

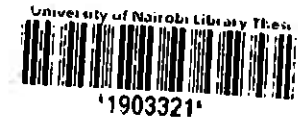
**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AFRICAN PEACE AND SECURITY**  
**ARCHITECTURE: A CASE STUDY OF THE EAST AFRICAN STANDBY FORCE**

**BY**

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**R50/35341/2019**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE**  
**AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.**

**NOVEMBER, 2020**

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## DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for any award in any other University.



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## **DEDICATION**

**I dedicate this work to God for the gift of life and my family for their endless support during my academic journey.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my supervisor and mentor Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo for providing me tremendous guidance and support throughout this research study; owing to her great experience as a research professor. I also acknowledge my family for according me unwavering patience and support during the period of my study. I owe many thanks to my wife and daughters and I would never forget their words of encouragement and prayers. To all those others who made valuable contributions and whose names I cannot exhaustively mention here, please accept my deepest appreciation and God's grace and blessings. Finally this research project was made a success through the help, cooperation and contribution of National Defence College.

## **ABSTRACT**

The study explored implementation of African peace and security architecture through the use of the East African Standby Force. Conflict was found to be a challenge to peace and security in the continent, leading to loss of many lives as well as displacement of people. The need to prevent, manage and solved conflicts has pushed for the formation of regional institutions like the ASF, EASF that are used in peace keeping and peace building initiatives. The organizations helps in bringing states together so as to formulate policies that can mutually respond to security concerns. Liberal institutionalism theory was used to help in analyzing the implementation of the peace architecture. Case study design was used to help reaching the intended population for the study. Data collected was analyzed through document analysis as a result of the issues that are emerging under the study. Thematic techniques were also employed. The study established that Africa was still seen to experience various conflicts here and there despite that establishment of these bodies and this was as a result of minimal commitment by the member states to provide the necessary requirements for the institutions to be effective. The dynamic nature of conflicts in the continent require cooperation amongst the states since conflicts have spill over effects. Coordination between institutions was essential as this allows efficiency and effectiveness and in the long run reduces duplication. Thus the study found that, besides lack of funds, deployment challenges and probable commitments on the part of policy makers, there seems to be areas of friction with regional standby organs as to jurisdiction and priorities. Nation states to have clear policies that can help in addressing the issues of overlapping membership and respond to the immediate need which is sustainable peace and security for sustainable development. It was observed that capacity building is necessary for the security agencies so as to have similar standards while conducting joint operations. This was important due to different cultural practices in the region. The study therefore strongly recommends that a greater and more strategic approach should be taken when it comes to the actual deployment of the East African Standby Force troops in times of operations, which are especially aimed to address both state and non-state conflict situations, in various places within the region.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ACLED</b>	Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project
<b>AFISMA</b>	Africa-led International Support Mission in Mali
<b>AIDS</b>	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
<b>AMIB</b>	African Union Mission in Burundi
<b>AMIS</b>	African Union Mission in Sudan
<b>AMISOM</b>	African Union Mission in Somalia
<b>APSA</b>	African Peace and Security Architecture
<b>ARF</b>	ASEAN Regional Forum
<b>ASF</b>	Africa Standby Force
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>BC</b>	Before Christ
<b>CADSP</b>	Common African Defence and Security Policy
<b>CAR</b>	Central African Republic
<b>CEN-SAD</b>	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
<b>CEWS</b>	Continental Early Warning System
<b>CFSP</b>	Common Foreign and Security Policy
<b>COMESA</b>	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
<b>CSBMs</b>	Military Confidence and Security Building Measures
<b>DRC</b>	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>DRC</b>	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>EA</b>	East Africa
<b>EAC</b>	East African Community
<b>EASF</b>	East Africa Standby Force
<b>EASFCOM</b>	East African Standby Force Coordination Mechanism

<b>EASFCOM</b>	East African Standby Force Coordination Mechanism
<b>ECOWAS</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>ESDP</b>	European Security and Defence Policy
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>HIV</b>	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
<b>ICGLR</b>	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
<b>IDIS</b>	Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies
<b>IGAD</b>	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
<b>IR</b>	International Relations
<b>MINUSMA</b>	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
<b>MPLA</b>	Movement for the Liberation of Angola
<b>NATO</b>	North African Treaty Organization
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Union
<b>OSCE</b>	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
<b>PFP</b>	Partnership for Peace
<b>PoW</b>	Panel of the Wise
<b>PRC</b>	People's Republic of China
<b>PSC</b>	Peace and Security Council
<b>PSCP</b>	Peace and Security Council Protocol
<b>PSD</b>	Peace and Security Department
<b>PSO</b>	Peace Support Operations
<b>RECs</b>	Regional Economic Communities
<b>REI</b>	Regional Economic Integration
<b>RPF</b>	Rwanda Patriotic Front

<b>SADC</b>	South Africa Development Cooperation
<b>SAP</b>	Structural Adjustment Programme
<b>SEATO</b>	South East Asia Treaty Organization
<b>SSA</b>	Sub-Saharan Africa
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UMA</b>	Arab Maghreb Union
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNAMID</b>	African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur
<b>UNAMIR</b>	United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
<b>UNITAF</b>	Unified Task Force
<b>UNODC</b>	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
<b>UON</b>	University of Nairobi
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USD</b>	United States Dollars

## **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

**Conflict drivers** are concept used at the state level that is primarily employed to explain conflicts related to the states domestic economic, political and security institutions.

**Conflict** refers to a form of clash of interests and struggle or an opposition usually between states or in states. A violent conflict generally involves two or more parties using physical force to resolve competing interest.

**Deployment** broadly refers to the movement of troops and equipment to a place of position, usually for military action.

**Implementation** generally refers to the realization of an idea, or an application, or the execution of a plan, model or design all the way to success fruition.

**Peace** refers to a concept where there is a state or a period where there is no war or conflict.

**Regional forces** refers to regional multidimensional forces that are employed for the promotion of peace and security and they consist of the military, police as well as civilian aspects.

**Security architecture** refers to preventive, detective and corrective controls of a unified security system that addresses potential security risks in a certain states in a given region.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Introduction**

The chapter highlights study background, problem statement, study objectives and questions. It also entails the literature review, theoretical framework, study justifications, hypotheses as well as the research methodology.

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Twenty first century acknowledged conflicts as a serious threat to any state, institution, corporation, society, family, household or individual. Globally, issues pertaining conflict management, resolution as well as peace building and keeping are key areas of debates and negotiation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This has been happening since conflicts have spillover effects that has affected various regions negatively hence jeopardizing human security in the long term.

Peace and security in Africa has transformed in the aftermath of cold war period.<sup>1</sup> The changes in conflict mitigation in Africa has been as a result of improvement in the institutions for peace and security and not only as a result to the changing trends of conflicts. Africa Union enhanced its structures that instituted the African peace and security architecture (APSA).<sup>2</sup> Conflicts in Africa have led to many atrocities that hinders development and growth, loss of millions of lives as well as displacement of millions leading to influx of refugees as well as displacement of people and this affects human stability.

Conflict scenes in Africa in the last two decades has been dynamic. With the development of the peace and security architecture in Africa, the regional bodies in the

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<sup>1</sup> Tavares, Roberts. *Regional Security. The Capacity of International Organizations*. Routledge, New York, (2009), p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, (2009), p. 117.

continent have gained some momentum in promoting peace.<sup>3</sup> Cunningham argues that the potential of African continent to mitigate conflict issue have improved tremendously and the number of conflicts have gone down in the last decade.<sup>4</sup> During the post-cold war era, numerous deadly conflicts erupted in Africa for instance the Liberian conflict, Sierra Leone, Rwandan Genocide, Democratic Republic of Congo as well as Dafur-Sudan conflict.<sup>5</sup> African continent with the support from the global community helped in mitigating the conflicts that jeopardized humanity. After containing these conflicts in Africa, there has been major decline in the occurrence of deaths caused by conflicts.

According to Tavares, the regional bodies across the world have increased considerably since 1945, with a fresh surge in the nineties and many of them being given the mandate for security building.<sup>6</sup> Military cooperation has been enhanced within regions to help in deterring conflicts as well as containing the dangers that comes as a result of wars. This as well have been advanced through military confidence and security building measures (CSBMs) and arms control agreements within the regions.<sup>7</sup>

Effective and efficient intervention measures are essential in responding to the changing trends of conflicts and the recurring conflicts within the society.<sup>8</sup> African Union have taken key measures for conflict mitigation within Africa in the processes that the UN is not effectively preventing conflicts in Africa. Abbas argued that Africa has made efforts in combating conflicts through the formation of the African Standby Force (ASF). The standby force offers a model to the UN on ways of promoting peace keeping and not only as a remedy

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<sup>3</sup> Harbeson, John and Rothschild, Donald. *Africa in World Politics: The African State System in Flux*. Oxford, Westview, (2000), pp. 310-314.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking resolution: how external cases can prolong civil wars*. *Journal of peace research* 47, no. 2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

<sup>5</sup> Muthiah, Alagappa. *Regionalism and conflict management: a framework for analysis, review of international studies*, vol. 21, no 4, Cambridge university press, (2012), pp. 359-387

<sup>6</sup> Tavares, Robert. *Regional security. The capacity of international organizations*. Routledge, New York, (2009), p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> Cottey, Albert and Foster, Allan. *Reshaping defense diplomacy: new roles for military cooperation and assistance*, Adelphi paper no. 365 oxford university press: oxford, (2004), pp. 14-18.

<sup>8</sup> Abbas, Adams. *Regional organization and development of collective security. Beyond chapter viii of the UN charter*. OUP, oxford, (2004), pp. 67-71.



to conflicts in Africa.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, the standby force of Africa is an essential framework for the AU to respond to conflict challenges that are currently experienced in the continent.

Salman posited that East African community has its standby force that have the responsibility to promote peace and security in the region.<sup>10</sup> It forms part of the ASF and it entails both the military and the civilian.<sup>11</sup> Standby force is regarded as the last resort that can be used by the peace and Security Council (PSC) in managing, preventing and mitigating conflicts.<sup>12</sup> As from April 2013, South Sudan has been an observer and it is also expected to be part of the EASF.<sup>13</sup> Since March 2014, the EASF had a membership of 10 states; Burundi, Seychelles, Somalia, Uganda, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Rwanda.<sup>14</sup>

The East African Standby Force Coordination Mechanism (EASFCOM) is the executive secretariat of the institution.<sup>15</sup> It was formulated with the intention to help in promoting peace and security within the region in partnership with other relevant stakeholders. It is regarded as one of the institutions that advances the objectives of AU on security matters. The study therefore investigated the implementation of the peace and security architecture of Africa through the EASF.

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<sup>9</sup> Salman, Salman. *Shared watercourses in the southern African development community: challenges and opportunities*. Water policy 6, (2014), p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, (2014), p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> Graham, Kelvin and Felicio, Tony. *Regional security and global governance. A study of interaction between regional agencies and UN security council with a proposal for a regional-global security mechanism*, Brussels university press, Brussels (2006), p.9

<sup>12</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking resolution: how external states can prolong civil wars*. Journal of peace research 47, no2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

<sup>13</sup> Buzan, Barry and Ole, Waever. *Regions and powers. The structure of international security*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (2013), pp. 230-243.

<sup>14</sup> Salman, Salman. *Shared watercourses in the southern African development community: challenges and opportunities*. Water policy 6, (2014), p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, (2014), p. 41.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Africa continues to experience persistent insecurity in the form of intrastate and interstate conflicts. Towards this end, concerted efforts have been made to address this problem some of which involve deliberate action to identify the factors that fuel extreme and violent conflicts. Nevertheless, most violent conflicts are between local communities within a country and not between states, making internal conflicts predominant in Africa. With the institutionalization of the African peace and security architecture, conflicts in the African continent have been dynamic. Since then, governance has experienced numerous challenges due to the dangers to stability and peace.

It is therefore crucial to acknowledge that in as much as APSA has been in operation and violent conflicts appear to have reduced in the last decade, combined with the fact that scholars and policy makers seem to contribute to knowledge on implementation of APSA, a number of states within the East African region still experience persistent and extremely violent conflicts. This necessitates further calls for a deeper interrogation of the practical implementation strategies of APSA with regard to African Standby Force carrying out its mandate in addressing violent conflicts.

Violent conflicts within the East African region seem to have gone unabated, even with the presence of East African Standby Force and other mechanisms which have been put in place to address such conflicts. This study therefore analyzes the challenges in the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture in resolving persistence violent conflicts in the region. This research further analyzes impediments to military response towards violent conflicts within the region, using the case of East African Standby Force.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- 1.3.1** What are the trends and the status of conflicts in Africa in relation to existing mechanisms to address such conflicts?
- 1.3.2** What is the degree of the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture?
- 1.3.3** What are the main impediments and prospects for the East African Standby Force in conflict management?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of this study was to analyze the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture through a case study of the East African Standby Force. This study specifically aims;

- 1.4.1** To analyze the trends and the status of conflicts in Africa in relation to existing mechanisms to address such conflicts.
- 1.4.2** To establish the degree of the implementation of African Peace and Security Architecture.
- 1.4.3** To determine the main impediments and prospects for the East African Standby Force in conflict management.

### **1.5 Literature Review**

Literature review section consist mainly of reviewed scholarly materials. It entails the empirical and theoretical literature of knowledge and relevant academic findings from books, journals, periodicals, reports and various other authoritative sources in order to be able to analyze the actualization of peace and security architecture in Africa using the East African Standby Force.

### 1.5.1 Conflict as a Concept

Understanding, mitigating as well as analyzing conflicts requires having in-depth knowledge of its meaning, nature, trends as well as causal factors in the society. Though Conflicts are numerous in the society, it has no common meaning or definition.<sup>16</sup> As a result of lack of standard meaning, numerous academicians have given out the definition of conflict. To Burton, conflict is derived from Latin word *confligere*, meaning striking together.<sup>17</sup> It can as well be illustrated as a fight, or tussle between and amongst people that have opposing interests in the society.

Malan notes that the institutionalization of the peace architecture has been as a desire to ensure that human beings avoids war or conflicts and to embrace peaceful coexistence with one another.<sup>18</sup> States opted for various peace architecture in the modern Westphalia period of the last four centuries. Burton and Dukes posits that the most conflict inflicted region globally is Africa in the last two decades. The most affected countries as from 1980 to 1994 were African states for instance Liberia, Mozambique and Somalia and these states were the most severely affected in the international community.<sup>19</sup>

In conflict theory, open hostility is a stage in changing cycles of conflicts that advances from different stages for instance , tensions that escalates to crisis and violence phase and to a standstill or deadlock. Stand still in war can enhance room for mitigation of the situation.<sup>20</sup> Francis Stewart and Graham Brown have identified four key hypotheses explaining motivations to conflict. These include; the group inequality hypothesis, the individual gain (personal greed) motivation, the failure of social contract hypothesis and the

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<sup>16</sup> Mwangi, Makumi. *Conflict in Africa: "Theory, processes and institutions of management"* (Nairobi, Watermark Printers, Kenya Ltd, (2006), p.1-13.

<sup>17</sup> Burton, John and Dukes, Frank. *Conflict: Readings to Management and Resolution*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, (1990), p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, (1990), p. 22.

<sup>19</sup> Jan, Nosalek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> International Alert. *Resource Pack for Conflict Transformation*, London: March 2003 section 2:3, (2003).

environmental scarcity hypothesis.<sup>21</sup> These scenarios succinctly explain what is ailing the Great Lakes Region.

### **1.5.2 Conflict Trends and Management**

The causes, trends and dynamics of conflict in Africa are numerous and compounded. Poor governance that has led to the unfair distribution of state wealth, unhealthy political and economic competition, illicit arms trade are some of the key contributors to conflict in the region. These inequalities that exists between different groups of people promotes violent as they seek various ways to express dissatisfaction.<sup>22</sup> The conflicts are also closely linked to the collapsed social and economic services to the people and not only political.

It is worth mentioning that conflict management describes the variety of ways by which grievances are handled. It also refers to mitigation mechanisms that are initiated to prevent the spread, and put a standstill the impacts of conflicts.<sup>23</sup> The response to conflicts requires indepth analysis of the causes of the conflict in the society so as to develop relevant approaches that can be effective in responding to the contentious issues. Institute for Security Studies indicates that most conflicts in Africa are becoming uneven and various non state actors are fueling the conflicts. Eastern Africa states have experienced numerous conflicts such as genocides, civil wars, secessions, frequent internal crisis and all these causes human insecurity. It is therefore necessary to have conflict mitigation mechanisms that can be adopted to help in controlling conflicts as well as preventing spillover effects of conflicts from one area to the other.<sup>24</sup>

Despite many conflicts tending to be intrastate, the boundary dimensions as well as trans-boundary ethnic identity where different ethnic groups have their kins in other

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<sup>21</sup> Jan, Nosálek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, (2015), pp. 11-13.

<sup>23</sup> Githaiga, Nyambura. *Regional Dimensions of Conflict in the Great Lakes*. Report of the ISS Workshop, held at the La Mada Hotel, Nairobi, (2011), p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking resolution: how external states can prolong civil wars*. Journal of peace research 47, no2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

countries, conflict dimensions have often spread to other states within the region causing instability.<sup>25</sup> Cross border conflicts have been experienced where child soldiers as well as armed men and women are used. Conflicts within the region have been fueled by the aggressive exploitation and illicit trade initiatives of the existing natural resources.<sup>26</sup> The illicit proliferation of small arms, finances, and forced migrations has made people to become refugees thus, results to inadequate access to services, violence and inequality. Hence, conflict mitigation and management is essential in responding to the causal factors of disagreement in the society and provide possible solutions.<sup>27</sup>

### 1.5.3 Conflict Interventions Mechanism

International conflict intervention measures are comparable to other scenarios in scientific experiment even though researchers are not precise in illustrating the various intervention measures the way scientific principles are described. The existence of a violent conflict reflects the contradictions that comes as a result of different interests in the society.<sup>28</sup>

To address violent conflicts, various regional organizations are usually preoccupied with conflict mediation and expensive peace support operations.<sup>29</sup> In addition, there are numerous other regional and sub-regional peace architectures at work; all interacting with one another according to some basic principles, elaborate rules of the game and through dedicated regional organizational structures under mandates to deal with conflicts.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the changes in the international system, various historical collaborations/alliances are advancing their objectives. Lightfoot in the 15<sup>th</sup> century during the times of

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<sup>25</sup> United Nations, *Global Survey of Early Warning Systems*, United Nations report, (2006), p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Githaiga, Nyambura. *Regional Dimensions of Conflict in the Great Lakes*. Report of the ISS Workshop, held at the La Mada Hotel, Nairobi, (2011), p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, (2011), pp. 9-13.

<sup>28</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking resolution: how external states can prolong civil wars*. Journal of peace research 47, no2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

<sup>29</sup> Jan, Nosálek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Githaiga, Nyambura. *Regional Dimensions of Conflict in the Great Lakes*. Report of the ISS Workshop, held at the La Mada Hotel, Nairobi, (2011), p. 7.

