pre-negotiation stage, understanding root causes, ownership of the process, identifying all the actors, identifying facilitators, setting a realistic timetable, sustaining the effort, strategic constituencies, and the role of local peacemakers.

The concept is designed to reframe the way in which peace building initiatives are discussed and pursued particularly in the context of ethnic conflict. Traditionally, emphasis has been on conflict resolution and conflict management methods which focus on reducing or defusing outbreaks of hostility. Conflict transformation places a greater weight on addressing the underlying condition which gives rise to that conflict; preferably well in advance of any hostility but also to ensure sustainable peace. Conflict Transformation approaches involve the transferring of relationships that support violence, often with external actors. (Hugh Miall, 2004). Often associated with academics and practitioners Johan Galtung and John P Lederach the, conflict transformation theory, process and process are said to comprise of; mapping the conflict formation, bringing in forgotten parties with important stakes in the conflict, having highly empathic dialogues with all parties, arriving at overarching goals acceptable to all parties, helping parties meet at the table for self-sustaining process and withdrawing from the conflict, go on to the next, being on call.

The conflict transformation, in principle, happens at all levels of a conflict: global, regional, national, social, inter and intrapersonal. The peace change also postulates a tranquil environment as provided by peace order, peace news reporting, and human security studies that realize through the mechanisms within and after violence in numerous relations for peaceful solutions. The change, when all is said in done, modifies attitude, behavior, and logical discrepancies creatively.

This theory is of significance to this study as the researcher seeks to realize challenges facing these synchronized efforts to achieve sustainable peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo looking into efforts of conflict transformation by the SADC and the ICGLR.

1.7 Methodology

1.7.0 Research Design

In order to carry out the study, the researcher used Qualitative Research design. Qualitative data are considered to be the rough material researchers collect from the world they are studying. They are the particulars that form the basis of analysis (Bogdan and Biklen 1992). The qualitative researchers choose their analysis methods not only by the research question and the type of data collected, but also based on all the philosophical approaches underlying the study and allow the interpretive approach to be used (Miles and Huberman 1994). Qualitative research method includes interviews and observations, but may also include case studies, surveys, and document analysis. By collecting data from different sources, the researcher evaluates extensive data with an open mind. As the study progresses, the researcher continuously examines the data for patterns and the patterns lead the researcher to build the theory (Savenye and Robinson 2001). Qualitative research design is advantageous in carrying out this type of investigation as it provides for flexibility and the details of the data can be modified as the research progresses. (Bouma and Atkinson 1995). The qualitative method of research allows the researcher to make in- depth examination of the data in the field studied and allows the use of subjective analysis and does not follow any predetermined variables for study (Creswell 2007).

1.7.1 Sources of Data

The study will rely mainly on primary and secondary data. For an exploratory study, the process of collecting information involves primarily in-depth interviews. Creswell (2012:161) points out that the importance of interviews is to describe the meaning of the phenomenon for a small number of individuals who have experienced it. Interviews play a central role in the collection of data.

Therefore, the primary data in this study was collected through semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, by conducting face-to-face interviews, telephone, Skype calls and administering questions via email from participants listed below in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the problem.

1.7.2 Sampling Procedure

Interviewees were selected from the following groups:

The Congolese political parties, political practitioners, scholars, experts, policy-makers attached to governmental departments and facilitators, these interviews probed the level of ownership of the peace process by various Congolese political parties or groups.

A focus group discussion with African political Scholars was conducted using the same questionnaire and this provided diverse academic views on the subject under study.

The researcher was unable to secure an interview with the DRC diplomatic Mission in Zimbabwe will seek guidance in selecting interviewees from the diplomatic mission of DRC in Zimbabwe. Interviewees were requested to indicate their consent prior to being interviewed. In addition, they were given guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity.

This study also made use of secondary materials. Library-based research was also conducted. This search of secondary materials uncovered two types of sources. Firstly, the literature comprised of books, journals and other classical scientific resources dealing with the subject matter and secondly, newspapers, treaties, protocols, charters, brochures, publication, decisions, recommendations, official reports, statements, communiqués and official websites of SADC and ICGLR in order to get additional information on the matter under investigation.

1.8 Delimitations

The extent of this examination was restricted to investigating the challenges and dynamics to the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support missions with specific reference to the ICGLR and SADC in the DRC strife determination process. The examination additionally considered the part of other provincial actors in this contention. SADC and the ICGLR have engaged peacemaking activities and peacekeeping rather than peace building. Peacemaking activities incorporate utilizing intercession to induce parties in a contention to stop dangers, to arrange a quiet settlement to their question and to work with the assent of the gatherings to the debate (United Nations 1995).

Peacekeeping mediation includes some type of military intercession. It likewise includes military and regular citizen work force, with the assent of the clashing gatherings keeping in mind the end goal to execute or screen the usage of courses of action identifying with the control of contentions (truces, partition of powers, and so on.) and their determination

(halfway or extensive settlements) or to guarantee the sheltered conveyance of compassionate help (United Nations 1995).

1.9 Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter will introduce the study, presenting the problem statement, the objectives of the study and the research questions it will address, the theoretical framework and the existing literature on this topic, research methodology, limitations and delimitations and outline of the study's methodology.

Chapter 2: Sub regional peace support synergies, New Institutionalism and Conflict transformation model: A conceptual analysis

This Chapter will give conceptual appreciation of peace support synergies in relation to the new institutionalism framework, the conflict transformation as well as the regulations enshrined in the UN Charter with specific reference to the SADC and ICGLR. Sub regional peace support synergies, New Institutionalism and Conflict Transformation- The need for a conceptual nexus.

Chapter 3: An overview on the complexity of the Eastern DRC recurring conflict

This chapter will provide a background of the conflict in eastern DRC. Shedding light on the actors involved .this chapter will also pay particular attention to the cyclic nature of the conflict in relation to the activities of the various actors involved.

Chapter 4: Challenges to synergies for peace support missions by the SADC and ICGLR in DRC

This chapter will give an in-depth analysis of the political, social, economic, military, humanitarian and environmental challenges to synergies for peace support mission by the SADC and the ICGLR in DRC with specific reference to efforts of coordination with state actors and non-state actors at a national, regional and international level.

Chapter 5: Dynamics surrounding the challenges to peace support missions by SADC and ICGLR in the recurring Eastern Congo conflict

This chapter will analyze the dynamics surrounding the challenges to peace support missions faced by SADC and the ICGLR in the recurring conflict in Eastern Congo. The analysis will be done systematically through political, social, economic, military, humanitarian and environmental scope.

Chapter 6: Summary of Research findings

This chapter will summarize the findings from the research highlighting the information gathered from both the primary and secondary sources of data and an analysis of these in brief.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter will suggest recommendations to address the challenges highlighted by this study and round off on concluding the study.

CHAPTER 2: SUB REGIONAL PEACE SUPPORT SYNERGIES, NEW INSTITUTIONALISM AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION MODEL: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

2.0 Introduction

Introduction

The introduction of the study was presented in the previous chapter and it captures the research problem, objectives of the study as well as justification for the study. The theoretical framework was briefly outlined in the chapter but it is important to have a detailed conceptual understanding of the theoretical framework and how it has been applied to the research in question. Key concepts are discussed in this chapter; these include peace support operations, peacekeeping, peace enforcement and humanitarian operations. In addition detailed accounts on the key theories that have guided this study are discussed and these are the conflict transformation model and the new institutionalism theory.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

2.1.0 Defining Conflict

Researchers characterize conflict as strife between contradictory thoughts or interests inside a man or including at least two people, gatherings or states seeking after commonly contrary objectives. As per Effendi(2010), the term strife alludes to conflict of interests, belief systems, qualities, and battle between people inside states (common wars) and between states, rivalry over rare assets, contradictory objectives by various gatherings and so forth. Ross (1967 referred to by Mitchell 1981:15) goes ahead to express that contention is where no less than two people need targets which they see as being reachable by either, yet not both.

Galtung is of the view that contention is a dynamic procedure in which the three components are always showing signs of change and affecting each other. In his portrayal of the term, he expresses that contention is inconsistency of interests or a logical inconsistency; negative demeanors as observations or generalizations about others and furthermore practices of intimidation and motions of antagonistic vibe and dangers. (Kotze; 2002).

Conflicts may have a prevalent civil and internal measure or may go up against transnational or even international structures. Every conflict has its own particular history, highlights and flow. Since conflict is a social phenomenon, it is an unavoidable piece of human interaction.

As indicated by Max Lucade, Conflict is unavoidable, however combat is optional. Conflicts may be evident through conduct and activity, or staying dormant for quite a while, while contrary qualities are not enunciated or are part of structures (political framework, organizations, and so forth.) Conflicts rise for a wide range of reasons that are every now and again a mix of governmental issues, financial matters, and social parts. The disputes that have happened in the Democratic Republic of Congo can be characterized by political, monetary and social. Political clash happens when the possibility of the logical inconsistency is political. Political clash by definition work in a setting of deficiency, for instance, the shortage of assets, shortage of intensity, shortage of character and shortage of status (Kotze 2002) According to political researchers, struggle is a political wonder that ascents when states harbor contrasts of interests, belief systems or qualities frameworks. For Faget (2011), political clashes occur in a wide range of political relationship since showdown among political and social gatherings for control battles are regular in majority rules systems.

A contention increases when mercilessness ends up being a bit of the statement of contention. An imperative dynamic of contention is the threat of heightening. The more significant the weights, the fiercer the fight, the more troublesome it is to screen a contention. As showed by Friedrich Glasl, struggle speeding up occurs in stages and reasonable intercession and mediations must be changed in accordance with the critical stage. As demonstrative instrument, his nine phase show for sharpening about clash progression features how clashes might be multi layered, additionally the underlying drivers of contention might be under the camouflage of shallow strains. For instance, ethnicity and don't consequently cause clashes yet both constitute exceptionally persuasive zones of socialization and recognizable proof among social associates. Significantly settled clashes end up being bits of total memory and along these lines are normally more impervious to change. The part of sexual orientation in the advancement and change of contention furthermore needs a more profound comprehension. Much of the time, ladies are viewed as casualties of brutality amid war and clashes. In any case, this perspective is too much childish: while ladies frequently expect a basic part in peacemaking and social change, they may moreover go about as aggressors, troopers, warriors or government authorities accountable for settling on decisions about military intercessions and war. Their potential as both gainful and ruinous drivers of social change is under-investigated and frequently dismissed.

2.1.1 Conflict Transformation Theory

Notwithstanding brutal clash the principal it is just characteristic a drive to first stop it, manage the injuries coming about because of it and furthermore to change the hidden conditions that have prompted viciousness and may prompt it once more. These three objectives must be accomplished by the complete approach of Conflict Transformation, which is seen as the most profound coming to an all-encompassing conceptualization of the useful changes that are expected to construct a fair peace. Best portrayed as a compound procedure of productively evolving connections, states of mind, practices, interests and talks in brutality inclined clash settings, Conflict Transformation tends to essential structures, societies and organizations that move and frame vicious political and social clash. The idea is utilized as a part of crafted by a few researchers in peace and struggle considers, in particular Adam Curle, Johan Galtung, Louis Kriesberg, Kumar Rupesinghe, Raimo Väyrynen, however it has been extended most accurately in progress of John Paul Lederach and Diana Francis. As per Véronique Dudouet, it is a multi-dimensional process involving a wide range of on-screen characters in moving from "idle and plain brutality to basic and social peace". It is particularly material in conditions of broadened and lopsided clash including social value issues. Especially in such settings, it is an approach that calls for long haul commitment and political fitness.

Conflict Transformation does not spill out of an, extensive speculation. It tests and makes theoretical suggestions through field research and collaboration with specialists. In spite of the fact that in perspective of trial techniques and subjective procedures, it is before long speculation guided and esteem driven. The purpose of ceaselessly testing theory and practice against each other is a center rule for struggle research and peace bolster works out. Strife Transformation lays on specific measures. They shape an arrangement of standards for investigators and specialists alike and are not for the most part easy to achieve with respect to bona fide peace venture administration. One course of action of gauges depicts how we ought to relate to those with whom we work towards struggle change: they join respect for neighborhood limit and proprietorship, exhaustiveness and multi-tendency of techniques, and sensible play. A second set depicts the individual attributes that are required in commitment for strife change and peace building: sympathy, lowliness, self-reflection, and the constancy to achieve incremental change over the long haul, habitually even with honest to goodness disasters.

The conflict transformation, in principle, occurs at all levels of conflict: global, regional, national, social, inter- and intra- personal. The peace change additionally presumes a serene setting as provided by peace instruction, peace news coverage, and human security studies that accomplish through the works amid and after violence in various exchanges for peaceful solutions. The change, when all is said in done, changes attitude, conduct, and logical inconsistencies innovatively.

2.1.1.0 Agents of Transformation

In any setting of extended conflict there are agents of vicious change or protection yet also operators of peaceful change. Any procedure of conflict transformation must identify and associate the drivers of peaceful change, yet in addition comprehend the drivers of violence and war. According to Dekha Ibrahim Abdi;

“You don’t see them as a problem, but you see them as people needing to be understood [...] and then they become part of the strategy development.”

It has turned out to be certain that conflict transformation endeavors need to envelop numerous levels, tracks and sectors: diasporas, governments and non-state actors; gender dynamics; parties of conflict and peace envoys. It is critical to connect the grassroots, middle and top levels of the conflict setting, being constantly careful that peace is achieved from within the conflict society instead of external specialists and interveners, regardless of whether the last may bring truly necessary and welcome thoughts and support.

2.1.2 Rupensinghe’s Conflict Transformation Model

An investigation of difficulties to sub local collaborations for peace bolster endeavors in the DRC will be of little premium except if this was set inside a more extensive hypothetical system. Thusly, it will in a vast measure help with deciding the difficulties looked by the SADC and ICGLR in synchronized peace endeavors in Eastern DRC and to draw exercises from this procedure. Settling an intra-state struggle is generally a troublesome errand and as indicated by Rupensinghe a scholar in the field of contention change, a complete, varied way to deal with strife change that grasps multi-track mediations must be set up for effective determination of the contention. He advances a commitment towards building peace networks at the grassroots level and over the gatherings at the common society level. He additionally

champions the perspective of making peace partnerships with any gatherings ready to realize change, for example, business gatherings, the media and the military.

In his view struggle change is an expansive approach which consolidates compromise preparing and Track I intercessions including strategic mediations and peacekeeping (Miall 2004:5). The reasons why this model has been received for this investigation are that, initially, because of globalization, contemporary clashes have been altogether impacted by the changing idea of the universal framework. This worldwide framework has seen noteworthy changes in the second 50% of the twentieth century. The DRC struggle has an outer segment, for example, Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia's help of the Kabila Government, and Rwanda and Uganda's help of the revolutionary's developments and in addition P5 impact through the UN drove MONUC mission.

