

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

***THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ORGAN ON POLITICS
DEFENCE AND SECURITY IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION
IN AFRICA.CASE OF DRC ARMED CONFLICTS 2002.***

**Prepared by
JULIANA CHIN'ANGA
(R142162E)**

***Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Politics and Public
Management.***

***2017
Supervisor: Mr A.F Chikerema***

DECLARATION

This is to certify that this project entitled “THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ORGAN ON POLITICS, DEFENCE AND SECURITY IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN AFRICA.CASE OF DRC ARMED CONFLICTS. which is submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an Honours of a Bachelor of Social Science Honours in Politics and Public Management Degree by the Midlands State University, comprises only my original work and due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.

Juliana Chin’anga (Student/ Researcher)

..... Date.....

DEDICATIONS

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving parents despite the economic challenges they faced they managed to struggle and prioritize my education first. All they dreamed of was to see their little angel excel and be successful.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my utmost gratitude to all those who stood by my side when I was working on this research project for their support and motivations that kept me going on. With great pleasure I extend my acknowledgements for the unwavering support and assistance I received for this dissertation to be completed. Special acknowledgements is credited to the individuals; from my institution Midlands State University, my Supervisor Mr A. Chikerema for his time and being patient with me giving me guidelines throughout the whole research, my parents Mr. and Mrs. Chin'anga for their financial and moral support as well as my brother Frank for his encouraging words which kept me holding on, not forgetting my friends who made me believe in myself and encouraged me to keep working hard my special gratitude goes to Brian Mandivavarira, Melisa Makombe, Ken Khumalo, Lillian Taruvinga, Natasha Paradza, Robinson Mwadiwa and Clemence Chiura. I would also like to express my extended gratitude my prayerful friend Audrey Tendere for encouraging me to pray all the way and the department of Politics and Public Management lecturers for the theoretical knowledge that proved to be the backbone of my dissertation. Above all I would like to thank the Almighty so much for the good health, the wisdom, guidance and the strength throughout my university studies.

ABSTRACT

The study sought to evaluate the effectiveness of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in conflict transformation in Africa specifically looking at the case of the DRC armed conflicts and other peace threatening related cases. The study was prompted by the need for Africans to realize that togetherness and cooperation can lead to development in the region. This research was accomplished through qualitative methods of data collection and analysis, namely e-mailed questionnaire, face to face interviews and in-depth interviews. Findings from this research reveal that the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security has played a fundamental role in bringing the social and political achievements in the SADC region Security has greatly improved. However despite the achievements, findings also reveal that the SADC Organ has been mostly active within the region it is located and most of its achievements has been through the help of the AU and UN. The findings have also indicated that the Organ's major challenge is that of inadequate funding to increase equipment and human resources this has been a setback for the Organ to carry out operations on its own without the intervention of other bigger Organisations and this has resulted in the Organ being given less credit on the operations they participated in. In light of the setbacks and challenges encountered by the Organ several recommendations have been proffered for the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security to ensure sustainable peace, security and political development in Africa.

Contents

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATIONS	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
LIST OF ACCRONYMS.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE 1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.....	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	3
1.3RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	4
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	4
1.5 JUSTIFICATION/SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	4
1.6 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	5
1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	5
1.8 CHAPTER BREAKDOWN.....	5
CHAPTER TWO; LITURATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	8
2.0 INTRODUCTION	8
2.2.1 Literature Review	8
2.2.2Objectives of the Organ	9
2.2.3 FUNCTIONING OF THE ORGAN	10
2.2.4 Chairperson of the Organ.....	10
2.2.5 GUIDING LINES FOR THE ORGAN CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION.	11
2.2.6 Methods Used by the Organ for Resolving Conflicts	12
2.3.0 The Organ Role in Conflict Transformation in Africa.	12
2.3.1 Armed Conflicts in Africa	14
2.3.2 Political Crisis in Africa	15
2.3.3Democracy and governance deficits in Africa.....	17
2.4. Evaluation of the success of the Organ in Conflict Transformation	18
2.5 Challenges faced by the Organ.	20
2.6.0 Theoretical Framework.....	21
2.6.1 Collective Security Theory.....	21
2.6.2 Interdependency Theory.....	22
2.6.3 Integration Theory	23

2.7 Summary	23
CHAPTER THREE; Research Methodology.....	24
3.1 Introduction	24
3.2 Research Design	24
3.3 Qualitative Approach	24
3.4 Target Population.....	25
3.5 Sample.....	25
3.5.1 Sampling techniques	26
3.5.2 Purposive Sampling.....	26
3.5.3 Snowball Sampling	27
3.6 Sources of Data	27
3.6.2 PRIMARY METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION	27
3.7 Research Instruments	28
3.7.1 Questionnaire	28
3.7.2 In-depth interview	29
3.7.3 Secondary sources	30
3.8 Case Study	31
3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	31
CHAPTER FOUR; DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS.....	33
4.0 INTRODUCTION.....	33
4.1 Response rate	33
4.1 Functioning of the Organ	34
4.3 The effectiveness of the Organ on Politics Defence and Security on Conflict Resolution.....	36
4.4 Funding of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security	38
4.5 SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in Conflict transformation in Africa	40
4.6 SADC Organ and conflict Resolution Strategy.....	41
4.7 Summary	42
Chapter 5; SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	43
5.0 Introduction	43
5.1 Summary of the Study	43
5.2 Conclusion.....	45
5.3 Recommendations	45
REFERENCE LIST	47

APPENDIX.....	50
Interview guide	50
Questionnaire	51

LIST OF ACCRONYMS

ASF.....	African Stand Force
AU.....	African Union
DRC.....	Democratic Republican of Congo
FIB.....	Force Intervention Brigade
GPA.....	Global Political Agreement
ICGLR.....	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
ISDSC.....	Inter-State Defence and Security Committee
JOMIC.....	Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee
M23.....	March 23 Movement
MDC.....	Movement for Democratic Change
MDP.....	Mutual Defence Pact
NEPAD.....	New Partnership for Africa’s Development
PSC.....	Peace and Security Council
UN.....	United Nations
RPTC.....	Regional Peace Keeping Training Center
SADC.....	Southern African Development Community
SEAC.....	SADC Electoral Advisory Council
SIPO.....	Strategic Inductive Plan for the Organ
ZANU-PF.....	Zimbabwean African NationalUnion –Patriotic Front

CHAPTER ONE 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) defines itself as a community devoted to development integration. It has become clear that economic growth and development cannot be achieved without peace, stability and democracy which are guiding principles of a fast developing region as it facilitates increase in trade and reduction in trade barriers within the region thus according to Cilliers (1995). The members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, DRC, Seychelles and Madagascar.

Among these members are some of poorest nations in the world, with a declining share in the global economy. The recognition of the interrelationship between economic growth, stability and democracy heralds an important paradigm shift within the region. The move to include a focus on conflict mediation, preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping in SADC led to the establishment of the Organ for Defence, Politics and Security thus according to Oosthuizen (2006).

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

SADC was founded in 1992, with the establishment of the SADC Treaty thus according to Cawthra (2010). The organisation at first focused on economic integration, but also inherited a defence and security agenda from the anti-colonial and antiapartheid Southern African organisation Frontline States. The most important legal documents guiding SADC's role in peace and security are the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation and the Mutual Defence Pact of the SADC Organ for Politics, Defence and Security. SADC has been taking various actions aimed at contributing to the maintenance and consolidation of peace and security in the region. The Southern African Development Committee has structured itself in a manner designed to make its efforts to preserve peace and security more effective. Despite the efforts of the Organisation, the region still faces peace threatening and military threats and these includes inter alia, armed conflicts , unfinished demobilisation, disarmament, reintegration and monitoring of former military personnel, terrorism and the prevalence of landmines. Overlooking cultural, language and ethnic differences across and within SADC member states the majority share significant historical commonalities.

This resulted in the Heads of State and Government Summit held on 28 June 1996, in Gaborone, Botswana, established the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation thus according to Hammerstad (2003) . The Organ was established but remained highly inoperable until 2001 due to disagreement among SADC member states about the suitable structural relationship between the Organ and the rest of SADC. The main consent of the Organ is to support the achievement and maintenance of security and the rule of law in the SADC region and outside as long it involves its member States. The SADC treat, the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation and the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO) are vital documents that guide the activities of the Organ. Overall the main objective of the Organ is to promote peace and security within the SADC region.

Cawthra (2010) noted that the responsibilities of the Organ includes military defence this means protection against unsteadiness in intra and inter states conflicts and aggression, Develop collective security capacity and consider development of reciprocal defence. The second responsibility is that of crime protection and this involves cross boarder crime and promoting a community based approach to domestic security. The third task is that of intelligence and this deal with close cooperation and increase democratic institutions and practices. There is also peacemaking and peacekeeping enforcement responsibility and it carters for development of a regional peacekeeping capacity, preventing, containing and resolving inter and intra state conflict by peaceful means and considering enforcement action in accordance with international law and as a matter of last resort where peaceful means have failed. The fifth responsibility is of foreign policy and this is established to promote cooperation and common political value systems and institutions to deal with cross boarder crime, develop common foreign policy approaches on issues of mutual concern, provide early warnings, encouraging and monitoring international arms control disarmnt conservations and treaties, and coordinating participation in peace operations as well as addressing extra regional conflicts which impacts the region.

The sixth mandate of the Organ is that of considering human rights and this includes encouraging interpretation of universal human rights and encouraging and monitoring international human rights conventions. The last responsibility is that The Organ also has

election monitoring and mediation capacities, which including the recently established Mediation Support Unit and a Panel of Elders to act as SADC mediators.

Member states understand that they have shared a similar historical background, and that they have a common future. They have been cooperating in various defence areas, which includes exchange of information, visits, the sharing of training institutions, the carrying out of joint exercises, and availing support to one other during emergencies and in times of political challenge. The Organ works closely with the SADC Secretariat. It coordinates and is managed by a troika of the incoming, current and outgoing chair. Much of the work and direction of the Organ is dictated by the interests of the current chair, resulting in little continuity in its work.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The need for peace and security, economic and social development through regional integration culminated in the birth of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992. This later on led to the development of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security which has to focus on peace and security of the region since the region continued to face different versions of conflict crisis. Member states are indicating the will to cooperation on political, defence and security matters, and this has created an enabling environment for peace, security and stability in the region through the impediment, management and resolution of conflicts within and between states. Though there is virtual peace and stability in the region, there are social, economic and political challenges in the form of climate change, economic recession, unconstitutional change of governments, the growing vulnerability of national borders, illegal migration, increases in organised transnational crime, drug and human trafficking, money laundering, illicit mining and maritime piracy.

