

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**DISARMAMENT IN POST CONFLICT ZONES: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF
MOZAMBIQUE AND SIERRA LEONE**

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DECLARATION

I, Lynette Florence Anyango Otieno declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted to any University other than the University of Nairobi for academic credit.

Signature..........

Date...7/11/2013.....

This Research Project has been presented for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signature..........

Date...7.11.13.....

DR. OCHIENG KAMDHAYI

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother the Late Jane Atieno Otieno, a breast cancer warrior and my father Dr. M. R. B Otieno. Thank you for your unconditional support and love throughout my life. I also dedicate this thesis to Imani, you mean the world to me and without your love and understanding I would not have made it. I love you all.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

CCM - Christian Council of Mozambique

AFRC - Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

CDF - Community Defense Forces

DDR - Disarmament Demobilization, Reintegration

DPKO - Department of Peacekeeping Operations

ECOMOG - Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group

ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States

FRELIMO - Mozambique Liberation Front

MDTF - Multi Donor Trust Fund

NCDDR - National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

PRM - Police of the Republic of Mozambique

RUF - Revolutionary United Front

RENAMO - Mozambican National Resistance

SALWs - Small Arms and Light Weapons

SAPS - South African Police Service

SLA - Sierra Leone Army

TAE - Transforming Arms into Ploughs

UNOMUZ - United Nations Operation in Mozambique

UNAMSIL - United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

WMD - Weapons of Mass Destruction

UN - United Nations

UNODA - United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs

ABSTRACT

Conflict and other security concerns are a common threat to any society in transition. Lack of adequate measures to disarm post conflict societies poses a serious security threat to peace and stability of not only such nations and but also surrounding regions. Further the proliferation of arms of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) has further contributed to the insecurity in post conflict societies. This study will critically examine the role disarmament plays in creating stability and preventing conflicts in post conflict societies. Through the examination of gaps in the current framework on disarmament with a focus on the control of proliferation of small arms and light weapons. This research proceeds on the basis that the proliferation of arms including small arms and light weapons and lack of disarmament in post conflict societies leads to instability in those societies. The thesis reveals that disarmament initiatives in post conflict zones helps to promote stability in such societies, further the presence of small arms and light weapons is not the main cause of instability in post conflict societies; however the addition of large numbers of small arms into regions suffering from an array of instability factors increases the lethality and scope of the conflict's potential of such region.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The end of conflict does not necessarily signal a reduction in demand for arms. In fact, where penalties are neither implemented nor enforced in post conflict zones, the inclination for civilians and former combatants to acquire weapons can increase. Moreover, there is a sense that, partly because of the continued presence of small arms and light weapons (SALW), arming in self-defence becomes normalized. In some post conflict environments, the presence of left over weapons can increase not only the chance of future conflicts but can lead to the increase of armed violence with the former war-torn zone and spill over to neighboring societies. Such was the case in Mozambique where the continued presence of SALW has led to the escalation of a culture of violence and the militarization of the Mozambican civil society and resultant spill over to South Africa.

The process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants and the civilian population plays a critical role in transition from war to peace. These processes have become a fundamental part of peacekeeping operation and post conflict reconstruction. Their success or failure can affect the long term peace building prospects for any post conflict society. DDR in post conflict management can help create an environment in which the overall peace process, political and social reconciliation, social-economic rehabilitation and long term development can take course.

Disarmament alone will not produce world peace however the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, illicit arms trafficking and increasing weapons stockpiles would advance both peace and development goals through the reduction of the effects of wars, elimination of some key incentives to new conflicts, and liberating resources to improve the lives of all the people and the natural environment in which they live. Despite these benefits, disarmament and its surrounding campaigns in the 21st Century still faces difficult political and technical challenges that can only be surmounted by deliberate human action, strong institutional support, and understanding among the general public. Global dangers posed by such weapons cannot be eliminated by the actions of any one country; it requires the combined genuine effort of all nations.

This study will seek to advance the need for disarmament, management of proliferation of small arms in post conflict zones in the reduction and elimination of possibility of future conflicts.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The management of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in as an important aspect of post conflict peace building, which is also relevant to the disarmament processes. In the aftermath of violent conflict, large numbers of SALW often remain in the hands of government forces, warring parties, and civilians. The flow of illicit arms contributes to an atmosphere of insecurity which further increases the demand for arms.¹ Ex-combatants and criminals also take advantage of the lack of effective and functional security institutions to perpetuate crime and revenge attacks. The result is a cycle of violence which is a direct legacy of conflict and which presents

¹ See Krause, K., *Facing the Challenge of Small Arms: The UN and Global Security Governance*, Price, R., Zacher, M. (eds.), *The United Nations and Global Security* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2004), pp. 22-37.

significant challenges for post-conflict peace building.² Small arms proliferation and misuse undermines post-conflict reconstruction and development; hampers the delivery and distribution of humanitarian and developmental aid; and has the potential to destabilize neighbouring states and societies. Thus, the removal of weapons from circulation after conflict, usually through disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes, is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for successful post-conflict peace building.

International norms for disarmament are now more important than ever to the sustainable development, quality of life, and ultimately the survival of the humankind. The need for such norms arises directly from the legacy of the last century of wars and preparations for wars. There is need for set standard for disarmament exercises as currently international law focuses mainly on arms control and chemical weapons stock pile measures. Currently disarmament initiatives are ad hoc in nature and are as a result of negotiated peace settlements in post conflict societies. However if there was an internationally set norm on disarmament it would be necessary for all state parties and just those in the process of post conflict building exercises to regularly undertake in disarmament to wade off the possibility of future wars.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this research is to examine the existing framework for disarmament under post conflict management with a view to critiquing the frame work, in order to offer recommendations for improving disarmament practices in post conflict areas with a comparative

² Muggah, R., Berman, E., *Humanitarianism Under Threat: The Humanitarian Impacts of Small Arms and Light Weapons* (Small Arms Survey/Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue: Geneva, July 2001), p. ix. See also ICRC, *Arms Availability and the Situation of Civilians in Armed Conflict* (ICRC: Geneva , 1999).

analysis of the success and failures of disarmament programmes in Mozambique and Sierra Leone. The specific objectives of the research are:

1. To assess the role of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) and lack of disarmament initiatives in fuelling conflicts.
2. To identify the role and the gaps in the existing framework on disarmament in post conflict management.
3. To make recommendations for a policy on disarmament in post conflict areas.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

The available research with regards to disarmament has evolved over the years. This first section of this literature review shall detail the path of prior research within this field and detail how the literature has changed in response to the changing global environment. Nancy Gallagher³ observes three broad stages of disarmament literature; firstly, there is the realist school. This is the oldest approach to viewing disarmament and is born out of the traditional realist perception that security is a state-centric militaristic activity. These states, which are the most important actors within the international system perform their functions in an anarchic world which lacks governance and thus are forced to protect themselves. They act rationally in a self-help system. Realist approaches to disarmament gained prominence and virtual dominance during the years of Cold War confrontation between the world super powers, namely the Soviet Union and the USA. At this stage the greatest threat to security in terms of weapons was the proliferation of nuclear armaments. Thus, most literature on disarmament from this period was specifically focused on

³ Gallagher, N.W. 1998. *Arms control: New approaches to theory and policy*. London: Frank Cass.

investigating the super power arms race which had developed with little literature on disarmament of small arms and light weapons.

Authors such as Colin Gray⁴ who view arms control and disarmament from the realist perspective basically feel that disarmament is almost always irrelevant or unwise. Since political conflicts force states to worry about relative military power, disarmament is inherently enigmatic because the more conflict prone a relationship is, the less likely adversaries will be to negotiate and uphold limits on military strength. Richard Betts was a more moderate realist writer who did not view international politics in the same zero-sum approach as writers such as Colin Gray; instead he believed that arms control was important in stabilizing the balance of power between super powers. Betts supported measures which would leave the East and West with nuclear and conventional capabilities sufficient enough to prevent any side from gaining more than it would lose from an attack, however, he still felt that arms reductions should be taken unilaterally by a state and that any international binding agreement would hinder rather than assist healthy disarmament exercise.

In conclusion the realist school of disarmament, it is one which emerged from the point of departure that security issues are state-centric and that they are primarily dealt with militarily or using some or other form of coercion. This is due to the nature of the international system which is an anarchic self-help system where rational states aggressively compete in a zero-sum game. Conflict and war are thus inevitable meaning that so is the proliferation of arms. From the point of view of realist authors disarmament has little impact as states are forced to protect themselves in a hostile international environment. At best less hard-line realist authors such as Betts believed

⁴ Gray, C., *House of cards: Why arms control must fail*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992)

that arms control or reduction could help to maintain a balance of power between East-West cold-war nuclear confrontations.

The middle ground of the disarmament debate is populated by policymakers and academics who believe that the former can make useful if moderate contributions to security even under circumstances where mistrust between states is high. In keeping with realist assumptions, this approach asserts that sovereign states remain the key actors in international security issues; however, they are not unitary actors and have a mixture of common and conflicting interests⁵. In their study titled *Superpower Arms control* Albert Carnesale and Richard N. Haass found that arms control could reduce uncertainty and increase predictability so that military planning need not be based on self-fulfilling worst case assumptions⁶. Some middle ground scholars and policy makers believe misperceptions rather than conflicts of interests are the primary cause of arms races in the world, thus one way to limit insecurity without inhibiting a state from protecting itself is to adopt operational practices which are better suited for defence rather than offence. For example, the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe treaty limits five categories of predominantly offensive weapons and restricts their deployment to preclude a large-scale surprise attack. Confidence building is another practice which is considered vital to establishing international arms security from the perspective of middle-ground scholars and policy makers.

⁵ Gallagher, N.W. 1998. *Arms control: New approaches to theory and policy*. London: Frank Cass.

⁶ Carnesale, A. & Haass, N. (eds.). 1987. *Superpower arms control*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

Writers such as Robert Jervis have pointed out how providing information on armaments can help to distinguish between a country's benign intentions and aggressive intentions thus allowing states to be less suspicious of their neighbours⁷.

Since the 1980's and especially after the end of the Cold War, new understandings of disarmament have developed which diverge considerably from both realist and middle-ground approaches. The broad word used to describe these approaches is idealism. The increase in the significance of these idealistic approaches is a response to the complexity of the post-Cold War era which has redefined security issues. Instead of viewing security as strictly protection from external threats, idealist writers observe human insecurity which can be caused by governments themselves towards their own people. Instead of viewing disarmament as processes which are the sole responsibility of sovereign states, idealist writers have acknowledged the role that non-state actors have in reduction or proliferation of weapons; and instead of only focusing on the threat of nuclear weapons which have been mainly a threat to superpowers and more developed countries, idealist writers have also acknowledged the role that small and light weapons have on less developed countries. As the world began to take stock of the sheer level of destruction of Cold War conflicts on many developing nations, the problem of uncontrolled arms floating around highly volatile regions of the world began to be elucidated. The United Nations Disarmament Information Program (UNDIP) has been the organization at the forefront of trying to redefine security issues. In addition the UN has established an Office for Disarmament Affairs (ODA) which has aimed among other things to draw the link between development in post-conflict societies and disarmament, arguing that disarmament is not only important for conflict resolution but also for development of societies. In his October 1997 paper titled: "Small Arms, Big

⁷ Gallagher, N.W. 1998. *Arms control: New approaches to theory and policy*. London: Frank Cass.

Impact: The Next Challenge of Disarmament” Michael Renner notes that 90% of deaths in contemporary wars are caused by small arms and light weapons.

Bas De Gaay Fortman⁸ explains the relations between human security and human development and rights: “Human development means that life becomes more than just a mere struggle for survival”. It is the process by which people acquire certain options in life which allow them to fulfill their ambitions Human security relates to the ability of people to exercise these options without fear of violent or sudden interruptions. Thus threats to people such as violent conflict and environmental disasters often make it impossible for people to realize their developmental choices.

Although it is true that armed conflict can prevent development, it is also true that underdevelopment can become a cause for armed conflict. Increasingly throughout the 1990’s, policy makers have come to view economic inequality, underdevelopment and poor governance as causes of many conflicts. In addition, the calamities of war have themselves diverted much needed state resources from development to militarizing the state. Thus a vicious cycle of underdevelopment insecurity is created as Buur, Jensen & Stepputat⁹ contend. From this perspective Human security and human development are mutually dependent.

⁸ De Gaay Fortman, B. 2004. *The golden triangle of human dignity: Human security, human development and human rights*. In B. de Gaay Fortman & M. Muller (eds.). *From warfare to welfare: Human security in Southern African context*. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum: 8-15.

⁹ Buur, L., Jensen, S. & Stepputat, F. 2007. *The security-development nexus: Expressions of sovereignty and securitization in Southern Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Solomon and Matthews ¹⁰ point out that since the mid-1980's, 15 of the 20 poorest countries on earth have experienced violent conflict, thus supporting the argument that there is a link between violent conflict and a lack of development. In order for development to occur, violent conflicts would have to be resolved, and since disarmament is an essential part of conflict resolution, it would be subsequently necessary for there to be effective disarmament. Disarmament from this perspective is thus not just a means for maintaining a favourable balance of power, but also essential for development. Since the end of the Cold War, assumptions of a link between human development and human security have grown ever stronger. This approach to security is embodied by the UNDP 1994 Human Development Report ¹¹

Taya Weiss looks at the factors which make certain regions more vulnerable to high levels of arms in the wrong hands, these factors include weak and unstable governments, protracted civil conflicts, poor disarmament processes, poverty, a high level of unemployed youth and the availability of these weapons amongst other factors¹². Thus current trends in arms control and disarmament research are moving towards a broadening of definitions and approaches to these issues. The impacts disarmament on state as well as non-state actors has become important. Small Arms and light weapons (SALW) are now a more significant threat to the security of many

¹⁰ Matthews, S. & Solomon, H. 2002. Civil society, the state and conflicts in Africa Occasional Paper No. 3. Pretoria: Development Policy Management Forum.

¹¹ "Human development is the process of widening the range of people's choices. Human security means that people can exercise these choices safely and freely... There is a link between human security and human development: progress in one area enhances the chances of progress in the other. But failure in one area also heightens the risk of failure in the other. Failed or limited human development leads to a backlog of human deprivation... This backlog in access to power and economic opportunities can lead to violence". United Nations Development Programme, UNDP (1994) *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security* Technical Report. UNDP, New York.

¹² Weiss, T. 2003. A demand-side approach to fighting small arms proliferation. *African Security Review* 12(2): 5-16.

developing countries than nuclear weapons and demand side factors are now being investigated with the same enthusiasm as supply side factors of global arms flows.

Idealist approaches are suited to analyzing the impact of disarmament in post conflict societies. Subsequently there has been an increase in investigating disarmament in former conflict regions such as Sierra Leone and Mozambique. In terms of disarmament there have been significant shifts in contemporary approaches to understanding the Mozambique and Sierra Leone experience. Significantly in much of today's literature, disarmament is seen not as an end itself but an integral part of a process which seeks to rebuild war-torn post-conflict areas. Gwinyayi Dzinesa in his article analyses disarmament as part of a broader process in post-conflict societies commonly referred to as Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration or DDR. Dzinesa looks at the DDR process within South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Angola and Zimbabwe. Susan Willet in her piece entitled "*Demilitarization, Disarmament and Development in Southern Africa*" looks at how the DDR process is not only important in itself but also imperative to reconstructing conflict zones in the region and creating conditions more conducive for regional arms control.

