

The Effectiveness of Conflict Resolution Methods by the Africa Union:  
*A case study of Burundi's conflict resolution process*

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## **Dedication**

I firstly dedicate this thesis to the Almighty God, for giving me the tenacity, life, energy and time to be able to aptly and ably finish my thesis.

I equally dedicate this thesis to my father and my mother Dr. John Ouma Odondi and Mrs. Esther Achieng' Odondi, for their unfound encouragement and devotion to ensure that I complete my thesis. To my siblings, Kevin Odondi, Mavis Akinyi, Vera Atieno and Sharon Adhiambo, for their prayers and everyday dedication in ensuring I had a profound serene environment to concentrate and finish my thesis.

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## **Acronyms and Abbreviations**

AMIB	African Union Mission in Burundi
AMISOM	Africa Union Mission in Somalia
APSA	Africa Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AU	Africa Union
CBOs	Community Based organizations
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CNDD	Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
DDR	Demobilization, disarmament and reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East Africa Community
EU	European Union
FDD	Forces for the Defense of Democracy
FDD	Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie
FIS	Islamic Salvation Front
FLN	National Liberation Front

FNL	Forces nationales de liberation
FRODEBU	Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development

IGOs	Inter-governmental organizations
INGOs	International non-governmental organizations
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NDA	Nigeria Delta Avengers
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PSC	Peace and Security Council
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SANDEF	South African National Defence Forces
SLM	Sudan Liberation Movement
UN	United Nations
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UPRONA	Union pour le Progrès national
US	United States

## Table of Contents

<b>Dedication .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acronyms and Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Table of Contents .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.2 Problem Statement .....	5
1.3 Objectives of the Study .....	7
1.4 Literature Review .....	7
1.4.1 Understanding AU’s role Conflict Resolution .....	7
1.4.2 Conflict Recurrence in Africa.....	9
1.4.3 Conflict Resolution Methods.....	9
1.4.4 Summary of Literature Review .....	11
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	11
1.7 Theoretical/conceptual Framework.....	12
1.8 Methodology .....	14
1.8.2 Research Instruments.....	14
1.8.3 Methods of Data Analysis .....	14
1.9 Chapter Outline .....	15
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION/MANAGEMENT METHODS.....</b>	<b>16</b>
2.0 Introduction .....	16
2.1 Understanding Conflict .....	17
2.2. Conflict resolution/ management methods.....	21

2.2.1 Principles of Conflict resolution/ management .....	21
2.2.1.1 Peacemaking.....	22
2.2.2.2 Peacekeeping .....	26
2.2.2.3 Peace fostering.....	28
2.2.2 Techniques of Conflict Resolution/ Management .....	29
2.2.2.1 Civil Techniques.....	30
2.2.2.2 Legal Techniques.....	32
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT RECURRENCE IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF</b>	
<b>BURUNDI.....</b>	<b>35</b>
3.0 Introduction .....	35
3.1 An Evaluation of the Burundi Peace Process (1965-2006).....	36
3.1.1 Understanding Burundi.....	36
Figure 1: Differing interpretations and perceptions of events .....	38
Figure 2: Perception of the attempted coup .....	39
Figure 3: Perception influencing 1969 Hutu Unrest.....	40
Figure 4: Interpretation of the Hutu Insurgency .....	41
Figure 5: Hutu and Tutsi interpretation on events of 1988.....	43
Figure 6: FRODEBU’s Victory .....	44
Table 1: Reactions based on Tutsi Uprising .....	46
Table 2: Understanding the government of national unity.....	47
Table 3: underlying issues on state institutional formations .....	48
3.1.2 Peace Process .....	49

3.1.3 Arusha Peace Accord .....	51
3.1.4 Peacekeeping Mission .....	52
3.1.5 Burundi’s conflict recurrence.....	52
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>AFRICA UNION’S MANDATE: AN ASSESSMENT OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN</b>	
<b>AFRICA ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION/MANAGEMENT.....</b>	<b>56</b>
4.0 Introduction .....	56
4.1 The Peace and Security Council.....	57
4.2 Mapping Conflicts in Africa .....	59
4.2.1. Inter-State Conflicts.....	59
4.2.2 Intra-State Conflicts.....	64
4.2.3 Ongoing Conflicts.....	68
4.3 Understanding Conflicts trends in Africa.....	71
4.3.1 Unsteady development .....	72
4.3.2 Weak States and Institutions.....	72
4.3.3 Governance, Democracy and electoral violence .....	73
4.3.4 Regional spillovers .....	74
4.3.6 Poverty and Inequality.....	75
4.3.7 Coordination and Peacemaking efforts.....	75
4.3.8 Emerging, Recurring and Ongoing conflicts .....	76
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>77</b>
5.0 Introduction .....	77



5.1 Summary .....	78
5.2 Conclusion.....	78
5.3 Recommendations .....	79
5.3.1 Africa Union needs to initiate and champion proper diagnosis of conflict situations..	79
5.3.2 Africa Union needs to ensure effectiveness and quality of peace Agreements .....	80
5.3.3 The Africa Union should create synergy among various peace and conflict actors.....	80
5.3.4 African Union should encourage innovate peace making processes.....	81
5.3.5 African Union should enhance post-conflict reconstruction .....	82
5.3.4 Further Research.....	82
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>xii</b>

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

FIGURE 1: DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF EVENTS .....	38
FIGURE 2: PERCEPTION OF THE ATTEMPTED COUP.....	39
FIGURE 3: PERCEPTION INFLUENCING 1969 HUTU UNREST.....	40
FIGURE 4: INTERPRETATION OF THE HUTU INSURGENCY .....	41
FIGURE 5: HUTU AND TUTSI INTERPRETATION ON EVENTS OF 1988.....	43
FIGURE 6: FRODEBU'S VICTORY.....	44

## **LIST OF TABLES**

TABLE 1: REACTIONS BASED ON TUTSI UPRISING .....	46
TABLE 2: UNDERSTANDING THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY .....	47
TABLE 3: UNDERLYING ISSUES ON STATE INSTITUTIONAL FORMATIONS.....	48

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Conflict is defined as disagreement between two or more parties. It manifests itself as either structural or violent. According to Johan Galtung, he clearly states that structural conflict emanates from conditions in which structures of society deny people the full realization of their potential. Further highlighting, if structural conflict is not controlled it leads to overt violence, in which the highest apex of violence is war.

The transition of violence into war habitually results into an intervention. The intervention can either patent itself as peacekeeping missions, peacemaking mission, peace building, or peace enforcement missions. These interventions in peace studies are also known as conflict resolution.

Conflict resolution also referred to as reconciliation is theorized as means and practices involved in enabling the peaceful ending of conflict and reprisal. This process is actualized by group members involved in the conflict and are committed to resolve the conflict. It encourages group members to openly and clearly communicate their motives and ideologies in regards to the ensuing conflict including engaging in collective negotiations.

The Burundian civil war started in 1993 after the assassination of the then President Melchior Ndadaye, which led to an estimate of 50,000-100,000 mass death within a year. The assassination of President Melchior Ndadaye was succeeded by several others, which further propelled the civil war. The Burundi civil war lasted for 12 years with an estimated death of 300,000 amidst various peace processes.

Peace processes in Burundi involved ceasefire and peace agreements. In 2006, President Pierre Nkurunziza was elected by the Forces for the Defense of Democracy (FDD) as the incoming

President. This was the beginning of Burundi's peaceful co-existence until 2015 when the bid by the incumbent President Pierre Nkurunziza for a third term as President caused an unrest in Burundi.

Thus, the study shall seek to answer the question, how effective are the conflict resolution methods by Africa Union in preventing a recurrence of conflict? It shall examine the Burundi conflict and its journey towards reconciliation with specific interest in the Africa Union and its role in Burundi's conflict resolution process. The Peace and Security Council's mandate and the implementation of the Africa Peace and Security Architecture in conflict resolution. Africa Union's conflict resolution strategy for Burundi's reconciliation, and understanding the possible relapse of Burundi into conflict, of interest, analyzing the loophole in the peace process initiating a possible relapse of Burundi into conflict.

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Africa Union as an African regional organization has a mandate to promote peace, security, stability and cohesion in the African continent. A mandate drawn from its founding time and founding fathers of the African continent during the Pan-African movement. Pan-Africanism is an ideological thinking that conforms to unity, solidarity and belief in common heritage for the African race. Its spur originates from the Atlantic Slave trade period, in which case, it extends beyond the African Continent.

Pan-Africanism encompasses thoughts in relation to; politics, economy and social change. This is due to the reason that, this are the main thoughts shaping African Unity, with an intention of nationalism, independence, political and economic cooperation and historical and cultural awareness.

The ideology of Pan-Africanism has been attributed to various scholars, but the most influential on the subject matter have been; Marcus Garvey; Malcom X; George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois. This were thinkers from various fields but with an inclination towards Pan-Africanism. Their thoughts in the thinking of Pan-Africanism is known to have impacted on; Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Emperor Haile Selassie, Kwame Nkrumah, and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

Hence, George Padmore, Malcom X, W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey are the early pan-Africanist who all advocated for the African Union. They all inspired the 21<sup>st</sup> century pan-Africanist and leaders of the African nations towards believing ‘ Africans are a union, who know no clime, boundary or nationality, as they are all dedicated to African Union and liberty.

The Initiation and founding of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Modibo Keita, Gamal Abdul Nasser, Sekou Touré, Julius Nyerere, Ben Bella, William Tubman, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, was inspired by the rise of pan-Africanism in the African continent, the fight for independence and African Unity.

The Organization of African Unity’s (OAU) mandate was to promote the unity and solidarity of African states; coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States; rid the continent of colonization and apartheid; promote international cooperation within the United Nations framework; and harmonize members’ political, diplomatic, economic, educational, cultural, health, welfare, scientific, technical and defense policies.

The mandate by the OAU was to be achieved through various organs, which were; the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Council of Ministers and the General Secretariat, the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration; Economic and Social Commission;

Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Commission; and Defense Commission, and the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.

This has since promoted the ideology of pan-Africanism and African Unity. However, amidst the surfeit successes the OAU experienced it equally faced a number of challenges; the after effects of colonization led several African states into economic crisis influenced by both internal and external factors, political instability, rampant underdevelopment, poor policies, and lack of institutional and physical infrastructure, hampered efforts of socio-economic stability.

The non-interference policy in the OAU charter affected its responsibility to prevent and stem conflict in its member states. It led the OAU to witness emerging dictatorships, coups and counter coups which exacerbated political instability. Thus, in light of the continent collapsing into a plethora of insurgencies, civil war, and intrastate conflicts, the OAU became largely redundant.

Amidst this realization of failure by the OAU, majorly inclined on its charter, the OAU was dissolved in 2002 and transitioned into the African Union (AU), taking cognizance of lessons learnt.

The Africa Union being a regional organization, has a regional and international responsibility to promote and protect Peace, Security and Stability within its member states. This then requires Africa Union (AU) to intervene in times of conflict, respecting the country's sovereignty. In Burundi, the Africa Union intervened in 2003, through a peacekeeping mission and in 2015 through a peacemaking mission.

The African Union's (AU) mantra advocates towards a peaceful, prosperous and integrated Africa. Peaceful co-existence as a major mission towards Africa Union's mandate. The African Union's objectives are; to achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the

peoples of Africa; to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States; to accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent; to promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples; and to promote peace, security, and stability on the continent among others.

However, this has not been ultimately successful for the Africa Union. Despite constituting the Peace and Security Council as one of its organs, with the sole mandate of conflict resolution and prevention. Africa Union's organs comprise of the Assembly, the Executive Council, the Commission, the Permanent Representatives' Committee, Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Pan- African Parliament, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council and the Court of Justice.

Under the Peace and Security Council, the AU has had various success stories of conflict resolution with an equal share of failures, with the biggest threat being recurrence of conflict in its said successful countries. Case in point, of interest for this study is Burundi. Burundi has been a success for the AU, on the onset of its civil war, but it threatens a possible recurrence of conflict, since the incumbent President Pierre Nkurunziza's bid to run for a third term.

Nevertheless, in understanding the origination of the OAU and its transformation to the AU, it aids in understanding the origination of AU's mandate in the continent. Specifically in relation to this study is its role in conflict prevention and resolution. Thus an in depth analysis of the PSC, its successes and failure especially in regards to Burundi, given the looming possibility of a conflict recurrence in Burundi.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

The Organization of African Unity (OAU), consequently transitioned into African Union because of its inability to aptly deal with a continent collapsing into conflict. Thus, the commissioning of

the African Union to implement its mandate and taking cognizance of the OAU's challenges especially in conflict prevention and resolution.

The Charter of the AU, was revised due to the previous limitation it presented to the OAU in regards to dealing with conflict. Currently the AU Constitutive Act under its preamble on 'Conscious' acknowledges that conflict is an impediment to socio-economic development in Africa hence the need to promote Peace, Security and Stability.

Further, in article (4) under principle (I), (j) and (g) it encourages its members to promote peace, security and stability as well as co-exist in harmony and gives them the right to request for an intervention in order for the AU to restore peace and security. Nonetheless, article 9 section (g) articulates that the assembly has the mandate to give directive to the executive council on managing conflicts, war and other emerging situation in order to restore peace.

This clearly demonstrates the mandate under which the AU operates in regards to promoting peace, security and stability. Since its commissioning in 2002, the Africa Union has been involved in various peace missions. It has been successful in Comoros, Mauritania, Eritrea, Guinea, Libya, Niger, Ivory Coast, and Burundi and still is in Burundi, Central Africa Republic, Mali, Darfur, Somalia and South Sudan. This events have taken place since 2005, and indicates the level at which conflict has affected Africa.

The contentious issue with the African Union has been on its ability to promote peace, security and stability as well as resolve conflict issues. This is because, in the interest of this study, Burundi as a subject matter, has been an African Union success in regards to restoring peace, security and stability to the country, but, it falls in the danger of a possible relapse.



This brings into question, the effectiveness of Africa Union's conflict management and resolution methods as well as its ability to conduct a peace mission and actually resolve the underlying issue of conflict. As the current unrest in Burundi, not long after a peace mission raises the concern.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The overall objective of the study is to interrogate the effectiveness of conflict resolution methods by the African Union in Burundi with its specific objectives being:

1. To examine African Union's Peace and Security council's mandate in conflict resolution
2. To understand Burundi's conflict in relation to the current Burundi unrest
3. To analyze the effectiveness of Burundi's conflict resolution methods as employed by the African Union

### **1.4 Literature Review**

This literature review will discuss the effectiveness of Africa Union in conflict resolution, and explores possible reasons for conflict recurrence each of which represents a massive area of research. Consequently, each is coupled by a vast amount of literature; both academic and non-academic.

The literature review adopted in this research therefore, limited to some texts and articles which discuss the African Union and its effectiveness in conflict resolution in turn, exploring aspects of conflict recurrence with specific scope on Burundi.

#### **1.4.1 Understanding AU's role Conflict Resolution**

An understanding of the African Union conflict resolution methods is important for this study, as it will aid in appreciating AU's efforts in conflict resolution as well as explore reasons for conflict

recurrence in lieu of a peace mission. This implies the possibility of establishing a relationship between AU's conflict resolution methods and Burundi's possible conflict recurrence.

The commissioning of the Africa Union and its mandate of promoting Peace, Security and Stability is influenced by Africa's need to realize African Solution to African problems. However, certain scholars do not ascribe to this school of thought, as they argue that most of African issues have been fronted by Africans but controlled by non-Africans, hence the mantra is not sufficient, especially with recurrent conflicts, and thus, they posit it should be African problems to efficient solutions.