Over the previous decade the SADC region remained wracked by a high level of conflicts that included intra state wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Angola, state repression in Zimbabwe, and violence in South Africa during the xenophobic attacks. SADC efforts were largely unsuccessful in these situations; it has become well-known less by its peacemaking efforts than by its fractious internal quarrels. The formation of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security a common security system whose stipulated functions include the

prevention and resolution of inter- and intra-state conflict is itself bedeviled by harsh disputes among member states over a ten-year period.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- To make an assessment and evaluate the effectiveness of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security operations in conflict resolution in Africa.
- To identify and analyse challenges that The Organ on Politics, Defence and security is facing and hindering it from achieving its mandate.
- To suggest recommendations on how best the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security can counter its challenges and work smoothly.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security about and why was it established?
2. What is the effectiveness of the Organ on Politics, defence and security in conflict transformation in Africa?
3. Why is the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security failing to bring lasting solutions to the conflicts threatening peace and security in Africa?
4. How best can The Organ on Politics, Defence and Security deal effectively with the conflicts in Africa?

1.5 JUSTIFICATION/SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research aims to review how effective has been the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security in resolving conflicts in the Southern African region and to find the challenges and obstacles encountered by the Organ. With this research, gaps can be closed since solutions will be passed on how best to deal with the challenges that the Organ is facing and by dealing with these challenges the Organ can eliminate Peace threatening issues in the region. A long-term solution will be suggested so that the Organ may improve on its duties concerning safeguarding peace in the region.

1.6 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Most of the related material needed for carrying out this research is information related to the Military and defence staff members since they are the ones mostly involved in the work of the Organ on Politics, Defence and security. This is to the advantage of the researcher since the researcher is familiar with most of the Military staff as supported by that the researcher stays in a military camp of 5 Brigade therefore the necessary information will be easier to gather. Unlimited internet access can also contribute to the smooth flow of the carrying out of the project.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations to this research includes challenges to get more people for interviewing and also that some questionnaires sent via the e-mail may not be returned. The other limitation of the research is on financial constraints to travel to look for people to interview one on one at the SADC offices. The researcher's findings are most likely to be based on the observations made by the Zimbabwean Military services only. The other challenges to this research study are likely to be the lack of access to official information needed for accurate analysis. This is because the subject concerned is very political sensitive some of the information can be withheld for safety precautions of the Organ. Also the major institution of reference, The SADC offices representative in Zimbabwe is a public institution and highly bureaucratic that can make it difficult to access the information required at the time needed. In summation, lack of participants and financial costs are major hitches in completion of the research.

1.8 CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

Chapter1: Introduction

The introduction encompasses of the following components;

Background of the Study focused on a brief background of the SADC and how it led to the establishment of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. The background of the study also highlighted the mandates of the Organ.

The Statement of the Problem seeks to explain that despite the existence of the Organ the continent is still facing peace threatening issues which needs more attention to be addressed. The

statement of the problem portrays that the Organ is facing challenges which affects its efforts to safeguard the continent from peace threatening issues.

The Research Objectives that the research seeks to achieve are also highlighted in this chapter as well as the questions that the research seeks to address and answer pertaining to the topic under research. The chapter also gives an overview of the limitations which are the possible challenges and threats of the research as well as the delimitations which are the opportunities that may be the advantages to the researcher.

Chapter 2; Literature Review, Conceptual framework and Theoretical framework

This chapter explores all that has been written by the wide scholarship regarding to the topic under study. The chapter highlights the various arguments that have been brought forward and in the process bringing out the short falls of the literature that the research seeks to fill, thereby showing how the research will contribute to the academic field. This research reveals that a lot has been written about the Organ from its establishment, the duties it has been assigned, the challenges it has been facing and success it has achieved and reasons why despite its existence there are still conflicts in the region and that is the gap that this research seeks to fill as well as finding out the contribution of the Organ in the international arena. This chapter also looks at the Theoretical and Conceptual framework of the research which requires the researcher to explore the various theories and concepts that explain, investigate, examine, support or refute the argument of the research.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This Chapter will be answering the questions of how the research will be conducted practically in the field. It highlights questions such as the research design, the target population, sampling techniques to be used which determine who will be part of the research as well as the methods and tools of data collection.

Chapter 4: Data Presentation and Analysis

In this Chapter, the researcher will be presenting the findings of the research after the field work conducted in Chapter 3. The data will be presented systematically and analyzed this enable the

researcher to move to the next Chapter where a summary, suggest recommendations and draw conclusions about the study will provided.

CHAPTER 5

This chapter will be a summary the results of the research, suggestion of recommendations addressing the issue under research and drawing of conclusions about the phenomena under study.

CHAPTER TWO; LITURATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Saunders (2003) explained that literature review involve an evaluative report of studies found in the literature related to the field of study. According to White (2000) the reason of any literature review is to provide as far as possible a critical insight into the topic under study. Cooper (1988) argues that literature review can be used as database reports of primary scholarship and does not report new primary scholarship itself. The existing literature will enable the researcher to create research objectives of the study and to place research questions in the context of the work done in the area under study. In this chapter existing theories that were developed by different scholars will be expounded to enable a better understanding about the effectiveness of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in conflict transformation in Africa. This will enable the researcher to identify gaps and flaws in the previous literature about the effectiveness of the Organ in conflict transformation. Thus this chapter will cover theoretical frameworks, empirical evidence as well as identifying gaps on the existing literature in the Operation of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security.

2.2.1 Literature Review

The Establishment of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security.

According to Malan and Cillers (1997) The Declaration and Treaty of the SADC, signed by SADC Heads of State and Government in Windhoek in 1992, expressed assurance that recent developments which included the independence of Namibia and the transition in South Africa will take the region out of an era of conflicts and arguments, to one of co-operation; in a climate of peace, security and stability. These are basics for development, the Windhoek Declaration called for a framework of co-operation which provides guiding principles strengthening regional solidarity, peace and security, in order for the people of the region to live and work together in peace and harmony. The region needed establishment of a framework and mechanisms to strengthen regional solidarity, and provide for mutual peace and security. On 18 January 1996, at a meeting in Gaborone Botswana the SADC Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security, the ministers agreed to urge their heads of state that a SADC Organ for Politics, Defence and Security should be created, that would allow more flexibility and timely response, at the highest level, of serious sensitive and potentially explosive situations.

According to Selebi (1999) the word 'organ' is borrowed from the Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution at the OAU. From the start, SADC had decided to separate political and security considerations from 'SADC proper' (i.e. economic development) through the creation of a separate structure that should not be located with the SADC Secretariat in Botswana. With the establishment of the Organ, SADC has moved away from an *ad hoc* approach to attend common foreign and security issues. According to the SADC Protocol the Organ was to abide by the same principles as those of SADC, including the sovereign equality of all member states, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the observation of human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

August 2001 The Heads of States and Government signed the SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation which highlights an Institutional framework by which member States co-ordinate policies and activities in the areas of politics, defence and security. In January 2002 the summit mandated that the SADC Organ organize, the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO) which provides guidelines for the implementation of the SADC protocol for five years.

2.2.2 Objectives of the Organ

According to the (SADC 2001: article 4.4) the objectives of the Organ include:

- Safeguarding the region against peace instability from within or outside its borders;
- Promotion of political co-operation and common political values and institutions (this commits SADC to the promotion of democracy and an adherence of human rights).
- Development of a common foreign policy and joint international lobby on issues of common interest (the SADC Treaty itself commits the organisation to promote the co-ordination and harmonization of the international relations of Member States).
- Security and defence co-operation through conflict prevention, management and resolution;
- Mediation of disputes and conflicts.
- Precautionary diplomacy and mechanisms, with disciplinary measures as a last resort (the possibility of enforcement actions as a last resort is explicitly recognized).
- Sustainable peace and security through peacemaking and peacekeeping (this and the previous objectives effectively place the Organ in line with the UN Charter).

- Development of a collective security capacity, a Mutual Defence Pact, and a regional peacekeeping capacity (an unprecedented and, in fact, unrealistic goal for the foreseeable future).
- Co-ordination of the participation of its members in international and regional peacekeeping operations (opening the door to an arrangement similar to the Nordic division of labour in peacekeeping).
- Addressing extra-regional conflicts which impact on peace and security in Southern Africa.

2.2.3 FUNCTIONING OF THE ORGAN

According to Hammerstad (2003) the legal documents guiding functioning of the Organ are the SADC Treaty, the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, SIPO and the Mutual Defence Pact. SIPO was adopted in 2004 and revised in 2010; it is a broad five year 70 plan setting out strategies and tasks for the implementation of the objectives set out in the Protocol. The SADC Mutual Defence Pact of 2004 guides the implementation of the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation.

The institution which was absorbed into the Organ was the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC) with its impressive system of numerous committees and sub-committees on defence, policy and intelligence matters as argued by Cornwell (1996). The Organ reports to the Summit and it have the following structures:

- The Chairperson of the Organ
- The Troika which consists of the Chairperson of the Organ, the incoming Chairperson of the Organ who is the deputy of the Organ and the outgoing Chairperson.
- A Ministerial Committee.
- An Inter-State Politics and Diplomacy Committee (ISPDC).
- An Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC) .
- Sub-structures as may be established by any of the ministerial committees.

2.2.4 Chairperson of the Organ

According to the Protocol on Politics, Defense and Security Co-operation the Summit elects a Chairperson and a Deputy Chairperson of the Organ on the basis of rotation from among the members of the Summit except that the Chairperson and the Deputy Chairperson of the Summit

are not concurrently to be the Chairperson of the Organ. The term of office of the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the Organ is one year for both. The Chairperson of the Organ consults with the Troika of SADC and report to the Summit thus according to Solomom (2004). The Chairperson, in consultation with the Troika of SADC, is responsible for the overall policy direction and the achievement of the mandates of the Organ. The Chairperson may request reports from any ministerial committee of the Organ on any matter which is within the capability of the committee. The Chairperson may also request any ministerial committee of the Organ to review on any matter, which is within the competence of the committee and he may request the Chairperson of SADC to report for discussion any matter that requires consideration by the Summit.

2.2.5 GUIDING LINES FOR THE ORGAN CONFLICT PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION.

According to the SADC Protocol the following are the guiding principles for the functioning of the Organ;

1. Obligation of the Organ under International Law;

- a) In accordance with the United Nations Charter, State Parties shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, besides for the legitimate purpose of individual or collective self-defence against an armed attack.
- b) State Parties shall manage and seek to resolve any dispute between two or more of them by peaceful means.
- c) The Organ shall seek to handle and resolve inter- and intra-state conflict by peaceful means.
- d) The Organ shall seek to ensure that the State Parties stick to and enforce all sanctions and arms embargoes imposed on any party by the United Nations Security Council.

2. Jurisdiction of the Organ

- a) If the Organ may seek to resolve any significant inter-state conflict between State Parties or between a State Party and non- State Party and a 'significant inter-state conflict' shall include:
 - (i) A conflict over territorial boundaries or natural resources.
 - (ii) A conflict in which an act of aggression or other form of military force has occurred or been threatened.