Most literature on post conflict societies define post-conflict countries as those emerging from war, which could be civil war or interstate war. According to Doyle and Sambanis "civil war is an armed conflict that pits the government and national army of an internationally recognized state against one or more armed opposition groups able to mount effective resistance against the state; the violence must be significant, causing more than a thousand deaths in relatively continual fighting that takes place within the country's boundaries; and the rebels must recruit mostly locally, controlling some part of the country's territory." A post-conflict country does not

necessarily imply that violence has resumed in all corners of the country. In practice, “most post-conflict reconstruction efforts take place in situations where conflict has subsided to a greater or lesser degree, but is ongoing or recurring in some parts of the country”.

A post-conflict period, according to Sivapathasundaram, falls between “the cessation of hostilities and the establishment of political stability”. This period could last between two and five years. According to Collier and Hoeffler the longer a state has been immersed in civil war, the more likely it is that conflict will reoccur¹³. The World Bank estimates that half of all countries that have experienced civil war will face renewed conflict within five years¹⁴. Once civil war has engulfed a country, the increase in poverty levels, accumulation of weapons, and militarization of the economy increase the risk for further conflict. This “conflict trap” strengthens the urgency to investigate the most efficient methods for peacekeepers to prevent conflict recidivism. The essential element in determining how to prevent the resurgence of war is to investigate the underlying cause of the war. If a peacekeeping mission does not attend to the initial causes of civil war effectively, civil conflict will likely resume.

Current literature devoted to post-conflict stabilization and nation building indicates that there are three main areas of focus for establishing effective stable governance: democratization, economic improvement, and massive international intervention. Most scholars typically advocate some combination of all three, but differ largely in where they place emphasis. For instance, while some believe that the establishment of democracy will foster the necessary conditions for

¹³ Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56: 563-595.

¹⁴ McGowan, Nicholas. 2005. “Peace and War in the Third World.” *Institute of Public Affairs Review* 57(4): 17-18.

stable governance, this assertion is also frequently challenged.¹⁵ In many cases in the developing world, the application of democracy can lead to less stable governance.¹⁶ Most post conflict writers do not give prominence to the role of disarmament which is key in post conflict reconstruction. With the present of large amounts of arms in any post conflict society there will always be a threat to security and no economic empowerment and governance can effectively take root.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

Civil war in Sudan, Sierra Leone and Mozambique. Such conflicts have been made possible by not only the proliferation of conventional arms but also the pre-existing and continued illicit distribution of SALW. It is imperative for governments to not only prevent the acquisition of arms but also engage in disarmament process after the end of long periods of protracted violence. Thus this study is important as it will look at the emerging issues in disarmament and reforms to the disarmament process in post conflict management in order to prevent emergence of new conflict, manage threat to peace and security in post conflict zones. The absence of war and factors that fuel it such as illicit flow of arms will provide a stable environment for the economic, social enabling development of society.

The literature gaps on effective disarmament approaches to small arms and light weapons is also a key justification for the study. The current international legal regime focuses on arms control

¹⁵ F. Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*, illustrated edition. (Cornell University Press, 2004).

¹⁶ P. Collier, *Wars, Guns, and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*, Reprint. (Harper Perennial, 2010), 11.

and chemical weapons disarmament; however there is need to have a legal regime that specifically deals with disarmament of small arms and light weapons. The content of this study will include a comprehensive analysis of the current disarmament regime. The study aims to determine whether international law can achieve effective disarmament of small arms and light weapons which are being used in present day conflicts.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework to be employed in this thesis is one which views security and arms control in the broadest terms possible. This is a significant departure from older realist concepts of arms control which see the concept as a primarily state-centered activity. This thesis will through its theoretical framework seek to expand arms control theory so that it may include relevant non-state actors. Thus this thesis can be summarized as a practice of broadening the realist theoretical framework of arms control, so that it may encompass nonstate actors such as civil society, which have been previously neglected. Nancy Gallagher¹⁷ refers to the theoretical approach elaborated upon above as the idealist approach to disarmament theory. There are a number of features of this approach which can be identified. Firstly: the idealist approach is steeped in multilateralism. Whilst more realist approaches to arms control view it as a unilateral decision taken by a unitary state, the idealist approach recognizes that states often have to cooperate with one another for effective arms control. The concept of cooperative security forms part of this theoretical framework. According to Jeffery Larzen, cooperative security refers to: A commitment to regulate the size, technical composition, investment patterns, and operational practices of all military forces by mutual consent for mutual benefit. Thus disarmament from this

¹⁷ Gallagher, N.W. 1998. *Arms control: New approaches to theory and policy*. London: Frank Cass.pg.9

approach is more diplomatic, peaceful and has a wider range of beneficiaries. The 1999 joint disarmament exercise between South Africa and Mozambique commonly referred to as Operation Rachel is an example of the above.

The idealist approach to disarmament also takes a much more humanitarian standpoint. Therefore the approach focuses on human security and not just state security which is the main focus of realism. This framework seeks to explore security threats from all sources, not just from other hostile states but also from non-state actors such as terrorists, insurgency groups or criminal organizations. In addition, this approach also recognizes the role which many governments have in causing insecurity within their own populations¹⁸. The idealist theoretical approach also possesses what can be called a developmental agenda. In other words disarmament is viewed as necessary for development in post-conflict regions and the uncontrolled proliferation of weapons is seen as a direct obstacle to development.

Solomon and Matthews¹⁹ point out that since the mid-1980's, 15 of the 20 poorest countries on earth have experienced violent conflict, thus supporting the argument that there is a link between violent conflict and a lack of development. In order for development to occur, violent conflicts would have to be resolved, and since disarmament is an essential part of conflict resolution, it would be subsequently necessary for there to be effective disarmament. Disarmament from this perspective is thus not just a means for maintaining a favourable balance of power, but also essential for development. Since the end of the Cold War, assumptions of a link between human

¹⁸ Muller, M. 2004. Introduction. In B. de Gaay Fortman & M. Muller (eds.). *From warfare to welfare: Human security in Southern African context*. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum: 1-15.

¹⁹ Matthews, S. & Solomon, H. 2002. Civil society, the state and conflicts in Africa Occasional Paper No. 3. Pretoria: Development Policy Management Forum.

development and human security have grown ever stronger. This approach to security is embodied by the UNDP 1994 Human Development Report ²⁰

Whilst the theoretical framework of this thesis (idealist approach) shall be significantly less state-centric than the realist approaches of the Cold War era, it does not mean that the state shall be totally abandoned as an important unit of analysis within this approach.

1.7 HYPOTHESES

This research proceeds on the hypothesis that the proliferation of arms including small arms and light weapons and lack of disarmament in post conflict societies leads to instability in those societies.

1.8 METHODOLOGY

This study will use a mixed methods design, which is a procedure for collecting, analyzing and “mixing” both quantitative and qualitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study, to understand a research problem more completely. The rationale for mixing is that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are sufficient by themselves to capture the trends and details of the situation, such as a complex issue of disarmament in post conflict zones.

In a mixed methods approach, the researchers build the knowledge on pragmatic grounds asserting the truth. They choose approaches, as well as variables and units of analysis, which are

²⁰ “Human development is the process of widening the range of people’s choices. Human security means that people can exercise these choices safely and freely... There is a link between human security and human development: progress in one area enhances the chances of progress in the other. But failure in one area also heightens the risk of failure in the other. Failed or limited human development leads to a backlog of human deprivation... This backlog in access to power and economic opportunities can lead to violence”. United Nations Development Programme, UNDP (1994) *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security* Technical Report. UNDP, New York.

most appropriate for finding an answer to their research question. A major tenet of pragmatism is that quantitative and qualitative methods are compatible. Thus, both numerical and text data, collected sequentially or concurrently, can help better understand the research problem.

This study will use a sequential explanatory mixed methods design, consisting of two distinct phases. In the first phase, the quantitative, numeric, data will be collected first. In the second phase, a qualitative multiple case study approach will be used to collect text data through individual semi-structured interviews, documents, and materials to help explain why certain external and internal factors, tested in the first phase, may be significant predictors of why disarmament programmes have succeeded or failed in certain post conflict zones. The rationale for this approach is that the quantitative data and results provide a general picture of the research problems, that is, What is the role of arms including SALWs and other emerging forms of weapons in fuelling conflicts and what is the role and existing framework on disarmament in post conflict management, while the qualitative data and its analysis will refine and explain those statistical results by exploring participants' views in more depth.

The priority in this design is given to the qualitative method, because the qualitative research represents the major aspect of data collection and analysis in the study, focusing on in-depth explanations of quantitative results by exploring four maximal variation cases. The quantitative and qualitative methods are integrated at the beginning of the qualitative phase while selecting the participants for case study analysis and developing the interview questions based on the results of the statistical tests. The results of the two phases will be also integrated during the discussion of the outcomes of the whole study.

1.8.1 DATA COLLECTION

The first, quantitative phase of the study will focus on identifying the role of arms including SALW and other emerging forms of weapons in fuelling conflicts and why disarmament has failed or succeeded in certain post conflict zones. The cross-sectional survey design, which implies the data will be collected at one point in time, will be used. The primary technique for collecting the quantitative data will be a self-developed open-ended questionnaire.

1.8.2 DATA ANALYSIS

Before the statistical analysis of the quantitative survey results, the screening of the data will be conducted on the univariate and multivariate levels. Data screening will help identify potential multicollinearity in the data, because multivariate tests are sensitive to extremely high correlations among predictor variables. Outlying cases must also be excluded from the analysis, as a case that actually is in one category of outcome may show a high probability for being in another category. These may result in the poor model fit. Data screening will include the descriptive statistics for all the variables, information about the missing data, linearity and homoscedasticity, normality, multivariate outliers, multicollinearity and singularity. Descriptive statistics for the survey items will be summarized in the text and reported in tabular form. Frequencies analysis will be conducted to identify valid percent for responses to all the questions in the survey

1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This section sets out the outlines of the chapters into which the results of this study will be broken and also provides a synopsis of the content of the individual chapters.

CHAPTER ONE: DISARMAMENT IN POST CONFLICT ZONES

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a back ground and theoretical framework on disarmament in post conflict zones. The first part of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of the literature on the history and theories surrounding disarmament and its relevance.

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ON DISARMAMENT

This chapter will include an introduction to arms control and disarmament concepts. This chapter shall take firstly a historical look into proliferations of arms, what has caused the uncontrolled proliferation of small and light weapons within the region and what the results of the proliferation of arms. This chapter will look at how disarmament of arms can increase peace and security in post conflict zones.

CHAPTER THREE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DISARMAMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE AND SIERRA LEONE

This chapter will include a case study and comparative analysis of the disarmament processes within Mozambique and Sierra Leone. The case study will include an evaluation of the role of arms including SALWs in fueling conflicts in both countries and the continued role of proliferation of arms in causing instability in both countries. This chapter will critically evaluate the successes and failures of disarmament processes within both countries in prevention of conflict.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

In this chapter, the data collected during the research will be analyzed and discussed and conclusion inferred from the results of the data analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This is the concluding and evaluation section of the dissertation. This chapter shall be a review of the main observations made within the case studies which will ultimately support the hypothesis. In this chapter a review of the main arguments of the thesis shall be made, including the primary hypothesis as given in this chapter. Thus all arguments shall be summarized and pulled together within this conclusion. Finally this chapter shall identify new avenues of research which relate to the theme of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ON DISARMAMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The topics of disarmament and arms control should be brought out of the shadows of international politics in which they have been neglected over the last few years. With the end of the Cold War and the interlinking of business and societies all over the world, the global community believed a period of peace had been guaranteed. However these was not the case with the ever rising threat to international peace and security coupled with the growing number of conflicts in the world. Even in an age where companies operate globally and the internet links people more closely than ever before, the threat to peace posed by atomic, chemical and biological weapons remains very real. Indeed, with more countries possessing the technology to build and produce such weapons, the threat could even be seen to be growing ever larger²¹. There is now more than the need to find the proper framework under which arms control and disarmament can operate.

This chapter constitutes the conceptual and historical overview of the thesis. In this chapter the meaning and origin of disarmament and concepts surrounding it are discussed and analyzed.

²¹ Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, *Disarmament and Arms Control Indispensable* (paper presented in a workshop on the 10th Anniversary of the Entry into force of the Chemical Weapons Convention, on 29th April 2007, in Germany.)

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO DISARMAMENT

One of the major efforts to preserve and maintain international peace and security in the twenty-first century has been to control or limit the number of weapons and the ways in which weapons are and ought to be used. One of the main means to achieve this goal has been disarmament.²²

Disarmament attempts can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which stipulated against the need for building fortifications. In 1816, the Czar of Russia proposed to the British government the reduction of armaments, a call that was not well received.²³

The 1817 Rush-Bagot Treaty²⁴ between the United States and the United Kingdom was the first arms control treaty. It led to the demilitarization of the Great Lakes²⁵ and Lake Champlain²⁶ region of North America. Each country was allowed no more than one vessel on Lake Champlain, one on Lake Ontario, and two on the upper lakes, with each vessel constrained to a maximum weight²⁷. The agreement was ratified unanimously by the Senate in 1818. Additionally, with some modifications it has remained in force to the present day and has formed

²² Disarmament is the reduction of the number of weapons and troops maintained by a state. Arms control refers to treaties made between potential adversaries that reduce the likelihood and scope of war, usually imposing limitations on military capability. <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Arms+Control+and+Disarmament>. Accessed on 3rd July 2013

²³ http://www.zeeopedia.com/read.php?disarmament_and_arms_control_history_of_disarmament_international_relations_ir&b=100&c=23. Accessed on 3rd July 2013.

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ The Great Lakes are a collection of freshwater lakes located in northeastern North America, on the Canada-United States border, which connect to the Atlantic Ocean through the Saint Lawrence Seaway and the Great Lakes Waterway. Consisting of Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie and Ontario, they form the largest group of freshwater lakes on earth, containing 21% of the world's surface fresh water. From the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency website <http://www.epa.gov/glnpo/basicinfo.html> accessed on 2nd July 2013.

²⁶ Lake Champlain is a natural freshwater lake in North America, located mainly within the borders of the United States (states of Vermont and New York) but partially situated across the Canada-United States border in the Canadian province of Quebec.

²⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lake_Champlain. Accessed on 2nd July 2013.

the basis of peaceful border relations between the United States and Canada. In 1863 and in 1869, France made similar calls for disarmament in Europe, but it too was ignored. The industrial revolution led to increased mechanization of warfare and a rapid advance in the development of firearms. That increment in the potential for devastation led to an international assembly that addressed the issue of arms control. In 1898, the Tsar of Russia called on European powers to gather at Hague to discuss disarmament, a suggestion which was well received, leading to the First Hague Peace Conference attended by 28 states in 1899.²⁸ It consisted of three main treaties and three additional declarations: The three main treaties are as follows.

Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes²⁹: This convention encompassed the creation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which exists to this day and it was ratified by all major powers; including United States, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Russia, Japan, and China.

Convention with respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land³⁰: This contained the laws to be used in all wars on land between its signatories. It forbade the use of poisons, killing of people who had surrendered and attack of undefended towns or habitations. Inhabitants of occupied territories could not be forced into military service against their own country and collective punishment was forbidden.

²⁸ Ball, Nicole, van de Goor, Luc: Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration. Mapping Issues, Dilemmas and Guiding Principles. The Hague. 2006

²⁹ http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/hague01.asp accessed on 3rd July, 2013

³⁰ *ibid*

Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes: This convention confirms and expands on the 1899 Convention. As of 2013, this convention is in force for 105 states, and 115 states have ratified one or two of the 1907 Convention the 1899 Convention, which together are the founding documents of the Permanent Court of Arbitration³¹.

In 1907, another conference was held at The Hague for the same purpose. Both conferences called upon military and naval experts to propose reducing military expenditures through disarmaments, but the major powers were not ready for such moves in practice.³²

A third Hague Conference was called for 1915, but this was abandoned due to the First World War³³. The devastation caused by WWI impelled statesmen of the world to give serious thought to disarmament. Woodrow Wilson in one of his famous fourteen points asserted armament should be reduced to 'the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

The League of Nations was given the specific duty to secure a general agreement on disarmament and the covenant of the League stated that only those countries will be allowed membership who accepted the proposed agreement. The League of Nations was set up which attempted to limit and reduce arms. However the enforcement of this policy was not effective.

³¹ Permanent Court of Arbitration. *Basic Documents Guidelines for Adapting the Permanent Court of Arbitration Rules to Disputes Arising under Multilateral Agreements and Multiparty Contracts*. <http://www.pca-cpa.org> Accessed on 15th June 2013.

³² Final Act of the Second Peace Conference. The Hague, 18 October 1907. <http://www.icrc.org/ihl>. Accessed on 15th June 2013.

³³ <http://www.denhaag.nl/en/business/international-The-Hague/to/First-and-Second-Peace-Conferences.htm> at 3rd July 2013

Various naval conferences were held during the period between the first and second World Wars to limit the number and size of major warships of the five great naval powers. Three major treaties emerged out of the Washington Conference: the Five-Power Treaty, the Four-Power Treaty, and the Nine-Power Treaty. The Five-Power treaty, signed by the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy was the cornerstone of the naval disarmament program.³⁴

World War II, during which some 40 to 50 million people died, was by far the bloodiest conflict in human history. After World War II the United Nations was set up as a body to promote world peace. The possibility of the mutual destruction of each country by the other in an intercontinental exchange of nuclear-armed missiles prompted them to undertake increasingly serious negotiations to limit first the testing, then the deployment, and finally the possession of these weapons. Beginning in the 1960s, the United States and the Soviet Union sponsored several international arms-control agreements designed to be of limited risk to each side³⁵.

The United States and the Soviet Union also facilitated the establishment of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, (1972). Commonly known as the agreement supplemented the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and required all signatories both to refrain from developing and producing biological or toxin weapons and to destroy such weapons that they may possess that “have no justification for prophylactic, protective, and other peaceful purposes.” Since it entered into force in 1975, the convention has been reviewed several times in order to take into account

³⁴ <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/NavalConference> accessed at 3rd July 2013

³⁵ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/35537/arms-control/252829/The-Cold-War-Soviet-and-US-led-arms-control-agreements> accessed at 3rd July 2013

new scientific and technological developments, though there is no method in place to monitor compliance³⁶.

Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) is a comparatively recent instrument that has been adopted in the context of post-conflict reconstruction. The optimism of the early 1990s brought on a renewed international commitment to United Nations (UN) sponsored peacekeeping missions and reconstruction efforts. Since 1948, the UN has sponsored 59 peacekeeping missions, most of them launched after the end of the cold war. Many of these early peacekeeping missions were initial test cases for DDR. The conventional approach emphasized disarmament after a ceasefire or peace agreement, as was in Mozambique and Sierra Leone, followed by limited reintegration. While no doctrine or minimum standards emerged to guide DDR, it became an important element of peace processes, usually introduced early in the post-conflict period and geared toward neutralizing potential spoilers in the absence of clearly defined peace accords.³⁷

In 1998, a UN Secretary-General report declared that one of the priorities of post-conflict peace-building was the disarmament and demobilization of ex-combatants and others and their reintegration into productive society³⁸. Various UN Security Council presidential statements issued in 1999 highlighted the importance of successful DDR and underscored that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration could not be seen in isolation, but rather, as a continuous

³⁶ http://untreaty.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/5_1_1975.pdf Accessed on 30th July 2013.

³⁷ World Bank 2003b. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC. World Bank. 2003d. Development Cooperation and Conflict: Operational Policies 2.30. *World Bank Operational Manual*. Washington, DC.

³⁸ UNSG (United Nations Secretary General). 1998. *Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)*. S/24892. New York: United Nations. 3 December.

process which was rooted in and fed into the broader search for peace, stability and development³⁹. A year later, the Secretary-General submitted a detailed report to the Security Council on the role of UN peacekeeping missions in DDR⁴⁰. Within a few years, DDR came to occupy a central position in military-civilian transition operations, pursued by donors of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the UN, the World Bank, affected governments, and myriad agencies and NGOs. In the UN General Assembly and Security Council, the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs (UNDDA) and the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) strongly advocated for disarmament to be made an integral part of peace settlements. Standardized templates for DDR were introduced and best practice articulated by UN divisions, such as DPKO, and predominantly Western think tanks.⁴¹ In rare instances, various types of weapons reduction initiatives were piloted before the implementation of full-scale national disarmament programmes and DDR projects. In others, linkages with development and peace-building were gradually established.

Considering the tremendous amount of energy invested in advocating for DDR and weapons reduction, surprisingly little evidence is available to help determine the effectiveness of such programmes, whether in terms of meeting their own discrete objectives or contributing to security more generally. For example, a 2004 survey of more than a dozen DDR and weapons

³⁹ UNSC (United Nations Security Council). 1999a. *Statement by the President of the Security Council*. S/PRST/1999/21 of 8 July.

⁴⁰ UNSC (United Nations Security Council). 2000a. *Report of the Secretary-General: The Role of United Nations Peacekeeping in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*. S/2000/101 of 11 February.

⁴¹ DPKO has observed that 'disarmament, demobilization and reintegration form a continuum. Demobilization is only possible when there is some kind of disarmament'. UN DPKO (United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations). 1997. *Multidisciplinary Peacekeeping: Lessons from Recent Experience*.

reduction initiatives observes that none of the interventions could claim a statistically significant impact on security despite the fact many observed changes in individual and community perceptions of security⁴². The World Bank also remarks in the case of DDR that no statistical analyses of the effects of military integration on the likelihood of war recurrence are available, although in several cases military integration is associated with a lowered rate of war recurrence⁴³. Nevertheless, DDR was incorporated into mainstream development thinking soon after the World Bank began to concentrate on the security sector. The World Bank had in fact immersed itself in DDR debates comparatively early on and has been involved in the demobilization and reintegration components of DDR since the late 1980s. Subsequently, it has provided demobilization and reintegration project (DRP) assistance to more than 16 countries for designing and financing DDR.

2.3 WEAPONS REDUCTION AND DDR

Weapons reduction, which has a lengthier history than DDR, is not confined to either conflict or post-conflict situations. Although weapons reduction is today included in development, peace-building, policing, and other sectors, it has its roots in the US crime prevention initiatives of the 1950s. At the time, practical approaches to reducing weapons availability generally entailed buying them back, despite awareness that this was only a short-term solution and encouraged illegal firearms markets. By the 1970s and 1980s, weapons reduction efforts had broadened their focus to encompass the individual agents who possessed them and the permissive regulatory structures that facilitated acquisition. Police and criminology specialists increasingly adopted

⁴² CICS (Centre for International Cooperation and Security). 2004. *Assessing and Reviewing the Impact of Small Arms Projects on Arms Availability and Poverty*. Draft Synthesis Report. Bradford: CICS, University of Bradford. July.

⁴³ World Bank 2003b. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC.p.149.

holistic approaches to weapons reduction, concentrating simultaneously on raising the cost of obtaining firearms via penalties, and providing cash incentives to encourage their relinquishment.

Throughout the 1990s, the negative correlation between armed violence and underdevelopment became ever more difficult to ignore. As pervasive weapons use increasingly compromised development interventions, reducing availability was no longer a matter of choice, but of grim necessity. More recently, as some policy circles have sought to establish ties between underdevelopment and terrorism, weapons reduction has become part of a general drive to reduce poverty in the post-conflict period.⁴⁴

As with DDR, weapons reduction lacks a doctrine or clear conceptual basis. In fact, it involves various activities, ranging from the tightening of the regulatory framework for civilian arms possession to public awareness campaigns that concentrate on 'gun cultures'. This approach is fast becoming a core element of post-conflict recovery strategies. Weapons reduction initiatives are increasingly being linked with DDR. They are frequently introduced as follow on activities, as was the case in Sierra Leone⁴⁵. Discrete initiatives in the weapons reduction portfolio, such as 'Flames of Peace' in Mali, Serbia, and Sierra Leone, have also been tagged on to formal DDR. In addition, weapons reduction is now introduced to address gaps in ongoing DDR programmes, particularly in relation to weapons storage and disposal, public awareness campaigns, community mobilization, and demand reduction. Weapon reduction activities have taken on the

⁴⁴ Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. 2004. *What the Fighters Say: A Survey of Ex-Combatants in Sierra Leone: June–August 2003*. A survey carried out by Columbia University and Stanford University in partnership with the Post-conflict Reintegration Initiative for Development and Empowerment (PRIDE).

⁴⁵ Ginifer, Jeremy, Michael Bourne, and Owen Greene. 2004. *Armed Violence in Small Arms and Light Weapons, Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Initiatives*. Briefing Paper for DFID. Bradford: CICS, University of Bradford.

human security approach opened up the possibility of achieving long-term, sustainable reversals in community criminality and violence.

Weapons reduction can be divided into at least two distinct categories: reduction by command (phase one) and voluntary reduction (phase two). Weapons reduction by command often forms part of a general disarmament strategy during and immediately following peace negotiations although it can also take place outside of formal agreements. The phase one initiatives are generally administered by peacekeepers and militaries and are organized, centralized, supervised, public, involuntary, and collective. Examples are the continuing disarmament efforts of the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (UNMONUC) or the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). Also included in this category are cross-regional initiatives, such as the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operation Organization, which has collected thousands of weapons in the region. Voluntary reduction activities, meanwhile, are often introduced later in the transition process, and are designed to address civilian arms possession. The phase two interventions advance a combination of collective and individual incentives, are decentralized, and are often preceded by various penalties to deter illegal ownership. Examples include Transforming Arms to Ploughshare Program (TAP) in Mozambique.

2.4 IMPACT OF WEAPONS REDUCTION AND DDR

Human security regularly deteriorates in the delicate period after wars are officially declared over. As a result, so-called post-conflict realities rarely bear much resemblance to what is implied by their definition. Rather, death and injury rates often remain comparatively high even after an armed conflict has come to an end. The post-war contagion effects of armed violence

can impact on the surrounding region. While the transition from war to peace is influenced by the dynamics of an original armed conflict, the relief, development, and security-oriented strategies introduced in its wake similarly affect its shape. Lessons learnt from past disarmament and weapons reduction interventions highlight the importance of articulating clear objectives and specifying clear benchmarks, as well as remaining cognizant of cultural, institutional, and communication barriers. When these are not adequately considered in advance, disarmament and weapons reduction endeavours can have only a limited impact⁴⁶.

Despite their popularity among donors, policy-makers, and various multilateral agencies, disarmament and weapons reduction frequently target the wrong people. Voluntary schemes that build primarily on rational self-interest and do not take into consideration the local context guarantees tend to enjoy only limited success and can do more harm than good. For DDR and weapons reduction to be successful in generating security, they must be initiated at the earliest possible moment in the post-conflict period and must into consideration the Human security aspect⁴⁷.

2.5 SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS

The uncontrolled proliferation of SALWs is global in nature, therefore common standards for SALWs control are needed to effectively combat the illicit transfer of these weapons at global level. The key existing global initiatives in place include the UN Programme of Action (PoA) which resulted from the UN conference, the UN firearms' protocols and the Wassenaar

⁴⁶ Smith, Chris. 2001. 'Security-Sector Reform: Development Breakthrough or Institutional Engineering?' *Conflict, Security and Development*, 1(1), pp. 5–19.

arrangements. They played a vital role as stepping stones to the development of regional agreements and national legislations on the control on proliferation of SALWs. However, these international initiatives do not affect non member states of the UN, non signatories nor do they represent a complete view of all regional initiatives.

The UN conference on the illicit trade in SALWs held from 9th to 20th July 2001⁴⁸ was one of the international initiatives to address the control of SALWs from a global perspective. Although it was the first of its kind where most UN member states had the opportunity to discuss the illicit trade in SALWs in all its aspects, it ignored the illicit transfer of SALWs that end up in the hands of bandits and human rights abusers. The conference contributed to a better understanding of the nature of SALWs, concerns and priorities of different countries and sub-regions. It also contributed to civil societies developing actions to address SALWs problems and even put firmly SALWs in the political agenda, where civil societies can demand change from their governments. However, there were inadequate follow ups and no monitoring of implementation of outcomes. The conference's aim was restricted to addressing illicit trade but did not examine the management of illicit weapons and convenient way of disarming civilians.

One of the significant outcomes of the UN conference on the illicit trade in SALWs was the UN Programme of Action (PoA) to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in SALWs in all its Aspects⁴⁹. The UN PoA was purposeful on preventing, combating and eradicating the illicit trade in SALWs in all its aspects, commitments to monitoring and implementation, and international co-operation. This program took into account interests of regional initiatives such

⁴⁸ Report of the *United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons*. 2001. www.un.org/events/smallarms2006/pdf/N0150720.pdf. Accessed on 30th July 2013.

⁴⁹ Peters, R. (2006) *Small Arms and Light Weapons: Making the UN Programme of Action Work*. Disarmament Diplomacy. Issue No. 82, Spring 2006

as the Bamako Declarations and concerns of civil societies. The second main international initiative was the 2001 UN Firearms Protocol which was conducted under the auspices of the Vienna UN ECOSOC Commission. The protocol has some salient shortcomings, for example, it is silent on the legal production and trafficking in firearms, their components and ammunitions that might end up in abuse of human rights in some parts of the world. The protocol, however, has strong provision that put emphasis on crime prevention and criminal injustice across states.

