



**THE IMPACT OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC) IN
REGIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION: CASE OF ZIMBABWE, 2008-2018**

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I Francis Bobby Maseko, a candidate of Masters in Defence and Strategic Studies at the University of Botswana declare that this research essay titled ‘The impact of Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) in regional conflict resolution: Case of Zimbabwe, 2008-2018’ carried out under the supervision of Professor Korwa Gombe Adar is my original work. The research essay has not been submitted in any other university for any degree. Sources of data consulted in compiling this study were acknowledged and referenced in accordance with research ethics and rules of academic writing.

Student’s Signature-----

Date

Supervisor’ Signature.....

Date.....

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ABSTRACT

The research study is on the impact of Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) in regional conflict resolution, case study of Zimbabwe, 2008-2018. The study was a desktop which used documentary analysis methodology to collect and analyze data. Qualitative design is the approach that the study utilized. A hermeneutics of the documents and texts was done in order to explore the impact of SADC in solving conflict in Zimbabwe. The study identified that Zimbabwe's conflict in the years 2008-2018 was mainly caused by irregular national elections whose results were contested. Though Zimbabwe violated SADC guidelines on conducting democratic elections in the region, SADC was not effective enough to solve the conflict. Lack of political will, solidarity politics and liberation legacy are among the factors that hindered SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively. The SADC mediators in Zimbabwe namely former South African Presidents Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma were impartial in their mediation efforts and this gave President Mugabe an opportunity to violate several resolutions to be implemented by the Government of National Unity (GNU) in Zimbabwe. Soft diplomacy approach used by SADC in an attempt to solve Zimbabwe's conflict was effective. Zimbabwe's conflict escalated due to the fact that SADC could not use hard power in the name of the Standby Force though the nature of the conflict compelled them to do so. Owing to the shortcomings in the SADC conflict resolution efforts, Zimbabwe's liberation and ruling party, ZANU-PF supported by some security forces unleashed violence against members of the opposition party MDC. There was bloodshed in Zimbabwe during 2008 and 2018 elections. The problem was exacerbated by ZANU-PF's principles identical to Social Darwinism that nature is "a kill-or-be-killed." This survival of the fittest ideology still persists in Zimbabwe and the conflict continues to escalate as it also leads to socio-economic challenges. The study suggested recommendations to be implemented so as to alleviate the conflict in Zimbabwe. Moreover the study identified the gap which requires further research.

ACRONYMS

AU- African Union

CMR- Civil Military Relations

DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo

GNU- Government of National Unity

GPA- Global Political Agreement

LDF- Lesotho Defence Force

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change

MDC-M- Movement for Democratic Change Mutambara

MDC-T. Movement for Democratic Change Tsvangirai

OAU- Organization of African Unity

ODM- Orange Democratic Party

OPDSC- Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation

PNU- Party of National Unity

SADCC- Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference

SADC- Southern Africa Development Community

SANDF- South Africa National Defence Force

SIPO- Strategic Indicative Plan Organ

UN- United Nations

ZANU-PF- Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZDF- Zimbabwe Defence Forces

ZNA- Zimbabwe National Army

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY CONTEXT

1.1 BACKGROUND

Historically, Zimbabwe has suffered for a long time from pre-colonial, through colonial era to post-colonial times. People of Zimbabwe also lost lives and property during the time of colonization and annexation of the country's natural resources by the British. Zimbabweans lost lives during the protracted armed struggle against colonial rule. Independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 came after a long suffering of the people some of whom perished on their way to seek refuge in the neighboring countries (Chingono, 1999). Three years after independence, the government of Zimbabwe embarked on ethnic-cleansing (Chung, 2006). The genocidal incident known as *gukurahundi*¹ in Shona had seen the Zimbabwe military killing approximately 20 000 citizens most of whom belonged to the Ndebele tribe (Stiff, 2000:181-182). The figures concerning people who were killed is contested. The Catholic Commission (1997:10) documented at least 2000 deaths and speculated that the actual number could be 8 000 or higher, but the local Ndebele people put the figure between 20 000 and 30 000.

After independence, the government of Zimbabwe did not effectively implement the values and principles of democracy and liberal system. When Robert Mugabe the leader of one of the liberation movements, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) won the elections and became the Prime Minister in 1980 and later the President of Zimbabwe in 1987, he did not demilitarize the country which the former colonial regime of Ian Smith militarized (Chingono, 1999). Mugabe adopted the security systems that were left behind by the Smith's Rhodesia regime. The Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) was highly politicized. Due to

¹For more information about "Gukurahundi" in Zimbabwe, see, Stiff, P. (2000) "Cry Zimbabwe: Independence-Twenty Years on". Johannesburg: Galago, p 16. Gukurahundi is literally translated the first rain that that carries away the useless materials particularly the chaff of the grain after winnowing. If applied in the Zimbabwe context, it means those who were murdered were as useless as chaff.

militarization and politicization, the ZNA's civil military relations (CMRs) were poor in the sense that the military got involved in party politics. Since the senior commanders of the ZNA are veterans of the liberation struggle, they are pro-ruling ZANU-PF (Cook, 2017). The commanders have influenced and politicized the military junior ranks to be partisan and to act violently against the opposition political parties particularly the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) founded by Morgan Tsvangirai (Cook, 2017). Political intolerance is among the major problems that characterizes Zimbabwe society (Gagare, 2018). The military's involvement in politics has also led to regime change in Zimbabwe. In November 2017, the ZNA led by General Constantino Chiwenga staged a *coup detat* leading to the step down of President Mugabe from power. The military, the veterans of liberation war and supporters of ZANU-PF replaced Mugabe with Emmerson Mnangagwa (Cook, 2017).

Failure to implement and operationalize democratic principles and institutions has resulted in poor conduct and administration of national elections in Zimbabwe. Several times, Zimbabwe has witnessed disputed election results leading to the escalation of violence. Moreover, elections in Zimbabwe are normally marred by violence, bloodshed, torture of the opponents mostly perpetrated by the ruling party and armed forces. Many innocent Zimbabweans have lost their lives through assassination while others simply disappear (Chung, 2006).

The period 2008-2018 was chosen for this study for two main reasons. First, it is the time when the ruling ZANU-PF party lost the majority of its support to the opposition MDC party. Secondly, in response to its waning power witnessed through poor presidential and parliamentary election results in 2008-2018, some scholars argue, ZANU-PF resorted to extreme violence never witnessed before against members of the opposition party MDC and its leadership (Gagare 2018).