(iii) A conflict which threatens peace and security in the Region or in the territory of a State Party which is not a party to the conflict.

b) The Organ may try to find and resolve any significant intra-state conflict within the territory of a State Party and a 'significant intra-state conflict' shall include:

(i) Large-scale violence between sections of the population or between the state and sections of the population, including genocide, ethnic cleansing and gross violation of human rights.

(ii) Military coup or other threat to the legitimate authority of a State.

(iii) Condition of civil war or insurgency.

(iv) Conflict which threatens peace and security in the Region or in the territory of another State Party.

(c) In session with the United Nations Security Council and the Central Organ of the Organisation of African Unity Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, the Organ may offer to mediate in a significant interior intra-state conflict that occurs outside the Region.

2.2.6 Methods Used by the Organ for Resolving Conflicts

According to Garba and Herskovits (1997) the methods employed by the Organ to prevent, manage and resolve conflict by peaceful means includes preventive diplomacy, negotiations, conciliation, mediation, good offices, arbitration and adjudication by an international tribunal. The Organ established an early warning system in order to facilitate timeous action to prevent the outbreak and escalation of conflict. The SADC Protocol states that where peaceful means of resolving a conflict are unsuccessful, the Chairperson acting on the advice of the Ministerial Committee may recommend to the Summit that enforcement action be taken against one or more of the disputant parties. Summit resort to enforcement action as a matter of last resort and it should be done in accordance with Article 53 of the United Nations Charter, with the authorization of the United Nations Security Council. External military threats to the Region are addressed through collective security arrangements.

2.3.0 The Organ Role in Conflict Transformation in Africa.

Albuquerque and Wilklund (2015) argue that although credited the most stable region in Africa, Southern Africa is not excused to challenges to peace and security. Armed conflict, political crises, democracy and governance deficits are some serious issues contributing to state and human insecurity in Southern Africa. In an effort to make an analysis on the role of the SADC

Organ in addressing challenges to peace and security, the following sections highlights the organisation's responses to the main sources of insecurity in Southern Africa over the past five years. However the researcher noted that in as much as most scholars dued well on different aspects of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security such as its establishment, objectives, functioning and its role in conflict resolutions the scholars failed to bring to light the role of the Organ in the international Arena.

The Organ seems to be focusing more on promoting peace and security within the region other than outside its boundaries. In objectives scholars clearly states that the Organ safeguards the region against peace and instability from within and outside boarders and nothing was highlighted in the existing literature on the participation of the Organ in settling international conflicts. Under its law obligations the Organ is entitled by the United Nations Security Council and the Central Organ of the Organisation of African Unity Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, to offer to mediate in a significant interior intra-state conflict that occurs outside the Region. On its achievements it is to no avail on the participation and contribution of the Organ in such matters. The Organ is also supposed to develop a common foreign policy and a joint international lobby on issues of common interests. However state members are participating on their own in the international arena through the United Nation rather than Organisation Participation. As a result these are some of the issues that other scholars who wrote before on the area under study did not mention.

Most scholars dued much on conflict resolution and management whilst they overlooked the issue of conflict transformation. Conflict transformation, as described by Lederach (2003), does not suggest that there is simply elimination or control of conflict, but rather recognize and work with its dialectic nature. First, Lederach (2003) argues that social conflict is a natural occurrence between humans who are involved in relationships. Once conflict occurs, it changes or transforms those events, people, and relationships that created the initial conflict. Thus, the cause-and-effect relationship goes both ways from the people and the relationships to the conflict and back to the people and relationships. In this sense, "conflict transformation" is a term that describes the natural process of conflict. Conflicts change relationships in predictable ways, altering communication patterns and patterns of social organization, altering images of the self

and of the other. Conflict transformation is also a prescriptive concept. It suggests that the destructive consequences of a conflict can be modified or transformed so that self-images, relationships, and social structures improve as a result of conflict, instead of being harmed by it. Usually, this involves transforming perceptions of issues, actions, and other people or groups. Conflict usually transforms perceptions by accentuating the differences between people and positions. Lederach believes that effective conflict transformation can utilize this highlighting of differences in a constructive way, and can improve mutual understanding.

Looking at the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security most existing literature is how the Organisation managed and resolved conflicts rather than specifically how the Organ participated in denoting the origins and growth of the conflict.

2.3.1 Armed Conflicts in Africa

According to Martin (2005) the only current armed conflict in the region, is that of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which has frequently been on the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security agenda over the past years. The organisation has a history of engaging in the disputes, both through mediation initiatives and military interventions conducted by the member states. In 2012, the DRC government faced an uprising by the rebel group in the eastern parts of the country. The member states of the African regional organisation International Conference of the GreatLakes Region(ICGLR) sought to launch an international military intervention to fight and eliminate the M23. The DRC government was alert of the presence of troops from ICGLR member states Rwanda and Uganda on its territory, and it instead that such a mission be carried out by SADC. SADC accepted this request and decided to deploy its Standby Force in the DRC, with South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi contributing three thousand troops.

The challenge become that of who would pay for the deployment and concerns about the need to coordinate with the already existing United Nations (UN) operation in the DRC. This resulted in the force being deployed as the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) within the UN peacekeeping mission. The FIB's mandate included the right to neutralise armed groups, asunprecedented within the context of UN peacekeeping. Although part of the UN framework, the FIB's existence is a result of the political will of the SADC member states that contribute troops to it. The force was successful in defeating the M23 and they managed to reverse a pattern of military setbacks.

This led to the signing of a peace declaration at the end of 2013, under the terms of which the M23 would be disarmed, demobilized and reintegrated (DDR). Progress on DDR has been slow and it is unclear what role the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security has, contributed in monitoring and implementing the process.

2.3.2 Political Crisis in Africa

The crisis in Madagascar came as a result of the March 2009 coup that replaced President Marc Ravalomanana with Andry Rajoelina thus according to Cawthra (2010). SADC, failed to follow up an early warning assessment mission with preventive diplomacy prior to the coup, denounced the coup and suspended Madagascar from the organisation. Despite previous engagement in the country, SADC Organ was slow to re-engage and make a follow up on the coup, instead it only sending a SADC special envoy to Madagascar in May 2009. The Organ appointed former Mozambican president Joaquim Alberto Chissano as mediator and created an international contact group intended to work as a platform for dialogue among all parties. Cawthra (2010) noted that the objective of SADC mediation lined up with that of the African Union (AU) and UN, which sought to find a resolution acceptable to both sides rather than just reinstating the President. Despite a transitional power sharing agreement signed in 2009, Rajoelina took steps that in fact blocked its implementation. South Africa became the chair of the Organ in August 2011 and this resulted in the country becoming more actively involved in SADC mediation efforts. However, rather than depending on SADC resources and infrastructure in its mediation work, South Africa relied mostly on its own. SADC mediation focused on the establishment of a transitional roadmap towards elections, an agreement was signed by relevant parties in September 2011. As an important step in ensuring peace, the Organ finally convinced Ravalomanana and Rajoelina not to run in the upcoming election. The latter only agreed not to run after an electoral court reconstituted by SADC which ruled him and his wife ineligible to take part in the election. In January 2014 the first presidential election since the coup was held and was deemed lawful by SADC and the AU. Madagascar regained its membership in SADC in February 2014.

The second political crisis is that of Zimbabwe that came as a result of the disputed presidential election in March 2008, the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security engaged in mediation efforts, alongside the AU. The mediation resulted in the signing of the Global Political

Agreement(GPA) and the formation of Government of National Unity involving Cde Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party as President and Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change(MDC) party as Prime Minister .According to Cawthra (2010) The GPA, for which SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security and the AU served as guarantors, was intended to serve as the roadmap for creating a constitutional and electoral framework capable of guaranteeing that the next election be free, fair and credible. According to the agreement, oversight of GPA implementation was to be performed by a Zimbabwean multipartisan panel, the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC). As a result of accusations by MDC that ZANU-PF was in breach of the agreement, it soon became evident that JOMIC had little capability to either monitor or ensure implementation of the GPA. Recognising the restrictions of JOMIC, the SADC Organ preceded strongly and urges both parties to implement the agreement in November 2009 and then again in August 2010, without success. Regardless of widely viewed as not having complied with the provisions of the GPA, Cde Mugabe proceeded to call for elections in April 2013, giving MDC little time less than a month to prepare. The election resulted in the defeat of MDC, showed Cde Mugabe winning 61% of the vote, thus securing his continued tenure as president. The Organ failure to enforce the GPA can be mainly attributed to the fact that President Mugabe is highly honored by leaders in SADC member states due to his involvement in the creation of the organisation, his stature within the liberation movement and the deep respect he is granted as an elder.

The recent political crisis to break out is in Lesotho thus according to Southhall (2014). It triggered after Prime Minister Thomas Thabane suspended Parliament to prevent a vote of no confidence and fired the Chief of the army. These actions caused a military coup in August 2014. The army's loyalty lies with the deputy Prime Minister, Mothetjoa Metsing, whilst the police support Thabane. After fleeing to South Africa, Thabane urged SADC to intervene militarily to restore order, a request declined by the organisation. Subsequent mediation by the SADC Organ resulted in key political stakeholders signing an agreement in quest of containing the crisis by calling for early elections in 2015, while also seeking to remove commanders from the police and the military. The army chief responsible for the coup, Tlali Kamoli, was exiled. Threats from the military that it would intervene in the upcoming election caused the Organ to return to

mediation in February 2015. This mediation resulted in an arrangement by key stakeholders, including the security services, specifying that the military would not intervene.

The February 2015 election, considered free and fair by SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, resulted in a victory for former Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili. The situation quickly unraveled following the election, with Mosisili failing to execute reforms and reinstating the exiled Kamoli as army chief. The crisis escalated in June 2015 when an army lieutenant general and former SADC Standby Force commander was assassinated by troops faithful to Kamoli. At the same time numerous opposition leaders have fled the country, in fear that they will become victims of government assassinations. These events have led the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security to re-engage, with the establishment of a SADC Commission of Inquiry into the death of the army lieutenant general and the roots of the crisis.

2.3.3 Democracy and governance deficits in Africa

The SADC countries are a diverse group as regards to democratic practice and governance according to Garba and Herskovits (1997). The region has six of the ten best-governed countries in Africa according to the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (2015). However, southern Africa also has two of the most poorly governed countries on the continent, namely Zimbabwe and the DRC. The extent to which democratic principles are upheld in varies manners across member states. SADC's commitment to democratic practices is clear in guiding documents such as the SADC Treaty and the organisation's Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ. However, SADC strategies for achieving democracy mainly focus on achieving and upholding electoral standards in the region. In 2004, SADC adopted its Principles and Guidelines for Governing Democratic Elections in southern Africa thus according to the Strategic Inductive Plan for the Organ (SIPO).

