



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (DDIS)

**THE ROLE OF POST-CONFLICT STATES IN REGIONAL SECURITY AND
CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF RWANDA 2007 TO 2020**

BY

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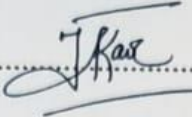
**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN STRATEGIC STUDIES**

09 SEPTEMBER 2022

DECLARATION

STUDENT

I, the undersigned declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented to any other University.

FREDRICK CHELOGAM Signed..........Date.....09/09/2022.....

SUPERVISOR

I confirm the work reported in this research project was conducted by the candidate under my supervision

Signed..........Date.....9th Sept. 2022.....

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my family, the Directing Staff of Command & Staff College KAREN and colleagues of Grade 2 Command & Staff Course No. 37 of 2021/2022 for the moral support

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I would thank the Chief of the Defence Forces (CDF) and the Commander Kenya Army (KA) for having nominated me for the Grade 2 Command & Staff Course KAREN. Further, I would want to thank the Department of Diplomacy and International Studies (DDIS) for accepting my application for the Post Graduate Diploma (PGD) in Strategic Studies. Also, I would like to acknowledge the support of the Commandant Command & Staff College KAREN (CSC), Members of the Directing and support staff and DDIS Lecturers for the support during the Course work and this project writing. Finally, I would importantly that my family and colleagues of G2 course No. 37 of 2021/22 for the moral support during the course work and project writing.

ABSTRACT

A few states such as Rwanda stand out globally following significant political, social, and economic progress after successful efforts in internal conflict management. This study sought to investigate the applicability of the Rwandan conflict resolution strategies in countries facing conflicts. The main objective of this research was to establish the role of post-conflict states in regional security and conflict management in Africa. Specifically, this study aimed at; investigating the efficacy and role played by Rwanda as a case study in conflict management in Africa. The study was qualitative. Some mechanisms used in conflict management such as negotiation, mediation, arbitration, reconciliation, NGO's engagement, preventive diplomacy, peace keeping operations as well as use of indigenous models were used in Rwanda and continue bearing an impact given her efforts in peace keeping across Africa. Coming from a history of ethnic biases, division, and savagery, Rwanda's efforts taken to resolve conflicts were compelling positively impacting her economic recuperation, administration, infrastructure restoration, and improvement of her citizenry's welfare. Rwanda's approach to post-conflict peace-building was multidimensional which should be commended. The study recommends adoption of indigenous peace building initiatives like those in Rwanda in addition to provision of basic human needs and liberties to forestall cleavages in society leading to armed conflicts.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
APSA : African Peace and Security Architecture
AU : African Union
AMISOM : African Union Mission in Somalia
CAR: Central African Republic
DRC : Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOWAS : Economic Community of West African States
ERA : Environmental Rights Action
GNA: Government of National Accord
GNC : General National Congress
HIV/ : human immunodeficiency virus
HoR : House of Representatives
IGAD :Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IED : Improvised explosive device
ISIS : Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
LPA : Libyan Political Arrangement
MINUSCA : Mission in the Central African Republic
MINUSMA : The UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MONUSCO : The United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MRG: Minority Rights Group
NURC :National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
NGOs : non-governmental organizations
NMLA : National Movement for the Liberation of Azawa
OHADA : Organization for The Harmonization of Business Law in Africa
ONUC : UN Operation in the Congo
OAU : Organization of African Union
PSC: Peace and Security Council
SADC : Southern African Development Community
TPIR Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda
UIS : Institute for Statistics
UN Assistance Mission in Somalia
UNEP: The United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO : The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN : United Nations
UNMISS: United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNSMIL : The UN Support Mission in Libya
UNSOM: UN Assistance Mission in Somalia
UCDP : Uppsala Conflict Data Program
USA: United States of America
USAID : United States Agency for International Development

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

According to statistics, over the last fifty years, violent wars have erupted in about thirty African countries, accounting for 65 percent of the continent's countries.¹ Some of these conflicts have lasted for years with sixty-four percent of them ending within five years or less, while twenty-two percent ended after eleven years or more. Long-running conflicts have been and continue being seen in nations such as Angola, Somalia, and Ethiopia. The Sudanese civil war for example, lasted from 1983 to 2005 and was one of the world's longest-running conflicts.² Moreover, at least forty percent of all global wars between 1955 and 2009 were experienced in Africa ranging from ethnic conflicts and extremist wars. Similarly, 67 percent of all radical wars waged worldwide in the year 2000 were in Africa. In this chapter, the background of the study, problem statement, objectives, study questions, literature review, theoretical framework and, methodology of the study on conflict management in Africa in general and Rwanda in specific will be attempted.

According to the United Nations, between 1990 and 2009 African countries accounted for more than a third of all ethnic clashes. Since 2010 three wars were fought in Africa in 2011, and four in 2012. In contrast to intra-state warfare, most of these conflicts occurred within a single country or state- some spreading to neighboring countries. For example, war in Rwanda had ramifications on other crises in Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania, and the Democratic

¹ Zakiyah, Zakiyah. "Regional Security in Africa the Dynamic and Challenges." *Journal Administrasi dan Kebijakan Kesehatan this can also be translated into English just like the title of the article? Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (2015): 119-126.

² Meier, Barbara. "Powerful Spirits and Weak Rulers: Prophets' Authority in Acholi Conflict." *Spirits in Politics: Uncertainties of Power and Healing in African Societies, Frankfurt and New York: Campus* (2013): 223-245.

Republic of Congo worsening already difficult situations in these in the Great Lakes region.³ To quell the violence in various parts of Africa, a variety of peacekeeping missions by organizations such as the United Nations (UN) the defunct Organization of African Union (OAU) or the African Union (AU) have been used with mixed success.⁴ For instance, the United Nations task in Rwanda was to defend people against genocide inflicted by opposing forces and was largely successful,⁵ while the UN mission in Somalia, aimed at stopping violence between Somali warlords was not.⁶ The African Union (AU) mission in Cote d'Ivoire that erupted in late 2010 and initial 2011 was not able to resolve the crisis similar to the mission in Libya that necessitated NATO's intervention.⁷

The failure of United Nations peacekeeping missions in most African states as well as significant changes in world politics prompted the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to conduct a major self-examination regarding their intervention in that African region.⁸ Kofi Annan, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, stated in 1998 that "Africa must assist itself." This implies that Africa must deal with the conflicts that affect them.⁹ Many scholars, however, have questioned the validity of this idea of regional security, particularly in Africa.

¹⁰ As a result of this consensus, some experts believe that the expression "African solution for

³ Kodjo, Tchioffo. *Mali Conflict of 2012-2013: A Critical Assessment: Patterns of Local, Regional and Global Conflict and Resolution Dynamics in Post-colonial and Post-cold War Africa*. Lambert Academic Publishing, 2015.

⁴ Karlsrud, John. "The UN at war: examining the consequences of peace-enforcement mandates for the UN peacekeeping operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali." *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (2015): 40-54.

⁵ Cellar, Douglas F., Zachary C. Nelson, Candice M. Yorke, and Cara Bauer. "The five-factor model and safety in the workplace: Investigating the relationships between personality and accident involvement." *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the community* twenty-two, no. 1 (2001): 43-52.

⁶ Zakiyah, Zakiyah. "Regional Security in Africa the Dynamic and Challenges." *Journal Administrasi dan Kebijakan Kesehatan Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (2015): 119-126.

⁷ Vines, Alex. "A decade of African peace and security architecture." *International Affairs* 89, no. 1 (2013): 89-109.

⁸ Chapman, Terrence L., and Dan Reiter. "The United Nations Security Council and the rally 'round the flag effect." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (2004): 886-909.

⁹ Kritz, Neil J. "Coming to terms with atrocities: A review of accountability mechanisms for mass violations of human rights." *Law & Contemp. Probs.* 59 (2013): 127.

¹⁰ Wagner, Cara Marie. "Reconsidering peace in the Horn of Africa: The impact of increased cooperation and the African Peace and Security Architecture." *African Security Review* 22, no. 2 (2013): 39-53.

African problems" was devised to describe how regional concerns must be addressed by their own people and governments.¹¹

Based on the above, Africa is expected to deal with her insecurity concerns using her own strength and resources, which may include financing for its missions and providing soldiers. Considering local people have a better knowledge of the difficulties and resident standards, their solutions are usually more appropriate for the current predicament than those offered by outsiders. Some of the peacekeeping initiatives in Africa, include Missions by the AU's Peace and Security Council (PSC) as well as the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).¹² Some scholars have however, pointed out that such regional security organizations lack the necessary competencies, as well as the necessary financial and military resources, to carry out their tasks on the ground.¹³ As a result, local refuge in Africa ought not to be left to its own devices.¹⁴

1.1 Background of the Study

In the last two decades, Rwanda has achieved enormous political, social, and economic progress in the aftermath of 1994 genocide pitting the Hutus against the Tutsi and moderate Hutus 1994. With a Gross Domestic Product growth of 7.8% in 2013, Rwanda was listed as the world's ninth fastest growing economy.¹⁵ Today, according to the International Monetary Fund, Rwanda ranks fifty-two out of 185 nations on the ease of doing business and eight on the ease of establishing a business. She, is on her way to becoming a developed country with

¹¹ Wagner, Cara Marie. "Reconsidering peace in the Horn of Africa: The impact of increased cooperation and the African Peace and Security Architecture." *African Security Review* 22, no. 2 (2013): 39-53.

¹² Makinda, Samuel M., and F. Wafula Okumu. "The African Union-Challenges of Globalization." *Security and* (2008).

¹³ Vines, Alex. "A decade of African peace and security architecture." *International Affairs* 89, no. 1 (2013): 89-109.

¹⁴ Williams, Paul D. *The African Union's conflict management capabilities*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2011

¹⁵ Rwigema, P. "C.(2021). Portrait of developing economy: Rwanda perspective." *The Strategic Journal of Business & Change Management* 8, no. 3: 637-680.

the following factors; increased self-sufficiency via safety and security, zero-tolerance for corruption, and a declared aim of eliminating dependency on overseas foreign aid (which now accounts for around 40% of its budget).¹⁶ Her economic progress has been made possible by her leaders' bold and innovative thinking in adopting necessary steps to avert bloodshed arising from ethnical differences.

The Rwandan government on January 7th, 2003 initiated a plan to release up to 40,000 convicts suspected of participation in the 1994 killing against the Tutsi with the aim of achieving nationwide integration and cohesion.¹⁷ Arising from the 1994 genocide, Rwanda was confronted with the difficult challenge of reintegrating genocide culprits back into their societies, bringing justice to the victims, and establishing values of peace that would allow the country to rebuild from the scratch.¹⁸ This time-consuming process compelled Rwanda to address a complex past story of state enforced cultural philosophy that aggressively split the very communities they are attempting to unite.

To promote unity, reconciliation, and peace in the country, the Rwandan government established the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) whose mission was to assist communities embrace post-conflict peace structure initiatives by authorizing persons to take accountability for the program's victory.¹⁹ Additional steps comprised of outlawing genocidal philosophy and substituting cultural identification tags with nationwide solidarity initiatives as part of a broader national "Rwandan" identity. These efforts, taken together, began to restore order to a society that had been devastated by ethnic conflict. It is against this background that this project sought to find out whether these initiatives can be adopted

¹⁶ Lambourne, Wendy, and Lydia Wanja Gitau. "Psychosocial interventions, peacebuilding and development in Rwanda." *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 8, no. 3 (2013): 23-36.

¹⁷ Colomba, Vanessa M. "Post-Conflict Peace Building in Rwanda, the Effect on Youth, And the Development of Bright Future Generation, NGO." PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Lowell, 2013.

¹⁸ Kritz, Neil J. "Coming to terms with atrocities: A review of accountability mechanisms for mass violations of human rights." *Law & Contemp. Probs.* 59 (2013): 127.

¹⁹ Government of Rwanda, 1999; Nantulya & Alexander, 2005

for conflict resolution by other countries facing circumstances like those in pre-genocide Rwanda.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Armed conflicts caused by among other factors persistent inequalities (economic, social and political) have direct impacts such as significant human and material losses in a state, in addition to weakening a country's ability to address root causes of the conflict. This raises the potential of new conflicts that could be extra expensive and detrimental to a nation's structure. These armed conflicts at times spill over into neighboring nations, rendering entire areas vulnerable to intercommunal rifts, violence, and wars in the process. As a result, the importance and impact of conflict management strategies and mechanisms cannot be ignored. Some states such as Rwanda, have accomplished significant political, social, and economic progress following years of conflict management initiatives. This study sought to investigate the efficacy and applicability of Rwandan conflict resolution strategies in countries facing conflicts and Rwanda's role in regional security, conflict management and resolution across Africa.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this research was examining the role played by post-conflict states in regional security and conflict management in Africa.

Specifically, this study aimed at.

- i. Investigating the conflict management mechanisms and the state of security in Africa
- ii. Examining Rwanda's post conflict management mechanisms between 2007 and 2020
- iii. Investigating the role played by Rwanda as post-conflict state in regional security and conflict management in Africa

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What conflict management mechanisms exist in Africa?
- ii. How effective have post conflict management mechanisms in Rwanda been between 2007 and 2020?
- iii. What role does Rwanda as post-conflict state play in regional security play and conflict management in Africa?