Disputed elections, abuse of human rights particularly those of the opposition party members by the military and loss of lives of some civilians led to the diplomatic isolation of Zimbabwe by some powers in the international system (Campbell, 2017). The isolation of Zimbabwe worsened the political and economic situation of the country. Furthermore, disputed elections resulted in increased levels of conflict and polarization (Campbell, 2017). Additionally, an unexpected political transition took place during the timeframe chosen for study. In November of 2017 the

Zimbabwe military helped in ousting President Mugabe from power (Gagare, 2018). This study therefore seeks to investigate the impact of SADC as a regional organization in resolving conflicts in the member state, particularly in Zimbabwe. SADC is a regional organization that comprises fifteen members² one of which is the country under study, Zimbabwe. Literature that critically assesses the work of SADC with regards to resolution and management of political instabilities in Zimbabwe from 2008 to 2018, especially the time following the presidential elections in 2008 and events that followed thereafter up to the ousting of Mugabe from power 2018 is still needed.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Violent conflict is a threat to the country's human and national security; hence it is negative and counterproductive. When conflict arises, its resolution is attainable through effective strategies that may lead to win-win solutions. This study was prompted by the fact that Zimbabwe has experienced violent conflicts for a long time due to disputed elections and other political challenges despite numerous interventions by SADC (Campbell, 2017). In this regard, the study seeks to investigate the impact of the regional organization, SADC in conflict resolution in the region with reference to Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the study explores the strategies that SADC used to intervene in Zimbabwe's problems and assess whether or not they are effective enough to deal with conflict of that nature. It is also within the scope of the study to explore the challenges that SADC experiences as a regional organization responsible for resolving political and economic problems faced by member states.

² SADC member states include Zimbabwe, Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, Angola, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Seychelles and Comoros

1.3 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of the study is to investigate the effect of SADC in regional conflict resolution with particular reference to Zimbabwe.

The following are specific objectives drawn from the major objective:

1. To explore the impact of SADC in solving conflict in its member states.
2. To investigate the problems faced by Zimbabwe which call for SADC intervention.
3. To examine the factors that inhibit SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively.
4. To establish the possible ways by which SADC can use to solve Zimbabwe's problems effectively

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The major research question is how effective is SADC in regional conflict resolution particularly with reference to intervention in the Zimbabwe political crises?

The specific questions of the study are:

1. What is the impact of SADC in solving conflict in the region?
2. What are Zimbabwe's problems which call for SADC intervention?
3. What factors inhibit SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively?
4. What are the possible ways by which SADC can use to solve Zimbabwe's problems effectively?

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Zimbabwe conflict has been prolonged by several factors resulting in the damage of infrastructure due to violent protests. A vast number of people have lost their lives due to violence by contesting political parties. Military interventions in politics characterized by *coup d'état* elements are no longer very common nowadays, but on the 14th November 2017, Zimbabwe witnessed such a problem which its military dubbed Operation Restore Legacy

(Cook, 2017). The findings of the study will be used to inform other researchers in the field of conflict resolution. Moreover, the results of the study can be useful to state actors and other stakeholders who may want to understand the nurture and mutation of military *coups d'état*. Policymakers too will find the results of the study useful in crafting policies.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Due to time limits, the study will be a desktop qualitative research which gathers data through reviewing of documents. Though the study is geared towards providing academically useful results, the credibility of the findings may be limited by the fact that primary sources of data such as samples of humans are not part of the study. The study would have been more credible if questionnaires and interview guides were to be used to collect first-hand information from the field. Triangulation of methods in mixed research would have benefitted the study.

1.7 SOCIAL DARWINISM: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

In consonance with the requirements of academic research, this study anchors on arguments of Social Darwinism theoretical framework and the understanding of conflict as a concept. Social Darwinism is underpinned on the assumption that conflict is inherent in human nature. The social, biological and physical character of humans are viewed as predicated on fear and 'the constant urge for survival in a naturally hostile environment' (Schellenberg, 1982:10). Charles Darwin, the proponent of this theory likened people's lives to experiences in the kingdom of animals where the principle of life is the survival of the fittest approach. Charles Darwin affirms that the foundation and sustenance of life is attainable through rivalry between contesting parties (Matlosa, 1998). There are several theories that can be used to inform conflict studies. Marxism is among these theories. However, this study utilizes Social Darwinism because it has been used successfully in researching conflict cases similar to the Zimbabwean problems. For instance, Matlosa (2001) studied the 1998 conflict in Lesotho and used a triangulation of theoretical frameworks one of which was Social Darwinism. A detailed review of literature on Social Darwinism will be provided in chapter two of the study.

1.8 CONCEPT OF CONFLICT

The concept of conflict, according to Deng and Zartman (1991) refers to disputes and misunderstandings between two or more parties whose interests are incompatible. Pule (1997) posits that all conflicts are characterized by competition or survival strategy, power over the use of resources as well as the values and interests of the contestants. Matlosa (2001) observes that conflicts occur at different levels of society namely the micro-level that comprises the family or household, the meso-level comprising organizations such as industries or firms and the macro-level which is also known as the national level. Zimbabwe's conflict will be analyzed within the context of macro or national level.

Beginning about 1980s the majority of conflicts in the SADC region are intra-state linked to the crises of state and, power dynamics between contesting parties and the problem of resource distribution (Matlosa, 1998). It is on this background that the concept conflict is used in understanding, unpacking and analyzing the political problems in Zimbabwe.

1.9 ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

The study will be made up of five chapters. **Chapter one** is the introductory chapter giving the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives and research questions, significance of the study, limitations of the study, Social Darwinism theoretical framework for analysis and the concept of conflict.

Chapter two reviews literature on conflict and conflict resolution. The chapter starts by an introduction and it provides a detailed literature review on Social Darwinism theory. Additionally, chapter two reviews literature on the background to the formation of SADC. Moreover, the chapter reviews literature on the transformation from SADCC to SADC. The other topics reviewed include the SADC Treaty SADC Institutional Mechanism, the amendment of SADC Treaty, the Organ on Politics Defence and Security Cooperation, the effort by SADC to deal with conflict in the region and finally, the prospects and challenges of SADC in resolving regional conflicts.

Chapter three presents the methodology of the study. The chapter starts by an introduction. It explains the research design of the study and desktop research. Additionally, chapter three explains document analysis as a method used in the study. Furthermore, the chapter provides the data collection and analysis methods. Finally, the chapter presents ethical considerations and summary of the methodology.

