POLICYbrief

We Need to Do Better, and We Can:

One Group Surrendering is Hardly a Return to Peace and Prosperity

Sylvester Bongani Maphosa[1]

There is no bigger challenge facing humanity than how to build lasting peace in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Despite the military defeat of the rebel M23 by forces led by the Congolese army and the United Nations Intervention Brigade, the net peace and security dividends appear indiscernible at local community level. How do communities in conflict, and/or emerging from violent conflict, develop infrastructures for peace to avoid reverting to armed conflict? From a conflict-resolution viewpoint, this brief describes a six-part taxonomy of peace and suggests a three-pronged systemic approach policy makers should adopt to prevent future large-scale violence. Furthermore, the strategy should assume a multi-track approach incorporating whole-of-society vertical, middle-out and horizontal relationships.

Introduction

Although most of the DRC has enjoyed relative peace in the recent decade, the eastern expanse, including the North Kivu, South Kivu and Orientale provinces, remains a theatre of widespread civilian atrocities and human rights abuse. The current tragedy in Goma and surrounding North Kivu has been going on for over 20 months now. It came into existence in April 2012, when a group of army deserters led by Gen. Bosco Ntaganda rioted over poor living conditions and salaries in the *Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC). The deserters were largely former combatants of the pro-Tutsi *Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple* (CNDP).[1] They had been integrated into the national army after a peace deal with the government on 23 March 2009. The deserters accused the government of failing to live up to the terms of the pact (the rebel group M23 takes its name from the 23 March 2009 CNDP-DRC government peace agreement). According to the United Nations (UN) Group of Experts and several intelligence reports, M23 enjoys direct support from neighbouring Rwanda, an allegation Rwanda vehemently denies.[2] The size of the M23 militia has not been established; conservative estimates range between 1 500 and 2 000 rebels.

During months of hostilities, M23 seized the regional capital, Goma, and North Kivu, including smaller towns and villages of Rutshuru, Bunagana, Runyoni, Kanyaruchinya and Tshanzu.

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In the campaign, more than 800 000 people were displaced and thousands fled across the border into Uganda.[5] Children were abducted, women raped and civilians murdered, triggering widespread militarisation of social life, politics and economy in the region. Community life and relationships remain torn by violence, mistrust and fear. Ties and opportunities for meeting between families and ethnic groups and tribes living in the same villages and/or quarters collapsed. Markets, schools and health services were disrupted and closed. At the political level, continuing violence still undermines countrywide fledgeling democratic hard work and attenuates peace initiatives that could leverage widespread peace.[4] Furthermore, instability distorts representations in policy making and restricts humanitarian access in vulnerable frontiers, exacerbating physical hardships like poverty and under-development. At the macro-level, hostilities between FARDC and M23 have caused increased diplomatic tensions in the region.

Typically, under such complex emergencies, the UN, with the collaboration of regional bodies such as the African Union (AU) and friendly governments, responds by deploying a range of strategies (also called peace missions),[5] including military and humanitarian assets to avert threats to human security.

Peace missions

Peace missions describe peace support operations conducted in accordance with Chapters VI, VII and VIII of the UN Charter. They are multifunctional military and non-military operations, conducted impartially in support of a UN and/or AU mandate involving military forces and diplomatic and humanitarian agencies. Classically, they are intended to achieve long-term political settlement or other conditions specified in the mandate. Peace missions may include: peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace enforcement, preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention, peacebuilding and humanitarian efforts. The utility of peace missions in contemporary conflict has become central to encouraging community security through managing regional and global threats to human security.