Secondly, the model focuses on intra-state wars, which is applicable to the DRC conflict. The model is pertinent for the investigation for the third reason that it argues that in multi-dimensionality of extended social conflicts must, out of need be supplemented by a comprehension of non-direct peacebuilding forms. In such manner, Rupesinghe (1995) proposes a twofold level methodology which comprise in managing the many-sided quality of either rising or existing clashes, for a productive aversion. Fourthly, the Rupesinghe multi-sectorial approach focuses on that the quantity of performing artists engaged with tranquil change of a contention should be expanded to mirror all networks inside the more extensive society. For the most part, there should be the change of associated, unquestionable and mixed systems that are associated with the political elites everything considered and besides to external supporters of peacemaking (1996). This is an especially basic point because of the DRC for various reasons:

1. All social order of society must have a stake in peace and furthermore the peace technique.
2. It is the systems, which will expect a key part in post-difficulty redoing. As showed by Rupesinghe (1995) a minor trade of vitality does not indicate an imperative conflict change. Essential difference in dispute incorporates viable operational and attitudinal changes inside the more broad society and progression of new associations to address excellent issues.
3. The commitment of non-state on-screen characters is basic, especially in conditions of inside conflicts where the state can't accept the piece of non-partitioned center

individual in light of the way that when in doubt, the state is a social occasion to the dispute. Fundamentally, the Rupesinghe model of conflict change (1995) sets that "an all the all the more reassuring procedure for ingrained inside conflicts could be a mostly transformative process, where heading off to an admission to uncommon issues is of discretionary centrality to keeping an eye on the general conflict process and managing the back to back parts of dispute." Rupesinghe's conflict change show has the going with as the framework for 26 viable peace (Rupesinghe 1995; 1996), which is applicable to the DRC conflict resolution:

a) The pre-transaction organize

This stage has the reason for conveying the warring gatherings to the arrangement procedure. In the DRC setting numerous gatherings and summits were met in anticipation of a definitive transaction process.

b) Understanding underlying drivers

There is a requirement for a reasonable calculated and hypothetical comprehension of the main drivers and the wellsprings of many-sided quality of a contention. The reasons for the DRC strife are both inside and outside. Inward causes incorporated the dictator idea of the Kabila administration, unjust dispersion of rare assets, avoidance, absence of acknowledgment, character issues with respect to the Banyamulenge populace. The attack by neighboring nations, for example, Rwanda and Uganda for an assortment of thought processes including the control of Congo's normal assets constituted outer causes.

c) Ownership of the procedure

It is of principal significance to include "nearby on-screen characters with the goal that they turn into the essential draftsmen, proprietors and long haul partners in the peace procedure". The examination will analyze the difficulties to encouraging coming to of a level of responsibility for peace process by different Congolese political gatherings or gatherings by the ICGLR and SADC.

d) Identifying every one of the actors

The exact distinguishing proof of every huge performer is an important part of the contention change the 1 visible and intelligible elites and also the less obvious, less reasonable, yet at the same time overwhelming feeling shapers and pioneers. The DRC strife included an assortment of state and non-state performing artists including nations, for example, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Chad and dissident developments, for example, RCD, MLC, RCD-N, RCD-ML and the Mai local army.

e) Identifying facilitators

It is of foremost significance to influence exact ID of individuals who to have the foundation learning and additionally the systematic and intervention abilities so a positive commitment in the outline of a specific peace process can be made. In the DRC setting, SADC ordered Zambian President Frederic Chiluba to lead the peace activity for the DRC.

f) Setting a practical timetable

There is requirement for reasonable timetables for achieving stages, for example, the distinguishing proof of roots, causes and critical on-screen characters, through truces, to the elaboration of components of political and social settlement. The Lusaka truce accommodated the timetable of the execution of the understanding. Notwithstanding, execution was left to the belligerents. Consequently, there was little advance in such manner.

g) Sustaining the exertion

For it to be an exhaustive approach, it requires a sufficient speculation of money related assets and persistence, and a managed duty from supports. Endeavors to settle the contention in the DRC by the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU) and SADC finished in the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement marked on 10 July 1999, the Inter-Congolese Dialog (ICD) held from 15 October 2001 to 2 April 2003, the Global and Inclusive Agreement (17 December 2002) and the Final Act (2 April 2003). The intercession procedure was supported by European Union (EU) and South Africa.

h) Strategic voting demographics

Strategic people group must be recognized to maintain peace forms after some time; and these ought to incorporate significant non-legislative associations (NGOs), the media, human rights and philanthropic foundations, peace organizations, religious establishments, free researchers, previous individuals from the military, individuals from the business network, intergovernmental and administrative authorities and givers. In the DRC intervention process, common society took part and was made of NGOs, houses of worship, business associations and media associations.

i) The part of local peacemakers

It is critical that nearby peacemakers are associated with the peace procedure. In the DRC, neighborhood peacemakers host not offered to intercede the gatherings aside from Tshisekedi pioneer of UDPS (Union for Democracy and Social Progress), notwithstanding, he was rejected.

2.1.2.0 Critique of the Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation is not without its challenges and critics. It calls for such wide-ranging and deep-reaching change in the social fabric that it may actually intensify conflict in the short run by proposing a disturbing process of change which touches (and threatens) beliefs, relationships, power, positions and status. In essence, it can only be a guiding notion rather than a fully implemented initiative. Although for others, prioritization is what they propose, for example, with an emphasis on building relationship. In any case, conflict transformation cannot be planned and implemented by one actor alone it takes many different contributions. Exclusion of local actors in this context raises suspicions of “social engineering” and of veiled forms of western dominance. Systemic approaches need to therefore be explored as a potential way of managing complexity.

2.1.3 New Institutionalism Theory

A theoretical approach which seems suitable for analyzing challenges to efforts for peace support by ICGLR and SADC as institutions is the of New Institutionalism theory. In such manner, the point of utilizing the New Institutionalism hypotheses is to see how establishments when all is said in done and SADC specifically, are run and changed. To try

this hypothesis, an unmistakable comprehension of SADC and ICGLR as an establishments is required with respect to its authentic development, objectives, structure, usefulness, strategies and systems that SADC and ICGLR use in compromise in the two districts, and the difficulties they confront which might be connected to the roots and chronicled foundation or individuals' advantage, inclination or inspiration in choosing about the approaches or crafted by SADC and ICGLR in DRC. New Institutionalism was produced as a reaction to behaviouralism which wound up well known in the 1960s (Immergut 1998; Peters 1999). It, seek to distinguish the guidelines, standards, and images that impact social conduct, how formal the foundations influence political results, and how organizations have created after some time to both empower and oblige approach making (Scharpf 2000).

Additionally, the New Institutionalism hypothesis offers accentuation to the relationship amongst establishments and activity by partner foundations with 'parts' to which prescriptive 'standards of conduct were connected (Lane 1995; Hall and Taylor 1996). In this view, people who have been associated into specific institutional parts disguise the standards related with these parts and thusly foundations are said to influence conduct.

Used in various disciplinary settings, for example, political sciences, financial matters, or hierarchical hypothesis to comprehend foundations (Powell and DiMaggio 1991), the New Institutionalism School perceives that organizations work in a situation that comprises of different establishments, called the institutional condition. Each organization is affected by the more extensive condition and foundations are integral to political science (Powell and Researchers that buy in to this school argue that organizations are vital for deciding basic leadership results and arrangement improvement.

One can contend that the pith of institutionalism is that foundations matter in the investigation of governmental issues. As indicated by Meyer et al. (2007), organizations impact the decisions of political performers. Organizations are for the most part characterized comprehensively and their correct definition contrasts as per the individual hypothetical branch. They can go from formal choice and authoritative guidelines and techniques to casual practices, standards, qualities and traditions. As indicated by Hall and Taylor, three branches of New Institutionalism have been distinguished, in particular, Historical Institutionalism (HI), Rational Choice Institutionalism (RCI) and Sociological Institutionalism (SI). Every one of them stretches various types of cooperation's amongst foundations and on-screen characters inside basic leadership forms, and subsequently "paint very unique photos of the

political world" (Hall and Taylor 1996). The three branches of the New Institutionalism will be talked about in a nutshell, with specific consideration being paid to the associations amongst organizations and political components, and the manner by which institutional change can happen. This will likewise be identified with SADC and ICGLR as foundations.

1. Historical institutionalism (HI)

The recorded institutionalism was created in light of the get-together hypotheses of administrative issues and essential functionalism recognizable in legislative issues in the midst of the 70s. The get-together theories fight that dispute among coordinate bundles is caused by rivalry over uncommon resources, which is one of the bases of administrative issues (Hall and Taylor 1996). In like manner, the social occasion hypotheses attempt to better illuminate the quirk of national political outcomes and the uneven characters that stamp these outcomes. Finally, it finds such elucidations in the way the institutional relationship of the republic and economy structures battle keeping in mind the end goal to profit a couple of interests while establishing others (Hall and Taylor 1996). On the other hand, the various leveled functionalists battle that the foundation is to be viewed as a general plan of interfacing parts. Nevertheless, HI rejects the affinity of various essential functionalists to see the social, mental, or social qualities of individuals as the parameters getting much from the structure's assignment. Or maybe, HI saw the institutional relationship of the nation or political-fiscal as the first factor sorting out total direct and creating indisputable outcomes (Hall and Taylor 1996).

Historical institutionalism (HI) is set out from an approach which shares certain features of RCI. Generally speaking, both agree on the wide significance of formal and easygoing courses of action of foundations. HI views association as "the formal principles, consistence methods, and standard working methodologies that structure battle or structure and shape lead and results (Hall and Taylor 1996)".

Furthermore, Historical institutionalism conceptualizes the association among establishments and individual lead in for the most part wide terms. In like manner, it puts a complement on the asymmetries of vitality related with the action and headway of associations and tends to have a point of view of institutional change that anxieties way dependence and unintended outcomes (Hall and Taylor 1996). The possibility of way dependence insinuates a strategy where startling events or decisions result in establishments being set up that tend to hang on

completed broad stretches of time and oblige the extent of decisions available to entertainers later on, including those that may be more capable or great as time goes on (Pierson 2000). Finally, Historical institutionalism is stressed over retaining institutional examination inside the dedication that diverse sorts of facts, for instance, musings, can make to political outcomes (Hall and Taylor 1996; Steinmo 2001). However, there is a reasonable dialog whether associations can change or not. A couple of inspectors saw that foundations frequently don't change rapidly— they are sticky, impenetrable to change, and generally simply change in way subordinate ways. Dies down (1999) fights that institutional change takes after the for the most part startling institutional progression, which is a technique for adjusting associations in spite of a couple of dysfunctions or unanswered request. For example, if SADC Summit is attempting to change the course of certain methodology, it can undermine institutional quality. A course of action should be considered as an element of a system package and a modification of one approach will impact the whole package.

2. Rational choice institutionalism (RCI)

The levelheaded decision institutionalism rose up out of the investigation of American congressional conduct. The RCI accentuates how the principles of Congress panel impact the conduct of lawmakers and why they emerge (Hall and Taylor 1996). As of late, discerning decision institutionalisms have additionally directed their concentration toward an assortment of other marvels, including cross-national coalition conduct, the improvement of political establishments and the force of ethnic clash (Hall and Taylor 1996). Corridor and Taylor (1996:938) characterize establishments as "the formal and casual methodology, schedules, standards and traditions implanted in the hierarchical structure of the general public or political, be it a 'sacred request or the standard working systems of an organization or the traditions administering exchange association conduct or bank-firm relations". The RCI utilizes a 31 trademark set of social suspicions, placing that the pertinent on-screen characters have a settled arrangement of inclinations and act completely instrumentally in order to amplify the fulfillment of these inclinations in an exceptionally key activity (Hall and Taylor 1996). In addition, it tends to consider legislative issues to be a progression of aggregate activity difficulties, as occasions when people acting to amplify the achievement of their own inclinations are probably going to deliver a result that is on the whole imperfect (Hall and Taylor 1996). RCI has made a noteworthy commitment in clarifying governmental issues.

One of the immense commitments of RCI is that, it centers around the part of key communication in the assurance of political results, while it has an unmistakable way to deal with the issue of clarifying how organizations begin (establishments made through deliberate understandings by applicable performers trying to make a foundation which will serve their required capacity) (Hall and Taylor 1996). As noted above, RCI depends on the suspicion that foundations oblige political on-screen characters in the reasonable quest for their inclinations. In this way, political on-screen characters are as it were 'limited balanced' and act as per a 'rationale of result'. RCI accept that organizations develop because of their reliance, vital association and aggregate activity or contracting situations. Foundations rise and survive, on the grounds that they satisfy critical capacities for the individual elements influenced by these organizations (Jonsson and Tallberg 2010). In this sense, SADC and ICGLR institutional creation appear to be explicit and deliberate decision by discerning, self-enthusiasm expanding performers. As per, Lieberman (1997) SADC and ICGLR continue not on the grounds that their individuals figure they can profit by it, but since the foundations have formed into perceived associations that have picked up validity and authenticity among individuals and other global on-screen characters.

RCI centers on the choices taken which have made the long haul arrangement inclinations or goals. For compromise inside SADC district, the RCI will assist the specialist with understanding why all performers (part states) are associated with basic leadership process through the heads of state meeting in the meantime to research on how singular conduct of SADC's on-screen characters may have undermined prospects for fruitful synchronized endeavors for peace bolster in the DRC by SADC and ICGLR. RCI perceives institutional harmony as the standard. (Steinmo 2001) The institutional setting is basic to approach making.

As indicated by Scharpf (1997) there are three parts of the institutional setting. Immediately the playing out craftsmen's tendencies, which have made through time as decisions are made. Likewise, there is the social event of actors, some will have practically identical tendencies and can make associations together, while others will be thought little of as their tendencies are bad. Finally, the strategy for collaboration is controlled by the precepts. These three components choose the course of action result. In the SADC setting, these segments are clear in the DRC trade off process. The DRC trade off process passed on to the fore of the divisions inside the SADC foundation. From one point of view, a social occasion of states

made of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe looked for after military movement and afterward once more, South Africa, Tanzania and Mozambique favored political and vital options, while distinctive states are acclimated to either assembling or have settled on nonpartisanship. Finally, Hall and Taylor (1996) and Peters (1999), demonstrate that RCI does not give cautious thought to definitely guessing institutional change and the conditions under which it happens. They are of the view that change comes when a foundation bombs, unquestionably when it doesn't succeed any more drawn out in fulfilling its inspiration capably. In case this is seen, institutional change transforms into an aware instead of a steady technique (Peters 1999). Anterom and Taylor (1996:945) moreover prescribe that establishments are subject to change by the general population who take after or possibly challenge existing principles (Hall and Taylor 1996).

3. Sociological institutionalism (SI)

Sociological institutionalism developed basically inside the subfield of affiliation speculation. The New Institutionalism speculation in Sociology began to fight that countless institutional structures and techniques used by display day affiliations were not grasped just in light of the fact that they were most capable for the employments waiting be done, as per some powerful objectivity. Or maybe, they fought that an impressive parcel of these structures and procedures should be seen as socially specific practices (Hall and Taylor 1996) SI tends to portray establishments altogether more undeniably and broadly than political analysts do to consolidate, not just formal standards, strategies and gauges, but instead the picture systems, scholarly substance and great designs that give the edges of significance, coordinating human movement, falls the refinement between institutional elucidations and social ones and reconsiders culture itself as foundations (Hall and Taylor 1996). Additionally, it has a specific understanding of the association among foundations and individual action, which adopts after the social strategy, yet furthermore incorporates a directing estimation of institutional impact (Hall and Taylor 1996).

Finally, it communicates that affiliations get a handle on specific institutional structures or practices in light of the way that the last are for the most part regarded inside a more broad social condition (Hall and Taylor 1996). SI does well to clear up the determination of establishments as they bound the choices available for on-screen characters inside them and besides watches the rising properties of foundations past the combination of individual choice (Hall and Taylor 1996). As showed by the Sociological institutionalism school, institutional

change happens when there is an obvious need to alter approach (Peters 1999). This suggests institutional modification and change can happen through techniques of learning.

SI fights that such establishments constitute performing craftsmen, framing the way the last view the world. Because of SADC, Sociological institutionalism scientists assessed the strategy by which SADC is diffused and shapes the tendencies and lead of entertainers in neighborhood and worldwide administrative issues. The application of SI to SADC demonstrates a methodology in which bolster in SADC policymaking outfits performing specialists with starts of their own characters and of the best possible conduct. SADC can be accepted to create as a result of entertainer direct which is learnt from being recognized as a particular on-screen character in SADC system. Thusly, performing craftsmen can be accepted to act in a way they see to be socially fitting according to their parts, inciting the dispersal of master far from the central state. In this sense, SADC develops, and additionally winds up self-fortifying whereby performing specialists make sense of how to fill in according to the social rules of the SADC. Establishments are the precepts and the consultants for human cooperation. SADC have the measures, rules and decides that part states should hold quickly to and take after. People from a foundation are depended upon to obey and be the guardians of its constitutive benchmarks and standards (March and Olsen 1989, 2006).

By virtue of SADC, experts or people enter the affiliation, and are gone up against from the earliest starting point with its social structure and standards. For example, in Article 4 of SADC Treaty (1992), SADC and its part states may go about according to the going with gauges: Sovereign decency of all part states; solidarity, peace and security; human rights, vote based framework, and the lead of law; esteem, modify and basic preferred standpoint and serene settlement of question. This infers it doesn't have any kind of effect who SADC specialists were or what their interests were since SADC had set up a plan of principles in 1992 and paying little personality to their status and interests they are obliged to recognize and take after the fundamentals set up inside the affiliation.

SI holds that a 'method of reasoning of fittingness' associates the direct of on-screen characters inside an establishment. The measures and formal standards of establishments I will shape the exercises of those acting inside them. As showed by March (2005), the reason 34 of reasonableness infers that exercises are 'facilitated to conditions by techniques for precludes arranged into identities'. In SADC setting, if one thinks about the course of action

of the Mutual Defense Pact; for example when Rwanda assaulting the DRC in 1998, this conflict could realize a war between SADC part states and Rwanda and its accomplices. This infers the spots of the political performing craftsmen are taught by the institutional estimations of the SADC, no doubt those of 'solidarity' which presents them to act in like way. As per this, SADC is directed by the 'method of reasoning of fittingness', which teaches the lead of political craftsmen.