1.5 Literature Review

Many conflict-torn countries (such as Burundi and Somalia) are poorer and less developed than their neighbors placing more emphasis on studies on the interconnections between sustainable peace-building and socioeconomic growth in a “post-conflict” context.²⁰ Post-conflict settings are usually marked by "multiple transition processes," which include the transition from war to peace, as well as other processes like as democracy, decentralization, and market liberalization among others. The transition of war-torn civilizations into peaceful, stable and wealthier societies is an enormously difficult undertaking, frequently subjected to conflicting forces and the risk of relapse into violence because of the process.²¹

There are significant differences between countries that are in the post-conflict stages of development in terms of their economic status and potential, their political systems, their bureaucratic capacities, and the level of security in the nation itself. This diversity is important in the design of post-conflict policies, for example, policies meant to facilitate rebuilding, promote long-term healing, and minimize the chance of recurrence of war, among other things. Therefore, rather than assuming that one size fits all approaches would work in all scenarios, it may be beneficial to create a typology of situations that post-conflict policymakers may encounter.

²⁰ Kritz, Neil J. "Coming to terms with atrocities: A review of accountability mechanisms for mass violations of human rights." *Law & Contemp. Probs.* 59 (20will13): 127.

²¹ *Ibid* p.125

1.5.1 Conflict and Post-Conflict States

The word "conflict" is derived from the Latin word "to collide or fight," and it refers to a dispute among one or more parties who are seeking conflicting or competing means or goals. It is also a significant quarrel or argument, usually one that lasts a long time. When conflicts are managed or regulated effectively, the chances of them becoming violent become minute. Some conflicts are "mutually rewarding," whereas others irritate one or both parties.²² A post-conflict setting on the other hand, could be thought of as a moment of changeover between previous war and future peace, a period that brings with it a batch of new issues.²³ Whether a war was civil or international in scale, ended with a peace treaty or a military victory, the end of a war is a moment for states to solidify political achievements. Such changing phases need adjustment for foreign actors as well, such as the United Nations, which is transitioning from peacemaking to peacekeeping. After the war has ended, new actors, such as development organizations and humanitarian groups, may enter the picture and adjust to the changing situation.²⁴

Unfortunately, after a civil war, public trust in government is low, especially if members of the post-conflict administration are linked to the discredited regime that ruled before and during the fight.²⁵ The entire political, administrative, and judicial class will be viewed as untrustworthy, inept, and dishonest, and far more interested with self-benefit than with the nation's well-being. People's trust in the military, the police, and the legal system will be at an all-time low with politicians at all levels being blamed for the civil war's injustices,

²² Wolff, Stefan. "Post-Conflict State Building: the debate on institutional choice." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 10 (2011): 1777-1802.

²³ Wallensteen, Peter, and Isak Svensson. "Talking peace: International mediation in armed conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (2014): 315-327.

²⁴ Wallensteen, Peter, and Isak Svensson. "Talking peace: International mediation in armed conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (2014): 315-327.

²⁵ *Ibid* p. 45

marginalization, and divisions. The governments, and even the state's legitimacy is called into question.

According to Stefan²⁶ post-conflict environments are characterized by weak societal structures. Certain conflicts are national in scope (e.g., Rwanda), while others are restricted to specific regions of a country (South Sudan). Ethnic and economic inequality, social marginalization of segments of the population, social injustice, competition for finite resources, poverty, lack of democracy, ideological issues, religious divides (Nigeria and Sudan), and political tensions are only a few of the causes.²⁷ Conflicts in Sudan, Burundi, and Rwanda are mostly the outcome of historical differences between ethnic or tribal groups within the population.²⁸

A post-conflict condition on the other hand, refers to a "conflict condition in which open violence has ended." Such settings can readily revert to large-scale violence after years or decades of tension." Granted there is a lack of war in post-conflict zones, true peace is many times not there. According to Lakhdar Brahimi, the termination of war presents prospects for permanent peace, necessitating the building of long-term institutions capable of providing long-term security.²⁹ Long-term conflict on the other hand can result in horrible human loss and physical destruction, as well as the collapse of the structures and institutions that keep a stable society running, which are precisely the systems that need to be resurrected.

1.5.2 Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

According to Angela, M, conflict resolution mechanisms are procedures for managing disagreements or aiding the nonviolent and satisfying end of a dispute or conflict. People,

²⁶ Wolff, Stefan. "Post-Conflict State Building: the debate on institutional choice." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 10 (2011): 1777-1802.

²⁷ Ibid p.34

²⁸ Wolff, Stefan. "Post-Conflict State Building: the debate on institutional choice." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 10 (2011): 1777-1802.

²⁹ Ibid p.45

organizations, and institutions hold a variety of perspectives and actions on how disagreements are resolved in numerous pasts, physical, radical, financial, and national settings and constructions, with some approaches being empirically supported while others are based on prior experience and precedent, and some are authoritative or intuitive in nature³⁰.

The collection, analysis, and sharing of information about these processes has resulted in the establishment of related areas within the subject of peace and conflict studies. These include alternative dispute resolution mechanisms such as mediation, negotiation, case examination, initial unbiased assessment, facilitation, pacification, and adjudication, diplomacy and peacebuilding. Due to its multidisciplinary nature, peace and armed conflict studies draws on scholarship from a wide variety of theoretical fields, plus societal psychology, law and economics, as well as political science.

Following a review of the extant African studies literature on conflict resolution and management, it was discovered that these emerging themes can be used in resolving conflicts in Africa. There have been several violent and persistent battles on the African continent, both intra-regional and intercontinental in nature. It is necessary to engage in conflict situations rather than isolate them; to engage in active discussion and collaboration; and to practice conflict resolution mechanisms to analyze, manage, resolve, and alter the broad spectrum of war circumstances prevalent through Africa.

Numerous scholars on armed conflicts in Africa today contend that conflict resolution strategies and mechanisms must address root causes of conflicts. These mechanisms and strategies must use multiscale viewpoints (separate, national, regional group) in examining

³⁰ Meyer, Angela. "Regional conflict management in Central Africa: from FOMUC to MICOPAX." *African Security* 2, no. 2-3 (2009): 158-174.

conflicts.³¹ This involves understanding the origin, causes, factors and outcomes of conflicts in modern Africa in connection to their postcolonial settings by both scholars and policymakers. Other variables to be considered include national, spiritual, radical, and ecological elements of a conflict, in addition to population demographics. The responsibilities of stakeholders in post-conflict resolution and reconstruction must likewise be established and assessed on a regular basis to guarantee that the process is effective in African conflicts.

1.5.3 Post-Conflict Initiatives in Africa

According to Munyangwa, et. al, one of the AU initiatives inherited from the OAU the peace intervention programme in Burundi following conflicts there in 1994. Through OAU/AU influence, warring parties agreed to a power-sharing deal in 2001, later establishing a multi-disciplinary African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB) in 2003 composed of three thousand troops from Ethiopia, Mozambique and South Africa. This mission was charged with protection of returning political activists and refugees as well as demobilization of armed groups and general peacekeeping. The general aim of this mission was supporting the Burundian state build her capacity to develop her territory, fight natural disasters and promote financial investments.

Another initiative attributable to the AU was her intervention in Somalia. According to Muriithi, the AU's initiative aimed at establishing a stable transitional government in Somalia through dialogue, stabilization and creation of peace building institutions through restoration of constitutional normalcy. The AU supported the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) which through continuous dialogue established several fragile transitional governments since 2003. The UN deployed 1700 peacekeeping troops from Malawi, Ghana, Burundi, Uganda and Nigeria to support the Somali Peace Process. Another

³¹ Deng, Francis M., Sadikiel Kimaro, Terrence Lyons, Donald Rothchild, and I. William Zartman. *Sovereignty as responsibility: conflict management in Africa*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

mission is the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) established in 2004 to avert and stop conflict between government forces, militias, rebel groups and civilians in the Darfur region. The Darfur conflict, reminiscent to that in Rwanda, was fought by militias, armed bandits pitting Indigenous Africans against Arabic Africans resulting in the displacement of over two million civilians and mass killings. The result was the Abeche Agreement signed between the main rebel group, the Sudanese Liberation Movement, and the state in which all parties agreed to a ceasefire, disarming of armed groups and provision of passage for humanitarian aid for civilian populations.

African Union initiatives such as the above highlight a few key points (i) AU peacebuilding approaches are unique given the fact that a number of them were transitional from OAU initiatives, (ii) AU peace building initiatives are all-encompassing and multidisciplinary through anticipation, de-escalation, securing, monitoring and supporting of peace-conflict developments, (iii) AU interventions in domestic affairs are legally justified by the AU Constitutive Act which established the Peace and Security Council, (iv) AU interventions form part of a Comprehensive African Peace Architecture such as the African Standby Force in all Africa's five regions, (v) AU interventions promote AU-UN cooperation. These initiatives are however impaired by (i) Over-reliance on external funding for peacebuilding, (ii) the obsession with saving the inherited neo-colonial states. In the context of this research on Rwanda, societal healing and reconciliation following the 1994 genocide was spearheaded by among other initiatives the Interpeace and Never Again Rwanda (NAR) aimed at consolidating peaceful coexistence among Rwandese people as well empowering people in using existing administrative levels to communicate their needs and concerns. More initiatives of this kind are examined in this research.

1.6 Justification of the Study

This project sheds light on how conflict resolution and management mechanisms can aid peace building in Africa following Rwandan example. Moreover, the study, is justified by the interrelation of peace building concepts and the role of different stakeholders towards contributing to peace building. Considering that many African states have tried various means to try settle armed conflicts unsuccessfully as well as in state building and managing community conflicts, the study is justified as it will enrich and fills the gaps in the existing literature. This research is also justified by the impacts of peace building initiatives in Rwanda and her contribution towards global peace and conflict resolution. The research is finally justified as it adds to the body of existing knowledge regarding conflict management efforts through context-based experience in Rwanda, by engaging in deep analysis of how grassroots actors can contribute to peace building efforts.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study on conflict resolution mechanisms and management in Africa, is guided by John Burton's human needs theory as well as Roger Fisher and William Ury's negotiation theory. Burton's theory explains ethnic conflicts as emanating from denial of biological and psychological needs necessary for growth and development among warring groups. The theory gives examples of these such as the need for identity, security, recognition, participation and autonomy and has been used to explain ethnic conflicts in Africa where these needs are not easily satisfied by undemocratic regimes. The theory goes beyond other theories that blame conflicts in Africa on primordial differences by pointing out the place of institutions in satisfying basic human needs of the citizens. Where institutions fail to meet these needs, conflict is inevitable. In the context of this research, development of conflict resolution mechanisms requires negotiations between belligerent parties hence the

negotiation theory. Fisher and Ury argue that set out two broad beliefs for principled negotiating which are, (i) participants being analytical people, with (ii) the goal being reached efficiently and amicably. For successful peace building, conflicting parties as we shall see, are required to (i) separate the people from the problem, focus on interests and not positions, (iii) invent options for mutual gain, and lastly (iv) insist on the use of objective criteria in arriving at peace.

1.8 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses guided this research study:

- i. Conflict resolutions mechanisms in Africa have improved the state of security in the continent.
- ii. Rwanda's indigenous post conflict management mechanisms between 2007 to 2020 have improved her national security.
- iii. Rwanda's role and homegrown peace-building initiatives has had a positive impact on regional security in Africa.

1.8 Methodology

The primary technique that was employed in this research was a review and analysis of existing literature. This method differs from other techniques in that it does not directly deal with the subject matter; rather, it acquires and evaluates data and information from a variety of sources, including published and unpublished literature. This enables the identification of the themes covered by contemporary literature, as well as the importance of the literature, its limits, and any promise it may contain. In addition, the research gathered secondary sources of data in respect to the plans, policies, journals, books, newspapers, magazines, and organizations reports discussing the effectiveness of conflict resolutions. To analyzing

qualitative data, thematic or content analysis was used. The contents of the data were summarized, and this information was used as an opening theme for additional examination. To draw inferences from secondary data, it was necessary to evaluate similarities and differences.

1.9 Chapter Outline

In Chapter one the background of the study, problem statement, objectives, study questions, literature review, defense of the study, theoretical framework, Methodology of the study are covered followed by an examination of various conflict management mechanisms used to solve different cases in African states in Chapter two. An examination of successful and unsuccessful states is done in this chapter. Chapter three then analyzes the effectiveness of the conflict resolution mechanisms in Rwanda while giving a deeper insight of how the country overcame the conflicts and mechanisms still in operation in maintaining peace. In Chapter four data analysis on role played by Rwanda in aiding recovery of in other post-conflict African states is attempted whereas in Chapter five a summary of the findings, conclusions and the recommendations are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT MECHANISMS IN AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the research problem and relevant data were introduced with focus on conflicts in Africa and a few conflict resolution mechanisms explored. In this chapter, an exposition of the types of conflicts experienced in Africa and various conflict mechanisms that have been used in solving these conflicts will be examined. In specific, this chapter will explore conflicts such as resource-based skirmishes, civil unrest, political and identity conflicts, among others. In addition to these, case scenarios of various post conflict states that have succeed and those that have failed in resolving the conflicts together with those still in a state of conflict and need help will be examined.

2.1 Types of Conflicts Experienced in Africa

A close examination of Africa's various conflicts reveals two broad categories: intra-state and inter-state conflicts. An intra-state conflict is a state-based conflict between a government and a non-state actor that occurs within a state. Inter-state conflicts, on the other hand, are disputes between two or more governments; multiple states participate in this case. These two broad types of conflict can be further subdivided based on the issue at stake (resources and interests versus values and ideology), the arena in which the conflict is fought (families, communities, countries, or regions), and the contending parties (persons, organizations, classes, or peoples). These can be used to identify the following types of conflicts that occur in various African states and throughout the continent.