Start	End	Mission	Mandate	Guarantor
1960	1965	ONUC	To ensure the withdrawal of Belgian forces, to assist the government in maintaining law and order and to provide technical assistance. The function of ONUC was subsequently modified to include maintaining the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo, preventing the occurrence of civil war and securing the removal of all foreign military, paramilitary and advisory personnel not under the UN Command, and all mercenaries.	UN
1999	2010	MONUC	The DRC and five regional states signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in July 1999 that ended the 2nd Congo War. To maintain liaison with the parties and carry out other tasks, the UN Security Council (SC) set up MONUC on 30 November 1999, incorporating UN personnel authorised in earlier resolutions.	UN
2003	2003	ARTEMIS	Emergency assistance mission in Ituri (eastern DRC) in expectation of MONUC's reinforcement.	EU
2005	2007	EUFOR	To support MONUC and reinforce security during the elections and to support the reform of the security sector.	EU
2010	present	MONUSCO	To pursue stabilisation efforts in eastern DRC according to UN Resolution 1925. To protect civilians and humanitarian efforts against armed groups. To monitor implementation of the arms embargo. To provide technical and logistical support for the organisation of national and local elections at the explicit request of the Congolese authorities.	UN
2013	present	PSC Framework	The DRC and ten regional states signed the Peace, Security Framework Cooperation for the DRC and the Region on 24 February 2013 under the auspices of the UN, AU, SADC and ICGLR. The agreement seeks to consolidate hard work done by MONUSCO. A rapid-response brigade was also authorised (Force Intervention Brigade – FIB). The mission seeks to promote peace, security and stability in eastern DRC and the region. To protect civilians from violent conflict – women, children and youths. To consolidate state authority. To encourage regional cooperation.	UN, AU, SADC, ICGLR

Figure 1: List of Peace Support Operations in the DRC

Source: Sylvester B. Maphosa

Throughout the history of peace-support operations, beginning in the 1960s, the DRC has been home to six field peacekeeping missions; and numerous unilateral and bilateral peace-making initiatives conducted under the auspices of the UN, AU, European Union (EU) and friendly governments and civil society. These are listed in Figure 1.

Social and economic dimensions of peace missions

The social and economic dimensions of peace missions include endeavours to regenerate the functional components of a society. They involve processes of social, political and economic adjustment to, and underpinning of, conditions of relative peace in which affected groups, not least those who have been disempowered and impoverished by violence, begin to prioritise future goals beyond their immediate survival.[6] The overlapping dimensions of processes of regeneration must demonstrate the vitality of an integrated 'whole-of-society' approach if peace support operations are to establish enduring peace.

Given this wealth of investment and intervention, are peace missions successful in achieving the projected peace dividends and social change? How do communities in conflict and/or emerging from violent conflict develop infrastructures for peace, to avoid reverting to armed conflict? These are pertinent questions,

and given the importance of the objectives (and mandates) of peace missions, efforts to find reliable answers to these questions (that is, about the impact and positive effects on individuals and community security, including groups and larger society) should be given high priority.

However, moving the region toward 'just peace' and building a 'culture of peace' and economic development is a problematic undertaking.

> There is no bigger challenge facing humanity than how to build lasting peace in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.

In the context of the DRC, the idea of building lasting peace demands a holistic view that will embrace not only physical security but also access to resources, equitable rights to economic and socio-political inclusion and freedom from intimidation, discrimination, extortion and domestic violence.

Implicit in the foregoing are the notions of negative and positive peace distinguished by Johan Galtung;[7] negative peace (absence of war) being the outcome of efforts to stop physical or personal violence (direct violence), and positive peace (a society without physical or structural violence) being the goal of efforts to end indirect structural and cultural violence (indirect violence) that threatens the economic, social and cultural well-being and identity of individual human

Figure 2: Nested model of social and economic dimensions of peace missions
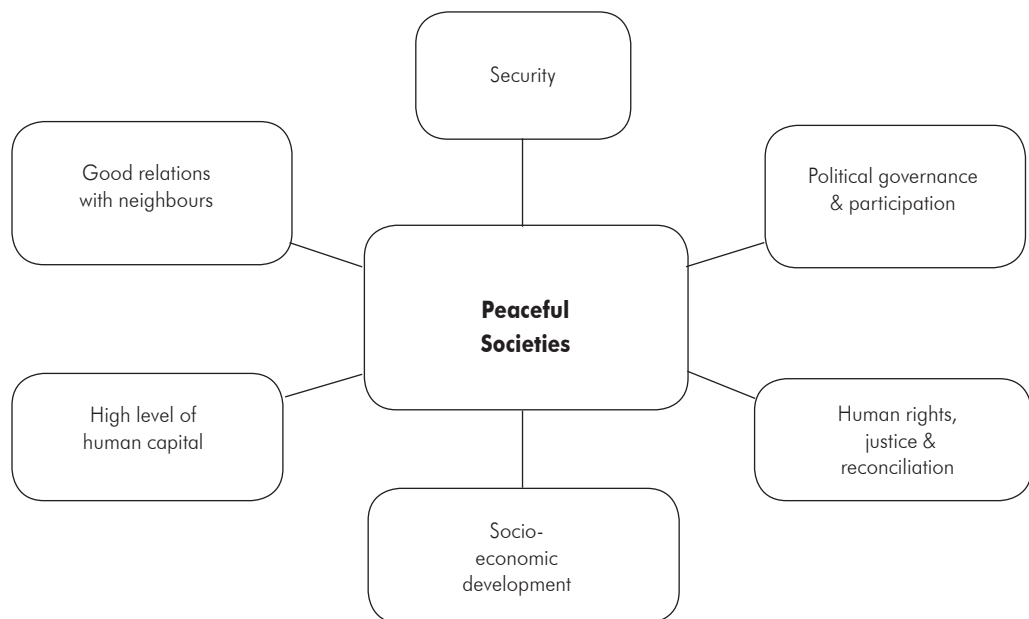
Source: Sylvester B. Maphosa