2.1.3.0 Strengths and Weaknesses of the New Institutionalism Theory

The New Institutionalism theory like some different speculation has its characteristics and weaknesses which are related to its fundamental research. In any case, the theory has quality since they are not alone or keen gathering of speculation. They are used as a piece of different disciplinary settings, for instance, political sciences, monetary issues, or definitive speculation with a particular true objective to fathom establishments (Powell and DiMaggio 1991). Regardless of the way that the New Institutionalism theory has increased inconceivable ground a couple of inadequacies I have been recognized. One of the inadequacies of the New Institutionalism speculations is immensely watched when endeavoring to elucidate the start and change of associations. According to O'Riordan and Jordan (1999), the issue with the three branches of the New Institutionalism theory to date is hazy on crucial inquiries, I is stacked I with ambiguities and is exorbitantly educate bound. In addition it has been investigated for not giving a bound together speculation of institutional direct. Altogether, as noted above, foundations are basic to political science.

Today, political science is opposed with not one yet rather the three branches of the New Institutionalism theory. Each one of them confer much thought with respect to how entertainers (part states) make, keep up and change establishments and along these lines, how on-screen characters or part states are affected and obliged by foundations after some time. Foundations require some consistency after some time and they continue existing paying little heed to whether the people change, they make obvious and coordinate direct and they are basic for an enduring and compelling political system (Peters 2008).

This is pertinent to SADC and ICGLR in order to fathom the associations. Establishments are by all record by all account not the only illumination to political direct, yet they do impact the political outcome, in this way they ought to be considered when endeavoring to fathom authoritative issues. Recorded Institutionalism is useful for perceiving how SADC and

ICGLR establishments and plans develop, yet it doesn't have the ability to clear up and dismember events that change the way taken. RCI, on the other hand, is stressed over assessing the impacts of structure on lead and plan finally; SI is used to appreciate the hugeness of easygoing and social institutional features, for instance, the guidelines and characteristics diffused by an establishment. This speculation is relevant for separating SADC and ICGLR as foundations and the impact on lead and results. As talked about above, it will likewise inspect the choices taken by imperative on-screen characters in SADC and ICGLR and break down their suggestions on accomplishing practical peace in DRC for peace to win inside the two locales.

2.1.4 Sub-Regional Peace support Synergies

Sub Regional Peace support synergies have predominantly characterized peacekeeping operations globally. According to scholars, in 2008, 65 percent of the global peace operations were conducted by intergovernmental organizations in partnership with each other. (Derblom, Frisell, and Schmidt 2008, 39) Various intergovernmental associations, other than the United Nations (UN, for example, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), have their own particular peace tasks offices and send their own non-military personnel and military peacekeepers in different clashes far and wide. The EU is the most dynamic local association in the field of peace and security with 23 peace activities from 2003-2008, conveying more peace tasks than the UN in a similar era. Until the 1990s, most peace activities were generally directed by just a solitary association, the United Nations.

In the fallout of the Balkan wars, there has been an expansion in numerous concurrent peace tasks (MSPOs) with a few associations having their own activities conveyed in a similar clash in the meantime. The nearness of peacekeepers on the ground wearing distinctive regalia and caps, with various orders, duties, levels of leadership, coordination and orders from their home office, required some type of participation between the global associations that convey peace activities on the ground so they don't, inadvertently, undermine each other's endeavors. This expansion in peace tasks' between authoritative collaboration since the mid-1990s has not been paralleled by an expansion in the academic examination of this marvel. We have small comprehension of difficulties looked by worldwide associations progressively coordinating with each other to address these contentions.

A considerable lot of the strategy producers, at the UN or the EU, who deal with issues of entomb hierarchical participation began pondering this inquiry just when approached about it for the reasons for examine. Peace activities don't work in a vacuum. They work in a domain where, more often than not, the peace activities of other worldwide associations are available, as well. This study analyzes the challenges to synchronized peace support efforts by the SADC and ICGLR and determines the dynamics of the challenges faced in the recurring Eastern Congo Conflict.

2.2 Sub-regional peace support missions, Conflict transformation and New Institutionalism: the Conceptual Link

From the above analysis of the three key concepts of this study, it can be highlighted that there is a conceptual link which is fundamental in informing particularly sub regional peace support initiatives especially in cases such as that of the Eastern DRC context if conflict. Characterized by peace building, peacekeeping and conflict prevention frameworks, peace support operations operate well in the context of conflict transformation approach. This is so because when they incorporate the conflict transformation model, they integrate the crucial stages of transformation and can implement holistic measures for each stage until there is realization of the desires peace in the region. A comprehensive package of the conflict transformation model will deliver desired results in peace support operations as it provides for uprooting the main cause of the recurring conflict not being reactive but addressing the root of the conflict, inclusion of all parties to the conflict including the ordinary civilian in the process as the buy in of all parties guarantees sustainable movement towards peace and development. Local peacemakers are also necessary in ensuring that the processes for peace are being adhered to as they act like a monitoring mechanism and encourage adherence by parties to peace and reconciliation.

In as much as the Conflict transformation theory is relevant to the peace support process it should not be overlooked that the new institutionalism approach is also closely aligned to successful peace support efforts. This can be seen as, membership to a regional block or institution allows for molding of behaviors of states and respect of the moral template set as a standard by the institution. The unity of purpose that guides these institutions makes them relevant in peace support operations as they form a system with arms that control and decide meaningful course of action with the power to influence fellow member states towards sustainable peaceful resolution to the conflict. Sub Regional Institutions act as advisories and

support networks for states and this is important in peace support as it brings about the conflict transformational aspect of neutral facilitator identification which in essence aid towards the achievement of sustainable peace.

It is therefore of paramount importance to note that peace support operations rely on the models of conflict transformation and New Institutionalism to achieve desired peace and therefore there is indeed a conceptual link of these three hence they have been used as tools of analysis in this study.

2.3 Conclusion

Investigation of the SADC and ICGLR conflict resolution process in the DRC from 1998 to date recognizing the difficulties to collaborations for peace bolster endeavors is the focus of this examination. Note that contention is an unavoidable reality of human life. At the point when struggle ejects, it should be overseen and settled. In situations where the contention can't be avoided or overseen, there are regularly utilized instruments to determine it. How clashes are settled will significantly affect the achievement or disappointment of the compromise systems. The ultimate goal is to determine clashes. Nonetheless, understanding the idea of the contention and the difficulties looked in attempting to determine or potentially oversee it is important and important keeping in mind the end goal to decide the most suitable methodologies and components of compromise. This is on the grounds that the comprehension of the sorts of contention, reasons for struggle and performing artists engaged with the contention will be an extremely helpful instrument to resolve it. In this manner, there are two principle measurements to SADC and ICGLR intercession in conflict.

Intercession could infer peacemaking endeavors (intercession) in the contention or it could be in the domain of peacekeeping (military mediation). Both could be pursued freely relying upon the nature and character of the contention. Notwithstanding, SADC and ICGLR inclusion in the post-strife peace building has been feeble and less deliberate due to challenges they have looked in actualizing these endeavors. This chapter has likewise examined two hypotheses to be specific the New Institutionalism hypothesis and Rupesinghe's model of contention change which will control this present's examination of the investigation targets. Using Rupesinghe's model of contention change, the investigation would focus on a portion of the components of compromise specified above which Rupesinghe claims are vital so as to accomplish sturdy peace. The New Institutionalism

speculations are valuable for understanding SADC and ICGLR as organizations and effect on conduct and results. The accompanying part will give a short foundation of the setting of the examination, taking a gander at a diagram of the repeating strife in Eastern DRC its experience and the cyclic idea of the contention

CHAPTER 3: AN OVERVIEW ON THE COMPLEXITY OF THE EASTERN DRC RECURRING CONFLICT.

3.0 Introduction

A fundamental detailed conceptual analysis of the guiding theories of this study has been presented in the previous chapter and has highlighted the need for conceptual nexus in this study. This chapter goes on to explain the political, economic and social complexities of the ongoing conflict in the eastern region of the Congo. It makes a distinct highlight of the role of land, minerals and ethnic rivalries in creating a conducive environment for the continued engagement in armed conflict in the region. Of paramount importance to note in this discussion is the local and international element of the conflict which cannot be ignored particularly when looking into the mineral factor as well as ethnic rivalry. This chapter presents these complexities classified in political, social and economic with the aim of shedding more light and bringing about an understanding of the reasons for concern of the recurring conflict and drawing towards the need for peace support efforts which have faced significant challenges in this context and will be deliberated later in this study.

3.1 Accounting for the violence in Eastern DRC

The Democratic Republic of Congo has been characterized by a largely violent history in recent years. The central African Country has fallen victim of colonial rule ruthlessness and exploitation and the situation has not improved even after the coming of independence in 1960. Punctuated by military coups and assassinations of political strongholds, autocracy and dictatorship, violence has been the order of the day in the country. Over the past two decades extraordinary heights of violence have beleaguered the North and South Kivu areas in the Eastern Region of the Congo. Persistent military activity along the border of Congo and Rwanda has resulted in suffering and death of innocent civilians.

Nzongola-Ntalaja, (2002) and colleagues subscribing to the same school of thought highlight that Congo-Rwanda relations over the years have served as the catalyst driving the enduring conflict in the Eastern Region of the Congo. The 1994 genocide posed the breaking point of their relationship as an estimated 800 000 Tutsis and some Hutus were murdered in cold blood in violent massacre engineered by the ruling Hutu revolutionaries. As the Tutsi seized control of the country, many of the violent perpetrators of the genocide sought unofficial

asylum in the eastern Congo. As a result, Rwanda found reason to interfere in the business of the neighbor on many occasions by raising the argument that the Congo was harboring state terrorists.

After the Kabila-led Rwandan sponsored rebellion of 1996 the Rwandans saw a disassociation with the puppet regime and this escalated tensions that saw the intervention of Rwanda in eastern Congo in 1998. Coglán et al (2004) refer to this moment as the defining moment that triggered the deadliest war in the world since the Second World War and they refer to it as “Africa’s World War”. The progression of the war saw the intensification of anti-Rwanda and anti-Tutsi Sentiments. As a result, the Tutsi population became a target of defamation and chauvinistic attacks as they were blamed for collaborating with foreigners that were looking to colonize the mineral rich territory (Reyntjens 2009).

After the war ended in 2003 under the leadership of Joseph Kabila, although there was generally official peace, insecurity in the Kivus remained and this insecurity was attributed to the activities of the unruly soldiers, Mayi-Mayi militia, the Rwandan Hutu FDLR, and rebel army officers, under the leadership of Laurent Nkunda. (Stearns 2008). 2004 saw the capture of Bukavu by a Tutsi officer from North Kivu with the support of Rwanda and this led to the formation of the CNDP rebel movement seeking to protect the Tutsi from genocide. An escalation of tension was seen in 2008 when the CNDP successfully reinforced military positions in North Kivu, accompanied by human rights abuses mainly in Kiwanja. At this moment, the Rwandans were still being blamed for providing support to the CNDP and as a result the state of Congo put their faith in the FDLR and the Mayi- Mayi groups to defeat the threat posed by the CNDP.

The two states restored diplomatic ties in January 2009, through efforts by J. Kabila and P Kagame, leaders of the two states to enter a new era of good relations after more than a decade of hostilities. (Usher 2009) In line with this new found light, there came the arrest of Nkunda by Rwandan authorities and the Congolese Government committed to neutralize the FDLR. The friendship did not last more than three years as new claims rose of Rwandan alleged support of the Tutsi led M23 rebels who captured Goma in November 2012. This raised alarm of the possibility of another regional crisis. (ICG 2012). This rebellion was defeated in November 2013, and most of its members retreated to Rwanda and Uganda allegedly to regroup. (UNSC: 2014a).

Meanwhile, the Rwandan Hutu Militia continued to destabilize the region, with the suspected support of the Congolese forces. As such, although it has been more than twenty years after the Rwandan genocide, tense relations remain between the two countries and this has been evidenced by a verbal clash between the two countries at the UNSC session in 2014, which revealed the sustained hostility and mistrust between the pair.(UN 2014b)

3.2 The Complexity of the Eastern DRC Recurring conflict

The conflict in the Eastern Region of the Congo can be described in the term by Crocker et al (2004) “intractable conflict” which basically means conflict that can never be solved or managed effectively. This means these types of conflicts are stubborn and difficult but not impossible to manage. What makes this conflict different from other conflicts is the fact that the willingness and proneness of actors to support political opinion rather than violence. The Congo wars have received a lot of attention in terms of efforts for mitigation of the effects of the violence and solve the problems leading to the violence. Among these were many peace agreements which were discussed and validated. In spite of these, the conflicts have escalated for decades into roaring violence, especially in the Kivus in Eastern Congo. It is of paramount importance to not that some of the agreements signed include bilateral agreements that were reached between some of the parties, for example l'Accord des Cascades between Jean-Pierre Bemba of the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo (Mouvement de Libération Congolais (MLC)) and President Joseph Kabila on 19 February 2002. This agreement was what drove the deadlocked Sun City negotiations. Despite all these efforts there conflict continues to intensify and below is a discussion that will shed light on the level of complexity that causes this conflict to persist despite the efforts to bring it to an end.

There are a variety of reasons why the aforementioned peace agreements have not led to sustainable conflict resolution in the DRC.

3.2.0 The Economic Complexity of the Eastern DRC conflict

Existence of strategic minerals

The existence of strategic minerals in an underdeveloped state like DRC can be seen as a chief driver of conflict. Westing (1986) views strategic minerals as being of particular importance to state economic development particularly in terms of defense. Their ability to fuel conflict depends on the extent of military reliance on them, as well as access and

political control of the territory in which they are found. Eastern DRC particularly Kivu, Katanga, Maniema and Kasai have a vast supply of untapped natural resources which include gold and diamond reserves, columbo-tantalite, silver, cadmium, copper and zinc, cobalt, nickel, niobium, tantalum, beryl, cassiterite and wolfram. (Autesserre 2010) It is of paramount importance to note that there are claims of these resources being key causes of the recurring struggle in Eastern Congo, as they are the source of funding for the several armed groups affording them with motivation to continue active engagement in conflict. (Fridell and Konings 2013) During the Congo wars, these minerals were sold off and looted by neighboring countries that are far less bigger than the Congo, therefore explaining the geopolitical issues from which the Congo wars originate from. (Turner, 2007)

The First Congo War introduced the illegal exploitation of resources by foreigners with the support of the Congolese themselves. (Turner 2007) According to the UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth in the DRC, huge amounts of resources were looted by foreign armies particularly from Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda and these minerals were then exported to the international market. (United Nations Security Council 2001)The exploitation and trade in minerals in eastern DRC has led to the launch and persistent violence in the region. The war economy that has emerged in the DRC has created an environment where there is easy accumulation of wealth by many who would not have attained it under normal conditions. (Dunn 2001). For example, the native and foreign actors and their local substitutes compete for control of mines and the resource rich areas and this triggers the escalation of violence. Combatants can also finance their ammunition and war efforts from the spoils of illegitimate abuse of natural resources. Rebels also use force and violence towards the ordinary civilian to advance control over areas that have high mineral wealth and the capacity to exploit these. (Autesserre, 2008)

Furthermore, the Eastern Congo conflict is complex as local actors are also active in the illegal exploitation of minerals. It has been noted that, militia and armed groups have collected taxes while supervising the extraction and transference of the minerals in their terrain. The deployment of the FARDC brigades in Eastern Congo did not improve the situation as the soldiers also engaged in mining and dug and imposed taxes on local production and also aided the exportation of the minerals to Tanzania, Rwanda and Uganda benefitting from the profits (Autesserre 2008). This pointed to a weakness of the state to provide for the army sufficiently particularly in terms of their financial welfare and so the

officers sort financial fulfillment in collaborating with rebels in the looting of resources. (United Nations Security Council, 2010)

Multinational Cooperation's have also contributed to the economic complex of the conflict in Eastern Congo as their activities of seeking mining enterprises and bonds in the DRC with preferable terms that would not be possible in a peaceful environment. (Shah: 2010). As a result, the MNCs formed linkages with business elites, the military and key political personnel to manage their exploitative activities within the country. According to Shah (2010), the MNCs also are said to have participated in trade and exchanges with rebel groups who set up financial and administrative systems that aided their collection of revenue from the minerals. This flow of income therefore provided the rebels with funding for activities within the conflict and personal wealth. It is however of paramount importance to note that even though, the presence of strategic minerals has placed the region in vulnerable position towards conflict, the stiff scramble for these resources in the context of weak and absent governance structures triggers the recurrence of conflict in the region.