Thucydides, illustrated reasons behind the formation of alliances. Thucydides posited that nations allied with each other in order to go to war, to deter and share common interests.<sup>31</sup>

Liska argued that nation states formulate partnerships, collaborations amongst them to strengthen their capacity against a threat or stronger state and this is referred to as an alliance. The formation of the alliances is in line with the theory of balance of power.<sup>32</sup> The understanding of these alliances, their motives as well as the conditions under which they are formed and the potential of the military alliances is very essential in comprehending the duties of the military partnership in the structuring of the global community.<sup>33</sup>

To Kagan, alliance is a mutual agreement and co-ordinations between and amongst states in line with national interests. Nation states cooperate to advance their interests as well as to gain support from others when there is crisis.<sup>34</sup> The formation of the military cooperation is driven by the need for support whenever there is crisis as well as in the promotion of peace and security.<sup>35</sup>

#### **1.5.4 The African Union in Conflict Intervention**

The APSA was formed to provide security for the sub-Saharan region. It was formed during the transition from OAU to AU.<sup>36</sup> This was a transformation which wanted to keep up with the post-cold war times.<sup>37</sup> It was time for Africa to have a common agenda rather than pit against each other on the lines of the pro-West or pro-Soviet countries. In the early nineties, the OAU spearheaded reforms in line with the socio-economic and political culture in Africa

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<sup>31</sup> Lightfoot, Jeffrey. *NATO interests vs. national interests*. Atlantic council, (2009), pp. 15-20

<sup>32</sup> Liska, George. *Alliances and the third world*. Baltimore: John Hopkins press, (1968), p.3

<sup>33</sup> Avis, William. *Current trends in violent conflict*. The K4D, knowledge evidence and learning for development, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, Department for International Development, (2019), pp. 1-2.

<sup>34</sup> Kagan, Donald. *On the origins of war and the preservation of peace*, Doubleday: New York, (2005), p.8

<sup>35</sup> Avis, William. *Current trends in violent conflict*. The K4D, knowledge evidence and learning for development, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, Department for International Development, (2019), pp. 1-2.

<sup>36</sup> Tavares, Robert. *Regional security. The capacity of international organizations*. Routledge, New York, (2009), p. 112.

<sup>37</sup> Avis, William. *Current trends in violent conflict*. The K4D, knowledge evidence and learning for development, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, Department for International Development, (2019), pp. 1-2.

in line with the transitions taking shape in the globe and this enhanced various new ways that the AU employed to promote human security.<sup>38</sup> However, the domain of peace was considered an exclusive reserve for the individual member state.<sup>39</sup>

The OAU (herein the African Union) had the duties to promote human rights as well as to provide solutions to grievances within states. The principles of sovereign power of the states as well as no interfering in other states affairs interfered with the work of OAU. This decline to uphold the objectives of OAU was realized by the emergence of conflicts in Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, as well as the genocide in Rwanda.<sup>40</sup> Tavares posited that it is Africa that has been inflicted by numerous conflicts in the last two decades globally.<sup>41</sup>

Changing scale of the nature of warfare and violent conflicts has certainly affected many African societies.<sup>42</sup> These calamities is a reflection of the numerous people that are rendered homeless and others have become refugees. The effectiveness and efficiency of the ASF is jeopardized by the existing structures within the institution.<sup>43</sup> There are various ways to handle disputes as illustrated in conflict management.<sup>44</sup> It entails various mitigative mechanisms that are enhanced towards the prevention and reducing the negative effects of the conflicts.<sup>45</sup> Response to conflicts needs indepth analysis of the causes of the disagreement that leads to arms conflict in the society so as to come up with framework for handling the crisis.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Jan, Vanheukelom and Desmidt, Sophie. *Regional peace architectures in Africa: A reality check*. Political Economy Dynamics of Regional Organisations in Africa. Pedro, (2019), pp. 2-5.

<sup>39</sup> Nishida, Tsuya. *A theory of collective security alliance: a case of incomplete pacific facts*, San Francisco, (2009), p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking resolution: how external states can prolong civil wars*. Journal of peace research 47, no2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

<sup>41</sup> Vlavourou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>42</sup> Tavares, Robert. *Regional Security. The capacity of international organizations*. Routledge, New York, (2009), p. 112.

<sup>43</sup> Jan, Vanheukelom and Desmidt, Sophie. *Regional peace architectures in Africa: A reality check*. Political Economy Dynamics of Regional Organisations in Africa. Pedro, (2019), pp. 2-5.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Wu, Yongbo and Lu, Zhen. 'A fast monitor and real time early warning system'. Institute of Geophysics and Geomatics, China University of Geosciences, Wuhan, China, (2019), pp. 2-4.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 7.



According to Aning, the concept of a military alliance embodies the simple truth that countries simply like to win wars. It can be really quite a challenge to know the value of alliances since nation states do not randomly get allies hence its challenging to know whether intervening is influenced by having an alliance or if situations can influence the nature of similar intervention.<sup>47</sup> Debrah states that obligations to an alliance are usually rarely invoked and so it leaves very few opportunities for information to be collected on the effectiveness of alliances.<sup>48</sup> It is also very hard to know how alliances shape behaviour since effective alliances are hardly ever attacked.<sup>49</sup>

Maluki states that collective security are different and they are advanced by the effective military partnerships. USA defence organ in the 1950s illustrated that military cooperations are enhanced to promote collective security interests of the parties involved so that incase an ally is involved in war, it can get support from the allies to outdo the aggressor.<sup>50</sup>

Regional interventions are applied as deterrent towards discouraging the emergence of conflicts.<sup>51</sup> Contemporary deterrence theory is embraced to help in mitigating acts of terror, cross border crimes, cybercrimes, militia groupings.<sup>52</sup>

### **1.5.5 The African Standby Force**

ASF was established to advance security in Africa and it is not one army but rather composed of numerous regional army units within the continent for instance the West, North, South, Central and Eastern Africa. The forces have the mandate to carry out their responsibilities

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<sup>47</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking resolution: how external states can prolong civil wars*. Journal of peace research 47, no2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

<sup>48</sup> Debrah, Charles. *Development and challenges in the operationalization of ASF*. (2009), P. 78

<sup>49</sup> Jan, Vanheukelom and Desmidt, Sophie. *Regional peace architectures in Africa: A reality check*. Political Economy Dynamics of Regional Organisations in Africa. Pedro, (2019), pp. 2-5.

<sup>50</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking resolution: how external states can prolong civil wars*. Journal of peace research 47, no2, (2014), p. 134.

<sup>51</sup> Jan, Nosálek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, (2015), p. 12.

with the guidance from effective and efficient mandated institutions.<sup>53</sup> This study is focused on the East African standby Force.

Endalcachew argues that ASF was instituted to help in the provision of forces that can be deployed whenever there is need. This was spearheaded through the adoption of the African constitutive act which allows AU to intervene in member states affairs whenever there is a threat. It is also advanced by the peace and Security Council of AU that proposed the development of the ASF to implement the right to intervene and this makes the ASF to be an executive organ of the peace and Security Council of Africa.<sup>54</sup>

The obvious motivation for alliances is protection. However, some states enter into alliances to improve diplomatic relations with particular countries. This has been the case for most eastern European countries, some of which used to belong to the Soviet bloc, joining North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).<sup>55</sup> Article 13 of African Union makes the ASF legal as a result of the provisions of the PSC which has the mandate to manage, prevent and provide solution to the conflicts in Africa.<sup>56</sup> Despite the provisions, there emerges tensions between the African Union Commission and regional blocs on the mandate of the PSC as the authority in enhancing the operations.<sup>57</sup>

The South Africa Development Cooperation (SADC) in particular may deploy its standby force on an AU or UN mandate, but only on the authority of its summit.<sup>58</sup> The desire to have an African military measures for security was an essential element of the AU July 2002 meeting in Durban South Africa.<sup>59</sup> The leaders in Africa were pushed to adopt measures that are home grown to help in responding to issues that jeopardize human security in the

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<sup>53</sup> Endalcachew, Bayeh. *The Eastern Africa Standby Force: Roles, Challenges and Prospects*. Inter. J. Polit. Sci. Develop, (2014), p. 212.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, (2014), pp. 205.

<sup>55</sup> Jan, Vanheukelom and Desmidt, Sophie. *Regional peace architectures in Africa: A reality check*. Political Economy Dynamics of Regional Organisations in Africa. Pedro, (2019), pp. 2-5.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 6-8.

<sup>57</sup> Snyder, Glenn. *Alliance politics*. Ithaca: Cornell university press, (1997), p. 9

<sup>58</sup> Basedau, Matthias and Schaefer-Kehnert, Johanna. *Religious discrimination and religious armed conflict in sub-Saharan Africa: an obvious relationship? Religion, State and Society*, DOI, (2019), pp. 2-3.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 6.

continent. Articles 52 and 53 of chapter 8 of the United Nations charter embraces peaceful ways of solving disputes within regional blocs as well as to give room for regional enforcement operations within the Security Council mandates.<sup>60</sup> Despite this, the bipolar nature of the global community during cold war jeopardized effectiveness of regional peace missions.

Historical development of alliances are many globally. For instance, Otto von Bismarck posited that multiple alliances were organized in the international system so as to realize peace and security. This was essential for the European states so as to realize balance of power. Alliances within Europe stabilized briefly due to the expansion of German in the 1870s despite being unable to prevent the emergence of World War I.<sup>61</sup>

African leaders thought there was need for Africa to create its own solutions to security problems. Consequently, the ASF was instituted to be an organ of the APSA and this is enshrined in the protocol of the PSC.<sup>62</sup>

The EASFCOM is the executive secretariat of the region and it is based in Kenya. This organ was formed by the council of Defence Ministers in March 2007. It has the responsibility to coordinate EASF in partnership with the member states of the African Union.<sup>63</sup> It implements the policies of EASF, monitor documents that are permitted by the council of ministers as well as resource mobilization in partnership with the AU and other regional blocs.<sup>64</sup>

The deployment of intervention measure by ECOWAS in Mali and Guinea Bisau illustrated that the region is advancing its influence in shaping the political changes in the

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<sup>60</sup> Haberson, John and Rothschild, Donald. *Africa in world politics: the African state system in flux*. Oxford, Westview, (2000), pp. 310-314.

<sup>61</sup> Cunningham David. *Blocking resolution: how external states can prolong civil wars*. Journal of peace research 47, no 2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

<sup>62</sup> Das, Jai. *Effects of armed conflict on child health and development: A systematic review*. The PMC, in the United States Library of Medicine National Institute of Health, USA. (2019), pp. 2-6.

<sup>63</sup> Salman, Salman. *Shared watercourses in the southern African development community: challenges and opportunities*. Water policy 6, 92014), p. 36

<sup>64</sup> Das, Jai. *Effects of armed conflict on child health and development: A systematic review*. The PMC, in the United States Library of Medicine National Institute of Health, USA. (2019), pp. 2-6.

region and this minimizes tensions that might exist.<sup>65</sup> However, interventions that are executed by the sub-regional organs sometimes have inadequate persistence, proper networking as well as institutional challenges that cannot help in preventing the crisis from re-emerging. Inputs by ECOWAS in Guinea-Bissau has proved that the initiative calmed the tension temporarily minus handling the exact cause of instability within the structures.

Amongst United Nations and its weaknesses in mitigating conflicts within Africa, African Union has started taking actions to solve these conflicts.<sup>66</sup> Nzau and Guyo found that security is considered as a defining feature in the economic, communal, social and political life leading to national cohesion especially from the Kenyan perspective.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, the rampant occurrence of conflicts has overstretched security capabilities of East African Countries, mainly through the rapid increase in terrorism activities.<sup>68</sup>

It is important to fully acknowledge that some of the African Union led operations undertaken so far` the 2003 Burundi operations, 2004 operation in Darfur Sudan, African mission in Somalia, Mali operation in 2012. AU has also been involved in curbing the Ebola in west Africa in operation dubbed ASEOWA in 2014. Most recently is the 2017 SADC mission in Lesotho.<sup>69</sup>

### 1.5.6 The East African Standby Force

The EASF came as a result of the need to advance regional cooperation in peace and security in East Africa and Africa in general. This has been promoted by the desire to reduce the tensions that have existed between states as well as to reduce the threats to human security

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> Van der donckt, Charles. *The OAU's conflict management mechanism two years on*, pacific research (1995), pp. 42-45.

<sup>67</sup> Nzau, Mumo and Guyo, Mohammed. *The challenges of securing Kenya: past experiences, present challenges and future prospects*. The journal of social encounters: vol.2: Iss.1, (2018), p. 37-39.

<sup>68</sup> Croll, Peter and Wirkus, Lars. *Wasser im südlichenafrika- konflikt-oderentwicklung spotntial?* In: hauswedell, *friedensgtachen*, (2013), pp. 185-186.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, (2017), p. 9-11.

that comes either internally or externally from environment, acts of terror, illegal acquisition of power.<sup>70</sup>

Kinzel posits that the EASF functions in a compounded society which has numerous institutions with different objectives, and are driven by same member states. There are other organizations within the region that have specific duties like IGAD that majorly focuses on political components of preventing and managing conflicts.<sup>71</sup> EASF operates in states that fall within the EAC as well as the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR).<sup>72</sup> Due to this, it operates in a region that has multiple complex political and economic dynamics within the horn of Africa.

The conflict ridden nature of the African continent has compelled the AU to establish the ASF which has been envisaged to have between 25,000 to 32,000 troops consisting of five standby forces that constitute part of peace and security architecture of Africa.<sup>73</sup> Standby Force of East Africa raises deeper questions at political and military level on the underlying assumptions of this initiative.<sup>74</sup> However, the peace support operations reflects the military and there is minimal knowledge of the duties of the citizens in the missions. Hence the need for empowerment to enhance mutual support.<sup>75</sup> EASF has achieved some form of moderate success. First, any state in alliance gains power and prestige increases their deterrent abilities and increases their clout in international relations. These are clear advantages of alliances.

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<sup>70</sup> Hauck, Volker and Desmidt, Sophie. *Understanding the East African Standby Force*. A regional mechanism without a political home, (2017), pp. 4-6.

<sup>71</sup> Abbas, Adams. *Regional organization and development of collective security. Beyond chapter viii of the UN charter*. OUP, oxford, (2004), pp. 67-71.

<sup>72</sup> Kinzel, Wolf. *The African Standby Force of the African Union*. Ambitious plan, wider regional disparities, an international appraisal, (2008), pp. 10-13.

<sup>73</sup> Abbas, Adams. *Regional organization and development of collective security. Beyond chapter viii of the UN charter*. OUP, oxford, (2004), pp. 67-71.

<sup>74</sup> Avis, William. *Current trends in violent conflict*. The K4D, knowledge evidence and learning for development, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, Department for International Development, (2019), pp. 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Das, Jai. *Effects of armed conflict on child health and development: A systematic review*. The PMC, in the United States Library of Medicine National Institute of Health, USA. (2019), pp. 2-6.

The formation of the EASF was to promote peace and security within Africa and precisely Eastern Africa region. It was effected as from 2015.<sup>76</sup> The ASF is an essential pillar of the strategic measures that AU is using in handling conflict challenges within the continent.<sup>77</sup> AU has deployed many troops to promote peace and security in conflict ridden states for instance Somalia in the last two years and this is supported by the contributing member states.

The continuous deployment of troops in the peace mission by the AU indicates that Africa is committed to global peace. It is also important to note that the ASF is a significance force in promoting peace and security since it prepares capacities that are used in the UN missions. There is minimal understanding on the linkages that exist on the design and implementation of the African Peace Security Architecture (APSA) as opposed to the academic hopes that exists on the African security integration.

In implementing African Peace and Security Architecture through East African Standby Force, the AU need to categorically condemn the narrative that Africa is a hotbed of conflicts. In the Eastern Africa context, although EASF can hypothetically manage conflicts, conflict ideals can only be reduced but not fully eliminated. It needs a multiple of dimensions that entails persuasive approaches to international relations for engaging all the parties that are involved in an issue so as to win their trusts.

Deployment of peace missions will be effective if security officers as well as civilians are empowered with relevant information that are necessary for any peace operation. Security officers should have the necessary skills and modern equipment for their duties. It is worth to note that such empowerment and readiness is not a guarantee that missions for peace can be actualized faster if there is a threat.

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<sup>76</sup> Basedau, Matthias and Schaefer-Kehnert, Johanna. *Religious discrimination and religious armed conflict in sub-Saharan Africa: an obvious relationship? Religion, State and Society*, DOI, (2019), pp. 2-3.

<sup>77</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking Resolution: How External States Can Prolong Civil Wars*. *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

## **1.6 Study Justification**

### **1.6.1 Academic Justification**

The ASF is an important tool of the APSA in implementing peace agreements, managing and providing possible solutions to crisis in Africa. There is development towards its realization and this study can be used as a reference point for scholars and researchers interested in analyzing the implementation of APSA through the EASF. This study therefore aims at contributing to scholarly on possible intervening ways through the exploration as to whether regional institutions in Africa such as the ASF is the ideal strategy for responding to conflicts within Africa. It further contributes to the new knowledge to academicians on effective conflict management approaches in Africa.<sup>78</sup>

### **1.6.2 Policy Justification**

It is crucial to appreciate that since the cold war era; peace, security and conflict have changed greatly in Africa.<sup>79</sup> This study is relevant to policy makers in that it provides in-depth analysis of ways through which various multinational intervention measures can be applied. Thus when it comes to conflict management, the study will help policy makers to understanding the effective ways and strategies under the APSA on when and where to apply soft and hard diplomacy in handling conflicts. This will therefore improve policy in the security sector in Africa in addressing conflicts.

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

This study adopted Liberal Institutionalism Theory to illustrate peace and security architecture of Africa and how it is implemented. It is a theory of modern international relations that argues that international organizations have the capacity to enhance integration

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<sup>78</sup> Buzan, Barry and Ole, Waever. *Regions and powers. The structure of international security*. Cambridge, Cambridge university press, (2003), pp. 230-243

<sup>79</sup> Graham, Kelvin and Felicio, Tony. *Regional security and global governance. Study of interaction between regional agencies and UN Security Council with a proposal for a regional-global security mechanism*, Brussels university press, (2006), p. 9.

between and amongst states.<sup>80</sup> Liberal Institutionalism supports the establishment of structures which are essential for collective cooperation and coordination of states.

The theory assumes that national and global organizations are important in advancing good relations between and amongst states.<sup>81</sup> Liberal Institutionalism theory argued against the conventional approach that held the view that institutions are not important and stronger states to influence global politics.

Robert Keohane is the proponent of the liberal institutionalism and he views his ideology to be an element of institutionalism as well as rational institutionalism despite the two thoughts having varied opinions with his.<sup>82</sup> Keohane draws from the realist thinking that is criticized by liberalism hence this makes him not to like the adjectives 'liberal or neoliberal'.