Figure 3: Pillars of Peace

beings and groups.[8] Based on this understanding, 'to do better' in building lasting peace is a local and societal long-term aspiration and process incorporating goals of both negative and positive peace. Thus, the path to sustained human security leads through conflict transformation and social change,[9] to finally set in place the foundations for a culture of peace.[10]

Infrastructures for peace

Therefore, to develop enduring infrastructures for peace in societies emerging from violent conflict demands multidimensional processes with several pillars.[11] While actors define the pillars differently, there is consensus that effective peace recovery is typically organised around a six-part taxonomy, including: (i) security; (ii) political transition, governance and participation; (iii) human rights, justice and reconciliation; (iv) socio-economic development; (v) high level of human capital; and, (vi) good relations with neighbours.

The six-part peace taxonomy demonstrates a holistic framework of factors that make contexts emerging from violent conflict more peaceful. All pillars are inextricably linked, and thus require equal attention. Importantly, issues and contributions of women on conflict should permeate all six pillars as indispensable building blocks to leverage vital social justice. Thus a constructive outcome in any one of the

pillars depends on the successful integration and interaction across them. In terms of the temporal aspects, effective peace recovery can be envisaged in the emergency (short-term), transition (medium-term) and development (long-term) phases.

Inter-agency cooperation for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region

After eleven months confronted with the carnage of the M23 rebellion, in February 2013 the DRC and the region[12] signed an inter-agency cooperation framework for peace and security under the auspices of the UN, AU, Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) – the agreement hereafter called '11+4 PSC Mechanism' or 'PSC Framework'.[13] Still, even with the hard work of the range of actors and strategies, the net peace dividends appear negligible at local community security level. Nevertheless, seen as a 'framework of hope', the 11+4 epitomises an avenue of hopefulness for the people of the region to 'do more than just attend to the consequences of conflict, or to manage crises of the kind seen … [t]here is a chance to resolve its underlying causes and to stop it for good'.[14]

The PSC Framework outlines national, regional and international actions to end violence. Figure 4 lists the guiding principles to end violence in the DRC and the region.

For the DRC
- To deepen security sector reform
- To consolidate state authority in eastern DRC
- To make progress on decentralisation
- To further economic development
- To further structural reform of public institutions
- To further reconciliation

For the region
- To respect the sovereingty of neighbouring countries in terms of international affairs and territorial integrity
- To neither tolerate nor provide assistance to armed groups
- To strengthen regional cooperation, economic integration and judicial cooperation
- To neither harbour nor provide protection to any person accused of war crimes or crimes against humanity

For the international community
- For Security Council to remain engaged seeking long-term stability for the DRC
- A renewed commitment from bilateral partners to remain engaged with the region
- To support economic integration and revitalise economic community for the Great Lakes Countries
- To review MONUSCO in DRC
- To appoint a UN Special Envoy to foster durable solutions

Figure 4: Guiding principles to end violence in DRC and the region

Source: Sylvester B. Maphosa (Adaptation from the PSC Framework)