2.1.1 Political Conflicts

A political conflict arises when two actors in a society have significant 'positional differences.' This conflict is defined as "an outgrowth of power competition that frequently serves as the foundation for a politicization of ethnic differences, abuse of political power and authority, the presence of militias in political parties, and limited opportunities for effective political participation." Coups, clashes between political parties, personalities, and clashes between traditional and formal authorities are all examples of ways in which political conflict can manifest.³² In Africa, the transition from single party to multiparty systems, from authoritarian rule to democratization, and from conflict to peace, provides a catalytic environment for political conflict. These transitions and a lack of participatory democracy in parts of Africa have at times led to tensions resulting in power vacuums or new power positions challenging old ones.

Although democratization has been successful in a number of African countries, for example Botswana, Ghana, and South Africa, many other African countries, such as Mali, Chad, Congo, Central African Republic, and Côte d'Ivoire, do not inspire hope for the future of democratic rule.³³ In the countries just mentioned, violent conflict erupted as a result of the annulment of a free and fair elections, with serious internal political violence erupting. These means that elections have become one of the battlegrounds for power and theaters for political conflict as most countries transition to some form of democracy. Electoral violence because of flaws caused by heavily rigged elections, with winners seeking to exclude some actors or entire sections of the country, or incumbents refusing to submit to the will of the people as expressed through the ballot box has led to armed violence political conflicts.

³² Gluhbegovic, Rebeka. "Types of conflict in Africa." *Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA)* (2016).

³³ <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/democracy-in-decline-in-africa-not-so-fast>

2.1.2 Civil Unrest

Protests, riots, revolts, rallies, and uprisings by a portion of the population in reaction to socioeconomic and political grievances are referred to as civil unrest. These activities can be led by organized or disorganized groups, directed at both state and non-state actors, and can be violent or peaceful in nature. Urban regions with significant unemployment and inequality, such as metropolises, are more prone to experience unrest.³⁴ A section of a country may be involved in a civil rights conflict because the people (or a group of people) believe the social framework is intended to exclude or marginalize them and thus seek to correct the situation. Giving people a fair share of their country's power and resources and thus increasing their sense of belonging and commitment is usually the issue in civil rights conflicts. These types of conflicts give credence to Burton's human needs theory.

Arising from socioeconomic, civil, and political issues, civil unrest has erupted in several African countries. Some of this unrest has been met with or escalated into violence by security forces. South Africa's recurring violent service delivery protests, in which protesters destroy property and chase away municipal officials, are one example. Their persistence over time shows that the issues are not being addressed adequately or quickly enough. Protests are also frequently met with violence in Ethiopia and Sudan and the authorities downplaying the number of anti-government protesters killed in June 2016 in Ethiopia for example.³⁵

Civil unrest has the potential of creating regional repercussions. As the North African uprisings showed, unrest in one country exacerbated tensions in another. The apparent lack of focus on civil unrest could indicate that countries do not regard it as a major threat, or that

³⁴ Kunkeler, Josjah Betina, and Krijn Peters. "The boys are coming to town": Youth, armed conflict and urban violence in developing countries." *International Journal of Conflict and Violence (IJCV)* 5, no. 2 (2011): 277-291.

³⁵ Bentley, T., K. Han, and M. Okuru. "Aalen, L.(2011). The Politics of Ethnicity in Ethiopia: Actors, Power and Mobilisation under Ethnic Federalism. Boston, MA: Brill. Abbink, J.(2006). 'Discomfiture of Democracy? The 2005 Election Crisis in Ethiopia and Its Aftermath'. *African Affairs*, 105 (419), 173–199. Africa Research Bulletin.(2014). 'Ethiopia: Ginbot 7 Leader Extradited'. Africa Research."

they lack the political will to address the causes. Either of these poses a risk because unrest will grow and evolve unless underlying socioeconomic, political, or other relevant issues are addressed. The uprisings in North Africa demonstrated how neither governments nor the African Union were prepared to deal with the events.

2.1.3 Resource Based Conflicts

Africa is endowed with an abundance of natural resources, including 30 percent of the world's mineral reserves and the world's largest arable land mass. However, these riches have not resulted in concurrent development. Furthermore, these natural resources have exacerbated a slew of conflicts, earning them the reputation of being a curse rather than a blessing. Natural resources have been linked to at least 40 percent of intra-state conflicts in the world over the last 60 years. According to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), resource-based conflicts are twice as likely to reoccur within five years as conflicts unrelated to resources. Conflicts over resources have destabilized countries, weakened or changed regimes, displaced people, and destroyed infrastructure. They are not bound by borders and include a wide range of actors, from local to worldwide scale. In some cases, resource-based conflicts have been used to gain tight control over the state and thus over the resources, whereas in others, they have occurred with no regard for the state at all. These conflicts symbolize the immense importance of resources in meeting basic human needs as Burton argues.

³⁶ Oyinlola, Mutiu A., Oluwatosin A. Adeniyi, and Ibrahim D. Raheem. "Natural resource abundance, institutions and economic growth in Africa." *African Journal of Economic and Sustainable Development* 4, no. 1 (2015): 34-48.

³⁷ Dang, Hai-Anh H., and Andrew L. Dabalen. "Is poverty in Africa mostly chronic or transient? Evidence from synthetic panel data." *The Journal of Development Studies* 55, no. 7 (2019): 1527-1547.

³⁸ Conca, Ken, and Jennifer Wallace. "Environment and peacebuilding in war-torn societies: Lessons from the UN Environment Programme's experience with post conflict assessment." *Global Governance* (2009): 485-504.

³⁹ Maphosa, Sylvester Bongani. "Natural Resources and Conflict: Unlocking the economic dimension of peacebuilding in Africa." (2012).

Climate change, population growth, poor governance, the availability of arms, and unsustainable and inequitable exploitation have all contributed to the escalation of resource-based conflicts. For example, farmers' and nomadic pastoralists' clashes in Kenya have turned violent and lethal owing to negative climatic effects. Sierra Leonean rebels on the other hand, funded their militant operations through the extraction and illegal trade of diamonds and other resources. Such profiteering can lead to a protracted conflict as some parties begin to benefit from the war economy and thus have no desire to end the war. Resource conflicts therefore have the potential of escalating into inter-state or regional conflicts due to competition for resources or disputes over ownership and use of these resources. Lake Nyasa, which Tanzania and Malawi share, is one example, with Malawian investors accused of oil exploration and fishing on the Tanzanian side of the lake.

2.1.4 Identity Conflicts

An Identity Conflict is defined as the use of exclusionary identity by one party over another. Identity can be defined as ethnicity, religious affiliation, spatial identification, or race. Exclusionary identity loyalties may be bolstered by socioeconomic-cultural and or political grievances, contributing to the 'othering' or 'dehumanization' of specific groups. The most important social bonds in Africa have been discovered to be ethnic and regional identity.⁴¹ Therefore, competing loyalties exist in many African countries along national, ethnic, religious, and other lines.⁴² Another type of identity conflict in Africa is Xenophobia that has been experienced in nations such as South Africa and Zambia. In addition to the above is the issue of governance systems that have the potential to either encourage cooperation or

⁴⁰ Poncian, Japhace, and Henry Kigodi. "Natural resource conflicts as a struggle for space: The case of mining in Tanzania." *RIMCIS–International and Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences* 4, no. 3 (2015): 271-292.

⁴¹ Basedau, Matthias, Gero Erdmann, Jann Lay, and Alexander Stroh. "Ethnicity and party preference in sub-Saharan Africa." *Democratization in Africa: Challenges and Prospects* 347 (2013): 188-215.

⁴² Seife, Kidane. "Being, Belonging and Becoming in Africa: A Postcolonial Rethinking." *The Strategic Review for Southern Africa* 43, no. 2 (2021): 260-283.

exacerbate identity conflict. Kenya, Mali, Nigeria and Rwanda have all experienced conflicts fueled by identity issues.

In many cases, identity has become politicized because of colonialism and the subsequent co-option of groups by external powers or internal mismanagement and power struggles, with some identities privileged and others marginalized, or perceptions of undue benefit by one group causing tensions that can lead to conflict. Although the inherent problems of colonialism's artificial borders have resulted in some ethnic groups being found in two, three, or even more African countries, opposing tribal or ethnic groups are primarily found within national borders. The African continent's borders allow various groups to coexist in a single country, distinguished by ethnic, religious, linguistic, spatial, and other markers. Nigeria, for example, is one of the most linguistically and ethnically diverse countries on the planet.⁴³ Neocolonial arrangements characterizing many African governments exacerbate these conflicts in postcolonial Africa. African governments that have remained unchanged and continue serving colonial interests have also been known to sponsor some inter-ethnic conflicts as a divide-and-rule strategy.

2.2 State of Security in African States

Since the end of the Cold War, Africa has seen a disproportionately high number of armed conflicts.⁴⁴ According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), there were around 630 state-based and non-state armed conflicts in Africa between 1990 and 2015. The causes of Africa's many violent wars are still contentious. Nonetheless, between the early 1990s and the late 2000s, Africa made significant progress in reducing the number and severity of violent

⁴³ SULE, Ha4eem Habdul. "Ethno-linguistic Issues of Democratization in Africa: Prospects and Challenges." *Geolinguistic Studies in Language Contact, Conflict, and Development: Volume 1* 1 (2018): 227.

⁴⁴ Marquette, Heather, and Danielle Beswick. "State Building, Security and Development: state building as a new development paradigm?" *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 10 (2011): 1703-1714.

conflicts. However, since 2010, there has been an alarming upsurge in conflict patterns across the continent.

State-based armed conflicts and purposeful campaigns of violence against ordinary people have seen substantial reversals in their decrease; religious and natural elements are becoming increasingly important in a wide range of armed conflicts; the number of popular demonstrations across the continent has risen dramatically; and bomb attacks and the use of improvised explosive device (IED) attacks have risen tremendously. Global endeavors to answer to a portion of these advancements by sending more vigorous and militarized types of peace bringing activities and interventions have had limited success. This study centers on the significant examples in armed conflicts in Africa starting around 2010. Even though there are some similarities to prior periods, policymakers and analysts are now interested in armed conflicts on the continent in their efforts to devise successful solutions.⁴⁵ Following are a few case studies starting with the Democratic Republic of Congo.

2.2.1 Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)

The battle in DRC is one of Africa's bloodiest. According to Reuters, the Congolese civil war has claimed the lives of more than five million people since it started in 1998, with twenty different armed fighting one another. Majority of these belligerent groups, and others from surrounding nations took advantage of the Congolese landscape to conduct wars on their own countries. Some merely exploited the country's resource richness, such as gold, platinum, and coltan, further fuelling the conflict.⁴⁶ Among the armed groups operating in the Kivu region are the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (DFLR), a Burundian rebel group operating in South Kivu, a Ugandan rebel group based in the Rwenzori Mountains in eastern Congo, another Ugandan rebel group based

⁴⁵ Brons, Maria H. "Society, Security, Sovereignty and the State: Somalia." *From Statelessness to Statelessness* (2001): 2001.

⁴⁶ Weiss, Herbert F. *War and Peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*. Nordic Africa Institute, 2000.

along the northern border, the National Forces of Liberation (NFL), Mai-Mai militias and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).

In the first half year of 2019, around 732,000 additional people were displaced by armed violence in the DRC, with another 14,000 displaced by natural disasters, presenting significant issues for the DRC government. In response to armed violence, the UN sent into the DRC around 18,500 UN peacekeepers, comprising of police authorities and military, to protect civilians from armed gangs while helping in demilitarization, reintegration, and deactivation of armed groups. This United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, abbreviated as (MONUSCO) has also assisted in developing institutions and initiatives for the successful disarming, demobilization, and reduction of violence in the DRC community.⁴⁷

2.2.2 South Sudan

Following prolonged civil warfare in Sudan between the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Sudan government lasting two decades, South Sudan was inaugurated as a free nation in 2011. Raw materials, notably oil fields in the newly autonomous South, became a source of tension. President Salva Kiir's Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) has had tense relations with a faction, headed by Mr. Kiir's previous Vice President Riek Machar. Since the conflict started in 2013, over 380,000 civilians have died with more than two million displaced from their homes. Following armed conflicts between the government powers and rebel forces in 2015, an international agreement was conceived but it has taken till 2018, when a broad international agreement was struck leading to some semblance of stability and a solidarity government.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ De Goede, Meike. "Private and public security in post-war Democratic Republic of Congo." *The private security sector in Africa: Country series* (2008): 35-68.

⁴⁸ Krause, Jana. "Stabilization and local conflicts: communal and civil war in South Sudan." *Ethnopolitics* 18, no. 5 (2019): 478-493.

These efforts were supported by the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) which since 2011 to date has had approximately 17,000 military and regular citizen faculty. This mission, in addition to peacekeeping, protects critical infrastructure, vulnerable populations and demobilizes armed groups through a combination of harmony, populace assurance, philanthropic alleviation activities among the people. The mission also supports women's participation in political activities. In the next subsection, the UN mission in the Central African Republic.