Chapter four of the study presents data analysis and findings. The chapter gives an introduction to data analysis and findings of the study. The chapter presents data and findings under the guidance of the study's objectives namely; to explore the impact of SADC in solving conflict in its member states; to investigate the problems faced by Zimbabwe which call for SADC intervention; to examine the factors that inhibit SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively and to establish the possible ways which can be used by SADC to solve Zimbabwe's problems effectively.

Chapter five provides the summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations. The chapter begins by an introduction; then it provides the summary of the findings of the study on "the impact of SADC in regional conflict resolution: case of Zimbabwe, 2008-2018." The summary of the findings follows the introduction. Additionally, the chapter draws the conclusions by summarizing and evaluating the impact of SADC in solving conflict in its member states; the problems faced by Zimbabwe which call for SADC intervention; the factors that inhibit SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively and the possible ways which can be used by SADC to solve Zimbabwe's problems effectively. The chapter suggests recommendations of the study and finally it gives the concluding remarks.

1.10 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The chapter has presented an introduction on the impact of SADC in regional conflict resolution with particular reference to Zimbabwe. The chapter discussed the background of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives and research questions; significance of the study and limitations of the study; Social Darwinism theoretical framework for analysis and clarification of conflict concept. Finally the chapter presented a summary on the organization of the chapters of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents literature review on the impact of SADC in regional conflict resolution. The chapter examines what other researchers have established regarding SADC and its impact in conflict resolution. The chapter begins by reviewing literature on Social Darwinism theory, a framework upon which the study is anchored. Moreover, the chapter reviews literature on the implications of power sharing agreements as an approach in resolving conflicts in Africa of which SADC is a sub-region. Literature will also be reviewed on the history of the SADC and the relationship of the countries in this regional organization. Furthermore, the role played by SADC in an attempt to resolve conflicts in some of its member states other than Zimbabwe will be assessed. Finally, SADC's effort in resolving Zimbabwe conflict in 2008-2018 will be examined.

2.2 SOCIAL DARWINISM THEORY

Researchers have written a lot on Social Darwinism theory. Wells (1907) posits that Social Darwinism is a set of ideas that emerged around the late 1800s. These sets of ideas witnessed the use of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution so as to justify certain economic, political and social views (Daniel, 2017). Upholders of Social Darwinism believe in the survival of the fittest (Gregory, 2000). Social Darwinists are of the perspective that in society, certain people become powerful due to the fact that they are innately better (Wells, 1907). As philosophy and theory, Social Darwinism has been used for the justification of racism, eugenics, social inequality and imperialism (Adrian & Moore, 2009). This happened at different intervals over the previous century and a half (Gregory, 2000).

According to Paul (2006), a 19th Century philosopher by the name Herbert Spencer is among the first people to promote the idea of Social Darwinism. In its essence, as Daniel (2017) observed,

Social Darwinism is an application of natural selection theory to political, economic and social issues. Social Darwinism's simplest form subscribes to the mantra of the strong survive to include humans and animals (Paul, 2006). Social Darwinism theory was employed by some individuals and states to promote the racist idea that the White European race was the most superior to all other races globally and therefore, it was destined to rule over the world (Adrian & Moore, 2009). By the time when Spencer started promoting Social Darwinism, the economy, technology and the White European governments were quite advanced compared to other cultures (Daniel, 2017). Considering this advantage that the European had, the military and also economic structures, some scholars argued that natural selection³ was playing out and that Europeans were winning because of being a race more suited for survival (Paul, 2006).

Some extended Social Darwinism philosophy's natural selection belief into a micro-economic issue thereby claiming that social welfare programs that were meant to help the disadvantaged and the poor people were contrary to nature itself (Gregory, 2000). By using arguments that are rooted in Social Darwinism, some reject all forms of governmental welfare, charity and philanthropic related works (Daniel, 2017). At its worst, Social Darwinism was employed to justify Holocaust and genocide perpetrated by Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party in Germany (Adrian & Moore, 2009). By murdering the Jews during the Second World War, the Nazi believed that action was necessary since they were to cleanse out inferior genetics (Paul, 2006). Criminals and some dictators also cite Social Darwinism in order to justify their acts (Paul, 2006).

³ For a comprehensive discussion of Darwinism and natural selection, see Adrian, D. & Moore, J.R. (2009). *Darwin's Sacred Cause: How a Hatred of Slavery Shaped Darwin's Views on Human Evolution*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 26 and Wells, D.C. (1907). Social Darwinism. *American Journal of Sociology*. 12 (5): 695-716

Critics of Social Darwinism call it a dangerous false philosophy (Daniel, 2017). Darwin's theory of natural selection and Spencer's beliefs are interwoven in the sense that they accept the notion that in nature, it is the strong that survive and since these are best suited to survive, they will eventually out-live the weak (Adrian & Moore, 2009). Social Darwinism states that people who have strength in terms of physical, technological and economic flourish while those who do not have are destined for extinction (Adrian & Moore, 2009). Similar to Social Darwinism, evolutionary theory teaches that "nature is a kill-or-be-killed system". People who cannot keep up will either be left behind or cut off (Wells, 1907:3).

Latest studies on evolution challenge Darwin's findings on origins of life and human biology. Worrall (2018) study on what Charles Darwin did not know about evolution reveals that with the introduction of advanced technologies that did not exist during Darwin's era, there are new aspects of evolution that have been discovered. New discoveries in human biology and the study of the DNA in the last decades led scientists to alter Darwinism's teachings on the origins of life with implications for human health and nature (Worrall, 2018). Similarly, Behe (2019) posits that though Charles Darwin's theory of evolution was believed to be a ground breaking in terms of understanding the science of human development, recent scientific discoveries disprove the concepts of Darwinism in favor of an intelligent God the Creator of humans and the universe. Despite all the modern scientific discoveries that disprove the theory of evolution, there is a dent in the communities of the world caused by some of the most murderous dictators in history, aggressive social activists and uncaring capitalists (Bergman, 2014). These groups of people mentioned acted according to the influence they received from the flawed concepts of Social Darwinism. In an effort to change the world order, as Bergman (2014) observed, dictators such as Adolf Hitler of the Germany Nazi Party embarked on exterminating races, the Jews in this case who were considered lower than others. Worrall (2018) states that those who uphold principles of Social Darwinism lack empathy when they deal with other human beings in social life.