In contrast though, other scholars contend that the AU has been under quick scrutiny, without acknowledging the work it has accomplished in regards to conflict resolution amidst various challenges. They contend that the AU is recent in the works of conflict resolution and faces different structural obstacles, through its transition from the OAU to AU. Hence, the AU has enormous potential to exercises its mandate and record its successes.

They further debated that the AU does not have a good playing field as it is an organization controlled through sovereign states with a responsibility of protecting and respecting sovereignty of states. It is also donor funded, hence controlled and hugely influenced by external forces, disparity of member states and sparing in depth understanding of African conflicts.

Consequently, the AU experiences political, bureaucratic, civilian, military and infrastructural deficits which considerably restricts its efficiency, in turn creating a gap between AU's security mandate and its achievements in conflict resolutions. Nonetheless, AU's member states are engendered by dearth technical capacity, with some internally disenfranchised with their conflicts to afford participation in resolving other conflicts.

Conversely, amidst AU's challenges to effectively realize its mandate, it does not out rightly explain the recurrence of conflict or thereof in countries it has had peace missions' in. Thus, certain scholars would maintain that war begets war. This is emphasized by Paul Collier's theory of conflict recurrence, in which he clearly stated that a country or state that has once gone to war is likely to go to war again, giving examples of Burundi, Nigeria, Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia, and DR. Congo.

#### **1.4.2 Conflict Recurrence in Africa**

Research conducted has provided the following statistics in regards to conflict recurrence, 60 percent of all conflicts recur and on average, post conflict peace lasts only seven years, this statics coupled up since the mid-1990s, stipulates that of 259 conflicts, 159 recurred and 100 were new of which, 135 experienced conflict recurrence with 68 being minor conflicts and 24 full blown wars.

The research defined conflict recurrence as conflict which starts after two- ten year period since the last conflict ended. This study shall employ this rule and definition when it discusses conflict recurrence. It also emphasized a key commonality of a recurrent conflict is, the parties that have been involved in the first war are the same parties that fight in the second, third or even fourth war.

Debates regarding recurrence of conflicts posit that conflict is never solved, it is only the incidences that change. Thus scholars who ascribe to this school of thought have argued that there can never be conflict resolution but conflict management. This can be an argument which the AU can choose to ascribe to, but then, it justifies Paul Collier's theory of conflict recurrence.

#### **1.4.3 Conflict Resolution Methods**

The AU's peace missions, functions and mandate however ascribe to Johan Galtung's theory of peace entailing more than absence of conflict. Thus, its achievements are measured within the ability of monitoring, preventing and promoting sustainable peace, which is simply conflict resolution. Hence, the study will strive to understand if this is the notion to which the AU operates within, why do their peace initiatives result in recurrence of conflict with the interest of study being Burundi. Taking into cognizance that, recurrence of conflict indicates a sign that latent conflict has not been properly resolved.

Latent conflict has been reasoned to be resolved through dialogue. In conflict management mediation and negotiations as forms of dialogue promote peace, and accelerate the peace process. During this period, parties in conflict open up in regards to their grievances, and their expectations, to which a ceasefire is implemented. During this period, peace agreements are drawn up, and parties to the conflict are expected to ascend to it, if they agree with terms in the agreement, this aids in restoring the country back to normalcy.

Peace Agreements have been claimed to be among the most effective conflict resolution methods. The Africa Union has conformed to this method in most of its peace missions. However, one would question why it has not been very effective in AU's peace mission given the threat and recurrence of conflict.

As one scholar aptly expressed that based on research findings and conclusions as carried out by various studies Africa has never experienced lasting peace. As since the pre-colonial period, scourges of slave trade, inter-tribal warfare, and imposition of colonialism wrecked peace. Thus, as Kamrava reiterates states that the nature of African conflicts expels discontinuities and lack of coherence in the political culture of most Third World countries. Hence, given that Africa accounts

for about 70 percent of the United Nations peace missions, it is prudent that a solutions is sought and it has to be fast.

#### **1.4.4 Summary of Literature Review**

Consequently, various limitations presented itself in my literature review, as most literature examined AU's challenges as an organization but did not in depth examine its peace initiatives in order to understand or possibly generate a weakness in its peace missions, given many conflict recurrences in countries it has conducted peace initiatives in. In regards to conflict recurrence, it equally did not address a gap or weakness in peace missions, instead looked at the nature of the conflict in turn predicting a recurrence.

In spite of this, the literature review generated various different notions and ideas in regards to the effectiveness of the African Union in its ability to resolve conflict in light of recurrence of conflict. This study shall explore this thoughts in order to understand how effective AU is in its peace initiatives and to explore the reasons for conflict recurrence with specificity on Burundi.

#### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

This study will aid the AU's peace and Security Council (PSC) and African governments in re-examining their peace initiatives and the Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) in order to understand the gap in regards to promoting lasting peace, in which, conflict recurrence is reduced to a minimal if not stopped. This study will also assist the Conflict and Early Warning System re-look at its strategy in regards to predicting a possible recurrence of conflict and aptly equipping the PSC with required information in order to prevent a conflict.

The results of this study will fasten the restructuring of AU's peace initiatives and the APSA. Through convincing the African governments that the AU is well equipped in promoting Peace,

Security and Stability in Africa. It is hoped it will encourage African governments to equip the AU with adequate support for its missions and limit external influence, in order to fulfill the mantra, African Solutions to African problems.

The findings of this research will demonstrate the Burundi government t falls in danger of re-entering a possible civil war as it ones was. In turn, the government starts initiating peace initiatives in Burundi, in order to enter into a ceasefire, and compel the rebel groups to stop the violence.

This study will enrich literature on Conflict resolution and the effectiveness of the AU in conflict resolution in future researches being conducted in this area of study. It is also hoped that inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Community Based organizations (CBOs), cohesion commissions, will re-structure their peace initiatives for effective conflict resolution based on the results of this study.

## **1.6 Hypotheses**

1. Effective peace initiatives leads to sustainable peace in a country and limits the eventuality of recurrence
2. The African Union's successes in peace initiatives will limit the level of external influence in Africa's peace missions
3. Burundi government and citizens will prevent future conflicts if they understand what leads to eruption of conflicts in the country

## **1.7 Theoretical/conceptual Framework**

A theory is a body of internally consistent empirical generalization with descriptive, predictive and explanatory power. A theory provides a coherent framework for the investigation of the

phenomena. This study will adopt the model of a conceptual framework as it will use three theories to explain this phenomena under study.

Thus, based on various works published in regards to AU's effectiveness in conflict resolution and on Burundi's threat and or recurrence of conflict, amongst many other countries, this study will examine various theories, which are; theory of organizational effectiveness, Conflict recurrence, Structural conflict theory, Psycho-cultural theory, new war theory, human needs theory, realism and socio-cultural theory.

The theory of conflict recurrence reiterates that war begets war, structural conflict posits that conflict can erupt or be contained by either overthrowing an exploitation system through violence or instituting structural defects with policy reforms. Psycho-cultural conflict contends that ethnic conflict is the most viable in regards to explaining violent conflict, as identity is seen to be the reason of social conflicts.

Realism is an international relations theory which originates from classical political theories and states that imperfection (conflict) in the world has its roots in traits that are inherent in human nature. Mentioning that states will only pursue their national interests defined by power, this will eventually lead to conflict. While socio-cultural theory combines both aspects of structural and realist theorist.

New war theory encourages an analysis in the different methods of resolving conflicts given the dynamic nature of current conflicts. It mentions that wars are fought by state and non-state networks, identity politics are fought in the name of a label instead of ideology, they are an attempt to achieve political terror, and are not financed through state but other predatory means that seek continuation of violence.

Nonetheless, grounded on the background of this study and theories, informed by the literature review, the study will be adapt the Structural Conflict theory and Psycho-cultural Conflict theory to aptly explain the phenomena under study.

## **1.8 Methodology**

Data used for this study was drawn from secondary data. This is due to the nature of the security situation in Burundi thus the option of conducting secondary research. The African Unions peace initiatives are also only privy to certain level of security intelligence clearance, thus, the option of secondary data collection in order to understand the peace mission conducted by the African Union. The Secondary data collected was through journals, books, newspapers, magazines, and organizations reports discussing the effectiveness of the African Union in conflict resolutions, the reasons for conflict recurrence and the conflict in Burundi.

### **1.8.2 Research Instruments**

To realize the objectives of this study, the research involved gathering secondary sources of data in respect to the plans, policies, journals, books, newspapers, magazines, and organizations reports discussing the effectiveness of the African Union in conflict resolutions, the reasons for conflict recurrence and the conflict in Burundi.

### **1.8.3 Methods of Data Analysis**

Thematic or, content analysis was applied to analyze qualitative data. Data contents were summarized and that information used as a starting point in analysis. Similarities and differences in secondary data was examined in order to draw conclusions.



## **1.9 Chapter Outline**

Chapter one shall contain; the introduction, background of the study, problem statement, objectives, literature review, justification of the study, Hypothesis, theoretical/ conceptual framework. Methodology of the study and finally chapter outlines.

Chapter two shall examine the Peace and Security Council (PSC), its mandate, works, successes and failures. The PSC shall be of interest in this study as it is the organ under the AU that has been mandated in Promoting Peace, Security, and Stability in the continent. The PSC has various functionalities and examining its functionalities will aid this study in understanding the AU's peace initiatives and processes, in interest of the study is Burundi.

Chapter three shall study the Burundi Crisis and conflict resolution as it happened before and the looming crisis as it is to happen currently. This will aid the study in understanding the Burundi conflict and the underlying factors in the conflict. As a recurrence in conflict indicates unresolved latent conflict. This will aid the study in understanding the loopholes in AU's peace initiatives and aiding in highlighting the need for better conflict resolution methods by the AU.

Chapter Four shall analyze information in Chapter two and three and elaborate on loopholes and effectively compare and contrast the data in order to give and generate adequate information for recommendations as guided by the research findings.

Chapter Five shall give recommendations based on the study carried out for more effective peace initiatives in the future, not only by the AU but by all peace initiatives conducted at various capacities.

## CHAPTER TWO

### INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION/MANAGEMENT METHODS

#### 2.0 Introduction

States were accustomed to wars which were characterized by heads of states and foreign ministers exercising their mandates as powerful states and forming alliances. However, this has evolved, as in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> conflict or war has become more of an organized endeavor with an intention of causing mass atrocities, destruction and deaths, as it threatens country, regional and global stability.

The evolution of characteristics of conflict or war triggered a need for more understanding of the phenomenon, hence the quest for knowledge on this, in order to better deal with the dynamic nature of conflict. This has led to a more elaborate and diversified approach to peacemaking.

Conflict resolution/ management has often been handled from the perspective of reaction, more than understanding root causes and explorative aspects of ensuring that it actualizes resolution rather than management. Scholars have often argued that conflict resolution cannot be practically achieved, as conflict is a natural phenomenon in society, arguing, the best which can be achieved is management. Thus, studies have perfected the art of conflict management rather than resolution.

Conflict management is the ability to restore the society back to normalcy from long-term or deep rooted conflict. While conflict resolution is the ability to absolutely resolve conflict, it goes beyond simply satisfying interests of parties' in conflict. This is because conflict resolution endeavors to adequately respond and understand underlying causes of conflict, while conflict management simply ensures a dispute has been settled amicably.

As conflict resolution is an arguable perspective on whether it can be achieved or not, peacemaking efforts on promoting conflict management have been studied, tried and perfected. Various methods have been outlined as effective conflict management methods such as; negotiation, bargaining, mediation, problem-solving workshops, economic incentives among many others. Different scholars use different terms for similar tactics, but all of them are conflict management methods.

Organizations or missions responding to conflict or crises situations, always respond with an intention of rapid restoration of society back to normalcy. This has been effective, but studying global conflict trends, they have also been short term. In which case the post-conflict reconstruction phase, should be apt in trying to understand and resolve the underlying issue of conflict in the society, in order to achieve lasting peace.

Taking into cognizance the debate of conflict resolution and conflict management, it has however been a common ground on periods of intervention. This is because, despite the various methods of peacemaking, various stages of conflict require various methods of intervention. Thus this chapter shall expound on universally accepted and implemented conflict resolution/ management methods, through a scope of understanding conflict and its dynamics.

This will aid this study in analyzing various conflicts and their resolution methods, against their being effective and efficient keeping in mind conflict recurrence, especially in Africa.

## **2.1 Understanding Conflict**

Conflict is inevitable in society, it manifests through social change, psychological development, economic differentiation, cultural formation and political organization. It is usually escalated or de-escalated by parties to a conflict which are or perceived to be incompatible.

The dynamism of conflict constitutes an intricate interplay of characteristics which likely require a third party as the conflict develops. This characteristic of conflict, led to studies in understanding of the importance of conflict resolution. This is because, according to the theorists, that conflict can be categorized into two classes, which are; destructive or constructive.

Constructive conflict has been argued to be an important necessity to the society, as it remains key in understanding the normative orientation of conflict resolution as well as a valuable aspect in human creativity.

Johan Galtung as among initial scholars of peace and conflict studies, theorized conflict in successive subdivisions, which are; Symmetric and asymmetric this symptomatically can either be classified as structural, cultural or direct violence, in which case, if not adequately responded to, structures into Negative or positive peace.

Symmetric conflict could be viewed with contradiction. In which case, contradiction signifies an underlying conflict situation that can either be actual or perceived, based on the parties in conflict. This is because, contradiction in a symmetric conflict is defined by the parties. It can be influenced by the parties' interest and the clash of interest between them. Asymmetric conflict which is also viewed through a contradiction lens, expounds its contradiction to parties' relationships and their conflict of interests integral in the relationship.

The contradiction characteristic of both the symmetric and asymmetric conflict couples up two aspects to explain the phenomenon, this are; attitudes and behaviors. Attitudes encompasses perceptions and misperceptions of amongst parties, which can either be of a positive or negative end result, in which case attitudes are influenced by emotions of hatred, fear and bitterness. It has three elements which are either of feelings (emotive), beliefs (cognitive), and desire or will

(conative). Behavior is characterized by coercion or cooperation. Signs in this particular phenomenon are either of conciliation or hostility. Hostility on behavior is coupled by threats, coercion and damaging attacks.

Galtung argued that conflict without attitudes or behavior is latent in which case is known as structural conflict. This is because, structural conflict can only be successfully avoided through elimination of structural contradictions and injustices. Cultural violence in retrospect can only be eliminated through changing attitudes while direct violence through changing conflict behavior. This is because, direct violence is characterized by the immediate cause of action by conflict, and structural violence, and indirect cause of action by conflict, while cultural violence, seeks to justify why direct and structural violence occurred in the first place. Understanding of this stages of conflict, have a massive impact on peacekeeping, peace building and peacemaking missions.

In which case, in order to critically analyze direct, structural and cultural violence, it requires the understanding of the concepts of positive and negative peace. This is because, conceptually, in order for one to eliminate direct violence, negative peace has to be in existence, and in order for one to eliminate structural and cultural violence, positive peace has to be in existence.