2.2.3 Central African Republic (CAR)

CAR has been in unstable stable for the last few years. The Séléka rebel movement attacked Bangui, the country's capital, in March 2013, seeking to overthrow President François Bozizé's government.⁴⁹ In April 2014 the United Nations Security Council created the UN Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) with over 14,000 troops whose goal was to support provision of humanitarian assistance, protect civilians, and assist the government disarming, retiring, and reintegrating former soldiers and armed rebels in the country. In February 2019, the CAR government and fourteen rebel parties supported by the UN and the AU made a peace agreement aiming at stopping armed violence, supporting political institutions for the country's social and economic progress. Sadly, over 600,000 people have been internally displaced, with a considerable number dying.⁵⁰

2.2.4 Libya

Armed conflict in Libya started in 2011 when Muammar Gaddafi's government crumbled, with belligerents fighting over control of Libya's oil fields.⁵¹ In 2014, a House of Representatives was inaugurated with administrative control over southern and eastern Libya.

⁴⁹ Lombard, Louisa, and Sylvain Batianga-Kinzi. "Violence, popular punishment, and war in the Central African Republic." *African Affairs* 114, no. 454 (2015): 52-71.

⁵⁰ Marchal, Roland. "Central African Republic: Back to War Again?" *Global Observatory* (2013): 1-3.

⁵¹ Williams, Paul D. "The Road to Humanitarian War in Libya." *Global Resp. Protect* 3 (2011): 248.

Warring parties consented to the formation of the Libyan Political Arrangement (LPA) in December 2015, the precursor to the Government of National Accord (GNA) supported by the UN. This UN backed administration unfortunately faces armed attacks from armed groups in Libya.

In April 2019, Khalifa Haftar- leader of the Libyan National Army, controlling a large swathe of the nation, launched an assault against Tripoli leading to the displacement of over 128,000 people and death of over 1,000 people. The UN backed conflict resolution mechanisms initiated have not worked with the two belligerent players reliant upon external help for arms and ammunition.⁵² The UN Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) was created in September 2011 to help Libya in their post-conflict struggles including but not limited to supporting the LPA's strategy execution as well as demobilization of armed groups within the country.

2.2.5 Nigeria

Following the emergence of the Boko Haram militant group in Nigeria in 2009, armed violence in northern Nigeria has now spread to adjoining nations like Niger, Cameroon, and Chad. The major goal of this jihadist group, according to Abubakar Shekau, was to combat what it perceived as the westernization of Nigerian culture. Shekau pledged allegiance to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2015, renaming his group the Islamic State of West Africa. In the battle against Boko Haram in Nigeria, more than 30,000 people have been killed. A total of two million people have abandoned their homes, with an additional 22,000 people reported as missing. A notable example is the kidnapping of 276 young women from a school in Chibok, a town in Borno State, upper east Nigeria, in April 2014 by the Boko Haram.⁵³ To counter this uprising a joint team of around 10,500 peacekeeping soldiers from

⁵² Forte, Maximilian Christian. *Slouching Towards Sirte: NATO's War on Libya and Africa*. Montreal: Baraka books, 2012.

⁵³ Jorre, John de St. *The brothers' war: Biafra and Nigeria*. Faber & Faber, 2012.

Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria, Niger and Benin are on the ground to protect civilians and restore law and order in northern Nigeria.

2.2.6 Mali

Still in the Sahel region, northern Mali was invaded by Tuareg rebels belonging to the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawa (NMLA) in 2012. Beforehand, a majority of Tuareg rebels had gone to Libya in support of Muammar Gaddafi's military. After Gaddafi's administration fell in 2012, they returned with superior arms launching attacks in northern Mali.⁵⁴ A litany of armed groups now exist in northern Mali. In May 2015, the Malian government and two rebel groups, consented to a peace deal aiming at stopping ongoing bloodshed, intercommunal skirmishes and terrorist attacks.

In support of conflict resolution mechanisms, the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) was formed in April 2013 for peacekeeping, demobilization and disarmament of armed groups in Mali. With 15,000 combatants, the mission seeks to enforce the nonaggression treaty signed by warring parties as well as demilitarize, retire, and reintegrate armed groups in Mali as well as protect civilians, assist with restoration of administrative institutions. Unfortunately, MINUSMA has been one of the UN's most troublesome missions, having experienced huge misfortunes lately.⁵⁵

2.2.6 Somalia

Following the fall of President Siad Barre's administration in 1991, the civil war started. Without a central government, Somali regions fell into the hands of various warlords especially in central and south Somalia creating a vacuum for other extremist groups such as

⁵⁴ Heisbourg, François. "A surprising little war: first lessons of Mali." *Survival* 55, no. 2 (2013): 7-18.

⁵⁵ Gutelius, David. "Islam in northern Mali and the war on terror." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 25, no. 1 (2007): 59-76.

the Al Shabaab terror group . The Al-Shabaab was established by the Islamic Courts Union, which controlled Mogadishu in 2006 while the transitional federal government (TFG) operated from Kenya. On its return to Somalia, the Al Shabaab launched an offensive against the TFG in 2007, prompting deployment of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).⁵⁶

Since 2012, when another transitional federal government was installed, the civil war has killed thousands and displaced over two million people have been displaced because of clashes between Islamist groups and pro-government forces. The Al-Shabaab also attack civilians and state officers. In support of the TFG the UN Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM) and AMISOM are actively supporting basic liberties and women rights in matters related to conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence prevention.⁵⁷

2.3 Conflict Management Mechanisms

These are techniques for lessening negative effects of armed conflicts.⁵⁸ According to John Burton, conflict management involves the provision and satisfaction of basic human needs failure to which conflict is never far.⁵⁹ Peacemaking in this context infers strategies for the reduction in harmful impacts arising from conflicts and wars through an array of techniques and coordinated efforts between and among hostile parties.⁶⁰ Sometimes used interchangeably with conflict regulation, it carries the full range of active conflict management at various stages, including efforts to prevent conflict through active action.

⁵⁶ Bongartz, Maria. *The civil war in Somalia: Its genesis and dynamics*. Nordiska afrikainstitutet, 1991.

⁵⁷ Cassanelli, Lee V., and Catherine Basteman. *The struggle for land in Southern Somalia. The war behind the war*. Westview Press; Haan, 2014.

⁵⁸ Gent, Stephen E., and Megan Shannon. "Bias and the effectiveness of third-party conflict management mechanisms." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 28, no. 2 (2011): 124-144.

⁵⁹ Burton, John W. ",Conflict Resolution." *Prevention*. New York: St. Martin's Press (1990).

⁶⁰ Best, Robert B"Optimization of the additive CHARMM all-atom protein force field targeting improved sampling of the backbone ϕ , ψ and side-chain χ_1 and χ_2 dihedral angles." *Journal of chemical theory and computation* 8, no. 9 (2012): 3257-3273.

On the other hand, peace promotion refers to techniques for lessening negative elements arising from conflicts.⁶¹ Based on the above definitions, conflict management and resolution are methods of managing conflicts and supporting workable solutions. This requires examination of causes of conflicts in different political, geographic, financial, and social settings. The examination also covers an assortment of positions, individuals, and institutions using diverse research methodologies.⁶² In the next sub-section, some conflict management techniques in Africa will be examined.

2.4 Conflict Management in Africa

Africa has witnessed a myriad on conflicts in the recent past. For example, the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt in 2010, the Niger Delta conflict and Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and the Sahel. Resolving these violent conflicts requires commitment (rather than segregation), coordinated effort, dynamic correspondence, and conflict sensitivity (i.e., do no harm)- all essential for obtaining peace.⁶³ External, internal (Indigenous or localized), and hybrid peace techniques can all contribute to the creation and maintenance of peaceful conditions by individuals, groups and states. In this study, interstate conflict management, and resolution must address the source of the conflict. This requires an interdisciplinary approach, segregation of conflict and violence issues, the use of multiscale perspectives (individual, group, state, and interstate), as well as awareness of multicultural sensitivities in addressing sources of conflict. For example, conflicts over politics, religion, ethnicity, and the environment, as well as demographic pressures, are all potential sources of conflicts. This

⁶¹ Ibid p.45

⁶² Best, John R. "Exergaming immediately enhances children's executive function." *Developmental psychology* 48, no. 5 (2012): 1501.

⁶³ Tweet, Marysia S., Sharonne N. Hayes, Sridevi R. Pitta, Robert D. Simari, Amir Lerman, Ryan J. Lennon, Bernard J. Gersh et al. "Clinical features, management, and prognosis of spontaneous coronary artery dissection." *Circulation* 126, no. 5 (2012): 579-588.

calls for regular evaluation of the efficacy of post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction mechanisms on a regular basis to guarantee resolution of conflicts in Africa.⁶⁴

Daily headlines about violence and deaths in nations like Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Somalia, as well as rising tensions in others like Nigeria, demonstrate the necessity for innovative approaches to manage conflict in Africa. However, several African countries have achieved exceptional peacemaking, and this serves as a reminder that peace building efforts also work in Africa.⁶⁵ Infact, many conflicts in Africa have ended, and there are significant examples of conflict resolution attempts even in countries where tensions and bloodshed persist. Somalia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Sudan, Mozambique, Nigeria, Angola, South Africa, Uganda, Mozambique, Eritrea, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mali, Benin, Tanzania, Burundi and Ghana are among the African countries with ongoing conflict resolution initiatives in place.⁶⁶ Some of the techniques are considered hereafter starting with negotiation.

2.4.1 Negotiation

This entails direct communication between warring parties to resolve their disputes and establish a lasting peace. Understanding the reasons and push factors of a conflict with the goal of resolving it through dialogue is referred to as negotiation.⁶⁷ The basic philosophy of negotiation is to exploit as many of the opponent's faults and mistakes as feasible with the outcome deciding the agreements to be reached and their execution In this way, negotiation is a double-sided: it can either resolve or intensify conflict. While it is might be beneficial to forecast a negotiation's conclusion with absolute precision, there are a few assumptions that

⁶⁴ Tweet, Marysia S., Sharonne N. Hayes, Sridevi R. Pitta, Robert D. Simari, Amir Lerman, Ryan J. Lennon, Bernard J. Gersh et al. "Clinical features, management, and prognosis of spontaneous coronary artery dissection." *Circulation* 126, no. 5 (2012): 579-588.

⁶⁵ Sisk, Timothy D., and Andrew Reynolds, eds. *Elections and conflict management in Africa*. US Institute of Peace Press, 1998.

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Sisk, Timothy D., and Andrew Reynolds, eds. *Elections and conflict management in Africa*. US Institute of Peace Press, 1998.

can help. As a result, the negotiation's eventual outcome typically reflects the participants' relative power configuration.⁶⁸

If the frailer side in a negotiation does not show enough resolve to build a its credibility bar to make demands or defend positions, the stronger party will inevitably win control of the agenda. Because negotiation allows for unilateral changes to the rules of the game and the development of norms that all participants must follow in their common relationships, inability becomes a positional or distributional sort of bargaining. This dimension backs up Kissinger's remark that "weak people don't negotiate." It is however worth noting negotiation, on the other hand, can be collaborative if the disputing parties can work together and engage in fruitful positive simulation.

2.4.2 Mediation

Mediation on the other hand is a systematic, interactive process in which a neutral third party helps disputing parties resolve dispute using specialized communication and negotiating strategies. All mediation participants are urged to take an active part in the development. The mediation process nudges disputants toward a mutually acceptable compromise with the help of competent mediators, and it has the potential to alter conflicts so that they do not repeat. For example, in the years 1990-2005, 69 percent of all fierce ethnic crises in Africa had some type of mediation.

There are three fundamental styles of mediation: the manipulative methodology where the middle person turns out to be more self-assured and is not simply a data source; facilitative style, which is pretty much a two-way channel of data for entertainers to comprehend the shared conviction on which arrangement could happen.⁶⁹ Lastly we have the formulative style which involves giving considerable proposals to disputing parties, like ideas for

⁶⁸ Nader, Laura, and Elisabetta Grande. "Current illusions and delusions about conflict management—in Africa and elsewhere." *Law & Social Inquiry* 27, no. 3 (2002): 573-591.

⁶⁹ Nader, Laura, and Elisabetta Grande. "Current illusions and delusions about conflict management—in Africa and elsewhere." *Law & Social Inquiry* 27, no. 3 (2002): 573-591.

concessions that the parties could make.⁷⁰ In this method the mediator becomes proactive by introducing promptings and steers discussions towards a shared agreement. Scholars concur that while mediating in perilous intrastate emergencies that happen inside ethnically extended clashes in Africa can work to resolve the conflicts, it needs to be improved.⁷¹

In principle, the mediator's job is to collaborate with disputing parties in assessing thoughts and proposals leading to conflict resolution. The fact that mediation can help in talks by impacting the disputants' abstract perspectives and objective climate, it can likewise elevate stresses of steady battling and increment the need of direness encompassing considerations. The addition of new peace actors during peace talks in Burundi for example did not improve mediation efforts overall. Mediation has also been seen as permitting gatherings to assess their suspicions about their rivals' personality, objectives during peace talks. Therefore, mediation requires the utilization of influence, critical thinking abilities, procedure, and timing.⁷²

2.4.3 Arbitration

This is a method of disagreement settlement in which warring parties present their dispute to a third party who reviews all the evidence and then renders a judgement on their behalf.⁷³ To put it differently, arbitration is a directed, coercive, and evaluative mechanism in which one side wins and the other loses. In this situation, the participants agree to accept an arbitration tribunal's verdict. Arbitration, on the other hand, may be hard to apply in cases involving administrative power or a regional power balance. In 2002 for example, arbitration was positively used to resolve a dispute between Nigeria and Cameroon over the Bakassi oil-rich Peninsula.