2.3 NEO-DARWINISM INSIGHTS ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND REGIONAL INTERVENTION

Charles Darwin introduced to the world the other way of looking at conflict. He views conflict as a source of the design of life through endless processes of nature that include selection, variation and reproduction. In addition to this, Darwin's followers, also known as the Neo-Darwinists or Post-Darwinists have also added some important insights on conflict and the way it can be resolved. Firstly, despite the weaknesses of Social Darwinism pointed above, Neo Darwinists state that unlike the 19th Century Social Darwinists who believe in the view that the fittest of the fit survive, the modern approach emphasize the need for both cooperation and competition in conflict resolution. Cooperation is part of species fitness to survive and reproduce; as such, Neo Darwinists in their contributions in the epistemological debate urge parties in conflict and mediators to embrace this view in conflict resolution (Keynes, 2001). Using these insights provided by Neo-Darwinism, the SADC mediators in Zimbabwe conflict, it can be argued, encouraged both cooperation and competition between the belligerent parties, that is, ZANU-PF and MDC-T.

In conflict resolution, Neo-Darwinists state that the mediator should help belligerent parties enhance their ability to see a common reality and to empower them to empirically arrive at pragmatic views of reality necessary for a successful conflict resolution. Moreover, Neo-Darwinism urges belligerents should observe common interests and worldviews so as to succeed in conflict resolution. Overall, Neo-Darwinism/Post-Darwinism conflict synthesis assumes that parties in conflict through the facilitation of the third party should use their mental processing power derived from the theory of evolution in order to do better than evolution (Freeman, 2007). It is against this theoretical background, the author argues, that Social Darwinism provides useful explanatory value in the study.

2.4 IMPLICATIONS OF POWER-SHARING AGREEMENTS IN AFRICA

Since the onset of the 21st Century, Africa witnessed a reduction in the number of violent-armed conflicts. Many of the conflicts ended through negotiations leading to peace agreements between belligerent parties (Moore, 2014). The intention of ending conflicts was to consolidate peace. It has been observed that in Africa, most peace agreements address substantive and procedural

conflict dimensions leading to consolidation of peace (Mutisi, 2011). Peace agreement method of resolving conflicts is very common in Africa and in some cases; it proved to be effective in building communities torn by violence. Kenya and Burundi for example are among the countries where peace agreement method was used to solve conflict. Peace agreements brokered in some conflict shattered states; for example in Kenya took the route of power sharing agreement leading to a coalition or Governments of National Unity (GNU). Power sharing agreements are premised on redistributing of political power among the contesting parties (Moore, 2014).

The goal of power sharing agreement is to regulate power and foster inclusion among belligerents and other stakeholders in the conflict (Mutisi, 2011). Elaborating on the examples of power sharing agreements in Africa, Mutisi (2011) posits that they include the Arusha Peace Agreement signed by contesting parties in Burundi conflict in 2003, the peace agreement between the Party of National Unity (PNU) and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) in 2008 in Kenya and also the Zimbabwe Global Political Agreement (GPA) of 2008. The GPA, according to Mutisi (2011) is a Zimbabwean-SADC brokered agreement which witnessed the two MDC formations and ZANU-PF working together to consolidate peace and to reconstruct the country's torn economy and shattered political landscape. The Zimbabwe's GPA saw Robert Mugabe retaining the executive Presidency position as head of state and government (Mhanda, 2011). Mugabe was also given the power to chair the cabinet and to be the commander in chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces. Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T) became the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and the head of the Council of Ministers while Arthur Mutambara of the Movement for Democratic Change-Mutambara (MDC-M) was appointed Deputy Prime Minister (Moore, 2014). Three examples of power sharing agreements reviewed have commonalities in terms of redistribution of power among parties in conflict and coalition governments.

Power sharing governments have merits and demerits (Mhanda, 2011). The merits of the 2008-2013 GNU in Zimbabwe are that, it managed to stop political instability in the country. Several political observers viewed the GNU as paving the road towards democracy in Zimbabwe though the major opposition political party formation in coalition government, MDC-T and the ruling ZANU-PF worked under challenging and compelling conditions in Parliament and Cabinet

(Moore, 2014). Despite their prospects in easing tensions between belligerent parties, power sharing agreements have their own flaws (Mutisi, 2011). Power sharing governments are flawed in the sense that they neglect the people's democratic will. They put more focus on political elites at the expense of election results (Mhanda, 2011). Moreover, power sharing agreements and governments tend to exclude contributions and inputs from minor political parties, moderates and civil society. Additionally, power sharing agreements lack local ownership and consensus which in turn hinder sustainable development and democratization (Mutisi, 2011).

2.5 THE BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF SADC

Continental organizations such as the African Union (AU) among others; and regional organizations of which SADC is one subscribe to the principles of the United Nations (UN) which is an international organization that brings together all countries of the world (Lobakeng, 2017). African regional organizations among them SADC operate under the continental organization AU. At first, AU was known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) whose roots are found in the Pan-Africanist Movement⁴ (Apuuli, 2012). The need to liberate Africa from colonial rule was the aim of pan-Africanism and as a result, most patriotic Africans stated that Africa was for Africans (Amvane, 2015). In the 1950s and 1960s Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana became the chief spokesperson of pan-Africanist movement. Nkrumah wanted the people of Africa to unite (Tlou & Campbell, 1997). In 1957, Ghana attained independence and she became the first African country to be independent from colonial rule (Tlou & Campbell, 1997). The OAU's main objective was to achieve a strong Africa through cooperation of African states in areas of politics, economics and the military (Ekott, 2017).

To ensure unity throughout the continent, the OAU was developed in order to solve disputes and conflicts among African states (Ella & Spies, 2016). Moreover, another objective of the OAU

⁴ Pan-Africanist Movement developed wherever black people lived during the 19th Century. For detailed discussions on the major aim of the movement and how it came to Africa, see Tlou, T. & Campbell, A. (1997). *History of Botswana*, Gaborone: Macmillan , p 382

was to help liberate parts of Africa that were still under colonial rule (Tlou & Campbell, 1997). Though the OAU did not succeed in accomplishing all its pre-set goals, it managed to help in decolonizing Africa (Tlou & Campbell, 1997).

