

**PURSUING HUMAN SECURITY IN AFRICA THROUGH  
DEVELOPMENTAL PEACE MISSIONS:  
AMBITIOUS CONSTRUCT OR FEASIBLE IDEAL?**

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**DECLARATION**

**By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the feasibility of the concept *Developmental Peace Missions* (DPMs). It seeks to answer the question whether DPMs is an ambitious construct or a feasible ideal and whether DPMs could be effectively applied during peace missions. The study takes the form of a descriptive analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of DPMs, and includes the analysis of various relevant case studies in terms of the application of the concept of DPMs.

The study further explores the evolution that has taken place in terms of United Nations peace missions, in that most modern peace missions include both peacekeeping and peacebuilding initiatives. The study also illustrates the modern approach to peace missions, based on an integrated systems-thinking approach by means of which the activities of all relevant role-players are integrated and fused towards a common end state: that of sustained security and development. In order to analyse the concept of DPMs, the theoretical underpinnings of the concept human security, the security-development nexus and peacebuilding were researched in depth. These concepts were then coupled to the concept of DPMs in terms of their utility during current complex peace missions, both internationally and on the African continent.

The concept of DPMs was studied in the context of contemporary peacekeeping in terms of three case studies, namely the peace missions in Kosovo, Sierra Leone and the DRC. The DPMs concept was applied to these case studies and analysed in terms of the extent to which the peace interventions in these countries were conducted in accordance with the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of DPMs.

The study concludes that DPMs, in terms of its theoretical basis, is indeed a feasible ideal for peace missions, as it is based on and in line with the approved current UN- and AU-integrated planning processes. However, in terms of its practical utility in Africa, it currently remains an ambitious construct, given the limited capacity and resources of the AU and regional organisations. Therefore, DPMs should not be viewed as a short-term solution to, or panacea for, all intra-state wars. The study proposes that the UN, the AU, as well as relevant regional organisations will have to adjust and make changes in terms of their institutions, structures, funding and the provision of resources in order to operationalise the concept of DPMs successfully. This is especially true as far as the AU is concerned, as the AU currently experiences severe limitations in both material and human resources. However, the fact that both the UN and the AU have adopted the Integrated Mission Planning Process concept as planning tool for their respective missions is an indication that progress is being made towards the achievement of establishing a more holistic and integrated approach to finding sustainable solutions to global conflict. Ultimately, the success of DPMs will be determined by the *will* and *commitment* of all the relevant role-players involved in finding a lasting solution to intra-state conflicts. The concept itself cannot provide sustainable peace and development.

## OPSOMMING

Dié tesis verken die lewensvatbaarheid van die begrip Ontwikkelingsvredesendings. Daar sal gepoog word om 'n antwoord te kry op die vraag of Ontwikkelingsvredesendings 'n ambisieuse konstruk of 'n haalbare ideal is. Verder sal gepoog word om te bepaal of dit effektief tydens vredesoperasies toegepas kan word. Die studie neem die vorm aan van 'n beskrywende analise van die teoretiese grondbeginsels van die begrip Ontwikkelingsvredesendings en sluit die analise van verskeie relevante gevallestudies ten opsigte van die begrip in.

Die studie ondersoek die evolusie wat plaasgevind het ten opsigte van vredesendings wat deur die Verenigde Nasies (VN) onderneem word, naamlik dat die meeste moderne vredesendings, vredesbewarings, sowel as vredesbou (nasiebou) inisiatiewe insluit. Die studie illustreer ook die moderne benadering wat ten opsigte van vredesendings toegepas word, naamlik dat die aktiwiteite van al die betrokke rolspelers geïntegreer word en op 'n gedeelde einddoel gefokus word. Die teoretiese grondstellings van die begrippe veiligheid en ontwikkeling, die veiligheid-en-sekureit-neksus, sowel as die begrip van vredesbou (nasiebou) is in diepte ondersoek ten einde die begrip Ontwikkelingsvredesendings te analiseer. Hierdie begrippe is daarna in verband gebring met die begrip Ontwikkelingsvredesendings soos wat dit tans tydens moderne komplekse vredesendings toegepas word – beide internasionaal sowel as op die Afrika kontinent.