However according to Albuquerque and Wiklund (2015) its efforts to promote democratization in the region by dispatching election observers has faced criticism for focusing too much on Election Day procedures and for alleged rubber-stamping of contested election results. SADC Organ has not showed the willing to take a more long-term perspective to furthering democracy in the region by promoting civil liberties in the period between elections. This is because of the organisation's principle of not intervening in domestic affairs, a principle originated from a deep

sense of loyalty among member states due to their joint liberation movement legacy. The decision to engage in Madagascar had more to do with standing up for a fellow member state government than promoting democracy pursue.

The most relevant example of the SADC Organ acting because of pressures by its member states to limit the execution of its mandate is exemplified by the failure of the SADC Tribunal thus according to Martin (2010). As illustrated in the treaty, the SADC Tribunal was set up to act as the organisation's judicial arm with regard to the interpretation and application of the SADC Treaty in conflicts between member states, as well as between member states and natural or legal people. Following the Tribunal's ruling against President Mugabe's confiscation of white Zimbabweans' farmland on human rights grounds in 2007, SADC Organ took steps to downgrade its status, eventually to that of an administrative panel in 2015, making it essentially unable to fulfill its original task.

2.4. Evaluation of the success of the Organ in Conflict Transformation

According to Albuquerque and Wiklund (2015) evaluating the effectiveness of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security as a peace and security facilitator there is need to look at its ability in conflict prevention and conflict management. Looking at SADC Organ in the last five years, the organisation appears to have been largely successful in managing armed conflict in the DRC and in preventing political crises in Madagascar, Zimbabwe and Lesotho from exploding into violence there has been considerable progress in the SADC region on issues related to political governance, the observation of elections, the establishment of the SADC Electoral Advisory Council (SEAC) and the mediation units. At continental level, SADC Organ has been active in the establishment and consolidation of the African Union (AU), its institutions and programmes such as the Peace and Security Council (PSC) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as stated in the Strategic Inductive Plan For the Organ and these reflects an element of great achievements.

In an effort to ensure the effective conduct of peace support operations the ISDSC has strengthened the Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre (RPTC) in Zimbabwe to cover all components of SADC SF. The SADC Defence Forces have continued to hold joint peace support exercises such as Blue Ruvuma and Golfinho which were important challenges in

operationalising of the SADC SF. At the international level, many SADC Member States have continued to contribute to UN and AU peace support operations.

According to the first review of the Strategic Inductive Plan for the Organ (SIPO) Public security institutions of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security have been participating in joint cross border operations which have resulted in the reduction of crime and the recovery of stolen property. Transnational organised crime and incidents of terrorism are some of the most serious concerns to law enforcement agencies such as immigration, police, customs, border guards, coast guards and fiscal inspectors. The immigration services of SADC Organ are engaged in collective planning which aims at strengthening the control and facilitation of the movement of persons in the region. The region's long and weak borders make the region a preferred destination and transit point not for investment only, but also criminal elements. The Public Security Sector has also been involved in the prevention of poaching and in the illegal trade of wildlife products in the region. Member States have been working together to put an end to incidents of transit fraud and the under-valuation of imported goods from outside the region as well as cross border smuggling. Cognisant of the region's exposure to cross-border crime, SADC has been active in developing regional instruments to fight transnational crime in the region. The Public Security Sector has been participating in the implementation of SADC Organ protocols on the combating of illicit drug trafficking, and on the firearms, ammunition and other related materials.

However in as much as the Organ has been working on the stability of the region according to Hammerstad (2003) it has been the efforts of individual member states rather than SADC Organ as an organisation that have achieved these results. For instance the FIB which intervened in the DRC conflict more of a South African, Tanzanian, Malawian and UN success story than a SADC Organ success as most credit was attributed to the actors mentioned above other than the Organ itself. With regard to political crises, SADC mediation has been drawn exclusively on high-level mediators rather than the organisation's own mediation infrastructure. In Zimbabwe, SADC was incapable of enforcing the GPA, with the result that President R.G Mugabe deliberately ignored SADC's pleas for him to implement the treaty.

South Africa is the region's economic and military giant according to Selebi (1999), making its cooperation absolutely necessary for SADC military interventions. However, its status also means that South Africa keeps a low profile in order not to be alleged as regional dominant

country by SADC member states, who despise any signs of imperial powers. This has caused South Africa to take a humble posture within SADC, preferring instead to influence the agenda setting on the continental AU level.

While non-interference in internal matters makes regional cooperation easier in some ways, it also poses serious obstacles to conflict prevention when root causes of threats to peace and security originate from domestic sources. This fact raises questions about the effectiveness of Organ's early warning system, considering that few member states are willing to share sensitive information amongst each other. Moreover, early warning at the SADC level has not been appropriately fed into the continental early warning system at the AU level, a clear challenge for the future functioning of APSA. The reluctance of member states to share information related to SADC's peace and security work is even greater towards donors, despite the SADC budget depending greatly on international funding. Fear of diluting independence among member states has undermined the functioning of the Organ being an actor of real relevance in promoting regional peace and security. This is problematic considering that future security challenges in the region are most likely to originate from domestic sources. Since the problem is related to the nature of member states, and not primarily the functioning of the SADC Organ, it cannot be addressed by organisational capacity building.

Rather, any further strengthening of the role of the SADC Organ as a relevant actor in peace and security will require a change in member states' political culture.

2.5 Challenges faced by the Organ.

In its quest to achieve positive results The SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security have been encountering numerous obstacles and these have led to failure of the Organ to meet its mandates. In Accordance to Makao (2003) the major challenge faced by the Organ is funding issues. He asserts that the SADC Organ has been heavily depending on donor funding and this is because most of the member states in the organisation are poor states which struggles to support themselves as a result they fail to contribute funds to the Organ. Dependency on donor funding have led the Organisation in slow and poor delivery service. For example on the DRC conflict the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) within the UN peacekeeping mission had to intervene after the standby troop deployed by the SADC Organ had lacked resources and funding.

According to Albuquerque and Wiklund (2015) there is abuse of power by veteran leaders and this have contributed to the failure of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. The founding fathers of the organisation are taking advantage and breaking certain rules since they know that no one will stand up to them. Looking at Zimbabwe 2013 elections President Mugabe deliberately ignored SADC's pleas for him to implement the treaty. As a result the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security failed to enforce the Global Political Agreement.

Influence of high economic and military muscles is another milestone challenging the Organ to fulfill its objectives. Looking at South Africa in particular, in the region it is the country which all other countries look up to because of its military and economic muscles. This has made the country to have more influence on all the decisions of the organisation. The country takes advantage of its economic and social state on the disadvantage of the other states. The country ends up using its resources for solving matters of the Organ and this may lead to bias decisions.

The other challenges that the Organisation is facing include trust issues among States this according to Selebi (1999). The member States does not trust each other therefore they tend to hold back information from each other. This left other issues of concern unresolved.

2.6.0 Theoretical Framework.

There are many theories that can be used in this study to describe the establishment and the role of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in conflict transformation in Africa. Theories shape and guide research effort. The theories of integration, idealism, interdependence and collective security were used to explain the motives the motivations of the SADC Organ.

2.6.1 Collective Security Theory

The first theory is collective security propounded by Claude, Woodrow Wilson, Martin Wight and Immanuel Kant. Ubelejit (2014) argues that collective security is a conception which proposes that an attack, aggression or violent behavior of a nation or state against another nation state would be jointly resisted. The provoker would be compelled to face the combined force of all other nations. In this research, conflicts in the Southern African region can only be shattered down through interventions of organisations such as the African Union, SADC and UN. Ubelejit (2014) further demonstrated that there is no better hope than to see states cooperating and working together to ease the common challenges to peace and security.

According to Ubelejit (2014) collective security is an international translation of the motto ‘one for all and all for one’. Helal (2015) asserts that collective security aspires to attain peace by establishing the principle that everyone is his brother’s keeper. Collective security can therefore be understood as a security arrangement, political, regional, or global, in which each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of everyone. Therefore the existence of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security can be easily explained through this theory as the organisation in its objectives seek to achieve a stable peaceful region through the co-operation of the States in the region. The successful launching and operationalisation of the SADC Standby Force is a commitment which ensures the region’s collective security approach to defence and security affairs and that goes towards the protection of the people and safeguarding the stability of the region. The intervention of South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi in the DRC against the M23 movement is a clear indication of collective security. As the member states realized the need to help the DRC government and defeat the rebels collectively as one.

2.6.2 Interdependency Theory

Interdependence theory was developed by Thibaut and Kelley(1959).Interdependence implies that countries are interrelated or connected such that something happens to at least one State will affect all the other States.20th century has witnessed the growth of interdependence in military security issue area. However recent scholarships have identified the wealth welfare economic issue area rather than military and security. The Organ On Politics, Defence and Security is highly concerned with the stability of the whole region so as to facilitate mutual understandings among states, Therefore this will help to illustrate the need for a peaceful and security free environment in the SADC region which leads to economic growth. Taking into note the DRC bloody conflict which peaked between 1998 and 2003, in 1998 Kabila requested that the Rwandan and Ugandan armies leave the Congolese territory and he received military support from neighboring countries including Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia. The intervention of the other countries clearly portrays how countries in the Southern African region are willing to cooperation to as to bring lasting peace and stability in the region. This also highlights that when one State is in time of need this affects the peace and security of other States and resulting in participation of the other States so as to bring about peace and security in the region.

2.6.3 Integration Theory

The integration theory came to existence in Africa as a result of Pan Africanism. Founders of Pan Africanism such as Kwame Nkruma, Julius Nyerere and Malcom X were of the idea that if Africans unite together as one family they can defeat challenges of all sorts which may come their way. Through this theory institution such as NEPAD, AU, SADC and many others were established. The establishment of SADC led to the formation of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security since and SADC is the guiding branch of the Organ. The aims of integration are to establish a political community, ensure economic gains of cooperation, create joint efforts to curtail crisis to have collective reliance and ensure policy gains if tied to each other. Member states have continued to deepen their cooperation in the areas of politics, defence and security so as to enhance regional integration. The sharing and exchange of information and expertise has contributed to the strengthening of trust amongst member states. This has also served to bolster confidence in each other. Member states understand that they share similar historical backgrounds which is that of colonial rule and imperialism, and that they have a common future of development.

They have been cooperating in various defence areas, such as the exchange of information, visits, the sharing of training institutions, the carrying out joint exercises, and availing support to one other during emergencies and in times of political challenge. For example establishment of SADCs main agenda was that of pursuing economic growth and development through cooperation of the States in the SADC region. Taking into account the simplification of trade barriers and free movement of goods and services, the use of visas was a system used in South Africa so as to limit the number of migrants however because of SADC the visa was abolished and this facilitated free and affordable movement of people across the region. This was only achieved as a result of integration.