One of the OAU's weaknesses was its policy of non-interference and respect for sovereignty of member states at the expense of human rights which were violated by African dictators in Africa (Lobakeng, 2017). This weakness among other constraints led to its amendment and transition into AU (Ekott, 2017). The AU was given a much broader security and peace mandate as compared to the OAU. The AU's major responsibility was to implement African principles such as 'African solutions to African problems' and 'Try Africa First' (Lobakeng, 2017: 9). The Constitutive Act, Article 4 (h) is the AU's most forward thinking and revolutionary principle. It gives AU the authority to intervene in member states in pursuing decisions by the Assembly in respect of human rights violations such as war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide (Lobakeng, 2017). The viability of AU's principle of African solutions to African problems however remains contentious. Apuuli (2012) posits that AU mediators in conflict situations failed several times. For instance, Thabo Mbeki⁵ the facilitator chosen by AU and SADC failed in his attempts to mediate the 2008 political crisis in Zimbabwe. Raila Odinga⁶ of Kenya's mediation attempts in Cote d'Ivoire crisis were also unsuccessful (Apuuli, 2012).

Nevertheless, despite AU's challenges, it calls for unity among member states, promote democratic principles and institutions, allow popular participation and good governance, promote and protect human rights and so on (Ekott, 2017). In its quest for African unity, the AU has put in place several aims that include implementing the mechanism for conflict prevention, conflict

⁵ For Thabo Mbeki, the President of South Africa and also Chairperson of the SADC in 2008 and the task given to him by the AU and SADC concerning Zimbabwe, see Lobakeng, R. (2017). *African Solutions to Africa Problems: A viable solution towards a united, prosperous and peaceful Africa?* Pretoria: IGD, UNISA, p 35.

⁶ For the tasks given to Raila Odinga the Prime Minister of Kenya during the Government of National Unity (GNU) to mediate between the conflict caused by elections maladministration in Cote d'Ivoire around 2008, see Lobakeng, R. (2017). *African Solutions to Africa Problems: A viable solution towards a united, prosperous and peaceful Africa?* Pretoria: IGD, UNISA, p 36.

management and resolution, a practical expression of the determination of the African leadership to find solutions to conflicts and promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa through the use of Africa solutions to Africa's problems solutions (Hussein, 2015).

2.6 TRANSFORMATION FROM SADCC TO SADC

In 1992 during the Windhoek Summit, the SADC Treaty and the Declaration were signed leading to the transformation of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC⁷) into SADC. The Liberation movements such as Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) revolutionary parties received logistical support from the frontline states during their fight against Rhodesia regime (Lobakeng, 2017). The frontline states also helped the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia among others to fight colonial rule (Tlou & Campbell, 1997). This is the environment that paved the way for the formation of SADCC. SADC was preceded by SADCC which was formed in Zambia's capital Lusaka on 1 April, 1980 (Tlou & Campbell, 1997; Mays, 2003). This took place during the Lusaka Declaration which stated that the Southern African region needed to move towards economic liberation (Mays, 2003). The need for economic emancipation led to the transformation from SADCC to SADC. The cause of national political liberation in Southern Africa and the need to reduce dependence on the South African apartheid regime led to the formation of SADCC (Lobakeng, 2017). SADCC member states expected to attain this goal through effective coordination of using the resources and strengths of each of the countries in the group (Tlou & Campbell, 1997). Moreover, SADCC's objectives went beyond dependence reduction to embracing basic development as well as regional integration (Tlou & Campbell, 1997).

On the 17th of August 1992 in Namibia, Windhoek Summit, the Heads of State and Government signed the SADC Declaration and Treaty that transformed SADCC into the SADC (Nathan,

⁷ SADCC member states in 1979: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, and Zambia. Zimbabwe joined after independence in 1980; South Africa became a member after independence in 1994 and others also joined when SADCC became SADC.

2013). Through Article 2 of the SADC Treaty, the leadership of SADC member states established SADC to spearhead economic integration of Southern Africa (Hussein, 2015). Most of the Southern Africa states were independent in 1992 save for only South Africa which attained her independence in 1994 (Tlou & Campbell, 1997). While some of the countries in the SADC region achieved their independence through negotiations with the colonial powers, others such as Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola and Namibia waged armed struggles in order to end colonialism and oppression (Chung, 2006). It was this colonial experience and its inherent implications in the Southern Africa region that brought them together to form the regional organization (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). SADC member states use different platforms to cooperate politically, economically and socially as they share the same history (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). Their unity and patriotism are reflected through conferences held by different liberation parties in some of the SADC member states. During such conferences, liberation parties normally invite their fellow comrades from different countries in the region to participate (Chingono, 1999). The brotherhood for SADC member states most of which are ruled by the liberation political parties is a cause for concern. Some of the ruling and liberation parties are not accommodative of democratic transformation advocated by opposition political parties (Hove & Ndawana, 2017).

2.7 THE SADC TREATY

The signing of the SADC Treaty was done in order to establish SADC as the successor of SADCC (Tsie, 1995). The major achievement by the SADCC was that it brought together regional countries so that they could discuss how to collaborate to achieve their development (Tlou & Campbell, 1997). SADCC managed to create a sense of togetherness by helping people in the region to realize that they share a common history, common goals and similar problems. Their future bound them together as they were eager to solve their problems and attain self-reliance and cooperation (Tlou & Campbell, 1997). This spirit of the nations in the Southern Africa region resulted in the creation of SADCC's successor, the Southern African Development Community-SADC (Tsie, 1995).

According to Parsons (1995), the Treaty came up with an outline of the main objectives of SADC namely to achieve development and economic growth, poverty alleviation, enhancing the

quality standard of life of the Southern Africa people and to support those that are socially disadvantaged through regional integration. Moreover, Hove and Ndawana (2017) posit that, these objectives are supposed to be achieved through an increased integration of the region as they are built on democratic principles as well as sustainable and equitable development.

2.8 SADC INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM

The SADC Treaty establishes institutional mechanisms for its operational functions. According to Chung (2006), the Institutional Mechanisms include the following: Summit of the Heads of State or Government. During these summits, presidents, prime ministers and monarchy leaders or kings such as the case of Swaziland hold conferences to deliberate on important matters that concern member states. The Council of Ministers is another mechanism where government Ministers heading different Ministries in their respective countries will meet and deliberate on issues of concern. For example, Ministers of Foreign Affairs can meet to discuss major issues on the agenda such as diplomacy, foreign policy and international trade among others (SADC, 2015, Articles 9: Establishment of Institutions and Article 10: SADC Summit).