The third international initiative was the Wassenaar Arrangements (WA) on the Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies. It was established in 1996 to deal with risks to regional and international security and stability related to the spread of conventional weapons and dual-use goods and technologies. Amongst its key objectives are the promotion of 'transparency and greater responsibility in transfers of conventional and dual-use goods and technologies'. The emphasis on transparency is based on the key elements of voluntarily information sharing between states concerning transfer of controlled goods. Although the WA was initially concerned with conventional weapons and their exporters, its member states by 2000 reaffirmed the importance of responsible export policies, and effective export controls over SALWs.⁵⁰

In 2009 the General Assembly decided to call a conference in 2012 to develop a comprehensive international treaty on Arms Trade. This treaty would be the first international legally binding instrument to provide common international standards on arms control and exports for all categories of conventional weapons, including small arms, light weapons and ammunition. The final draft for an Arms Trade Treaty was presented and submitted before UN General Assembly

⁵⁰ <http://www.wassenaar.org/> accessed on 30th July 2013.

the Conference on the Arms Trade Treaty July 26, 2012.⁵¹ The draft deals mainly with strengthening import and export controls, transits and brokering. The special conference held in July 2012 focussed its work on a treaty based on a paper by the chairman of the preparatory committee, Roberto Moritán. This draft included all seven groups of weapons covered by the UN Register of Conventional Arms and additionally, small arms and light weapons. 298 The conference disappointingly ended without consensus, by and large due to opposition from the US who thought more work was needed on the treaty. As a result of the failure of the July 2012 conference, the flow of small arms and light weapons is still unregulated on an international scale and remains unrestricted. There are nevertheless some regional and national mechanisms in place to restrict their flow.

2.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK TO DISARMAMENT

According to Kruzal⁵², Disarmament envisions the drastic reduction or elimination of all weapons looking towards the eradication of war itself based on the notion that if there are no weapons there would be no more war. Newnham and Evans⁵³ view disarmament as both a process involving the reduction, removal or elimination of identified weapon systems, and as an end state it involves the establishment of a disarmed world and the prevention of rearmament thereafter. In itself, maybe unilateral, bilateral or multilateral and partial or complete, maybe limited to certain weapon systems or general and complete discount can be reached by being

⁵¹ United Nations General Assembly, 2012, sixty-sixth session, First Committee 2012. See p. 4-14 for conventional reporting and pp. 16-20 for reports on SALW. <http://www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/Register/DOCS/20120312-Register%20Fact%20sheet.pdf>

⁵² Kruzal, Joseph. Arms Control at the Crossroads. Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists; Jun1974, Vol. 30 Issue 6, p58.

⁵³ Newnham JDN and G.E. Evans, The Dictionary of World Politics, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990, p. 73

partial, or related to Certain Weapon Systems or strictly to one region or between two countries leaving after the countries not covered bringing severe weaknesses to transfers that might happen.

Disarmament includes a range of processes and measures by which the holdings, stockpiling and supply of weapons to states, non-state groups and individuals are reduced or destroyed. Disarmament measures include: weapons collection initiatives; weapons destruction and disposal programmes; decommissioning of weapons systems; arms embargoes; as well as weapons moratoriums and prohibitions. Disarmament initiatives generally take place following a prolonged period of armed conflict, such as civil war, but have also taken place in countries without an immediate history of armed conflict.⁵⁴ The fundamental aim of a disarmament process is to reduce the destabilizing and destructive impact of weapons on the state, society and the environment. In this respect, a successful disarmament initiative can contribute to building confidence and stability in a situation characterized by tension and uncertainty.

Security means a condition in which the existence of something has been protected and preserved.⁵⁵ Human security means a situation in which the life, the body and the well being of the human person have been protected. The 1995 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme has necessitated present debates on the concepts. Human security is preoccupied with the need to protect fundamental human rights in which the basic threats would be murders, executions, genocide and war deaths. This become significantly linked to disarmaments as the aim is to control the occurrence of devastating violence and war due to

⁵⁴ <http://www.iss.co.za> Accessed on 30th July 2013.

⁵⁵ Naidu M.V, *Human Security: Issues of Conceptualisation and Concretisation*, in Hallsworth(ed) *Perspectives on human security*, BACS, 2003.

the presence, abundance and misuse of weapons. Naidu has noted that weapons were used in all the 42 ethnic and territorial conflicts in the world. For Africa the situation has not improved with the end of cold war conflicts. Though some have ended or are ending, new ones have emerged and have continued to threaten human survival and well-being.

According to Steinberg⁵⁶ the concept of security is inseparable from modern nation states, which provides the only protection from a highly anarchic environment, and post-nationalist ideologies are a recipe for catastrophic warfare, resulting from the false belief that the state and deterrence have become irrelevant. There has been an attempt to overlook the importance of state as a referent point of achieving security especially were human security, often referred to as "people-centered security" rather than states hence the irrelevance of the state. However, it has to be understood that human security has to be looked at from the point of view of emphasizing the complex relationships and often-ignored linkages between disarmament, human security, and development in general.

2.7 DISARMAMENTS AND HUMAN SECURITY

Violations of human security in military sphere have been as a result of the availability and the use of guns, land mines, armored vehicles and tanks that are highly destructive in terms of infrastructure and human life. According to Naidu⁵⁷, conventional weapons constitute one of the instruments of human suffering as a result of the willingness of human beings to kill and die with its origin in fears, suspicious, hatreds and alienation, and the ultimate resort to violence. An example can be drawn from the conflicts in Democratic People's Republic of Congo where he

⁵⁶ Gerald M. Steinberg, *First Do No Harm: A Critique of the Human Security Approach to Arms Control*, <http://www.jcpa.org/jl/vp539.htm>. Accessed on 30th July 2013.

⁵⁷ Naidu M.V, *Human Security: Issues of Conceptualisation and Concretisation*, in Hallsworth(ed) *Perspectives on human security*, BACS, 2003. pg. 36.

Ugandan army invaded DRC killing a large number of people, deeply affecting infrastructure and victimized citizens and to include looting and illegal exporting of natural resources⁵⁸.

Given such a backdrop one would laud the initiatives towards disarmament. The major historical backdrop was conceived following the aftermath of the devastating effects of World War. Historically, it has proven that the enforcement of disarmament agreements has been challenging and problematic. The reason for this is that the enforcement and effectiveness of these agreements are dependent on the commitment and consent of the participants to these agreements to abide by the terms of these agreements. There has been trends by warring groups which no longer wishes to abide by the terms of disarmament agreement, they tend to either covertly circumvent the terms, or terminate their participation in the agreement.

Buzan⁵⁹ also notes the logic behind disarmament as the means of achieving security. Disarmament sought to deal with specific categories of weapons, which are deemed to be dangerous to human security particularly biological and chemical weapons. This was the case with moves to ban use of biological weapons in the 1920s and which was fulfilled in the 1972 Review Conference of Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) 1972 and the bacteriological and Toxic Weapons (TWC) which aimed at prohibiting the development of weapons of mass destruction. It banned the development of weapons of mass destruction, the development of weapons of mass destruction, the development protection, stockpiling, acquisition, and retention of biological and toxic weapons. The recent move in the field of the disarmament has seen the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) signed by 159 countries as of September 1995,

⁵⁸ Okello Tom, *Uganda in the Dock*, (New African, May 2005) p.25

⁵⁹ Buzan B, *An Introduction to Strategic Studies*,(Warwick, Macmillan Press, 1987) p. 237.

which called for destruction of chemical weapons by the year 2003, and an organisation for the prevention of chemical weapons OPCU in The Hague was created to supervise the process.

Another assumption behind disarmament has been that possession of weapons by certain states makes a state more likely to resort to the use of force in times of crisis. Thus the unavailability of weapons means a hindrance to its ability to go to war. But a problem often develops that makes complete disarmament impossible since the minimum force is required for domestic purposes hence the objective behind the call for partial disarmament. With the emergence of several intra-state conflicts the weapons for domestic purpose have become instruments for threatening human security as the case of Mozambique, Uganda and Sierra Leone demonstrates. The continued existence of conflicts in Africa motivates anyone to understand the concrete reasons for failure. Firstly, according to Buzan⁶⁰, the concept of disarmament is flawed in its conception because it is fallacious to think of total removal of war and violence⁶¹. This is so because disarmament cannot get rid of the knowledge and technology that would enable states to rearm, nor can it remove the many civil technologies that would enable disarmament states that massive change or another.

Another reasoning behind disarmament is the economics argument that it is better to disarm and avoid expending on military equipment and personnel and channel the resources non-military sectors such as food, shelter, and health and education provisions. This makes a great deal of sense when it comes to Africa as there are a number of development projects to be taken care of

⁶⁰ Buzan B, *An Introduction to Strategic Studies*, Warwick, Macmillan Press, 1987, p. 237.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 239.

rather than boasting the defence budget. According to Naidu⁶² these conventional weapons are expensive which cause a heavy drain on budgetary resources. But this argument is not basic since it will raise economic pressures from those parts of the economy that depend on the military for employment and prosperity and also of the expenses that are needed for substitution international inspectors which require a lot of resources.

Lastly, in terms of logic human nature ought to be viewed realistically. According to Booth⁶³, violence is inimical and as long as individual conscience does not place non violence as the highest stage of all the principles there is no notification that war would go away as history. And given that the international system characterised by anarchy it is difficult to imagine how nations with competing interest do away with the balance of power as a principal orderly mechanism. The grounds for the conflicts are as a result of the struggle for political power and a fight over natural resources or territory are other complicating factors this appears to remain as human interactions continue.

Having realized the challenges bedeviling disarmament as a way of achieving human security in Africa there is need to find ways of improving human security through these policies. Great effort has to be available at the national level, individual commitments and community involvement and changes in attitudes the conflicting communities. At local level there is need for individual self-protection through enhanced public security, a reorientation of police training and greater co-operation among law enforcement officials in neighboring countries. In states where there is high demand for small arms like Sierra Leone, Mozambique and South Africa there is need to reduce the

⁶² Naidu M.V, *Human Security: Issues of Conceptualisation and Concretisation*, in Hallsworth(ed) *Perspectives on human security*, BACS, 2003. pg. 36.

⁶³ Booth K in John Baylis, *Contemporary Strategy: Theories and Policies*, Groom Helm, London 1975,p.3.

level of small arms through education of the civil society, particularly the youth; creation of a gun-free zone; and a vigorous campaign against the transfers of arms to private entities. This has helped in countries such as Zimbabwe that has tight legislation on the flow of arms to private hands.

2.8 CONCLUSION

Although the number of active armed conflicts in the world has steadily declined largely attributable to the numerous peace building interventions of the international community in war-torn countries since the end of the Cold War.⁶⁴ These interventions, however, have shown mixed results; while the number of active armed conflicts have been declining, the number of post-conflict⁶⁵ states or state-like entities under international tutelage have been on the rise.⁶⁶ This is because making and keeping peace appears to be easier to achieve than building it. Yet, if the transition from armed conflict to sustainable peace fails, then, in the long run, post-conflict situations may easily become pre-conflict situations. Disarmament in this Chapter has been seen one of the key tools to be employed in post conflict peace building in order to reduce the resurgence of war or rise in the culture of violence.

⁶⁴ Since the early 1990s, the number of such conflict has dropped from some 50 to 30 (in 2004). See Harbom, L., Wallensteen, P., 'Armed Conflict and Its International Dimensions, 1946-2004', *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 42, no. 5 (2005), pp. 623-635.

⁶⁵ 'Post-conflict' is a problematic term. What is generally called post-conflict does not really mean after the end of conflict as conflict never really ends. At best, it refers to a situation after the cessation of violent conflict or after the conclusion of a peace agreement.

⁶⁶ Call, C., 'Institutionalizing Peace: A Review of Post-Conflict Peace building. Concepts and Issues for DPA' (31 January 2005), pp. 6-8. See also: Dobbins, J. et al., 'The UN's Role in Nation-Building: from the Congo to Iraq' (RAND: Santa Monica, 2005); Doyle, M.W., 'War Making and Peace Making. The United Nations' Post-Cold War Record', Crocker, Ch., Hampson, F.O., Aall, P. (eds.), *Turbulent Peace. The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (United States Institute of Peace Press: Washington D.C., 2001), pp. 529-560.

If peace is to be lasting, the security needs of both the state and its population must be addressed equally and in parallel with political and socio-economic aspects of reconstruction as has been discussed in these chapter as well as chapter one. Further if the proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons (SALWs)⁶⁷ is not addressed then building peace will be elusive and the relapse into conflict almost unavoidable. The management of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in as an important aspect of post conflict peace building, which is also a relevant to the disarmament process. As in the aftermath of violent conflict, large numbers of SALW often remain in the hands of government forces, warring parties, and civilians. The flow of illicit arms contributes to an atmosphere of insecurity which further increases the demand for arms.⁶⁸ Ex-combatants and criminals also take advantage of the lack of effective and functional security institutions to perpetuate crime and revenge attacks. The result is a cycle of violence which is a direct legacy of conflict and which presents significant challenges for post-conflict peace building.⁶⁹ Small arms proliferation and misuse undermines post-conflict reconstruction and development; hampers the delivery and distribution of humanitarian and developmental aid; and has the potential to destabilize neighbouring states and societies. Thus, the removal of weapons from circulation after conflict, usually through disarmament, demobilization and reintegration

⁶⁷ United Nations General Assembly, Report of the Governmental Experts on Small Arms (1997) defines SALW as *"Small arms are revolvers and semi-automatic pistols; rifles and carbines; automatic rifles and submachine guns which are designed for personal use and can usually be carried and operated by one individual. Light weapons are heavy machine guns, handheld and mounted grenade launchers, man portable anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, recoilless rifles, portable anti-tank and anti-aircraft missile systems, and mortars of less than 100mm bore. Despite the nomenclature, 'light weapons' are usually too heavy for one person to carry and require a small team to operate."*

⁶⁸ See Krause, K., 'Facing the Challenge of Small Arms: The UN and Global Security Governance', Price, R., Zacher, M. (eds.), *The United Nations and Global Security* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2004), pp. 22-37.

⁶⁹ See Muggah, R., Berman, E., *Humanitarianism Under Threat: The Humanitarian Impacts of Small Arms and Light Weapons* (Small Arms Survey/Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue: Geneva, July 2001), p. ix. See also ICRC, *Arms Availability and the Situation of Civilians in Armed Conflict* (ICRC: Geneva, 1999).

(DDR) programmes, is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for successful post-conflict peace building.

CHAPTER THREE

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DISARMAMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE AND SIERRA LEONE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an investigation into the manner in which disarmament has been implemented in Mozambique and Sierra Leone following the devastating civil war that lasted 16 years and 10 years respectively in each of the two countries. These conflicts left Mozambique and Sierra Leone with an extremely high prevalence of small arms and light weapons. This chapter will look at some of the disarmament efforts in each of the countries shall be put into scrutiny. This chapter shall look specifically at the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) which followed the civil war and was the first form of arms control in Mozambique and Sierra Leone since the civil war broke out. ONUMOZ achieved peaceful elections in Mozambique whereas UNAMSIL managed to consolidate peace efforts in Sierra Leone however both failed to control the prevalence in arms. Thus this chapter shall look at what was driving the continuation of illicit arms flows in Mozambique and Sierra Leone despite the end of political hostilities⁷⁰. It is within this environment that various disarmament programmes processes were initiated in both countries. The goal of this chapter is therefore to ascertain what roles did the disarmament processes play in securing peace and stability and how successful the disarmament initiatives in both countries have been at solving flows of small arms and light weapons and preventing further conflicts.