Die begrip Ontwikkelingsvredesendings is bestudeer teen die agtergrond van eietydse vredesbewaring ten opsigte van drie gevallestudies, naamlik die intervensies in Kosovo, Sierra Leone en die Demokratiese Republiek van die Kongo. Hierdie drie gevallestudies is gekies aangesien dit die eerste sendings was waartydens die VN die nuwe geïntegreerde benadering tot vredesendings, soos in die Brahimi-verslag aanbeveel, toegepas is.

Die studie het bevind dat Ontwikkelingsvredesendings, wat betref die teoretiese grondstellings inderdaad uitvoerbaar is, aangesien dit gebaseer is op en in ooreenstemming is met die huidige aanvaarde beplanningprosesse van die VN en die AU. Maar, wat betref die praktiese bruikbaarheid van die begrip in Afrika, bly dit tans 'n ambisieuse konstruk, gegewe die beperkte vermoë en hulpbronne van die AU en streeksorganisasies. Die begrip Ontwikkelingsvredesendings moet dus nie as 'n korttermynoplossing vir alle interne oorloë beskou word nie. Die studie het bevind dat die VN, die AU, sowel as die betrokke streeksorganisasies, ingrypende veranderinge sal moet ondergaan ten einde die begrip Ontwikkelingsvredesendings suksesvol te kan toepas, veral ten opsigte van strukture, befondsing en die voorsiening van hulpbronne. Dit is veral waar in die geval van die AU, aangesien die AU tans geweldige uitdagings in die gesig staar wat betref menslike sowel as materiële hulpbronne. Ten spyte van laasgenoemde uitdagings dui die aanvaarding van die Geïntegreerde Sendingbeplanningproses as besluitnemings-meganisme deur beide die VN en die AU op die vordering wat gemaak word ten opsigte van die daarstelling van 'n meer holistiese en ge-

ïntegreerde benadering vir volhoubare oplossings vir konflik. Die sukses van Ontwikkelingsvredesendings sal uiteindelik bepaal word deur die wil en toewyding van alle betrokkenes by die soeke na langdurige vrede – die begrip op sigself kan nie volhoubare vrede en ontwikkeling bewerkstellig nie.

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## ACRONYMS

ACDS:	African Chiefs of Defence Staff
AFDL:	Alliance des Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Congo-Zaire
APSA:	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF:	African Standby Force
AU:	African Union
CAGE:	Conflict and Governance Facility
CSIR:	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DDR:	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DFA:	Department of Foreign Affairs (South Africa)
DOD:	Department of Defence
DPKO:	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DPMs:	Developmental Peace Missions
DRC:	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EC:	European Commission
ECOMICI:	ECOWAS Mission to Cote d' Ivoire
ECOMOG:	Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
EO:	Executive Outcomes
EU:	European Union
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HUMINT:	Human Intelligence
IFIs:	International Financial Institutions
ICD:	Inter-Congolese Dialogue
IGAD:	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGOs:	Inter-Governmental Organisations
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
IMPP:	Integrated Mission Planning Process
IOs:	International Organisations
KFOR:	Kosovo Force
KLA:	Kosovo Liberation Army
LNGOs:	Local Non-Governmental Organisations
LRA:	Lord's Resistance Army
MLC:	Movement de Liberation du Congo
MNCs:	Multi-National Corporations
MONUC:	Mission de la Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo
MOOTW:	Military Operations Other than War
MOU:	Memorandum of Understanding
MSC:	Military Staff Committee
MSF:	Medicins Sans Frontieres
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisations
NOCPM:	National Office for the Coordination of Peace Missions
OAU:	Organisation for African Unity
OSCE:	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PBC:	Peace Building Commission
PCRD:	Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Framework
PSC:	Peace and Security Council
PSO:	Peace Support Operation
QIPs:	Quick Impact Projects

**ACRONYMS**

RCD:	Congolese Rally for Democracy
RECs:	Regional Economic Communities
RSLMF:	Republic of Sierra Leone Military Forces
RUF:	Revolutionary United Front
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SANDEF:	South African National Defence Force
SLA:	Sierra Leone Army
SRSG:	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
TCC:	Troop Contributing Country
TRC:	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UN:	United Nations
UNAMSIL:	United Nations Missions in Sierra Leone
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPKO:	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIOSIL:	United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone
UNMIK:	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNOMSIL:	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone
UN SC:	United Nations Security Council
UN SG:	United Nations Secretary-General
WMDs:	Weapons of Mass Destruction



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