Negative peace has been argued to ensure absence of direct violence, in which case, presence of structural and cultural violence still exist in this type of society. Negative peace has been implored in cases of discrimination, persecution, 'ethnic cleansing', genocide, the terrible destruction of war and the threat of nuclear holocaust. Negative peace is coupled by repression, deprivation, exploitation, injustice. The term 'negative' is used in this sense in relation to peace because, it offers a society a sense of peace which exists theoretically but not in actualization, as it offers a sense of perceptive peace. This is because, a sense of people killing each other in the society is not evident, but grievances are still being experienced in the society. Hence the concept of 'happy

slaves’; this is characteristic of many societies currently, e.g. Kenya, Burundi, Uganda, among many others. A buildup of negative peace leads to an eventual possibility of conflict recurrence, as it has been manifested in Burundi.

In contrast, positive peace is theorized by an eventual elimination of cultural and structural violence, in which case, direct violence cannot exist. This is a concept of an ‘ideal’ society, one which only experiences total peace, not in perception or theory, but in actual existence and practice. It illuminates a society which is legitimate and just in all aspects. It addresses issues of unjust economic relations, differences of race gender, class, and unjust political relations between majority and minority groups within a country, to unjust personal relations between individuals.

However, in understanding all this, Galtung further conceptualizes that contradictions, attitudes and behavior have to be present in a society in order to realize a full blown conflict. This is because, the dynamism of conflict illustrates that attitudes, structure and behavior are constantly changing and influencing one another. This influence eventually leads to an oppressive relationship between parties or their interests changing. This then leads to parties utilizing this atmosphere to develop hostile attitudes and conflictual behavior. This eventually manifests into a full blown conflict with other parties being drawn in, hostility deepening and spreading ultimately generating secondary conflicts. This usually leads to a complicated situation in an attempt to address original core conflict.

In which case, resolving conflict has to be dynamic and creative as conflict also is. It has to encompass a set of creative techniques which will promote de- escalation of conflict behavior, a change in attitudes, and a transformation of the relationships or clashing interests that are at the core of the conflict structure.

## **2.2 Conflict escalation**

The dynamic nature of conflict often determines and dictates the speed at which conflict escalates into overt violence. The process of conflict escalation is unpredictable and complicated, as new issues and different parties in conflict can emerge, internal power struggles can alter tactics with secondary conflicts spiraling to further complicate the situation.

Conflict escalation can manifest in this stages; difference, contradiction, polarization, violence and eventually to war. Differences are part of normal social developments, contradiction may become latent or not, polarization inhibiting antagonistic parties, in which case, conflict manifests culmination into violence and eventually war.

The escalation phase represents a narrowing political space a predisposition of conflict escalation. Thus contingency responses are necessary, as it is the nature and phase of conflict after which it is coupled with complementarity, combining appropriate responses to maximize in realizing conflict resolution.

## **2.2. Conflict resolution/ management methods**

### **2.2.1 Principles of Conflict resolution/ management**

Conflict and war and not alien phenomenon in world and even the society. Acknowledging that conflict resolution in the world, is majorly concerned with balancing and sustaining peaceful co-existence in the world. This is because, states pursue their own independent, nonaligned interests in the world, which can at times lead to conflicting interests.

Understanding conflict resolution cannot only be equated to a detailed study of decision making, no matter how concrete the information is. This is because, despite the relevance of decisions in conflict resolution, they are only part of the context of a conflict situation.

Thus, principles to conflict resolution/ management can be summed in three guidelines, these are; peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace fostering. All conflict resolution/management methods are decided upon based on these three guiding principles. It aids in adequately choosing what methods or technique to adapt in which situation and at what stage of the conflict.

Aspects of conflict resolution are to make peace then enforce and sustain it. However, there are certain tactics employed in order to achieve this. Balance of power, a theory in the field of International Relations is among the main tactics. This is because, to make peace is to achieve a balance of power, in which case, there will be an interlock of mutual interests, capabilities and will. At the same time, to achieve absolute peace, a conflict situation has to be treated not only as a resolution case, but an in depth look at the ecology of peace is critical.

#### **2.2.1.1 Peacemaking**

Peacemaking is usually the first step towards conflict resolution, and it involves the very first methods/ techniques which will ensure that this process begins. In order for conflict resolution practitioners to decide on which technique they shall use in the very early stages of a conflict situation, they consider the following nine evaluation principles in order to attain success in their peacemaking mission.

Taking into cognizance that some conflicts are unnecessary, needlessly intense and long lasting, peacemaking is not essentially the best and only most direct response to conflict. Thus in order to



realize actual and absolute peace, peacemaking has to consider dignity, freedom, security and justice.

#### **2.2.1.1.1. Seeking clarity of Conflict Situation**

The parties' in conflict are usually the one who define the type of conflict. Due to the fact that parties' to a conflict best understand their underlying goals and beliefs, mutual perception, fact and communication involved. At this particular phase, it is easy to discern intensity of the conflict, passion and beliefs as portrayed by each party to the conflict.

In the interest of achieving an amicable balance in the conflict, based on perceptions and mutual interest of parties' in conflict, intensity is reduced, antagonism lessened. In turn, promoting a realistic environment for clarifying the conflict situation. Thus there is need to: uncover underlying hidden goals and beliefs, facts have to be determined, there is need to respect each parties' position and perspective and state each parties' arguments and demands. This will aid in focusing the actual issue causing conflict and reduce emotions.

#### **2.2.1.1.2 Clarity of parties' position and perspective**

It is crucial for parties in conflict to understand and state their positions and perspective in order to attain peace. A forcible position or perspective is likely to continue to cause tension and possibly erupt into conflict. Thus each party needs to understand what they desire as an outcome to the conflict, in order to settle it.

Parties to the conflict, also need to understand that flexibility in their position or perspectives is necessary for any agreement to be reached at. This will require the parties to be civil when declining, agreeing or softening their position in order to arrive at a compromise, agreeable to both parties and not imposing.

#### **2.2.1.1.3 Appeal to Overriding Interests**

Appealing to overriding interests can aid in facilitation in reduction of the conflict's intensity giving room for peaceful co-existence. This interest can be a shared loyalty to a cause, which will invoke soberness in dealing with the conflict at hand.

#### **2.2.1.1.4 Promote the Value of Exchange**

Often during a conflict settling situation, coercion by either party is usually the focus in order for each party to actualize their interests. This usually leads to violence and frustrations by either party. Thus, as principle, there is need for attractive offers to be made as well as reward agreements, in order to promote the value of exchange.

It is crucial that the balance of power is actualized in order to make attractive the value of exchange. Either party needs to appreciate the other party and what they have to offer in order to settle conflict. Nonetheless, it is important to appreciate the need for manipulation by either party, as they may make outrageous demands in hope to get something in the process of compromise. Thus, a disposition towards exchange is important.

#### **2.2.1.1.5 Importance of Legitimacy**

There is need to invoke legitimacy by recognizing a conflict's legitimacy. Due to the reason that the more legitimate an explanation, justification or reason for a decision, the more likely a settlement is to be reached.

It may be of consideration to involve a third party with a legitimate backing of objective fact-finding, which will aid in unmasking hidden interests or beliefs in turn, clarifying misperceptions,

miscommunication and propose compromises. This will be the initial stages of moving towards conflict resolution.

#### **2.2.1.1.6 Balance Power and Issues at hand**

There should be minimal to nil assurances and promises, threats or appeals, as this weakness a point where there is need for use of extreme power during a vital decision. It has however been argued to have been a successful endeavor, but in the long run, it buys an expensive, temporary victory. With an eventuality of creating resentment and sullen acceptance.

An important rule to guide in balancing power and issues at hand, it is only critical to invoke power proportional to issues at stake.

#### **2.2.1.1.7 Commitment needs to be displayed**

There is need for display of commitment to resolve conflict from all parties' involved in the conflict. Thus, credibility is the epitome of ensuring this is achieved. Demands, requests or offers have to be those that can be achieved for them to be believable. All this need to be done with the cautiousness of one's power in mind, as they should not undermine parties' powers in this process, it should be of reassurance. To which end, a readiness to react to either parties positives or negatives needs to be displayed.

#### **2.2.1.1.8 Need to create space between parties' in conflict**

This is a tactic best situated for parties' with equal measure of power and influence. This allows the parties ample time to consider ceasefire and each keeping away from the issue at hand for a while. It can only work with parties' exhibiting equal power or influence because if not, then one

party is likely to lose as a conceding act, which will act a coerced resolution and will not be long lasting.

This can be a strategic technique to conflicts which seem to have irreconcilable differences such as racial and nationality groups, religion and ethnicity. In which case, conflict may be resolved eliminating the conflict situation or even allowing it to fade off. This allows for rational perspectives on the issue to develop, differences to subside, and possibly, underlying interests to change.

#### **2.2.1.1.9 Avoid Aggression**

Responding to aggression with an equal measure of aggression usually leads to an escalation of conflict. Resisting aggression entails a test of interests, capabilities and will. Thus the most nominal response is one which alternates power to bases which can be employed more effectively while minimizing the risk of violence escalation.

#### **2.2.2.2 Peacekeeping**

Peacekeeping purely depends on keeping expectation and power aligned. It is important to guard the balance of power which exists, as well as limit any gap between expectations and power. Nonetheless, it is critical to know and begin resolution process from the situation at hand, and not ideal or hopes. This is because, peacekeeping is a matter of relation and proportion.

##### **2.2.2.2.1 Understand peacekeeping missions**

In order for a peacekeeping mission to be perfectly executed, one has to critically understand peace. Peace is a structure of expectations, this is because, one can only realize it, if the parties in conflict accept to ensure peace is observed and found. If peace is understood as absence of conflict,

and peacekeeping the avoidance of provocative, assertive, contentious scenario, then conflict is likely to recur. Thus, restriction of adjustment, increasing pressure for radical change by resisting conflict, may lead to risk of violence.

#### **2.2.2.2.2 Protecting balance of power**

The balance of power in peacekeeping debunks on what relationships have developed between groups and individuals. This is paramount in detecting changes and maintaining balance in order to begin a peace process. Protecting the balance of power can aid in anticipating and avoiding an escalation of conflict.

#### **2.2.2.2.3 Limit gap between expectation and power**

Diplomacy is a technique critical at this point. This is because it is defined as the art of avoiding war by keeping international expectation in tune with the alternating balance of power among states. Three approaches can be employed in this particular principle, these are; make compensating changes to redress balance of power, negotiate changes in treaties to be redrawn, redefined and possibly altered, and also adopt tacit changes in expectations.

#### **2.2.2.2.4 Accept Conflict**

In certain instances, to maintain higher peace, it may require lower-level conflict. Peace occurs along varied dimensions, to which, its complexity is needed in order to internalize the use of conflict, violence and war to keep peace.

This concept aids in limiting a large gap between balance of power and the ongoing conflict, to eliminate the possibility of capping this gap through extreme conflict and violence. Consequently,

it has been argued that it is better to let conflict take its course, for parties to negotiate their own balance, instead of a third party imposing artificial peace in respect of avoiding conflict.

#### **2.2.2.2.5 Reduction of a possible successful violence**

It is prudent to seek nonviolent alternatives in order to attain stable peace. Violence breeds more violence, as those that violence has been used against, will seek revenge by using the same violence, which will likely be more adverse in order to attain their goal. Thus, nonviolent alternatives are crucial in avoiding a strip of erupted violence.

#### **2.2.2.3 Peace fostering**

Peace fostering is the development of a productive environment within which progress towards a just peace can be sought. It suffices to add that the more socioeconomic and political freedom is increased, the more a nonviolent stable peace is promoted.

##### **2.2.2.3.1 Conflict as a normal phenomenon**

Conflict is a normal process in any society, realizing and accepting this assists in achieving stable peace. The aim in the society is to minimize the intensity of conflict and ensuring to eliminate side effects. Thus it is prudent for one to anticipate conflict, prepare for it and expect to compromise. Thus, a disposition to compromise is an act of willingness to acquire a common ground and establish a mutually beneficial exchange depending on the situation at hand.

##### **2.2.2.3.2 Effectively address recurring issues**

In order to effectively address recurring issues during a settlement, the rules have to be clear and unbiased in addressing pressing issues, especially in resolution. This is because, the consistency

of this rules, and their apt response to dealing with recurring conflict, will respond to possible conflict recurrence.

However, it is importance to appreciate that rules applied in relation to quelling conflict recurrence must be consistent. As if they are erratically applied, they could aggravate a conflict situation and in turn create conflict. Hence, the rules used in addressing conflict recurrence should be accepted with a positive outlook and have to be sensible, right and rewarding.

#### **2.2.2.3.3 Adjustment mechanisms**

Institutions are part of a process in aiding swift adjustment amongst parties' in conflict to attain an amicable agreement. To attain peaceful rebalancing of power in any society, institutions play an integral role. Peace in a society can be furthered by being aware of the capability institutions have in fostering peace. In order to attain this, societies have to; institutionalize consensus-building, institutionalize confrontation of perceptions, expectations, and interests, institutionalize settlement procedures and institutionalize a test of strength.

#### **2.2.2 Techniques of Conflict Resolution/ Management**

Conflict resolution is majorly concerned with elimination of tension between parties in a conflict. It would entail a consistent effort to eliminating conflict in order to promote peace as a development issue in a society. Various levels of conflict resolution can be expounded as; contingency which explains nature of the conflict which aid in maximizing chances of success in conflict resolution. Conflict transformation encompasses, an in depth level of cultural and structural peace building, conflict settlement involves negotiations and mediation processes and conflict containment involves preventive peacekeeping, limitation of war and post-ceasefire

peacekeeping Thus, various methods are applied to aid conflict resolution from a civil perspective as well as legal perspective.

### **2.2.2.1 Civil Techniques**

#### **2.2.2.1.1 Win-Win, Lose-Lose and Win-Lose situations**

Win-Win situation, Win-lose, or lose-lose situation are all encroached within zero-sum or non-zero-sum conflict resolution. Zero sum signifies a win-lose situation, and a non-zero-sum a win-win or lose-lose situation. The moment conflict resolution is able to aid parties in conflict to reach a compromise, in the sense of either win-win or lose-lose situation, then it has ceased from being a passive conflict resolution to active conflict resolution. However in violent conflict, it often results to a zero-sum conflict resolution, as both parties lose.

Taking cognizance of the game theory by Michael Bacharach, one gets to understand that for parties to find themselves in a lose-lose or win-win situation, interests are used as negotiation grounds, other than positions, as positions vary and alternate based on one's preference, thus, when position are used, a win-lose scenario is highly likely.

#### **2.2.2.1.2 Third Party Intervention**

Third party intervention usually involves a mediator. The mediator has to be one that is accepted by both parties in conflict and plays an impartial role in the mediation. The mediator invokes power of communication, which aids parties in conflict better communicate their interests, positions and likely outcome of the standoff in the conflict. Through a successful third party intervention, parties in conflicts may alter their behavior and communication through a powerful balance and a careful use of the carrot and stick technique. In which case, either a win-lose situation is likely to suffice.



### **2.2.2.1.3 Negotiation**

Negotiation is the act of settling conflict between two or more parties. It involves a third party, but the third party is representatives of each party's interests in order to arrive as a solution. Negotiation purely deals with either parties interests. It can either be voluntary, multilateral/bilateral, non-adjudicative, informal confidential and flexible.

### **2.2.2.1.4 Track 1 and Track II diplomacy**

In conflict resolution, third party interventions could either employ soft power or hard power techniques, such as command, order, enforcement, or coercion which is hard power and cooperation, legitimization, inspiration and persuasion as soft power. If third parties to a conflict are politicians and governments, then they have a lee-way with either of the power techniques in order to invoke a peaceful outcome.