⁷⁰ Nader, Laura, and Elisabetta Grande. "Current illusions and delusions about conflict management—in Africa and elsewhere." *Law & Social Inquiry* 27, no. 3 (2002): 573-591.

⁷¹ Ibid p.78

⁷² Lyons, Terrence, and Gilbert M. Khadiagala, eds. *Conflict management and African politics: ripeness, bargaining, and mediation*. Routledge, 2010.

⁷³ Carlston, Kenneth S. "Theory of the arbitration process." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 17, no. 4 (1952): 631-651.

2.4.4 NGO's Engaged in Preventive Action

African countries and multilateral organizations have recently intensified their efforts to avoid and resolve internal conflicts. NGOs are increasingly becoming significant players in Africa's conflicts, where government diplomacy has traditionally interfered. This is due in part to a rising unwillingness among foreign governments to pay the excessive costs involved in peacekeeping missions. It similarly demonstrates that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) offer unique experience and access that can help governments and intergovernmental organizations improve their capabilities.⁷⁴ The Burundi Policy Forum and the Minority Rights Group (USA) have made efforts to aid the UN deal with the Democratic Republic of the Congo are examples of this.

2.4.5 Preventive Diplomacy

This is a collection of political acts meant to prevent violent disputes from forming among parties, mitigating or preventing existing conflicts from developing into open violence and curbing the spread of violent conflicts when they do. Preventive diplomacy has progressed in three directions, each involving a distinct set of players.⁷⁵ The first form or oldest paradigm, is concerned with state-based or regional diplomacy and conflict-resolution efforts. The second form of preventive diplomacy is used by intergovernmental organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Horn of Africa's Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU), and UN agencies. Form number three is practiced by local and international civil society organizations such as Environmental Rights Action (ERA), Amnesty International, Greenpeace, International Alert, and Oxfam just to mention a few. Multi-track diplomacy, on the other hand, is the use of the three strands

⁷⁴ Carlston, Kenneth S. "Theory of the arbitration process." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 17, no. 4 (1952): 631-651.

⁷⁵ Bartoli, Andrea. "NGOs and conflict resolution." *The SAGE handbook of conflict resolution* (2009): 392-412.

constructively, which is the preferred method in most recent armed conflicts. It involves coordinating and reconciling operations of many third-party interveners, a challenge that is amplified when intervention involves powerful foreign players with hidden national, institutional, or corporate interests. As has been seen for most African conflicts, military interventions are required to assist mediators and negotiators, as well as to support the establishment and execution of Peace Accords, where applicable.

2.4.6 Peacekeeping Operations

These are measures put in place to create conditions that favor lasting peace. These measures are aimed at reducing civilian and battleground deaths as well as reduce the risks and potential for renewed fighting.⁷⁶ The United Nations in 1948, for example, was entrusted with checking the truce among Israelis and Arab legislatures during the conflict that followed the foundation of the state of Israel. The UN, through a peacekeeping operation was also meant to check on the rearrangement and retirement of forces in conflict zone, as well as their reintegration into resident life and disarmament of forces as well as the return of immigrants(refugees) and internally displaced persons. The mission was also supposed to support the provision of humanitarian aid, oversee restructuring of state institutions such as the police and judiciary as well as the coordination of financial institutions and economic production in the conflict zone.

In Africa, the first peacekeeping mission was established in Zaire between July 1960 to June 1964. It was known as the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC). Today, over 60 percent of all UN peacekeeping missions around the world are in Africa. At least 16 UN peacekeeping missions were set up in Africa in the decade between 1989 and 1999 covering several nations such as Mozambique, Namibia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Liberia,

⁷⁶ Berdal, Mats, and David H. Ucko. "The use of force in UN peacekeeping operations: Problems and prospects." *The RUSI Journal* 160, no. 1 (2015): 6-12.

Sierra Leone, Angola and Sudan. There however exist some indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in Africa as shown hereafter.

2.4.7 The Indigenous Conflict Resolution Techniques

Indigenous conflict resolution techniques are systematic instruments of reconciliation and relationship building that have existed for millennia. African countries' customs and traditions contain these systems, procedures, and restrictions. The advantage of these systems is that they mean to unknot the primary drivers of conflicts, offer resolution to conflicts and help to heal and reinstate broken relationships. These procedures deviate from the European notion of justice that is based on an argumentative exchange of evidence with the goal of determining who is guilty and who is not, and then punishing those who are guilty.⁷⁷

The African technique, on the other hand, encouraged those who were guilty to confess to begin the healing and reconciliation process. Some of these models are useful in settling conflicts and restoring peace. Indigenous models, which include values, beliefs, suspicions, and attitudes, are often employed in an informal socio-cultural setting with the aim being addressing a conflict's core causes, resolving it, and assisting in the healing and restoration of strained relationships. As a result, to demonstrate a shared understanding of the past and present, the main causes of conflict must be identified. The long-term goal is to mend broken relationships, correct wrongs, and bring justice back to the world. The goal of indigenous models is not to convict or penalize criminals, but to resolve conflicts, heal injured hearts, and find a solution that will help to enhance future relationships.

⁷⁷ Chino, Michelle, and Lemyra DeBruyn. "Building true capacity: Indigenous models for Indigenous communities." *American journal of public health* 96, no. 4 (2006): 596-599.

2.5 Conclusion

As noted in this chapter there are many states who have been through long term conflicts and others are still under conflicts in Africa including: DRC Congo, South Sudan, Central Africa, Libya, Nigeria, Mali, and Somalia, among others. In these conflicts, efforts by international bodies such as the UN and AU in resolving conflicts in these nations have been explored. Moreover, in this chapter, several conflict resolution mechanisms such as negotiation, mediation, arbitration, reconciliation, NGO's engagement, preventive diplomacy, peace keeping operations as well as use of indigenous models have been examined. In the next chapter, the types and efficacy of conflict resolution mechanisms in Rwanda in the first decade of this century will be explored.

CHAPTER THREE

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT MECHANISMS IN RWANDA

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, an analysis of conflict management and resolution mechanisms in Rwandan between the years 2007 and 2020 will be evaluated with the aim of answering the question on the efficacy of these techniques. This examination, it is hoped, will give a deeper insight of how the country overcame the past ethnic-based conflicts and how these mechanisms have continuously supported peace in the country to date. An evaluation of these mechanisms is viewed through the lenses of the human needs and negotiation theories guiding this research. This evaluation is preceded by a brief look at traditional conflict resolution mechanisms in Rwanda.

3.1 Traditional Conflict Resolution Methods in Rwanda

Rwanda provides considerable examples that can be emulated in traditional conflict resolution techniques in Sub-Saharan Africa. Gacaca courts, Ingando, and Abunzi mediation traditions are some of Rwanda's traditional conflict settlement processes. These are discussed as follows:

3.1.1 The Gacaca Method of Conflict Resolution in Rwanda

The Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa ethnic groups existed as a homogenous people before the outbreak of mass violence in Rwanda in the 1950s during Belgian rule. According to Rwandan family history, each Rwandan was assigned to one of eighteen regular groups, none of which were exclusively Hutu or Tutsi. They were classified as Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa based on their monetary position and proximity to positions of power. In any event, the labels Hutu and Tutsi have become synonymous with genocide. Before the appearance of Europeans, Gacaca

was the nearby court of first case.⁷⁸ Gacaca in a real sense refers to "a peaceful and loosening up green yard in a Rwandan residence," where relatives or neighbors accumulated to examine issues that impacted them or their local area.

Persons of integrity ruled over the Gacaca and oversaw gathering and resolving any societal problems or disagreements. Every day civil conflicts including divorce, land, libel or defamation, and other types of defamation were overseen by the Gacaca courts. During the colonial period, gacaca courts were still in use. Modern law courts, on the other hand, were introduced in the colonial era. Under a 1996 law and the new 2003 constitution, Gacaca courts were supposed to try those accused of extermination of people during the Rwandan genocide.

Customary chambers and courts comprised of people or elderly people appointed to determine disagreements, direct equity, advance compromise, and reinforce social unions. The Gacaca received its momentum and legitimacy from Rwandans' unity and cemented that unity and social cohesiveness by being communal and participative. Gacaca individuals were named *impfura*, which interprets as "moral respectability, positive good example, and adherence to socio-social principles and values". While the current Gacaca is influenced by the previous one, the reality differs significantly.

The Gacaca were used to deal with communal issues in a socially coherent setting, but Rwandan society has become increasingly fractured in recent years. The traditional Gacaca was about communal conflict rather than mass slaughter; nevertheless, this is about genocide. In the past, *impfura* could only be men of a specific age. Owing to the considerable number of genocide suspects and the sluggish speed of the customary legal framework, the public authority of Rwanda passed Organic Law No. 40/2000 out of 2001 which created

⁷⁸ Mutisi, Martha. "Local conflict resolution in Rwanda: the case of abunzi mediators." *Integrating Traditional and Modern Conflict Resolution Experiences from selected cases in Eastern and the Horn of Africa*. Durban, South Africa: Accord (2012): 41-74.

the Gacaca Courts at all administrative levels of Rwanda. These courts managed were specifically created to try perpetrators for their actions during the genocide. The court adjudicators (known as Inyangamugayo, or the individuals who disdain untruthfulness in Kinyarwanda) direct the genocide sessions and were chosen by the general population.

After years of operation, the Gacaca court framework was formally shut in June 2012 in the wake of conflicting analysis. By then, the Gacaca court framework had tried 1,958,634 cases during its lifetime with 1,003,227 people stood trial in at least 12,000 gacaca courts which met once every week in towns in the nation, regularly sitting outside in a commercial center or under a tree. Since "gacaca" means to sit down and talk about a topic, their goal was to achieve truth, equity, and compromise among Rwandans. However, since several court administrators had been appointed by the state, allegations of their role in the genocide emerged with 27 percent of them being accused. There were also allegations of witnesses being terrorized and the courts not trying Hutus serving the RPF government, which controlled the Gacaca Court framework.

In summary, the Gacaca's general system may be expressed as follows: identifying perpetrators of the genocide in a peaceful manner; trying them justly; apportioning responsibility for actions during the genocide; and then through various means of intercession, arriving at some forms of compromise. The very elements of the gacaca process were truth, justice, and reconciliation. One difficulty arose from the fact that while justice, peace, and reconciliation are not always mutually exclusive, they are all required in post-conflict contexts. Gacaca's ultimate purpose was to bring people together.⁷⁹ Rwanda remains a work in progress. As President Paul Kagame said in a 2004 location celebrating the genocide's 10th commemoration that Gacaca "intended to adjust the requirements of equity and those of compromise," so that "a recuperating interaction can be united by means of

⁷⁹ Sindaka, Samantha. "Why Has the Resolution of The Rwanda Civil War (Genocide) Been More Stable/Enduring Than the Burundian Case?" PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2017.

compromise through the course of therapy." The battle for Gacaca is at the focal point of this contention, and its goal will have consequences for public union and rebuilding.⁸⁰

3.1.2 The Ingando tradition for social cohesion in Rwanda

According to Anastase, “*ingando*” is the act of suspending routine activities and reflecting to discover answers to serious societal or national problems. The military was the first to create Ingando in ancient Rwanda. When Rwanda faced calamity, the King utilized Ingando to prepare and rally the country. During the colonial period, Ingando, like other monarchical institutions and rituals that strengthened social unity, lost their value. Following the 1994 genocide, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) recreated Ingando, which was used to integrate the ex-Military Forces of Rwanda (FAR) into the new armed force. When the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was established in 1999, Ingando was formally conceived as an instrument for local area rehabilitation.

Ingando focuses on the reintegration of former combatants in the society. Students, community leaders, and other social organizations were eventually added to the program. Their primary targets are to advance administration and development, as well as to teach Rwandans about the nation's set of experiences and annihilation related issues. Ingando assists with building social union and public solidarity. It gives consolation as well as a stage for political and city training. It is a strong groundbreaking instrument for a captivated society tormented by broad criminalization.⁸¹

3.1.3 The Abunzi mediation in Rwanda

Abunzi's mediation is part of Rwanda's restorative justice system, which assists people in resolving issues without resorting to the courts or other types of retaliation. The word 'abunzi'

⁸⁰ Odhiambo, Paul. "Local Institutional Designs and Reforms in Rwanda and Burundi." In *Governance and Societal Adaptation in Fragile States*, pp. 95-118. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.

⁸¹ Odhiambo, Paul. "Local Institutional Designs and Reforms in Rwanda and Burundi." In *Governance and Societal Adaptation in Fragile States*, pp. 95-118. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.

means 'those who reconcile.' Rwanda's regional mediators, known as the Abunzi, have been selected by the government as a way of settling differences and assuring mutually accepted conflict settlement. The arbitrators at Abunzi were picked for their integrity and experience in civil and criminal cases in the area. In the post-2000 era, the Rwandan government created the abunzi system to separate justice and make it more accessible and inexpensive.