2.9 THE AMMENDMENT OF SADC TREATY

After the SADC Treaty was established, SADC went through the process of restructuring its institutions after the Extra-ordinary Summit on 9 March 2001 in Windhoek. This is the time when the SADC Treaty Amendment 2001 was adopted (Schoeman, 2001). The restructuring of the SADC was part of the institutional reform necessitated by several challenges encountered during the transition from SADCC into SADC-that is from a coordinating Conference into a Community respectively (Schoon, 2008). The reforms resulted into eight (8) institutions⁸ guided

⁸ The eight institutions of the SADC are the Summit of Heads of State or Government, Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, Council of Ministers, A Secretariat, Tribunal, Standing Committee of Officials, and SADC National Committees. For detailed information on the functions of the eight institutions of the SADC, see Mutambudzi, A. (2015). *Conflict and the Resolution Process in Zimbabwe from 2000 to 2013*. PhD thesis. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand

by Article 9 of the Treaty Amendment. The institutions include Summit of the Heads of State and Government, Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, Council of Ministers, A Secretariat, A Tribunal, The Troika, Standing Committee of Officials and SADC National Committees (SADC, 2015).

2.10 ORGAN ON POLITICS DEFENCE AND SECURITY COOPERATION

The Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (OPDSC) was launched in June 1996 as a formal institution of SADC with the mandate to support the maintenance and achievement of security as well as the rule of law in the SADC region (SADC, 2015, Lobakeng, 2017). The key documents guiding the activities of the Organ include the SADC Treaty, the Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ (SIPO) II and the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (Schoon, 2008). Details of the OPDSC are contained in the SADC Treaty: Article 4 which commits members to the need for observation of sovereignty and equality of all, solidarity, peace and security, among others (SADC, 2015).

The Organ is within the SADC Secretariat and it is under the supervision of the Executive Secretary (Lobakeng, 2017). The major objective of the Organ is to promote peace and security throughout the SADC region (SADC, 2015). Some of the specific objectives of the Organ are stated in Article Number 10 (a) of the SADC Treaty (Schoon, 2008) and they include roles of the Military/Defence, that is to protect against instability, and intra and interstate conflict, and aggression, and to develop a collective security capacity (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). The Organ also has the mandate to see to it that cross border crimes are prevented through enhancing intelligence and policing within the region (Hussein, 2015). Moreover, the Organ is tasked to develop a regional peacekeeping and peace enforcement capacities as well as preventing, containing and resolving inter and intra state conflict and disputes using peaceful means (Apuuli, 2012). Where peaceful means have failed, the Organ should consider enforcement action in accordance with the international law and this should be the last resort (Lobakeng, 2017). SADC has the standby force in place and the regional peacekeeping committee whose responsibility is to provide security where necessary and to facilitate deployment of the military respectively (Schoeman, 2001). Moreover, the Organ has the responsibility to prevent, manage and resolve conflict (Tlou & Campbell, 1997).

2.11 THE EFFORT BY SADC TO DEAL WITH CONFLICT IN THE REGION

Several countries in the SADC region have so far experienced conflicts of diverse nature. Among these countries include Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Angola, Malagasy and Mozambique (Vhumbunu, 2015). Lesotho experienced a devastating conflict for so many years (Matlosa, 2007). According to Vhumbunu (2015) Lesotho experienced political disturbances and internal conflicts in 1974, 1986, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2007 and 2014.

Throughout Lesotho's history of conflict, SADC Troika⁹ in collaboration with Lesotho's neighboring states such as Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe facilitated interventions by mediating dialogue (African Union, 2015). On 30 August 2014, in Lesotho, a military *coup d'état* was attempted against the country's Prime Minister Thomas Thabane (Vhumbunu, 2015). This forced the Prime Minister to flee to South Africa to seek refuge (Vhumbunu, 2015). SADC tried to manage and resolve the Lesotho conflict in order to promote peace and stability in the country and the region as a whole (Motsamai, 2015). At SADC summits and extraordinary summits, Lesotho is a prominent conflict agenda item (Vhumbunu, 2015).

However, even after holding elections in February 2015, there has not been a full restoration of normalcy and peace in Lesotho (African Union, 2015). The peace process in Lesotho was also frustrated by the assassination of the former Lesotho Defence Forces (LDF) Chief, Brigadier Maaparankoe Mahao (Vhumbunu, 2015). He was assassinated on 25 June 2015 just outside the capital Maseru (Vhumbunu, 2015). Lesotho has a long history of political instability, political tension, violent conflict and high levels of factionalism during and after national elections since its independence in 1966 (Matlosa, 2007).

⁹ SADC Troika refers to the Organ that is managed on the basis of the three namely Politics, Defence and Security. Therefore, SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security is managed on Troika basis in order attempt to promote peace and security in the region. The SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security provides member states with direction concerning matters that threaten security, stability and peace in the region. For more information on SADC Troika, see Mutambudzi (2015) and Vhumbunu (2015).

In early September 2014, soon after the attempted coup in Lesotho, SADC Troika on Defence, Politics and Security comprising of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia mapped the way forward by bringing together regional militaries namely South African National Defence Force (SANDF), Namibia Defence Forces (NDF) and the Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF) (Motsamai, 2015). These Defence Forces met with LDF Commander Lieutenant General Tlali Kamoli in order to guarantee national security and a smooth return of Prime Minister Thabane (Vhumbunu, 2015). According to Motsamai (2015) SADC's quick decision in dealing with this conflict should be commended. SADC's conflict resolution philosophy is always anchored on dialogue and soft diplomacy (Vhumbunu, 2015). Soft diplomacy can be used to resolve conflicts effectively; nevertheless, there are certain conflicts which can be resolved through military intervention or the use of hard power to achieve preset goals. Though SADC is always reluctant to deploy the SADC Standby Force which is a tool for OPDSC (Ngwawi, 2014), there are certain conflict and security situations in the region which deteriorate beyond negotiation and dialogue (Vhumbunu, 2015). The Zimbabwe conflict situations in 2008 and also the ZDF's Operation Restore Legacy that led to regime change in Zimbabwe in 2017 would have called for the intervention of the SADC Standby Force (Gagare, 2018). Though the ZDF intervention was bloodless, the norms of democracy were violated by the military because they helped to remove the constitutionally elected President, Mr. Robert Mugabe from power.