The PSC Framework also calls for a multidirectional process in operationalisation of the mandate and embracing oversight mechanisms for the iterative and continuing sequence of different events and actors.
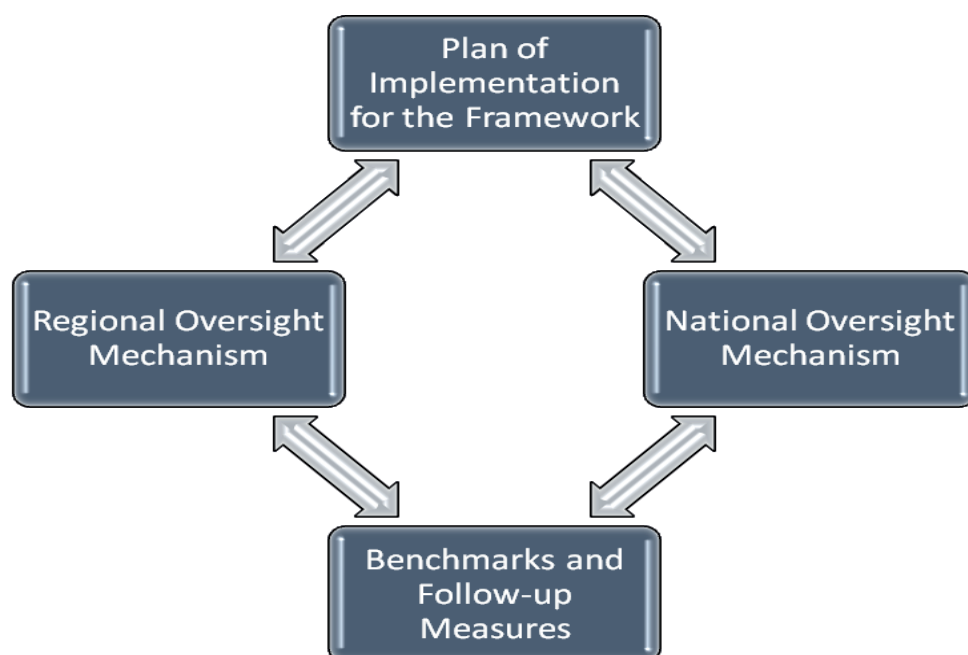

Figure 5: Multidirectional progression of 11+4 mechanism

Source: Sylvester B. Maphosa

As part of the 11+4 Mechanism, the UN Security Council (SC) Resolution 2098 (2013) has authorised a force intervention brigade (FIB) to 'neutralize and disarm' M23, as well as other Congolese rebels and foreign armed groups in the eastern DRC.[15] The 3 000 strong FIB, made up of troops from South Africa, Malawi and Tanzania, complements the existing UN Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) as a rapid-reaction force to neutralise rebel insurgency and prevent violence, as well as protect women, civilians, and children.

One group surrendering is hardly a return to peace and prosperity

Under the weight of a new authorised intervention brigade comprising 3 000 troops from South Africa, Malawi and Tanzania, with an aggressive new mandate backing the Congolese army and MONUSCO, the M23 buckled. In early November 2013, the rebel group announced they were ending the 20-month rebellion. The group's chairperson, Bertrand Bisimwa, revealed that M23 had decided 'to pursue by purely political means the search for solutions to the root causes which led to its creation'.[16]

Despite the myriad hurdles that lie ahead before translating the fragile peace into positive peace, the declaration by M23 to end hostilities is a significant step in the right direction. It offers new hope of doing more than just attending to the consequences of conflict, and a chance to resolve its underlying causes and to stop it for good.

Most importantly, accompanying the FIB military assault and the recent declaration to end rebellion, conflict-resolution and recovery efforts are continuing in an attempt to avert the re-emergence of violence and identify non-violent means of resolving tensions. Broadly, the interventions assume both direct and structural prevention programming.