⁷⁰ Batchelor, *Disarmament, Small Arms, and Intra-State Conflict: The Case of Southern Africa*, UNIDIR. p. 73.

3.2 DISARMAMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE

The United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) which followed the civil war and was the first form of arms control in Mozambique. The signing of the 1992 Rome Peace Accord by the two warring sides Frelimo and Renamo, laid the foundation for peace keeping initiatives in Mozambique. The ceasefire signaled the beginning of a United Nations' supervised peace process.⁷¹ After the ONUMUZ led disarmament initiative there was the civil society led programme Transforming Weapons into Ploughshares (TAE) which was a community focused process of disarmament which aimed to primarily rid Mozambican society of not only weapons but also the inclination for conflict. This programme was then followed by the state led mutual agreement between the police forces of South Africa and Mozambique dubbed Operation Rachel to locate and destroy arms caches in Mozambique which were fuelling the criminal market in South Africa. These research shall endeavor to discuss the challenges of each of the above mentioned disarmament initiative and their impact if any in prevent further conflicts in Mozambique.

3.3 UNITED NATIONS OPERATIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE (ONUMOZ)

As part of the 1992 Rome Peace Agreement⁷², the Security Council established (ONUMOZ) to monitor and support a ceasefire, the demobilization of forces and the holding of national elections. One of the core principles of ONUMOZ's mandate was to facilitate a process of

⁷¹ A. Vines. 1995. "Angola and Mozambique, *The Aftermath of Conflict*" *Conflict Studies* 280 Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism.

⁷² Pubantz, Jerry, and John Allphin Moore Jr. "United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)." *Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, Second Edition. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2008. *Modern World History*.

disarmament amongst other things. ONUMOZ was thus the first official attempt at disarmament in Mozambique after nearly 16 years of bloody civil war fuelled partly by the uncontrolled proliferation of small arms. Certain characteristics associated with the type of civil war fought in Mozambique rendered ONUMOZ's efforts less than impressive.

3.3.1 CHALLENGES FACED BY ONUMOZ

The challenges faced by ONUMOZ were very great and the pressure on the UN to find a solution to the conflict was just as significant, this unfortunately led to a number of mistakes on the part of the involved groups. ONUMOZ for example 'seemed' to concentrate more on other aspects of the peace process, it could be concluded that disarmament was never a priority. One of the reasons for this was ONUMOZ's resolve to bring an end to hostilities no matter what. The people of Mozambique and even Frelimo and Renamo were also clearly war-weary and sought solutions without taking more difficult issues such as disarmament and demobilization into proper consideration. Realizing that a concerted drive to collect weapons might have angered certain parties, ONUMOZ chose to pay less attention to it and focused on mainly achieving peaceful, free and fair elections⁷³.

Disarmament was also difficult for ONUMOZ due to the high level of distrust between Frelimo and Renamo. Despite the fact that both parties had come to a point where they considered the costs of war far too high to continue fighting, the environment of suspicion which existed

⁷³ A. Vines. 1995. "Angola and Mozambique, The Aftermath of Conflict" *Conflict Studies* 280 Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism.p.192.

compromised the collection of weapons. Both parties feared that giving up their weapons would leave them vulnerable to an attack by the opposing party.⁷⁴

Administrative problems were also rife at the start of ONUMOZ. These problems would impact upon the functioning of the process, thus in April 1993; the report to the Security Council by the Secretary General stated the following: “although the ceasefire had largely held, many of the timetables established in the Agreement “proved to be unrealistic”. Continuing deep mistrust had resulted in reluctance to begin assembly and demobilization of troops, and contributed to the delay in the deployment of United Nations military observers”.⁷⁵

Another shortcoming regarding ONUMOZ’s disarmament efforts relates to the fact that after collecting weapons the UN handed them over to the Government of Mozambique. This turned out to be an unwise option as the government was at times unwilling or unable to completely destroy all these arms. It is estimated that out of 200 000 weapons which were handed over to the government by ONUMOZ, only 24 000 were recorded as destroyed⁷⁶. In fact, ONUMOZ expressed a desire to destroy a much greater number than this but the government refused. This scenario raises many questions about the commitment of the Government of Mozambique during this fragile transition period. The disarmament undertaken by ONUMOZ was also quite limited. In other words, ONUMOZ concentrated its efforts on managing the stocks and flows of weapons between militarized actors within the conflict. This limited form of disarmament neglected to

⁷⁴ Chachua, M. 1999. *Weapons flows in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

⁷⁵ United Nations. *Mozambique–ONUMOZ background*. http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/onumoz_b.htm. Accessed on 19 July 2013.

⁷⁶ P Chabal, *The Curse of War in Angola and Mozambique: Lusophone African Decolonization in Historical Perspective*, in *Africa Insight*, 26(1), 1996, p. 8.

take into account the popular involvement in arms handling in the Mozambican wars. As mentioned before, a chronic lack of control led both Frelimo and Renamo to distribute undisclosed numbers of light weapons to people across the country. Thus considering that so many weapons were distributed amongst civilians and very few were collected, we can thus conclude that the figure given of 200 000 weapons collected by ONUMOZ is far too low⁷⁷.

The demobilization process which was complementary to the disarmament process in Mozambique also ran into a number of problems during the ONUMUZ operation. There were four notable problems with the technical aspect of demobilization of soldiers in Mozambique. First, ONUMOZ's demobilization campaign was premised on a standard of one man/one weapon. This was highly unsuccessful due to the fact that by the end of the civil war, many soldiers had more than one weapon.⁷⁸ In addition it emerged that many of the soldiers who possessed more than one weapon would hand over only those weapons which were of poorest quality. It was felt that the weapons of better quality were being held in reserve. Second: At the time of ONUMUZ it seems that there was very little political will on the part of both Frelimo and Renamo to fully disarm. Third, there was also significant lack of information regarding demobilization processes. Many soldiers were either unaware or just too tired of war to involve themselves in the disarmament process. Finally, security conditions relating to the storage of weapons were often quite unsafe. These poor conditions for weapons storage often resulted in leakages of weapons back onto the streets of Mozambique. It is widely believed that when ONUMOZ left Mozambique, a great number of weapons held at government armouries or

⁷⁷ P Batchelor, *Disarmament, Small Arms, and Intra-State Conflict: The Case of Southern Africa*, UNIDIR. p. 73.

⁷⁸ United Nations. *Mozambique-ONUMOZ background*. http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/onumoz_b.htm. Accessed on 19 July 2013.

assembly areas were stolen and subsequently found their way back into civilian or criminal possession⁷⁹. Thus one could gather a lack of seriousness to full disarmament on the part of ONUMOZ.

3.3.2 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ONUMOZ

ONUMOZ achieved a number of successes especially with regards to their democratization processes. Indeed, Mozambique experienced peaceful elections after years of warfare, underdevelopment, and one-party rule. The UN project however was unable to properly solve the security problem in Mozambique.

The end of ONUMOZ brought with it a marked rise in violent crime which was being fuelled quite substantially by small arms which had not been collected. It is therefore in response to this situation that a need for further action was identified. If anything was clear at that stage it was that the government of Mozambique was too weak after 30 years of liberation and civil war to take over fully from ONUMOZ. Thus in 1995 a group of churches known as the Mozambican Council of Churches (CCM) expressed its desire to undertake the task of collecting and destructing the excess weapons. This was a pioneering initiative in many respects since for the first time; a civil society organization was taking full responsibility of arms control, a task which is historically the sole responsibility of the state⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ Chachiua, M. 1999. *Weapons flows in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

⁸⁰ Faltas, S. & Peas, W.C. 2003. *Exchanging guns for tools: The TAE approach to practical disarmament – An assessment of the TAE project in Mozambique*. Bonn: Bonn International Centre for Conversion.

3.4 OPERATION RACHEL

Operation Rachel was a bilateral agreement between the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the Police of the Republic of Mozambique (PRM) effective since 1995⁸¹. The fundamental objective of Operation Rachel was to destroy the arms caches left behind after the Mozambican civil war. These weapons had become a major threat to security in both countries since they were being trafficked from Mozambique to South Africa to supply the latter's thriving criminal market. Thus in March 1995, the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Mozambique and the Government of the Republic of South Africa in Respect of Co-operation and Mutual Assistance in the Field of Crime Combating was signed.⁸²

The striking similarities in the situations South Africa and Mozambique were facing facilitated the need for mutual cooperation between the two neighbours. Both countries were in a period of political transition with democratic elections in 1994; both countries experienced drastic rises in small arms; a shift in the use of weapons for war to crime; an increase in violent crime; an increase in the illegal arms market within and between the two countries; lack of capacity to provide security for the public and a general potential for social instability.

⁸¹ Chachiu, M. 1999. *Weapons flows in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

⁸² Cilliers, J. 1995. *The evolving security architecture in Southern Africa*. African Security Review Vol 4 No 5, 1995.

3.4.1 CHALLENGES TO OPERATION RACHEL

Operation Rachel experienced operational challenges such as personality clashes amongst high ranking officers. There were also issues of trust and cultural differences.⁸³ These kinds of challenges could be resolved though since all officers understood that their personal likes or dislikes could not get in the way of a successful operation. There were however more structural problems which were harder to resolve. Firstly, there were the deplorable working conditions SAPS officers claim to have been subjected to in Mozambique. Many officers complained of a lack of basic infrastructure and almost inhumane living conditions, not at all what the South Africans were accustomed to.

Language barrier became another significant issue, as many high ranking Mozambican police officials could not properly communicate in English nor could the South Africans speak Portuguese. Mozambican police had to thus consider this when selecting officers for teams since communication is very important. Miscommunication could easily lead to bad mistakes or conflict between officers⁸⁴.

The stark differences in the level of operational skills between SAPS officers and their Mozambican counterparts made it extremely difficult for the two groups to work together. South Africans found it hard to work with the Mozambicans on specific aspects of Rachel owing to a lack of proper training of the Mozambicans. Handling of explosives was one such core activity which many PRM officers were not able to properly perform.

⁸³ Hennop, E. 2001. *Operation Rachel*. Occasional Paper No. 53. Pretoria: Arms Management Programme, Institute for Security Studies.

⁸⁴ Cilliers, J. 1995. *The evolving security architecture in Southern Africa*. African Security Review Vol 4 No 5, 1995

3.4.2 ACHIEVEMENTS OF OPERATION RACHEL

In total, operation Rachel has seen the collection and destruction of a huge number of weapons which substantially dwarfs anything ever achieved prior to its establishment. Between 1995 and 2002, 8 operations consisting 19 missions had been undertaken. During this time a total of 611 weapons caches were located and destroyed. This illustrates the kind of impact which one operation can have.

Operation Rachel's methods of sourcing informants and using technology to locate arms caches instead of collecting weapons one individual at a time proved to have much more of an impact on the situation⁸⁵.

There are a number of reasons why operation Rachel was a success this. Firstly Rachel was distinctly strategic in its approach. By targeting arms caches instead of individuals, Rachel was geared to hit the illicit arms trade in Southern Africa where it really hurts. Rachel thus sought to break the chain which held the illicit network of arms together. It should be noted that the explicit role of the State in operation Rachel eliminated any questions about the legality of the operations.⁸⁶ The operation was also thus able to source the best expertise and significant resources from the South African state, since it was perceived as an initiative dealing with an issue of national security. This highlights the importance of state actors in controlling arms. This is not to imply that Rachel was in the same category as some of the arms control projects of the Cold War, in fact one of the huge successes of Rachel was its ability to consider human factors.

⁸⁵ Hennop, E. 2001. *Operation Rachel*. Occasional Paper No. 53. Pretoria: Arms Management Programme, Institute for Security Studies.

⁸⁶ Gamba, V. 200. *Governing arms: The Southern African experience*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

The police force undertaking the operations were thus conscious of the issues facing Mozambican societies such as extreme poverty and underdevelopment⁸⁷.

Another human factor which had to be considered was the fact that Mozambique was only recently emerging from a devastating civil war, thus reconciliation was of paramount importance. Operation Rachel from the start choose wisely not to use proactive policing which might have compromised their ability to locate arms caches, thus it was decided that intelligence would be the main mode of tracing arms. This assisted in preventing serious feelings of insecurity amongst old Renamo soldiers who were in possession of arms. A general amnesty was also added so that animosity would not increase on the part of Renamo. Therefore Operation Rachel very skillfully walked the tight rope by effectively administering arms control as a state actor whilst considering the human dimensions of disarmament in Mozambique.

The flexible and ad hoc implementation strategy which Rachel used ensured that decisions were not made too hastily. Indeed there was still a lot of suspicion on the part of the Mozambican and South African officers. Therefore a rigid approach might have caused displeasure or even a straightforward refusal to cooperate if the officials felt unhappy. Thus no political decisions were taken without considering the police officers involved in the actual operations. In addition it should be noted that when problems between the two states did arise, the political actors who were the signatories to the agreement refused to allow the problems to become politicized, preferring rather quiet diplomacy and corrective action⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ Hennop, E. 2001. *Operation Rachel*. Occasional Paper No. 53. Pretoria: Arms Management Programme, Institute for Security Studies.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

One of the most positive impacts which contributed to the success of Rachel was the fact that there were coinciding national interests between both states. The movement of weapons from Mozambican arms caches into South Africa meant that South Africa's security was threatened directly by the prevalence of arms in Mozambique. Thus both sides were very responsive to the needs and interests of the other party, since failure of the partnership would seriously jeopardize their own interests. It should be borne in mind that during the Cold War, Mozambique's instability was considered an important priority for South Africa's national interests. Thus the mutual security approach implemented by Operation Rachel is a vivid example of just how much the regional security complex had transformed merely 5 years after the end of the Cold War⁸⁹.

3.5 TRANSFORMING WEAPONS INTO PLOUGHSHARES (TAE)

Transforming Arms to Ploughshare Program is one of the most known disarmament initiatives for peace in Mozambique. TAE was a project by the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM)⁹⁰, which had laid an important role in laying the groundwork that led to the peace agreements to end the civil war in Mozambique. After the signing of the peace agreement, the CCM worked to ensure that the country would not slip back into war, primarily through the arms collection efforts of the Arms to Ploughshares Program.

TAE was a follow up to the ONUMOZ disarmament and reintegration program that was implemented after the signing of the Peace Accord. The strategy consisted of giving food,

⁸⁹ Gamba, V. 2000. *Governing arms: The Southern African experience*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies. p.207.

⁹⁰ See introduction to the project, *Christian Council Of Mozambique, Swords into Ploughshares (TAE): The Culture of Peace*, Maputo, 1996.

clothes, cement, nails and bicycles in exchange for weapons. CCM believed that exchanging weapons for money would create a perverse incentive. The program was very successful at locating hidden arms depots. Through the trust created in the communities, common citizens and ex-combatants voluntarily revealed the locations of hidden weapons⁹¹.