2.7 Summary

This chapter explored the view points and opinions put forward by other researchers on the effectiveness of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. The researcher scrutinized the literature and found gaps which included that most scholars focused on conflict resolution and settlement rather than the transformation aspect. Therefore this requires to be filled and theories were provided for better understanding of the research effectiveness. The next chapter focuses on the methods used by the researcher to collect data in the practical field of study area.

CHAPTER THREE; Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methods adopted by the researcher to collect data. This stage deals with how the research was carried out. It involves describing the research design, the research method, target population, sample, the sampling procedure, and the methods used to collect data. The reliability and validity of the research instruments are addressed. Ethical considerations concerning to the research are also discussed.

3.2 Research Design

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011), a design is a summary of procedures that a researcher uses to collect, analyse, interpret and present his or her data. This implies that a research design is the vital concern for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. It provides the overall framework for data collection. Research design is vital because it allows a smooth sailing of various study operations making research efficient to yield maximum information with minimal expenditure of effort money and time. The researcher in this study will apply qualitative approach due to the nature of the data gathered. This is the most reliable technique for analyzing the success and failures of the Organ in its duties to safeguard peace and security in Africa.

3.3 Qualitative Approach

Creswell (2009) defines qualitative research as a means for exploring and undertaking the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. It is defined as involving various kinds of non-numerical data which include interviews, written common text or documents, visual images and observations of behavior. It entails collecting, analyzing and interpreting data by observing what people do and say. It is a method of choice when research questions require an understanding of processes, events, and relationships in the context of social and cultural situation. This approach is usually used for understanding, discovery and description. The merit behind adopting this research design is because it is descriptive and explanatory. Creswell (2003) is of the view that qualitative research is exploratory and is useful when the researcher does not know the important variables to examine. Anderson (2010) posits that issues can be examined in detail and in depth. Interviews can be guided or redirected by the researcher and are not restricted to specific questions. The other strength of this research design is that the framework of the research and direction can be quickly reviewed as new information develops.

Sinaga (2014) asserts that qualitative approach is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations. Choy (2014) argues that the great benefit with a qualitative approach is that the inquiry is broad and open-ended, allowing the participants to raise issues that matter most to them. This research approach is useful as it allows participants to give detailed information on the achievements and failures as well as challenges of the Organ on its mission of conflict resolution in Africa.

However, qualitative approach has its own limitations. Anderson (2010) postulates that the quality of the research heavily relies on the individual skills of the researcher and more easily influenced by the researcher's personal preconceptions and idiosyncrasies. It is further argued that impartiality is more difficult to assess, demonstrate and maintain. Anderson further affirms that the volume of data makes analysis and interpretation time consuming. Choy (2014) points out that a particular important issue could be overlooked and also, because qualitative inquiry is generally open-ended, the participants have more control over the content of the data collected. However, the researcher guarded against issues of biases by making use of varied secondary sources to come up with a piece of work that can be relied upon.

3.4 Target Population

According to Polit and Hungler (1999) target population as an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conform to a set of specifications. Bhattacharjee (2012) also defines target population as all people or items (unit of analysis) with the characteristics that one wishes to study. The target population for this study involved researchers in Peace and Security in conflict management in the Southern African Region in various institutions globally, The Zimbabwe Military Staff Members, Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe National Defence College and the SADC representative institution in Zimbabwe.

3.5 Sample

A sample is a subset of a population selected to participate in the study. It is a fraction of the whole, selected to participate in the research project as argued by Polit and Hungler (1999). Sampling is the process of selecting observations, which takes place between the processes of operationalization and observation. In terms of sampling, both probability and non-probability sampling were used.

3.5.1 Sampling techniques

Sampling procedure defines the rules that specify how the system calculates the sample size. The sampling techniques used were purposive and snowball sampling.

3.5.2 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sample is a non-probability sampling technique where the researcher chooses a specific people within a population to a use in a particular research project and the idea is to concentrate on people with particular characteristic who will better be able to assist with the research. This is sampling that is carried out with a specific purpose in mind, whereby researchers already have a predefined group which they are targeting for their sample. Cohen et al (2007) posits that a researcher uses purposive sampling in order to access people who are knowledgeable about particular issues to be researched. These may be selected by virtue of their power, professional role, and access to networks, experience or expertise. These scholars further argue that it is of no use to employ random sample when most of the random sample may not be aware of particular issues and not able to comment on issues of interest to the researcher. A purposive sample was therefore important in this research since issues surrounding the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security require highly professional and knowledgeable people.

It is also stated that it is possible to use purposive sampling if the researcher knows a reliable professional that he or she thinks is capable of assembling a representative sample. Wyse (2011) postulates that the researcher uses his or her judgment to select population members who are good for accurate information and that the sample size can be as small as one. In this study, the researcher selected personnel in Peace and Security Studies of conflict transformation in Africa, Ministry of Foreign affairs in Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe National Defence College, and Staff of the SADC representatives and High ranked staff of the Zimbabwean Military Services. The researcher conducted face to face and over the phone interviews. The researcher also e-mailed questionnaires and obtained valuable information on the effectiveness of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in conflict transformation in Africa. Information on challenges encountered by the Organ was also obtained.

With purposive sampling, the researcher incurred low costs and there was less time taken to select perspective sampling group members for the study. However, purposive sampling is said to have low level of reliability and high levels of bias. It is further argued that with purposive

sampling, samples are not representative of the whole population and provide no objective method for determining whether one person's judgment is better than another. However, the researcher guarded against these weaknesses by making use of other sources which included Journals, books, Articles from websites and Reports.

3.5.3 Snowball Sampling

According to Kumar (2005), "snowball sampling is a process of selecting a sample using networks. The researcher used this method to complement purposive sampling as respondents would have to suggest additional persons, thereby increasing the pool of information". The method was also useful in studying communication, patterns, decision making and diffusion of knowledge amongst the military services safeguarding and maintenance of peace and security in the region. However the choice of the entire subjects rested upon the individuals at the first stage, hence paving way for bias towards a particular faction.

3.6 Sources of Data

These included the various areas where the researcher obtained information for the study. For this study purpose, both primary and secondary sources were used to collect data on the effectiveness of the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security in conflict transformation in Africa. Cohen, et al (2007, p.193) posits that primary data is original in nature and directly related to the issue or problem and is current data. It is the data which the researcher collects through various methods which include interviews, surveys and questionnaires. Secondary sources are information sources that interpret, include, describe or draw conclusions based on the works written by others. Cohen et al (2007) maintain that a secondary source entails someone describing events which he or she did not witness but got the information from another source or person. Secondary sources used included books, documentary movies, biographies, internet sources and journal articles.

3.6.2 PRIMARY METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Primary sources are original materials on which research is based. They are first-hand testimonies or direct evidence concerning a topic under consideration. They present information in its original form, neither interpreted nor condensed nor evaluated by other writers. Primary data will be collected by the researcher in a raw state that is before analysis. According to Kumar (2005), the three main methods in primary sources are observation, interviews and

questionnaires. The researcher used interviews and questionnaires. Key informant interviews were conducted in person, through e-mails, Skype and telephone.

It can be noted that primary methods allowed interaction between the one obtaining information and the one giving. The information obtained was first hand there by reducing the higher chances of bias. Primary methods enabled the researcher to explain to the respondents in areas that required clarity. The obtaining of the same responses led to a build-up of information thereby making it easier for the researcher to make out concrete data from them hence discovering patterns. However some of the sources were not readily available hence the researcher had to travel to get to them thus being costly. Some of the methods such as interviews required a lot of preparation and skill in order for them to give out accurate results. Also, some of the methods such as Key Informant Interviews were time consuming as the respondents made appointments on time that was most convenient for them.

3.7 Research Instruments

These are the tools that the researcher used to collect data from the respondents. This research used in-depth interviews, a questionnaire and secondary sources which included YouTube clips, online news outfits, articles, online data sources, journals and reports as instruments to gather data on the effectiveness of the SADC Organ on its mission to promote, safeguard and maintain peace and security in Africa.

3.7.1 Questionnaire

According to Bird (2009), a questionnaire is a well-established tool within social science research for acquiring information on participant social characteristics, present and past behavior, standards of behavior or attitudes and their beliefs and reasons for action with respect to the topic under investigation. Bird further expounds that it is an inquiry from which comprises of systematically compiled questions that are also organized.

It is simply a „tool“ for collecting and recording information about a particular issue of interest. In this research, a questionnaire was used to collect data on the effectiveness of the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security in conflict transformation in Africa. The research instrument was also used to gather data on challenges encountered by the Organ in as it tries to fulfill its mandates. The questionnaire that was used comprised of open-ended questions which invited free ranging responses and varied views pertaining to the study. The questionnaire was delivered

via e-mail. The questionnaire had its own strengths and weaknesses. The strengths that the questionnaire had were that the administration was comparatively inexpensive and easy. This tool reduced chances of evaluator bias because the same questions were asked of all respondents. Another advantage was that some people felt more comfortable in responding to a questionnaire than participating in an interview. The use of questionnaire permitted respondents time to consider their responses carefully without interference from the interviewer.

However some obstacles were encountered as the result of the use of questionnaires. These includes low rate of responses, researcher was also unable to probe for additional details for some questions that were answered. The investigator however managed to overcome the weaknesses by the use of other instruments such as interviews and internet sources to obtain more information on the topic under study.

3.7.2 In-depth interview

Manson, (2002) defines in-depth interviews as semi-structured or loosely structured form of interviewing which are designed to capitalize the consistency afforded by the highly structured interviews and the level of the detail offered by open-ended or emergent interviews. Cohen et al (2011, p.349) define in-depth interviews as a tool for data collection which is flexible and allows many channels to be used which include spoken, heard, non-verbal, and verbal.

These in-depth interviews have their own merits and demerits. Atkins and Wallace (2012) postulate that interviews are a very flexible research tool which can be used to gather a range of different types of information, including factual data, views and opinions, personal narratives and histories, which makes them useful as a means of answering a wide range of research questions. For example in this research the Military staff of the Zimbabwe defense forces most of the people who participated in the interviews were knowledgeable since they participate directly in the activities of the SADC Organ. Cohen et al (2011, p.349) propound that the interviewer can press not only for complete answers but also for responses about complex and deep issues and the order of the interview may be controlled while still giving space for spontaneity. Legard et al (2003, p.138) assert that the in-depth format also permits the researcher to explore fully all the factors that underpin participants' answers: reasons, feelings, opinions and beliefs. Another strength that Legard et al (2003) point out is that the interview is generative in the sense that new knowledge or thoughts are likely, at some stage to be created. This

research used unstructured interviews on the effectiveness of the Organ in promoting peace and security in Africa. The researcher managed to probe for more detail to be provided on the topic under study.

However, the weak spots encountered with this research instrument were that it was expensive in time and open to interviewer bias. However, to overcome challenges of bias, the researcher employed same questions in questionnaire to obtain varied views and also used internet sources as instruments for data collection.