Track I diplomacy involves representatives from government or intergovernmental organizations. It utilizes the aspects of good offices, mediation, and stick and carrot technique or coerce an outcome, which results to a win-lose or bargaining outcome. However, Track II diplomacy are not official representatives, either from governments or intergovernmental organizations, they work towards effective communication, encouraging a lose-lose or win-win outcome.

### **2.2.2.1.5 Good Offices**

Good offices, is a technique in which case, the mediator is only allowed to facilitate communication between parties in conflict but not initiate suggestions for solutions. Its agenda is to restore communication and negotiations between disputants in instances where there was a stand-off. It allows parties to the conflict to maintain both the right and final decision to outcomes of the conflict, as well as the rights to reserve to decide whether negotiations will proceed or not.

Good offices, offer the lee-way or legitimization third party intervention, especially if the dispute involves states.

### **2.2.2.2 Legal Techniques**

#### **2.2.2.2.1 Fact Finding**

The importance of fact finding technique is usually emphasized due to the need to demystify any stereotypes which have been propagated by the state. This usually aids a country's citizens to have a particular outcome or view of any looming or what version of any future dispute shall obtain national acceptance. This influences even the conflict initiating state which has sought an impartial inquiry to experience difficulty in influencing the national stereotype.

Thus, the success of fact finding manifests in an agreement, unlike decision. If one merits fact finding based on decision, the actual fact or law may never emerge at all. This is because, parties in a conflict have an already established fact defined in their own terms, which are often able to conceal evidence, especially states. Hence, in order to determine an impartial fact in regards to conflict, commissions of inquiry, within legal frameworks, by agreements of parties, are appointed to find facts to a particular dispute, in order to determine an unbiased outcome of the conflict.

#### **2.2.2.2.2 Arbitration**

Arbitration is a legal process which involves a legal binding decision by an arbiter. This however does not limit the amount of control, parties to a dispute have when it come to the arbitration process in regards to their conflict, as they are able to; decide whether they shall submit their dispute for arbitration, they select their arbiter, they have a say in the rules to be applied in the arbitration process and they have an indirect control over effects of the award, if they deem the award as null.

In which case, for a dispute to be considered for arbitration, states must; offer an ad-hoc submission of particular existing conflicts of known and determinate range. In that, both sides are aware of factual and legal limits within which, their rights will be put at stake by subjection to a third-party decision maker. Offer ad-hoc submission of existing conflict of unspecified but noncritical range. In that, a fully materialized dispute allows at least outer limits of risk to be determined. They have to submit a carefully delimited class of future minor conflicts. This is because, the element of future risks always limits commitment, as it is difficult for a state to determine its precise exposure to disputes. Parties to the conflict, submit future conflicts without close restriction but with reservation of unspecified classes of conflicts, the choice of reservation being individually determined by each party to a conflict.

#### **2.2.2.2.3 Independent Settlement**

Aborted negotiations is not effective compared to ending negotiations. This is because, recurrent confrontation increases tension, which translates to mutual withdrawal from the conflict by parties in conflict. Thus, when either party or both parties in conflict decide to act independently in regards to aborted negotiations, the goal of the negotiation may be furthered by their recognition of their failure. Unilateralism can at times harbors virtues of conflict resolution.

#### **2.2.2.2.4 Coercive Settlements**

This is usually executed through diplomatic relations, retaliation, embargoes, sanctions, boycotts and retortions. This is usually reinforced in societies' where common conviction is lacking and law enforcement is weak. This has been argued not to yield so much in regards to conflict resolution, but considering that international conflict operates in the midst of a military arena, this is one effective aspect of conflict resolution.

Thus is it critical to note that in conflict resolution approaches, a critical understanding is that conflict maximizes on defending one's own interests, or in retrospect, avoid conflict and withdraw, or arrive at a compromise, which in the long-run, generates energy to search for a creative problem-solving outcome.

## CHAPTER THREE

### UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT RECURRENCE IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF BURUNDI

#### 3.0 Introduction

Research conducted has provided the following statistics in regards to conflict recurrence, 60 percent of all conflicts recur and on average, post conflict peace lasts only seven years, this statistics coupled up since the mid-1990s, stipulates that of 259 conflicts, 159 recurred and 100 were new of which, 135 experienced conflict recurrence with 68 being minor conflicts and 24 full blown wars.

The research defined conflict recurrence as conflict which starts after two- ten year period since the last conflict ended. This study shall employ this rule and definition when it discusses conflict recurrence. It also emphasized a key commonality of a recurrent conflict is, the parties that have been involved in the first war are the same parties that fight in the second, third or even fourth war.

Debates regarding recurrence of conflicts posit that conflict is never solved, it is only the incidences that change. Thus scholars who ascribe to this school of thought have argued that there can never be conflict resolution but conflict management. This can be an argument which the AU can choose to ascribe to, but then, it justifies Paul Collier's theory of conflict recurrence.

The Burundian civil war started in 1993 after the assassination of the then President Melchior Ndadaye, which led to an estimate of 50,000-100,000 mass death within a year. The assassination of President Melchior Ndadaye was succeeded by several others, which further propelled the civil war. The Burundi civil war lasted for 12 years with an estimated death of 300,000 amidst various peace processes.

Peace processes in Burundi involved ceasefire and peace agreements. In 2006, President Pierre Nkurunziza was elected by the Forces for the Defense of Democracy (FDD) as the incoming President. This was the beginning of Burundi's peaceful co-existence until 2015 when the bid by the incumbent President Pierre Nkurunziza for a third term as President caused an unrest in Burundi.

“Majority of Burundians, consider war is to be about existing in a world of suddenly divested lights. It is about a type of violence that spills out across the country and into the daily lives of people to undermine the world, as they know it. A violence that is severing people from their traditions. It hits at the heart of perception and existence. To which of course, the goal of terror warfare: to cripple political will by attempting to cripple all will, all sense.”

### **3.1 An Evaluation of the Burundi Peace Process (1965-2006)**

#### **3.1.1 Understanding Burundi**

Burundi is a country which has experienced civil war from 1965 to 2006, and at a brink of conflict recurrence since the contentious re-election of their incumbent president Pierre Nkurunziza. In understanding Burundi's conflict and unrest, it has severally been argued that Burundi as most of African states which have experienced calm, after several series of civil war, has experience negative peace, with positive peace seeming more unlikely to actualize.

Burundi's deep divisions within ethnical and cultural lines exacerbated political tensions and mistrust including distribution and concentration of wealth. This notwithstanding, for effective operational tasks in Burundi, they were masked along ethnical lines, including certain professions and educational advantages. Taking into cognizance that pre-democratic dispensation characterized by minority rule shielded by security apparatus was able to function under virtual

immunity and was often accused of violating political rights of opponents. In which case, the Tutsi in Burundi are the minority with Hutu the majority.

This has rendered Burundi to experience challenges in forging forward the spirit of national unity and democratic participation. Especially in regards to granting amnesty to perpetrators of acts of violence and those who have misused power. This has contributed to establishing a reconciliation commission a challenge.

### **3.1.1.1 Burundi's Conflict Specific Dynamics**

In an attempt to analyze the Burundi conflict, it is apparent that the cause of the conflict had an ethnic dimension, however, the main stimuli was socio-economic in nature.

In appreciating the Burundi wave of conflict, it is evident that it has been a series of provocation and reactions. All have been pre-empted by opposing groups holding the other as the cause of an endless war and fight for power and supremacy.

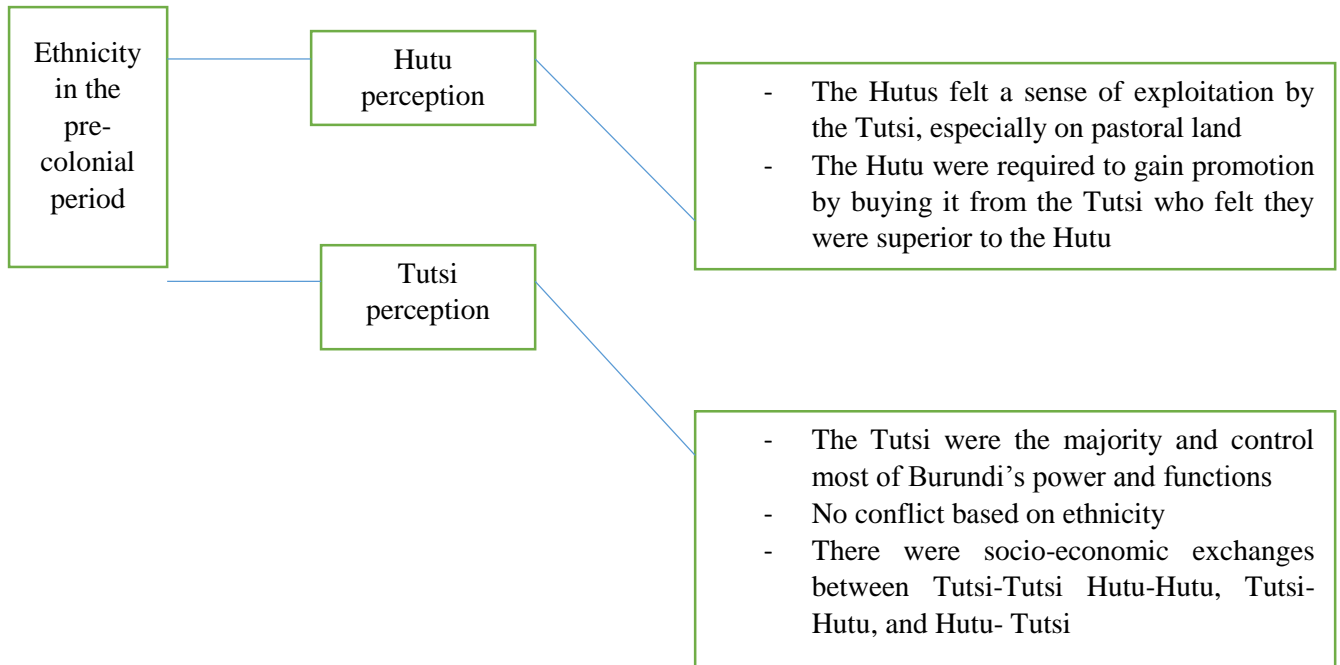
Interrogating Burundi from various perspectives of different groups and from 1965, having generated responses from various groups that is, the Hutu, Twa and Tutsi, the analysis is an underpinning factor of attempting to probe the peace process that preceded calmness in Burundi, before a threat to a possible relapse of Burundi into Conflict.

#### **3.1.1.1.1 Pre-colonial history**

Historical events as it relates to Burundi has differing connotations, depending with who gives the historical background. This is because, the historical pre-text by a Hutu and one by a Tutsi gives different literatures. They however have a similarity in political inferences, as it serves to

legitimize violence as pro-active or retaliatory. The table below shall illustrate this historical pre-texts as narrated by the Hutu and the Tutsi

Figure 1: Differing interpretations and perceptions of events



As figure 1 illustrates, each ethnic community had their own interpretation of their experiences during the pre-colonial pre-text, and evidently the Tutsi being the majority of the ethnic groups were privy to certain privileges which others were not.

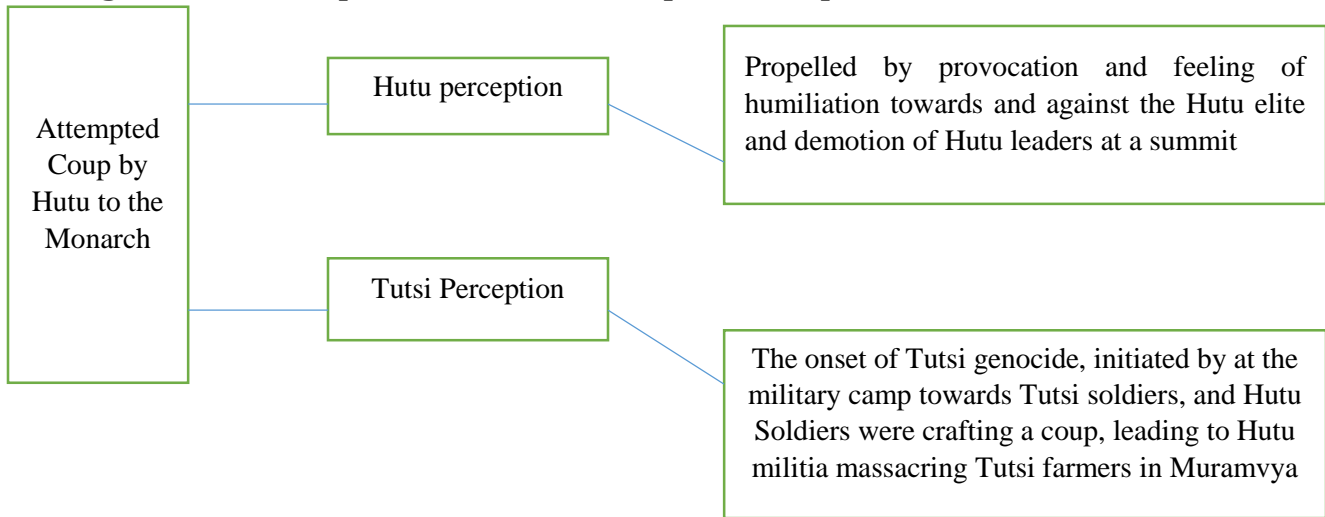
### 3.1.1.1.2 Attempted Coup

In 1965, an attempted coup was staged by the Burundi military officers from the Hutu ethnic community, due to the refusal of the King to appoint a Hutu prime Minister after the predecessor was assassinated. The contention was due to the landslide victory the Hutu community attained during the May 1965 elections. In turn, this created political upheaval which unsettled the relations between the Hutu and Tutsi political elite, as well as between the King and the civilian elite.



This standoff, demonstrated that the Tutsi were not willing and ready to share power. The failed coup was also to the detriment of the Hutu as the Tutsi began to fully exercise their dominance and accelerate the political pre-text. Figure 2 shall demonstrate the varied interpretations by the Hutu and the Tutsi communities, in regards to the attempted military coup in 1965.

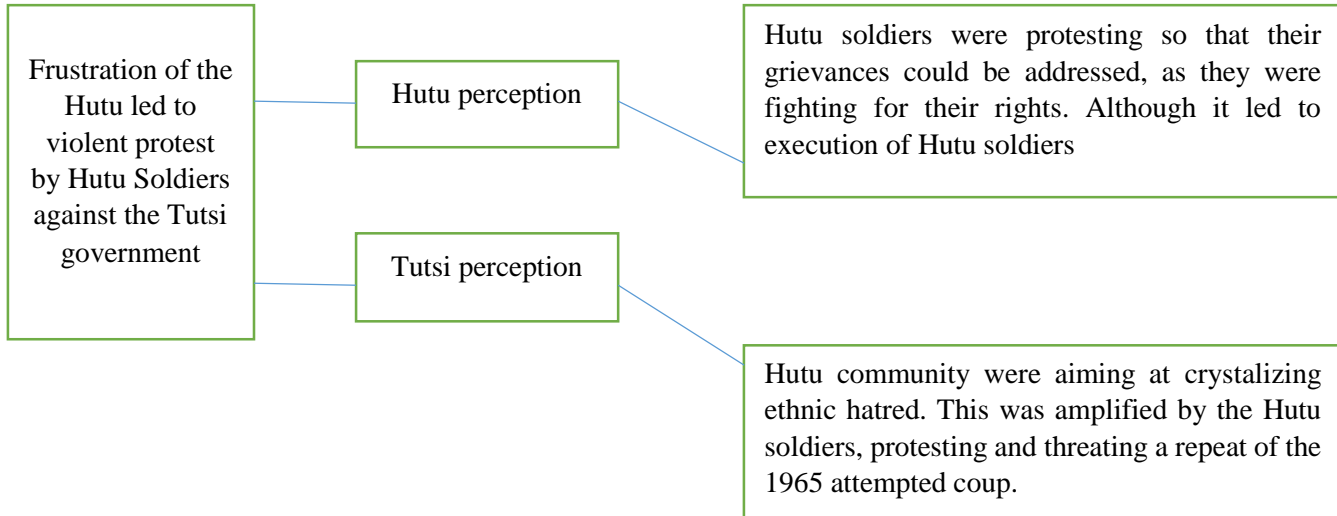
**Figure 2: Perception of the attempted coup**



### **3.1.1.1.3 Hutu Unrest**

The Hutu unrest continued after the failed attempted coup. It took place in 1969 and it was majorly influenced when Tutsi exercised their dominance after the failed coup of 1965, the Hutu, expressed their uneasiness with the political elite of the Tutsi and its Monarchy.