In terms of its civic education objectives, the TAE did fairly well in creating public awareness. Disarmament became a nationwide campaign in Mozambican society; this is in stark contrast to the ONUMOZ disarmament efforts which focused almost exclusively on disarming Renamo and Frelimo combatants. The guns into art project which the TAE undertook was not an initial objective, it developed out of the organizations realization that substantial awareness could be raised about the project internationally.

3.5. 1 CHALLENGES TO THE TAE INITIATIVE

A recurring problem which affected arms control in Mozambique was the fact that there was very little information regarding weapons in that country. The nature of the problem in Mozambique was different from arms control in perhaps more developed countries where information was more organized. Therefore TAE could not easily evaluate their performance since there were no reliable figures regarding the number of weapons in Mozambique. This lack of information compromised the entire process of arms control in Mozambique.

Regardless of TAE's best efforts what became clear is that certain issues regarding arms control could not be solved by a local NGO and needed a greater force. The nature of the arms proliferation problem in Southern Africa was a regional one. Since arms entered the region from

⁹¹ Faltas, S. & Peas, W.C. 2003. *Exchanging guns for tools: The TAE approach to practical disarmament – An assessment of the TAE project in Mozambique*. Bonn: Bonn International Centre for Conversion.

the mid 1970's onwards they had successfully traversed regional boundaries with relative ease. The pathways which were created by the rebel movements during the brutal years of civil war were taken over by criminal gangs and arms traffickers in the post-Cold War era. Today Mozambican arms are moved clandestinely to South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi. In addition these arms are also assisting in the trafficking of other contraband.

The work done by the TAE project was primarily local though, which assumed that arms proliferation in Mozambique was a local problem. It thus ignored the market forces of supply and demand which gave rise to the transnational regional trade in illicit arms. There was not enough cooperation with other civil society organizations in Southern Africa, it should be noted that the scourge of illicit arms impacts upon all destitute communities whether in South Africa, Malawi, Zimbabwe or Mozambique; furthermore these communities were linked together by criminal networks⁹². Thus the solution should have been a regional one.

The approach which TAE used in Mozambique was geared toward gathering weapons from individuals. The prospect of receiving a useful tool such as a tractor in exchange for a weapon was certainly attractive to many former holders of small arms in the country. However, as the disarmament operations proceeded it became clear that many of the weapons in Mozambique were not being held by individuals but stored in arms caches⁹³. It was even harder to get hold of these weapons when one considers that many of the caches are being protected by political actors. Despite peaceful elections in 1994 both Frelimo and Renamo maintained significant arms caches in a highly volatile environment characterized by distrust and souring crime rates. In later

⁹² Faltas, S. & Peas, W.C. 2003. *Exchanging guns for tools: The TAE approach to practical disarmament – An assessment of the TAE project in Mozambique*. Bonn: Bonn International Centre for Conversion.

⁹³ Vines, A. paper, "The Struggle Continues: Light Weapons Destruction in Mozambique", *Basic Papers*, Number 25, April 1998.

years poor supervision and criminality would result in some of these weapons being stolen from the caches and distributed onto the streets. In trying to tackle the caches problem, TAE officials were very cautious as many of the owners of these caches were high profile political figures who did not want to be associated with such practices. TAE could never possess enough resources to locate and destroy weapons caches though; they had to depend on slowly gaining the trust of those guarding the cache and hope that they would hand a few weapons over.

The most important fact which TAE failed to fully consider was the fact that destroying illegal weapons was not very meaningful unless it was done in conjunction with other security measures. In the case of TAE this process includes: creating a culture of peace, offering ex-combatants alternative means of protection or ways of securing income besides arms and eroding feelings of distrust amongst belligerents. This process is quite extensive and costly and therefore takes more than just a weapons buy-back program.⁹⁴

3.5.2 ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE TAE PROJECT

In many respects TAE was a pioneer initiative. It was the first of its kind in Mozambique and dealt with aspects of arms control which seemed to have been overlooked by ONUMOZ. TAE was an attempt to fill the gap which had been left unattended by the disarmament process of the General Peace Agreement after 1992. TAE intentionally brought the much politicized process of disarmament down to the community level, thus for the first time humanizing the Mozambican discourse around security. TAE was thus an example of human security in practice.

⁹⁴ Vines, A. paper, "*The Struggle Continues: Light Weapons Destruction in Mozambique*", *Basic Papers*, Number 25, April 1998.

TAE was highly successful in creating public awareness amongst Mozambican citizens. Many who did not know before were thus informed that weapons could be handed in without any risk of persecution. The TAE staff was also intentionally non-threatening, wisely they chose not to have any police presents when undertaking their fieldwork, if the situation arose that police would be required, these state officials would be dressed in plain clothes, and this assisted in giving the organization a benign image. TAE thus allowed normal Mozambicans to take ownership of the disarmament process linking this objective strategically with other national goals such as democratization and the strengthening of civil society. In addition to creating domestic public awareness, TAE has also attracted significant international attention through its creative guns into art programme⁹⁵.

There has been also a fair amount of international campaigning on the part of TAE officials and this has been complemented with the arrival of many foreign visitors to the TAE offices who seek to observe TAE's operations. Indeed the international community developed an interest in this small organization which bravely took on a process which has been historically the sole responsibility of the state and turned it into a community-focused affair.

Despite heavy criticism regarding TAEs buy-back approach, there have been a noticeable number of beneficiaries to these initiatives. A huge number of goods for production have been exchanged for weapons. Another achievement of the TAE project is the manner in which it has sought to change damaging perceptions regarding armed crime in Mozambique. It is true that many of the crimes which took place in Mozambique during the period of drastic crime rise just after the elections were done using weapons from old Frelimo and Renamo caches, contrary to

⁹⁵ Leão, A. 2004. *Weapons in Mozambique: Reducing availability and demand*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.p.23

popular belief at the time however; this did not mean that the former combatants were solely to blame for the crime. Many of the weapons had found their way into non-partisan criminal hands that planned to use the weapons for the first time and for apolitical reasons.⁹⁶

Through its field work, the TAE managed to dispel the misperception that all former combatants were to blame for the sharp rise in crime. Instead, TAE took a very affable approach towards ex-combatants, prioritizing them in many aspects of the project⁹⁷. If for no other reason, TAE should be commended for undertaking such a task in an incredibly difficult environment. It might be the case that TAE did not reach the targets for weapons collection nor did they totally succeed in creating a peaceful society but they have set an important precedent for civil society movements involved in Southern African security issues. This project has shown that indeed there is a role for these organizations to play especially when it comes to recognizing the impacts of security issues on the lives of normal people.

3.6 DISARMAMENT IN SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone was plunged into a brutal armed conflict in March 1991 following the attack at Bomaru by a small band of Revolutionary United Front (RUF) fighters aided by members of Charles Taylor' s National Patriotic Front of Liberia . The war was engendered by a combination of interrelated economic, social, cultural political and external factors⁹⁸.

⁹⁶Institute for Security Studies. 2009b. *Mozambique: Fact file*. <http://www.issafrica.org/index.php>. Accessed on 23rd August 2013.

⁹⁷ Leão, A. 2004. *Weapons in Mozambique: Reducing availability and demand*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.p.23

⁹⁸ ISS Arms Management Programme. 2008. *Arms Control: Africa* 1(3): 1-14.

The signing of the Lomé Peace Accord of July 1999 between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF registered a very important stage in the peace-building efforts of Sierra Leone. The accord, among other things, provided for the encampment, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants; the establishment of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (CCP), the restructuring and training of the Sierra Leone Armed Forces and the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Accord also tasked the Government of Sierra Leone and the international community to provide the appropriate financial and technical resources for post-war rehabilitation, reconstruction and development. As it were, the Accord provided a framework for ending the conflict and the beginning of the long road to recovery and national development. The task is indeed a tall order requiring the concerted efforts of all the major stakeholders in the government, the international community and civil society groups⁹⁹.

The Government of Sierra Leone elaborated two major documents that defined its strategy to grapple with the challenges of peace-building. The first of these documents - the National Resettlement, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation (RRR), was approved in 1997. The other document – the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) was approved in 1998. Government strategies articulated in these two documents target ex-combatants by way of a series of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration activities; it targeted war-affected communities through reintegration assistance and by fostering the rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructure.

⁹⁹ P Coker, "Mopping up weapons in local communities, *UNAMSIL Review*", United Nations, April 2002.

The DDR process in Sierra Leone began in September – December 1998. This was what is currently referred to as Phase I and was to be implemented by the government of Sierra Leone with the support of the Economic Community of West African States, (ECOWAS) and United Nations Development programme (UNDP). It targeted more than 75,000 combatants from various factions: Sierra Leone Army (SLA), the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), the Community Defense Forces (CDF) and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), including children. The National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (NCDDR) was established to act on behalf of the Government of Sierra Leone with the World Bank being tasked with marshaling resources to fund it by managing the Multi Donor Trust Fund (MDTF) for DDR. Just over 3,000 combatants were disarmed before the deterioration of the security environment and the vicious rebel attack on Freetown in January 1999¹⁰⁰.

3.7 PROCESS OF DISARMAMENT IN SIERRA LEONE

The Lomé Peace Agreement of July 1999 and the Security Council Resolution 1270 of October 1999 were the context under which phase II of the peace process was implemented, the initial phase I being the intervention and peace keeping operations by UNAMSIL. A review and redesignation of the program to underpin a multi-agency effort through a Joint Operation Plan (JOP) involving the government of Sierra Leone, ECOMOG, UNAMSIL, UNDP, UNICEF, WFP and other partners was undertaken. Before the resumption of violence in May 2000, 18,900 combatants were disarmed¹⁰¹. Over the following year, during hectic negotiations, 2,600

¹⁰⁰ World Bank, *Sierra Leone: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, World Bank Good Practice Information Brief, No 81, October 2002

¹⁰¹ P Coker, "Mopping up weapons in local communities, UNAMSIL Review", United Nations, April 2002.

additional combatants disarmed, or re-disarmed, in what is referred to as the Interim Phase. Intensive military and diplomatic efforts by ECOWAS, the British SAS and the UN, which began in May 2001 to January 2002, are what constituted phase III¹⁰².

Over all three phases of the disarmament process, more than 76,000 combatants, perhaps counting some repeats from the various phases, including more than 6,000 children were disarmed, and registered as ex-combatants by the NCDDR.

On demobilization, ex-combatants were paid a Transitional Safety Allowance (TSA) (Phase I and II) or as renamed later in the process, a Reinsertion Benefit (Phase III) of \$150 to facilitate their return to their families and subsistence while they awaited inclusion in the reintegration process¹⁰³. This was really just a mechanism to mitigate the potential problems associated with the fact that it could take up to six months to get demobilized ex-combatants into their reintegration options due to the absence of sufficient educational or vocational training facilities or institutions in the at then devastated country. Significant debate arose regarding the provision of this cash incentive as some thought it could have been misconstrued as the purchasing of weapons, most notably being the Department for International Development UK (DfID). Efforts were however made to dissociate this benefit from any misconception of an Arms for Cash process. It was clear that the incentive worked very well in accelerating the process as of an

¹⁰² Nicolas Florquin and Eric G. Berman, May 2005. *Armed and Aimless: Armed Groups, Guns, and Human Security in the ECOWAS Region*, ISBN 2-8288-0063-6.

¹⁰³ Solomon, H. 1999. Controlling light weapons in Southern Africa. In J. Boutwell & M.T. Klare (eds.). *Light weapons and civil conflict: Controlling the tools of violence*. Boston: Rowman & Littlefield: 147-158.

estimated 29,000 combatants expected in Phase III, 47,000 combatants disarmed, and the cash element supporting reintegration was fundamental to the success of the preliminary settlement¹⁰⁴.

In Sierra Leone, the main objectives of the reintegration component of the DDR program were: to facilitate and support the return of ex-combatants to their home communities or preferred communities of settlement; to assist the ex-combatants in becoming productive members of their communities; to utilize the potential of ex-combatants for social and economic reconstruction; to promote social acceptance and reconciliation; and to reduce the fiscal impact of large defense budgets by providing alternative employment support options for demobilized ex-combatants.¹⁰⁵

3.8 LESSONS LEARNT FROM DISARMAMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE AND SIERRA LEONE

The process of disarmament in each of the two countries was full of difficulties, most of which were similar. The difficulties ranged from weak mandates of the various UN operations and missions regarding disarmament to lack of a clear definition of what disarmament should entail or the criteria for conducting a successful disarmament exercise. There were often no clear distinctions between disarmament and demobilisation and the UN also failed to provide the countries with the necessary resources to deal with the disarmament process to ensure proper collection and decommission of weapons¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁴ Isabela Leao, *Swimming Against the Stream: DDR in Sierra Leone*, unpublished PHD thesis.

¹⁰⁵ Dr. Claudia Trentmann, 2010. *Reintegration of ex-combatants in Sierra Leone* Ex-post evaluation report.

¹⁰⁶ *Re-Armament in Sierra Leone: One Year After the Lomé Peace Agreement*, by Eric G. Berman, December 2000

The two countries also differed in the modalities they employed in the disarmament processes. In Mozambique, they exchanged tools for arms, while in Sierra Leone arms were exchanged for money, which led to replacement of old weapons with new ones.

There was also the issue of interpreting mandates. In Mozambique, for example, the disarmament process ran into serious problems during the UN peace keeping mission because they maintained that they were in Mozambique to watch but not act on any failures. There were cases where the rebels would hand in old weapons in bad conditions for public image and keep the good condition weapons for future use. Although the UN peace keepers knew what was happening, they did nothing about it as their mandate limits their operations. At the end of the day, weapons remain in the households while some were sold to the neighbouring countries¹⁰⁷.

The other area of difference and difficulties was on embargos. In Mozambique, lack of arms embargo at the time of disarmament contributed to the failures of the DDR process.

During the UN disarmament process, a lot of effort was devoted to the removal of weapons possessed during the conflict. The process did not remove or control the illicit ownership of the weapons as anticipated because new weapons had been imported by both warring parties Frelimo and Renamo. This, however, meant that depleted arms caches were restocked, or relocated, with new equipment.

In Sierra Leone, the approach prior to establishing the UNAMSIL by the Security Council as a response to the May 1997 coup, which failed, was through sanctions and armed embargos. There were also differences in how the collected guns were disposed. Unlike the case of some

¹⁰⁷ McDonough, C. (2004) *Small Arms in Africa: Mozambique's Artful Disarmament*.

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caches in Mozambique, most of the weapons collected under the DDR in Sierra Leone were not destroyed. Berman¹⁰⁸ noted that ECOMOG, which played part in the DDR, only dismantled the weapons' working parts such as bolts, many of which were easy to reassemble as for the case of the AK-47. The failure to destroy these weapons, which was attributed to reasons such as ECOMOG and government of Sierra Leone wanting to recover their weapons lost to the RUF rebels led to recycling of these weapons to local population

3.9 CONCLUSION

Disarmament was initiated in Mozambique and Sierra Leone with the expressed purpose of decreasing the prevalence of small arms and light weapons in the two countries and mitigating the risk to future armed conflict.