Mineral Conflict in Eastern DRC

The eastern region is particularly rich in minerals, mostly gold, tin, tantalum, tungsten, coltan. The desire to maintain economic participation and political power through access to these resources has contributed a great deal to the activities of many armed groups in order to continue operations through exploitation and selling of these and therefore these elements have been named conflict minerals. Many players have infiltrated the eastern DRC over the years in a bid to exploit the many resources and as a result violence has extended for decades throughout the region.

The insecurity arising from natural resources did not only spark war during the reign of Mobutu Sese Seko, but they carried it further to the Laurent Kabila reign and then to the Joseph Kabila regime. Embezzlement and privatization of government owned resources by the above mentioned leaders deprived the Congolese populace of basic welfare, infrastructural development. This has led to severe economic instability in the region and the country as a whole. (Klare 2001)

It is obvious that mining and trading activities are not void but they are influenced by political and economic agendas of dominant actors in the Eastern region of Congo. They take advantage of the lack of peace and order and use their connections within the mining business

to create investor- customer partnership. Revenues from mining are therefore used to pay off loyal followers and factions. Often, leaders of armed groups use revenue from the minerals extracted to purchase weapons and military equipment and also to pay off foot soldiers.¹

As ethnic tensions continue to rise within the eastern region, and disputes triggered warfare, there provision of military assistance by neighboring countries and regional allies such as Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Angola and Burundi had extensive interest in rewards of mineral claims.(Klare 2001) Rwanda on the other hand has been involved in funding the spoilers of peace to perpetuate conflict and as a result import coltan by taking advantage of the unstable conditions in South Kivu and the desperation of prisoners for freedom.(Nest 2011) Although these activities are illegal under international law, the Rwandans were assisted by the Congolese Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) to extract about 1000 tonnes of coltan, as they reverted to armed theft to access resources.(Nest 2011) Most rebel forces such as the M23 and FDLR exploit resources by means of selling licenses to miners operating in the area and they therefore cause loopholes for the infiltration of international trade by striking deals with individual traders and this correlates with the market demand of minerals.(Nest 2011) Since there is high demand for minerals, companies are willing to risk extraction to boost business and because the tax system by war lords is unofficial, there is more gain in transacting in areas of conflict and the companies and warlords are therefore financing the continuation of instability to benefit from such partnerships.

Although on paper, the war in the DRC officially ended in 2002, ongoing battles in the East are attributed to the fight for control of mining regions particularly the Coltan mines as they produce resources on demand for technological development on the manufacturing of cellphones and computers.(Carmody 2011)This points to first world countries such as China and the US among other P5 members possibly funding the conflict as the cheap extraction of valuable resources feeds their growing market and therefore decisions on sustainably addressing the root causes of the existing disputes in the Congo recurring conflict are not entertained and delays in decisions for action prove strategic to ensuring the protection of economic benefits attached to the conflict situation in DRC as it appears to be in other African conflicts such as the Sudanese context to mention a few.

¹ Interview with Yahyah Kandeh, Harare, (26 March 2018)

3.2.1 Political Complexity of the conflict

Various Parties to the conflict

The complexity of the eastern DRC conflict comes from legitimate grievances from various actors that are also responsible for the violation of human rights. There are many foreign and local groups that are functional in eastern DRC. Some of these groups are committed to the local ancestral positions, while others align themselves to the Rwandan and Ugandans reciprocating support gained from the past (Enough Project 2012). March 2012, saw a rebellion of the March 23 Movement forces (Mouvement du 23-Mars (M23) from the FARDC, led by General Bosco Ntaganda (Rift Valley Institute 2013). It has been noted that, the M23 was ultimately made up of an estimated 1 500 to 2 500 combatants, and these went into battle with the Congolese army in Rutshuru, North Kivu. (The Rift Valley Institute, 2012) The M23, prevail mainly because of its alleged backing by Rwanda, which provided them with dense munitions, armed forces, recruits and terrain (United Nations Security Council 2012)

The Unification of the State and Territoriality

The DRC has vast territories like other countries and it faces the challenge of unifying the state. It should be noted that, the viability of a state is determined by its ability to control the border defined territory. This is done by necessary infrastructure development which buys citizen loyalty. (Herbst 2000). The Congo has a unique geography especially when we look at population distribution as it has high population density in the borderline areas and a low population density inland. As a result of the total country size and the poor and lack of infrastructure which is strained by high density populace, the Congo borders therefore stay exposed to external intrusions and loyalties to authorities other than the government. In Eastern DRC major urban areas have politically challenged the Kinshasa Government as a result. (Exenberger and Hartman: 2008) The DRC government fails disperse central authority to the border area of Eastern Congo and hence does not have full control over its entire territory (Karbo and Mutisi 2012). The DRC faces one of the most intimidating infrastructure challenges in Africa (Foster and Benitez 2011). And this damage of infrastructure is attributed to long periods of conflict which need urgent rehabilitation. The poor road infrastructure, in the Eastern Congo, hampers access to markets, restricts trade activity and smothers sources of revenue. There is also decreased security as populations are isolated from

the rest of the country and therefore fail to access social and administrative services. (Graham 2014).

Militarization of the Mining Sector

To understand the political complexity of the conflict in Eastern DRC, it is of paramount importance to take note of the enduring disorganization of the Congolese army coupled with slow progress in country reform of the security sector. According to the security reform plan set up in 2002, armed groups of all signatories of the Global and Inclusive Peace Agreement were absorbed into the Congolese army FARDC with immediate effect. Alternatively, an option was given for them to voluntarily join the national Disarmament, demobilization and Reintegration programme (DDR) which would reintegrate them back into civilian life. (International Crisis Group (2006) The aim of the process intermingling the military aimed to mobilize all soldiers, from pro-government forces, to militia to former rebel movements into a single army and ensure training and equipment of the new army to comply to new order of command (Ruben De Koning 2010). This failed to reap desired results due to under funding and speed of implementation which was rather slow. The process also lacked adequate training and sufficient screening of recruits. In addition to these problems was the numbers of former rebel groups to be integrated which were larger than initially expected. The militarization of the mining sector challenges the security sector reform as officers are too busy focusing on their interests in the trade of minerals rather than to obey military orders. As has always been the norm the soldiers gained a lot of personal wealth especially during the reign of Mobutu as unpaid FARDC members extorted their salaries and benefits from the Congolese population by imposing taxes on people working in mining areas. (Edward Rackley (2006) It should be noted that these activities do not feed into any universally recognized practice of security sector reform in fact the officers champion the current conditions as they allow them to exploit their power and gain spoils from the resources at their disposal.

3.2.2 Social Complexity of the Conflict

Ethnic cleavages

In as much as the recurring disputes in the Eastern region of the Congo are grounded on ethnic struggles, there are other aspects that make the conflict more complex than it looks at face value. The fundamental heritage of ethnic divisions in the DRC is accredited to Belgian

colonial rule (Wright 2008). The extended custom of using words such as 'Bangala', 'Lulua' and 'Kasaians' in reference to certain groups or clans is what contributed to the growing separate ethnic consciousness among the different ethnic groups. (Lemarchand; 1964) As such, fragments of this expatriate heritage prevail in present day Eastern DRC. (Sarkin 2001). Although the source of the ethnic cognizance was the Belgians, Mobutu established and embedded it in the time when he was in power. An example can be cited of his act of stripping the Kinshasa military of personnel of Maniema, Kasai, Bundundu and Katanga origin in 1978 alleging that they were treacherous (Stearns 2011). The restructured army was made up of members of Mobutu's own Ngabandi tribe and these took up key command posts, while those of Kivu origin were forbidden from taking up influential positions. (Stearns 2011). Ethnic identities in the Kivus have created a rift between communities, and this has fueled the formation of armed rebel groups.

This has seen clashes at two levels, firstly, at local level whereby the Kinyarwanda speaking people fight against the native populations, evidence of this being drawn from the bitterness between the Rwanda-backed forces and the nativist Mai-Mai groups which endlessly oppose the presence of foreigners in the Kivus. When the dawn of the era of democracy was introduced in 2006 by the election process, mixed areas such as Uvira and Goma experiences hostility as self-proclaimed 'natives' tried to prevent registration of alleged foreigners. (Turner 2007).

Secondly, at regional level the spited Kinyarwanda speaking groups fought against each other. History has it on record, that clashes between the Hutus and Tutsis can be traced back to the Rwandan Genocide in 1994. A spillover of ethnic rivalries into neighboring DRC was inevitable as there was the streaming in of Rwandan refugees through the Congo's eastern borders as they escaped the genocide in their home country. An estimated 850 000 Rwandese refugees settled in the Goma area, while 332 000 settled in Bukavu (Prunier 2009). Some of these refugees were formerly aligned to the defeated FAR and the Interahamwe, a militia group allied to political parties which headed the genocide. As a result, these groups formed the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda (FDLR)). Efforts of protecting ethnic rights ultimately gave way to the formation of factions that violate these rights. An example of this is when the RCD, led by Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, took over the town of Goma and began a campaign against Laurent-Désiré Kabila in 1998 who within a year of his victory, had managed to separate himself from his

former regional associates leading to the second Congo war. Rebel groups like M23 supported the Tutsi population in the Kivus and their main rival was the Hutu group, FDLR. In 2006 the CNDP, made up of former rebels from the RCD, fought the FDLR justifying this with a claim of protecting the Congolese Tutsi.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed the Eastern DRC recurring conflict, firstly by accounting for the violence that characterizes the conflict then moving on to highlight the Political, Economic and Social complexities of the conflict with the aim of highlighting the cyclic nature of the conflict of the Eastern Region of the Congo. It has been noted that this conflict in Eastern Congo is basically a continuation of the first and second Congo wars with the underlying causes of the conflict having been identified as greed for natural resources, security of the DRC's eastern border with its neighbors, the problem of nationality of Rwandan immigrants, bad governance, hitches in the democratization process and external aggression of the country to mention a few. Therefore, the nature of this conflict is complex and multidimensional because the conflict has both an internal rebellion against an authoritarian regime and also a foreign aggression of the DRC by some of its eastern neighbors.

Therefore, a solution to the conflict must encompass multiple approaches. This requires international, regional and local action before a long-lasting peace can prevail. Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004:21-22) suggests that, any chance for peace in the DRC is dependent on successful political culture consisting of the rule of law, a democratically elected and inclusive government and national reconciliation. The next chapter will focus on the challenges to sub regional peace support missions by the SADC and the ICGLR in DRC.

CHAPTER 4: CHALLENGES TO SYNERGIES FOR PEACE SUPPORT MISSIONS BY THE SADC AND ICGLR IN DRC.

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter set the tone for the research by highlighting the events and nature of the recurring conflict in Eastern DRC. The chapter covered the overview of the complex nature of the conflict in the Eastern DRC. Over the years the SADC and ICGLR have been involved on a number of occasions in implementing strategies for achieving sustainable peace in the Eastern Congo Region. These efforts include the Ezulwini Consensus, the 2016 agreement for Kabila to step down from power and the Peace and Security Framework. These efforts though having been put in place for a few years now, there has not been a successful trend of moving towards sustainable peace in the Eastern Region of the country. As a result, it's of paramount importance for this section of the study to highlight some of the challenges that have been identified as the stumbling blocks that are affecting synchronised efforts by these two regional groups in trying to foster conflict transformation and achieve sustainable peace in the Eastern DRC. This chapter highlights the challenges that these two sub regional bodies have faced in terms of efforts towards peace support efforts in the DRC recurring conflict.

There are a number of factors that present considerable challenges to the quest for sub regional peace support efforts in the DRC by the SADC and ICGLR. Among these are: nationalist rivalry; incompatible political and economic systems;; debt and dependency on the West; lack of infrastructure, financial and technical resources; the uneven distribution of the benefits of integration; multiple membership to regional organizations; poor economic and political governance; institutional incapacity; lack of grassroots support; rapid population growth; as well as slow economic growth. Compounding these problems is the failure to satisfactorily address certain 'conceptual, strategic and practical problems' by SADC and ICGLR (Davies, 1996), which has led to lack of commitment and political will.

As the main current furnished conflict in the region, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has habitually been on the SADC plan over previous years. The Organisation has a background marked by taking part in the conflict, both through mediation activities and military interventions directed by member states. In 2012, the DRC government encountered a rebellion by the rebel group M23 in the eastern region of the country. In response to this, the member states of the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) pursued to introduce an international military intervention to fight and eliminate the M23.

The DRC government was suspicious of the presence of troops from ICGLR member states Rwanda and Uganda on its territory; instead they preferred SADC carry out the mission. SADC accepted this request and deployed its Standby Force in the DRC, with South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi contributing about 3,000 troops. Queries arose on who would be responsible for funding the deployment and apprehensions about the need to organise with the existing United Nations (UN) operation in the DRC. As result, the force was deployed the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) within the UN peacekeeping mission. The FIB's obviously offensive mandate, which includes the right to neutralise armed groups, is exceptional within the context of UN peacekeeping. Although part of the UN framework, the FIB's existence is a concern of the political will of the SADC member states that contribute troops to it. The force was however successful in defeating the M23 and accomplished the reversal of military pattern of military impediments. This steered the signing of a peace declaration at the end of 2013, with terms of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of the M23 rebels. Headway on DDR has however been slow and it is indistinguishable what role SADC has, if any, in monitoring and implementing the process. FIB's deployment in the DRC continues, and its mandate has expanded to fighting rebels beyond the M23. Below are some of the challenges that have faced peace support efforts in the DRC classified in different sectors, which are Political, Economic and Social.

4.1 Economic Challenges to synergies for peace support missions by the SADC and ICGLR in DRC

Limited institutional capacity

Sub regional synergies for peace support in the Eastern DRC conflict by SADC and ICGLR have failed to achieve desired results of sustainable peace due to challenges such as limited institutional capacity. Despite recognizing the needs for intervention for peace and security by the sub regional groupings the SADC and ICGLR do not have the capacity required to sustain the traditional peace keeping process. With limitations in the availability of funding at the disposal of the regional blocs, and poor fundraising support, the two blocs can only plan on paper and depend on well-wishers to channel funds at their discretion which in many cases funding will be restricted and serves the interests of the donor.² As a result of this, there is lack of ownership of the intervention by the regions and the peace agenda driven by the blocs is not one developed as an African Solution for African problems but one controlled by the

² Interview with Tanzanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs officer, Bubacan Yallow, Harare, 25/03/ 2018.

hand that gives support. This puts the two regional grouping in a dependant situation, whereby the donor detects terms as to how and when they should intervene and therefore the interventions serve the interest of the funding party, usually the western states or members of the P5 as they receive funding from the UN or as they complement UNSC designed and already running mandates as is the case with the FIB operation.

The SADC led FIB operation had most funding coming from the UN and therefore in addition to the strategic challenge it poses, it also poses problems at the ground due to the institutional set up which saw a chain of command led by the UN-RECs structures. The effectiveness of the operations of the ICGLR is also threatened by the availability of funding as member states have defaulted payments of their dues to the institution to allow for administrative function of the block to function smoothly³. Due to limited capacity, there is a record of failure by the member states to send representation to the Joint Verification Mechanism (EJVM) and the Joint Intelligence Fusion Centre (JIFC) and this has contributed to the limitation in terms of capacity of the groups in advancing the agenda laid down by the PSC Framework. On behalf of SADC Double Troika, the FIB Troop Contributing Countries (TCCs), Lt Gen Barney Muntu Hlashwayo, who is the Chief of Joint Operations of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), confirmed the region's commitment in improving the security situation in the DRC, ahead of the elections set up for 2018. (PSCF Progress Report) in his report, he put emphasis on the Concept of Operations (CONOPS) in that it needs to be channeled towards enabling the FIB in keeping its operational capability intact, so that there is successful operation against negative forces, particularly referencing the irregular nature of warfare coupled with terrorist tactics waged by the ADF, in particular. In light of this, the efforts of the two blocs fail to reap results due to the challenge of limited capacity to implement a sustainable strategy for conflict transformation.