Figure 3: Perception influencing 1969 Hutu Unrest



#### 3.1.1.1.4 Hutu insurgencies

Muramvya a former royal headquarters, plunged into chaos when an overthrow of the monarchy by army officers was successful. Tension then built between the Tutsi from Muramvya and those from Bururi. A possible re-establishment of the monarch, created more tension as rumors of the Hutu having an alleged coup plot surfaced.

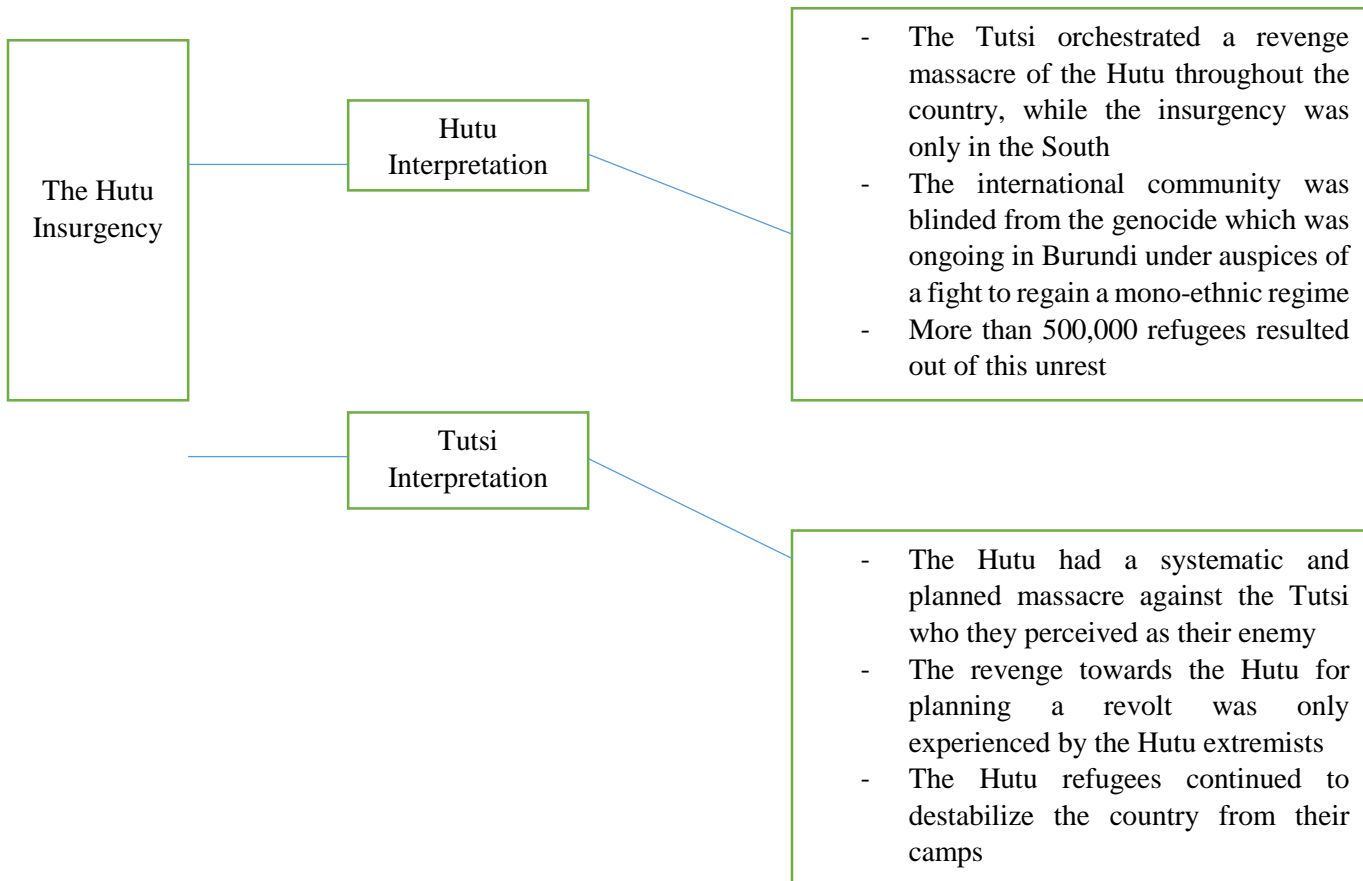
This tension however served as a point of vulnerability to the Southern Tutsi elite as they took advantage of this phase and orchestrated an ethnic cleansing against the Hutu. They not only decided to target the Hutu, but sidelined Tutsi's from Muramvya and other parts of the country.

This acts by the Southern Tutsi was the beginning of ethnic problem relations in Burundi. Ethnic relations between the Hutu and Tutsi deteriorated to a point of self-destruction, due to the entrenched hatred between Tutsi and Hutu.

The Tutsi elite deemed their actions in 1971 not satisfactory, thus preceded with planning what they termed a ‘final solution’ to their gaining power. This final solution led to distributional conflict and ethnic cleansing of the Hutu elite.

The Hutu and the Tutsi however each had their varied interpretations of the events and figure 4 shall illustrate their views on the events leading up to 1972 conflict outbreak.

Figure 4: Interpretation of the Hutu Insurgency



### **3.1.1.1.5 Incitements of 1988**

The period from 1972-1988 Burundi experienced some sense of calm. This allowed the Hutu military to re-group in collecting and collating data for intelligentsia, consolidate power and move an organized regime for power sharing.

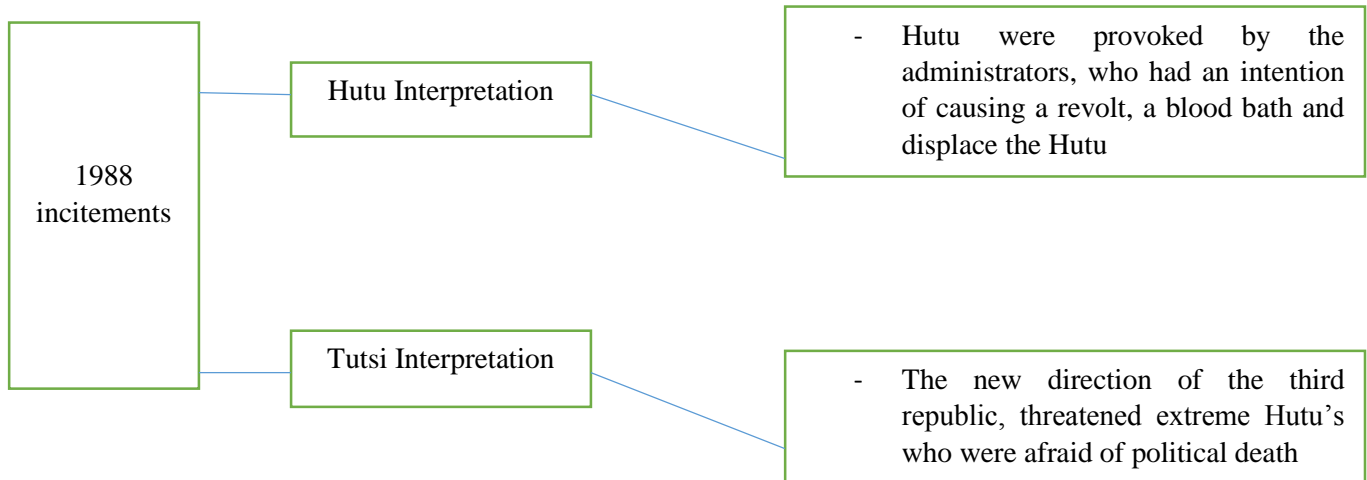
Despite the fact that North part of Burundi experienced civil war for 16 years, 1988 was a distributional conflict, given that the government has set up operations and penetrated the society, despite receiving backlash from the Hutu community.

The main reason for the conflict outbreak in the North and the buildup tension, was complain that the local administrators from the South were arrogant and insensitive. Intensified by the call for democracy from East of Burundi. This was coupled up by the re-grouped Hutu intelligentsia and a more organized opposition from the Hutu and openly challenging the government, taking cognizance of the massacre of 1972.

This led to an open letter drafted by Hutu intellectuals to the President condemning the indiscriminate and random arrests of Hutu intellectuals. The letter also demanded of a national debate on ethnic discrimination as well as reform of the political system with an aim of achieving an egalitarian representation.

This organized manner of pushing an agenda aided in exposing what Burundi is to the international community and the government holding back on repression unlike in 1972. This led to pressure instituted towards the government. This led to formation of an ethnically balanced government of unity, national debate on ethnic divisions and an eventual democratic elections in 1993. Figure 5 shall demonstrate reactions from the Hutu and the Tutsi based on the 1988 incitements.

Figure 5: Hutu and Tutsi interpretation on events of 1988

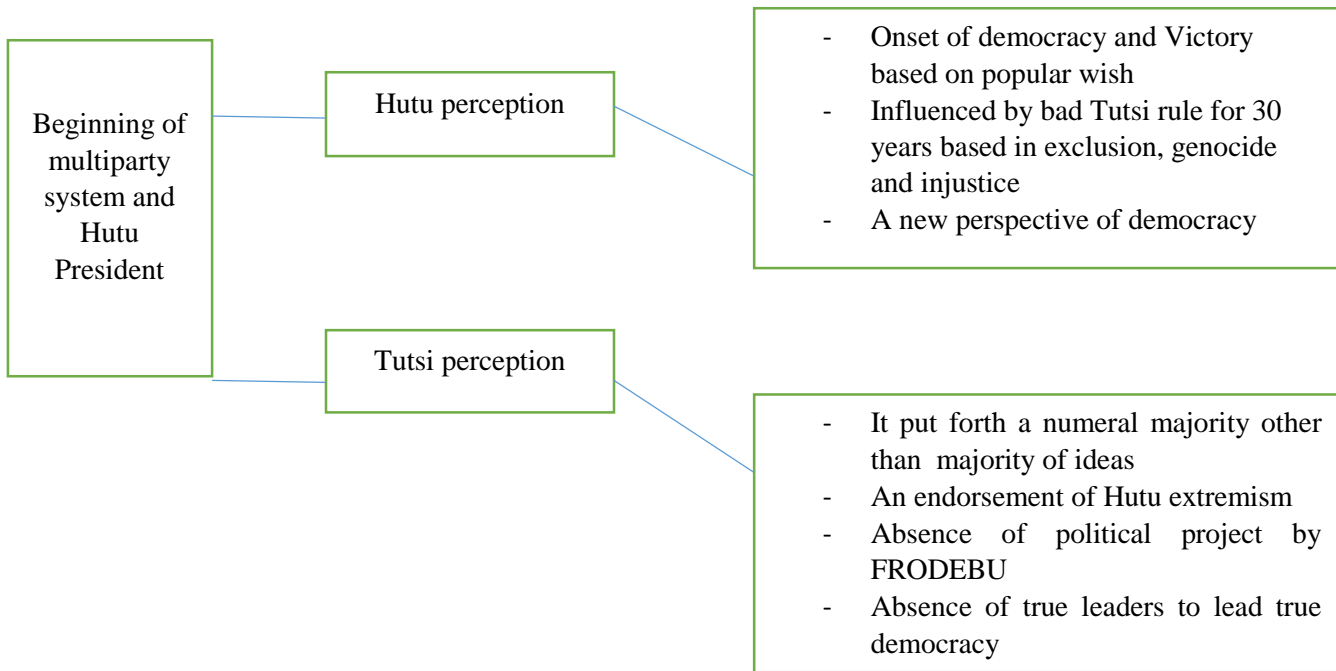


### 3.1.1.1.6 Democratic Elections

The onset of 1993 brought a ray of hope to Burundi as a new constitution was institutionalized that year. It was the year when a democratic election was held, a multiparty system introduced and set into motion as well as Burundi for the first time having a Hutu president.

President Buyoya willingly handed over power to the incoming president Melchior Ndadaye and this symbolized long term stability and political participation. This led to Burundi being hailed as a symbol of peaceful democratic transition. However, after four month in office, President Ndadaye was assassinated, renewing the feeling of rage fear and resentment. Figure 6 illustrates events preceding the 1993 democratic elections.

Figure 6: FRODEBU's Victory



### 3.1.1.1.7 Tutsi Uprising

Preceding the assassination of the President of Burundi Ndadaye, he began restructuring the government of Burundi, terming it the New deal of Burundi. His vision was to have an inclusive government free of corruption and foul play.

He had preconceived the Burundi government into four phases; the first being reforming the military by making it representative of all ethnic and regional factions in the society, secondly, replace previous government officials through owning his pledge as well as seize control of power, thirdly, encourage return of Hutu refugees and accost them justice through gaining back their job, land and property and fourth and lastly, he was to restructure business deals with the government for all communities.

The reforms President Ndadaye intended to implement in Burundi were inspired from the perspective of inclusive democracy. The reforms seemed to be extremely beneficial to Burundians as a nation, however it threatened the Tutsi elite.

The Tutsi elite were threatened by restructuring government businesses, as they were the major benefactors of government businesses. This was due to the fact that under patrimonial regimes, in order for one to be successful in their business, they had to acquire government connections. Secondly, the changing of government officials meant they have lost their allies which meant loss of extract rents, which culminated to the wide support the military acquired from the Tutsi elite.

Acknowledging the factors which seemed to destabilize the Tutsi elite, they felt threatened by Ndadaye's decisions and orchestrated an assassination. President Ndadaye's death lead to massacres, and hundreds of thousands became refugees in Tanzania and DRC. Reported figures indicate that 300,000 lives lost, 600,000 to 800,000 regional refugees and between 280,000 and 380,000 internally displaced persons. Table 1 will demonstrate reactions based on the Tutsi uprising.

Table 1: Reactions based on Tutsi Uprising

<b>Tutsi Uprising</b>	<b>Hutu reactions</b>	<b>Tutsi reactions</b>
A plan to assassinate the first ever democratically elected president of Burundi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tutsi hesitation and threatened by democracy and the changes it accrued to, led to planning to assassinate the first democratically elected president</li> <li>- Appeal to FRODEBU on resistance and disobedience</li> <li>- Anger towards pent up over past events and revenge looming for destruction of Burundi</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- FRODEBU accused of mass massacre after the assassination of the President</li> <li>- Massacre was largely towards the Tutsi and the Hutu being lynched under FRODEBU leadership</li> </ul>

### **3.1.1.1.8 The government of National Unity**

The formation of the government of national unity experienced various challenges. It proved difficult for Burundi to be able to establish stability, as they were ruled by weak and divided administration sustaining the unrest in Burundi. This led to a coup being staged by President Buyoya which lead to a lot of international condemnation and sanctions which lasted till 1999. Table 2 illustrates varied perceptions over the rule of the government of unity in Burundi after president Ndadaye's assassination.