There were three main approaches to the disarmament process. The first approach being an International led initiatives which had international organizations such as the United Nations led mission in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone. There were also the state led initiatives such as the Operation Rachel in Mozambique and the National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Programme in Sierra Leone. Lastly there were Civil society initiatives such as the TAE project in Mozambique and Arms for Cash programs in Sierra Leone. Each of the three approaches had varying degrees of success, with the international

¹⁰⁸ Nicolas Florquin and Eric G. Berman, May 2005. *Armed and Aimless: Armed Groups, Guns, and Human Security in the ECOWAS Region*, ISBN 2-8288-0063-6.

and state led initiatives having the greatest impacts on the amount of arms collected whereas the civil society approaches having an impact on the human societal aspect of disarmament¹⁰⁹.

Disarmament has been a useful in mitigating the risk of future conflicts in Sierra Leone and Mozambique. However it has not completely eliminated the chance of their being future conflicts as the availability of arms was not the only cause of conflict in the two countries, however it was major factor in level of violence¹¹⁰. Disarmament remain relevant in post conflict society as without proper disarmament there is the real threat of the rise in crime in not only post conflict societies but also in neighbouring regions as has been the Case in Mozambique situation where the gun culture and criminal activities have spread to the neighbouring Country of South Africa. The same story applies to Sierra Leone where the left over arms after the conflict have spread over and helping to fuel the conflicts in Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire.

¹⁰⁹ McDonough, C. (2004) *Small Arms in Africa: Mozambique's Artful Disarmament*.

¹¹⁰ Leão, A. 2004. *Weapons in Mozambique: Reducing availability and demand*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.p.23

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the data collected during the research was analyzed and reported. This study was executed to determine the role of proliferation of small arms and light weapons and lack of disarmament in post conflict zones. The study was conducted for a number of specific purposes including the following:

- a. To assess the role of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) and lack of disarmament initiatives in fuelling conflicts in post conflict zones.

4.2 RESPONSE RATE TO QUESTIONNAIRES

A total of twenty seven (27) questionnaires were received out of a possible thirty questionnaires. This a response rate of 87%. The unsuccessful response rate was three questionnaires (13%). According to Mugenda and Mugenda ¹¹¹a response rate of more than 50% is adequate for analysis. Babbie¹¹² also asserted that a return rate of 50% is acceptable for analysis and publishing. He also states that a 60% return rate is good and a 70% return rate is very good. The achieved response rate was above 70% which implies that the response rate was very good.

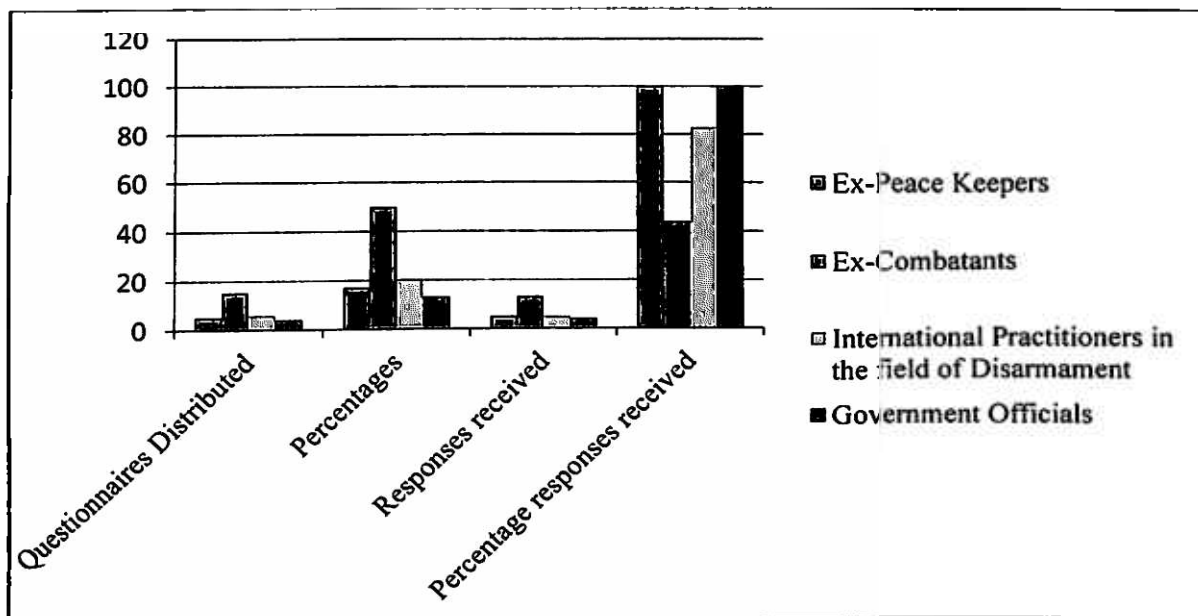
¹¹¹ Mugenda, O. M., and Mugenda, A. G. *Research method. Quantitative and Qualitative approaches*, (Nairobi Acts 2003).

¹¹² Babbie, E., *The practice of social research* (9th ed.), (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001).

Table 4.2: Response Rate of Respondents to Questionnaires

	Questionnaires Distributed	Percentage %	Responses received	Percentage response rate
Ex- Peace Keepers	5	17%	5	100 %
Ex-Combatants	15	50 %	13	44%
International Practitioners in the field of Disarmament	6	20 %	5	83%
Government Officials	4	13	4	100%
TOTAL	30	100 %	27	

Figure 0.2: Response Rate Graph



After collection of data, the researcher organized, categorized and relationship between the categories were established. The data collected was both qualitative and quantitative. Themes

and categories were generated describing the emerging issues. Statistical data was presented in the form of tables and pie charts and content analysis was used to organize data collected through questionnaires. Some questions were not coded and data emerging from them was presented in the form of single quotations.

4.3 ROLE OF PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS & LIGHT WEAPONS IN CONFLICTS

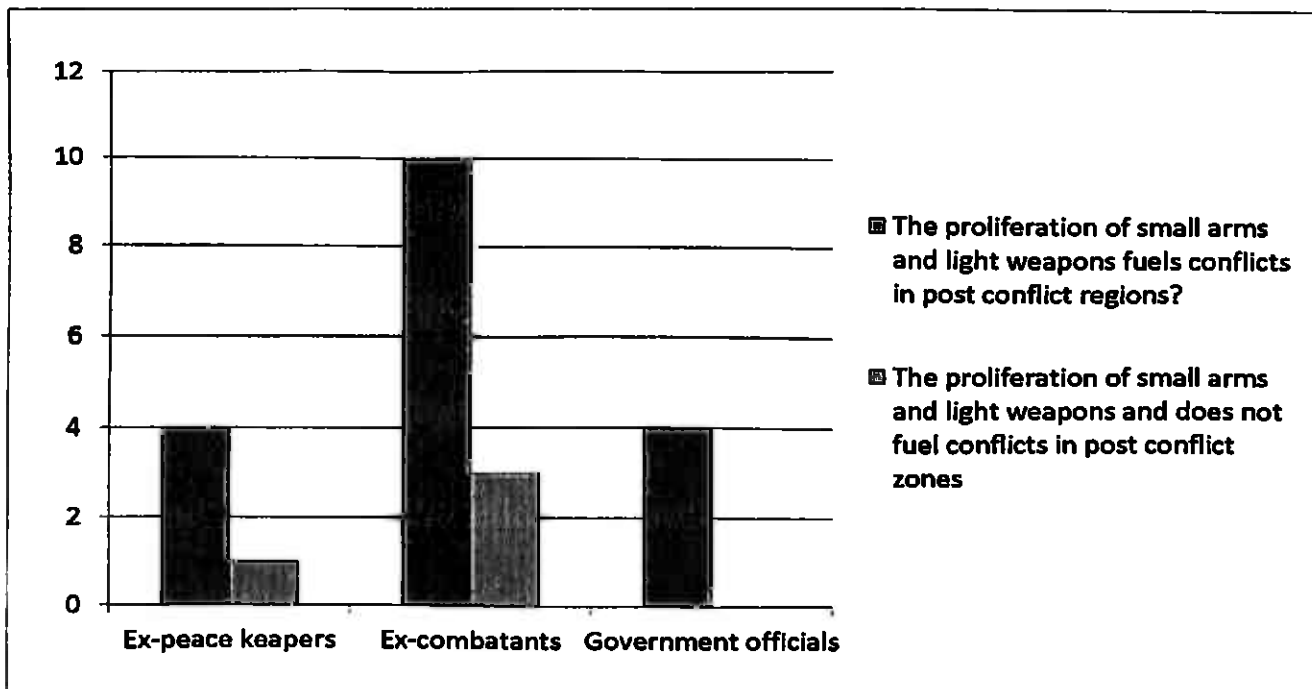
The study sought to establish the role of proliferation of small arms and light weapons in fuelling conflicts in post conflict zones. This question was posed directly to the ex- peacekeeper, ex-combatants and government officials from Mozambique and Sierra Leone, who had firsthand information on the role the proliferation of small and light weapons played in fuelling the conflict in Mozambique and Sierra Leone. Most of the respondents agreed that small arms and light weapons play a great role in fuelling conflicts.

There is no one main cause for the proliferation small arms in Africa based on the response from the interviewees. Some of the underlying causes include: easy access to small arms by state and non-state actors, few strict mechanisms within states for control and accountability for the proper movements of small arms within the states and also cross border movements of arms to neighbouring countries, corrupt practices by some state law enforcement authorities/element and the breakdown in procedures for credible law enforcement practices. During the study the researcher was able to also establish from the respondents that main suppliers of small arms and light weapons in Africa have been the former Soviet satellite states, China and Eastern European countries.

Table 4.3: Respondents remarks on the role of the proliferation of arms in fuelling conflicts

Respondents	The proliferation of small arms and light weapons fuels conflicts in post conflict regions	The proliferation of small arms and light weapons and does not fuel conflicts in post conflict zones
Ex- Peace Keepers	4	1
Ex- Combatants	10	3
Government officials	4	0
TOTAL	18	4

Figure 0.3 : Graph of Respondent's remarks on the role of the proliferation of arms in fuel



Eighteen (18) respondents (which represents 81% of the total number respondent to the question) were of the opinion that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons fuels conflict in post conflict zones. While a total of four (4) respondents (19%) did agree with the assertion that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons fuel conflicts in post conflict. From the above results in Table 4.3 it can be concluded that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons do play a great role in fuelling conflicts.

The study established that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons does fuel conflicts. That flow of illicit arms contributes to an atmosphere of insecurity in post conflict societies. Further the proliferation and misuse of small arms undermines post-conflict reconstruction and development; hampers the delivery and distribution of humanitarian and developmental aid; and has the potential to destabilize neighbouring states and societies. This is in line with the assertion of Adedeji Ebo¹¹³ who notes that the management of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) is an important aspect of post conflict peace building. The removal of weapons from circulation after conflict, usually through disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes, is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for successful post-conflict peace building¹¹⁴. As was discussed in Chapter three the illicit flow of arms both in Mozambique and Sierra Leone have led to increased in armed violence and have led destabilization and insecurity in neighboring states of such South Africa and Liberia respectively.

¹¹³ Adedeji Ebo, 'Combating Small Arms Proliferation and Misuse after Conflict' Alan Bryden & Heiner Hänggi (eds.), "Security Governance In Post-Conflict Building" (Geneva Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces: Geneva 2005), pp137-158.

¹¹⁴ See Krause, K., 'Facing he Challenge of Small Arms: The UN and Global Security Governance', Price, R., Zacher, M. (eds.), *The United Nations and Global Security* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2004), pp. 22-37.

The research found out from the respondents that small arms and light weapons (SALW) are the weapons of choice in many of today's major conflicts due to the fact small arms travel quite easily through society and even across national borders. These weapons may mean little to the super power countries or to the traditional realist scholars who are preoccupied with controlling the most dangerous of weapons (Nuclear weapons), but to many societies in developing countries, these are the most destructive instruments causing incredible levels of insecurity. This has been the case in the conflicts in Mozambique and Sierra Leone as discussed in chapter three of this research. The civil war in Mozambique and Sierra Leone are an examples of an armed conflict which were partly driven by the availability of small arms and light weapons.

The second major impact of small arms is criminality based on the responses from the respondents. The small arms which were used in the Mozambican civil war remained in the country even after the cessation of hostilities in that country.¹¹⁵ Criminal gangs in South Africa soon began looking to Mozambique as a source of illicit arms since these weapons are light, easy to use and transport and suite the intentions of criminal activity such as armed robbery perfectly. Therefore small arms and light weapons are dangerous in that they have impacts which outlast political conflict and in effect become part of society.

¹¹⁵ De Gaay Fortman, B. 2004. *The golden triangle of human dignity: Human security, human development and human rights*. In B. de Gaay Fortman & M. Muller (eds.). *From warfare to welfare: Human security in Southern African context*. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum: 8-15.

4.4 IMPACT OF DISARMAMENT IN POST CONFLICT ZONES

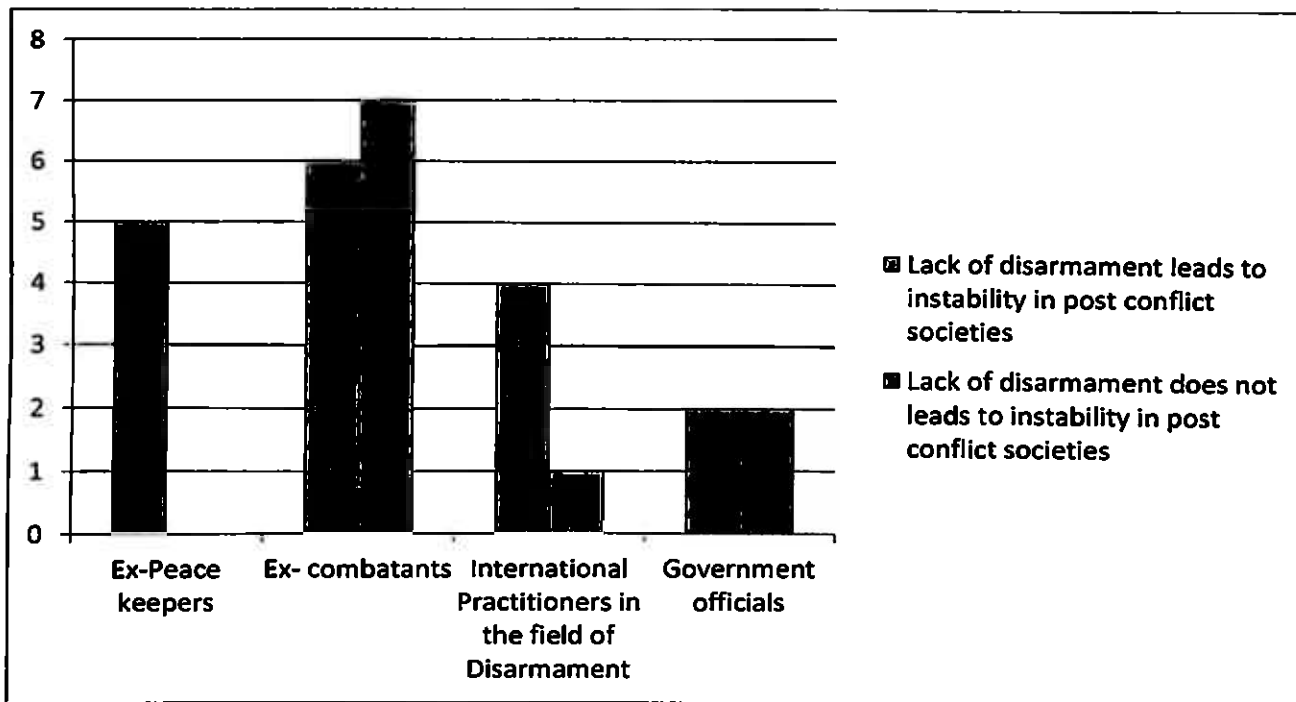
The study sought to establish the role of disarmament in preventing conflicts in post conflict zones. It was found out that initially in post conflict societies in order to reach peace agreements it was necessary for parties in the conflict agree to abide by an agreement and this agreement dealt with a number of issues and disarmament being one of them. This was the case as discussed in Chapter 3 with Mozambique and Sierra Leone where disarmament initiatives followed soon after the signing of peace accord¹¹⁶. However thereafter most of the respondents agreed that disarmament was key in maintaining stability however disarmament alone without a future for the combatants, citizens and the country hindered sustainable peace in the post conflict zones.