Liberal institutionalism is different from other theories of international relations such as realist theory since it also puts internal politics into consideration.<sup>83</sup> It also advocates for democracy and capitalism which enhance peace as well as opportunities for economic development for all. Liberal institutionalism states that if states are friendly and democratic, they can mutually cooperate and enhance trade hence peaceful coexistence.

Liberal institutionalism claims that international institutions and organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU) have the capacity to advance cooperation regionally and internationally.<sup>84</sup> Liberal International Relations proponents embrace global and regional organizations since they are effective in promoting integration

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<sup>80</sup> Cooley, Alexander. *Base Politics: Democratic Changes and the U.S. Military Overseas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, (2008), p. 28.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, (2008), p. 34.

<sup>82</sup> Avis, William. *Current trends in violent conflict*. The K4D, knowledge evidence and learning for development, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, Department for International Development, (2019), pp. 1-2.

<sup>83</sup> Basedau, Matthias and Schaefer-Kehnert, Johanna. *Religious discrimination and religious armed conflict in sub-Saharan Africa: an obvious relationship? Religion, State and Society*, DOI, (2019), pp. 2-3.

<sup>84</sup> Cooley, Alexander. *Base Politics: Democratic Changes and the U.S. Military Overseas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, (2008), p. 28.



between and amongst states.<sup>85</sup> Thus, regional organizations provide states with a platform in which they can focus on advancing peace and security in the international system.

Keohane states that institutions provide states with avenues which they can use to interact and discuss issues of concern hence encouraging cooperation that helps them to realize their collective interests thus minimizing differences.<sup>86</sup>

Considering states as rational actors in the international system, states tend to embrace cooperation so as to maximize comparative gain and absolute gains. Liberal institutionalism acknowledges standby forces as institutions that can be used to advance cooperation between states and reduces unhealthy competition that jeopardizes peace. For instance the Association of South East Asian Nations promotes peace in South East Asia, African Union in advancing peace in African states that have conflicts as well as the organizations in Europe that are promoting collective peace and security in European region.<sup>87</sup>

Conflicts manifest differently in different regions. The Liberal Institutionalism is applicable in the case of Eastern Africa. The region is interconnected though having institutions that are not similar and this affects the realization of APSA as a result of the multiple organizations that have different objectives. Institutional designs of APSA affects its implementation based on the security cooperation in EAC. This is due to the processes of decision making, member states commitment as well as implementation measures.

States in Eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa in general belongs to different, overlapping RECs, and other ad hoc sub-regional security cooperation arrangements with different levels of legal and institutional demands. Of vital interest, provisions overlap since the same states concurrently belong to different institutions. States are therefore strained to

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<sup>85</sup> Salman, Salman. *Shared watercourses in the southern African development community: challenges and opportunities*. Water policy 6, 92014), p. 36.

<sup>86</sup> Keohane, Robert. *Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge after the Cold War*, New York, Columbia University Press, (1993), p. 273.

<sup>87</sup> Salman, Salman. *Shared watercourses in the southern African development community: challenges and opportunities*. Water policy 6, 92014), p. 39.

meet their obligations in each security framework. Maintaining commitment in such a manner requires financial, human resource, and time expenditure, which drains states.

### **1.8 Hypotheses of the Study**

1. Intrastate conflicts have upward trend in Africa despite the existence of standby forces.
2. African Standby Force faces numerous challenges in conflict management.
3. The lack of requisite capability has impaired rapid deployment of the East African Standby Force.

### **1.9 Research Methodology**

Research methodology illustrates the reasons for adopting certain research method and technique.<sup>88</sup>

#### **1.9.1 Study Design**

The study adopted case study design to illustrate peace and security architecture of Africa and how it is implemented by East African Standby Force. Case studies are often in the real world context, since the case study research has a systematic method which is prescriptive.

#### **1.9.2 Data Collection**

Both qualitative and quantitative was used in gathering data. The primary data collection sources were gathered by key informant and questionnaire interview. Books, journals , periodicals were used in getting secondary data that were relevant for the study in understanding the role and challenges faced by the African Standby Forces.

This study undertook a pilot and an analysis of five questionnaires which were administered to gauge validity and effectiveness. Reliability relates to the accuracy and precision of a

measurement. Reliability is enhanced by pre-testing of the instruments which helps to improve them by making them clear and focused.

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<sup>88</sup> Kothari, C. R. Jaipur. *Research methodology*, (2013), p. 89.

### **1.9.3 Target Population**

The target population was key security stakeholders such as East African Standby Force personnel, Kenya Defence Forces personnel, Academia, Security agencies and other security experts. This study aimed to make the target population a true representative of the target group.

### **1.9.4 Data Analysis**

Data collected was analyzed through document analysis as a result of the issues that are emerging under the study. Thematic techniques were also employed. Document analysis is a form of qualitative research where documents are explained to help in understanding difficulties experienced by standby forces in managing conflicts in Africa. The findings were further presented using tables, graphs as well as pie charts.

### **1.9.5 Ethical Consideration**

The study complied to the guidelines for conducting research in Kenya by getting a permit from the National Commission For Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). This was to legalize the whole process. The consent of the respondents was sought before participation could commence and their rights not to participate in the study was also respected. Confidentiality of the respondents were also maintained at all levels of the study.

### **1.9.6 Study Limitations**

It is worth mentioning that in seeking to understand the possible limitations of this study, it is important to appreciate that the study initially faced a lack of adequate data, on the subject matter from the Kenyan perspective, but the study was able to apply deep research as a way to dig-out as much on the topic as possible. In addition, verification of self reported data from respondents was hectic. Despite this, the researcher went the extra mile to fact-check all the feedback from the respondents.

## **1.10 Chapter Outline**

**Chapter 1:** It entails background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions and objectives. It also entails the literature review, theoretical framework, study justifications, hypotheses as well as the research methodology and chapter outline.

**Chapter 2:** Provides the nature and trends as well as the conflicts condition in Africa.

**Chapter 3:** The Status of the Implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture.

This section argues that there are both challenges and opportunities available to the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.

**Chapter 4:** The Impediments and Prospects for EASF in Conflict Management.

This section discusses areas of improvements by EASF on conflict management.

**Chapter 5:** Provides Data Presentation and analysis of the study findings.

**Chapter 6:** Entails Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations of the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE TRENDS AND THE STATUS OF CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

#### 2.0 Introduction

The chapter examined trends and status of conflicts in Africa and the impact it has had on the continent. This chapter also discussed approaches for preventing and managing conflicts in Africa.

#### 2.1 Trends of Conflict in Africa

African states falls within varied geographical, historical backgrounds, socio-economic and political environments as well as different interests in the global engagements.<sup>89</sup> Analyzing conflict situations in the Continent requires examination of the countries conflict drivers.

African conflicts emanates from various sources for instance partitioning of Africa creating boundaries on the will of the colonial powers, numerous ethnic groups within the continent, poor governance that leads to corruption, poverty as well as unfair distribution of resources.<sup>90</sup>

Understanding conflicts in Africa needs indepth analysis of the causes, socially, economically and politically at state and regional level.

African continent is endowed with many resources that can advance economic development. Despite the potentials that the region have, democratic cultures as well as economic development is minimal as a result of complex conflicts that are dynamic. Till to date, these conflicts are linked to the colonial effects as well as cold war in the region. Colonialism instilled a culture that still influence affairs in Africa.<sup>91</sup> Some of the ideologies promoted the tenets of unhealthy competition that results to poor governance.

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<sup>89</sup> Vlaponou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>90</sup> Jackson, Burton and Duke, Franc. *Conflict: Readings to Management and Resolution*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, (1990), p. 16.

<sup>91</sup> Collier, Patrick and Hans, Brian. 'Ethnic loyalties, state formation and conflict. A background paper prepared for the Africa in the 21st Century Project'. Washington, D.C., World Bank, (1999), p. 91.

Conflict sources are compounded and have both national and international networks that are influenced socially, economically and politically. Internationally, conflicts are linked to the pre and post-cold war era, influence of globalization as well as revival of the global economies that have brought in economic and political competitions in Africa that generates instability.<sup>92</sup> Consequently, these factors are viewed to bring value in improving the general status of African continent in the long run.

Weede observed that intrastate conflicts in Africa are influenced by internal elements. Investigations as well as experience in Africa observes that conflicts in Africa are also driven by non-economic issues as well as economic.<sup>93</sup> The transitions in the international arena that is hostile to the African economies for instance trading terms of engagements, over exploitation of states resources with unfair distribution of returns. This has enhance poverty amongst the people, economic inequalities.<sup>94</sup> The ethnic diverseness of the continent following the acquisition of independence enhanced nepotism in governance leading to resistance and rebellions. This has continued socially, culturally and politically in various states in the continent.<sup>95</sup>

Jennifer further argues that political exclusions in the decision making has promoted disunity in many African states. Inadequate political unity is seen as a factor that triggers ethnic conflicts, limiting fair distribution of state resources, as well as governance that is inclined on affiliation and patronage in Africa.<sup>96</sup> Despite these conflicts having historical traits, they are also linked to the minimal choices that the citizens have to promote effective governance.

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<sup>92</sup> Stedman, Stephen. *Conflict and Conciliation in Sub-Saharan Africa*, The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, (2006), pp. 235–65.

<sup>93</sup> Weede, Erich. 'Income Inequality, Average Income, and Domestic Violence', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 25 (4): (2001), pp. 639-654.

<sup>94</sup> Vlavourou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>95</sup> Jennifer, De M. 'Managing Civil Wars, An Evaluation of Conflict-prevention Strategies in Africa', 168(3): (2006). pp. 131-144.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, (2006), pp. 145.

Colonization of Africa by the western powers as from the 1880s to the beginning of WWI, the creation of the rules for partitioning Africa in the 1884 conference in Berlin made the European states to scramble for Africa leading to the creation of boundaries that separated ethnic groups which still to date causes frictions in the continent.<sup>97</sup>

The magnitude of conflicts in various periods after independence are closely linked to the forces existed in those decades. For instance, the 1960-1970 phase of nationalist euphoric, 1980-1990 structural adjustment programs, 1990-2000 transformation to democratic systems, and the current globalization phase from 2000s to date. The euphoric period marked an era where there were minimal interstate conflicts as well as minimal intrastate conflicts.<sup>98</sup> Colonial masters developed policies that were dispersed across the globe. According to Kaplan, some states were rendered with boundaries that promoted their homogeneity and this made them to develop stronger national identities, peace and stability for instance Ghana, Botswana, Chile and Costa Rica.<sup>99</sup>

Walter observed that African states received independence when they still had minimal knowledge on how to promote good governance and this resulted to the failure of democracy to kick off effectively. The minimal information on enhancing proper leadership created room for political leaders to capture power and implement laws that favoured their long stay in power instead of initiating efficient and effective rule of law that cares for all citizens. For instance, Angola that attained its independence from Portugal in 1975 found itself in constant wars that led to the demise of many people.<sup>100</sup> As a result of the war, the ruling party, Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), enhanced their ways of

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<sup>97</sup> Tilly, Charles. *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, (2005), pp. 7-10.

<sup>98</sup> Anwarul, Chowdhury. *The role of women in world peace and the role of men and boys in gender equity*. Women's Studies Review, (2005), pp. 30-33.

<sup>99</sup> Kaplan, Seth. *Fixing Fragile States*, Policy Review no. 152, Pro Quest, (2008), p. 67.

<sup>100</sup> Walter, Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, (2001), pp. 71-79.

centralizing power close to three decades without initiating other structures of governance.<sup>101</sup>

Morrison and Steven argued that huge debates exist on the responsibilities of multiple ethnic groups in intrastate conflicts. Despite the attainment of the continental identity, it is difficult to have the national unity of the states.<sup>102</sup> This has made many questions to be raised as to whether the ethnic factor can help or hinder the achievement of national unity.

Suberu contends that internal conflicts that exist between ethnic groups in most instances provide cover for the conflicts that the elites have. Ethnicity is also viewed as a way of promoting national unity if there is development of democratic institutions for fairness in governance and management of state affairs in which inclusivity is enhanced.<sup>103</sup> Implementations of the principles of good governance will advance the loyalty of all the ethnic groups, hence unity in the state. Violent conflicts have been experienced globally in at least eight out of ten poor states. Human security in the developing states has been jeopardized by conflicts which have strained sustainable development. Many wars that are experienced in Africa for instance South Sudan as well as Congo are internal though external interventions have been considered frequently for assistance. African continent has had badly experienced as a result of war in the last 30 years.<sup>104</sup>

Jagers and Gurr opined that states within Africa have been jeopardized by the aspects of poor leadership with stringent ideologies and this to a large extent has affected economic and political integration and uniting the states internally has also become an issue. Complex nature of African states require them to initiate proper institutions that can address socio-economic and political concerns in a just manner. All these should be developed by

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<sup>101</sup> Vlavenou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>102</sup> Morrison, Donald and Stevenson, Hugh. 'Political Instability in Independent Black Africa: More Dimensions of Conflict Behaviour within Nations', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 15 (3): (2001). pp. 347-368.

<sup>103</sup> Suberu, Robert. 'Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria', Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, (2001), pp. 3-4.

<sup>104</sup> Anwarul, Chowdhury. 'The role of women in world peace and the role of men and boys in gender equity'. *Women's Studies Review*, (2005), pp. 30-33.



leadership within Africa.<sup>105</sup> Despite the desire for all these good principles, it has been observed that most African leaders are weak and are not close to achieving unified states.<sup>106</sup> Due to these, controlling, mitigating and preventing conflicts in Africa requires mutual and inclusive societal development and having control over illegal trade initiatives.

Anwarul proposes a new argument that internal conflicts within a state results from compounded reasons. Theoretically, social changes in the society can initiate conflicts. It is essential to understand the way societies respond to conflicts since it is not always a negative variable.<sup>107</sup> Structural conflicts can emerge in a society if it is established through dominance as well as forceful relations.

According to Agger, determinants of social change and the emerging conflicts are what causes conflict in the society and its capacity. Peaceful environment can be achieved in the society if the society has great capacity and conflict management that can lead to transition. Also tensions can rise in situations where cooperation during conflicts are challenged. It is worth noting that if the capacity of the society is ineffective in managing the conflict, then violent activities can erupt fully.<sup>108</sup>

Bertram posited that lack of accountability that has resulted to corruption is one of the key internal issues that has promoted conflicts. Corruption has affected development initiatives and this deteriorates socio-economic and political justice in the transition to regional integration in Africa.<sup>109</sup> Resources within Africa has been poorly utilized for many years and this has made many citizens to call for change that has ignited numerous conflicts within the continent.

Harsh climatic conditions in some parts of Africa has made the continent to be

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<sup>105</sup> Jagers, Keith and Gurr, Ted. 'Tracking Democracy's Third Wave with the Polity III Data', Journal of Peace Research, (1995), pp. 469-482.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, (1995), p. 485.

<sup>107</sup> Anwarul, Chowdhury. 'The role of women in world peace and the role of men and boys in gender equity'. Women's Studies Review, (2005), pp. 30-33.

<sup>108</sup> Agger, Idris. 'The blue room: Trauma and testimony among refugee women'. London: Zed, (1994), p. 6.

<sup>109</sup> Bertram, Eva. 'Reinventing government: The promise of and perils of United Nations Peace Building'. Journal of Conflict Resolution 39, UN3, (1995), pp. 387-418.

regarded as one of the poorest in the international community. Issues of desertification has enhanced famine for instance the case of Ethiopia and Mali. People living in abject poverty grew in 1987(217 million) to 300 million in 1998.<sup>110</sup> Poverty level has made many groups to fight for their own interest, survival for the fittest leading to struggle over the limited resources hence conflicts.

## 2.2 Impact of Conflicts in Africa

The unending violence in African continent, socio-economic and political tensions within the states promotes conflicts and this has jeopardized the realization of sustainable development since there can be no development without peace and there can be no peace without development.

States within Africa are identical with various forms of atrocities that affects human security. The continent experiences frequent displacement of persons as a result of war/ conflicts for instance in Sudan and DRC Congo amongst others. Also the year after year the continent pleads for help from various institutions to facilitate the adverse effects of famine that leads to struggle over the limited resources.<sup>111</sup>

The costs of these violence activities in Africa are numerous, it brings all destruction on human security. Already developed projects are destroyed. The conflicts also leads to the dislocation of people forcing them to seek safe havens in foreign lands and this hinders development projects that people initiate in their areas. The advent of wars affects children and women the most.<sup>112</sup> Conflicts affects the productivity of the displaced persons in the society hence available services are overwhelmed.

Sturcke further observed that wars in one way or the other affects negatively agriculture sector in many African states. This has hindered food production in the continent

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<sup>110</sup> Meintjes, Anu and Turshen, Meredith. *'The aftermath: Women in post-conflict transformation'*. London: Zed, (2002), p. 89.

<sup>111</sup> Tisdall, Simon. *'Technicians in the workshop of double standards'*. Guardian UK, (2008), p. 17.

<sup>112</sup> Sturcke, Jackson. *'The United Nations extends Darfur peacekeeping mandate in last minute vote'*. Guardian, UK, (2008), p. 11.

despite the potential it has. This has forced many states to import products that it can easily produce locally. Conflicts in the continent has also led to the creation of an environment that makes investors to shy away.<sup>113</sup>

Spruyt argues that aspects of war in the society jeopardized the creation of employment opportunities. The high rate of jobless youth in the continent is a issue of concern as most of them due to lack of opportunities get radicalized and as well used by elites to achieve their ends. The youthful unemployment rate has been increasing at 10% annually.<sup>114</sup> Many young populations in states that have frequent conflicts have had limited opportunities to access employment and quality education.

Food security in societies are indeed affected by conflicts. Agricultural activities creates many opportunities for African people yet it has performed poorly since 1970s. The rate at which the agriculture sector is growing has been slow and this does not match the high population growth in the continent. After independence of many states in Africa, food production reduced by 12% as compared to the developing countries in Asia.<sup>115</sup>

When DRC Congo was under the Belgian power, it was having the capacity to produce and export food. Unfortunately DRC Congo currently is not capable of providing food to its population. This has happened in many states in Africa including Nigeria in which a good population eat once in a day, conflicts has instilled fear and they cannot advance their productions effectively.<sup>116</sup>

Economic opportunities in most African states have been hindered by frequent conflicts that destabilizes political environments. Continued emergence of violence in the region has slowed down the growth of the GDP in many states.<sup>117</sup> The challenge has been

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid, (2008), p. 23.

<sup>114</sup> Spruyt, Hendrik. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, (2004), p. 67.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, (2004), p. 73.

<sup>116</sup> Tisdall, Simon. *Technicians in the workshop of double standards*. Guardian UK, (2008), p. 21-23.