The renewed introduction of the abunzi is one of Rwanda's government's numerous endeavors to make equity and administration more open to residents at all levels. The abunzi exist together with other decentralized government associations in Rwanda, for example, the Gacaca courts. Prior to looking for equity in neighborhood courts, the Abunzi should resolve local conflicts, criminal allegations, and common claims including property claims estimated to be under three million Rwandese francs in value. The Abunzi program has however been affected by Rwandan customary compromise programs that advance neighborhood power in compromise, for example, the Gacaca courts, which have attempted more than one million massacre cases. Abunzi can be considered a cross between government-supported equity and conventional debate goal instruments, as it assists with resolving the issues of the modern court system. Opposition members of the family, as well as community members, are welcome to the Advocacy meetings. During the Abunzi time and gatherings, the concept of 'unity' or the Rwandan concept (Rwandan-ness), as opposed to being Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa, frequently emerges. In contrast to today's retaliatory judicial system, Abunzi's mediation methods frequently embody the ideals and principles of power-sharing, public engagement, and consensus-based decision-making.⁸²

3.2 Women Participation in Conflict Resolution in Rwanda

The greatest trouble confronting the new Rwandan organization not long after the genocide in 1994 was to reestablish and keep up with security, peace and lawfulness, and to complete the

⁸² Lambourne, Wendy, and Lydia Wanja Gitau. "Psychosocial interventions, peacebuilding and development in Rwanda." *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 8, no. 3 (2013): 23-36.

course of public compromise and mending. Achieving these aims necessitated the participation of all segments of society, since ignoring any sector of the community would disrupt or weaken the process. Creating peace necessitates the participation of all conflict parties (such as victims or abusers) in this process. The most troublesome assignment standing up to Rwanda's new organization not long after the slaughter in 1994 was to reestablish and keep up with security, peace and lawfulness, as well as to do the course of public compromise and mending.

Achieving these aims necessitated the participation of all segments of the community, as neglecting any segment of the community would interfere with or damage the peace process. Peacemaking necessitated the engagement of all warring parties in the process. This left the women with no option than to get massively involved in not only reconstructing their country but also in finding lasting solutions to the conflicts. They were, therefore, present at every level of the peace building and reconstruction activities with fanatical support by the government.

Rwanda's administration likewise perceived that woman were the foundation of the revolt and rebellion that arose after the genocide was put down. Therefore, as long as women engaged with the rebellious people, the conflict would continue endlessly. Thus, it was apparent to the state that efforts to end armed contentions would fail unless women were convinced to stop supporting the agitators. As a result, attempts were made to educate women about the perils of continuing to assist the rebels and the implications of a protracted conflict, particularly on them and their children. Women, for their part, learned that whenever there

⁸³ Mutisi, Martha. "Local conflict resolution in Rwanda: the case of abunzi mediators." *Integrating Traditional and Modern Conflict Resolution Experiences from selected cases in Eastern and the Horn of Africa*. Durban, South Africa: Accord (2012): 41-74.

⁸⁴ Ibid p.78

was a fight between government soldiers and rebels, they (women) were the most impacted since they were forced from their homes and villages.

Women gradually began to shift their allegiance from the rebels to the government, which ensured their security and safety. At the point when they understood that this stance was important to get their own and their children's security, they started a mission to convince their spouses and family members to separate themselves from the revolt and return to their homes discreetly. As a result, the early efforts to include women in ending the conflict and creating the peace process in Rwanda were to get them on the side of the government. In reality, after several futile attempts, a rebel leader who was formerly a school principal in one section of Ruhengeri province was convinced to forsake the uprising by his wife. On a single day, he surrendered with a force of 4,000 soldiers.

Persuading their spouses and family members to leave the conflict aided the Rwandan peace process and shows the fundamental responsibility of Rwandese women in resolving the dispute in Rwanda. These women employed a variety of strategies to do this, including forming alliances with government soldiers and negotiating a peaceful surrender on the condition that their husbands and relatives who had surrendered would not be rebuffed. Moreover, as women stopped providing information on the movements of government troops to the rebels, it became exceedingly difficult for the rebels to coordinate their operations. Women additionally turned around to begin giving data to government troops, local area warriors good intelligence on rebel whereabouts with the goal that they would know where and when to assault the radicals. This significantly worked to end the conflict.

⁸⁵ Adebajo, Adeola Aderayo. "Women and Peace Processes in Africa." *The Palgrave Handbook of African Women's Studies* (2021): 639-652.

⁸⁶ Kidane, Yemsrach. "Women's leadership role in post-conflict peace-building process." *Journal of African Union Studies* 3, no. 2_3 (2014): 87-101.

⁸⁷ Iloh, Emeka C., Uzodinma Chukwuemeka Okafor, and Reuben O. Oghomitse. "THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN RWANDA: LESSONS FOR PEACE BUILDING IN NIGERIA."

⁸⁸ Daley, Patricia. "Challenges to peace: Conflict resolution in the Great Lakes region of Africa." *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (2006): 303-319.

Similarly, because of the genocide, Rwandese women accepted modern jobs such as sitting as judges for the nearby Gacaca courts (customary compromise courts), roles which preceding the genocide were held by totally men. These courts played significant roles in passing on judicially cases of genocide suspects and perpetrators and resolving conflicts among members of the communities. It is estimated that by November 2005, about 15.7 percent of the judges of the Gacaca courts were women. It is in acknowledgment of the commitments of women to peace building and reconciliation in Rwanda, particularly their adventures in the Gacaca courts that prompted the appointment of a lady – Aloisea Inyumba - as the main Executive Secretary of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, laid out in March 1999.

Furthermore, Rwandese women made important contributions to government-initiated peace efforts and sponsored restoration and reconstruction activities by engaging in the construction of homes in newly constructed townships known locally as *Imidugudu*. Moreover, they assisted in the repatriation of thousands of displaced persons and resettled the returnees. In addition, and since the civil war and genocide had a significant impact on agricultural productivity and food security, Rwandan women revitalized several agricultural projects and self-help programs. Consequently, women delivered food for their families as well as for their villages through the Food for Work Program or just tilling and harvesting their fields, thereby improving food security. This aided in national healing since famine would have been a serious threat to reconciliation and national cohesion.

In addition to the above, Rwandan women, like men, have actively engaged in activities aimed at promoting national peace and healing. These projects comprised of cooperatives in which residents collaborated for the welfare of the community. The two genders, both victims

⁸⁹ Izabiliza, Jeanne. "The role of women in reconstruction: experience of Rwanda." *Source unknown* (2003): 5.

⁹⁰ Stern, Erin, Susi McGhee, Gemma Ferguson, and Cari Jo Clark. "A comparative case study of couples programming to support relationship quality in Nepal and Rwanda." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 37, no. 2 (2020): 393-413.

and perpetrators of genocide, are now speaking up and working together to promote healing and peace. Some of the programs in question are: a) the Indigenous Rwandan (I am Rwandan) program, in which people talk about history, confess their sins, and repent of past crimes committed in another nation; b) the Umugunda Program, which is a day set aside once a month for community co-operation such as cleaning infrastructure, road repairs, and so on; and c) the grandparents' (parents' evening), in which parents from the same village come together, from politics and development to family matters; and d) Ijishorymuturanyi (neighbor's eye), among many other initiatives aimed at fostering social healing. Many people feel that Rwanda's cooperative mechanisms have led to true healing between genocide victims and perpetrators. More significantly, women have actively engaged in these programs, aiding in national healing and reconciliation.

3.3 Arbitration

Arbitration is a new phenomenon in Rwanda. Rwanda's courts faced a massive backlog of cases in 2003, as the country attempted to come to terms with, and seek reconciliation after the genocide. Rwanda was also attempting to attract more international investment and boost investor confidence at the time. As a result, the Ministry of Justice created a panel to investigate the issue of commercial justice and how to ensure that the backlog of cases in Rwandan courts would not impede investors' access to justice.⁹¹

Rwanda's judiciary has seen tremendous changes in the last 10 years. Business Courts were also created in 2007, and another Arbitration court in view of the UNCITRAL Model Law was recommended in 2008. The New York Convention whose goal was to provide commercial parties in Rwanda with an alternate method of resolving their conflicts was also

⁹¹ Cantor, Jeremy. "Rwanda and the Kigali International Arbitration Centre: The Future Faces of East African Arbitration and Growth." *Cardozo J. Conflict Resol.* 19 (2017): 93.

⁹² Ngabonziza, Amini Jean de Dieu. "The importance of language studies in conflict resolution." *Journal of African Conflicts and Peace Studies* 2, no. 1 (2013): 4.

ratified. The Rwandan government also passed regulations in Parliament in 2010 creating an independent organization entrusted with advertising Rwanda as a center for justice and reconciliation as well as an expert in Alternative Dispute Mechanisms (ADR). The Kigali International Arbitration Center (KIAC) was set up for this purpose.

The KIAC has operationalized in May 2012 and today sits in a new purpose-built building, which includes modern hearing rooms with high-tech equipment and video conferencing capabilities. The Centre is accessible for use in KIAC-administered arbitrations, as well as ad-hoc arbitrations and mediations. Despite significant government support for the initiative, it took a massive effort to get all conceivable parties on board for arbitration to be a viable form of conflict settlement. The Chartered Institute of Arbitration's Nigerian and Kenyan branches were invited to Rwanda to train arbitrators. Over three hundred arbitrators have been trained in Rwanda, many of them are members or associate members of the CI Arb. The Rwandan judges, especially those in the Commercial Courts, also received training on arbitration and the role of the court in the process. KIAC has begun a campaign to raise awareness of the possible use of arbitration within Rwanda's business community across all sectors of the economy.

This government-led campaign to encourage efficient commercial dispute resolution, both in the courts and through arbitration, was accompanied by an aggressive program to create an investor-friendly climate and market Rwanda as an East African business destination. In the World Bank's 2016 Ease of Doing Business rankings, Rwanda is currently rated second in Africa, behind Mauritius but ahead of South Africa.

⁹³ Munyangabe, Froduard. "Properly drafted arbitration agreement as a safeguard to its adequate interpretation: Rwanda case study." *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 39, no. 3 (2013): 509-516.

3.4 US military Intervention

An internal Defense Department order reveals that the US's relationship with Rwanda's military has been far more comprehensive than previously reported, including mental tasks and strategic planning. Many Rwandans have taken an interest in the ceaseless preparation in their land over the past three years with US support including preparation for battles, military administration, disaster response, landmine removal, and military and civilian justice. This training took place as part of a larger US push to increase military cooperation with several African countries. Notably, US presence and training in Rwanda came at a time when the small, impoverished, war-torn Central African country was suddenly rising as a regional power.

3.5 Rwanda after Genocide

After twenty years following the 1994 genocide in which Hutus targeted minority Tutsis and moderate Hutus, many perpetrators of the genocide have been brought to justice, including once senior level government officials and other major players involved in the massacres. Rwandan courts have heard most of the cases. Others have appeared in front of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) as well as local tribunals across North America and Europe. In 2012, Rwanda's people-based gacaca courts completed their work, while the ICTR was expected to finish its in 2014. With renewed energy for indicting Rwanda genocide suspects in other countries, the twentieth commemoration of the genocide provided an ideal moment to assess progress, both at the public and global levels, by detaining those who plotted, requested, and carried out these terrible violations accountable. These actions by Rwanda of taking responsibility for wrongdoings committed during the genocide have been praised by other nations and international bodies.

⁹⁴ Arieff, Alexis, and Katherine Z. Terrell. *Rwanda: In Brief*. Congressional Research Service, 2018.

⁹⁵ Mirzoeff, Nicholas. "Invisible again: Rwanda and representation after genocide." *African Arts* 38, no. 3 (2005): 36.

Since the year 2000 to date, President Kagame has led the country with authority. On the one hand, he has made a remarkable showing of reviving life in Rwanda following the genocide. In the last ten years, Rwanda's, child mortality and HIV rates have decreased dramatically. Since 2008, Rwanda's economy grew at an annual rate of 8 percent annually, making it, according to one estimate, the best African country to invest in. Regardless, Kagame's critics paint his administration as an ethnic dictatorship. Most authority posts, particularly in the military, are staffed by Tutsis (who constitute up 10% of the public authority). Kagame has also been alleged to support dangerous foreign rebels, like the M23 in the DRC, and may have been implicated in retaliatory deaths .

Unfortunately, a quantitative assessment of the risk of state-sanctioned mass killing places reveals Rwanda as among the top 15 percent of countries most likely to see mass killing. Hutu exiles especially those in eastern part of Zaire (presently the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or DRC) lived in displaced people camps along the Congo-Rwanda border. Proclaiming a need to avoid further attacks by these Hutu exiles, the RPF-drove government launched military invasions into Zaire, bringing about the First (1996-97) and Second (1998-2003) Congo Wars. Violent skirmishes between the Rwandan government and their adversaries in the DRC have been reported in the Goma area, including the M23 resistance (2012-2013) with huge Rwandan Hutu and Tutsi populations living as exiles in the area.

3.5.1 Rwandan Justice System after Genocide

The major issue during the genocide and civil war was the deliberate overthrow of the rule of law in Rwanda. More than one million people were responsible for their roles in the slaughter, with over a fifth of the populace staying after the mid-year of 1994. In the two years following the massacre, the RPF took on a mission of mass arrests for those who

⁹⁶ Clark, Philip, and Zachary Daniel Kaufman. *After genocide: Transitional justice, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation in Rwanda and beyond*. London: Hurst, 2008.

partook in the killing, detaining of more than 100,000 people. The speed of arrests overwhelmed the Rwandan penal system, prompting an Amnesty International response terming them as cruel, inhuman, and degrading. The country's nineteen prison cells were designed to hold around 18,000 detainees, but at their peak in 1998, over 100,000 people had been detained in centers across the country.