For instance, there are determined efforts by government agencies, civil society, and friendly governments in Goma, Rutshuru, Kanyaruchinya, Runyoni and Bunagana to help residents return home; groups are calling for residents to live in harmony amid threats against alleged collaborators with M23. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 'Access Justice' initiative to prevent sexual violence is of major urgency. The initiative works with national police and the army to sensitise both civilians and armed forces against the perpetration of sexual violence, to combat impunity, and to provide the knowledge and skills to deal with victims and/or offenders of such heinous crimes. This sensitisation is conducted by training local key actors with the potential to leverage social change, including health, education, justice and youth groups.
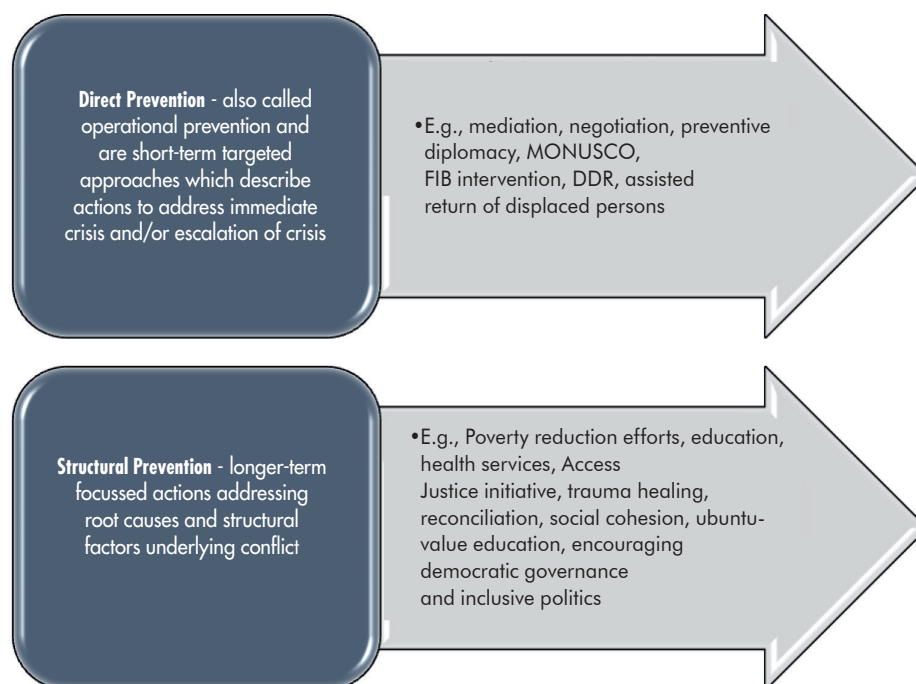

Direct Prevention - also called operational prevention and are short-term targeted approaches which describe actions to address immediate crisis and/or escalation of crisis

• E.g., mediation, negotiation, preventive diplomacy, MONUSCO, FIB intervention, DDR, assisted return of displaced persons

Structural Prevention - longer-term focussed actions addressing root causes and structural factors underlying conflict

• E.g., Poverty reduction efforts, education, health services, Access Justice initiative, trauma healing, reconciliation, social cohesion, ubuntu-value education, encouraging democratic governance and inclusive politics