<sup>117</sup> Ball, Nicole., *Demobilizing and Reintegrating Soldiers: Lessons from Africa*, in Kumar (ed.): *op. cit.* (note

made more complex by the occurrence of other disasters like drought within the continent. Many investors have shied away due to the instabilities, minimal returns as well as fear of violence that can lead to loss of properties and destruction of already developed infrastructure. These persistent unfriendly environment has led to low development for many years ranging from three and four percent as opposed to seven percent that is needed for the realization of sustainable development.<sup>118</sup>

Phelps and Boylan stated that as a result of conflict, service delivery has been affected in one way or the other with many development initiatives are destroyed for instance roads, basic facilities like hospitals and schools. Poor infrastructure has made access and distribution of services to be slow. This in long term affects human lives as systems continue to decay in some parts of the African continent.<sup>119</sup>

Conflicts comes with dangerous costs as rules and norms that govern humanity are replaced by use of force. The use of force by the resisting factions always enhance impunity, loss of lives and destruction of properties. It proceeds to all the socio-economic and political sectors that collapses. This has made many people to flee from their countries in search for safe havens.<sup>120</sup> The continuous experiences of such actions brings various challenges more so on necessary services like health. Conflicts brings negative consequences to states as many productive lives are lost. During this periods, both soldiers and civilians die from both the attacks as well as lack of health services and adequate food. This affects the economies of the states.<sup>121</sup>

Morrison and Hugh further revealed that as a result of conflicts, resources that could be used to enhance service delivery in other sectors like agriculture and education are

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129), (2009), pp. 85-106.

<sup>118</sup> Tisdall, Simon. 'Technicians in the workshop of double standards'. Guardian UK, (2008), p. 17.

<sup>119</sup> Ball, Nicole. "Demobilizing and Reintegrating Soldiers: Lessons from Africa", in Kumar (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 129) (2009), p. 109.

<sup>120</sup> Vlavourou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>121</sup> Morrison, Donald and Stevenson, Hugh. 'Political Instability in Independent Black Africa: More Dimensions of Conflict Behavior within Nations', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 15 (3): (2001), pp. 347-368.

diverted to take care of military actions and this leads to many transitions in the economy, hence it is important to deal with conflict situations so as to prevent it from recurring in the society.<sup>122</sup> It has led to many disabilities and this renders persons that could improve the economy to be rendered jobless and their potential to work is jeopardized. This enhances stress for handling the diseases that may be contracted during conflicts.<sup>123</sup> It is therefore important to deal with conflict issues between and amongst states so as to promote peace and security as well as to revive the socio-economic and political environment for effective cooperation.

### **2.3 Conflict Prevention and Management Approaches in Africa**

Isurmona posited that African continent has been prone to various forms of conflicts globally in the last 20 years. Violent conflicts has wiped many human lives and properties since 1990s in Africa as compared to other parts of the world.<sup>124</sup> Currently African states have numerous challenges in promoting friendly environment for peace. Many states like DRC Congo, South Sudan, Mali, Ivory Coast, and Somalia among others have been affected by conflicts and this has interfered with effectiveness in governance hence making many civilians to remain in poverty.<sup>125</sup> The states have remained in prolonged conflicts since most of them have not honoured the peace agreements that they signed in the past.

However, according to Hammoned, violent conflicts have reduced in Africa as a result of many states embracing the rule of law, development of good governance structures, adoption of resource distribution to areas that had been neglected in the past, the development of peace keeping institutions as well as cooperation with the global community in promoting

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<sup>122</sup> Vlavonou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), p. 9.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 11.

<sup>124</sup> Isurmona, Victor. *Problems of Peacemaking and Peace Keeping. Perspective on Peace and Conflict in Africa*, Ibadan: John Archers Publishers, (2005), p. 77.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, (2005), p. 77.

humanity.<sup>126</sup> The stronger cooperation with other regional and international organizations has promoted peace and security in various parts of the continent for instance ECOWAS partnership with the UN led to the realization of peace in Liberia.

Kotze argues that Africa still faces various challenges that continues to make the successes to be on a delicate ground. The slow development, inadequate resources and service delivery, socio-economic and political exclusion in some states is still not fully addressed in areas that conflicts have been mitigated. In other areas such as Somalia conflict is still on and off, Dafur Conflict still have tenets of re-emerging.<sup>127</sup> Political and underlying ideological differences among leaders is hindering the process of stabilizing the peace architectures in the continent and other global actors are reluctant to be involved in the process.

Maintaining peace and security in Africa has been increasing and the global community has participated in various occasions. The UN has participated in peace missions for instance the Rwandan case in 1993 to 1994 to help in the realization of the peace agreement that was signed in Arusha between the warring parties, Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and the Habyarimana government.<sup>128</sup> The operation dubbed UNAMIR was seen as weak as it could not stop the 1994 massacre. The UNITAF was also a failure of the United Nations. The peace mission did not achieve its objectives in Somalia in 1992 to help in mitigating the conflict that emerged between two clans, one led by Ali Mahdi and the other by Mohamed Farah Aidid. It was one of the biggest intervention that composed of over 37000 troops.<sup>129</sup> Despite these failures, there are other peace missions in Africa that have been fruitful for instance, the ECOWAS in Liberia and Siera Leone contributed tremendously

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<sup>126</sup> Hammoned, Tooke. *'Command or Consensus: The Development of Transkeian Local Government, Cape Town'*, (2005), p. 51.

<sup>127</sup> Kotze, Dirk. *'Issues in Conflict Resolution'*. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, No12, No.2 (2000), pp.77-86.

<sup>128</sup> Tisdall, Simon. *'Technicians in the workshop of double standards'*. Guardian UK, (2008), p. 17.

<sup>129</sup> Kotze, Dirk. *'Issues in Conflict Resolution'*. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, No12, No.2 (2000), pp.77-86.

in promoting peace in the West African States.<sup>130</sup>

Development of peace and security architecture for Africa is a great milestone in the desire to promote peace in Africa.<sup>131</sup> The effort has been advanced by African governments to employ peace and security structures that could integrate the region more. Its momentum improved as a result of the formation of AU that overtook OAU in the year 2002.<sup>132</sup> The protocol for peace and security establishes that representation of the member states should rotate and be a reflection of all the regions.<sup>133</sup>

The PSC has various mandates that should help in containing, mitigating conflicts in Africa as well as to assist in reconstructing the societies that have been affected by conflict. It also have the obligation to assist in improving the governance structures, rule of law in the society and improve human security in the long term. Its establishment since 2004 has helped in developing peace and security culture in the society.<sup>134</sup> It has been effective in promoting peace in Sudan and Comoros as well as Somalia.<sup>135</sup> Inadequate support from the African Union has jeopardized the effectiveness of the institution since member states are having varied socio-economic and political ideologies, hence minimal financial support.<sup>136</sup> The discussions on promoting security in the continent has also dwelled more on war with minimal consideration on how to manage the conflicts. Thus, it has remained more on diplomacy level than involving the key stakeholders in the decision making.<sup>137</sup>

Conflict settlement and resettlement in African states require participation of various

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<sup>130</sup> Kotze, Dirk., *Issues in Conflict Resolution*. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, No12, No.2 (2000), pp.77-86.

<sup>131</sup> Anwarul, Chowdhury. 'The role of women in world peace and the role of men and boys in gender equity'. Women's Studies Review, (2005), pp. 30-33.

<sup>132</sup> Vlavanou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>133</sup> Tisdall, Simon. *Technicians in the workshop of double standards*. Guardian UK, (2008), p. 17.

<sup>134</sup> Kotze, Dirk., *Issues in Conflict Resolution*. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, No12, No.2 (2000), pp.77-86.

<sup>135</sup> Vlavanou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>136</sup> Kotze, Dirk., *Issues in Conflict Resolution*. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, No12, No.2 (2000), pp.77-86.

<sup>137</sup> Tisdall, S., *Technicians in the workshop of double standards*. Guardian UK, (2008), p. 17.

actors within the global community. This is essential in that for many years it has been dubbed that Africans should solve their own problems. Currently the continent is receiving support from within and from other regions of the world like Europe and the Americas.<sup>138</sup>

It is critical to appreciate that this ideology had been advanced by the need for freedom in Africa and also to make their own decisions that fits their societies as a result of the sovereign power they have.<sup>139</sup> The UN Charter in its chapter VIII advocates for the development of regional organizations to help in solving regional challenges in a peaceful manner. And this received a boost after the end of cold war when many foreign powers declined their interest in occupying African states. The biggest loss of interest in Africa was witnessed when the UN ignored the call to assist in peace operations in Burundi or Liberia as well as the 1994 genocide in Rwanda where the UN withdrew its operations.<sup>140</sup>

From these incidences, Africans learnt that they should not wait for other international actors all the time, but put the initiative of leading in restoring sanity within the African continent.<sup>141</sup> Regional organizations within Africa were formed in different periods and missions.<sup>142</sup> Most of the organizations are not focused on peace missions directly despite having these organs in their structures. The achievements are dismal as African continent still experience numerous conflicts.

Most of this organizations in Africa have challenges that jeopardize their effectiveness in advancing peace and security. The organizations are having huge ambitions that the existing structures cannot attain efficiently, inadequate finances, limited man power, absence of a regional hegemony that can give vision and leadership, ideological differences

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<sup>138</sup> Vlavonou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>139</sup> Morrison, Donald and Stevenson, Hugh. 'Political Instability in Independent Black Africa: More Dimensions of Conflict Behavior within Nations', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 15 (3): (2001), pp. 347-368.

<sup>140</sup> Morrison, Donald and Stevenson, Hugh. 'Political Instability in Independent Black Africa: More Dimensions of Conflict Behavior within Nations', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 15 (3): (2001), pp. 347-368.

<sup>141</sup> Vlavonou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>142</sup> Anwarul, Chowdhury. 'The role of women in world peace and the role of men and boys in gender equity'. *Women's Studies Review*, (2005), pp. 30-33.



amongst the member states as well as with donors. The states also falls in different organizations that sometimes have conflicting interests hence affecting commitment and support to the institutions.<sup>143</sup>

The challenges that sub-regional organizations are facing in Africa are similar to the structural challenges that the AU is experiencing in handling peace and security issues. The complex nature of conflicts in Africa brings different reactions from the member states as a result of the sovereign power and territorial integrity they have.

African Union just like regional blocs receive minimal contribution from the member states, and this also means the existence of diverse opinions from the members on peace operations. Despite this diversity, AU still receive tremendous support from other members like Nigeria, South Africa, Senegal, Benin as well as Egypt who continuously support peace operations with the UN.<sup>144</sup> Africa has also relied on assistance from other region to support its peace missions. It is therefore necessary for Africa to advance its power by having more soldiers as well as embracing technology so as to help in handling complex situations on its own.<sup>145</sup>

#### **2.4 Conflict Prevention and Management through APSA**

Salman posits many questions are still being raised in Africa by various concerned authorities within APSA despite the peace and security architecture institution being formed many years ago to promote peace in the continent as well as how its implementation can enhance peace in the society.<sup>146</sup>

It is observable that conflicts in Africa emerge in different ways and have varied triggers. The

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<sup>143</sup> Vlavonou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>144</sup> Anwarul, Chowdhury. 'The role of women in world peace and the role of men and boys in gender equity'. *Women's Studies Review*, (2005), pp. 30-33.

<sup>145</sup> Anwarul, Chowdhury. 'The role of women in world peace and the role of men and boys in gender equity'. *Women's Studies Review*, (2005), pp. 30-33.

<sup>146</sup> Salman, Salman. *Shared watercourses in the Southern African Development Community: challenges and opportunities*. *Water Policy* 6, (2014), p. 36.

formation of the APSA has led to the improvement in promoting human security in the continent. The regional organizations have been strengthened through the structures of the APSA which has helped in managing and controlling conflicts.<sup>147</sup> Reverse trends has also been notice as from 2010.

Croll and Wirkus stated that formation of AU and APSA led to the development of other regional organizations that helps in the implementation of the APSA objectives in advancing peace and security in the continent. The structures of APSA is flexible and this helps it to function effectively through the RECs.<sup>148</sup> It has analyzed the experiences of other regional organizations hence its structures have been strengthened to enhance cooperation within the continent as well as with other regional blocs and foreign partners.

African Union have the peace and Security Council as its policy making branch that enhance conflict mitigation. It has a membership of 15 states, where 10 are having years term. It has the responsibility to enhance preparedness as well as to promote efficiency in responding to conflicts in the African continent.<sup>149</sup> Decisions that are made by the PSC are implemented by the AU commission through its chairperson in partnership with the chairperson for AU commissioner for peace and security that have the obligation to update the PSC on the implementation processes.<sup>150</sup>

APSA as an institution has its officers and civilian components which is the ASF and derives its membership from the five regions within Africa. They coordinate mutually to help in the realization of the APSA and PSC mandates of promoting peace and security.<sup>151</sup> APSA has its advisory organ that is dubbed the panel of the wise which engage through silent and

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<sup>147</sup> Vlavonou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>148</sup> Croll, Peter and Wirkus, Lars. *Wasser im südlichen Afrika Konflikt oder Entwicklung potential in: Hauswedell, Friedensgutachten*, (2013), pp. 185–186.

<sup>149</sup> Jan, Nosálek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 8.

<sup>150</sup> Avis, William. *Current trends in violent conflict*. The K4D, knowledge evidence and learning for development, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, Department for International Development, (2019), pp. 1-2.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, (2019), p. 5.

preventive diplomacy and it has 5 members from Africa representing five regions of the continent.<sup>152</sup> The panel has a responsibility to promote peace in collaboration with other stakeholders such as PSC.<sup>153</sup> It is essential to note that PoW (Panel of The Wise) since its inception in 2007, it has contributed to conflict resolution in Africa as was witnessed in Kenya, Egypt and Madagascar.<sup>154</sup>

APSA receives its financial support that helps its operations and this is provided under the peace fund that falls under article 21 of PSC protocol. The funding is received from donor contribution, states, individual groups, NGOs as well as personalities.<sup>155</sup> The African Union also has its early warning systems that informs the PSC with relevant information on the emergence of conflicts. The organ enhance coordination with other organizations so as to provide enough data to the commission.<sup>156</sup> For instance, Africa have RECs that helps its coordination like EAC, ECOWAS, SADC, CEN-SAD, ECCAS, IGAD, UMA as well as COMESA.<sup>157</sup>

East African Standby Force was legally established after a mutual agreement that was signed by Kenya, Uganda, Somalia, Seychelles, Comoros, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Burundi, Rwanda and Sudan in 2005. South Sudan is not yet a member but it is still being surveyed since 2013 and this shows that it will become a member in future. Despite the lack of one regional organization that has all the ten countries, head of states enhanced the formation of EASFCOM to promote coordination within the region.<sup>158</sup> The legal framework of the EASF was strengthened by states signing of new agreement to make it a tool for preventing and

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<sup>152</sup> Jan Vanheukelom and Sophie Desmidt. *Regional peace architectures in Africa: A reality check*. Political Economy Dynamics of Regional Organisations in Africa. Pedro, (2019), pp. 2-5.

<sup>153</sup> Vlavonou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

<sup>154</sup> Jan Vanheukelom and Sophie Desmidt. *Regional peace architectures in Africa: A reality check*. Political Economy Dynamics of Regional Organisations in Africa. Pedro, (2019), pp. 2-5.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 9.

<sup>156</sup> Wu, Yongbo and Lu, Zhen. *A fast monitor and real time early warning system*. Institute of Geophysics and Geomatics, China University of Geosciences, Wuhan, China, (2019), pp. 2-4.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 8.

<sup>158</sup> Wu, Yongbo and Lu, Zhen. *'A fast monitor and real time early warning system'*. Institute of Geophysics and Geomatics, China University of Geosciences, Wuhan, China, (2019), pp. 2-4.

managing conflicts within the Eastern Africa.

In 2014, EASFCOM was transformed to a secretariat of the East Africa Standby Force and this was as a result of conflicts that had been witnessed in African continent. Nairobi, Kenya hosts the secretariat whereas the EASF is headquartered in Addis Abbaba Ethiopia.<sup>159</sup>

## 2.5 Chapter Summary

This section opines that in regards to conflict trends, status and impact, terrorism, insurgences, riots and protest in most parts of Africa was rising. Yet at the same time progress was being made in advancing peace, stability and growth in the continent. Thus this section achieved its objective to establish the trends and the status of conflicts in Africa. The section further argues that the assessment of states is done in the hope that trends that lead to conflict as well as those that lead to cooperation can be identified.

This chapter further reveals that conflicts manifest in different ways in Africa. It is generally accepted that trends in conflicts in Africa involves mostly the poor who cover up the elites. In addition this section found that conflicts also entails insurgents and militia groups, some of which were involved in places such as Congo, Darfur and South Sudan. It was observed that intrastate conflicts in Africa have been on an upward trend as compared to other parts of the global community. It is worth appreciating that some explanations of the increased intrastate conflict is as a result of constant poverty amongst the masses. Poorer states experience more conflicts as compared to states that are experiencing growth and development, which tends to embrace peace to protect their investments. Poor governance was also observed to trigger conflict in Africa.

This section postulates that conflicts can easily re-emerge in countries that have had

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<sup>159</sup> Vlavourou, Gino. *The APSA and Complex International Security Regime Theory: A Critique*. African Security, Faculty of Social Science, School of Political Studies, Ottawa, Canada, (2019), pp. 3-7.

frequent conflicts. The emergence and re-emergence of conflicts is a jeopardy to peace thus promoted the formation of PSC in Africa to help in the promotion of sustainable peace. Hence Liberal Institutionalism Theory would therefore explain the implementation of the APSA which posits that international institutions can increase cooperation between states.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE STATUS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AFRICAN PEACE AND SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

#### 3.0 Introduction

The chapter illustrates the implementation status of APSA. It gives understanding on different formation of alliances as well as the importance of the variations on relations between and amongst states.

#### 3.1 Peace and Security Architecture

The peace and security architecture entails all aspects of conflict mitigation and preparedness in Africa, regional organizations and their mechanisms for responding to conflicts. Alliances have been initiated historically despite many transitions in the global community, hence a military alliance as an agreement between states to fight against a common opponent.<sup>160</sup>

Kagan posits that security cooperation and co-ordinations leads to military alliance that allow states to have support from one another whenever there is immediate need.<sup>161</sup> Security alliances is promoted or adopted to improve national and international security through support to one another when there is a crisis. Military alliances is viewed as different from coalitions as it is something that is formed before occurrence of a crisis. Coalitions are only formed to handle a threat that has already happened.

Liska opines that nation states form alliances to promote collective security against aggressors or threats that can come from more powerful states. This partnership is also known as an alignment that helps in balance of power.<sup>162</sup> The capacities and the dimensions under which the alliances are formed is important in explaining the responsibilities of the security agencies in shaping the international system.

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<sup>160</sup> Jan, Nosálek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 8.

<sup>161</sup> Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*, Doubleday: New York, (2005), p. 8.

<sup>162</sup> Liska, George. *Alliances and the Third World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, (1968), p. 3.