Table 2: Understanding the government of national unity

<b>A convention</b>	<b>Hutu understanding</b>	<b>Tutsi understanding</b>
<p>The formation of the government of national unity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- People's sovereignty was violated by the formation of the government of national unity</li> <li>- It was a recuperation of what Tutsi had lost through a democratic phase and the blood spillage in the fight to reverse democracy</li> <li>- This was invoked by the mono ethnic army</li> <li>- It was a plan to distribute ethnicity without interfering with the army or judiciary</li> <li>- Democracy should be open to the society, that is, based on one man, one vote and abolition of exclusion and privileges</li> <li>- Democracy entails respect of human rights and freedom, which should be restored.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The government of national unity was an instrument introduced to destabilize FRODEBU</li> <li>- The convention was supposed to dismiss FRODEBU from power</li> <li>- Those who orchestrated the formation of the government of national unity were only concerned with their interests and not promote peace.</li> <li>- Democracy is not tantamount to ethnic-based numeric elections</li> <li>- One man one vote, exemplifies dictatorship and not democracy. Democracy should epitomize the best and not the highest number.</li> <li>- Democracy should be customized based on a country's experience</li> <li>- Pluralist elections are not best for Burundi</li> </ul>

### 3.1.1.1.9 Institutional Variations

Establishment of state institutions in regards to their functions was a very debatable function. This amounted to disagreements in regards to the institutions functions, due to varied interpretations

between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Table 3 shall illustrate the varying interpretation by both Hutu and Tutsi as well as their interpretation of state institution functions.

Table 3: underlying issues on state institutional formations

State Institutions	Hutu description	Tutsi description
The Army	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It is mono-ethnic</li> <li>- Responsible for crimes and genocide in Burundi</li> <li>- It has been used to orchestrate interests and malice</li> <li>- It is not for the prosperity of the Burundi people but their destruction</li> <li>- It is an avenue for usurping power</li> <li>- It needs to be representative of all ethnic communities in Burundi with equal representation</li> <li>- Must be confined to the barracks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It promotes peace</li> <li>- The army is a stability measure for Burundi</li> <li>- The army has protected Tutsi who were a target of genocide by the Hutu</li> <li>- The Hutu have maligned the army but it is a good apparatus</li> </ul>
The Judiciary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Majority of its officials are from the Tutsi community</li> <li>- The judgment rendered by the judiciary has been biased towards the Hutu since 1965</li> <li>- It is a double standard apparatus, it is not independent, and is highly compromised</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The Hutu have harbored resentment towards the judiciary yet it is efficient with limited resources</li> <li>- The executive lacks independence hence inept to try FRODEBU</li> </ul>

### **3.1.2 Peace Process**

The peace process in Burundi which began in 1995 was initially championed by the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere who was the then president of Tanzania, under the Organization of African Unity (OAU) mandate. His role as a mediator deemed difficult when he tried to initiate a conversation between the Hutu and the Tutsi with an everyday blood bath scenario, as he tried to dissuade the warring camps against conflict. This seeming to hit a deadlock, he then decided to approach peace building in Burundi from a socialist perspective.

Nyerere's socialist perspective of peace building in Burundi rendered him unpopular in the West especially given the fact that it was during the cold war period. Thus, in a diplomatic culmination of their statement opposing Nyerere's techniques, they started disassociated themselves with his efforts to bring peace to Burundi. Nyerere's bid to bring peace to Burundi continued till his demise, after which Nelson Mandela with assistance from Thabo Mbeki and Yoweri Museveni took over the role of mediator in Burundi.

Nelson Mandela initiated mediation efforts, not from a completely different perspective, but built on the foundations already started by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Mandela was reputed as a tough, straightforward but fair negotiator. Mandela's approach to the mediation process was more of a direct approach, different from his predecessors' Nyerere which was intellectual.

Nelson Mandela invoked the support of the international community in order to invoke legitimacy, backing and resources into his mediation process. He also initiated the power of good offices by involving and inviting King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, President of USA, Bill Clinton, President of France, Chirac and President of Nigeria, Obasanjo to a plenary meeting in Arusha 1999, with the Burundi delegation.

This culminated to an all-inclusive strategy which roped in all other rebel groups who had been excluded from the talks during Nyereres' tenure as a mediator. Mandela sought this as a critical strategy given that the exclusion of other rebels during Nyerere's mediation efforts was considered as the weakest link in mediation efforts at the time.

However, this proved to be an asset, as the inclusion of other rebel groups into the discussions led to a meeting in 2000 between Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie (CNDD) and Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (FDD) which secured an agreement to enter into talks with not only the CNDD and FDD but also the Forces nationales de liberation (FNL). This however did not immediately culminate to signing of any agreement but affirmed the legitimization of the Burundi peace process.

In light of the similarities between challenges being faced in South Africa and challenges sighted as problems in the Burundi Civil war, Nelson Mandela, sought not to influence their decisions instead allowed them to draw their own conclusions and learn from lessons by South Africa which best suites their situation. He however encouraged Burundians to approach and address the issue of ethnicity genuinely and exhaustively.

Nelson Mandela chose to take a back seat during the talks, and offered them the ability to deduce their own conclusions especially in regards to ethnicity. This generated an ethnic power sharing solution. In instances, where a standoff was palpable in the discussions, Mandela would conduct bilateral talks with on one hand the Union pour le Progrès national (UPRONA) and the military, and on the other, Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi (FRODEBU). This would yield to a possible outcome of an agreement, which Mandela would use to present to the other groups as fait accompli.

Successful completion and effectiveness of this mission by Nelson Mandela, he called for foreign aid and assistance, in order to address Burundi's humanitarian crisis and development from a futuristic perspective. This call for assistance led to a conference in Paris in 2000 which gradually led to the signing the agreement in Arusha in 28 August 2000.

### **3.1.3 Arusha Peace Accord**

President Jacob Zuma took over the negotiation of the Burundi peace deal and his main trial was to persuade the Burundian politicians into implementing the Arusha peace agreement and harness a lasting political settlement.

In rallying towards the implementation of the peace agreement, Jacob Zuma exercised patience while he convinced, flattered, manipulated and arm twisted unwilling politicians into taking risks for peace. However, in order to realize this, Zuma labored towards organizing direct negotiations between the Burundi government and rebel groups initially opposed to the peace deal.

In seeking the help of Gabon, the UN and Tanzania, Zuma, a draft ceasefire was created, and presented for signing, in which case, Burundi government declined to sign it claiming inappropriate concession to the rebels. In August 2002, the government finally signed the agreement with the rebel groups, after three weeks of talks and given the draft was preparatory.

On further negotiations with the teams, a mediation agreement was signed between the government and the CNDD-FDD on December 2002, with an intention of a final detailed cease-fire agreement, in conjunction with the conclusion of outstanding military and political issues.

This hit a deadlock when fighting resumed between CNDD-FDD in December 2002, following their refusal to Pretoria to aid in concluding the agreement. However, in January 2003, following pressure from regional and international spheres, CNDD-FDD signed a Memorandum of

Understanding (MoU) establishing a joint ceasefire commission. Unfortunately this MoU did not take to effect as it failed leading to continued violence amidst negotiations.

This standoff persisted hampering humanitarian aid and consultation to the intended troops to be deployed in Burundi. Although a two day conference, chaired by Uganda and Tanzania led to a recommitment in implementing the ceasefire and a decade of war.

### **3.1.4 Peacekeeping Mission**

The Arusha peace accord was finally signed and Burundi returned to calm. In which case, Nelson Mandela effectively negotiated South African troops as peacekeepers in Burundi. Their main mandate was to protect returning political leaders who had been forced to exile due to the war. They were also expected to train local Burundian forces, to ably equip them to take over.

The demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) process was set in motion with South African National Defence Forces (SANDF), transitioning from protection to peacekeeping. This transition took place after Ethiopia and Mozambique forces joined the African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB), together with SANDF. The challenge that AMIB faced was reintegrating different militia groups to become Burundi's Defence forces.

### **3.1.5 Burundi's conflict recurrence**

The Burundian civil war has been on for over a decade, with 2006 the beginning of calm in the country. However, the calm did not last for long, as 2015 plunged Burundi into the worst crisis it has been in since it realized calm. Conversely, international attention towards Burundi has started to decline due to the end of elections and international media presence, but the situation on ground continues to deteriorate.

Burundi is gradually drifting into an authoritarian state, with frequent guerilla attacks, with a high probability of falling into an all-out civil war. The current unrest in Burundi has become somewhat of a reminiscence of what took place over a decade of civil war. This is because, there is a gradual increase of human rights violations, independent radio stations have not been able to operate, opposition politicians have taken to exile, tensions within the army is on an increase, and death toll continues to escalate.

Hence, in retrospect, it can be argued that the Burundi issue is not due to misinterpretation of the constitution or the Arusha Accord, rather it is a political phenomenon. It highlights further the need for the Tutsi and Hutu elite to acquire power, a concept which has been an issue of conflict since 1965. The fight for political power between the Hutu and the Tutsi has always had an end game of controlling power for personal and group interests.

Burundi's low score of public administration is hugely impounded by the need to acquire the political power supremacy. This is so because, the shift of political and economic power from the Tutsi to the Hutu has not been a solution to the end of any cycle of violence. It has been so due to fact that ones in power, elites propagate revenge against each other through perpetuating old practices ruling by engaging in zero-sum political process and fear. Leading to non-CNDD-FDD members have been excluded and replaced by party activists irrespective of their competence.

The United Nations report has accumulated the death toll of Burundi since the conflict broke out, at 474,000 and other reports estimate it between 400,000 and 900,000. The Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and Zambia receiving an estimated 250,000 refugees. In response to the conflict, regional and international organizations offered support to reconciliation efforts, United Nations (UN), Africa Union (AU), Common Market for East and Southern Africa

(COMESA), East Africa Community (EAC) and International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR).

COMESA and EAC proceeded with engaging various stakeholders in ensuring a free, fair and credible election. In which case, the process involved consultations with government officials, political party leaders, religious leaders, civil society leaders, media, and former presidents of Burundi, the AU High level delegation, and the UN Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region. The African Union equally appointed Former Under-Secretary of the United Nations, Professor Ibrahima Fall as the AU Special Representative to Burundi on 3rd June 2015.

The findings based on the COMESA-EAC meetings and consultative discussions, initiated the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) 565th meeting. The meeting condemned the violence and adopted a decision to send a 5000-strong peacekeeping force to Burundi. This did not however commission into mission, as the Burundian government rejected the deployment of the troops sighting it as an invasion. This led the AU to send a high level delegation for negotiations in Burundi.

In reinforcing the Africa Union's missions in Burundi, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) through a resolution they passed in April 2016, sought to deploy the UN Police force. The police force was supposed to monitor security, promote respect for human rights and advance rule of law in Burundi.

The UN police force was welcome by the government in Burundi, but was limited to 20 police experts. On citing an increase of the violence and lack of political process, the UNSC adopted resolution 2303. This resolution authorized 228 police officers to be deployed in Bujumbura. The UN expressed its concern over persistent violence as well as political impasse in Burundi. This



however encountered resistance, through protests and the government mentioning that resolution 2303 was impeaching against their sovereignty. The UN nonetheless encouraged inclusive dialogue under former President Mkapa.

Understanding the synopsis of the Burundi conflict and a possible recurrence of the conflict. Through the lens of the Africa peace and security initiative led by the African Union, one is able to decipher the challenges Africa faces in attaining lasting peace and security.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### AFRICA UNION'S MANDATE: AN ASSESSMENT OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION/MANAGEMENT

#### 4.0 Introduction

The African continent is a continent with 54 sovereign nation states. The era of colonization altered the status quo of living in Africa, and brought with it the 'age of enlightenment.' The age of enlightenment was characterized by slavery, spread of religion, education and wealth creation.

Colonialists waged war to take control over colonies they envisioned were beneficial to them. Unfortunately, these wars were fought by Africans, whose majority were killed. Africans were mishandled and mistreated, thus, the beginning of the fight for independence.

The surge and the need to reclaim back ancestral land was created, and the fortunate Africans, the educated ones, such as Kwame Nkrumah, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, returned back home from abroad to lead their people into reclaiming back their lands, thus the fight for independence.

Nation States like Ghana were the first to succeed in gaining independence. The period between 1956 and 1999 was the period when most African Nation states gained independence, and after that, the leaders of these nation states, started the African renaissance dream, thus the formation of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU).

Africa's plight towards hierarchical organization of power and formation of governments was a fairly new concept, with each country interpreting it, in its own way. Hans Morgenthau power theory, then manifested in most African countries, with coups being planned and executed, with

civil wars being fought to gain power, inter-state conflicts over boundaries and natural resources, building economies to gain power and might, building military for boundary protection and waging war to neighboring states that are a threat, wrecked the African continent.

The OAU struggled to contain and maintain peace in the continent, but it was basically fruitless, as the African continent continued to languish in internal wars, in turn, hampering its development and succumbing to the modern day colonization through aid money, sanctions and international structures of governing, relationship building and development.

Global conflicts, secessionist wars, civil wars, national violence and separatist conflicts continue to create havoc in the African continent. In turn, Africa being termed ‘the dark continent’. This has however, not deterred Africans from resolving to take control of their continent, it bore the 21<sup>st</sup> century drive of African solutions to African problems, encompassed with the Responsibility to Protect.

It is prudent to acknowledge that the ideologies of classism, power, war, wealth and education or knowledge has resulted to a lot of conflicts in many African countries. Majority leading to loss of lives of children, women, men, and a whole generation lost in war. This study shall examine how Africa through the African Union’s Peace and Security Council interpreted African solutions to African problems, in regards to conflict resolution or management. Hence this chapter shall interrogate PSC’s mandate in conflict resolution and various conflict’s that have wrecked Africa.

#### **4.1 The Peace and Security Council**

The African Union has eleven organs, which aid it in its functionality as well as achieving its mandate as a regional body in Africa. The Peace and Security Council (PSC) is among AU’s eleven organs.

The Peace and Security Council is a structure which transitioned from OAU's Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict prevention, management and resolution. It was however slightly restructured to aid in better response to crises and conflict situation in Africa.

Promotion of Peace, Security and Stability prominence among AU's missions and visions mandated the AU to establish the PSC as a measure toward collective security. Its core functions involving; conducting early warning in order to facilitate timely and efficient responses to conflict and crisis situation. Participating in preventive diplomacy, expediting peace-making, and establishing peace support operations in which, in unavoidable situations, they recommend interventions in Member States to promote peace, security and stability. This notwithstanding, the PSC equally partakes in peace-building, post-conflict reconstruction, humanitarian interventions and disaster management.

The functions of the PSC are crucial in Africa, due to the fact that peace, security and stability in Africa, will exponentially promote sustainable development in the continent. This will alleviate poverty levels, raise living standards in many poor African states, and position Africa as a crucial and prominent decision maker in the world, both economically and through natural resources.