3.7.3 Secondary sources

The researcher made use of a variety of secondary sources including Reports, Journal articles and books to collect data on the peace threatening challenges that Africa has been facing and how the SADC Organ has been participating in trying to resolve these conflicts. Cohen et al (2007) noted that though various commentators stress the importance of primary sources, secondary sources are also of great value for they provide valid and reliable historical information. Cohen and other scholars maintain that the literature review carried out in other forms of educational study is considered as a preparation stage to gathering data and helps to acquaint researchers with work of other researchers on topics under study. It is further argued that this will enable researchers to learn from earlier endeavors, and place their research in context.

Secondary sources had the advantages that they were cheaper and easier to access. Precise information was obtained via search engines. They saved time, efforts and money to the value of the research study. Secondary data provided a way to access the work of the best scholars all over the world. Also the use of secondary research helped the researcher to clarify the research questions.

However, secondary sources had their own disadvantages that some documents found on the internet were incomplete, inaccurate and reflected personal biases. In some cases, the researcher found information that appeared valuable and promising but the researcher failed to get the full version of the research to gain the full value of the study. With some documents, there was uncertainty over source and it was not always easy to ensure data reliable, authentic or representative. Another disadvantage was that with the passage of time, some data could no longer be accessible from the internet, may be it could have been removed. Prescott (2008)

postulates that the secondary research used must be scrutinized closely since the origins of the information may be questionable and that the researcher needs to critically evaluate the validity and reliability of the information provided. In this study, the researcher identified, reduced and managed the disadvantages that were accompanied by the use of secondary research. A wide range of internet sources were identified compared and scrutinized to come up with valid and reliable data on the effectiveness of the Organ in its mandate to promote and maintain peace in Africa.

3.8 Case Study

The term case study as defined by Patton (1994) refers to an event, an entity, an individual or even a unit of analysis that help to explain how and why things happen allowing the investigation of contextual realities and taking account of the differences between what was planned and what actually occurred. The researcher used case studies for in-depth examination of a single instance or a few instances of the social phenomenon as well as to gather the data. The focus was on the efforts of the Organ in its trial to solve the DRC conflicts, how it managed to bring about peace in Zimbabwe during the 2008 elections and Madagascar crises resolutions.

Case Studies are of great importance as they help to highlight how certain things take place. Thus the method was instrumental in showing whether the Organ is effective or not. The use of Case Studies proved to be good source of notions about behavior. It was an initiative for new ideas and also important as it is widely used as a technique to study rare phenomena. In addition, it was a method that could be employed to challenge theoretical assumptions through empirical evidence gathered in the in-depth examination. However, generally, case studies make it hard to draw definite cause-effect conclusions. It was difficult to generalize from a single case. There were also possible biases in data collection and interpretation since a single person gathered and analyzed the information.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher considered the ethical issues which included the voluntary participation which requires that people not be coerced into participating in research, informed consent, the right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality. In this study, the researcher recognized informed consent by sending letters to seek permission to carry out research via the e-mail to the Zimbabwe Defense Force, Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe National Defence College,

and the SADC representative institution in the country as well as to other professionals involved in Peace and Security Studies of Africa. Trochim (2006) asserts that the prospective research participants must give their consent to participate and must be fully informed about the procedures and risks involved in research. Ethical standards also require that researchers must not put participants in circumstances where they might be exposed to risk because of participating. The researcher considered respect of privacy and confidentiality in carrying out this study, before the research, participants were assured that the identification of information would not be made available to anyone who was not part of the research. The stricter standard put forward by Trochim, the principle of anonymity, which essentially means that the participant will remain anonymous throughout the study- even to the researchers themselves, was another ethical issue which was also considered by the researcher.

3.10 Summary

This chapter presented the processes that researcher undertook to collect, analyse and present the data. The research instruments and methods were stated and justified. These included the following, Research Design which is Qualitative, the Target Population which was largely the different Institutions involved in dealing with the defence military services, the sampling techniques which is purposive sampling and snowball sampling, The Primary methods of collecting data which included interviews and use of questionnaires, the secondary methods which included books, journals, Articles on the internet just to mention a few and Case study as a method of research data collection, ethical consideration which the research took careful caution in carrying out of the research. The next chapter will detail the presentation and analysis of the research outcomes.

CHAPTER FOUR; DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

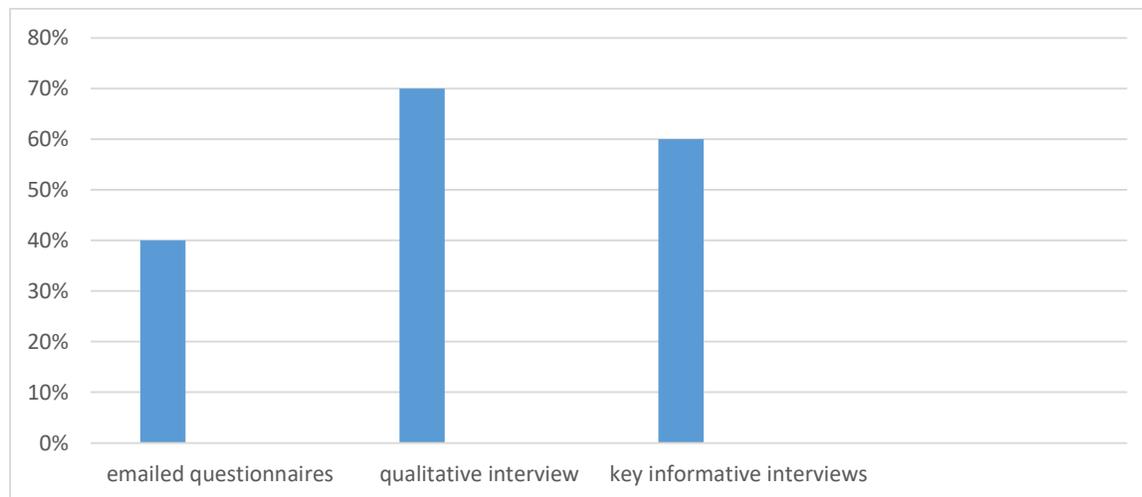
This chapter presents the report and results of findings collected in the field following the research that was done at the SADC institution and the Zimbabwe Defence Forces on the effectiveness of the Organ. The researcher focused on presenting the data collected and also highlighting the analysis of the data. Attention will be given to the responses obtained from interviews carried out. Secondary data will also be presented. The results and findings will be presented using a number of data presentation methods which include pie charts and bar graphs among other. All these shall be in line with main objectives of the study.

4.1 Response rate

The response rate helps to determine the quality and authenticity of the definitive findings of the study. A high response rate by the sampled population is necessary if one is to come up with proper well represented findings. A lower response rate will certainly compromise the validity question of the findings. In this case the response rate was moderate since the targeted population were high dignified officials who had many responsibilities and some of them were afraid to disclose deep information since the topic under study is highly confidential.

Figure 4.1

Interview Response Rate



After collection of data the overall response rate of 65% was achieved in this research. According to Saunders (2003; 23) he states that, "a response rate of 60% is generally a

representation of the population and any population below 60% should be well thought out as biased and not fully representative of the respondents. The response rate of 85% is sufficient enough to estimate the findings of this research as valid authentic and unbiased.

The Military officials qualitative Interviews had a response rate of 70%, the researcher managed to get a high response rate because she resides in a Military camp and was patient kept on pressuring making endless appointments. About Twenty ZNA Defence officials were targeted to be interviewed, It can be noted that the failure to reach 100% was because others would either be ignorant about the topic under research or were simply not interested in discussing about the Organ since they were not specialized in the field area under study and did not have any knowledge about it. The researcher also made use of emailed questionnaire interviews which had response rate of 40%. The failure to have respondents rate of 100% was due to unavailability of respondents as some of the targeted population did not bother to reply the Questionnaires.

4.1 Functioning of the Organ

One of the objectives of the study was to assess the functioning of the Organ. The data obtained from both primary and secondary sources reviewed that the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security is divided into sub committees which deals with different specific issues. There are five Sub committees with in the Organ and these includes the defence sector, Political sector, state security sector, Public security sector and Police sector. The table below helps to illustrate the sub committees and their expected duties they are supposed to deliver.

Table 4.1 Source: Cilliers, 1995, pp 42-43

Defence Sector	Political Sector	State Security Sector	Public Security Sector	Police Sector
a) Promote regional coordination and cooperation on matters related to security and defence and establish appropriate mechanisms to this end.	(a) To protect the people and safeguard the development of the region against instability arising from the breakdown of law and order, intra state and inter state conflict and aggression.	a) To prevent, contain and resolve inter and intra state conflicts.	a) To promote public security and safety in the region.	To protect the people and safeguard the development of the region against instability arising from the breakdown of law and order.
b) To consider enforcement action in accordance with international law, as a matter of last resort, where peaceful means have failed.	b) To promote political co-operation among Member States and the evolution of common political values and institutions.	b) To develop close cooperation between the law enforcement agencies and state security services of member states.	b) To develop capacity and incorporate prison officers in peacekeeping operations.	b) To promote the development of democratic institutions and practices within the territories of State Parties and encourage the observance of universal human rights as provided for in the Charters and Conventions of AU and UN.
c) To consider the development of a collective security	c) To prevent, contain and resolve inter and intra state		c) Enhance regional capacity in respect of disaster risk	c) To develop close co-operation between the police,

capacity; and To conclude the 'SADC Mutual Defence Pact' to respond to external military threats.	conflict by peaceful means.		management and coordination of regional disaster response and international humanitarian assistance.	state security and other law agencies of members in order to address:(i) Cross border crime (ii) Promotion of a community-based approach to domestic security (iii) Illegal migration
d) encourage state parties to implement UN, AU and other international conventions and treaties on arms control, disarmament and peaceful relations	d) To promote the development of democratic institutions and practices by state parties and encourage the observance of universal human rights.			

4.3 The effectiveness of the Organ on Politics Defence and Security on Conflict Resolution

It was the objective of the research to make an assessment and evaluate the effectiveness of the Organ. Findings from both primary and secondary sources used, reveal that the Organ has played a crucial role in trying to address conflict rising issues in the continent. Member states are demonstrating the will to cooperate in political, Defence and Security matters, and this has created an enabling environment for peace, security and stability in the region through the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts within and between states. However, the region still faces potential and actual military threats. Most interviewed individuals from the SADC representative institution and the Military service of Zimbabwe were in support that, the region has enjoyed unparalleled peace, political stability and security for the past few years following the signing of the Angolan Peace Accord in April 2002 and the installation in the

Democratic Republic of Congo of a transitional government on 30 June, 2003. The Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections have boosted the image of the region as a common investment area and mitigated the risk perception. This should increase investment flows into the region in future.

The first assessment was a trace of the participation of the Organ in its involvement in conflict transformation from its establishment upto date. The table helps to illustrate the years that the event took place against the crisis which was addressed.