According to Hendrickson, nation states formulate military alliances to help in advancing their national and international interests by assisting one another in case of an attack or get involved in war. Collective security is always focused against the aggressors that interfere with the peaceful coexistence in the international system.<sup>163</sup>

Military alliance in the European historical perspective is perceived as a collaboration of states and is legalized by a treaty document that enhanced both defensive and offensive collective action. They have clear objectives that are highlighted within the agreements to guide their operations. For instance the 1668 Triple alliance (Great Britain, Sweden and the Netherlands) as well as the 1689 grand alliance that existed between the Emperor, Holland, England, Spain and Saxony, were both directed against the power of Louis XIV of France.<sup>164</sup>

Brussels treaty of 1948 led to the formation of Military Western Union Defence Organization that was commanded by Field Marshal Montgomery. Western European powers as well as the USA and Canada signed the North Atlantic Treaty except Ireland, Sweden, Finland and Austria; it is the Western Union Defence organization that led to the formation of NATO.<sup>165</sup> NATO is a special collective security organization in the Euro-Atlantic region. It has enhanced platforms for nation states to participate. This inclusiveness is essential for NATO as it allows national political interest of states to be considered in their decision making. This also promotes member states contribution to meet the financial needs as well as to reduce ideological differences that might exist.

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<sup>163</sup> Hendrickson, David. *The Imperial Temptation: The New World Order and America's Purpose*. Council on Foreign Relations, (1992), pp. 64-65.

<sup>164</sup> Debrah, Charles. *Developments and challenges in the operationalization of the ASF*. (2009), p. 78.

<sup>165</sup> Schultz, Kenneth. *Looking for Audience Costs*. Journal of Conflict Resolution 45(2001), pp. 32-60.

### **3.2 Roles Played by Military Alliances in Peace and Security**

Harbeson and Rothschild argue that military alliances has numerous consequences in structuring global politics.<sup>166</sup> Alliances are formed by the states to improve their military capability that can out do their enemies. The development of alliances shapes the nature and trends in which states engage with each other. This can also change political identity of the states.

According to Schroeder, alliances are seen as a strategy for countering balances in the system. Kagan observed that nation states form alliances for many reasons, they are formed with different purposes even though there exist different military alliances for instance the security alliance and the multilateral alliance.<sup>167</sup>

According to Nishida, the formation of multilateral alliances is driven by the desire to respond to many global concerns for instance environmental concerns as well as peace and security. Multilateral military alliances enhances securitization in the global community as a result of mutual intelligence services, military support services like training and acquisition of equipment. Arab league is an example of multilateral alliance. The organization had the responsibility to control the impact of communism in the Arab world even though it did not include mutual defence.<sup>168</sup> Nishida posits that military co-operations/ alliances was well illustrated as collective defence alliance before the formation of the 1919 League of Nations. Members had the obligation to protect one another from any aggressive act out of the alliance.<sup>169</sup>

It is critical to appreciate modern scholars like Paul Schroeder who went further to state that alliances are formed to deter danger, formulate adequate measures to respond and mitigate danger, as well as to provide powerful states with mechanisms to dominate weak

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid, (2000), p. 351.

<sup>167</sup> Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*, Doubleday: New York, (1995), p. 8.

<sup>168</sup> Nishida, Tasuya. *A Theory of Collective Security Alliance: A Case of Incomplete Pacific Pacts*, San Francisco, (2009), p. 45.

<sup>169</sup> Debrah, Charles. *Developments and challenges in the operationalization of the ASF*. (2009), p. 78.



states.<sup>170</sup> States that are threatened always align with each other to deter the actions of the aggressor.

Traditionally, military alliances were viewed as mechanisms to promote stability. Creating the League enhanced security alliance amongst the states. The differences that exist between collective security and defence alliances is the responsibility of the member states to abide by the existing organization rules and principles, for instance abstaining from attacking member states unless a state is acting on the capacity of self-defence.<sup>171</sup>

Apart from the collapsed League of Nations, the relevant collective security alliance is the UN. It was formed to help in responding to acts of aggression in the international system, enhance stability and cooperation amongst the states. Collective security has been used globally to imply collective defence since 1930s to help in the promotion of global stability by complying to the developed rules and norms so as to provide peace and security to the member states and deter the illicit actions of the aggressors.<sup>172</sup> The understanding of collective security is not static as a result of globalization in the international system. Globalization has come with many similar concerns. All these cannot be left for military as the primary solution for instance issues such as pandemics, poverty, cyber threats among others.

Simon posited that two or more states with same interest have high chances of forming an alliance. Similar policies result to development of mutual national and international interests that promotes regional values in the global arena. For instance Russia and Serbia during the World War One had alliance as a result of the shared Slavic roots.<sup>173</sup> Arab League also promotes the interest of the member states by advocating for the interests

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<sup>170</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking Resolution: How External States Can Prolong Civil Wars*. *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 2: (2010), pp. 115-127.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*, (2010), p. 131.

<sup>172</sup> Gibler, Douglas and Wolford, Scott. *Alliances, Then Democracy: An Examination of the Relationship between Regime Type and Alliance Formation*. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (2006), pp. 129-153.

<sup>173</sup> Jackman, Simon. *Bayesian Analysis for the Social Science*. New York: Wiley and Sons, (2009), pp. 89-91.

of the Arab states and this is enshrined in 1946 charter.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization enhances democratization as its principle reason for existence. The organization promotes the freedom and collective human security more so member states based on rules and norms, democracy and human rights.<sup>174</sup> The advocacy of communism by Warsaw Pact in one way or the other countered the ideologies of NATO.

According to Johnson and Brett, alliances are likely to be formed when states receives mutual assistance from one another, or when one state provides aid to another.<sup>175</sup> This leads to greater influence on the receiver. Johnson and Brett further explain that alliances are enhanced by states both economically and military wise because they imply better intentions for one another as well as making the donor to have influence in the affairs of the receiving states.<sup>176</sup> Alliances becomes stronger as a result of the support that nation states get out of it. For instance, the case of Cuba and Nicaragua when the Soviet Union tried to lure their trust in the cold war period as well as the Marshal Plan in Europe by the USA in the post WWII.

Alliances are also enhanced by the extent to which one state can influence the socio-economic and political systems of another state. This is advanced by Walt as systems influenced by another. For example the USA-Israel partnership clearly illustrates an alliance where states influence one another. Israel has had lobbying activities in the USA and this has strengthened their relations making the USA to enhance protection to Israel.<sup>177</sup> Gray and Jonathan argued that alliances have different scope and areas of operations in which their member states can submit themselves if they comply with the stipulated terms.<sup>178</sup> Co-operations that entails both offensive and defensive have wider areas of operations as compared to neutral agreements. Military alliances are also viewed as having different

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid, (2009), p. 78.

<sup>175</sup> Johnson, Jesse and Brett, Ashley. *Defense Pacts: A Prescription for Peace*. Foreign Policy Analysis 7 (2011), pp. 45-65.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, (2011), p. 67.

<sup>177</sup> Debrah, Charles. *Developments and challenges in the operationalization of the ASF*. (2009), p. 78.

<sup>178</sup> Gray, Julia, and Jonathan, Slapin. *How Effective Are Preferential Trade Agreements? Ask the Experts*. The Review of International Organizations 7: (2011), pp. 1-25.

strengths. It is observed that alliances that are made of more powerful states tend to have more military power and this can easily help them to achieve their obligations. Sherwood-Randall contends Multiplex aligned powers have more capacities as compared to bilateral alliances of weak states that have different interests.<sup>179</sup>

An assessment of many security co-operations in the past 500 years indicates that collective security alliances collapse immediately after they had been threatened by the challenges that they were formed to respond to.<sup>180</sup> Coalitions formed during war are dissimilar with alliance missions. They have different formations as well as sharing of responsibilities. The key responsibility of the states during coalitions is to ensure its operation and political effectiveness during war.

Sapronas argues that co-operations that handle conflicts are not similar in formation. Some co-operations that are formed when there is no conflict are given the responsibility to address conflict concerns. Also, other scenarios allow states to unite so as to fight against the aggressors. Alliances that already exists before crisis began have the potential of utilizing the existing infrastructure in making decisions and planning.<sup>181</sup>

Effectiveness and efficiency of the military alliances to fulfil their mandates is as a result of the opportunities to initiate unified planning, good platform to advance relations with one another, good infrastructure for information sharing as well as mutual ways to promote military command. The African Union, Regional Economic Communities enhances the effectiveness of APSA. These institutions helps in checking the operations of APSA.<sup>182</sup> It helps in the coordination and harmonization of the works of APSA pillars such as the PSC, continental early warning systems, Africa standby force, peace fund as well as the panel of

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<sup>179</sup> Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall. *Is NATO Dead or Alive?* Harvard-Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, (2008), p. 8.

<sup>180</sup> Debrah, Charles. *Developments and challenges in the operationalization of the ASF.* (2009), p. 78.

<sup>181</sup> Gray, Julia, and Jonathan Slapin. *How Effective Are Preferential Trade Agreements? Ask the Experts.* The Review of International Organizations 7: (2011), pp. 1-25.

<sup>182</sup> Jan, Nosálek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 8.

the wise. The establishment of APSA in Africa and within the regional blocs has advanced its preparedness in responding to crisis.<sup>183</sup>

### **3.3 The Value of Modern Military Cooperation**

Jan posited that since 1945, many regional as well as sub regional organizations have been formed and their number has been increasing as from 1990s with the key motive of advancing peace and security and stable relations within and amongst the member states.<sup>184</sup>

Military alliances within regions have been promoted by the desire to deter the enemies from jeopardizing peace and to help in mitigating proliferation of illegal arms.<sup>185</sup>

Cottey and Forster postulate that many dimensions of security co-operations emerged from the onset of the 1990s, and this was essential for addressing the shifting trends of threats in the international system. These co-operations were initiated in many parts of the world. For instance the NATO regime which had responsibility to promote peace and security, the EU, the AU and its common Africa defence and security policy. The organizations have common interests hence making them to promote inclusivity in the international system and good relations amongst their members.<sup>186</sup> They have legal frameworks that guide their operations and co-operations.

Wallace notes that alliances are flexible and hence have the potential of responding to the changing patterns of threats. Their flexibility allows them to restructure the military forces so as to promote effective peace missions as well as humanitarian services. This can be done through military diplomacies, negotiations between and amongst various ministries of defence so as to promote trust and to assist weaker militaries to develop their capacities in

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<sup>183</sup> Debrah, Charles. *Developments and challenges in the operationalization of the ASF*. (2009), p. 78.

<sup>184</sup> Jan, Nosalek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 8.

<sup>185</sup> Cottey, Andrew and Forster, Antony. *Reshaping Defence Diplomacy: New Roles for Military Cooperation and Assistance*, Adelphi Paper no. 365 Oxford University Press: Oxford, (2004), pp. 14-18.

<sup>186</sup> Lachowski, Zachery. *Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in the New Europe*, SIPRI Research Report no. 18, Oxford University Press, Oxford, (2004), p. 78.

promoting peace and security.<sup>187</sup>

### **3.3.1 The Architecture for Peace and Security in Africa**

Peace and Security Council of Africa, Standby Force of Africa was established within the protocol of APSA. The PSC participates on promoting sustainable peace and security in Africa. It goes further to initiate various mechanisms for responding to conflicts within the continent, humanitarian intervention services, management of disasters, preventive diplomacy as well as early warning services.<sup>188</sup> The military alliance of Africa works jointly and this is a military contribution from all the five regions of Africa. Member states contribute their soldiers and other resources to help in operationalizing the agendas of peace and Security Council of Africa.

Standby force of Africa was formed by the five sub regions of Africa that contributed their resources and soldiers to facilitate the operations of the institutions. The members came from west, east, south, north and central parts of Africa with a proper mandating authority to promote efficiency. The deployment of the forces has numerous challenges on the existing structures of the standby force. This is also linked to the nature of threats that they will be deployed to address. It is challenging to enhance effective deployment of the officers as a result of the changing patterns of conflicts in Africa. Therefore this requires advanced unified units and staffs refresher training before the missions could be effected.

The East African Standby Force Coordination Mechanism (EASFCOM) is the engine of the institution and oversees its operations. The body was formed in 2007 March, a decision that was made by council of defence ministers in East Africa. It has its headquarters in Nairobi Kenya, coordinates the affairs of EASF in partnership with other relevant institutions

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<sup>187</sup> Wallace, Geoffrey. *International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study*. International Organization 67(2013), pp. 105-140.

<sup>188</sup> Harbeson, John and Rothchild, Donald. *Africa in World Politics. The African State System in Flux*. Oxford, Westview, (2000), pp. 308-328.

that are handling security issues.<sup>189</sup> It facilitate the implementation of the EASF goals and objectives in consultation with the AU and the regional economic blocs. Graham and Felicio note that the East African Standby Force has the obligation of promoting peace and security in the region and it is a contributor to the Africa Standby Force in both civilian, military and police aspects.<sup>190</sup>

West African regional bloc, ECOWAS has proven its effectiveness and desire to advance peace and security in the region as well as advancing legal political transitions in the region by initiating faster intervention measures whenever there is a crisis. For instance, the organization deployed personnel in Guinea and Guinea Bisau where they demonstrated their willingness to mitigate threats to peace and security.<sup>191</sup> Despite these efforts, the regional organizations still have minimal coordinating structures as well as persistence in their operations so as to deter conflicts from re-emerging.

### **3.3.2 The East African Region**

Security condition in the East African region has been viewed as one that has frequent conflicts and hostilities. This is because the region lacks a strong hegemony that can provide strong leadership in handling the flexible security threats. Conflicting ideologies and interests of states within the region, specifically the desire of Ethiopia to be regarded as the regional power brings numerous contestations and this affects the realization of a solidified regional cooperation on handling threats to peace and security.<sup>192</sup> Sub regional alliances that were established after the cold war to deter threats to security was signed in 1999 by Zaire, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia. This alliance was aimed at fighting militia and insurgents that posed

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<sup>189</sup> Salman, Salman. Shared watercourses in the Southern African Development Community: challenges and opportunities. *Water Policy* 6, (2014), p. 36.

<sup>190</sup> Graham, Kelvin and Felicio, Tony. *Regional Security and Global Governance. A Study of Interaction between regional agencies and the UN Security Council with a proposal for a regional-global security mechanism*, Brussels University Press, Brussels, (2006), p. 9.

<sup>191</sup> Harbeson, John and Rothchild, Donald. *Africa in World Politics. The African State System in Flux*. Oxford, Westview, (2000), pp. 308-328.

<sup>192</sup> Croll, Peter and Wirkus, Lars. *Wasser im südlichen Afrika Konflikt oder Entwicklung potential in: Hauswedell, Friedensgutachten*, (2013), pp. 185-186.

danger to security. The alliance later transitioned to SADC.

East African Standby Force has the responsibility to promote peaceful coexistence between and amongst member states, deterring the threats that are initiated by insurgents within the Eastern Africa region.<sup>193</sup> The success of the Africa Standby Force will not only provide remedy to conflict situations in the continent but also an essential structure for the United Nations to advance its mission of maintaining global peace.

Analysis on the Africa peace and security architecture indicates that it can help in realizing the organizations 2016-2020 plan that was formulated in 2016 April by the AU. This can be realized as it borrows from the previous APSA. It can also be successful since it enhances inclusivity and participatory decision making in executing its mandates as well as in consultation of other organs of the African Union Commission and sub regional economic blocs. African Union will develop structures to monitor the programs through its peace and security organs.<sup>194</sup>

### **3.4 Implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture**

Despite the formation of the AU peace architecture many years ago to ensure the realization of sustainable peace in the African continent, many concerns are still being raised on the extent to which the organization is effective and efficient in handling its objectives. Both policy makers as well as other non-state actors are concerned about the process of implementing the APSA. These concerns comes as a result of the complex security situation in various parts of the continent.<sup>195</sup>

The shifting and dynamic nature of conflicts in Africa in the last few years indicates

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<sup>193</sup> Graham, Kelvin and Felicio, Tony. *Regional Security and Global Governance. A Study of Interaction between regional agencies and the UN Security Council with a proposal for a regional-global security mechanism*, Brussels University Press, Brussels, (2006), p. 78.

<sup>194</sup> Harbeson, John and Rothchild, Donald. *Africa in World Politics. The African State System in Flux*. Oxford, Westview, (2000), pp. 308-328.

<sup>195</sup> Salman, Salman. *Shared watercourses in the Southern African Development Community: challenges and opportunities*. Water Policy 6, (2014), p. 36.

that security and peace are still threatened. The formation of the security architecture has ensured that various regional organizations in Africa have improved their capacity in promoting peace and security. This has improved the level of preparedness in responding to conflicts as well as measures for mitigation. Despite the improvements, there was still occurrence of some conflicts for instance the DRC cases.<sup>196</sup>

Croll and Wirkus argued that the formation of the African Union as well as the security architecture led to the development of sub regional organizations that helps in the realization and implementation of peace and security in Africa. The security architecture of Africa is flexible and this helps in addressing dynamic emerging issues in the society.<sup>197</sup> It acts as an avenue that promotes regional cooperation and integration since it uses structures that are the same as those used by the regional economic blocs, as well as those of international partners. The duties of managing, preventing and mitigation of conflicts in Africa is pegged on the PSC of AU and this is the main pillar of the security architecture of Africa. It is institutionalized to enhance regional security for all the nation states, establishing preparedness strategies that can be used to address the dynamic nature of conflicts in the continent.<sup>198</sup>

Security architecture of Africa also provides platform for the AU Commission to provide assistance in implementing the policies and decisions of the PSC as well as provision of necessary support for effectiveness and efficiency. The commission chairperson as well as the peace and security commissioner helps in the actualization of the policies and update the PSC.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking resolution: how external cases can prolong civil wars*. Journal of peace research 47, no. 2, (2014), pp. 115-127.

<sup>197</sup> Croll, Peter and Wirkus, Lars. *Wasser im südlichen Afrika Konflikt oder Entwicklungspotential in: Hauswedell, Friedensgutachten*, (2013), pp. 185-186.

<sup>198</sup> Jan, Nosálek. *Explaining Conflict over Aceh*, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Faculty of Social Studies. Masaryk University, (2015), p. 8.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid, (2019), p. 5-7.



### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

This section postulates that the establishment of the APSA has huge impact in the processes of handling conflicts in Africa. Its contribution to the AU agendas has help in the formation of various mechanisms that are used to help in preventing, managing and resolving disputes that jeopardize peace in the continent. Its complex responsibilities has made it to be one of the departments of AU that require many resources and man power. It was also observed that the AU staff engage in managing dynamic complex conflicts that re-occur in the continent.

It was observed that African states still experience difficulties in responding to crisis and this has been as a result of the different interest of states as well as political goals despite the formation of a joint standby force. Consequently, the EASF also experience challenges that arise from member states that belong to different organizations with parallel interests hence affecting the level of participation in addressing emerging issues. This therefore fully proves the hypotheses that African Standby Force faces challenges in conflict management.