Thus, AU member states, found it prudent for the Peace and Security Council to establish a working document, which clearly demonstrates how it is bound to achieve its mandate. This led to the documentation and establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

The Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) has structures, principles, and most important, a decision making process which endorses prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts, post-conflict reconstruction and sustainable development.

Epitome of APSA's structure is the Peace and Security Council, with the Commission, The Panel of the Wise, The Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), African Standby Force (ASF) and the Peace Fund aiding in effective and efficient functionality of the PSC.

Subsequently it's commissioning through the AU's constitutive Act article 20 in conjunction with article 9 and 2 of the Constitutive Act of 2002, the PSC has had to prove its worth in regards to effectively and efficiently carrying out its mandate.

Thus, Africa having been wrecked with crises and conflict, from inter- state, to intra-state, examining various conflicts in Africa and their resolution methods, will aid in understanding PSC's function in Africa's peace and security towards attaining sustainable development, as it partners closely with the United Nations and Regional Economic Communities( RECs) and Mechanisms.

## **4.2 Mapping Conflicts in Africa**

### **4.2.1. Inter-State Conflicts**

#### **4.2.1.1 Libyan-Egyptian War**

Diplomatic relations between Libya and Egypt were deteriorating since 1973 due to breakdown of unification talks between the two countries and Libyan's president's opposition to President Anwar Sadat's peace policy. This peace policy was not very popular in the Arab states as it upset the Muslim Brotherhood, as Sadat seemed to have restrained efforts to guarantee a Palestinian state.

In 1976, due to the relationship deteriorating between Egypt and Libya, President Sadat continued to concentrate troops towards the Libyan border, and gained support from the United States.

President Gaddafi was viewed negatively and an attempted coup was suspected to be President Sadat's mission of waging war with Libya.

However, in 1977, President Sadat requested the American government to aid in reconciliation talks with Libya, but this did not deter Libya from ordering all Egyptians living in Libya to return to Egypt or face arrest.

July 21, 1977, Libya waged war against Egypt and they retaliated killing 400 Libyans and injuring several others, with only 100 Egyptians dead.

### **Conflict Management/ Resolution method**

This led to a ceasefire with efforts of mediation by Algeria's president and Palestinian liberation organization leader Yasser Arafat. President Sadat ordered his troops to stop the war and agreed to an armistice.

In August 1977, prisoners of war were exchanged through an agreement, and this eased the tension between Egypt and Libya.

#### **4.2.1.2 Chad- Sudan Conflict**

The Chad and Sudan conflict was a continuation of competition for power and land, and the internal Chadian conflict also played part in this. The Sudan government for many years tried to oust the Chadian president Idriss Deby and used Chadian rebels as middle men. The Sudan government armed and enabled the three Chadian rebels and Chad armed and enabled the Sudan rebel group.

The reason for the onset of this war was pegged on four distinct reasons, the first being land and power, the second, internal conflict in Chad, the Sudan government used this as a strategy to

manage security around its borders with weak states as extension with its limits and finally, the regional competition for dominance through a massive area of central Africa.

Chad has been a country in conflict, inflicted by intra-state conflict between the Northerners and Southerners, until 2003 when Chad's conflict was as a result of a spillover of conflict from Sudan. The two countries were arming rebels and fuelling attacks in each other's countries, with Sudan working with Chad rebels and vice versa.

An attack was launched in Chad at its capital city N'Djamena on February in 2008 by three rebel groups. The rebel groups were former allies of President Idriss Deby, and accused him of corruption towards members of his own tribe.

This conflict has resulted in 250,000 Sudan refugees and 168,000 from Chad. In 2010, further 5,000 Sudan refugees migrated into West Darfur.

### **Conflict Management/ Resolution method**

The Chad government requested the United Nations to withdraw its troops from east Chad, on January 2009. The United Nations responded by revising its mission's mandate and recommending a gradual draw down and closure by close of the year. The UN then shifted its responsibility to protection of civilians, including displaced populations and refugees from Darfur to Chadian security forces.

2010 marked the end of a five- year war by Sudan and Chad when they signed an agreement for the restoration of harmony. This led to the return of Chadian rebel back to Chad from Sudan, the opening of the borders of Chad and Sudan after seven years, and deployment of a joint force to secure the border, and in six years, President Idriss Deby visited Khartoum.

#### **4.2.1.3 Sudan and South Sudan Conflict**

Sudan and South Sudan conflict started as a result of the fight for oil rich states between South Sudan's unity and South kordofan states. South Sudan was able to capture and occupy Heglig until Sudan's armies pushed them away.

On April 11 2012, after several attacks and counter attacks between Sudan and South Sudan, the vice president of South Sudan officially declared war towards South Sudan, halting all negotiations which were ongoing between the two countries. This standoff continued, with loss of lives, tankers and armories, until September 26, 2012 when an agreement about border, natural resources and security was signed and agreed upon.

This crisis led to various international reactions from the United Nations, African Union, Arab league, Iran, Israel, Kenya, United Kingdom, United States, Vietnam and Yemen. All this reactions called to an end of the conflict and an amicable agreement be ascended upon by the two countries.

#### **Conflict Management/ Resolution method**

As of April 15, 2012, Mohamed Kamal Amr the Egypt's foreign minister in Khartoum stated that Sudan had ruled any kind of negotiations with South Sudan until they vacated Heglig. However, when South Sudan retreated from Heglig, on May 22, Thabo Mbeki mentioned that the two countries were ready to return to the negotiation table.

Thabo Mbeki acted under the capacity of the African Union in this conflict, as an eminent person from the council of the wise. The onset of this led to signing of eight agreements by the two countries, and this aided in resuming important oil exports, demilitarizing a 10 km border line, returning of 350,000 barrels of south Sudanese oil to the world market.



They further outlined the parameters to follow in regards to demarcation of borders, protecting each other's citizens and an economic agreement. However, vice president Riek Machar of South Sudan mentioned that the deals did not address the imminent issue of Abyei.

#### **4.2.1.4 Djiboutian- Eritrean border Conflict**

The Djibouti and Eritrean conflict was triggered by the Franco-Italian border agreement in 1900 which was appended upon by France and Italy, in which case, Italy got Eritrea and France got Djibouti. However Ras Doumeira, an area between the border of Eritrea and Djibouti was never resolved under the Franco-Italian agreement.

Djibouti in 2008 alleged that Eritrea took advantage of Djibouti when it allowed its track into its country to get sand, then resulted into digging trenches at the border of Djibouti and Eritrea, with an intention of marking Ras Doumeira as an Eritrean territory.

This standoff caused a full blown war to occur between Djibouti and Eritrea. In response to the international reactions and call to stop the conflict, Djibouti mentioned it did not intend to engage into any confrontation with Eritrea but they cause it, as they wanted to forcefully occupy Ras Doumeira which according to Djibouti it is a section of their territory.

#### **Conflict Management/ Resolution method**

There has not been a concrete conflict management/resolution method, even though, the African Union's Peace and Security Council urged the two countries to engage in restraint in order to resolve the dispute, as well as to fully cooperate the AU mission sent to Ras Doumeira.

Owing to the standoff with the AU mission, the United Nations passed resolution 1862 and urged dialogue between the two states. This led to the two countries deciding to involve Qatar as a mediator, and the AU welcomed the idea.

#### **4.2.2 Intra-State Conflicts**

##### **4.2.2.1 Libyan Civil War**

The Libyan civil war began with protests intending to evolve the political standoff in Libya with a rally towards democracy. This was influenced by the Arab Spring. The former President, the late Muammar Gaddafi was termed a dictator, and Libyans demanded for a free state, in which case, they are not ruled or governed by a gag. This began in 2011, and subsided with the killing of Muammar Gaddafi, after which, another government was reinstated but instability is still experienced in Libya, with many rebel groups taking control of the country.

##### **4.2.2.2 Tunisia Revolution**

Tunisian revolution was a mass action call for civil resistance. This revolution led to the ousting of President Ben Ali and the start of democracy. President Ben Ali had ruled Tunisia since 1987 to 2011 when his government was overthrown.

This revolution took place for three weeks and six days, with the return to calm being the inauguration of a new government. The new government was a constituent assembly, which after a period of time, also led to subsequent protests against the Islamic led government to which they resigned and dialogue ensued discussing the country's transition. Reactions in regards to this change of regime was welcome by most states and organizations.

#### **4.2.2.3 Algerian Civil War**

The Algerian war was conflict between the government and various Islamic rebel factions. This war caused extreme brutality against civilians, with many journalists and foreigners falling victim of the war.

The Civil war was politically instigated, as the fight for power and control of the country was evident. The tussle for power between Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) party and National Liberation Front (FLN) party, led to a break out of guerrilla warfare, to the point of transition. The period for the guerrilla warfare, various Islamic armed groups took a hardline stance against negotiations with the government stating, there shall be no agreements, dialogue or truce.

As a conflict resolution strategy, in order to end the civil war, with negotiations and dialogue failing, it was prudent for another election to be conducted. This led to a decline of war as General Liamine Zérroual won and created an army government. Subsequently in 1999, a parliamentary election was conducted and Abdelaziz Bouteflika became president.

#### **4.2.2.4 2008 invasion of Anjouan**

The invasion of Anjouan was as a result of irregularities in elections, which the then president Mohamed Bacar insisted on its legality, conducted the elections and claimed a landslide victory. This was a victory not supported by the Africa Union, given its illegality and under the leadership of Jakaya Kikwete threatened an invasion to oust the government if negotiations by the South African President Thabo Mbeki does not yield any results.

The negotiations with Mohamed Bacar led to him agreeing to hold a re-election in 2008, and Thabo Mbeki regarded this as a stall to AU's decision to invade Comoros and oust Mohamed Bacar from Anjouan. This operation was famously tagged as operation Democracy in Comoros.

The Africa Union was convinced that invasion was the best result to resolve this stalemate, hence engaged the Africa Union Stand by Force which comprised of troops from Sudan, Tanzania, and Senegal, with logistical support from Libya and France. The AU invasion was successful and Mohamed Bacar and his followers were prosecuted.

#### **4.2.2.5 Rwandan Civil War and the Genocide**

The Rwandan Civil War which started in 1990 was conflict between Rwandan government and Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). This led to formation of various war groups, fighting for power, between the Tutsi and the Hutu. This was resolved by the Arusha Accords to create a power sharing government, and stopped the civil war in 1993.

The Arusha Accords being implemented under former late president Juvénal Habyarimana, brought peace and calm to Rwanda, however, in 1994, late president Juvénal Habyarimana was assassinated and the beginning of the Rwandan Genocide.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) the United States (US) and France, having been involved in the civil war, were incapacitated to deal with the magnitude of the crises that was outlet with the onset of the genocide. The UN was slow to respond and resulted to peace enforcement missions sent to Rwanda, this was successful, leading to President Paul Kagame's leadership term.

#### **4.2.2.6 Kenyan Crisis**

The Kenyan crisis was a political, and ethnically charged crisis, which took place in 2007-2008. It was triggered by the alleged rig of election by the former President Mwai Kibaki over the alleged preferred candidate, former Prime Minister Raila Odinga. The Violence was majorly instigated against the Kikuyu and stemmed from the Rift Valley.

The Peace process, was initiated by the African Union through Kufuor and preceded by Kofi Annan. This was a process which involved both the AU and the UN. It led to signing a peace agreement and a coalition government with equal power sharing. This agreement included reforming institutions and is being implemented by the Kenyan government, a process which started being implemented by the Raila- Kibaki coalition government.

#### **4.2.2.7 2013 Guinea Clashes**

This were politically instigated clashes, as the 2013 general elections were disputed. This clash later morphed into ethno-religious fighting.

This lead the AU, EU and the UN to call for peace and calm as well as protection of the civilian as live bullets had been used against protestors by the police. They also emphasized the need for calm as it was not good for Guinea. The government took head to calls for return to peace and calm, and the government took action to ensure peace and calm returned to Guinea, including postponing the 12 May elections.

#### **4.2.2.8 Second Liberian Civil War**

This was a political conflict between two rebel factions from the North and South of Liberia. Their aim was to take over Liberia, and the government under Charles Taylor could not fight them off. The killings during the war was characterized by ritualistic influence, as they believed the more children were killed and sacrificed so were they immune to bullets.

The UN military took over Liberia, as they were in a peacekeeping mission and were heavily armed. They engaged in a disarmament process and were able to momentarily return the country back to peace, with women also demonstrating and advocating for peace. However, the fragile

nature of Liberia's neighboring countries threatened to invoke fresh fights in Liberia and incomplete disarmament.

### **4.2.3 Ongoing Conflicts**

#### **4.2.3.1 Egyptian Revolution**

In 2011, Egyptians took to the streets to cause a revolution, as they complained of state of emergency laws, corruption, lack of freedom of speech, desire to raise minimum wage, unemployment and police brutality. This was a strategy towards ousting President Hosni Mubarak.

The ousting of President Hosni Mubarak was successful, and was succeeded by Mohamed Morsi, to which his regime was also overthrown and he had to flee Cairo. The state was temporarily run by the military, dissolved and new officials elected through their first parliamentary election.

Egypt's unrest since 2011 has however not subsided, and is ongoing, especially with the conflict between the government and the Muslim Brotherhood. Egypt has been highly unstable since 2011. Unfortunately no concrete action has been taken by the African Union, through its Peace and Security Council.

#### **4.2.3.2 War in Darfur**

The conflict in Darfur, Sudan began in 2003. The conflict was an attack against the government, due to grievances of discrimination between the black and the Arab Sudanese. Two rebel groups; Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) launched an attack against the government of Sudan.

The government responded to this attacks, by launching an operation of ethnic cleansing against the black Sudanese. This has been termed as a genocide, and hold the President of Sudan as a

person of interest in the International Criminal Court (ICC) with crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes.

In an effort to return calm back to Darfur, JEM and the Sudan government signed a cease fire agreement accompanied by a tentative agreement in pursuit of peace. This although has not been the case since the government attacked a section of the JEM killing many people, leading to the JEM declaring no peace shall return to Darfur.

#### **4.2.3.3. Islamist Civil War in Somalia**

This is an insurgent war against the government of Somali by Islamist insurgent groups, which aim to take control of the southern part of Somali. The government of Somali, assisted by the African Union peacekeeping troops has been engaged on an ongoing battle between the Islamist insurgents and Africa Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) as well as the Somali government.

#### **4.2.3.4 Conflict in the Niger Delta**

Conflict in the Niger delta has been due to the fight for natural resources. The minority groups in the delta express their concerns of being exploited, hence raising ethnic and political tension in the area.

The competition for oil has fuelled discord between ethnic groups, promoting militarization of the entire region by militia groups. Piracy and kidnappings have been characteristic of the violence in the region.

The Nigeria Delta Avengers (NDA) a militia group publicly announced their existence in 2016, and have attacked oil producing facilities in the delta. This has hampered Nigeria's oil production and budget, as it is a country which hugely relies on the oil to sustain its economy.

#### **4.2.3.5 Kivu Conflict**

The Kivu conflict began as an armed conflict, between the government and the militia group. The United Nations forces are involved in a peacekeeping mission in the region. Congo has experienced several failed peace deals, and the conflict has transitioned into a natural resource based conflict.

#### **4.2.3.6 Burundi Civil War**

The Burundi Civil war took place between 1993 and 2006. It was a political war, instigated after gaining independence from the Belgium in 1962. This war resulted to 300,000 deaths and President Pierre Nkurunziza taking power guided by the Arusha Peace Accords.

Burundi Peace keeping mission involved track 1 mediation where eminent persons were involved, the UN and the AU, this resulted to an inter-ethnic power sharing government, and lead to peace and calm in Burundi, after more than a decade of civil war.