Figure 4.3

Settled Conflicts by the Organ since its establishment

Conflict Addressed	Year of event
Republic of Congo armed conflict	2002
Zimbabwean Political Crisis	2008
Madagascar Political Crisis	2009
Lesotho Political Crisis	2014
South Africa xenophobic attacks	2016

However other sources brought out the argument of the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Data obtained reviewed that the act of South Africans towards foreigners opposes the mandates of regional integration which is that of States uniting and cooperating together in peace and harmony. An online source of a letter to SADC by the director of Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) dated 27 February 2017 highlights the concern of more intervention the Organ in the attacks. In the letter the organization urged SADC to "Use the Organ on Politics, Defence, and Security Cooperation within SADC to immediately set up an independent and impartial body to investigate all acts of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians and other foreign nationals. The investigation's findings and recommendations should be made public, suspected perpetrators brought to justice and victims must enjoy the right to an effective remedy and reparation.

Below is a picture illustrating the victims of xenophobic attacks. The questions of peace and stability in the region are highly questionable looking at how people's human rights are

undermined and violated in broad day light whilst there is existence of peace and security safeguarding institutions such as the SADC Organ on Politics Defence and Security.



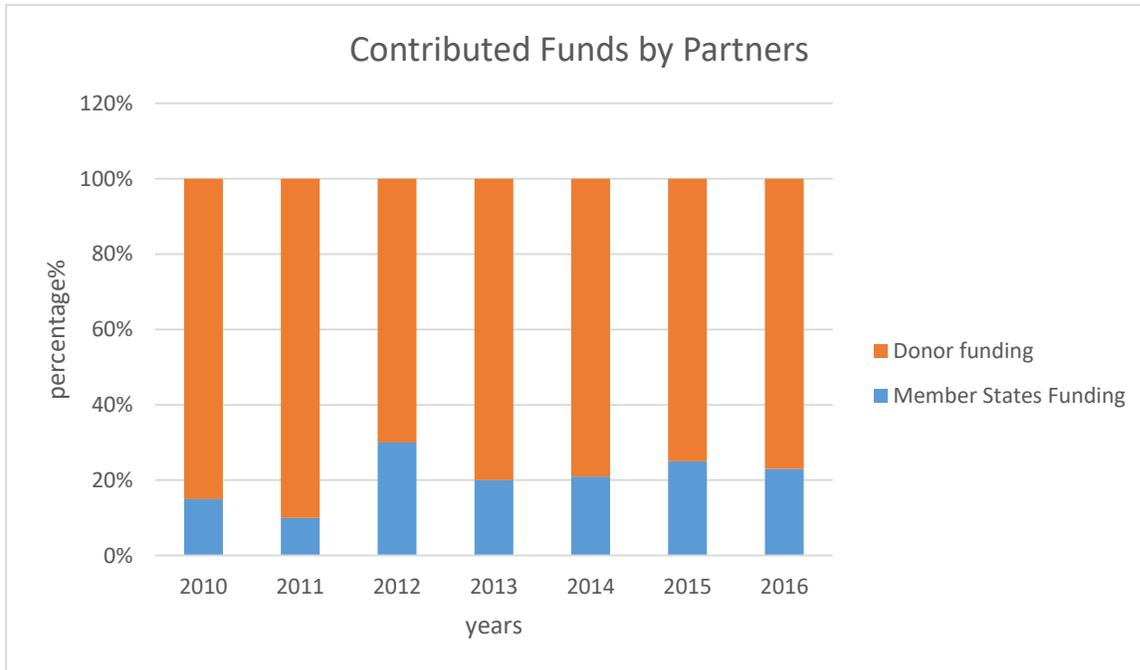
Source. Internet

4.4 Funding of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security

Most scholarly evidence and Primary data obtained pointed fingers at the major challenge of the functioning of the Organ as being that of lack of funding and resources. The budget of the organization is too heavy and a burden on most of the member states. The organization is highly depending on donor funding. Most member states are struggling to provide for their internal affairs therefore it will be more burden to support the projects of regional blocks. Most interviewed people suggested portrayed that the Organ is mostly depending on donor funding. Therefore as long as donor contributions are the major sources of funding it will be difficult for the Organ to independently realise objectives.

Figure 4.4

The graph below helps to illustrate member state contributions against donor funding



Source. SADC Secretariat

The Graph above clearly illustrates the dependence of the Organization on donor funding over the past years. The countries are failing to meet donors half way their contribution is mostly below quarter. As a result the organization has been in its involvement in some of the settled conflicts in the region since it has limited resources. In the case of the DRC armed conflict according to information from most Primary source who at one point had been involved in discredited the settlement of the dispute argued that mission be carried out by SADC. SADC Organ on Politics Defence and Security decided to deploy its Standby Force in the DRC, with South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi contributing some 3,000 troops. However the challenge was about who would pay for the deployment therefore it is unclear what role SADC Organ has, in monitoring and implementing the process.

4.5 SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in Conflict transformation in Africa

100% of the respondents from data gathered through questionnaires indicate that the Sub region African States are committed to the Organ on Politics Defence and Security. All of the respondents said that all the Countries in the SADC organization shows full participation in the activities of the Organ on Politics Defence and Security. The interviewed people said that The members of the SADC Organ are of the view that Peace and security have always been central of the organization, due to the recognition of their role in the establishment of regional cooperation and integration as well as in the creation of the welfare of the people in the Region. A good quality example can be noted on the settlement of the DRC armed conflict when South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi contributed 3,000 troops in support of the standby force.

90% of the Data from questionnaires indicated the deep challenges that the organization has been facing as long as funding is concerned. Most 95% of the respondents said that lack of resources has been one of the major setbacks that have been depriving full participation of the Organ in conflict settlements. The expenditure highly over rides the revenue therefore the organization has been heavily depending on donor funding and this has been resulted in member States not voicing in many of the decisions that are implemented. The Organ is being discredited in many of its interventions in conflict transformation since usually the UN end up coming to its rescue as the organ has limited resources. In the case of the DRC armed conflict most respondents argued that with the existing United Nations (UN) operation in the DRC resulted in the force being deployed as the *Force Intervention Brigade* (FIB) within the UN peacekeeping mission. Therefore the participation of the organ remains in vein.

Respondents to the question about South Africa affecting the functioning of the Organ because of its military and economic muscles meet both positive and negative vibes. 85% of the responds to the questionnaires indicated that South Africa has been helping out the Organ in so many ways as evidenced by use of its resources in favor of settling disputes with in the region for example the Madagascar political crisis in 2009 managed to be resolved when the South African President became the chair in 2011. The country become more actively involved in the mediation process and rather than relying on SADC resources and infrastructure in its mediation work South Africa is said to have primarily relied on its own. However 15% of the respondents indicated that South Africa have been bullying its fellow counterparts. This was concluded basing on the xenophobic attacks that the South Africans have been carrying out on foreigners. No country in the region

has managed to raise critical concern rather other outside Organizations such as AU and UN have been showing much concern. Therefore the effectiveness of the SADC Organ in Politics, defence and Security in conflict transformation in Africa is questionable.

Data gathered from the same questionnaire has explained well achievements made by the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in border policing, curbing arms trafficking, stopping human trafficking, and intelligence gathering and promoting democratic governments in the region.

In terms of border policing the Organ has managed to remove the use of visas this allows free movement of citizens of the member states freely within the region. However in as much as this policy has encouraged cooperation it has come with demerits and one of them has been the case of South Africa being the most receiving country causing more pressure on the economy of the country and this has led to hostile welcome of the natives on foreigners the peace and security has actually been destabilized by the xenophobic violence. Therefore the question remains if the Organ is facilitating peace and security in the region or rather worsening it.

When it comes to intelligence gathering and promotion of democratic governments most respondents were of the view that there has been sharing and exchange of information and expertise which has contributed to the strengthening of trust amongst member states. This has also served to bolster confidence in each other. According to respondents member states understand that they have come a long way together, and that they have a common future. They have been cooperating in various defence areas, such as the exchange of information, visits, the sharing of training institutions, the carrying out joint exercises, and availing support to one other during emergencies and in times of political challenge. The region established the Regional Early Warning Centre (REWC), which was operationalised and launched for conflict prevention and management. When it comes to promoting democratic governments in the region there has been substantial progress in the SADC region on issues related to political governance, the observation of elections, the establishment of the SADC Electoral Advisory Council (SEAC) and the mediation units.

4.6 SADC Organ and conflict Resolution Strategy.

Findings from internet sources, questionnaire and interviews indicate that there are a lot of challenges encountered by the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in conflict transformation

in Africa which compromises the strategies of the Organ to bring lasting peace. The challenges being encountered include lack of sustainable funding, equipment and human resources. The main centralized setback is caused by the economic status of most member States. Most of the member States are poor countries already facing internal economic challenges therefore they struggle to pay their subscriptions. According to the Zimbabwean Independent (2015) Due to financial problems, Harare had reportedly asked South Africa to step in and host the SADC indaba. In a letter to the Bankers Association of Zimbabwe (Baz), titled Resource mobilisation meeting for hosting the SADC extraordinary summit in April 2015: Wednesday March 25 2015, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs begs for funds to host the event. This clearly illustrates the burden and frustration that the Organ brings on poorer states.

Findings from the questionnaire stress that the main challenge of the SADC Organ on Politics Defence and Security is financial resources; otherwise member states are willing to provide troops for the standby army. 100% of the respondents from questionnaires pointed out that it is hoped that with more funding, the African Standby Force will be operationalized soon to tackle conflicts on the continent. This respondent further indicates that most African countries participate in UN peacekeeping because under the UN there is more and secure funding for their troops. It has also been noted from the findings that most funds to support the SADC standby army come from external sources. If these sources withdraw their aid, it would pose a big challenge to Africa.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has presented and analyzed findings on the role, effectiveness and challenges encountered by SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in conflict transformation in Africa. The findings were presented in the form of tables, pictures, graphs and summaries. From the findings on the role of the Organ has been promotion of peace and security in Africa through its different subcommittees. However the Organ has been heavily discredited because of its dependence for rescue from other bigger organizations such as the AU and UN. The cause of this has been the poor state of the Member States as they have been failing to channel resources towards the support of the activities of the Organ. The following chapter focuses on the summary and conclusion of the study. The chapter also makes recommendations on how best the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security can effectively deal with the challenges encountered to bring a lasting solution to the African continent as a whole.

Chapter 5; SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter's main focus is to summarise the entire survey and how the study was conducted and also to summarise the findings as well as presenting the conclusion and recommendations. The researcher's conclusion is based on the findings of the study. The recommendations highlight what the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security can do to overcome some of the challenges and effectively deal with conflicts in Africa. The chapter also intends to answer the research questions and to meet the objectives of the study in brief

5.1 Summary of the Study

The study set out to assess the effectiveness of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in conflict transformation in Africa looking at the case of the DRC armed conflict. The study was prompted by the escalating incidents of deadly terror attacks including suicide bombings, killings and military assaults using sophisticated kinds of weapons leaving hundreds dead and property destroyed. The research also included political crisis and governance deficiency problems basing on the cases of Zimbabwe, Madagascar and Lesotho. The study is structured in five chapters.