Figure 6: The dimensions of conflict prevention in the eastern DRC
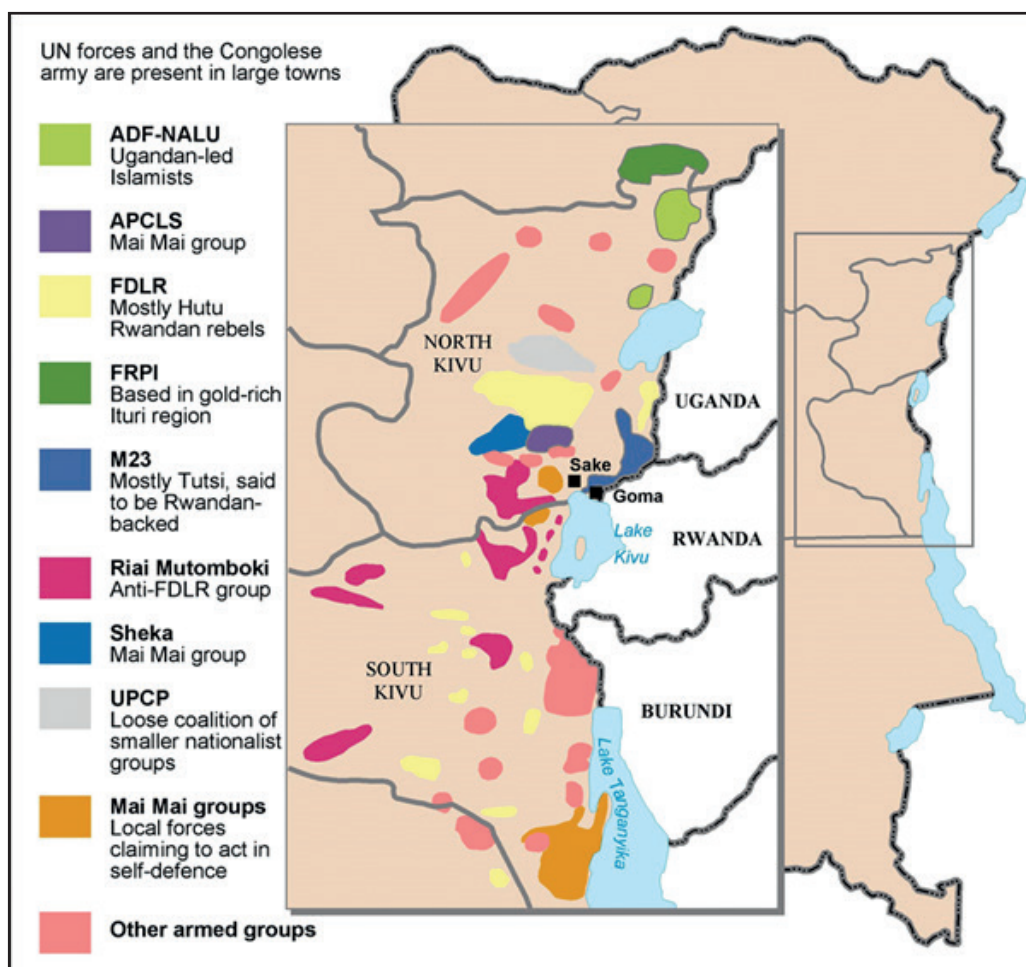
Source: Sylvester B. Maphosa

Figure 7: Distribution of militia groups in eastern DRC 2013

Source: Field data (by author) and adaptation from Oxfam (2013)

However, one group surrendering is hardly a return to peace and prosperity. M23 is not the only armed group in the region; at least 40 other groups of armed bandits wander in the forests, feeding an unending humanitarian crisis. The significant dearth of state presence in the eastern expanse, coupled with geographic remoteness, provides powerful ingredients for rebels to mobilise and offer safe havens.

We need to do better, and we can

Based on the preceding arguments, an emerging shared understanding is that the path to sustained widespread peace for the eastern DRC and the region leads through a transformation of the conflict and social change,[17] and finally establishing the building blocks needed for positive peace.[18] Accordingly, to do better, which is possible, requires policy makers to focus attention on the dynamic interplay between changes at the

transactional, attitudinal, and structural levels of affected society.

According to Spence, this progression calls for new attitudes and practices that are flexible, consultative and collaborative and operate from contextual understanding of the root causes of the conflict.[19] Transactional work is a catalyst for structural and attitudinal change. Progress at one level is not sustainable without progress at the others. Such processes are based on eradicating something that is not desired (violence) and building of something that is desired (peaceful communities) through a change of relationships and construction of conditions for positive peace.[20] Mutual acceptance of past violence and hurt within and between former enemy groups is fundamental, to lubricate and facilitate changes in emotion, attitude and behaviour of actors and structures, in order to rebuild social relationships, restore people's confidence in governance systems, and provide hope for the future.

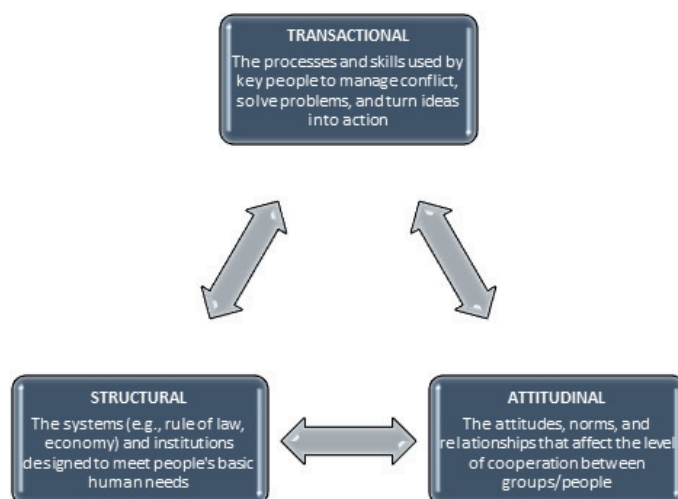As there is no single agency and strategy that can provide vertical and horizontal integration