It is also observed that peace support operations in Africa were boosted by cooperation and coordination of the regional blocs that helped in the implementation of the APSA. The partnership was seen as important since it promoted integration of both security officers and the civilian. The organization enhanced the capacity of ASF into a mufti-dimensional force, that will deal with emerging challenges facing the region, showing the importance of collective security arrangements and the application of Liberal institutionalism theory in actualizing Africa peace and security architecture.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE IMPEDIMENTS AND PROSPECTS FOR EAST AFRICAN STANDBY FORCE IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

#### 4.0 Introduction

This section articulates the current impediments and prospects for managing conflicts by East African Standby Force and areas of improvements by EASF considering the rampant domestic, regional and transnational conflicts that have outstretched the human security in Africa. The debates on effective intervention by exploring whether African regional organizations dominated by regional standby forces are indeed the best options for dealing with emerging conflicts in Africa.

#### 4.1 Role of African Standby Forces in Conflict Management

Wynen contends that alliances formed in the international system have great influence on conflict management at both national and international level and this is essential since it can help to establish whether conflict can occur as well as the impact that conflict can have on global affairs. This is also essential in that maintaining alliances is an asset to the member states and nation states therefore have the obligation to support integrations so as to respond to global concerns and also to discuss issues that can separate the states.<sup>200</sup>

Military alliance can be defined as a cooperation of nation states in achieving peaceful coexistence within a region as well as protect themselves from the aggressors. The creation of the alliances is important in that it promotes the scope of protection and this gives nation states more protection to what it can provide on its own.<sup>201</sup> The results from alliances initiate support to states because no nation state is an island of its own, hence beneficial to the

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<sup>200</sup> Wynen, Ann. *Non-Intervention: The Law and Its Import in the Americas*, Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, (2016), pp. 8-13.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid, (2016), p. 15.

general public.<sup>202</sup> Wynen posits that conflict management is an issue for alliance especially because of the given dynamics in the international system.<sup>203</sup>

In conflict management, the principles of cooperation and peace building are interlinked. The success of a conflict in the society by peaceful means strengthens the integration initiatives and this promotes peaceful coexistence. On the other hand, when a conflict extends for a longer period and the impact affects the members of the alliance to large extent, then there is high chances of disintegration emerging within the alliance if they lack an effective mechanism to withdraw.<sup>204</sup> Hence, solving conflicts is key issue in testing unity in alliances.

It is important to appreciate that alliances that were formed in the cold war period for instance the NATO, US-Japan had the obligation to respond to crisis more so in areas that were out of their treaties jurisdictions. This was done in this manner to ensure the security of their members from any attack that could have come from the Soviet Union.<sup>205</sup> The reduction in the number of threats that the European nations were facing towards the end of cold war as well as the disintegration of the Soviet Union allowed NATO to advance its mandates to focus more on issues that were out of their territory. Responding to issues that are out of the alliance jurisdiction formed part of its duties. The transitions in the alliance affairs was due to the increased need for peace in the international system as well as the multiplex conflict trends that had spillover effects in many parts of the world.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Avis, William. *Current trends in violent conflict*. The K4D, knowledge evidence and learning for development, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, Department for International Development, (2019), pp. 1-2.

<sup>203</sup> Wynen, Ann. *Non-Intervention: The Law and Its Import in the Americas*, Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, (2016), pp. 8-13.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, (2004), p. 27.

<sup>205</sup> Wallace, Geoffrey. *International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study*. International Organization, (2013), pp. 105-140.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, (2013), p. 145.

It is worth mentioning that realization of the common linkage that existed between security, economic and political challenges, nationally and internationally requires nation states to transform their integration to respond to these common concerns through initiating provisions for security agreements to their blocs.<sup>207</sup> The regional blocs were viewed as important since they created an avenue for negotiating economic issues as well as social and political issues. Therefore the forums have huge impact in promoting unity which is good for peace and development.

Collective military security promotes development of stronger alliances and improved capacity to address security concerns and this brings many importance to nation states.<sup>208</sup> States within an effective alliance have opportunity to acquire support from one another hence deterring threats that might affect peace within their jurisdictions. Collective securities also advances their member states scope of diplomatic engagements hence mutual peaceful coexistence that is healthy for sustainable development.<sup>209</sup> As a result of this, co-operations both at regional and international level enhances balance of power.<sup>210</sup> Hence helps in promoting international peace and security.

#### **4.2 The East African Standby Force Arrangement and Security**

The promotion of peace and security in Africa is not a new ideology. It dates way back to the 1960s where the formation of African high command was submitted by Kwame Nkrumah and marked the genesis of a pan Africa military force with the responsibilities to protect African territories.<sup>211</sup> Wynen infers that the standby force arrangement and national security

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<sup>207</sup> Wynen, Ann. *Non-Intervention: The Law and Its Import in the Americas*, Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, (2016), pp. 8-13.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid, (2013), p. 129.

<sup>209</sup> Wynen, Ann. *Non-Intervention: The Law and Its Import in the Americas*, Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, (2016), pp. 8-13.

<sup>210</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking Resolution: How External States Can Prolong Civil Wars*. *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 2: (2010), pp. 115-127.

<sup>211</sup> Wynen, Ann. *Non-Intervention: The Law and Its Import in the Americas*, Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, (2016), pp. 8-13.

should be appreciated as the premise of International Relations.<sup>212</sup> Countries in Africa can demonstrate their standby force arrangement through supporting regional and international peace initiatives and in the process promotes a national security.<sup>213</sup>

Kagan demonstrates the importance to appraise standby force arrangement in matters of security considering that it has boosted the processes of preventing and containing conflicts in Africa.<sup>214</sup> For instance, the East African Standby Force is promoting peace and security initiatives in the region by participating in various operations within the region. The EASF enhances intelligence services as well as finding actual facts on the ground so as to employ best strategy to mitigate a crisis. It acted in Somalia upon the request by the AU.<sup>215</sup>

Cunningham postulates that despite some few challenges here and there, ASF has tremendous progress in addressing conflicts in Africa since its formation in 2003.<sup>216</sup> The commitment by various stakeholder including international partners in enhancing peace in the international system enhanced the desire of the African leaders to put more effort in ensuring the ASF is effective. This is as a result of further formation of the APSA which ensures operations of the PSC as well as the coordination of the ASF with the regional blocs to promote security.<sup>217</sup>

#### **4.3 Challenge Areas for Conflict Management by the East African Standby Force**

In order to substantiate their feedback, some of the authors stated that African Union through its leaders formed a task force to analyse the effectiveness of the ASF in addressing peace and security issues in the region as well as to give opinions on the things that can help in its

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid, (2016), pp. 8-13.

<sup>213</sup> Wallace, Geoffrey. *International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study*. International Organization, (2013), pp. 105-140.

<sup>214</sup> Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*, Doubleday: New York, (2018), p. 8.

<sup>215</sup> Wynen, Ann. *Non-Intervention: The Law and Its Import in the Americas*, Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, (2016), pp. 8-13.

<sup>216</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking Resolution: How External States Can Prolong Civil Wars*. *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 2: (2010), pp. 115–127.

<sup>217</sup> Republic of Kenya. *The National Cohesion and Integration Training Manual*. Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, November, (2011), p. 13.

full implementation.<sup>218</sup> The report indicated that some regions within Africa have advanced their efforts and formed regional standby forces for instance West, East and Southern parts of Africa. Central and Northern parts of Africa are still delaying.<sup>219</sup>

The fact that ASF was facing challenges was supported by the fact AU promoted various negotiations in 2018 to develop legal frameworks for the ASF.<sup>220</sup> This was essential since it helps in solving issues that derail the effectiveness and efficiency of the organization. Consequently, the realization of the ASF depends on the good will of the member states. Once fully established, ASF will enhance provision of peace through various interventions whenever there is need and reduces threats to human security in the long run.<sup>221</sup>

#### 4.3.1 Funding

It is important to appreciate that availability of enough funds is very important for the success of any institution and therefore peace missions requires funding so as to ensure efficiency in operations. Despite the important role of funding to the peace operations, the AU as well as other regional blocs experiences the funding deficit and this jeopardizes the smooth operations of the institutions since they depend more on donor contributions.<sup>222</sup> Thus, inadequate funds within the African organizations is a huge impediment to their operations.

Issues of funding has been promoted by lack of accountability and this affects the EASF since its formation.<sup>223</sup> The institution has also been challenged by the minimal contribution from the member states where only a few contribute regularly. The organizations receives funding from external donors that target various programs within. For

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<sup>218</sup> Muthiah, Alagappa. *Regionalism and Conflict Management: A Framework for Analysis, Review of International Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (2013), pp. 359-387.

<sup>219</sup> Wilmsmeier, Gordon and Martínez-Zarzoso, Inmaculada. *Determinants of Maritime Transport Costs: A Panel Data Analysis*. Transportation Planning and Technology, (2018), pp. 117-136.

<sup>220</sup> Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*, Doubleday: New York, (2018), p. 8.

<sup>221</sup> Liska, George. *Alliances and the Third World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, (2018), p. 3.

<sup>222</sup> Muthiah, Alagappa. *Regionalism and Conflict Management: A Framework for Analysis, Review of International Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (2013), pp. 359-387.

<sup>223</sup> Aning, Emmanuel. *Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997*. Review of African Political Economy 26, no. (2017), pp. 85-89.

instance, they support training initiatives as well as provision of equipment.<sup>224</sup> The over reliance on donations puts the EASF on a delicate ground due to the fact that many programs can be affected once the funding is reduced or channeled to other programs.<sup>225</sup>

It is worth postulating that financial constraints experienced as a result of dwindling member states contribution as well as uncertain nature of donor funding highly affects full commitment of the states in the organization and this in many instances makes states to be reluctant in releasing their personnel due to inadequate ways of taking care of them, giving compensations.<sup>226</sup> The minimal financial base frustrates the poor states and this jeopardize the effectiveness and efficiency of the standby force in controlling conflicts in the region.<sup>227</sup> Funding remains a challenge to EASF despite overcoming most of the major challenges.<sup>228</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Sovereignty

It is acknowledged that besides lack of funds and probable commitments on the part of policy makers, there seems to be areas of friction within regional standby force organs as to jurisdiction and priorities.<sup>229</sup> The SADC and ECOWAS standby forces prefer answering to the UN rather than to the AU.<sup>230</sup> This preference implies potential friction between the UN and the AU. There is also an impression that ASF is a stop-gap before the UN takes over which indicates admission of incapacity to handle crises and the continued feeling of dependency.<sup>231</sup> Except for one, the other four regional Standby Forces are mostly anchored

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<sup>224</sup> Wilmsmeier, Gordon and Martinez-Zarzoso, Inmaculada. *Determinants of Maritime Transport Costs: A Panel Data Analysis*. Transportation Planning and Technology, (2018), pp. 117-136.

<sup>225</sup> Aning, Emmanuel. *Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997*. Review of African Political Economy 26, no. (2017), pp. 85-89.

<sup>226</sup> Croll, Peter and Wirkus, Lars. *Wasser im südlichen Afrika Konflikt oder Entwicklungspotential in: Hauswedell, Friedensgutachten*, (2013), pp. 185-186.

<sup>227</sup> Murthiah, Alagappa. *Regionalism and Conflict Management: A Framework for Analysis*, Review of International Studies, Vol. 21, No. 4, (2013), pp. 359-387.

<sup>228</sup> Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*, Doubleday: New York, (2018), p. 8.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid, (2013), p. 190.

<sup>230</sup> Aning, Emmanuel. *Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997*. Review of African Political Economy 26, no. (2017), pp. 85-89.

<sup>231</sup> Tavares, Robert. *Regional Security. The Capacity of International Organizations*. Routledge, New York, (2009), p. 112.

on such regional economic bodies as ECOWAS, SADC, ECCAS, and AMU or Arab Maghreb Union. AMU hardly participates and thus tends to be forgotten in discussing the fortunes and tribulations facing African Standby Forces.<sup>232</sup>

Tavares deduces that given that not all members fully meet their financial commitments to EASF, this failure can hinder operations ability of the force. The dependency on extra-continental forces called “donors” or friends of EASF whose resources may not be available when they are most needed is likely to be an obstacle to effectiveness.<sup>233</sup> The donors may find good reasons or impose new conditions before they deliver on their promises.<sup>234</sup>

In order to demonstrate the challenge of sovereignty, it was observed that AU head of governments canceled the operation to Burundi in 2016 January. Inadequate participation of all the stakeholders in peace operations led to the cancellation of the Burundi mission and this happened despite the existence of the coordination between the AU and the EASF. The inadequate involvement of the EASF at the onset of the process affected the process as it ignored various political and early warning signs.<sup>235</sup> Also in the Comoros case, ASF did not fully intervene.

### 4.3.3 Command Dynamics

Despite the EASF being efficient and advanced pillar of African Standby Forces, and although it claims to be ready for operation, it faces several challenges that are both internal and external to itself to which the concerned policy makers should pay attention.<sup>236</sup> So far, the time for deployment has not arisen but in case it arises, the following should be

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid, (2018), p. 112.

<sup>233</sup> Croll, Peter and Wirkus, Lars. *Wasser im südlichen Afrika Konfliktoder Entwicklungspotential in: Hauswedell, Friedensgutachten*, (2013), pp. 185-186.

<sup>234</sup> Wilmsmeier, Gordon and Martinez-Zarzoso, Inmaculada. *Determinants of Maritime Transport Costs: A Panel Data Analysis*. Transportation Planning and Technology, (2018), pp. 117-136.

<sup>235</sup> Aning, Emmanuel. *Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997*. Review of African Political Economy 26, no. (2017), pp. 85-89.

<sup>236</sup> Wilmsmeier, Gordon and Martinez-Zarzoso, Inmaculada. *Determinants of Maritime Transport Costs: A Panel Data Analysis*. Transportation Planning and Technology, (2018), pp. 117-136.



considered.

First, is the issue of command being in proportion to the contribution that each member makes to the whole. It is likely that those who make the most contribution in terms of troops, logistics, and finances, would feel cheated if the command structure does not recognize the levels of contribution.<sup>237</sup> It is a search for equitable balance that makes everyone feel appreciated in whatever the mission is.

Second, is for policy makers to determine and be clear about what the objective of deploying a Standby Force to a particular place should be. It is still heavily dependent on the international partners for funding with high expectation of continued support.<sup>238</sup>

#### **4.3.4 Political Interference**

This study postulates that political dynamics and frictions exist within each member state and between member states as to the right actions. Suppose there are serious internal challenges within a key state as to whether or not to deploy due to coordination failures. Other ministries involved in such an undertaking would be those of Interior and probably Justice and Foreign Affairs and yet they are nowhere in the official structure that stresses ministries of Defence and Security.<sup>239</sup> Similarly, a strong state opposed to a specific deployment might derail the whole undertaking by simply withdrawing its contribution.

#### **4.3.5 Cultural Diversity**

Varied cultural practices, more so language barriers is a huge impediment in the processes of promoting peace in the region. This jeopardizes cooperation within the AU peacekeeping forces. This study notes that the existence of multiplex languages within the region affects proper coordination within the missions more so in commanding troops from different

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<sup>237</sup> Croll, Peter and Wirkus, Lars., *Wasser im südlichen Afrika Konfliktoder Entwick lung potential in: Hauswedell, Friedensgutachten*, (2013), pp. 185-186.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid, (2013), pp. 194.

<sup>239</sup> Aning, Emmanuel. *Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997*. Review of African Political Economy 26, no. (2017), pp. 85-89.

states.<sup>240</sup> Cultural challenges were further observed in the case of Darfur mission, where different religious believes are practiced as well as tribal beliefs.<sup>241</sup>

Creating a unified force within a region with different cultural practices sometimes is hard. Based on this, the study vividly shows the effect of different cultural practices more so language within EASF officers in the AMISOM. The numerous languages like French, English, Arabic, Amharic as well as the local languages in the region affected smooth cooperation and coordination.

Ideological differences within the member states of the region affects security operations. In EAC, Tanzania is not a member of the EASF. Tanzania and Kenya have had various issues that in one way or the other affects friendly relation within the EAC region. Such conflicts of interest on who benefits most within the region jeopardizes all other initiatives that can bring development within the region.

Proper coordination within a regional bloc promotes their bargaining power with other regional organizations. Minimal cooperation affects integration thus realization of peace becomes difficult.<sup>242</sup> Disagreements between member states in an organization affects all the initiatives that can promote sustainable development in the society. Trade as well as infrastructure development are affected by differences that exists in a region.

The ASF is an essential institution of the African Union that assists in the prevention as well as management of conflicts that are experienced of late. It is a mechanism that the PSC can employ to help in the mitigation processes and as the last option to contain conflicts.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Croll, Peter and Wirkus, Lars. *Wasser im südlichen Afrika Konfliktoder Entwicklung potential in: Hauswedell, Friedensgutachten*, (2013), pp. 185-186.

<sup>241</sup> Wilmsmeier, Gordon and Martinez-Zarzoso, Inmaculada. *Determinants of Maritime Transport Costs: A Panel Data Analysis*. Transportation Planning and Technology, (2018), pp. 117-136.

<sup>242</sup> Wilmsmeier, Gordon and Martinez-Zarzoso, Inmaculada. *Determinants of Maritime Transport Costs: A Panel Data Analysis*. Transportation Planning and Technology, (2018), pp. 117-136.

<sup>243</sup> Cunningham, David. *Blocking Resolution: How External States Can Prolong Civil Wars*. Journal of Peace Research 47, no. 2, (2014), pp. 115–127.

#### 4.3.6 Deployment

Deployment of the security officers is an important mandate of the African Union of minimizing the adverse effects of war in the society. Despite numerous challenges that the AU, ASF, EASF have experienced in their attempts to maintain peace and security in the continent, African states in their respective integration have continued with the effort to enhance the capacity of the forces so that stability can be realized in the conflict areas. Forces have been deployed in conflict areas and many improvements have been realized in ensuring that the ASF is prepared for missions.<sup>244</sup> The inauguration of the first ASF continental logistics base in Douala, Cameroon, on 5 January 2018 was a positive step. This base has the obligations of advancing the AU's potential in the provision of logistics that are necessary for peace initiatives.

#### 4.4 Standby Force Arrangement and Prospects in Maintaining Peace

It is worth acknowledging that standby forces require a multidimensional structures that function within the UN context so as to ensure effective prevention and resolution of conflicts. Liska argues that ASF is composed of standby personnel including both the security officers, civilians that helps in the management of conflicts and are always ready for action when called upon.<sup>245</sup> This is to allow AU to be flexible in responding to the dynamic nature of conflicts that emerge in the continent. They assist in providing humanitarian assistance and intervention, handling transnational crimes, countering terrorism to member states when there is a crisis and they are called upon.

According to Aning, East African Standby Force is a sub-regional peace and security model that was formed in 2004.<sup>246</sup> It has the responsibility to ensure peaceful coexistence is maintained in the region and also to deter threats to peace within the region as well as Africa

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<sup>244</sup> Aning, Emmanuel. *Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997*. Review of African Political Economy 26, no. (2017), pp. 85-89.