It was only after 1996 that courts at last started preliminaries for mass slaughter cases with the order of Organic Law No. 08/96 of 30 on 30th August 1996 . This law started guided the prosecution and trial of the 1994 genocide suspects. This regulation laid out the standard homegrown courts as the center system for answering to massacre until it was changed in 2001 to incorporate the Gacaca courts. The law also set out four classes for the people who were associated with the destruction, determining the restrictions of discipline for individuals from every classification. The principal class was that of individuals who were "organizers, coordinators, agitators, managers and pioneers" of the genocide and those who used state power to advance the slaughter. This classification additionally applied to killers who separated themselves based on their enthusiasm or mercilessness, or who also used with sexual violence. Individuals from this first classification were qualified for capital punishment.

While Rwanda had capital punishment preceding the 1996 Organic Law, no executions had occurred beginning since 1982. However, in April 1997, twenty-two people were shot by firing squad in a public execution. Rwanda did not conduct any more executions after that, but it continued to impose death sentences until 2003. On 25 July 2007 the Organic Law Relating to the Abolition of the Death Penalty came into regulation, annulling capital punishment and changing over all current capital punishment sentences to life in jail under isolation.

⁹⁷ Uvin, Peter, and Charles Mironko. "Western and local approaches to justice in Rwanda." *Global Governance* 9 (2003): 219.

3.5.2 International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

In support of Rwanda's homegrown peace initiatives, the United Nations set up the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania. The UN Tribunal was meant for the trial of suspects that held positions of authority in Rwanda during the genocide. These were either senior civil servants or military officers. Initially, the U.N. Security Council laid out the ICTR in 1994 with a unique order of four years without a definite cutoff time in trying genocide violations in Rwanda. As the years went by, it became evident that the ICTR would exist long past its unique order with the general understanding that criminal legal action to certain extents never truly closes. There were therefore worries regarding the way in which remaining issues would be dealt with before the tribunal closed in December 2015. Pending issues were to be submitted to the Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, an examination of indigenous solutions instituted in Rwanda in response to the aftermath of the 1994 genocide have been examined. Rwanda has a past of ethnic biases, divisions, and brutality- factors that necessitated post-conflict management and reconstruction projects. Among the local solutions examined include the Gacaca court system, the Abunzi initiative and Ingando traditions. These indigenous solutions were initiated actions to resolve post-genocide conflicts and to some extent were successful. Rwanda has over time moved toward transitional justice with more to be done to support her economic recovery, key administrative institutions, as well as improvements in welfare programmes for the people through peaceful and cohesive existence of the various ethnic groups within her borders.

⁹⁸ Waldorf, Lars. "Like Jews Waiting for Jesus." In *Localizing Transitional Justice*, pp. 183-202. Stanford University Press, 2020.

CHAPTER FOUR

RWANDA'S ROLE IN POST CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA.

4.0 Introduction

Having examined some of Rwanda's post-conflict management mechanisms in the previous chapter, an attempt at evaluating the efficacy of these post conflict mechanisms has been made. In specific, this chapter examines the role played by Rwanda as an active player in conflict management in Africa. That is, Rwanda's role in peace-keeping missions across Africa. Her role in post-conflict management in Africa cannot be underestimated arising from the fact that Rwanda is a post-conflict state having endured the 1994 genocide. This chapter outlines findings of secondary data analysis on post-conflict management mechanisms in Rwanda and other post-conflict states in Africa based on Burton's human needs and Fisher's negotiation theories. This is preceded by an assessment of Rwanda's place in world affairs today.

4.1 Rwanda as the World's Center of Focus

International experts opine those 20 years after Rwanda's genocide, healing and reconciliation is still taking place, with the central African country offering a powerful example for other countries still experiencing conflict to follow. The country's two main ethnic groups, Hutus and Tutsis, are now working together to reconstruct a country that was plagued by political and social violence that finally led to genocide during its first thirty years as a free country. Notwithstanding this, the world continues to struggle to find solutions to prevent massacres in the first place, raising doubts about how much Rwanda's leaders have learnt from the country's most odious time. In nations such as Central African Republic, Congo, Cambodia, and the Darfur region of Sudan, Syria and elsewhere, fatalities from armed conflicts are reported daily. In some of these nations, killings are used to scare and

intimidate people. Rape and torture are examples of forms of violence used. In a world that is no longer bipolar, response levels to any given incident are frequently determined by the geopolitical dynamics at play.

In Africa today, no country, splits opinion between researchers and observers as much as Rwanda. Rwanda is either a surprising improvement achievement, ascended from the cinders of mass ethnic murders and controlled and shielded by a visionary chief, or an instance of dictatorial recidivism, covered by unrealistically blushing insights and a counterfeit account of public solidarity, devised by a strongman President, Paul Kagame. His government has worked to reduce poverty, improve health and security institutions, support economic development and the integration of women in government and legislative institutions. At the same time, Rwanda continues playing a role in peace-keeping missions across Africa as shown hereafter.

4.1.1 Rwandan Defence Forces Peacekeeping Mission in Darfur, Sudan

According to the Rwandese Ministry of Defence, Rwanda, through the Rwanda Defence Force (RDF) is committed to support peacekeeping operations in the world. This drive is motivated by a strong national belief that in global politics, real friends are those who stand by one's side in times of need. For this reason, she was the first country to send peacekeeping personnel to Darfur, Sudan in 2004, deploying 3,234 troops to the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). The Rwandan government has over time developed initiatives aimed at peaceful settlement of conflicts through (i) preventive diplomacy, (ii) peace-making, (iii) peace-building, and (iv) peace-keeping. She considers her involvement in peace support as not limited to deployment of peacekeeping troops but also provision of basic infrastructure and support facilities in mission areas such as Darfur in this case. As part on UN mandated military tasks and peacebuilding initiatives, Rwandan peacekeepers have taken

steps to resolve issues of human security in Darfur with the aim being sustainable peace. In October 2019 for example, the RDF built and handed over a school to the community in El Salaam IDP Camp at El Fasher- Darfur. Rwandan Battalions specifically RWANBATT 52, provided engineers and workforce to build the school meant to accommodate eight hundred students. Fourteen classrooms and four offices were built by the RDF for Nusaibah Girls' secondary school as a contribution by Rwanda to Darfur's socio-economic development and as a symbol of love and partnership between Rwanda and Sudan. In fact, the provision of peacekeepers by Rwanda is to date a source of national pride and is considered part of Rwanda's post-genocide national identity. Between 2006 and 2018, Rwanda has contributed up to five thousand troops and one thousand police to UN Peacekeeping operations.⁹⁹

The Rwanda National Police (RNP) as stated above, have been involved in peace keeping missions in Sudan since 2005 when Police officers were deployed to the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) later renamed United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). The main task for the RNP in Sudan was protection of human rights, maintenance of public order, protection of UN personnel as well as training of host country Police. In Sudan as in other regions, the RNP has been praised for its resilience, discipline, professionalism, as well as export of Rwandan cultural values like promotion of women's dignity as well as introduction of homegrown solutions in host nations such as Umuganda- which is the support of vulnerable populations such as orphans and the aged as well as the construction and renovation of houses for the less privileged in addition to medical aid to the populations. In summary, the RNP and RDF have contributed to improvement of the general

⁹⁹ <https://www.mod.gov.rw/news-detail/title> Rwandan Peacekeepers Provide Medical Services to Sudanese. Accessed April 2022

welfare of the people, inspiring confidence and partnerships among Indigenous/host populations.¹⁰⁰

4.1.2 Rwanda's Contribution to Peace in Central African Republic

Rwanda has also contributed to peace building in the Central African Republic (CAR) through the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). Rwanda in February 2019 sent 750 troops to CAR in support of MINUSCA's mandate which involved the security for senior state officers and securing strategic sites in Bangui- the capital city. The Rwandan contingent in CAR also secured the 3rd and 5th districts of Bangui to prevent inter-communal clashes, eliminate criminality and protect civilians. The RPF has also been involved in the conduct of civic and community work with the biggest example being the distribution of over 615,000 liters of water to the population in Bangui.¹⁰¹

According to the RDF contingent leader in CAR, their role in peacebuilding was enabled by a culture of arduous work and discipline espoused by the troops in their work. In August 2021, an additional three hundred Rwandan peacekeepers were deployed to boost MINUSCA's capacity. The additional forces are meant to protect civilians, ease humanitarian access in CAR as well as securing the main supply lines, essential for the economy and peace and stability in the country. The Mission commander praised the new arrivals as coming from a nation (Rwanda) that has distinguished itself in peace building and conflict resolution mechanisms through commitment and extraordinary experience. In CAR, just as in Sudan,

¹⁰⁰ https://police.gov.rw/media-archives/newsdetail/?tx_news_pi1%5Bnews%5D=15202&cHash=e0e1f4cb42e55942771103c578782b12

Peacekeeping : 15 years contributing to peace in conflict affected countries. Accessed April 2022

¹⁰¹ <https://unmiss.unmissions.org/helping-hands-unmiss-peacekeepers-support-sister-un-mission-central-african-republic> Helping Hands: UNMISS Peacekeepers Support Sister UN Mission in Central African Republic. Accessed April 2022

the RPF practiced Umugunda or community work in support of vulnerable groups winning the hearts of the communities where the troops served.¹⁰²

4.1.3 Rwanda's Contribution to Peace in Mozambique

In response to growing threats and attacks by ISIS-linked militants in the gas-rich Cabo Delgado region of Mozambique since 2017, Rwanda deployed one thousand soldiers and police officers to support the Mozambican army in 2021. The South African Development Community (SADC) has been concerned about the growing insurgency in Mozambique, but her members have offered little help in terms of military intervention to support the weak Mozambican army. This prompted her government to seek the help of Rwanda. According to various observers, the RPF made swift progress in their first few weeks in Mozambique and helped her military recapture several towns chief among them Mocimboa de Praia which had been under the control of ISIS-Mozambique for over a year.¹⁰³

It has for example been observed by some residents of Mocimboa that RPF troops behaved better than Mozambican forces who are accused of looting among other human rights violations. Some residents of these recaptured towns report that the RPF has brought peace to Mozambique. Some observers have however viewed the RPF mission in Mozambique as a success in boosting Rwanda's profile as a regional military power in eastern and southern Africa. On the ground, the RPF was able to create a 50km long safety zone for the gas project in Cabo Delgado and has used this mission to showcase herself as one of the most competent and best organized militaries in Africa. The RPF have also been reported to have exported their concept of Umugunda (community work) in recaptured areas by teaming up with local populations to rebuild their towns and villages through for example, street cleaning,

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ <https://www.dw.com/en/rwandas-military-intervention-in-mozambique-raises-eyebrows/a-58957275>
Rwanda's Military Intervention in Mozambique Raises Eyebrows. Accessed April 2022

rebuilding of infrastructure and stabilization of security. Notably, schools have reopened and gas production by TotalEnergies resumed in Cabo Delgado.¹⁰⁴

4.1.4 Rwanda's Contribution to Peace in South Sudan

In this decade, Rwanda has also provided peace building support to the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). With a small contingent of less than five hundred servicemembers and women, the Rwandese troops were able to transport over 13,000 UN and AU personnel, including through medical evacuations, troop rotation and airlift of over 1300 tons of cargo across the conflict zone. The RPF supported the mission in stabilizing the political situation in South Sudan and stopping political violence occasioned by disputed polls.¹⁰⁵

A notable feature of the RPF's peace building mission in South Sudan is the Umuganda cleanup exercises brought to Juba by Rwandese peacekeepers. The RPF in Juba, through the frequent exercise aimed at keeping the environment clean as well as winning over local populations towards peace. Officially referred to as the 'Umuganda Camp Cleanliness Campaign,' the RPF and UNMISS aimed at making the mission's camps and the surrounding areas cleaner, greener, healthier and environmentally friendly. The effect of this community initiative by the RPF saw the turnout of local populations which shows the impact of the RPF across different African nations.¹⁰⁶

4.2.4 Rwanda's Participation in East Africa

The Republic of Rwanda applied to join the East African Community (EAC) in 1996 and was admitted in November 2006 and became a full member in July 2007. Some of the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ <https://unmiss.unmissions.org/rwanda%E2%80%99s-umuganda-style-clean-exercise-brought-juba-un-peacekeepers> Rwanda's Umuganda-Style Clean-up Exercise Brought to Juba by UN Peacekeepers. Accessed April 2022

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

implications of Rwanda's membership to the EAC included the accession to an MOU on foreign policy coordination, including joint marketing of the East African region, accession to a regional MOU in cooperation of defense, including military training, joint operations as well as institutional coordination. Key to the accession of these MOUs is Rwanda's role in interstate security through among other conventions the signing of the protocol on drug trafficking, combating illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons as well as fighting regional terrorism.