Figure 8: A systemic peacebuilding model

Source: Sylvester B. Maphosa

across complex social systems, networks that connect multiple agencies and strategies are essential to promote systemic change. According to Lederach, it is therefore vital to incorporate utilities that work from the 'top-down,' 'middle-out,' and 'bottom-up.' Based on the foregoing systemic peacebuilding model, key policy suggestions for lasting peace in the eastern DRC and the region include:

1. *Security:* Address all aspects of public safety, encompassing the provision of collective and individual security from immediate and large-scale violence of any kind, including territorial integrity and security of regional dynamics.

2. *Human rights, justice and reconciliation:* Address needs for impartial and accountable justice system and for dealing with past violence and abuses, and resolve grievances arising from conflict. Sometimes incorporating the idea of restorative justice and trauma healing; these mechanisms may include traditional efforts to reconcile families, victims, perpetrators and whole neighbourhoods.

3. *Political transition, governance and inclusion:* Address needs for legitimate, effective political and administrative institutions and inclusive political processes. Governance encompasses setting rules and procedures for open political decision making and delivering services in efficient, inclusive and transparent ways. Inclusive political processes should involve giving voice to the vulnerable and marginalised through development of civil society, and open generation and exchange of ideas through advocacy groups, civic engagement and the media.

4. *Socio-economic development:* Address key socio-economic needs and imbalances. Invest in essential infrastructural services for citizen needs and lay foundations for viable and inclusive short- and long-term social and economic development.
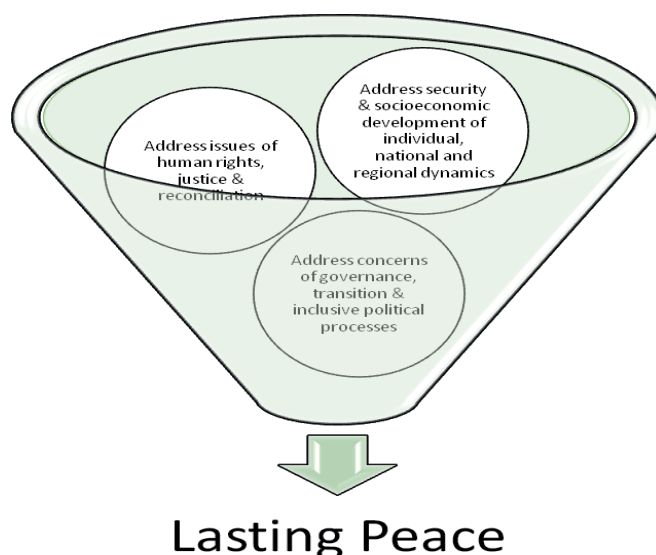

Lasting Peace

**Figure 9:** Summary of policy implications

Notes and references

1   See also http://www.enoughproject.org/blogs/enough-101-what-m23-movement-eastern-congo [Accessed 17 November 2012].

2   See the following: UN Group of Experts report. Available at: http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1553/egroup.shtml; see also Human Rights Watch report. Available at: http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/09/11/dr-congo-m23-rebels-commiting-war-crimes [Accessed 15 December 2012].

3   The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) 3 December 2012 press release: *As Goma falls to rebels, displaced young girls and boys face increased risk of rape and recruitment.* Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org [Accessed 3 December 2012]; See also Human Rights Watch report. Available at: http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/07/22/dr-congo-m23-rebels-kill-rape-civilians [Accessed 10 October 2013].

4   See Maphosa, S.B., 2013. Looking 'beyond' and 'below' the state: Understanding the role of regional initiatives in complex peace support operations. *Africa Insight*, 42(4), pp.104–109.

5   They are also called peace support operations (PSOs). The term is used to denote military and non-military activities in complex humanitarian emergencies engendered by contemporary conflicts.