<sup>245</sup> Liska, George. *Alliances and the Third World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, (2018), p. 3.

<sup>246</sup> Aning, Emmanuel. *Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997*. Review of African Political Economy 26, no. (2017), pp. 85-89.

in general. This section further infers that all these developments will be actualized fully with the availability of legal frameworks and commitment.<sup>247</sup> Therefore political good will amongst the member states is essential for the formulation of the guiding policies as well as the implementation of the policies that have been developed. Non commitment will affect the attainment of the ASF goals of promoting peace and security in the region.<sup>248</sup>

In recent times member states to the EASF assessed the effectiveness of its duties to enhance the search of new prospects. The assessment considered all the operations of EASF.<sup>249</sup> The main prospects are that the member states should enhance their commitment to the institution, empower their troops as well as promote acquisition of necessary equipment.

The EASF has received international recognition in their promotion of peace and security in the region. This has made the institution to receive support from various international donors to advance peace building and keeping missions.<sup>250</sup> The EASF has a duty to ensure that threats to human security are contained so as sustainable peace is promoted. In conflict-prone states, efforts to prevent conflict can be costly and contentious. It involves challenging powerful interests, investments in structural change and likely accusation of undue interference in internal affairs.

#### 4.5 Chapter Summary

This section opines that there exist divergent opinions on the achievements of regional cooperation in advancing peace and security in Africa. Despite the arguments, regional institutions have huge contributions in responding to crisis within the continent than the international actors. The regional organizations were considered more effective since they are

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid (2017), p. 91.

<sup>248</sup> Wallace, Geoffrey. *International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study*. International Organization, (2013), pp. 105-140.

<sup>249</sup> Aning, Emmanuel. *Eliciting Compliance from Warlords: The ECOWAS Experience in Liberia, 1990-1997*. Review of African Political Economy 26, no. (2017), pp. 85-89.

<sup>250</sup> Wilmsmeier, Gordon and Martínez-Zarzoso, Inmaculada. *Determinants of Maritime Transport Costs: A Panel Data Analysis*. Transportation Planning and Technology, (2018), pp. 117-136.

closer to the conflict zones and easily understand the causal agents of the conflicts and this gives them room to employ appropriate measures for resolution. The model is essential as it helps in distributing the responsibility of the security officers. It also captures the prospects, impediments and challenges posed by East African Standby Force functioning and effectiveness. This is a clear indication that the objective of the impediments and prospects for the EASF in conflict management was well addressed.

This section additionally found that tremendous efforts have been put in place to ensure that the ASF is in shape so that it can be ready when called upon. This chapter thus deduced that effective promotion of peace and security in the region has been jeopardized by inadequate political commitments by the member states. This has hindered contribution of funds as well as man power. Most states have been viewed to act based on their national interest goals and this affects the success of the integration. Thus, this fully proves the hypothesis that the lack of requisite capability has impaired rapid effectiveness of the security integration of Eastern Africa.

This chapter postulates that the current existence security integration in Africa is prove of the importance of cooperation in regional conflict management, most notably because that liberal institutionalism advanced the need for states to enhance cooperation so as to prevent emergence of anarchy in the world. The institutional cooperation of the East African Standby Force has emerged because actors within the region are having continuous and more regular interactions with each other than ever before and thus it is in their self-interest to cooperate. This acts as a clear illustration of the application of Liberal institutionalism theory to analyze the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND FINDINGS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents data analysis based on the study thematic areas. This section utilized case study as a research design and relied on both qualitative and quantitative approaches where primary data sources were mainly collected via a structured interview guide and secondary data sources was extracted from published reports, books, journals, articles and other periodicals.

The field data was collected, synthesized, sorted, and then analysed using content analysis, thematic and document analysis techniques, through the use of Eviews software programme version 11. Tables, charts as well as graphs were used to present the data. It is worth noting that in this section, the final texts, tables and graphics used complemented each other in providing a clear reporting of the research findings. In addition, the analysed deductions were ultimately bounced against existing scholarly literature to accurately corroborate the research findings.

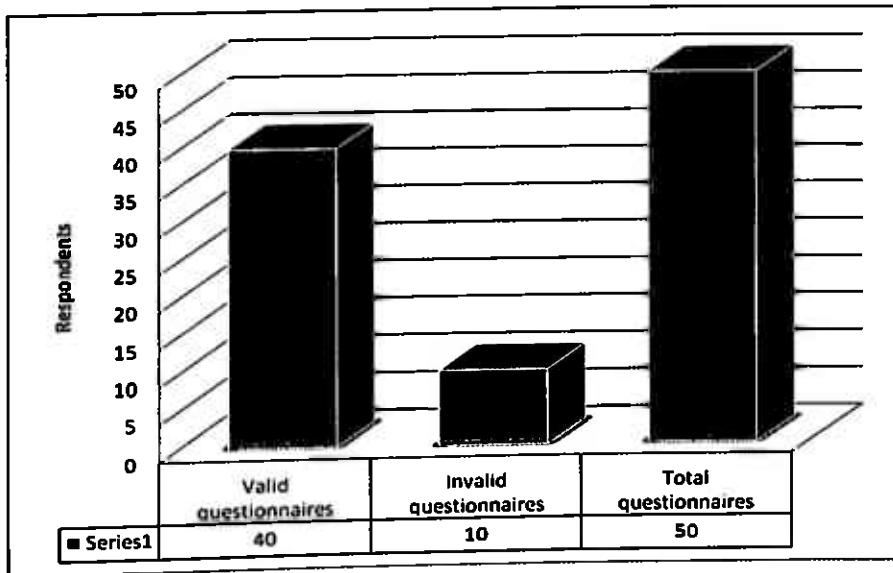
#### **5.1 Respondents Profile**

This section started with the response rate and gave detailed description of the research participants. This research aimed to make the target population a true picture of the initially targeted group. The viable respondents captured were coded in alphabetical order. These respondents profile was very critical as it gave the reader an idea of the representativeness and relevance of the research data to the final research findings.

### 5.1.1 Return Rate

This section found that out of the 50 (100%) targeted respondents, only 40 (80%) of them successfully completed the interview guide. This represented 80% return which was relevant for the study. The sample size was also valid for the study as shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: Return response rate**



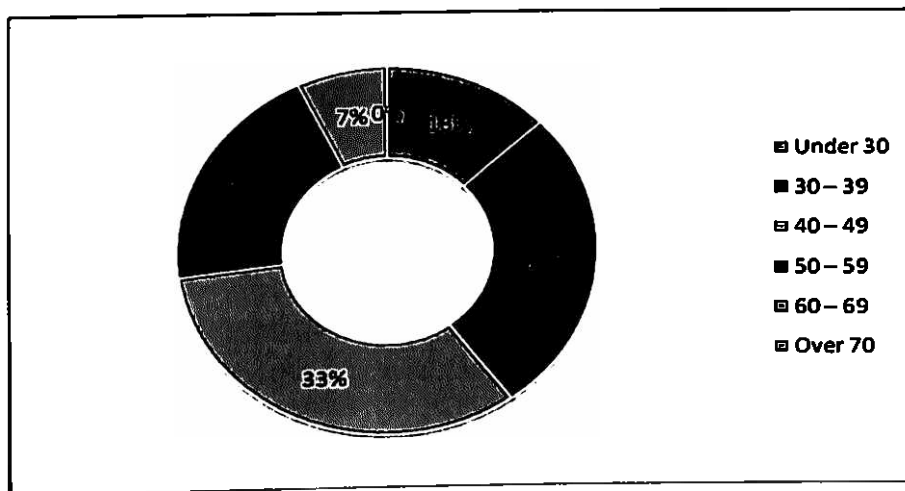
**Source:** Field data (2020)

Figure 1 indicates the number of participants during the study. There was 80% response rate and this was efficient for further data analysis, and this rate was made possible as a result of actively pursuing the research participants, having proper orientation of the respondents and keenly following supervisor's direction.

### 5.1.2 Participants by Age Range

The study examined the age of the respondents and results were indicated in figure 2 below.

**Figure 2: Participant by age**



Source: Field data (2020)

The outcome showed in Figure 2 indicates that the age distribution found was highest among the respondents in age range 40-49 years at (33%). The study established that most of the respondents were quite experienced, knowledgeable, and mature and therefore considered as reliable study informants. In addition, these respondents were most favourable as most had a good grasp of the emerging issues within the security architecture of Africa and the various institutions that are involved in promoting peace and security at all levels in Africa.

### 5.1.3 Participants by Occupation

The study also sought to know the occupation of the respondents. The findings were as indicated in table 1 below.

**Table 1: Participants by occupation**

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Academia	5	12
Defence	18	45
Diplomacy	4	10
Intelligence	7	16
Police	6	17
Total	40	100

Source: data from the field (2020)



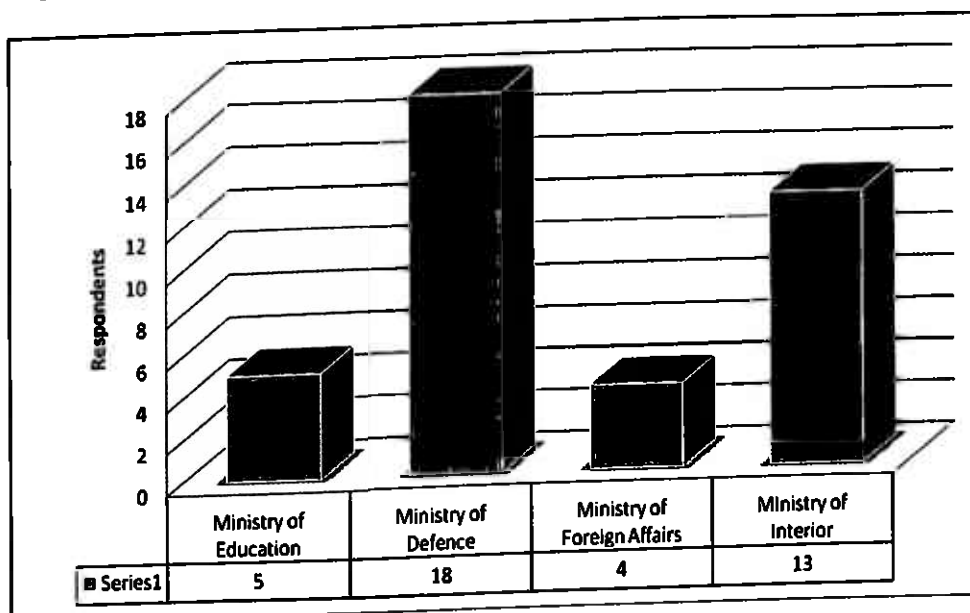
This study aimed to capture participants from diverse occupation backgrounds to present their views on the implementation of APSA. The respondents were picked based on their criteria of occupational specialization and the research postulates that majority of the respondents (45%) had a strong defence background and this meant an in-depth understanding of the topic under study.

This section further opines that the informants understood the objectives of the study as a result of a good grasp and increase in number of their job specialization on matters concerning security. This showed that the participants were active practitioners who had gained additional training, latest knowledge, experience and education in specific areas of expertise concerning the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture.

#### 5.1.4 Participants by Organization

The study sought to know the respondents respective organizations. The findings were as shown below;

**Figure 3: Participants by organization**



Source: Field data (2020)

The respondents were picked based on their expertise with majority of them being from the ministry of defence (18). This organization was quite relevant to the study, as it was directly

committed to defending and protecting the states and their borders against external aggression.

#### **5.1.5 Participants by Designation**

The study established that most of the respondents interviewed were from directorial level 60%, and 40% from managerial level respectively. The directors were crucial for the study as the representative of an executive in an organization.

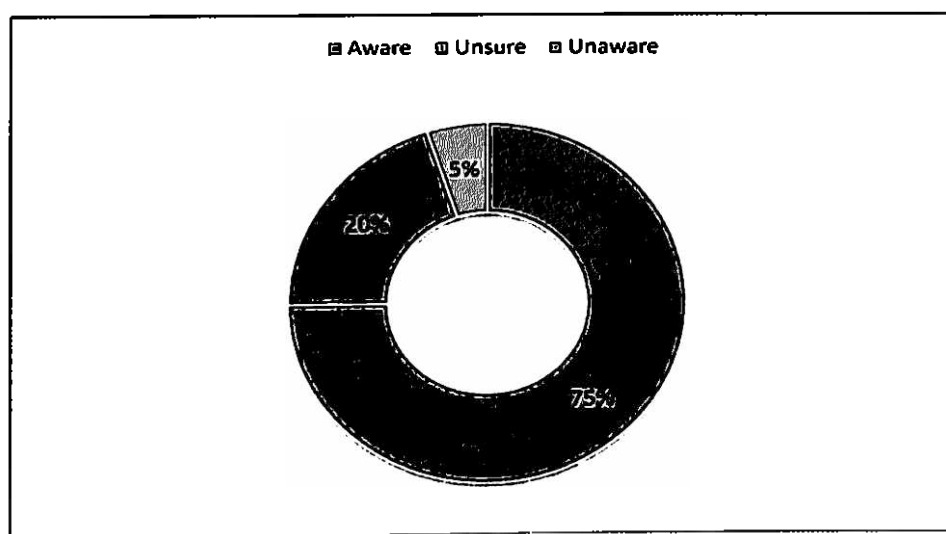
#### **5.1.6 Participants by Duration in Office**

The study established that majority (99%) of the respondents, had actually served at least for over ten years in their respective fields, on matters pertaining to security and therefore most of them had a deep appreciation to the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture; a case study of the East African Standby Force.

#### **5.1.7 Participants by Concept of the African Peace and Security Architecture**

The study sought the respondents level of awareness on the implementation of African Peace and Security Architecture through East African Standby Force. The results were as shown in figure 4.

**Figure 4: Respondents by level of awareness**



**Source:** Field data (2020)

The study observed that majority (75%) were aware, 20% were unsure of the process and the minority (5%) were unaware of the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture in the East African Standby Force as indicated in figure 4 above.

This clearly indicates that African Peace and Security Architecture is still not universally assimilated and it usually depends on the background of the informant and the topic. These findings agree with Berger who stated that security architecture has no true definition; it usually depends on the state under discussion, the level of security tolerance, and respect for the diversity both institutionally and individually.<sup>251</sup>

## **5.2 Trends and the Status of Conflicts in Africa**

In this section, questionnaires were used in extracting information on the implementation of the APSA and therefore the participants were asked to rate and explain the trends and the status of conflicts in Africa on a five point Likert scale.

### **5.2.1 Typology of Conflict**

The respondents were asked to rate whether conflicts in Africa were increasing or not. The results were as shown in table 2 below.

<sup>251</sup> Berger-Schmitt, Robert. *Social Cohesion and Peace in Africa*. Centre for Survey Research and Methodology, Atlanta Georgia, United States, (2010), p. 4.

**Table 2: Level of conflicts in Africa.**

<b>Increase in conflict</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly agree	75
Agree	15
Undecided	5
Disagree	5
Strongly disagree	0
Total	100

The majority of the respondents who strongly agreed (75%) stated that, “In recent years conflicts have been increasing in Africa and they are dynamic as a result of numerous actors and interests that are involved. This was found to affect internal stability of states and cooperation between and among states.”<sup>252</sup>

This section infers that Africa has seen a rise in non-state conflicts in the twenty first century, many conflicts have emerged and some keep on re-occurring, the case of Dafur and Somalia was echoed. These findings are in agreement with Collier and Anke, who stated that the total magnitude of major armed conflicts increased rapidly during the decolonization period, it increased in the early eighties, and the trend reversed in the 1990s and turned into mainly intrastate conflicts in the year 2000 onwards.<sup>253</sup> Almost all African states have experienced some form of intrastate conflict given the fragile circumstances and transitions they had experienced from independence struggle to post-independence conflicts.

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<sup>252</sup> The feedback from field data respondents A - D, (2020).

<sup>253</sup> Collier, Paul and Anke, Hoeffler. *On the incidence of civil war in Africa*. Journal of Conflict Resolution 46 (2002): pp. 13-28.

## 5.2.2 The Approaches to Conflict Management

This section found that 70% of the respondents stated that there are various approaches to conflict management based on the type of conflicts, geographic scope, institutional levels and actors involved; they are simply subdivided into various sorts of conflict, for example, intra-collective conflicts, civil conflicts, ethnic conflicts, intra and inter-state conflicts.

This section further found that 30% of the participants were of the view that conflict management approaches need a lot of political will to be addressed conclusively. The developing institutional system is especially apparent in the conflict prevention strategies in Africa that extends to the regional blocs.<sup>254</sup> Consequently, it's worth mentioning the contribution of the non-state actors like the civil society organizations that have promoted peace initiatives within the communities and this should be empowered as well by the policy makers through enacting favourable environment for obtaining peace.

The discoveries as well as explanations were aligned to Sébastien and Katya who postulated that one key issue is the way the diverse conflict prevention and administration endeavours to connect and interface to fortify each other. An all-encompassing system is given under the African constitutive act that promotes ways of mitigating conflicts in Africa.<sup>255</sup> African Union has advanced its collaboration and partnership with the RECs, as well as other non-state actors to enhance conflict management activities. This denotes a move far from the non-intercession guideline of its antecedent, the Organization of African Unity (here in AU).<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Interview with field respondent E-G, Nairobi, Kenya, (2020).

<sup>255</sup> Sébastien, B., and Katya, Q. J., (2010). *Early Warning, Early Response? Learning lessons from the 2010 crisis in Kyrgyzstan*. UK.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid, (2010).

### 5.2.3 Mechanism for Regional Conflict Management

The respondents were asked to rate and respond if regional power plays a crucial role when it comes to conflict management with reference to the African Standby Force. The results were as shown in table 3

**Table 3: Conflict Management by Regional Powers**

Conflict management by regional powers	Percentage
Strongly agree	90
Agree	5
Undecided	5
Disagree	0
Strongly disagree	0
Total	100

Majority of the respondents (90%) strongly agreed that, African Union member states have built numerous institutions to help in promoting peace in the region as well as to strengthen regional integration.<sup>257</sup>

The study further established that 5% of the respondents agreed that African Union faces challenges in its attempt to address conflicts and this has affected member states to effectively commit fully in handling disputes in the continent.<sup>258</sup> Another 5% of the respondents were undecided and stated that, “Closing the capacity gaps in Africa when it came to various organizations to solve crisis needs political goodwill of the member states. This was currently observed to be in short supply in Africa.”<sup>259</sup>

<sup>257</sup> Interview with field respondent G-H, Nairobi, Kenya, (2020).

<sup>258</sup> Interview with field respondent I-K, Nairobi, Kenya, (2020).

<sup>259</sup> Interview with field respondent L-M, Nairobi, Kenya, (2020).

It is thus worth noting that these statements were aligned to Keen who stated AU structures needs restructuring to enable the departments for peace and security to effectively manage conflicts as well as ensure the ASF becomes a genuinely sustainable operationally.<sup>260</sup> This shows that various states within the African continent need to come together politically and economically when it comes to conflict management with reference to the ASF.