Mismanagement of Natural Resources

The synchronized efforts of the ICGLR and SADC in the Eastern Congo conflict seem to hit a brick wall at all times because of the mismanagement of resources in the country, particularly the Eastern Region. Information from a mining group in DRC highlights that the country has an estimated \$24trillion worth of untapped deposits of raw material ores, which include the world's largest cobalt reserves, diamonds, gold and copper. This amount is

³Observation highlighted during the focus group discussion with academics from the Institute of Peace and Security Studies, Harare, 25/03/2018

equivalent to the GDP of both Europe and the United States combined. However, the extraction of most of these is done in small operations that are not regulated in the DRC. The lack of regulation and effective governance infrastructure to monitor and manage the use of resources coupled with high rates of corruption within the structures of authority allows for the exploitation of the resources to the extent of having the spoils of resource exploitation financing the power of rebel groups and their destructive tendencies. Armed groups in Eastern DRC finance their activities through the exploitation of natural resources and as long as these resources continue to be available to be exploited, peace support efforts will not hold water as rebel groups will always regain momentum to reengage in warfare.⁴

According to the UNSC (2004), the dynamics of conflict in the DRC are ever-changing due to the illicit trade in artisanal gold funding which is increasingly fragmented by heavily networked armed groups and human rights violations. (UNSC 80 26TH Meeting) As such, the efforts of the ICGLR and SADC in the DRC will not amount to anything if the governance system on the management of natural resources has grave loopholes that can be exploited to acquire wealth that is able to fund armed groups. In this case, if armed groups are defeated and in one meeting agree to demobilize and reintegrate, the spoils of the mineral resources give them the capacity to make a statement on irregularities in delivery by the government and they can easily capacitate themselves to rebel and engage in violent combat.⁵ Therefore as long as the management of resources is not strengthened, peace efforts in the DRC will go in vein as has been the case in previous efforts such as the DDR process of the M23 rebels as they managed to regroup and inflict violence on citizens within a short space of time.

4.2 Political Challenges to synergies for peace support missions by the SADC and ICGLR in DRC

The Re-emergence of Armed Groups

It is of paramount importance to note that the most significant political challenge to sub regional synergies for peace support for the two regional groupings is that of the re-emergence of armed groups. There is compelling evidence that although other factor lead to the formation of these rebel groups that steer continued violence in the Eastern Region, their

⁴ Observation highlighted by an academic during a focus group discussion with the author, Harare, 25/03/2018

⁵ Analysis drawn by author from the discussion with academics during a focus group discussion in Harare, 25/03/2018

presence and in large numbers as well as unpredictable actions make the work of implementation of peace agenda by the two regional blocs a drop in an ocean.⁶The stubborn activities of a large number of illegal armed groups remain a major challenge to the security of the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo and it is impossible to discuss the violent activities in this area without mentioning them. Although the SADC has extensively facilitated processes for securing of the Congolese territory, there is still a long way to go for DRC state authority to be fully reinserted. To date, many armed groups still remain in the DRC and the majority of these groups are localised, except for the FDLR. Other prominent armed groups that are active in the DRC include the Ugandan Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and the Burundian Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL).

According to Stearns and Vogel (2015), at least 70 armed groups remain active in the DRC. The proliferation of armed groups in the DRC is also seen as a reflection of limited opportunities for the young generation and they find pleasure and an opportunity to be relevant by rebelling as the activities of armed groups not only bring prestige and status for the young people but also they fulfil the manhood issues that the young men face due to late marriage ventures and poor socioeconomic status as the ordinary civilian does not have access to resources that are abundant within their region.⁷ The armed groups pose a challenge to the success of the demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) processes and many peace agreements signed in the DRC since 1999 have failed to hold water as this adds to the limitation of not having a comprehensive package. Discontentment with reintegration processes has often been accompanied by the re-arming and remobilisation of groups, and a relapse into violence and conflict.

“The continued existence of armed groups in eastern DRC hinders progress towards achieving the targets set under the PSC Framework, this is because they benefitting from the illegal mining and it is also alleged that they are also receiving support from both state and non-state actors from within the DRC as well as from neighboring countries and abroad.”⁸ In light of this reality, the PSC Framework has failed to hold as intended. Since the military defeat of the M23, the DRC Government has made some progress in restoring state authority

⁶ Contribution from the focus group discussion facilitated by author with academics, Harare, 25/05/2018

⁷ Sentiments and analysis shared by Michie Kashoshi in the email exchange with the author. Michie Kashoshi is a RRMP Program Manager- Africa at Catholic Relief Services. 5/04/2018

⁸ Interview with Anita Nkirete, Harare, 25/03/2018, Anita is part of the AYC Personnel with expertise in the strategic pillar of peace and security in Africa as she supports initiatives towards to silence the guns by 2063 she is also a Kenyan national with an political science background and an understanding on the operations particularly of the ICGLR in DRC in line with their contribution to the AU Agenda 2063.

in areas formerly occupied by this armed group with the support of MONUSCO and other international partners. However, it is of paramount importance to note that the M23 are not the only rebel group in the DRC and limited sight of this will lead to another unprecedented outburst of violence. The SADC and ICGLR therefore face the challenge of being able to engage all rebel groups at the same level and effectively implement DRR as due to the vast numbers of the groups in the country. Therefore, steps towards a peaceful Eastern Congo continue to drag and the civilians continue to suffer under development and violence.

The cyclic nature of the conflict

The continuation of armed conflict in the eastern DRC may require not just renewed responsibility and capacity by the state to secure its domain, but a review of the current method of regional intervention in the state affairs. It is the repetitive nature of brutality that the conflict management and resolution processes of the SADC and ICGLR are being tested. Since 2011, the negotiation strategies have shifted with government no longer willing to offer incentives for armed groups who surrender. This method reduced the tendency of armed groups regrouping after failing to secure positions, however, it does not address the root causes of the conflict and most of the groups cite political exclusion as reason for taking up arms. Although the SADC and ICGLR provide for the negotiation of peace terms between the government and the armed groups, the terms of the negotiations continue to miss the re-emergence of groups and the escalation of their violent activities and this affects processes of conflict prevention, management and resolution.⁹ As a result of the multiple causes of the violent activities in the Congo, the SADC and ICGLR cannot address all problems in one go but because there are too many grievances that are arising and conditions fostering a breeding ground for conflict.

It is difficult for the regional blocs to ensure the inclusion of all parties in political and economic spheres and therefore after solving one aspect of the conflict for part of the affected stakeholders triggers discontent from another faction and the violence erupts again and again

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⁹ Commentary from a respondent during a focus group discussion by the author, Harare, 25/03/2018

¹⁰ Video conversation with Peter Shaw, who is part of the team of humanitarian workers for Mercy Corps working in the DRC, Kinshasa, (10 April 2018): Civil society organizations provide objective analysis of the situation on the ground.

Multiplicity of actors and poor coordination mechanisms

Another challenge that SADC and ICGLR have faced in synchronised peace support efforts in the Eastern DRC conflict is that there are many actors to the conflict in question and therefore it is difficult for the blocs to interceding in the DRC. The SADC and ICGLR since they have the challenge of availability of funding, lack a system that effectively coordinates the peace and security actors towards achieving the desired results of sustainable peace in the region. In the past few years, the efforts of the blocks have gone to waste due to the missing coordinating/ liaison office in the Congo that would play the role of effective monitoring and objective evaluation of the processes to ensure suited interventions are designed and put in place towards achieving sustainable peace. The grouping therefore lacks effective systems to manage and coordinate actors and ensure smooth adherence to the commitments of agreements such as the 2016 agreement.

For a long time the SADC and ICGLR institutions in the DRC have worked closely with the AU Liaison Office in the country, as well as with the UN, especially MONUSCO. However, one of the FGD respondents noted that “the no existence of the SADC and ICGLR field office to monitor and coordinate actors towards achieving the targets of the PSC Framework limits progress as they depend on third parties to assist in coordination of actors. But looking at the Congo situation, the actors that need close monitoring are many, there are so many rebel group within the region and without even looking at other players in the conflict, they need more attention than the order barking strategy by the regional groups”¹¹ This makes it difficult to coordinate the various political, diplomatic and security processes that are being led by SADC. There is therefore an absence of provision of technical capacity for initiatives by SADC member states and coalitions of the willing makes peace efforts in the DRC by multiple actors difficult to coordinate and they become ineffective.

Lack of consensus among member states

Another challenge to synergies for peace support in the DRC is the lack of consensus and solidarity among member states. Although the SADC promotes solidarity among member states, a principle based mainly on brotherhood from common historical background of fighting against colonialism and western domination, in some instances of the SADC’s interventions in the DRC exposes the regional body of not always mirroring absolute

¹¹ Comment drawn from focus group discussion with academics, Harare, 25/03/2018

consensus. On many occasions, member states have had differing perspectives and priorities on strategies to bring lasting peace to the DRC. The 1998 intervention by SADC allies in the DRC which exposed the divided opinions among SADC political leaders. On this occasion, Nelson Mandela, the then SADC chair differed in stance for military intervention which had been proposed by Mugabe who was the then chair of the SADC Organ for Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (SADC Troika).

At this point, some SADC member states preferred a diplomatic strategy to end the DRC crisis, while Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia argued from a standpoint of collective security, highlighting that a military intervention was imperative since the DRC was facing an act of aggression from its neighbouring countries. Referencing the SADC Treaty and the SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation – which provide that the regional community's member states have to support any member state facing aggression from one or several foreign forces – the SADC Allies (Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola) went on to intervene militarily in the DRC, despite the controversy, and limited support from the international community. Hence, the lack of consensus of member states is a challenge in constructive peace support efforts by sub-regional organisations. A united front would have reaped better rewards either through Diplomatic means or military intervention.

Nationalist Rivalry

The quest for national interests has been the real obstruction to regional political integration. According to Siboniso Dhlamini, “realist ideology of the international system views it as being an arena where states chase national interests above all and this is a relevant theory in efforts to look into the involvement of member states in peace support agenda under the auspices of the regional blocs”¹². ICGLR and SADC member states have been seen to pursue policies that promote their interests in DRC at the expense of other member states. Examples of such states include Zimbabwe, Angola, Tanzania and Rwanda. It should be noted that in this case only the narrow interests of the ruling elite, have prevailed over the interests of the masses of the region. This in itself opposes the spirit of co-operation and unity that SADC advocates for and it obstructs development of common values. Moreover, it undermines Pan Africanism, which is essential for building peace, security and development on the continent. Not only is the celebration of nationalism likely to cause more hostility than unity between and among the countries and peoples of the sub-region, but it also leads to incompatible

¹² Analysis given to author by Siboniso Dhlamini, 26/03/2018

policies which are difficult to harmonize. For as long as nationalism, a more divisive than unifying ideology, it remains the driving force behind regional integration initiatives, progress will be limited.¹³

According to Nathan (2003; 3), there are three issues that hinder the development of the Organ, and have prevented SADC from playing a useful peace-making role. First of all, there is an absence of common values among member states, between democratic and authoritarian states and between pacifist and militarist foreign policy orientated states. Secondly, the SADC states are loathed to surrendering a measure of sovereignty to a security regime that encompasses binding rules and the possibility of intervention in domestic affairs. This reluctance comes from the political weaknesses of states and the absence of common values, mutual confidence and shared vision of the regime.¹⁴ The third problem is that the region is characterized by small economies, underdevelopment and weak administrative capacity which undermine the effectiveness of all SADC's forums and programmes. In essence, the interventions of the SADC in the DRC are limited by the presence of this Nationalist rivalry.

Absence of trust among member nations

Although the value added by the creation of the PSC Framework is undeniably recognized, its implementation has evident challenges. The lack of trust that characterizes relations between some of the regional group member states, particularly the lack of trust between neighboring countries remains an important challenge. Relations between some of the signatories of the PSC Framework in general had improved considerably until MONUSCO/FIB and the Congolese army began their campaign to disarm ADF-NALU first, instead of concentrating on the FDLR. Some argue that military intervention against FDLR was sequenced to follow the defeat of the M23 but this did not happen. Instead, FIB and FARDC proceeded to launch operations against ADF-NALU, thereby leaving FDLR quite secure in the territory they have operated in for many years and from where they have organized violent incursions into Rwanda. Also to support this view, “the refusal of permission by the Congolese government to have ICGLR forces in Congo but instead the FIB be made up of SADC troops makes an indication of the lack of trust particularly of the

¹³ AYC personnel, Yahyah Kandeh from Zambia commented on the issues of nationalist rivalry to the author during an interview in Harare, 26/03/2018

¹⁴ Analysis drawn from views cited during the focus group discussion with scholars, Harare, (25 March 2018)

motivations by member states such as Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda in providing troops for a peace support mission”.¹⁵

The instability in the region as well as the remaining hostilities and mistrust between the governments in the Great Lakes Region, especially between the DRC and Rwanda, poses great challenges for regional cooperation and peace building. In the donors’ drive to foster regional institution-building, this challenge must become the focus of all areas of planning and action, adapting different strategies depending on whether disengagement is due to a lack of willingness or capacity, or both. The Congolese government’s continued disengagement with CEPGL, for instance, cannot be treated as an aside by the member states as well as by the donor governments, but must be taken seriously and addressed. Therefore lack of trust among the member states is a challenge that is affecting progress of the regional groups in their synchronized efforts for peace support.

The ever-changing epicenters of conflicts in the region

Regardless of the recognition that the DRC conflict has a bearing on the whole region of the Great Lakes in terms of national resourcefulness, working by their prominence, continue to overshadow the initiatives at regional level to address the conflict in the Kivus in particular. According to Mwangi (1997) the presentation of a conflict systems methodology in conflict management of extra- national wars backs up the philosophies that all wars have close relations regionally, and that what might appear at face value to be unique conflicts are in reality elements of a wider array of conflict in a region. The model refuses to acknowledge the idea of conflicts not having cross-border dynamics, and instead pictures individual conflicts as central elements of a wider conflict structure. Looking at the trend of the Congo wars, it should be noted that the conflicts in the eastern DRC have not only been confined within the terrain of the DRC. Clashes and fighters have infiltrated borders, and have been associated with the conflicts in other countries in the region such as Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Rwanda, South Sudan and Uganda. Actors of the conflict in DRC have also made partnerships with actor from foreign countries. The Eastern DRC situation must therefore be viewed in the context of a broader conflict system. Conflict systems, have epicenters around which their survival orbits. It should be noted that these epicenters shift from time to time and since the early 1990s, they have shifted in the Great Lakes Region

¹⁵ An interesting and important observation made by a Abrashid Ibrahim in an email correspondence with the author (8 April 2018)

from Burundi, to the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda. The challenge which then faces the regional bloc in conflict management in the Congo is that, conflict management processes have not been adjusted throughout the changes in epicenters of the conflict within the region.¹⁶ Therefore any efforts by the blocs fail to address the shifting balances. Regional players have not effectively dealt with elements by national, supranational and international actors, which contribute to conflict perpetuation hence peace support is a dismal failure.

Insufficient dissemination of information on the PSC Framework

The signing of the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo and the region (PSC Framework), on 24 February 2013 by 11 Heads of State was a symbolic moment of common vision and purpose of regional leaders of the and the international community to solve the principal causes of the violent conflict that is recurrent in eastern DRC, that has resulted in massive atrocities, underdevelopment, instability and humanitarian catastrophes.

An analysis of the progress reported against the aims and targets of the framework reflects the lack of information among citizens of the Eastern Congo, the internal actors and this remains a problem as it brings about the aspect of lack of ownership of the peace process by key stakeholders in the circumstances and as a result the framework fails to garner support and as a result there is no grounding for civic engagement as the information available to civil society is insufficient to facilitate successful development and implementation of monitoring and accountability mechanisms holding governments to account for the commitments in this framework. Although the role of civil society is to encourage public participation and build trust by citizens of the structures and institutions, the lack of information creates a weak civil society and in an environment like DRC where organizations focusing on transparency, accountability and integrity are still trying to get a foothold, the component allows for the suffering of growth of the sector and limits the ability of the key stakeholders in keeping track of the responsiveness for the ICGLR, SADC as well as of the different parties involved in the conflict to the calls and demands of the framework so as to achieve desired results.¹⁷

¹⁶ An interesting and important observation made during a focus group discussion with academics, Harare, (25 March 2018)

¹⁷ Author is indebted to Dr Owuoché for providing such valuable information during interview, Nairobi, (15 March 2018).

General Elections in DRC and the Region

As general elections approach, in several countries, and governments of the region become shift their attention to other pressing national issues, the momentum for the implementation of the PSC Framework has faded as a result. 2006 national elections in the DRC shifted the attention away from some important reforms and commitments under the PSC Framework. Also to note the, Burundi and Tanzania elections in 2015, Uganda in 2016 and Rwanda in 2017, essentially closed the window for undertaking difficult reforms or measures. This led to progress delays in deactivating harmful forces operating in eastern DRC and implement the commitments enshrined in the PSC Framework, and in essence posed a challenge to peace support efforts that would have created better conditions for DRC as well as the entire region.