Contrary to the Zimbabwe's military intervention of 2017 which has hallmarks of a *coup d'état*, other *coups* elsewhere, such as the one in Malagasy were not accepted by the international community which condemned the coup. According to Lough (2009), in 2009, Malagasy witnessed a *coup* which saw Andry Rajoelina and his supporters ousting President Marc Ravalomanana from power leading him to flee to South Africa for refuge. SADC, AU and the international community condemned Rajoelina for ascending to power using unconstitutional means. Due to this conflict, Malagasy fell into deep economic crisis as a result of international retribution (Lough, 2009). SADC used several strategies among them threats of sanctions and observing democratically organized elections in Malagasy leading to the resolution of the conflict (Massey & Baker, 2013).

SADC also intervened in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) conflict in 1998 (African Union, 2015). SADC's conflict interventions in the DRC ranged from the involvement of the regional organization member states such as Angola, Malawi, Tanzania, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe (African Union, 2015). The intervention and military engagement in the DRC by the SADC Allied Forces for four years from 1998-2001 helped the country to regain its sovereignty and authority (Mutisi, 2016).

2.12 PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES OF SADC IN RESOLVING REGIONAL CONFLICTS

In its attempt to resolve conflict in the region, SADC strategies have yielded prospects as well as challenges. Regarding SADC's achievements in settling violent conflict in Lesotho in 2014, Vhumbunu (2015) posits that SADC mediation process is credited for four success areas that include the facilitation of the safe return of Mr. Thabane, the agreement on the conduct of an early election, the reopening of the Lesotho Parliament and the urgent deployment of an observer Team on Politics, Defence and Security. These are some of the successes that the SADC Troika and the OPDSC have achieved. Nevertheless, there are gaps that SADC's conflict resolution strategies encounter. SADC's use of dialogue as the only viable method in several conflict situations in the region despite their dimensions and differences is a reason to worry about (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). Several researchers, for example Matlosa (2007), Motsamai (2015) and Vhumbunu (2015) among others have established that to a greater extent, SADC relies on soft diplomacy in dealing with conflict in the region though some conflicts require the use of both soft diplomacy and military power.

Furthermore, there is inconsistency concerning the contexts in which SADC deploys militaries from member states and its Standby Force. Similar situations are treated differently. For instance the Lesotho conflicts of 1998 and 2014 were marred by violence. SADC member states deployed the military. However, Zimbabwe's 2008 violent election, 2017 military intervention which has some hallmarks of a *coup d'état* and contested elections in 2018 were situations that called for military intervention, but SADC did not deploy the military. There is no literature to show why SADC treats similar conflict situations differently. The problem requires SADC to reconsider its conflict resolution strategies if it is to yield more successful results. Moreover, literature has

revealed that brotherhood among the liberation movements in the region inhibits the successes of SADC in resolving regional conflicts (Vhumbunu, 2015; Hove & Ndawana, 2017). This gap calls for future research on the solution to the solidarity politics and liberation legacy.

Literature reviewed in this chapter has revealed that the continent of Africa and its sub-regions of which SADC is one favor power sharing agreements that lead to coalition governments which are marred by several flaws. Literature is lacking on alternative effective conflict resolution approaches that SADC and Africa as a whole can use instead of power sharing agreements leading to the formation of GNUs. One of the gaps that the current study seeks to fill is the lack of conflict resolution methods that SADC can utilize so as to restore democracy and everlasting peace in some of its conflict shattered member states.

2.13 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter has reviewed literature on the impact of SADC in regional conflict resolution. The chapter reviewed literature on Social Darwinism Theory, background to the formation of SADC and the transformation from SADCC to SADC. Furthermore, the chapter reviewed literature on the SADC Treaty and SADC's Institutional Mechanism. Additionally, the chapter also reviewed literature on the amendment of the SADC Treaty, the OPDSC, the effort by SADC to deal with the conflict in the region and prospects and challenges faced by SADC in conflict management and resolution in the region. After the literature review, it is evident that studies on conflict resolution in Southern Africa have failed to provide research backed arguments on how SADC could have handled the Zimbabwe conflict, 2008-2018 effectively. The Zimbabwe conflict calls for more research on how best SADC can deal with the endless problem. There is a gap on how best Zimbabwe can administer non-contested elections.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL CONTEXT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the methodology of the study on the impact of SADC in regional conflict resolution with reference to Zimbabwe. The chapter discusses the research design, desktop research, document analysis, data analysis and ethical considerations. Finally, the summary of the chapter is provided.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design according to Chilisa and Preece (2005) is a plan followed by the researcher in conducting the study. The design or plan guides the researcher in collecting data and analyzing the data in order to produce a comprehensive and meaningful report on the topic under study. This study is desktop research utilizing qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. According to Best and Khan (2006) qualitative research collects data in statements and words as opposed to quantitative research which collects data in numbers. Qualitative research uses interview and observation guides as data gathering tools. Moreover qualitative research also uses documentary analysis as a method to produce relevant data that addresses the topic under study.

3.3 DESKTOP RESEARCH

Desk research or desktop is the research or inquiry that is conducted by the researcher sitting at a desk. This type of research technique involves collecting data from existing sources. Compared to fieldwork research, desktop research is a low cost and quickest technique. In this study, the researcher used digital or electronic sources of data accessed through the University of Botswana's internet data bases and also hard copies that included books, journal articles, magazines and newspapers accessed from the university library. According to Chilisa and Preece (2005) desk research is synonymous to secondary research. Best and Khan (2006) posit that there

are two types of research namely primary research¹⁰ in which the researcher goes out to study selected human subjects and secondary research where the researcher reviews what other researchers have done. Therefore, the role of the researcher in carrying out desktop research is to critically review the previous research findings so as to gain a wide and broad understanding of the topic under investigation (Bowen, 2009). It is important to know what other people have already done in the past that relates to the topic under investigation and how they answered questions related to the current study (Best & Khan, 2006).

3.4 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

This study used documentary analysis. According to Bowen (2009) document analysis is a type of qualitative research in which the researcher does a hermeneutics or interpretation of the documents in order to give meaning and voice around the topic studied. Analysis of documents has to do with incorporating coding content into themes identical to how interview or focus group data transcripts are analyzed (Best & Khan, 2006). Rubrics can be used to score or grade each of the documents selected for analysis (Bowen, 2009).