#### **5.2.4 The Regional Military Cooperation**

The informants were asked to rate and respond on the effectiveness of regional military cooperation when it comes to regional conflict management. The response scale was 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = disagree and 5 = strongly disagree. The final outcome from a population of 40 participants was therefore, strong agree 80%, and agree 15% and undecided 5% respectively.

The study established that majority (80%) of the respondents were in strong agreement that military alliance that is supported by member states to support peace in the continent was as a result of African states integration under AU. The AU vision for conflict management reflects the importance of a regional military cooperation when it comes to collective crisis mitigation.<sup>261</sup>

The 15% in this study and stated AU has legal frameworks that guides the operations of the institutions for peace and security and this helps in employing relevant mechanisms for conflict prevention across the continent.<sup>262</sup> Also, 5% of the respondents were undecided, they argued that conflict management through military cooperation was initially considered weak, because of the increasing challenges that many African states are facing.<sup>263</sup>

This study opines that in order for regional military cooperation to be successful in

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<sup>260</sup> Keen, David. *The Economic Function of Violence in Civil Wars*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, (2018), p. 7.

<sup>261</sup> Interview with field respondent U-Z, Nairobi, Kenya, (2020).

<sup>262</sup> Interview with field respondent, AA-AB. Nairobi, Kenya, (2020).

<sup>263</sup> Interview with field respondent, AC-AD. Nairobi, Kenya, (2020).

conflict management, African regional and regional integrations need to restructure systems of governance, effective civilian-military engagement and uplifting the rule of law as opposed to over reliance on military as the pillar of security cooperation.

### 5.3 Status of the Implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture

In order to analyze the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture through a case study of the East African Standby Force, this study sought respondent's views on the place of African Standby Force in regional security discourse in Africa.

#### 5.3.1 African Peace and Security Architecture in Implementing African Standby Force

**Table 4: Response on Standby Force Arrangement in National Security Discourse in Africa**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Strongly agree	22	54
Agree	10	26
Undecided	5	13
Disagree	3	7
Total	40	100

Source: Field data (2020)

The study established that 54% strongly agree, 26% agree, 13% undecided and 7% strongly disagree that Standby Force arrangement is an issue in the regional security discourse in Africa as demonstrated in Table 4.

This study therefore infers that the Standby Force arrangement and security should be appreciated as the premise of International Relations. States in Africa can demonstrate their Standby Force arrangement through playing effective role in African and international peace operations and in the process promote a regional security that will lead to better ways of



solving crisis in the region. The study established that it is important to appraise Standby Force arrangement in matters of conflict management. This is especially considering that APSA has played a key responsibility in advancing peace and security through ASF initiatives.

### 5.3.2 Military Arrangements in Conflict Management

Additionally, this section probed the participants for details with regard to the status of APSA and its challenges in carrying out its mandate in order to ascertain whether indeed the military arrangements play a role in effective conflict management.

**Table 3: Military Arrangements in Conflict Management**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Strongly agree	29	73
Agree	8	20
Undecided	3	7
Disagree	0	0
Strongly disagree	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Field data (2020)

The respondents were therefore asked if defence force arrangements play any role in conflict management and the response was as follows; 73% strongly agree, 20% agree, and 7% undecided as shown by Table 3. In summary, the highest number of respondents, 73% strongly agree. They indicated that military enhances peace keeping as well as peace building in the society, hence restoring harmony and reducing threats to human security.

### **5.3.3 Standby Force Components in Maintaining Peace**

The study sought to know the components of Standby Force and if Standby Force arrangement enhances peace and security in Africa and the response was as follows; 40% strongly agree, 55% agree and 5% undecided.

The study established that ASF is an institution that has numerous personnel that entails both military officers as well as civilian aspects that can be called upon when there is need. This was verified by 40% of the respondents. This wide component helps in realizing the objectives of the AU peace missions in various states that are affected by conflicts. Another 55% of the respondents agreed and stated that African Union is advancing various strategies to ensure that the forces are used and are ready for promoting peace in the region as well as provision of security despite the force not being employed since its formation in 2003. Finally 5% did not feel that the force was active. According to them it was only recently that the ASF logistic base in Douala, Cameroon was initiated to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of AU peace and security initiatives.

This section opines that East African Standby Force established has the responsibility to promote regional peace and security. This supports the work of the AU and therefore AU has the obligation to partner with the sub-regional organizations to promote its objectives. This requires political good will of the member states.

### **5.4 The Impediments and Prospects for EASF in Conflict Management**

The study also sought to know whether the EASF was facing challenges. The response was as follows; 45% strongly agree and 55% agree.

The high number of respondents both 45% and 55% was a clear indication that most of them agreed that EASF was going through challenges. On further questioning, the respondents gave a summary of some of the key challenges as funding, capacity, the role of the force, experience, political interference and logistical set-backs. In order to substantiate

their feedback, some of the respondents quoted that the African Union through its head of governments in 2017 initiated a task force to carry out an assessment on the preparedness of the ASF and to identify what should be done to promote its effectiveness.

The reason that EASF was facing challenges was supported by the fact that there was need for a legal framework that would guide its operations under the AU and this was supported by the October 2018 conferences.<sup>264</sup> In order to address the challenges of EASF, analysts have expressed enthusiasm for the force anchored towards commitment by the member states to provide capabilities as well as resources for sustaining forces. Upon its successful establishment, the EASF will benefit the African continent by sustaining peace and providing it with a rapid and capable force that will significantly reduce the number of lives lost in crises and neutralization of conflicts before they turn dire.<sup>265</sup> It is worth noting that all participants acknowledged that the EASF still faced impediments in its full implementation of the APSA vision for effective conflict management and there were various challenges, grouped according to key emerging issues.

#### **5.4.1 Funding Gaps**

The respondents were further interrogated on whether the EASF was facing funding challenges and they were asked to elaborate on the actual aspects of finances facing the EASF. The response was as follows, 90% strongly agree and 10% agree respectively.

The study observed that most of the respondents (90%) agreed to the fact that funding is the most crucial problem that affects the whole EASF system both at its establishment and deployment levels. Funds are necessary for any institution to function effectively and efficiently and in this case availability of funds will enhance acquisition of modern equipment, training as well as allowances just to mention a few.

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<sup>264</sup> Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace*, Doubleday: New York, (2018), p. 8.

<sup>265</sup> Liska, George. *Alliances and the Third World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, (2018), p. 3.

The study established that there are prospects in the AU managing funds better and respondents stated that it is necessary for an organization that handles peace and security matters to have adequate funding for effectiveness and efficiency. There is need for the AU as well as other regional standby forces to step up their financial management capacity to enhance its prospects for conflict management as AU highly relies on external support. Financial challenge, has also been promoted by misappropriation of the limited resources. Minimal contribution from the states is a huge impediment to financing of the activities of the AU that responds to security concerns. The study established that the EASF is not adequately funding its projects and this leads to over reliance on external donors which are also unpredictable.

#### **5.4.2 Issues of Sovereignty and Jurisdiction**

The study sought to know whether military cooperation arrangement was facing sovereignty issues in carrying out its task. Majority of the respondents (99%) stated that it was a big setback. The principle of sovereignty and non-interference is a jeopardy to military cooperation in promoting peace as many states still hold to their autonomous power within their jurisdictions and this problem was witnessed on operation that was to take place in Burundi but was cancelled by the African Union.

Minimal cooperation between the African Union and the EASF was seen as a jeopardy to the realization of the Burundi mission. Hence cooperation is viewed as an essential element that can enhance regional peace and security. Cooperation ensures relevant personnel are involved in the process of solving a dispute, information sharing and intelligence services can as well be realized if cooperation and coordination is enhanced between different institutions.

The EASF saw an opportunity and came up with the extent to which the principle of sovereignty can hold in circumstances where human lives are threatened in a country. Based

on this, nation states are no longer blocked to intervene in case human lives are in danger.

### **5.4.3 Emerging Command Dynamics**

The EASF is regarded as an efficient and advanced pillar of African Standby Force, and although it claims to be ready for operation, it faces several challenges that are both internal and external to itself to which the concerned policy makers should pay attention.

The study established that when it comes to the EASF, the emphasis was on “troops.” The command structure tends to be military, providing for Defence and Security Ministers as well as Chiefs of Defence Staff meeting regularly. The police and the civilian components tend to be ignored or subsumed within discussions.<sup>266</sup> The police and the civilian components appear to have been added as an after-thoughts to the reality that peace keeping is more than separating possible combatants in volatile places.

One common weakness with APSA and its pillars is that the fourth pillar on fund raising is extremely weak and has generally failed to raise the needed funds. This inability is as a result of unwillingness or inadequate capacities of members to meet their financial obligations, lack of commitment to the APSA ideals, and excessive dependency of individual countries to external forces. This implies that APSA is dependent on the very extra-continental forces that it was designed to avoid.

It was observed that peace operations only become fruitful if they receive adequate support from the governing institutions, member states political will as well as support from the international community. This was essential since conflicts were viewed as dynamic and manifest in different ways as well as have spillover effects that can shift from one continent to the other.

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<sup>266</sup> Interview with field respondent, AB-AJ, Nairobi, Kenya, (2020).

#### **5.4.4 Increased Ethnic and Cultural Diversity**

Majority (98%) of the respondents indicated that cultural differences in the society affects proper coordination and cooperation between nation states just like mankind. Language barrier was considered as a huge challenge in cooperation so as to realize peace and this affects various AU missions. Language barriers affects information sharing as well as delays issuing of commands since most of the African peace keepers comes from different states with different national and tribal languages. For instance the Darfur case was affected by language and religion practices. This is also experienced in Somalia case.

The study established that it is challenging to harmonize military forces that have different cultures within their command systems, as well as national languages. This forces troops from different nation states to operate independently and this affects coordination in handling security concerns.

Ideology differences between and amongst the states was also regarded as huge jeopardy to the realization of integrated military alliance within the region. It was viewed that ideological differences makes nation states to participate on the regional bodies based on interest and this is not healthy for survival of collective security.

#### **5.4.5 Deployment Dynamics**

The study established AU has enhanced initiatives to empower ASF so as to be an efficient and effective alliance that can respond to the complex nature of conflicts in the African continent. It has enhanced its capacity to entail both security officers as well as the civilian components. The formation of the PSC was to advance the monitoring and enhance cooperation with other international bodies like the UN.

With the changing nature of threats to peace and security in Africa, both on dry land as well as on the water bodies, African security agencies have the obligation to advance their

expertise so as to have the necessary manpower with skills to respond rapidly whenever there is an emergency.

## **5.5 Chapter Summary**

This section found that in order for EASF to overcome its current challenges, it requires restructuring of the institutions so as to be effective in addressing peace and security issues. Africa security agencies have the responsibility to improve their capacities so as to respond to the dynamic nature of threats to peace and security like cross border crimes, terrorism amongst others. Thus the section found that besides lack of funds, deployment challenges and probable commitments on the part of policy makers, there seems to be areas of friction with regional standby organs as to jurisdiction and priorities.

This section further found that the peace and security operation requires proper institutions that can facilitate proper decision making, good infrastructure as well as equipment, machineries and manpower that can make it efficient to contain conflicts. Therefore when it comes to the aspect of deployment, the inadequate or lack of these provisions can jeopardize effective response to crisis that threatens peace and security in the African continent.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

This chapter provides a summary, conclusion as well as recommendations on the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture specifically by the use of the East Africa standby Force which is one of its implementing organs.

#### **6.1 Summary**

It was established that multiplex conflicts in Africa is a huge jeopardy to socio-economic and political development and this in the long run affects integration amongst the states. The adverse effects of conflicts in the continent requires strong alliances that can be used to enhance peace and stability and eliminate threats to human security. This can further be enhanced by forming the concept that advocates for African solutions for African conflicts.

The study also established that African continent still experiences conflicts in various states despite numerous initiatives that have been advanced by the AU and other regional blocs to promote peaceful coexistence. Conflicts in the continent has become dynamic and has unpredictable causes over the years. This has led to the immediate need for various ways through which conflicts can be solved, hence the formation of various institutions such as AU, ASF, EASF to implement conflict prevention measures in the continent.

The protracted nature of conflicts in the continent needed much cooperation between and amongst states and this pushed the African Union to coordinate with the other institutions within the continent like the EASF so as to help in restoring peace and stability in the region. Member states have pledged to give full support to the move since no nation state is an island of its own.



## **6.2 Conclusion**

The study concludes that EASF is an essential pillar of the AU peace initiatives. It can be used to advance the efforts of AU in solving disputes within the region hence the need of support by the contributing member states. The support was viewed as important since it facilitates the affairs of the institution. Many responsibilities that the organization has requires commitment from the members so as to help in realizing the AU mission of ensuring a peaceful and stable continent.

The study concludes that African continent still faces many challenges in addressing threats to peace and security. There is still lack of clear mandate of the African Standby Force in carrying out its functions and duties. In taking this approach to expand, clarify and refine the mandate of the Standby Forces, the AU and EASF would gain and be effective from clear mandates that define its operations, management of the resources and personnel.

The study concludes that political and other ideological differences is still a hindrance to the success of the EASF and ASF in general. This has affected the ability of the forces to respond to the immediate needs on timely manner as nation states puts their national interests ahead before they act. It was evident that there is inadequate political will amongst the states to support deployment of security officers on peace missions. Such interest affects the effectiveness of the PSC, making it to be slow in its duties. The divergent interests of the states affects implementation of peace initiatives.

The study concludes that political differences has led to competition amongst the states. Hegemonic competition between states in the region for instance Kenya and Ethiopia in the Eastern region of Africa has made EASF to lag behind. Lack of a hegemony that can lead the way is a hindrance to security integration. Hegemonic factor was also found to bring suspicion within regions as many states can use the opportunity to drive their own hidden interests.

The study concludes that regional institutions are important mechanisms that can be used to provide peace and stability even though they are hampered by financial constraints. Most African organizations like the ASF, EASF rely on external donations and this has affected its independence and rational decision making on how to intervene on some conflicts. APSA is constructed to respond to African problems and therefore member states commitment is essential to enhance response to crisis that threatens peace and stability.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

The study recommends that efforts should be enhanced by the contributing states to ensure that the organizations have adequate funds for its operations. Structures should be put in place to ensure that the limited resources are used wisely to enhance accountability. Modalities on administration should be in place and this as well be accepted by the member states and other partners.

This study recommends that the African Union should start to effectively monitor and anticipate potential conflicts through the Early Warning Systems, and this can deter the re-emerging conflicts in the continent, thus assisting security agencies before conflicts turn into fully blown wars. This can be addressed through the ASF and its sub branches that falls within the five regions of Africa.

This study strongly recommends a greater and more strategic approach should be taken when it comes to the actual deployment of the EASF troops in times of operations. Effective deployment strategies are needed as a result of the dynamic nature of conflicts in the continent. The troops contributing states should put efforts to ensure that the forces are serviced well so as to promote efficiency and effectiveness.

This study recommends that in order to enhance the effectiveness of EASF, an attitude of “African solutions for African problems” must be stepped up. This will help improve attitude and perception of the institutions involved and to build solutions that are

appropriate to the changing societal needs. Capacity development of the African institutions will ensure that there is adequate manpower as well as technology to respond when there is a crisis.

The study also recommends that there is need to enhance training for the EASF not only on the physical fitness but also on other aspects that can help in handling of complex security issues that might occur. Training will also enhance inclusivity on how to handle a joint operation, how to use modern technology and equipment. This will ensure adherence to similar standards when it comes to collective security operations.

#### **6.4 Suggested Areas for Further Research.**

Despite comprehending the study objectives, the following areas were suggested for further research;

1. The study suggests that a comparative study to be conducted with other regions of the world for instance AU and EU. This will help to determine the strength and weaknesses and help in establishing ways of actualizing lasting peace in the continent.
2. An investigation on the role of military alliance in promoting political integration in Africa.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Structured Interview Guide

#### Introduction

The study aims to analyze the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture using a case of the East African Standby Force.

This study is purely for academic purposes only. It is my request that as a respondent you consent to be a participant in this study, before beginning. Thank you for taking time to participate in this research, please fill in the questionnaire interview appropriately.

Signature.....

Serial Number: .....

#### Part A: Personal Information

##### 1. Participant's age range

Under 30 [ ] 30-39 [ ] 40-49 [ ] 50-59 [ ] 60-69 [ ] 70 and above [ ]

2. Occupation.....

3. Organization.....

4. Designation.....

5. Duration in office.....

6. Familiar with the African Peace and Security Architecture?

Yes

No

7. Familiar with the African Standby Force? .....

Yes

No

**Part B:** This study aims to analyze the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture through a case study of the East African Standby Force.

Please answer the questions below based on the statements and kindly rate based on the rating scale (Likert scale) given below, indicating to what extent you are in agreement with the statement, then briefly explain where applicable.

Rating scale:

1 = strongly agree

2 = agree

3 = undecided

4 = disagree

5 = strongly disagree

8. African conflicts have increased in number and taken various forms?

Rate.....

Explain.....

.....

.....

.....

9. African conflict status and if there are approaches when it comes to regional conflict management?

Rate.....

Explain.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**10. Regional power plays a crucial role when it comes to conflict management with reference to the African standby force?**

Rate.....

Explain.....  
.....  
.....

**11. Regional military cooperation is effective when it comes to regional conflict management?**

Rate.....

Explain.....  
.....  
.....

**12. There are many challenges facing the status of the implementation of the African Peace and Security Architecture in carrying out its mandate?**

Rate.....

Explain.....  
.....  
.....

**13. The East African Standby Force is a regional organization whose mandate is to enhance peace and security in the Eastern Africa region?**

Rate.....

Explain.....

.....

.....

**14. At the moment there are many challenges facing East African Standby Force when it comes to effectiveness in conflict management?**

Rate.....

Explain.....

.....

.....

.....

**15. List some key impediments to the effectiveness of East African Standby Force in carrying out its mandate?**

.....

.....

.....

.....

**16. The EASF has great prospects now more than before in conflict management in Africa?**

Rate.....

Explain.....

.....

.....

.....

**17. The demand for peace operations remains high while the willingness of the regional community to intervene is declining and defence budgets continue to shrink?**

Rate.....

Explain.....  
.....  
.....

**18. The EASF does not have the military capability to deploy in response to violent conflicts within the region?**

Rate.....

Explain.....  
.....  
.....

**19. The continuation of conflicts in Africa requires a new concept of intervention, one that is fast, reliable and effective?**

Rate.....

Explain.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**20. There are many areas of improvement for conflict management by the EASF?**

Rate.....

Explain.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**21. There are existing policy frameworks that underpin the EASF deployment scenarios?**

Rate.....

Explain.....

.....

.....

.....

**22. Any further remarks**

.....

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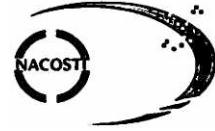
.....

**Thank you very much for your participation.**

**END**



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