In 2015, the announcement of President Pierre Nkurunziza running for a third term in office sparked protests with those opposed to his re-election, claiming he did not honor the peace deal. The protests and unrest grew worse when the High Court proclaimed that the incumbent president could seek re-election. There was an attempted coup d'état which failed and raised tensions in Burundi.

The Africa Union, European Union and United Nations had warned against conducting the elections as they would not be fair, and would cause a possible relapse into violence, which was ignored. Violence continues to strike Burundi as deliberations on stopping the violence is ongoing.



### **4.3 Understanding Conflicts trends in Africa**

Through and understanding of Conflicts trend in Africa, a pattern can easily be derived to expound on possible triggers to conflict and crises in Africa. Politics, natural resources and territorial protection prominence as frequent triggers to intra-state, inter-state or secessionist conflict has developed a pattern.

In cognizance of AU's efforts to promote stability peace and security in the continent, it is apparent that the PSC has utilized its mandate in the PSC protocol to actively involve the panel of the wise in peace initiatives in Africa. The panel of the wise has acted upon the virtue of prevention and mediation.

The Panel of the Wise through the PSC protocol affirms the need for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction. Its primary role is to advise the Peace and Security Council on modalities of handling a looming or ongoing conflict or crises. However, based on the PSC protocol, they also engage in fact finding mission which aid in preventing escalation of a disagreement into conflict, shuttle diplomacy, encouraging political dialogues, assist and advise parties on how to resolve disputes in relation to implementation of peace agreements, support mediation teams, and formal negotiations.

In further analyzing and understanding conflict trends in Africa, it is clear that conflicts or crises in Africa manifests within certain conditionality's, which are; unsteady development, weak states and institutions, governance, democracy and electoral violence, regional spill overs, partial national frameworks and institutions for peace, population trends and dynamics, poverty and equality, coordination of peacemaking efforts as well as emerging, recurring and ongoing conflicts.

### **4.3.1 Unsteady development**

The African continent has been on a quest for development, and the 21<sup>st</sup> century, through the Chinese interest in Africa, it has started actualizing its development goals. However, the lack of stability in most African states, has rendered the African continent underdeveloped, or experience unsteady development.

This has been theorized through the center-periphery theory. It posits that power needs to be evenly distributed and not centrally concentrated which is a contradiction with dependency theory. This is because, it not only poses a challenge for governance, but is a prologue to instability and a risk to peace and security. Unprecedented though, it is a characteristic to majority of African governments, with leaders controlling power and resources. Thus, in order to counter this phenomenon, rebellions, dissent and state destabilization erupt.

### **4.3.2 Weak States and Institutions**

The African continent since 1960s, transitioning into 1980s to date has been positioned like a pawn. It grapples with maintaining a world order which requires its actualization of ‘democracy’ and ‘freedom’, policy initiation, trade and investment, as well as other development programme, from its former colonial masters, in order to develop.

This has created a hurdle, towards a colonialism mentality, to which, African states inherited their methods of development which has proved to maintain a status quo in Africa. Due to colonialists interest creating a vacuum which has taken decades to figure out, a concentration to establishing effective state institutions for governance and socio-economic development has been overlooked.

This resulted in festering ethnic and tribal tensions. Consequently, states in Africa have had a battle with containing secessions, tribal wars, and border disputes. Hence, in order for Africa to be able

to succeed in achieving sustainable peace and security, it not only needs effective and efficient states, but those which have well-functioning institutions which will eventually promote the notion of nation state.

#### **4.3.3 Governance, Democracy and electoral violence**

African leaders have often been accused of leading their countries as a separation of power or personalizing governance. This has periodically led to defiance, thus, a surge in uprisings, rebellions and even dissents. Countries like Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire and Zimbabwe among others have experienced this kind of backlash from its citizens.

Appreciating that in contemporary Africa, elections represent the connection between democracy, governance and peace, this vividly explains consistent violence after an election which was deemed not free and fair. This threat of electoral violence demonstrates that certain African leaders deem to be elected at all cost despite emanating from weak states.

Against this background, it is clear that democracy and advancement of good governance is crucial in Africa's realization of stability and sustainable peace and security. Recognizing that several African states are battling internal challenges, to which, secession is among that, such as Kenya in Mombasa, Zambia in the North and DRC in Katanga.

This demonstrates that peacemaking in Africa should not only strive to mitigate conflicts, rather understand root causes. This is because proactive conflict management, which is what Africa is accustomed to, is not sufficient. As addressing indicators of conflict only, heightens possibility of recurrence or relapse very likely.

#### **4.3.4 Regional spillovers**

Evidenced by spillover effects in the Sahel, Horn of Africa, Mano river region and Great Lakes region, it is clear that conflicts in Africa, hugely results to spillover effects. Through policy and scholarly research, conflicts in Africa have also been qualified to exude a regional nature. They are usually characterized by transnational conflicts which have linkages across borders; from population transfer, to arms and armies, to finances and conflict apparatus across porous borders.

This has raised an alarm in pattern towards subsequent conflict dynamics in one country effecting a neighboring conflict. It has been theorized that Boko Haram in Nigeria, are rooting their attacks due to narcotics trade in Guinea-Bissau from the Atlantic via Mauritania, to Mali, Niger and eventually Nigeria. Boko Haram have been alleged as lead this trade as source of income for their sustainability.

This opens up regional spillover of conflict to a multi- level and pronged option of conflict resolution, in which case, the dynamic characteristics proliferating at different levels will aptly be dealt with. This demonstrates that regional approaches to conflict does not disprove national efforts to achieve peace and security, rather they complement in order to realize sustainable peace.

#### **4.3.5 Partial national frameworks and or institutions for peace**

In relation to African Renaissance towards development and economic growth, it is prudent to also promote national frameworks or institutions for peace, which main role is to promote and ensure peaceful co-existence in their countries.

In Africa, South Sudan was the first nation to create a Ministry for Peace, after which it was downgraded to a commission. Protracted conflicts escalate in countries such as Chad, the DRC,

Libya, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan among others. This has periodically been compounded by lack of vivid national frameworks and or institutions for peace.

#### **4.3.6 Poverty and Inequality**

Inequality and poverty are major impediments to development in Africa. They have often been considered among the core causes of conflict and crises in Africa. This is majorly due to lapse in good governance, and the manipulative leeway elites cultivate in perpetuation of patronage politics.

Elites promote the notion of ethnicisation of politics which has picked momentum and is consequently becoming a trend in Africa. This notion is optimized to link inequality with ethnicity or identity. This is prominently referred to a social contract.

Thus relating this situation with the theory of relative deprivation in which case, communities engage in conflict when there are perceptions of inequality. The uprising in North Africa has been optioned as a response to inequality gap. This can easily be intertwined with religious marginalization, gender imbalance as catalyst of social unrests.

#### **4.3.7 Coordination and Peacemaking efforts**

Appreciation of peacemaking institutions and organizations are a good sign towards the need to promote peace and security in Africa, it also falls prey to derailed peace processes. Côte d'Ivoire and Madagascar are a good example of countries with ample and plethora of peacemaking intermediaries, which has eventually led to no success.

The lack of success, has been linked to various peace process running parallel, causing confusion and duplicating roles. This further leads to a precipice of complicating this conflicts and any efforts

to resolve them. Thus the need to develop and implement a clear strategy of mundus operandi for division of labor as well as eventually avoiding overcrowding of mediators on resolving the same conflict situation.

#### **4.3.8 Emerging, Recurring and Ongoing conflicts**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the continent still is grappled with challenges of recurring conflicts, such as Burundi, emerging such as in Zambia and DRC as well as ongoing such as Mali and South Sudan. Thus the Horn of Africa, Sahel region, West Africa and Great Lakes are those currently most affected.

Thus in spite of recent constructive developments towards starting and operationalizing the APSA, Africa still experiences high incidence of violent conflict, which derails its development and hinders peace and reconciliation efforts.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

Analyzing Burundi's situation, one can sum it up as a reflection of Africa's conflict resolution strategy. It also questions the regional bodies' responsibility to own up to Africa's need to arrive at solutions to African problems.

Africa has been a continent under siege since the colonial times, and it is still a continent, amidst the path to development experiencing various challenges. The biggest inept challenge to Africa can be summed up as conflict.

Conflict in Africa can be concluded to be due to failing political processes, the need to acquire immense illegal wealth, gain and cling on to power, the dwindling definition of ethnicity and togetherness, as well as conflict resolution practitioners on targets to arrive at calm based on a donors prescription, and not a personal initiative towards attaining an actual positive peace towards sustainability.

The thesis has endeavored to understand Burundi as a case study to the underlying problem in regards to Africa and attaining sustainable peace. Regional bodies, the Africa Union acting as the standard operating procedure to peace missions, has been a subject of study in this thesis. The African Union has been used as a benchmark in understanding peace processes in Africa and examining various countries and their status in regards to peace processes.

In a mission to understand and analyze the questions lingering in regards to peace processes, the thesis has given this analysis and drawn recommendations and conclusion. The recommendations

and conclusions shall be instrumental in making an effort towards ensuring peace processes become more sustainable and Africa achieves its desire towards a developed, secure and peaceful continent.

## **5.1 Summary**

Conflict management or resolution is an international phenomenon with standard operating procedures. It is a process which respects the rule of law and governing structures in the world. It varies and is customized based on various conflict scenarios and environments. However, the methods of management are standard.

Burundi has been a country under siege, rocked with decades of conflict, which has re-occurred. This however is not unique only to Burundi, as majority of African countries which have experienced conflict have relapsed back into them after a period of calmness. Understanding the underlying causes of recurrence in Burundi based on a conflict management lens, could aid in critically analyzing peace processes in Africa.

The African Union has been the regional body which represents Africa's dreams and future. Through its policies and guidelines, African nations conform and function aptly. Thus, examining Africa Union's mandate in Africa's conflict resolution or management processes, aids in understanding steps Africa takes in peace processes. As well as in deciphering where the problems of achieving sustainable peace stems from.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The recurrence of conflict in Africa has become somewhat of a norm in the continent, and this begs the question, which methods peace makers employ. Whether they customize based on countries uniqueness, whether they use a generalized peace process, whether they endeavor to



understand and analyze root causes of conflict? And what their missions and vision are in any conflict railed situation.

It is clear and apparent that in Africa a lot needs to be done when it comes to conflict management/ resolution. This is due to the fact that when an issue is persistent then a critical evaluation of the process is imminent.

Peace and conflict practitioners, be it on organization level, regional, local or international, eminent persons, governments or civil society, need to go back to the drawing board. Evaluate each peace process as a unique case, be it having recurred or not. This will enable the peace practitioners to efficiently and effectively respond to conflict situations as well as address them for sustainability.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

#### **5.3.1 Africa Union needs to initiate and champion proper diagnosis of conflict situations**

Africa Union's reaction to conflict resolution or management is usually more reactionary other than preventive. It is important for the Africa Union and other regional bodies to adopt a more preventive measure of approach compared to a reactionary one, one's conflict breaks out. This is because, a conflict environment is very dynamic, based on the actors involved. A conflict situation, for example, in the case of Burundi was not initially ethnically charged, but due to the dynamism of the situation it stemmed various causative issues. This poses a challenge to a peace practitioner, thus, the inevitability of figuring out the causative issue of any conflict, in order to attain sustainable peace.

Equally, understanding that a peace process is costly, emphasis on preventing conflict is fundamental. This enables Africa takes charge of its situations and not be slowed down due to

inadequate machinery or funds to run the process. Dependency on donors by Africa states in order to solve a conflict situation could also compromise a peace process. Due to conflict of interest from the donors on the county in conflict.

### **5.3.2 Africa Union needs to ensure effectiveness and quality of peace Agreements**

The Africa Union should ensure that Peace agreements are geared towards addressing the structural issues in conflict other than the immediate conflict issues. Various practitioners often work towards attaining immediate calmness instead of rationalizing the entire peace process. This is because, the moment peace agreements are extensive and thorough, it limits the possibility of a conflict recurrence. This is so because, the most contentious and debatable issues have been adequately addressed within the peace agreement.

This brings to the fore, the issue of timed peace agreements. Peace agreements should not be given time limits on when they should be drawn up for agreement. Acknowledging that peace agreements are an integral part of any peace process, it should not seem somewhat a form of ‘ceasefire’ and not a means to an end of conflict. Thus, it possess the challenge of implementation of peace agreements and an easy disengagement from the agreement and back into conflict or a stalemate. An example is the current situation in South Sudan, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) rushed through formulating a peace agreement, which later proved fruitless and not bidding.

### **5.3.3 The Africa Union should create synergy among various peace and conflict actors**

Africa has many peace and conflict actors, from international organization, international non-governmental organizations, regional organization and bodies, non-governmental organizations,

and civil society organizations. The Africa Unions mandate of coordination should not only end and start with regional bodies, but virtually every practitioner in peace and conflict.

It is critical and fundamental for standardized operations in regards to conflict given various interests from various actors. Some interest, for example, like it DRC, wrecks the country into more havoc than calmness. This is because, some interests are geared towards more donor fund, some towards unrest making arms trade easy, some towards smuggling of mineral resources, thus expanding the black market and fuelling conflict.

It will also aid in regularizing duplication of activities between or among organizations in the field of peace and conflict. This will ensure that the conflict environment remains calm and with less confusion on who is the originator of which method or idea of conflict management/resolution. This enables sanity and lack of confusing towards parties to the conflict, yielding a more comprehensive and effective solution to end conflict.

#### **5.3.4 African Union should encourage innovate peace making processes**

Peace making or peacekeeping is an international phenomenon applied to restore a country in conflict back to calmness. It has international standardized operating procedures which are universally employed in any conflict situation. However, each country in conflict exhibits its own unique needs, and the African Union should encourage peace practitioners to be innovative based on conflict situation on ground.

For instance, the truth and justice commission process of gacaca courts in Rwanda could not be replicated and employed in Kenya after the 2007/2008 post-election violence. This is because, the Kenyan audience and environment is unique compared to that in Rwanda. Thus, in as much as

there are written rules and regulations on conducting peace processes, there are also unwritten rules as well.

The unwritten rules should enable peace practitioners, initiate best results out of a peace process compared to implementing every written rule. When the late former President Nelson Mandela was the mediator in the Burundi civil war, he was able to achieve what his predecessor Mwalimu Julius Nyerere could not. This was due to understanding his environment and customizing the peace process based on the uniqueness of the Burundi conflict. This is an art which the African Union should encourage peace practitioners to employ.

### **5.3.5 African Union should enhance post-conflict reconstruction**

Post-conflict reconstruction initiatives should be enhanced to enforce peace agreements. This will enable adequate understanding and interpretation of the peace agreements. Understanding Burundi and its conflict genesis and transition, one is able to decipher the importance of post conflict reconstruction, even in the case of South Sudan, Mali, and DRC.

This is because parties to a conflict are likely to manipulate a situation which best suites their interests based on a particular time and need. Thus even the most comprehensive and well comprehended peace agreement can be manipulated, if not guided post-construction process is given to a particular conflict situation. Thus a well enhanced and effective post-conflict reconstruction process will aid in plunging a country back into sustainable peace and development.

### **5.3.4 Further Research**

There is need for further research to be conducted in this area of study so as to enable Africa become a peaceful continent. Also to aid all organizations implementing peace and conflict programmes or initiatives to find solutions towards a lasting peaceful solution

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