The postponement of elections to 2018 by Kabila poses a challenge to strides aimed at achieving the PSC Framework as the SADC and ICGLR through respecting sovereignty and also because of limited capacity to implement the full traditional peacekeeping package are unable to sanction Kabila to concur with constitutional requirement of the due elections. There is information going around that the President of the Congo wants to postpone election once more to 2019. This delay and liberty of postponing elections by the president is affecting peace building processes and indicators of democracy under the PSC are held back by such actions where the regional groupings also then do not have resources and in any case are benefiting from the prevailing instability in the region. The SADC was seen as a back seat in the call for elections by 2017 citing recognition of the independence and supremacy of the national constitution and electoral legislation and therefore the Kabila regime takes advantage of such to hold on to power therefore opposition parties and rebels exert their frustration through perpetuating violence as they are fighting for justice and inclusive democratic processes to prevail in the country.¹⁸ Therefore the issue of elections is a strain to peace processes in the DRC.

Lack of action against member states

Although the ICGLR has set up efforts to resolve the Eastern conflict, the role played by Rwanda and Uganda in supporting the M23 to fight and repel against the FARDC has made

¹⁸ An interesting and important observation made by Natalia Sonia Mukundane during discussion with author (Harare, 26 March 2018)

this effort unfruitful. Deployed to monitor arms embargo under the UN Resolution 1533(2004), the UN experts unveiled compelling evidence of direct military support from Rwanda towards the creation of the M23 with part of the support being giving them permission to use Rwandan territory, facilitation of the mobilisation of the ex-CNDP officers, politicians of the North Kivu, Youth and business partners. (UNSC:2012).

A bilateral meeting between the DRC and Rwanda, recorded evidence from the DRC authorities of Rwandan Defence Force's military support in the form of weapons delivery to M23. However, the Rwandan government continues to deny allegations. (UNSC 2012)

According to Article 5(1.d) of the Protocol on Non-aggression and Mutual Defence of the Pact, the government of the DRC requested the ICGLR to intervene, in its capacity as regional organisation, in the conflict situation in the eastern DRC. Thus, a series of extraordinary summits were organised, attempting to find 'a regional solution to regional problem'. But as long as the parties that are feeding the conflict in this case Rwanda and Uganda are part of the suggested solution, in this case they are members to the regional groupings that have been given the mandate to intervene.¹⁹ The mandate therefore sets the groups up for failure as the parties will influence and continue to evade the allegations as no enforcement will allow for an opposite result against their favour.

Challenge to the neutrality of the chairperson of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (Yoweri Museveni- Uganda)

The decision that the DRC government should listen, evaluate and resolve legitimate M23 grievances in light of the November 2012 violation of the Kampala summit by the M23 by means of capturing Goma was made at the 5th extra ordinary summit of heads of state and government of the ICGLR on 24 November 2012. According to this decision, M23 was to withdraw from Goma and the Goma airport to be deployed for a composite force of one company each for neutrality for FARDC and M23, etc. It should be noted however that the report did not reach UNSC DRC Sanction Committee and without due regard, the Rwandan Government continues to provide military support to the M23 rebels in violation of arms embargo and they also facilitate recruitment and discernment from armed forces of the DRC. A close analysis of the afore mentioned issues highlights a challenge to the neutrality of the ICGLR Chairperson, H. E. President Yoweri Museveni as he assumed the role of both judge and party of the situation since Uganda has been extensively accused of supporting the rebel

¹⁹ Interview with anonymous security official (Luanda, 20 April 2018)

group. It should be noted that the role of mediator should be neutral and by virtue of the support mentioned above, Museveni should not have been endorsed as the facilitator of the dialogue between the Kinshasa government and the M23.

As a result, the ICGLR was unable to create a subcommittee to deal with these claims against Rwanda and Uganda and so they could not implement any actions in line with the Protocol on Non-aggression and Mutual Defence of the Pact (Article 5).

Lack of political will from state actors, deviating interests

The failure of peace negotiations in the DRC by the ICGLR and SADC is credited to the lack of political will within the regional groupings. Some actors benefit politically and economically from the recurring conflict situation and are not about to let go of these benefits by building peace in the Eastern Region of the Congo.²⁰ As a result, there is lack of commitment from member states of the two regional to implement peace agreements and institutional reforms. For example, the Lusaka Agreement of 1999 failed to hit the ground running towards sustainable peace as it was only a ceasefire agreement without a peace agreement. The potential conflicts of interest between negotiators also complicated the situation. Indeed, the engagement of a number of other regional powers, including the Republic of Congo, raised issues of impartiality. The 2016 agreement proves that the SADC political will is only limited to providing support to Kabila and they fail to publicly speak on the sensitive subjects. This is seen as the SADC did not join the voice calling for elections to be held by 2017 and at the moment they still allow uncertainty to roam the country as elections may be postponed to 2019 and opposition parties as well as rebel groups are restless about the progress of the electoral plans such that violence continues with more mass graves being filled in the Eastern Congo Region.²¹

Universal Approach to peace building

Ideally, peace support efforts exhibit traits of a universal trajectory which moves from Ceasefire agreement to transitional governments, to demilitarisation and national security and then constitutional reform. (Daley; 2006) This trajectory also makes emphasis on the sharing of power, signing of political agreements between the rebel groups and the ruling

²⁰ Views obtained courtesy of comments made to author during a focus group discussion with African scholars in peace security studies from the Institute of Peace and Security studies, Harare (25 March 2018).

²¹ Views obtained courtesy of comments made to author by an anonymous opposition party official, Kinshasa, (18 April 2018).

government. However, the adoption of this textbook approach to peacebuilding allows for the exclusion of important actors in the conflict for example the victims of the war, the young people, the women, religious actors, non-governmental organisations as well as external actors, in this case the international community. According to Borello (2004) sustainable peace can only be achieved when people have the opportunity to talk about what happened to them and transition is facilitated by restoration of dignity for victims and the establishment of trust between the state and the people. The nature of the conflict in the DRC has proven to be complex due to the historical sentiments of injustice engraved in ethnical marginalisation and access to resources such as land and minerals. It is therefore of paramount importance to note that the exclusion of some rebel groups as well as key populations such as the young people in peace negotiations has fuelled resentment and mistrust as well as the rise of further rebellion within the Congo and hence the struggle continues.²² As a result, lack of flexibility in the approach to peace building poses a challenge to the efforts of regional groupings in promoting peace in the Eastern DRC context.

Limitations of the FIB Mandate

Authorized initially by the UNSC to support DRC authorities on the basis of information attained from analysis and full consideration of the need to protect civilians during and after military operations, the Force Intervention was set up to work in collaboration with the FARDC in a strict compliance to International Law and respect of the UN policy on support to prevent armed groups from expanding and to disarm them to increase the security and stabilization of the day to day running the Eastern Congo region. While not so prescribed by MONUSCO's mandate, the mission is clear on the fact that FIB will not start unilateral operations without consent of the DRC government. This is understandable with regard to sovereignty matters, but prevents action since President Kabila is at liberty to use his discretion to give green light for anti-FDLR operations.²³ President Kabila himself is not necessarily against or for such operations, but the FDLR question is highly controversial among the elites of the DRC. Although this controversy was not enough, it has been coupled by the tensions surrounding the involvement of SADC in Eastern Congo whereas, ICGLR had been handling the issues of the region well enough. As such, the shared mandate was not received with positivity by the elites who politically and militarily influence the Kabila administration and resistance from the elites creates a barrier in successful implementation of

²² Interview with Remy de Frank, a youth advocate in the DRC, (16 April 2018)

²³ Analysis courtesy of comments by anonymous security official, Luanda (20 April 2018)

the mandate. As such the joint intervention delayed kickoff and facing resistance makes it difficult to address the challenges fuelling the crisis so that the country may move towards a sustainable peace achieving solution.

Neglect of peace processes after signing of peace agreements

Peace agreements between parties in conflict do not automatically solve the problems that triggered the conflict in the first place. Even after parties agree and have signed a peace agreement, the mediator and the signatories to the agreement need to comply and ensure they develop and implement a framework for regular dialogue on issues that will potentially cause division.

In most cases in the Eastern DRC context it has been seen that the mediators to peace agreements face the challenge of moving forward with mediation processes to a point of totally ending the violence and they do not provide support of lengthy engagements to make sure that they address the underlying causes of violence.²⁴ Initiatives for mediation by the two regional bodies have in essence been seen as an end in themselves rather than the expected means to a beneficial end towards peace and security in the region. According to Solomon and Mangqibisa (2004), many interventions in Eastern DRC have had third party mediators that fight to reach a peace agreement as soon as possible. Indeed the process of reaching a peace agreement on paper is equally important though in the process other factors such as individual material interests and personalities of the parties also matter and are of high significance in efforts to achieve sustainable peace in the region. The persistence of violence after the negotiation of peace agreements in DRC shows that the regional groupings are failing to achieve peace and security for the citizens as well as providing them with post conflict support for a sustainable peace environment. As Ayangafac and Cilliers (2011) put it, stopping the fighting by means of imposing enormous post-agreement humanitarian and peacekeeping operations by the two groupings, has provisionally provided external assurance in contradiction of acceleration of violence, but does not spell peace.

Arrested development of sub regional organizations

In this era of globalization, most states in the international system hold membership of one or more multinational organizations, or wishes to join one. According to White (2005) the new

²⁴ Observation recorded during focus group discussion with scholars, Harare,(25 March 2018)

world order is headed for greater integration, and that the idea of institutionalism is consistent with rationalism theories in international relations which state that integration exists to form a world which promotes increased collaboration among states and, in addition, stop armed conflicts. It is the stunted rate of development of the two sub regional organizations which, this section notes as causative to the permanency of the conflicts in the DRC. If these organizations were to operate as well as projected, directed by the note and essence that led to their creation, then regional dimensions of the DRC conflict would be addressed. DRC is a member of both, Southern African Development Community, and ICGLR among other organizations but these two have failed to live up to the standards of ability to stop the regional dimensions of the conflicts in the DRC, mainly because of their failure to measure up to some components which White (2005) notes, such as absence of binding decisions by ICGLR and SADC which DRC holds membership. Neighboring states have disobeyed UNSC resolutions to stop looting of natural resources in the Congo (UNSC: 2012)

Furthermore, the administrative organs in these organizations have been wholly reliant on government cooperation, as was evident during the debates to curb the violence between the DRC government and the M23 in late 2013; where the resolutions of the ICGLR were influenced by on the DRC's, Rwanda's and Tanzania's readiness to cooperate (Matsiko 2013). The ultimate situation would have been for the mainstream of the members to take a resolution for the overall stability of the region; all the same, there was the probable lack of cooperation between the members countries mentioned above. In addition to the shortcomings already mentioned, sub regional organizations do not have the authority to impose their decisions nor do they have the financial sovereignty to act autonomously and definitively.²⁵ In circumstances where the institutions were able to decide, administrative procedures and insufficient political will instigated deferrals in their subsequent actions, with grave consequences on lives in the DRC.

4.3 Social Challenges to synergies for peace support by the SADC and ICGLR in DRC

Shared ethnic identities across borders

By Cross-border ethnic identities internationalize conflicts as fighting spills over into other countries. Ethnic identities cause people to identify interests in a particular group and align themselves with that group. (Joireman 2004) As a result ethnic clashes in one country can be

²⁵ Interview with anonymous political party official, Kinshasa, (18 April 2018)

reinforced by another ethnic group based in a different country. (Schnabel 2002). Even though there is no shared border, linkages between ethnic groups and religions exist and increase the chances of conflict Jesse and Simon (2004). In light of this it is important to note that in the context of the Eastern DRC conflict although deliberate efforts are being done to engage local parties to the conflict, because of the concept of cross border identity, the neighboring countries are initiating other parties to perpetuate violence due to the benefits they are getting from the unrest in a DRC with an active conflict. (Brosché and Rothbart 2012). Being the most ethnically diverse country in Africa, with a total of about 500 ethnic groups, it makes it difficult to track funding and support provided by neighboring states towards active rebel groups in the local conflict. (Karbo and Mutisi 2012 and Brosché and Rothbart 2012). The motivation for such support in Eastern DRC has never been noble as external actors have used nonconforming groups as delegations for their own hidebound interests, which has amplified the spread of rebel groups.

The increase in the actors of the conflict has fueled an increase in the problems in the Eastern Congo, since competing agendas are at play as some member states in the ICGLR and SADC while chasing personal agenda beneficial to ethnic identities they support in the conflict. According to Taras and Ganguly (2009), the eastern Congo conflict is an internationalized conflict as a result of Tutsi and Hutu interests as well as empire building interests of Burundi. In the end, a mixture of cross-border ethnic personalities and the internationalization of conflicts have contributed to failure of the regional groups in ending the persistent conflict in Eastern DRC.

4.4 Conclusion

In a capsule, the chapter brings to light the challenges that have been faced by the SADC and ICGLR in pursuing the implementation of synchronized peace support efforts in the DRC Conflict situation. In essence, the chapter highlights the reasons why the conflict in DRC is unending as efforts do face challenges that affect effectiveness and the achievement of the desired outcomes. In light of these there is need for the policy designers to ensure that they put into context the dynamics of these challenges so that they develop strategies of intervention that will not only temporarily silence the conflict by that will give a long-term solution for sustainable peace in the DRC. The following chapter will dwell on the Dynamics of the challenges for peace support efforts faced by the ICGLR and SADC in the Eastern

DRC conflict so as to shed more light on outlying issues that can be addressed to avoid these challenge.

CHAPTER 5: DYNAMICS SURROUNDING THE CHALLENGES TO PEACE SUPPORT MISSIONS BY SADC AND ICGLR IN THE RECURRING EASTERN CONGO CONFLICT

5.0 Introduction

The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) presents a classic conflict with many tragic twists that seem to be testing the resolve of sub-regional actors and the entire international community. Any indicators of success have often been quickly snuffed out, giving way to palpable collective frustration. Even when the international community attempts to ignore it, the problem keeps coming back with new challenges. Negative events, which are most common in the Eastern DRC, affect both the Great Lakes and the South African Development Community (SADC) Regions, and ignoring the problem is no longer an option. This conflict is a special case particularly because, with no tangible enduring solution in sight, the international community keeps experimenting with “new remedies” of interventions in the vain hope that they may succeed. As is always the case in such situations, the conflict draws in numerous actors and continues to test the international community’s ability to manage conflicts. Many different actors have been drawn to the centre and yet they do not seem to actually influence events on the ground, it is the Eastern Region’s highly dysfunctional nature that allows the conflict to drag on seemingly interminably. That situation now appears to be changing. This chapter attempts to put the dynamics to the challenges of synergies for peace support efforts by SADC and ICGLR in the Eastern DRC conflict into perspective, while critically focusing on the cyclic nature of the DRC recurring conflict.

5.1 Political Dynamics of the challenges to peace support

5.1.0 The Historical Motivations of Violence

The tale of the history of Congo is one characterised with terror, blood and colonization. The story lacks any ray of pride. Precolonial Congo reigned under kingship as the head of the political system and subdivisions of smaller political areas. Created in the fourteen hundreds, the Congolese Kingdom was characterised by missionary activities such as preaching humility and clearing the track for traders who took every opportunity to making a good profit with the consequence of comprehensive meltdown of the existing socio-economic structures.

Diving deeper into the historical dimensions of the DRC and Central Africa as a whole, the most important element to be noted is that of historical national identity. For example, the infrastructure in the capital Kinshasa (former Leopoldville) was constructed by the Europeans in western structural design. No building points to Congolese sovereignty. Therefore, it cannot be ignored that mention of the fundamental nature of national history towards modern identity should not be done with carelessness as it in this case contributes a role as the history existing can be used to mobilise productive feeling as a result of the suppression and exploitation storyline.²⁶ Mobutu used this in his renaming the county to Zaire and banning of western clothing in the early seventies. However he did turn out to duplicate his former European rulers in actions and dragged the population through 30 years of military rule. It is of paramount importance to note, the psychological spectacle of Mobutu and the present day local elites as they adopt the traits of the exploiters. Therefore the historical motivations of violence pose a threat to the efforts by the regional groups in implementing peace support operations in the Eastern Congo conflict.

5.1.1 The Military Factor

The DRC armed forces just like most of the African militaries are heavily politicized and engaged in civil wars, and have been subdued by autocracy that was created by the colonial legacy and consequent repressions that saw them often used as brutal political gear. The military adopted a custom of upsetting its own governments for various reasons that can be justified. The conflict itself uniquely reflects many aspects of domestic, economic, military, political, geographical and ethnic features all combined with the involvement of external players to provide a relationship that leaves all sides grabbing the prospect to loot the country's vast natural resources.