Rwanda's deployments within Africa symbolize a foreign policy strategy that aims at securing her long-term interests. Following shocks occasioned by foreign aid cuts to Rwanda in 2012, Rwanda moved to mobilize its main assets- mostly military professionalism, political stability and 'brand Rwanda' to benefit her foreign policy. Through peace building and conflict management initiatives beyond her borders, Rwanda has been able to prove her capacity to operate in countries with which she shares no borders with. For example, RDF deployment to Rwanda. Moreover, her capacity to deploy troops across the African region is testimony of her diplomatic abilities to negotiate and broker transactional deals. For example, Rwanda's bilateral deployment in the CAR resulted in the signing of a military cooperation deal between Kigali and Bangui in 2019 in addition to economic partnership agreements. This also gives credence to Burton's human needs theory whereby conflicts arise between belligerent parties fighting for resources while in the context of Rwanda, her regional influence will benefit her citizens eventually.¹⁰⁷

In the case of Mozambique, it is important to note that whereas Rwanda does not share borders with Mozambique, her neighbor Tanzania does. The insurgency in Mozambique was a threat to Tanzania's security and bearing in mind that some of Rwanda's trade routes pass

¹⁰⁷ <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/rwanda-the-emergence-of-an-african-smart-power> Rwanda: The Emergence of an African 'Smart Power.' Accessed April 2022

across Tanzania, prolonged armed conflict in Mozambique would have endangered her (Rwanda's) economy. Through military diplomacy, Rwanda has been able to spread her 'brand' in Africa. This brand, through the execution of home-grown initiatives within the confines of UN peacekeeping missions has improved her standing in Africa as competent and effective partner in the management of public affairs. This answers the third research question.

4.3 Lessons from Rwanda to Other States facing Conflicts

After the Rwanda genocide ended, there was a post-conflict phase during which state administration institutions and the task of reconstructing and reinstating State authority in Rwanda. The nation created a clear reconstruction policy based on the recovery of human capital to unite all Rwandans together to rebuild the country shortly after the conflict ended. After a genocide that ripped the whole social fabric, this was a huge risk. All states involved in disputes can use these approaches to attain absolute peace. Rwanda ensured responsible government and the participation of all citizens in peace building and national development. From the examples explored, Rwanda's impact in regional stability, peace management involved military intervention whereby a measure of force is used to stop armed conflicts. However, beyond this, we have seen examples of Rwandese forces, both military and the police engaging themselves in activities beyond peace enforcement in conflict zones. Rwandese forces have been actively involved in community affairs in Sudan's Darfur region through UNAMID, South Sudan through UNAMISS, the Central African Republic through MINUSCA and in Mozambique. Part of the initiatives included Umugunda community work initiatives in all the nations examined.

4.4 Conclusion

Rwanda's multifaceted approach to post-conflict management should be applauded. The approaches used by Rwanda have proven fruitful and could be adopted by other countries presently undergoing war in Africa, such as Cameroon, Ethiopia, Somali, Libya, and South Sudan, to achieve peace. Mistakes associated with Rwandan case should be avoided by other states to evade such failures in their problem-solving process. Reconstruction in this setting implied clear choices for Rwanda that ought to all the while and in total reinforce the momentum towards peace, stability and development. In this way, through peace initiatives, Rwanda has been able to guarantee her internal and external security; guarantee security to regional, reconcilable disputing parties in conflict zones, promote equity and human rights in the region as well and battle impunity in conflict zones. This has resulted in better mobilization of wide range of assets, the strengthening of her regional socio-economic power as well as approach regarding women engagement in national development.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, an examination on the role played by Rwanda in peace management across Africa has been attempted. Rwanda emerged from the 1994 genocide and is today asserting her capacity in regional security management. She has been involved in peace keeping missions in South Sudan, Sudan, Mozambique and even the Central African Republic. In all these missions, Rwanda has not only supported peace-making efforts in these nations but has also exported unique initiatives winning over local populations working for peace. In this chapter, a summary of findings, conclusions and the recommendations based on the study objectives is presented.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

The goal of this project is to establish the part played by post-conflict states in regional security and conflict management in Africa. Specifically, this study aimed at: investigating the conflict management mechanisms in Africa; establishing the effectiveness of the conflict management mechanisms used in Rwanda and investigating the role played by Rwanda as post-conflict state in regional security and battle managing in Africa. Conclusions and recommendations are made based on the objectives.

Through Burton's human needs theory, armed conflicts emanate from feelings of inadequacy and lack of basic human needs and allocation of the same. On the other hand, Fisher and Ury's negotiation theory give plausible solutions and guidelines to warring parties in conflict management and resolution mechanisms due to its ability to bring all conflicted actors to the same table. Post-conflict development debates have centered on how to reconcile conflicted

societies, build consensus among deeply divided communities, establish stable democracies in emerging societies, and determine which types of institutions are more effective and appropriate in conflicted countries. The two theories have been successfully used in ethnically divided societies to accommodate ethnic groups and can inform political solutions in deeply divided and fragmented societies.

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 conflict resolutions in general and Rwanda in specific. To analyze qualitative data, thematic or content analysis was used. The contents of the data were summarized, and this information was used as an opening theme for additional examination. To draw inferences from secondary data, it was necessary to evaluate similarities and differences.

5.1.1 Conflict Management Mechanisms in Africa and their Efficacy

Based on the first objective, a close examination of Africa's various conflicts reveals two broad categories: intra-state and inter-state conflicts. Although democratization has been successful in a few countries, including Benin and Botswana, as well as in Ghana, and South Africa, many other African countries, including Mali, Chad, Congo, Central African Republic, and Côte d'Ivoire, do not inspire hope for the future of democratic rule. In some of the cases discussed above, violent conflicts erupted as a result of the annulment of a free and fair democratic process, whereas serious internal political violence erupted as a result of flaws caused by heavily rigged elections, winners seeking to exclude some actors or entire sections of the country, or incumbents refusing to submit to the will of the people as expressed through the ballot box. In some other cases, these conflicts have not yet led to severe violence mainly because the situations were repressed.

As a result of socioeconomic, civil, and political issues, civil unrest has erupted in several African countries. Some of this unrest has been met with or escalated into violence by security forces. South Africa's recurring violent service delivery protests, in which protesters destroy property and chase away municipal officials, are one example. Their persistence over time shows that the issues are not being addressed adequately or quickly enough. For example, protests are frequently met with violence in Ethiopia and the authorities are downplaying the number of anti-government protesters killed in June 2016.

Climate change, population growth, poor governance, the availability of arms, and unsustainable and inequitable exploitation have all contributed to the escalation of resource-based conflicts as in the case of the Central African Republic. Resource conflicts have the potential to escalate into inter-state or regional conflicts in certain contexts due to competition for resources in border areas or disputes over ownership or use of resources. Lake Nyasa, which Tanzania and Malawi share, is one example, with Malawian investors accused of oil exploration and fishing on the Tanzanian side of the lake.

Other forms of conflict include xenophobia which is a type of identity conflict witnessed in South Africa and Zambia. Moreover, governance systems have the potential to either encourage cooperation or exacerbate identity conflict. Kenya, Mali, Nigeria and Rwanda have all experienced conflicts fueled by identity issues. Many African countries have inter-ethnic or inter-tribal conflicts. The neocolonial arrangements that characterize many African governments exacerbate these conflicts in postcolonial Africa. Many African countries where the leadership remains in the same hands and serves colonial interests have been known to sponsor some inter-ethnic conflicts as a divide-and-rule strategy.

The study noted that since the end of the Cold War, Africa has seen a disproportionately high number of armed conflicts. According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), there

were around 630 state-based and non-state armed conflicts in Africa between 1990 and 2015. The causes of Africa's many violent wars are still a source of contention. Nonetheless, between the early 1990s and the late 2000s, Africa made significant progress in reducing the number and severity of violent conflicts. However, since 2010, there has been an alarming upsurge in conflict patterns across the continent.

5.1.2 The Effectiveness of The Conflict Management Mechanisms Used in Rwanda

Rwanda provides considerable examples that can be emulated in traditional conflict resolution techniques in Sub-Saharan Africa. These indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms include the Gacaca courts, Ingando, and Abunzi mediation traditions are some of Rwanda's traditional conflict settlement processes. In any event, the labels Hutu and Tutsi have become synonymous with genocide. Before the appearance of Europeans, the Gacaca were the first courts used by the people. They were steered by men of integrity, in charge of resolving any societal problems or disagreements including divorce, land, libel or defamation, and other types of conflicts. Under a 1996 law and the 2003 constitution.

The Ingando tradition on the other hand infers social cohesion: The military was the first to create Ingando in ancient Rwanda. When Rwanda faced calamity, Kings of old would use Ingando to prepare and rally the country. During the colonial period, Ingando, like other monarchical institutions and rituals that strengthened social unity, lost their value. Following the 1994 genocide, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) recreated Ingando, which was used to integrate the ex-Military Forces of Rwanda (FAR) into the new armed force. When the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was established in 1999, Ingando was formally conceived as an instrument for local area rehabilitation.

In addition to the gacaca and Ingando, is the Abunzi initiative, which is also part of Rwanda's restorative justice system, assisting people in resolving issues without resorting to the courts

or other types of retaliation. The word 'abunzi' means 'those who reconcile.' Rwanda's regional mediators, known as the Abunzi, have been selected by the government as a way of settling differences and assuring mutually accepted conflict settlement. The arbitrators at Abunzi were picked for their integrity and experience in civil and criminal cases in the area. In the post-2000 era, the Rwandan government created the abunzi system to separate justice and make it more accessible and inexpensive.

A notable feature in Rwanda's home-grown initiatives is the place of women in peace building and conflict resolution. In the recent past, Rwandese women have made important contributions to the government-initiated and sponsored restoration and reconstruction operations by engaging in the construction of dwellings in newly constructed townships known locally as imidugudu. As a result, they assisted in the repatriation of thousands of displaced persons and offered resettlement possibilities for returnees. Rwandan women, like men, have actively engaged in activities aimed at promoting national peace and healing.

5.1.3 Role Played by Rwandan conflict management mechanisms

To stop the conflicts in Rwanda many strategies and methods have been used because UN efforts did not work in stopping ethnic animosity and the genocide. The Rwandan Government had to ensure that there was continuous peace, and many strategies must be applied even today to maintain peace in the country. Their success is a challenge and an example to other nations in Africa. According to the findings, mediation was able to reestablish some semblance of harmony in the face of massive barriers. The gacaca process brought the past into public discussion on a public scale, influencing enabling the people reconcile and forgive each other.

Rwanda has also volunteered in UN peacekeeping missions in South Sudan through the UNMISS mission, Central African Republic through MINUSCA, Darfur in Sudan through

the UNAMID missions. In all missions, Rwandese troops built a reputation of professionalism through arduous work and integrity. Through Umugunda, Rwandese forces are credited with executing social programmes in aid of the vulnerable members of society as well as general community welfare. The Umugunda concept has also been used in the Central African Republic, Mozambique as well as in Darfur, Sudan.

5.2 Conclusions

It can therefore be concluded that there are many states that have been through long term conflicts and others are still under conflicts in Africa including: DRC Congo, South Sudan, Central Africa, Libya, Nigeria, Mali, and Somalia, among others. As observed, there are various mechanisms used in conflict management including: negotiation, mediation, arbitration, reconciliation, NGO's engagement, preventive diplomacy, peace keeping operations as well as use of indigenous models. These mechanisms answer the first research question.

Rwanda's approach to post-conflict peace-building initiatives which included the use of Gacaca courts, Abunzi, Ingando as well as the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda were examined in detail in answer to the second objective and research question . These initiatives have to a great extent addressed the root causes of past conflicts in Rwanda, supported her democracy, media and national reconciliation process. All the efforts were commended plus the use of many points of intervention by both international and local non state actors and state actors. The approaches used by Rwanda proved fruitful and could be adopted by other countries presently undergoing war in Africa, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Somali, Libya, and South Sudan, to achieve peace. Mistakes associated with Rwandan case should be avoided by other states to evade such failures in their problem-solving process.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on findings of this research, the Rwandan administration has made significant headway in rebuilding the country and setting the groundwork for economic growth. In this setting, reconstruction meant clear possibilities for Rwanda that would boost the momentum toward peace, stability, and development simultaneously and cumulatively. There are various mechanisms used in conflict management including: negotiation, mediation, arbitration, reconciliation, arbitration, NGO's engagement, preventive diplomacy, peace keeping operations as well as use of indigenous models. It is recommended that countries facing conflicts should copy Rwanda's strategies to conflict resolutions since they were effective and successful.

After conflict resolution there followed a process of peace reconstruction and maintenance. As a result, Rwanda's decision to: guarantee internal and external security; guarantee capable administration and everybody's cooperation; guarantee repairable, reconcilable equity, advance common liberties, and battle exemption; depend on philanthropic guide for social and monetary turn of events; assemble a wide range of assets; and fortify financial power and approaches with respect to women is an example to all countries in conflict or in the process of establishing peace.

Other recommendations for this study include the following:

- i. Encouraging nation-states to eliminate exclusion and deprivation of basic human needs. Governments ought to also stamp out neglect and human rights violations on their own citizens.
- ii. There is need for the control of arms sales and proliferation of arms sales used in armed conflicts especially in Africa

- iii. There is also need for the guarantee of political freedoms, free speech and free media against all forms of political repression and authoritarianism. A reduction in political space gives rise to dissent
- iv. There is also need for resolution of historical injustices in fractured societies. Using globally accepted negotiation tools, societies can confront past issues and reconcile populations to avoid further bloodshed.
- v. There is also need for equitable distribution of wealth and state resources. This is in addition to equitable access to positions of authority and economic opportunities to all. This will improve states security.
- vi. There is need for gender inclusivity across societies. Research reveals that existing correlations between large gender gaps and armed violence. In contrast, societies in which women participate in societal affairs see an improvement in overall security.

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