Table 4.4: Respondents remarks impact of disarmament in post conflict zones

Respondents	Lack of disarmament leads to instability in post conflict societies	Lack of disarmament does not lead to instability in post conflict societies
Ex- Peace Keepers	5	0
Ex-Combatants	6	7
International Practitioners in the field of Disarmament	4	1
Government officials	2	2
TOTAL	17	10

¹¹⁶ P Coker, "Mopping up weapons in local communities, UNAMSIL Review", United Nations, April 2002. Pubantz, Jerry, and John Allphin Moore Jr. "United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)." *Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, Second Edition. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2008. *Modern World History*.

Figure 4.4: Graph on Respondents remarks on impact of disarmament in post conflict zones



Seventeen respondents (17) this represents 63% the total number respondent to the question, were in agreement with the assertion that lack of disarmament leads to instability in post conflict zones, whereas 10 respondents (37%) were not in agreement.

The results in Table 4.4 indicates that lack of disarmament initiative in post conflict zones leads to instability in those societies however the concurrence with this assertion was not overwhelming as only 63% of the respondent agreed with the assertion.¹¹⁷ The result can be explained by the fact that availability of arms alone is not the only reason that causes instability in post conflict societies. In such societies there are other underlying issues such as the fight for

¹¹⁷ Gray, C. ,*House of cards: Why arms control must fail.* (Ithaca: Cornwell University Press,1992).

natural resources and minerals and bad governance that leads to instability therefore even if arms were to be removed and the other causes of conflict not adequately addressed there is still the likelihood such countries can go back into conflict. Further poor management of disarmament sites, repatriation and resettlement of former combatants can pose a threat to stability in post conflict zones. This can further be explained by the assertion of Colin Gray¹¹⁸ who wrote that any form of disarmament was always irrelevant. This was due to the fact that the anarchical world system makes inter-state conflict inevitable, meaning that countries will invariably be more concerned with gaining relative military power than with controlling or reducing arms and in such a world disarmament will not necessarily lead stability.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons does help to fuel conflicts and contributes to an atmosphere of insecurity based on the data collected. The presence of small arms creates a downward spiral by increasing people's sense of insecurity, thus leading to a greater demand for weapons as has been observed in the case study of Mozambique and Sierra Leone. Further the proliferation and misuse of small arms undermines post-conflict reconstruction and development; hampers the delivery and distribution of humanitarian and developmental aid; and has the potential to destabilize neighbouring states and societies.

In order achieve human security it will require much more than disarmament, but without significant efforts to disarm, efforts to build human security will almost certainly be incomplete.

Based on the result of the study a community awash in illicit guns is less likely to be a secure

¹¹⁸ Gray, C. *House of cards: Why arms control must fail*. (Ithaca: Cornwell University Press, 1992)

place for people. But it is not only a question of the weapons themselves; it is also a question of the resources, monetary and human that go into developing, building, maintaining and even dismantling and disposing of these weapons.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter shall review the work done throughout this thesis and look for possible areas for further study which may be relevant. The key findings shall aim to reiterate the conclusions which this study has arrived at through answering a number of key questions elaborated upon in Chapter 1. The most important question which this thesis has attempted to answer is the research question. Thus as expressed in Chapter 1 the thesis was a study which tried to evaluate the role of proliferation of small arms and other emerging forms of weapons in fueling conflicts and whether the lack of disarmament in post conflict societies led to instability in those societies.

5.2 SUMMARY

The research questions were quite broad and therefore warranted an entire study to answer it sufficiently. The thesis was divided into chapters with the expressed intention of eventually reaching the conclusion which will be elaborated upon in this final chapter. Chapter one and two initiated the process of finding an answer by looking first at the literature and conceptual approaches which had been used to analyze disarmament. A key observation from chapter one, two and three was that traditional, realist and state-centric approaches have become highly unsuitable for analyzing disarmament in the post-Cold War era.¹¹⁹ A number of reasons were given for this assertion; some of the most salient were as follows: The state centricism of this

¹¹⁹ Naidu M.V, *Human Security: Issues of Conceptualization and Concretization, in Halls worth(ed) Perspectives on human security*, BACS, 2003. p.36.

theoretical approach ignores the growingly important role which non-state actors such as civil society can play in providing security for people. Indeed this point would be demonstrated in the Mozambican case study. On a theoretically deeper level, chapter 2 outlined how traditional security approaches are flawed in their definition of the state which assumes that all states reflect the Westphalian notion of statehood which amongst other things depicts states as having a monopoly on violence. The relevance for disarmament in this regard is that this generalization would mean that all states are invariably in control of the weapons within their territories. Chapters three would prove that this has definitely not been the case in Mozambique and Sierra Leone where state is not in control of all arms within the two countries¹²⁰.

The traditional approaches to security also tend to have a bias in favour of international politics at the expense of domestic developments which can impact upon the manner in which a state behaves internationally. Lastly, the fact that traditional approaches to security were formulated and heavily inspired by the Cold War meant that in terms of disarmament the approach would be heavily focused on nuclear weapons as opposed to small arms and light weapons which were destroying developing countries¹²¹.

The evident incompatibility which the traditional approach to disarmament displayed triggered the emergence of new approaches to security studies which aimed to expand the discussion on security beyond states and military threats. Security studies were thus broadened and deepened. The Human Security approach grew to symbolize the broadening and deepening of security issues during the post-cold war era. This approach shifted the focus of security from the state and

¹²⁰ Appiah-Mensah, C.D.R.S. 2005. AU's critical assignment in Darfur: Challenges and constraints. *African Security Review* 14(2):8-21.

¹²¹ Gallagher, N.W. 1998. *Arms control: New approaches to theory and policy*. London: Frank Cass.

threats to the state, towards individuals and threats to those individuals, thus making it more encompassing¹²².

Traditionally security has always discriminated between security and non-security matters; this is what has informed policy makers on how to take action when assessing a situation. The rapid broadening of the concept of security however has led to a situation whereby security has been meshed with development and human rights issues amongst other things. The result being that policy makers and decision makers within the field of security are often left unsure as to whether or not a matter requires their attention or not. The case in point is focus of international law of Nuclear Weapons and Weapons of Mass Destruction and the neglect to make laws to control the proliferation of small Arms and Light weapons. It is actually through the shortcomings of the Human Security theoretical approach that the usefulness of traditional security is elucidated. The theoretical approach used within this thesis is thus an attempt to reconcile the focus of traditional security approaches with the broadness and flexibility of the human security approach. What this means practically is that whilst accepting the fact that humans and not states are the main referent objects of security, this study propagates that capable states are still the most important means of creating human security. Chapters three of the research thus demonstrated that no real security especially in post conflict countries can ever be achieved in the absence of a capable state.

The results of the study in Chapter four have led the research to agree with the hypothesis of the study that the proliferation of arms including small arms and light weapons and lack of disarmament in post conflict societies leads to instability in those societies.

¹²² Lodgaard, S. *Human security: Concept and operation*. In B. de Gaay Fortman & M. Muller (eds.). *From warfare to welfare: Human security in Southern African context*. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum: 16-38.

Disarmament as seen in Mozambique and Sierra Leone contributed towards stability in the two countries after the long periods of protracted violence and it enabled the implementation of the peace accords in the two countries. Without disarmament in the two achieving peace would have been difficult and the continued flow of arms would have led to instability. Further from the two studies it has also been seen that despite there being disarmament initiatives there is still some level of insecurity. One can thus draw the picture as to the level of insecurity in post conflict societies where no effort at all is made at initiating disarmament programmes. Therefore the research is in agreement with the hypothesis that lack of disarmament in post conflict zones leads to instability in those societies.

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Mozambique and Sierra Leone which are the case studies of this research, have contributed significantly to a state of insecurity. As was discussed in Chapter three the illicit flow of arms in Mozambique have not only led to gun culture and increased criminality in Mozambique but also this insecurity has spilled over to South Africa¹²³ similarly in Sierra Leone the neighbouring states of Liberia have also been negatively affected by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Sierra Leone.

The uncontrolled proliferation of SALWs is now global in nature as discussed chapter two the research¹²⁴. There is therefore a need for common standards for SALWs control to effectively combat the illicit transfer of these weapons at global level. The key existing global initiatives in place include the UN Programme of Action (PoA) which resulted from the UN conference, the UN firearms' protocols and the Wassenaar arrangements as discussed in Chapter two. There was

¹²³ Cilliers, J. 1995. *The evolving security architecture in Southern Africa*. African Security Review Vol 4 No 5, 1995.

¹²⁴ Kofi Annan, "Foreword" *Small Arms survey 2002 Counting the Human Cost*. A project of the Institute of International studies, Geneva, 2002. See also *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons*, United Nations, July 2001.

an attempt to develop a comprehensive international treaty on Arms Trade. This treaty would have been the first international legally binding instrument to provide common international standards on arms control and exports for all categories of conventional weapons, including small arms, light weapons and ammunition.¹²⁵ Unfortunately there is still no consensus on this treaty large as a result the flow of small arms and light weapons is still unregulated on an international scale and remains unrestricted and is a continued threat to stability of nation thus the need for even stronger disarmament initiative in post conflict zones. Disarmament may not necessarily stop the occurrence of future wars but it will help to mitigate the chances of such wars occurring and lessen the intensity of such conflicts when they occur by reducing the arms available.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The study captured the arguments that asserted and disapproved the hypotheses that the proliferation of arms including small arms and light weapons and lack of disarmament in post conflict societies leads to instability in those societies. The results in chapter four as well as the research in the other chapter do show the co-relation between the proliferation of small arms and the increase in conflicts. An anarchical world system makes inter-state conflict inevitable however when small arms and weapons are added into the equation it makes conflict almost certain¹²⁶. Thus the need to find measures to control the proliferation of small and weapons.

¹²⁵ United Nations General Assembly, 2012, sixty-sixth session, First Committee 2012. See p. 4-14 for conventional reporting and pp. 16-20 for reports on SALW.<http://www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/Register/DOCS/20120312-Register%20Fact%20sheet.pdf>

¹²⁶ Gray, C. *House of cards: Why arms control must fail*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992)

Disarmament has been seen chapter three to be an inherently challenging and difficult process nevertheless it is of utmost important that any post conflict building should incorporated it for there to be a possibility of peace. Even under the most favourable conditions, disarmament entails an intricate and cost-intensive procedure, in socio-political and economic terms thus the need to incorporate the human security approach for disarmament to have the best of results. For successful implementation, disarmament demands thorough and realistic preparatory plans, and the most decisive factor for its success is the genuine willingness of the affected parties to subject themselves, with visible transparency, to a process that will regulate usage of armaments. One of the reason the TAE project in Mozambique wasn't as successful as the ONUMOZ operation was due to issue of transparency among the conflicting parties¹²⁷.

The relationship between disarmament, arms control, peace settlements and sub-state activities is a crucial one. Peace settlements rarely lead to durable peace and stability unless they provide for comprehensive arms control, effectively implemented through a compelling and thorough disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process¹²⁸. Thus from the study it has been proved that disarmament does contribute to stability in post conflict societies however disarmament does not entirely eliminate the possibility of future conflicts due to factors that cause conflict such the need to control state resources and bad governance .

¹²⁷ Leão, A. 2004. *Weapons in Mozambique: Reducing availability and demand*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.p.23

¹²⁸ Muggah, Robert., *Comparing DDR and Durable Solutions: Some Lessons from Ethiopia*, (Humanitarian Exchange Magazine, 39 (June 2008)0

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study recommends for the consolidation of all regional agreements on the prevention and control of proliferation on small arms and light weapons into a single international treaty on prevention of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. This will not only control the illicit trafficking of arms with developing nations but also prevent the developed world from selling and providing arms to the developing nations.

Another recommendation is the review on international law on disarmament which majorly focuses on disarmament of chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction ignoring the other arms such as small arms and light weapons which are the weapons of use in conflicts in developing nations.

The study finally recommends for further study to look into the issue of demobilization and reintegration of former combatants. Without proper demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, these fighters will pose a security threat if they are not properly assimilated into society they may go back into fighting or offer themselves as mercenaries in neighbouring states or regions where there are conflicts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Cover Letter

Dear Sir/Madam

I am undertaking a research project as part of the requirements for the fulfillment of my Master of Arts in International Studies degree. My research project is on Disarmament in Post Conflict Zones with a comparative analysis of various disarmament initiatives in different countries. Mozambique and Sierra Leone are the focus countries for my research.

To this end I kindly request that you complete the following short questionnaire regarding the disarmament initiatives that took place in Mozambique and Sierra Leone.

Although your response is of the utmost importance to us, your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary.

Please note you may choose to fill the form anonymously or enter your name or contact details on the questionnaire. However all information provided by you remains confidential and will be reported in summary format only.

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE ROLE OF PROLIFERATION OF ARMS AND LACK OF DISARMAMENT IN POST CONFLICT ZONES

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BY WRITING DOWN YOUR ANSWER IN THE SPACE PROVIDED

1. What is the main cause of proliferation of small arms and weapons in Africa?
2. What is the source of small arms and weapons in Africa?
3. Why is there need for disarmament in post conflict zones in Africa?
4. Did the proliferation of small arms and weapons play in the conflict in Mozambique & Sierra Leone? Please state YES or NO
5. What procedure was used in the disarmament processes conducted in Mozambique & Sierra Leone?
6. What were the various disarmament initiatives in Mozambique & Sierra Leone?
7. Who were the parties to the disarmament processes in Mozambique & Sierra Leone?
8. What were successes in the disarmament process in Mozambique & Sierra Leone?
9. What were the failures in the disarmament process in Mozambique & Sierra Leone?

10. What lessons can be learned from the disarmament process in Africa?

11. Does lack of disarmament led to instability in post conflict societies? Please state Yes or No

Thank you for participating