Nzongola Ntalaja sums up this view by stating that throughout the 116 years of Congo's existence as state external interests has always been a major factor in the political equation because of the strategic position of the country and its enormous natural wealth, which has made it a prime candidate for imperial ambitions, mercenaries and looters of all kinds. It is easily likened to the South American state of Colombia, where the pure immensity and remoteness of the land makes it a composite military affair distant from traditional civil war. This has left the society to bear insecurity in the human, physical and environmental circles.

²⁶ Observation obtained from focus group discussion with scholars, Harare, (25 March 2018)

By 2003, DRC was staggering toward a complete collapse and state failure. This finally prompted the battle weary warlords to agree to experiment with democracy once more.

5.1.2 The Role of External Actors

Several international state and non-state actors have tried to assist, but their efforts have ended as merely tragic turns in the tale. Peace is still elusive because of the extremely deep-seated mistrust: to such a level that whichever leaders arise, whether through the gun or fabricated ballots, face the same contests. According to William Zartman when so many actors and beliefs are present in a collapsed system, loyalties shift to various individual rulers and not to the nation. This attempts to highlight why so many politicians and locals do not seem patriotic enough to rebuild their nation. Mills recommends that “foreigners must not be seen to love the country more than the citizens themselves.”

It follows therefore, that when the system breaks down, many Congolese people often find themselves reverting to their tribal inheritance, which makes them too proud to follow any leader they consider not to be their own. These dynamics tend to produce a picture-perfect conflict that is easy to define but very difficult to resolve. Any analytical account of the recent history of eastern DRC shows that some actors tend to appear and disappear depending on the situation. This lends itself to the explanation that the international community has only rushed to the assistance of the DRC when the need became especially pressing. There is a strange link between interference by the “international community” and worsening conditions for the local population. According to Colette Braeckman the real reasons and answers to why Africa’s “first World War” has dragged on for so long lie outside of the Congo.

The DRC has seen a lot of activity and reconstruction efforts that have made to sew the military together and avoid falling back into revolt. Although lightly deployed, the 22,000 strong UN Peacekeeping Force in DRC is the largest such effort and covers almost all the regions, with the Eastern Region being the main focus. The countries that contributed troops in particular have made tough choices to intervene motivated by their supportive ethical principles. Almost ten years after the genocide in Rwanda, in 2005, a UN Summit formally agreed that the responsibility to protect does indeed rest with the state, and that if peaceful methods fail, all states meaning the international community have a responsibility to act collectively in a “timely and decisive manner,” through the UN Security Council and with the use of force. This has been termed the “responsibility to protect.”

The examination of involvement of other countries in the Great Lakes Region is another important theme contributing to the dynamic environment to peace support in DRC. Experts have stated that one root cause of the conflicts can be traced to the formation of states during the colonial era that was done without respect of the tribes and nations existing then, which were listed within the newly-formed colonial states. These naturally divided nations created problems and power struggles, as they searched for identity and divided their allegiance, leading to intra-state conflicts.

The involvement of China and other private companies establishes a spectacle for scrutiny in relation to its influence on the security background eastern Congo. It cannot be ignored that their influence goes beyond the limits of commercial bounds. The common thread in security analysis of the Eastern DRC is that it is a combination of many ills, all characterized by infinite scenarios of internal and external negative offshoots.²⁷ Amongst the special relationship between the DRC and its neighbours, it should not be overlooked that flaming burdens between the Congolese and neighbouring Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi have never fully declined. Rwanda has been accused consistently of supporting the M23 militia, while the Congolese are also accused of not doing enough to fight the FDLR (the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda). The International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) and SADC decision to forcefully disarm the FDLR is under scrutiny, recognizing that the group offered to surrender but, like some other militia groups though unlike the M23, they are not different from the population. In any case the countries that contributed troops from SADC are not willing to face the likely humanitarian concern.

5.2 Social Dynamics of the challenges to peace support

5.2.0 Youth and the Conflict

The dominating element in taking up violence in conflict is the role played young people in sustaining violence in conflict. In the Eastern Congo Conflict like in any other African conflict, the larger chunks of combatants are young men. This is because military power is linked closely with politics as violence is the main method of political interaction. In the context of eastern Congo, violence has proved to have political value as it is now in the hands of individuals rather than the state and now serves as an alternative to marginalisation.(Luca, Jourdan:2004)

²⁷ Interview with Remy de Frank, Kinshasa, (16 April 2018)

State of anger and isolation from the surrounding society motivates young people to join conflict. In an environment with a shortage of jobs, and education opportunities due to continued warfare, the population of unemployed youth is high and they suffer the need for basic provisions from their surroundings. As such, in an environment of failed political economy, being recruited into the military looks appealing, the social landscape has suffered drastically due to globalisation and exploitation of resources affects prospects of infrastructural development such as schools to improve the livelihood of young people in the region. Things that in the past seemed important as traditional values of families and identity have suffered a severe breakdown with a sense of scepticism as a matter of concern. (Moller: 2004)

The status of being in possession of a rifle has a certain value among people particularly young people due to their natural drive and need for prestige and popularity.²⁸ The power this comes with is that people fear you and therefore you are able to demand all you want. Frustration of failing to establish a family manifests into a take what you can and want attitude and this contributes to the increase in rape cases. Sexual exploitation is a common political instrument in African conflicts as it is directed towards the reproductive female gender as a symbol of the nation (Moller: 2004). In view of this, amid of violence and sex is not only an instrument of paralyzing a hole civilian population and villages, but it is seen as young men's frustration and anger channelled out in vicious tendencies in synergy with pure regular sexual excitement.

5.2.1 Stateless Social Order

The Eastern Province of Congo has a totally different political and economic agenda from other regions of the country which are government controlled. The existing distance the capital Kinshasa and the absence of infrastructure in-between the east and the west, the wild between the two makes it almost impossible to maintain roads in good condition, therefore, air is the safest mode of transport.²⁹ Highly volatile areas Ituri, North Kivu and South Kivu have on-going ethnic disputes over resource issues such as access to mineral resources, participation in politics of decision making as well as ownership of land. Observers of the peace process have failed to realise desired impact in this region of the Congo as ethnic

²⁸ Interview with Prince Wilondja, Youth Advocate DRC, Kinshasa, (18 April, 2018)

²⁹ Interview with Kirk Prichard- Humanitarian Program Coordinator, Concern Worldwide, DRC, Kinshasa (20 April 2018)

clashes continue to break out. Examples of these clashes include the strike on Gatumba transit centre on ethnic Banyamulenge Tutsi by the Hutu Militia living in exile in Congo. The reason for this being old hatred and tensions between the Hutus and the Tutsis that date back to the Rwandan Genocide of 1994, however, conducive environment for such behaviour is created by the presence of the international community in the area. The proximity of the refugee camps in Eastern Congo to the border is against the internationally stipulated regulations and as if this is not enough, the recruitment procedure for the Rwandan Interahamwe militia and other military groups is performed in these camps.³⁰ Furthermore, the UN mission in Congo (MONUC) can be viewed as having failed to successfully control the borders with proper standards due to low staff compliments. Problems are generally created by concentration within the refugee camps and this alters the socio-economic scene radically, softening the previous structures to complete dependence on external actors, the UN and humanitarian organisations.

5.2.2 The Elements of the Conflict

The composition of the conflict in eastern DRC holds on it different elements which include civil unrest, ethnic clashes, and regular warfare due to the dense participation of external actors, particularly the neighbouring countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia as they have actively meddled in the conflict as allies to the Kinshasa government among other deep rooted local factors. The lack of a strong government is a catalyst to the creation of the politically unstable environment as it allows for increased criminal activity by local players as well as external business partners and companies from neighbouring countries. Notably benefits in profit from the conflict by skipping tax paying by a significant number of companies establishes an image of a multi dynamic struggle which facilitates a “Cash-in Suitcase Economy”.(Hochschild Adam:2003)

Financing of the war has been made possible by the vast availability of riches in the Congo which motivates a self-sustained deadly war. Trade for military services with minerals such as coltan, diamonds, gold and timbre has been feeding the conflict endlessly and this can be evidenced by the commonly conflict ignited areas being the centres around the mineral rich areas and the it is usually by private militia, Rwanda and Uganda. Therefore the interference of these points to commercial activity rather than peace support.

³⁰Interview with Nancy Dent, International rescue Committee, Harare, (6 April, 2018)

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that the conflict in Eastern DRC is closely linked to the Rwandan Genocide of 1994, as similar sentiments to the Tutsi/Hutu scenario can be seen within the Hema/Lendu clashes. Similar to the Tutsi, a cultural gap was created as the Hema group received privileges and better treatment from the colonial power in terms of access to land, jobs, as well as education. The collapse of the colonial political structures has ushered in the domination of ethnic loyalty and affiliation which have become good enough an excuse for engaging in warfare as it fuels rage into violence. The current political environment in the eastern Congo, characterised by vague structures of admin and politics gives rise to participation by different ethnic affiliations in clashes and disputes, as driving forces are born locally. As a result, the scene turns out to be, in a manner of speaking, open for new power players with various intentions According to Vlassenroot (2003),

“At a time when the existing economic, administrative, and social patterns that have defined the local space become increasingly unstable, subject to external penetration, and unable to offer clear contexts within which people on the ground can make daily and life-choices, ethnicity indeed easily becomes an excuse for political action and violence”

5.3 Conclusion

In a nutshell, the chapter has highlighted some of the dynamics that underpin the challenges faced by ICGLR and SADC in synergies for peace support in the DRC conflict. These include the military factor, and the role of external actors which make the operating environment for the SADC and ICGLR difficult to navigate and make progress towards desired peace as they overlook the dynamics that surround the challenges which have made it difficult to draw progressive solutions and open strides towards lasting peace in the DRC. The following chapter will give a summary of the findings of this research on the challenges to synergies for sub regional peace support efforts in DRC by the ICGLR and SADC.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter gave an outline of some of the dynamics to the challenges to synchronised peace support faced by SADC and ICGLR in the Democratic Republic of Congo. These include the military threat as well as the role of external actors which make the operating environment for peace support activities difficult and in most cases when this persists without careful recognition of its impact on the approach design to peacekeeping efforts it necessitates continued challenges and affects progress towards sustainable peace building in the continent. This chapter will give a summary of the research findings and the analysis of the findings.

6.1 Summary of Findings

The key findings of the study were that, the challenges to sub regional peace support efforts of the SADC and ICGLR are many and they can be classified in different sectors particularly Social, Political and Economic. The dynamics of the challenges of conflict also pave way for constructive recommendations for the future peace support efforts in the context of the recurring conflict in the eastern region of the Congo. In general,

Political Challenges to synergies for peace support missions Eastern DRC which came up in this study include:

- The re-emergence of armed group in the Eastern Congo Region which has a vast number of rebel groups that are active and unpredictable, SADC and ICGLR peace settlements that overlook these have therefore have therefore failed to achieve the desired peace agenda results.
- The cyclic nature of the conflict is seen as there is continued escalation of violence even after the finalising of peace agreements. This is due to underlying factors beyond the main actors of the conflict which the regional blocs fail to identify and address and therefore pose a threat to progress of peace as they take the negotiations a step further from where they began.
- Multiple Actors to the Conflict and the poor coordination of these leave a lot to be desired in the progress towards peace by the regional blocs.
- Lack of consensus among member states of the regional blocs which could be alluded to the absence of trust among the member states especially in the ICGLR looking

Rwanda and Uganda as there is compelling evidence that points to their involvement in the funding of the conflict to gain from the unrest in the Eastern DRC conflict.

- National interests and nationalist rivalries.
- Lack of information dissemination mechanisms to ensure the PSC Framework is appreciated by all actors in the conflict including the civilian population which is most affected by the continued warfare and will reap the most benefits of successful sustainable peace agenda.
- General elections in the region and the DRC itself
- Lack of Action against member states like Rwanda and Uganda even though there is compelling evidence of their involvement in the conflict, no deliberate action has been made towards ensuring that they stop their operations and engagements with rebel groups that are causing unrest in the Congo.
- The challenge to the neutrality of the chairperson of the ICGLR.
- Lack of political will by state actors who deviating interests therefore this conflict of interest slows down productive negotiations and interventions for peace by the blocks.
- Neglect of peace processes after signing of peace agreements.
- Arrested development of sub-regional organisations, as well as,
- Limitations of the FIB Mandate.

Economic challenges and dynamics of these challenges to synergies for peace support missions include:

- Mismanagement of the natural resources that are abundant in the Eastern Congo provide an opportunity for funding of rebel groups and beneficial exploitation by external actors who are therefore not keen to achieve peace in DRC as they will lose their benefits from the unrest that has caused mismanagement and therefore i=easy access to the minerals of the region.
- Limited Institutional capacity of the ICGLR and SADC as they do not have funding for their operations which has seen failure to have a monitoring office within the country for coordination and quick reaction to challenges faced by the mission. Reliance on donor funding for their operations make the regional blocs lose ownership of the intervention as they are restricted towards the interest of the donor who in such a case has individual economic interests that are protected through escalation of the conflict.

Social Challenges and the dynamics to these challenges to synergies for peace support missions include:

- Cross border ethnic identities have internationalised the conflict thereby making it difficult to map out and engage all actors of the conflict and satisfy them through peace talks and signing of agreements.

The research also brought to light the following dynamics to the challenges to peace support missions in the Eastern DRC recurring conflict in order of popular reference by respondents

Political Dynamics to the challenges of the conflict include:

- Historical motivations to violence which are founded on military rule and cannot be easily forgotten as they have become a normal way of life for the Congolese population and therefore there is no motivation for new political dispensation apart from military type rule.
- The Military in the country has been politicised such that military personnel chase political and economic fulfilment as opposed to protecting the civilians.

Social Dynamics to the challenges of the conflict include:

- The role that young people play in the conflict has a bearing on the challenges to peace support in the Eastern region of the DRC. This is because as a majority demography born and raised in the conflict environment their aspirations have not been met and therefore they feel isolated and overlooked in development and decision making processes and are therefore motivated to intensify the conflict for recognition. It is therefore important to recognise the factors that lead young people to engage in violence in order for the design of holistic approaches to conflict resolution.
- Stateless social order of the Eastern Region which has a different agenda from the rest of the country and a large number of refugee camps makes it a unique case that should be put into consideration when designing and setting up intervention strategies for peace building and conflict prevention, as well as,
- The elements of the conflict which are many and therefore targeting of peace operations is difficult and fails to gain momentum to sustainable peace.

As a result of these identified challenges and dynamics, some key recommendations for strategies to promote sustainable peace in the region have also been identified through this study as follows:

- There is need for the SADC and ICGLR to address the bias of the regional blocs and put measures of expulsion to member states that have proven to have diverging interests to the mission of the bloc in a the Congo.
- The two regional blocs should provide support to government to strengthen legal and political institutions and enhance good governance, and finally, the blocs should raise the capacity of the government to focus on national healing and reconciliation and foster inter cultural competence development to uphold peaceful settlement of the intrastate disputes in the Eastern Congo region.
- There is need for the involvement of civil society and local groups in the conflict transformation processes, also, there should be targeted strategies to address the root cause of the conflict and not have reactive behavior as the root causes such as land distribution and resettlement of refugees will retrigger conflict.

6.2 Conclusion

In a capsule, the study confirms the theoretical provisions that for peace support operations to reap desired results, there is need to utilize the stages of the Conflict Transformation Theory and the New Institutionalism theory together and come up with a holistic framework that will be implemented and fully supported by the regional blocs to ensure the smooth transition and peace building in Eastern DRC. As such, this chapter summarizes the findings of the research and highlights the dominance of political factors that are hindering efforts towards peace in DRC. In the following chapter, the study is concluded with key recommendations arising from the identified challenges and bearing in mind the dynamics that surround these challenges to sustainable peace support operations by the ICGLR and SADC in Eastern DRC.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

The SADC and ICGLR being host institutions where the DRC holds membership are rightfully responsible to ensure that the conflicts in Eastern DRC come to a swift end and foster a peaceful reconstruction and development process not only for the country but for the Central and Southern African Region as a whole. In light of the dynamics of the challenges for peace support efforts by these two regional blocs in the previous chapter, this section will give recommendation for future policies and strategies to be implemented towards achieving lasting peace in the DRC by these two regional blocs as a contribution to the broader knowledge bank on the subject. At the moment, the international community is ever committed to create economic opportunity and advocate for peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Leaders from around the world are working in partnership with the people of the DRC, and people from around the world are learning about and advocating for a new future for this region. It is a unique and rare opportunity to achieve peace and development for the region. It is therefore the mandate of the two regional blocs to lead in these efforts towards peace as they not only benefit from peace prevailing in the region but also because they need to prove the capability and capacity of African nations solving challenges within their context.