The first chapter focused on introducing the area of study under the research. It also managed to give an overview of the historical background of the study. The background of the study focused on the establishment of the SADC and how it led to the formation of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. It is in the background where we find the mandates of the SADC Organ and its brief structure on how it operates. The Statement of the Problem highlighted that despite the existence of a peace keeping and promotion institution in the midst of the region conflicting issues do not cease to rise in Africa. The Research Objectives and research questions were also stressed in this chapter to provide necessary information needed in the research under study. The same chapter also considered the limitations and delimitations which are the advantages and disadvantages that may be faced by the researcher in researching the area of

Chapter two was mainly focusing on reviewing the literature and exploration of theoretical and the conceptual framework of the research. The chapter managed to unpin literature written about the establishment and functioning of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security and evaluation of success and failures by various scholars. This chapter also explored different views

and arguments that has been argued pertaining the subject area there by showing out The chapter manoeuvred through the various arguments that have been brought forward and in the process bringing out the absences of the literature that the research wanted to fill, thus showing how the research will give out to the academic field. In this chapter, the research showed that much literature was written about the effectiveness of the SADC Organ in its participation in the Southern region of Africa only whilst nothing was mentioned on its global peace contribution. This chapter also made use of theoretical and conceptual framework needed by the researcher to bring out various theories and concepts that will, explore explain, examine, support or refute the argument of the research. Theories like collective security, interdependency, integration and idealism were explored.

Chapter three focused on Research Methodology which the researcher used to conduct the research. It looked at the questions such as the research design, targeted population, sampling techniques used which determined who would be part of the research as well as the methods and tools of data collection. In this chapter the researcher used researching instruments and methods which were stated and justified. These instruments included the were; Research Design which is Qualitative, the Targeted Population which was mainly the ZNA defence force, SADC Military representatives. Sampling techniques like purposive sampling and snowball sampling were employed on to the research. This chapter also makes of use interviews, and questionnaires as primary methods of gathering necessary information to be used on the research .Secondary methods of collecting data was also another tool used by the researcher to come up with this research.

Chapter four focused with data presentation and analysis of the collected data about the effectiveness of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in conflict transformation in Africa from the interviews conducted in them the researcher considered as case study. In this chapter information from the findings was analyzed and presented in form tables, bar graphs and pictures. This chapter is meant to provide answers on the objectives and research questions raised by researcher especially in the conflict transformation in Africa. It also managed give detailed which will enable the researcher to proceed to the next chapter where summary, conclusion and recommendations will be provided for.

5.2 Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that despite the setbacks and challenges encountered, the SADC Organ it is doing a great job to enforce peace and security in Africa. The region has been mostly at peace since the establishment of the Organ. There has been promotion of democratic governments throughout the region. The SADC Organ has managed to get assistance on cases which it fails to deal with on its own from AU and UN as well as mobilization of funds from its international partners. Generally security has improved in most areas of the region. The Organ has managed to establish training institutions all over the region in different countries and there have been trust and commitment among the member states. However, citizens of member States needs to be reminded the concept of Pan Africanism and be educated as to acquire more knowledge on the importance of states cooperating together as one. Resulting from the nativity of the South African citizens who have killing their fellow African brothers during the xenophobic attacks.

5.3 Recommendations

For a lasting effective SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security the following recommendations have been proffered:

Policy recommendations:

- There is need for monitoring voting registration and voting processes rather than just for the Organ to participate on the day of the elections only. This would improve to minimise challenging issues such as vote rigging.
- When the term in office of a Chair expires it is advisable that the same person continues carrying out policy operations that he or she has been involved in. This facilitates continuity in conflict resolution since most disputes takes more than one year to be resolved.
- There is need for The SADC to establish revenue generating projects so as to minimise dependence on donor funding. The projects should benefit member states as well as increasing the revenue of the Organisation so as to less burden the struggling member states.

- There is need for educating the African people on the importance of regional blocks and cooperation so that deep in minds people first will learn to appreciate each other and treat each other in a brotherhood manner.
- There is also the need to establish a comprehensive reconciliation process that brings about regional cohesion and integration across the member states as the basis of any long term approach to stability, uphold human rights and hold accountable those responsible for such crimes.
- There is need for SADC to urgently make an appeal to the UN and other International partners for sustainable funding to make an increase in human resources and equipment for Organ on Politics, Defence and Security to effectively carry out its mandate.

REFERENCE LIST

Anderson C. (2010) **Presenting and Evaluating Qualitative Research**. American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education, vol. 74(8). Pg 141.

Bird R. (2009) **Effectiveness of Questionnaires in Research**. Houndmills. Macmillan

Cawthra G. (2010) **The role of SADC in managing Political crisis and conflict. Case of Madagascar and Zimbabwe**. Maputo, Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung.

Choy L.T.(2014) **The Strength and Weaknesses Research Methodology. Comparison and Complimentary between Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches**, IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science, vol 19, no,4, pg 99-104.

Cilliers J. (1995). **Towards Collaborative Cooperative Security in Southern Africa: The OAU and SADC** in J. Cilliers and M. Reichardt (eds), **About Turn**, The Institute for Defence Policy, Halfway House.

Cilliers J (1996)"**The Evolving Security Architecture in (Southern) Africa**", **Terrorism and Political Violence**, The Institute for Defence Policy, Halfway House.

Cooper M (1998). **Essence of Literature Review**. Chicago. Chicago Press.

Creswell J.W. (2003).**Research Design; Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Approaches**.2nd edition, London, Sage Publications.

Denzin N. K and Lincoln Y.S. (2011). **The SAGE handbook of Qualitative Research, 4th edition**, London, SAGE.

Garba A. and Herskovits M (1997). **Strategic Methods for Peace and Security in SADC**. Capetown. UNISA

Hammerstad A. (2003) **Defending the State or Protecting the People. SADC Security integration**. Johannesburg , The Southern Africa Institute of International Affairs.

Helal M.S. (2015) **‘Am I my Brother’s Keeper? The Reality, Tragedy and future of Collective Security.** Harvard National Security Journal, vol, 6 no 11 pg 283-473.

Ibrahim Index of African Governance (2015) **Issues on Democracy and Governance Deficits in Africa.** Journal of South African Studies, 2nd edition

Kumar .K (2015) **Guiding Principles For In-depth Interviews.** Portsmouth. Heinemann.

Laurie N (2006) "**SADC's Uncommon Approach to Common Security, 1992–2003***", Journal of Southern African Studies, 9/1/2006

Lederach F. (2003). **Defining Conflict Resolution, Conflict Settlement and Conflict Transformation.** Harvard University. Harvard Publishing House

Makao .F. K (2003) Thesis on **Southern Africa Conflict Management Regime, Peace, Security and Stability in lieu of Democracy** accessed online 14 June 2017.

Minja R (2013) "**Security Challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa and Collective Security Challenges: The EAC and SADC in Comparative Perspective**", DuEPublico:University of Duisburg-Essen Publications.

Establishment of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security accessed at www.sadc.int on 24 August 2017.

Nieuwkerk, A (2014) **The Strategic Culture of Foreign and Security Policymaking: Examining the Southern African Development Community**", African Security, London. SAGE

Oosthuizen N. (2016) **Establishment of SADC.** London. Merlin Press.

Responses of SADC Member States during Conflict Crisis time accessed at uir.unisa.ac.za on 27 August 2017

Salomon, K (2009) "**Conflict Management durch ECOWAS und SADC – die Rolle Nigerias und Südafrikas in sub regionalen Interventionen**", Münster University Germany.

Saunders, M (2003). **Tenets of Literature Review.** London. SAGE Publishing house

Seleb, N (1999). **Conceptualizing the word ‘Ogarn’.** Capetown. UNISA

Sinaga A.M.H.P (2014) **Difference between Qualitative and Quantitative analysis and How it Should be applied in Researches.** Chicago,Chicago Press.

"Southern African states hold talks on establishing early warning system.", Xinhua News Agency, March 22 2004

"The SADC Electoral Advisory Council's Support to Democratic Elections Needs to Be Improved [analysis]", Africa News Service, Feb 26 2013

Tepperman N. (1994) **Qualitative Methods in research carring out.** Cambridge, Cambridge University.

APPENDIX A

Interview guide

My name is Juliana Chin'anga. I am a student at Midlands State University studying for an Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management. I am carrying out research **on the effectiveness of the Organ on Politics, Defense and Security in conflict transformation in Africa**. The data collected shall be used for the purpose of this study only. You are assured that your responses will be treated with privacy and confidentiality. Your contribution is greatly acknowledged.

1. The African continent is bedeviled by threats to peace, security and development which include armed rebellions, terrorism and human trafficking. What is the role of The SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security in resolving conflicts in Africa?
2. What can you say are the commitments on the cooperation of the member states towards peace building in the continent?
3. How successful have been the Organisation in raising funds for its activities?
4. In your opinion what can be done by the region in order to raise resources for the Organisation to easily carry out its activities.
5. The SADC Organ has an early warning system in its modus operandi, how has this been used effectively to guard the peace and security of the region.
6. How effective has been the Organ standing army in resolving conflicts in the region as they arise.
7. South Africa has been actively carrying out xenophobic attacks, to what extent is this likely to compromise the objectives of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defense and Security.
8. What challenges do you think are the major setbacks of the Organ?
9. What solutions do you proffer to ensure lasting peace and stability in the Region?
10. Lastly, following the fear of States to lose their sovereignty, what do you think can be best done in order to ensure trust among all Member States?

b) Curbing arms trafficking

c) Stopping Human Trafficking

d) Intelligence gathering

e) Promoting Democratic Governments in the region

6. Armed conflicts in the SADC region is said to have degraded over the years, in your opinion what needs to be done to ensure there is no resurgence?

7. What has been Zimbabwean contribution in the SADC Organ on Politics Defence and Security in peace building?

8. What challenges do you think are the major setbacks for the Organ in trying to achieve and maintain everlasting peace and security in the region?

9. What possible solutions do you proffer to ensure lasting peace in Africa?

Thank you for your cooperation

APPENDIX C: RELEASE FORM

Name of Author: **JULIANA CHIN'ANGA**

The effectiveness of the Organ on Politics Defence and Security in Conflict Transformation in Africa. Case of DRC 2002 Armed conflicts

Period August 2017 – November 2017

Politics and Public Management.

Year submitted 2017

Permission is hereby granted to Midlands State University to produce single copies of this dissertation and lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes. Only the author does not reserve other publication rights and the dissertation nor may extensive extracts from it be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Signed

Date