6   See Pugh, M. (Ed.), 2002. *Regeneration of war-torn societies.* (Global Issues Series). London: Macmillan, p.2.

7   Galtung, J., 1996. *Peace by peaceful means: Peace and conflict, development and civilization.* Oslo: International Peace Research Institute (PRIO), pp.1–3.

8   Ibid.

9   See Lederach, J.P., 1997. *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies.* Washington, DC: USIP.

10 Paffenholz, T. & Reychler, L., 2007. Aid for peace: A guide to planning and evaluation for conflict zones, in Reychler, L. & Paffenholz, T., (Eds), 2001. *Peacebuilding: A field guide.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

11 Tschirgi, N., 2004. *Post-conflict peacebuilding revisited: Achievements, limitations, challenges.* New York: IPA Peacebuilding Forum, p.9.

12 The 'region' refers to the eleven signatory countries to the agreement including: Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Malawi, Rwanda, South Africa, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

13 11+4 denotes the eleven signatory countries to the agreement plus four patrons to the peace deal, viz. UN, AU, SADC, and ICGLR

14 See UN Security Council 6960th Meeting, SC/10996 briefing to the Security Council by Mary Robinson, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region of Africa, Available at: http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2013/sc10996.doc.htm [Accessed 9 July 2013].

15 This resolution 2098 was adopted on 28 March 2013 during the 6943rd Meeting of the UN Security Council, SC/10964.

16 See *Declaration of the end of rebellion,* 2013. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/06/world/africa/m23-rebels-democratic-republic-congo.html [Accessed 6 November 2013]. See also http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-24816223 [Accessed 6 November 2013].

17 See Lederach, J.P., 1997, op. cit.

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19 Spence, R., 2001. Post-conflict peacebuilding: Who determines peace? In Bronwyn, E. & Bleiker, R. (Eds), *Proceedings* of Rethinking Humanitarianism Conference, September 24–26, St Lucia, University of Queensland. See also citation in Lambourne, W., 2004. Post-conflict peacebuilding: Meeting human needs for justice and reconciliation, in *Peace, Conflict and Development,* 4(1742-0601), p.4.

20 Lederach, J.P., 2000. Journey from resolution to transformative peacebuilding, in Sampson, C. & Lederach, J.P. (Eds). *From the ground up: Mennonite contributions to international peacebuilding*, Oxford: OUP, pp.45–55.
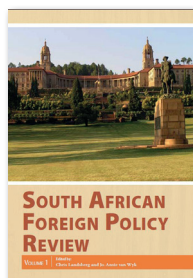
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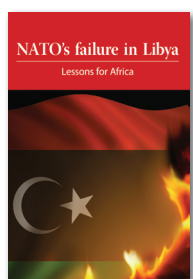Edited by Chris Landsberg and Jo-Ansie van Wyk

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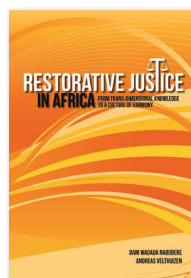
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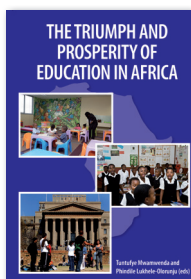Dani Wadaba Nabudere
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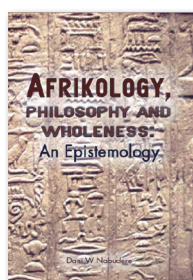**NATO's failure in Libya:**
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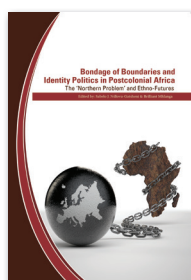Edited by Tuntufye Mwamwenda and Phindile Lukhele-Olorunju

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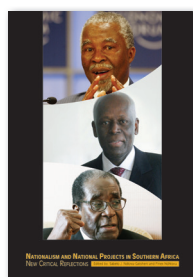
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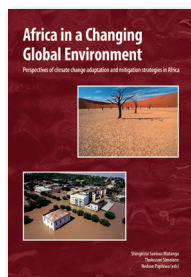Edited by Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Brilliant Mhlanga

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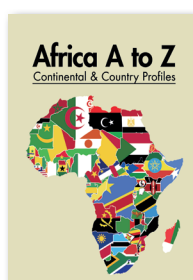Edited by Sabelo. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Finex Ndhlovu

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