This paper gives the following recommendations for creating an environment of long lasting peace in the Eastern DRC region. These are; the involvement of civil society and local groups in the transformation processes, also, there should be targeted strategies to address the root cause of the conflict and not have reactive behavior as the root caused such as land and resettlement of refugees will retrigger conflict. In addition, it is also recommended that the regional blocs aim to provide support to government to strengthen legal and political institutions and enhance good governance, and finally, the blocs should raise the capacity of the government to focus on national healing and reconciliation and foster inter cultural competence development to uphold peaceful settlement of intrastate disputes.

7.1 Recommendations for future synergies for peace support in DRC by ICGLR and SADC

As a contribution towards the synergies for peace support efforts by the SADC and the ICGLR in eastern Congo, the study brings forward the following recommendations on what could foster successful attainment of the desired sustainable peace in the war torn country;

Firstly, full operationalization of the SADC standby force should be a priority area as shortage of resources and capacity allows for dependency on Western support which affects the freedom of decision making by the regional group and donor terms and conditions apply in implementing interventions. Also, the SADC and ICGLR will have the liberty to attend to issues as a matter of urgency without seeking approval from the West or the UNSC and the P5 countries.

Secondly, a recommendation to the Regional blocs is that they need to design and effect innovative ideas that apply to the context of the conflict they are dealing. Bias of national interests as that of Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda member states of the ICGLR provide grounds for limitations in decision making and strategic planning and therefore in situations where many allegations as those that have been sighted towards Uganda and Rwanda should give grounds for expulsion of the specific member state from facilitating moderations as national and individual interests tend to hinder progress of the Region as a whole.³¹ This will address the challenge of bias due to national interests I identified as a hindrance to successful peace support in Eastern DRC.

Moreso, third issues that can be addressed by the two groupings is the issue of neutralizing active groups of the conflict. Although the M23 was defeated and the FDLR agreed to neutralize, the PSC framework overlooks a wide range of issues that if not addressed today, the eastern DRC conflict is barely over and it will erupt even stronger and more straining if careful consideration is not made. There is already speculation that the M23 rebels fled DRC to regroup in Uganda and Rwanda and if issues like the management of the natural resources of the Eastern region are not addressed with urgency, incorporating them in the sharing of control of these fields, the FDLR and the ADF also need to be neutralized and although the PSC framework highlights this, it will not be worth implementing of monitoring mechanisms are unable to require responsiveness and have complementary initiatives that ensure no group will revert to the old ways as their needs will be satisfied.

³¹ Commentary to author by Siboniso Dhlamini during a discussion, Harare, (26 March 2018)

Physical presence in the region where the operation is being implemented allows for effective monitoring of the process of ensuring smooth transition towards sustainable peace for such efforts by regional blocks. The office will also provide necessary technical support to stakeholders involved in the initiative and it will help for quicker identification of threats and challenges to progress as direct contact will allow for accurate analysis of the status quo. As such, the research identifies that a gap to effective monitoring and design of strategy is done from distant observation and relying on third party information and partners to deliver the responsibilities of the grouping itself.³² Therefore, a physical office of either of the two regional groups or both will go a long way in monitoring and ensuring responsiveness to the demands of the PSC framework as well as other agreements facilitated by these two blocs.³³

The approach of a UN Force Intervention Brigade came to stop human rights abuses that thronged the country because of the conflict. The resolution, which establishes the force, gives the brigade a mandate to carry out offensive operations alone or with Congolese army troops to neutralize and disarm armed groups. This brigade is unprecedented in U.N. peacekeeping because of its offensive mandate. For effective regional security cooperation to take place, Nathan (2009) argues that states must share an internal logic and normative consensus to cooperate freely with a set of shared and enforceable norms. Moreover, to resolve the conflict in the DRC and provide a strong peace enforcement presence, SADC would need to ensure a steady flow of finance and logistical equipment.

The DR Congo conflict has attracted many international and regional peace process efforts. The country hosts one of the largest UN peacekeeping forces in the world. The International Conference on Great Lakes has been at the forefront of facilitating peace negotiations and signing of agreements. This international undertaking has contributed to a certain level of political stability and ensured the functioning of several transitional institutions; it facilitated the preparation of the 2006 and 2011 national elections and aided, in part, the implementation of a comprehensive Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration and Security Sector Reform program. The Peace and Security Framework (PSF) of the great lakes region is the latest development where the International and Regional communities joined efforts to present a comprehensive approach to the solution of the conflict. It is an opportunity for all

³² Interview with Peter Shaw, Kinshasa, (10 April 2018)

³³ A liaison office for the SADC has since been opened in Goma, and this will go a long way in the monitoring and evaluation of the peace support initiatives and strengthen the grip of the regional groups in addressing the conflict situation in Eastern Congo in a sustainable manner.

the stakeholders, especially for the UN Force Intervention Brigade and MONUSCO to fulfill their mandates with a formal maximum of political support.³⁴ Therefore, it is recommended that the strategies of peace support give sufficient support to the government as the government is overtaken by the large population of rebel groups. In addition, SADC and ICGLR should exert pressure on the Kabila administration to work closely with opposition parties and resolve the impending electoral crisis and also have elections on the stipulated date. Rumors of possible postponement of elections to 2019 will trigger increase in hostilities in the war torn regions of the country.

According to John Paul Lederah (2003), all conflicts happen for a reason. As a result, peace building efforts by the regional groups should address the roots of the conflict so that they can achieve the desired sustainable peace. Since political exclusion and exclusion in the processes of conflict resolution has proved a catalyst of the recurrent conflict tied to resource access and political control, the SADC and ICGLR should ensure strategies of disarmament should provide for reform in policy and there should be targeted focus on repatriation for victims of the war and also resettlement of refugees adjusting and creating land policies that will serve as compensation for the population to avoid disgruntled civilians and rebels reemerging and perpetrating violence.³⁵ It should therefore be noted that the SADC and ICGLR should rather support the government to strengthen legal and political processes of the DRC in terms of how they can better address the issues and factors affecting refugees and addressing hindrances to democratic electoral participation for strengthened sustainable peace.

In addition peacebuilding negotiations could bear positive results if they are inclusive of all parties affected. Civil Society, young people and women have been excluded from the negotiation processes and as such they continue to fall victim to abuse and violence that erupts. Civil society on the other hand should be involved to provide a neutral perspective with regards to both political and humanitarian needs as it has the best interests of the civilians as well as the institutions at heart.³⁶ Kumungi, Oketch and Huggins (2004) complement this idea as they state the high likelihood of success and long term impact of peacekeeping initiatives which are inclusive of civil society in decision making.

³⁴ Observation from focus group discussion with scholars, Harare, (25 March 2018)

³⁵ Interview with Nancy Dent, Harare, (6 April 2018)

³⁶ Commentary from Morris Charumbira to author, Harare, (20 April, 2018)

Actions by the regional bodies require a high level of commitment to ensure member states adhere to the standards of upholding human rights, dignity and security of all citizens of the regions.

7.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, the ICGLR and SADC have been actively involved in peace support efforts to end the conflict in the DRC however their synchronized efforts have faced challenges in achieving the desired outcome which include the multiplicity of actors, institutional capacity, political will as well as mistrust among the member states of the two regional blocs. These challenges and the dynamics which surround them are key to coming up with sustainable solutions to solving the challenges faced in peace efforts in the DRC recurring conflict. In light of this, theoretical frameworks such as the Conflict transformation theory give a basis for the understanding of the stages of transformation in order the regional and international actors to address the challenges while ensuring an inclusive approach and deep rooted solving of underlying dynamics which fuel recurrence of conflict even after peace agreements have been signed or designed for ratification.

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APPENDICES

Letter of Informed Consent



Dear Sir/ Madam

My name is Valerie M F Chereni, Master of Science in International Affairs student at Midlands State University. I am currently undertaking a research study in partial fulfillment of degree. My research topic is: **An analysis on the challenges and dynamics to the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support missions: a case of the Southern African Development Cooperation (SADC) and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) in Eastern DRC.**

Sub regional synergies for peace support missions are no new phenomena in International relations. Although until the 1990s, most peace operations were usually conducted by only a single organization, the United Nations. In the aftermath of the Balkan wars, there has been an increase in multiple simultaneous peace operations (MSPOs) with several organizations having their own operations deployed in the same conflict at the same time. For example- UN's UNPROFOR¹ and UNMIBH²; NATO's SFOR³ and IFOR⁴, OSCE and EU's

1. United Nations Protection Force
2. United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
3. Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina
4. Implementation Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The presence of peacekeepers on the ground wearing different uniforms and hats, with different mandates, responsibilities, chains of command, logistics and directives from their headquarters, required some form of cooperation between the international organizations that deploy peace operations on the ground so that they do not, unintentionally, undermine each other's effort. Over the past few decades, collaborations and coordination of efforts for peace support has been a significant feature of UN missions. An example of these missions is the UN –NATO Mission in Afghanistan (ISAF) adopting resolution 1386 to train the Afghan National Security forces and assist in rebuilding key government institutions. However this mission like many other missions failed to reach achieved sustainable peace because of challenges to the synergies for peace support in the context of resource scarcity, lack of political will as well as the hegemonic tendencies of the P5 of the UNSC.

The international environment shows that the African continent has had a fair share of sub regional peace support operations as a result of the high prevalence of conflicts in the post-cold war period. The aims of these missions have largely been left unmet due to the striking challenges that characterize synchronized peace support missions therefore it has been difficult for sub regional organizations to successfully promote and maintain sustainable peace and security in the continent. Organizations like the African Union, ECOWAS, SADC, IGAD and ICGLR have engaged in peace support missions who have not achieved desired results in peace building and conflict resolution and significant challenges have been seen as the hindrance to progress in maintaining regional, continental and ultimately global peace and security.

An example can be cited of unsuccessful synchronized peace keeping operations in Somalia in the early 1990s, which was home to the UN- AU mission known as UNISOM1 and UNISOM 2. This mission saw the UN and AU engaging in synchronized efforts to provide, facilitate and secure humanitarian relief in Somalia and monitor the cease fire of the Somali Civil War. Adopted under UNSC Resolution 751 and 794 respectively, the mission was supported by rebel leaders, relief agencies and Non-Governmental organizations. However, this mission was ineffective as the cease fire was ignored and fighting continued and increasingly put the relief operations at risk. The challenges to successful synergies in peace support operation in this case have been cited to having been as a result of ,mainly the nature of intra state conflict whereby there were many actors in the conflict and these actors made it difficult for negotiating partners to reach preferred resolution to the conflict.

Furthermore, the AU- UN hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID), approved by UNSC Resolution 1769 on July 2007 to bring stability to the war torn Darfur region in Sudan while peace talks on a final settlement continued is another example of the existence of synchronized peace support operations in the continent. The UNAMID mission revolves around peace process, security, rule of law and humanitarian aid and support to recovery. The challenge to the success of this mission once again was centered on the nature of the conflict as it is characterized by clash between the Arabs and the non- Arabs. This saw the attacking of AU peace keepers and humanitarian workers who were trying to provide assistance to the Darfur civilians. General challenges to the success of the peace support efforts that have been executed in the continent include, resource struggles, dysfunctional state of participating actors in the conflict, imperialist and pan Africanist rivalries, corrupt nature of African regional organizations and individual member states, the interests of the Permanent Five as well as the pace setting nature of the P5 to peace support operations as they tend to dictate the trends and methods of engagement in peace support by virtue of hegemonic powers of the UNSC.

In light of such challenges, in the context of DRC the sub regional synergies for peace support by the SADC and the ICGLR have been sidelined and overshadowed by the activities of other actors engaging in peace support especially the MONUC mission by the United Nations which has dampened the spirit in the war torn state in terms of peace support. However, in light of this there is need for an in-depth investigation into the peace support efforts of the SADC and ICGLR in the DRC to find out what peculiar challenges these activities are facing and give contextual recommendation for sustainable strategies to attain peace in DRC utilizing sub regional capacity and support.

Statement of the Problem

Despite the proliferation of different mechanisms in their efforts for peace support in DRC, the SADC and ICGLR continue to confront several challenges which have not surfaced due to the overshadowing nature of the operations of other organizations and actors towards peace within the conflict. The MONUC mission by the UN sidelines the efforts of sub regional organizations in DRC and therefore the eastern DRC is characterized with a cyclic conflict which has been one of the longest internal conflicts in the African Continent. There is need to however to analyze synchronized efforts by sub regional organizations for peace

support in the DRC to be able to expose contextual challenges, highlighting the dynamics of these challenges to bring about recommendation for policy and strategy to achieve desired outcome to the distressed state.

The objectives of this research study are as follows:

1. Analyze the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support missions with reference to the SADC and ICGLR in the Eastern DRC recurring conflict.
2. Examine the dynamics surrounding the challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions using SADC and ICGLR efforts in the Eastern Congo.
3. Give scholarly and strategic policy recommendations to counter challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions so that a sustainable solution to the Eastern Congo recurring conflict is attained.

The research questions of this study are as follows:

1. What are the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support operations with reference to SADC and ICGLR in the Eastern DRC recurring conflict?
2. What are the dynamics surrounding the challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions using SADC and ICGLR efforts in the Eastern Congo recurring conflict?
3. What scholarly and strategic policy recommendation can be implemented to counter challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions so that a sustainable solution to the Eastern Congo conflict is attained?

I would like to conduct an interview with you on a date and time that is convenient with you during the period starting 20 March 2018 to 12 April 2018. The interview will take about 45 minutes to an hour.

The findings of this research will be strictly used for academic purposes.

If you have any questions regarding any aspect of this study, you may contact the researcher or research supervisor on the following details:

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Please find attached the questionnaire that I will administer during the interview as well as the consent form; clarity on the contents of the questionnaire will be provided upon request.

Kind Regards,

Valerie M F Chereni
Midlands State University
R111069P

Consent Form

I _____
(Full name of respondent)

Hereby confirm that I understand the contents and the nature of this study and I agree to participate. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced to do so. I also understand that I can withdraw from this interview at any point should I wish to discontinue.

I understand that my name will remain confidential.

Signature of Respondent Date

Signature of Researcher..... Date.....

Questionnaire

Questionnaire for Academics, Politicians, Political analysts, Security Practitioners and Analysts

Dear Sir/madam, please kindly provide analytical answers to the following questions.

Section One (1)

1.1 Kindly state your designation (circle appropriate)

- a) Professor
- b) Senior Lecturer/Researcher
- c) Politician/Political analyst
- d) Security practitioner/Analysts

Section two (2)

Objective One

To analyze the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support missions with reference to the SADC and ICGLR in the Eastern DRC recurring conflict.

2.1 In your view and experience, with reference to the SADC and ICGLR in eastern DRC, what would you say are the challenges to sub regional synergies in peace support operations? (Please give as much supporting evidence as possible.)

Political

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Economic

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Social

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Other

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Objective Two

To examine the dynamics surrounding the challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions using SADC and ICGLR efforts in the Eastern Congo.

2.2 In your view, what are the dynamics that surround challenges to sub regional peace support missions in light of the eastern DRC conflict and the efforts by the SADC and ICGLR?

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Objective Three

To give scholarly and strategic policy recommendations to counter challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions so that a sustainable solution to the Eastern Congo recurring conflict is attained.

2.3 In your view, what can be done to counter the challenges to sub regional synergies to peace support missions so that the sustainable solution to the eastern Congo conflict is attained?

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LIST OF RESPONDENTS

INTERVIEWS

CIVIL SOCIETY REPRESENTATIVES

Tearfund DRC

- Morris Charumbira

Mercy Corps DRC

- Peter Shaw

Concern Worldwide

- Kirk Prichard- Humanitarian Program Coordinator

Catholic Relief

- Michee Kashoshi RRMP Program Manager- Africa

Inspire group Africa

- Abdirashid Ibrahim

International Rescue Committee

- Nancy Dent Communications Officer

AYC PERSONNEL

Bubacan Yallow Tanzania

Anita Nkirote Kenya

Natalia Sonia Mukundane Uganda

Yahyah Kandeh Zambia

South Africa Robert Ndela

South Africa Siboniso Dhlamini

YOUTH ADVOCATES

DRC Prince Wilondja

DRC Remy de Frank Kasindi

MILITARY PERSONNEL

Anonymous Military Officer Angola

CONGOLESE POLITICAL PARTY

Anonymous opposition political party official

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Uganda Kawsu Sillah