According to O’Leary (2014) in documentary analysis, the researcher can consider three types of documents namely public records, personal documents, and physical evidence. Public records are official-on-going records of the activities of an organization. Examples of public records include annual reports, syllabi, student handbooks, student transcripts, strategic plans and mission and vision statements (Bowen, 2009). In this study, books were public records that the researcher analyzed. Personal documents are first-person accounts of an individual’s experiences, beliefs and actions. Examples in this category include blogs, Facebook posts, e-mails, incident reports, duty logs, reflections and or journals and newspapers (O’Leary, 2014). This study analyzed journals, reports and newspapers. Finally, physical evidence according to Chilisa and Preece (2005) comprises physical objects found within the setting of the study. The objects are

¹⁰ For detailed information concerning primary research which is also called fieldwork, see Best, J.W.& Khan, J.V. (2006). *Research in Education* (10th.ed). New York: Pearson, pp 25-30

popularly known as artifacts. Bowen (2009) posits that artifacts include training materials, handbooks, agendas, flyers and posters. With regards to document analysis, O’Leary (2014) states that it is a social research method and an important research tool which is an invaluable part of most triangulation schemes whereby several methodologies can be combined in studying the same phenomenon.

Like other techniques in research, document analysis has its strengths and weaknesses. There are several reasons why researchers use document analysis technique (Bowen, 2009). The first reason is that document analysis is a very effective and efficient way of collecting data due to the fact that documents are practical and manageable resources (Best & Khan, 2006). Documents come in a variety of forms; they are commonplace and they are very reliable and accessible sources of data (O’Leary, 2014). Obtaining documents and analyzing them is time efficient and also more cost efficient than conducting experiments and fieldwork research (Bowen, 2009). Another advantage of using document analysis is that documents are non-reactive, stable sources of data. They can be read and or reviewed several times. Furthermore, documents remain unchanged by the research process or by the researcher’s influence and biases that may arise when reading texts (Chilisa & Preece, 2005).

Document analysis can be used in different ways to strengthen and support research. Additionally, document analysis can be employed in different fields of research as a primary technique of data gathering or as a compliment to other methodologies in studies where triangulation is used (Bowen, 2009). For most research, document analysis is useful and beneficial method because documents can provide supplementary research data (Best & Khan, 2006).

Documents are helpful in contextualizing the study within its field or subject due to the fact that they can provide broad coverage of data and background information (O’Leary, 2014). Moreover, documents can have data that is no longer observed. Additionally, documents can provide details that human subjects (informants) have forgotten (Best & Khan, 2006). Also document analysis can help the researcher point to questions that need to be asked or to situations that must be observed. This makes the use of document analysis a method to ensure the study is comprehensive and critical (Bowen, 2009).

Besides the advantages and prospects of documentary analysis discussed above, there are concerns to keep in mind when utilizing document analysis as a research method (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). One of the potential concerns to be considered when using document analysis is that documents are records that are not created with data research agenda and this requires the researcher to have investigative skills (Bowen, 2009). Moreover, some documents do not perfectly provide all necessary data needed to answer research questions. Other documents can only provide a limited or small amount of useful information while some may not have any useful data to provide. There are also some documents which are incomplete or may provide inaccurate and inconsistent data (O’Leary, 2014). To mitigate these limitations, the researcher used other sources to validate all documents analysed.

Moreover, there are cases when some documents show sparseness or gaps and this leads to reliance on additional documents and also more searching of extra documents than planned. There are cases when certain documents cannot be easily accessed while others may not be available (Babbie, 2004). Due to these reasons, the researcher of this study evaluated the quality of documents and was prepared to encounter gaps and other challenges as document analysis was used. To preserve the credibility of the study, the researcher was aware of the potential presence of biases in some documents and indeed from the researcher. The researcher thoroughly evaluated and investigated the subjectivity of the documents and his own understanding of the data to produce credible findings as O’Leary (2014) recommends. Overall, Best and Khan (2006) state that issues that surround document analysis are concerns because they can be avoided through adopting a clear process that incorporates measures and evaluative steps (Bowen, 2009).

3.5 DATA COLLECTION

There researcher used several methods to collect data from reviewed documents and texts. The first method of collecting data was the use of note books. Documents that included journal articles, books, magazines and newspapers were read alongside the research questions to see the data that could answer the questions. The data was written in note books and references from which data was collected were also written down. Secondly some of the data was recorded on a computer. Finally, all the data was transcribed on the computer desktop as it waited analysis.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data was guided by the research questions. Furthermore, during the analysis of the data, literature reviewed in the previous chapter of this study was linked with the data interpreted in order to show and capture the agreements, disagreements and gaps. The analysis of the data led to a comprehensive and descriptive narrative put together in a report form.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

There are ethics that the researcher should adhere to in every research particularly in a study where human subjects are involved as informants (Chilisa & Preece, 2005). Though this study did not involve human subjects, the researcher adhered to certain research ethics. The researcher avoided plagiarism by paraphrasing information collected from documents and authors of documents and years of publication were provided as in text references. According to Babbie (2004) failure to acknowledge sources of information consulted is theft and it is an academic crime. Additionally, the researcher did justice to documents by reporting exactly what their authors established. The researcher did this as a way of avoiding misrepresentations of what other authors have established.

3.8 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The chapter has presented the methodology of the study. Among the elements of the methodology discussed is the research design. The study is a qualitative design. Desktop research and document analysis have been used as methods in this study. Data for the study was collected through note books and computers. Analysis of data followed thematic approach. The chapter provided the ethical principles that guided the researcher in conducting this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes data and presents findings on the impact of Southern Africa Development Community in regional conflict resolution; a case study of Zimbabwe, 2008-2018. The data analyzed is linked with literature review in a form of discussion. The analysis of data and presentation of the findings of the study is done under the guidance of the research objectives stated as follows: to explore the impact of SADC in solving conflict in its member states; to investigate the problems faced by Zimbabwe which call for SADC intervention; to examine the factors that inhibit SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively and to establish the possible ways by which SADC can use to solve Zimbabwe's problems effectively.

4.2 TO EXPLORE THE IMPACT OF SADC IN SOLVING CONFLICT IN ITS MEMBER STATES

Data gathered for this research have revealed that SADC's regional conflict resolutions strategies have recorded achievements and failures. For instance, in 1998 and 2014-2015 conflict in Lesotho, SADC succeeded in maintaining peace, law and order in the context of violence that included armed forces and civilians. Moreover, in 2009 in Malagasy, SADC managed to restore order by supervising fair elections. The successes accomplished by SADC in resolving conflict in Lesotho and Malagasy contrast sharply with the outcomes of SADC's intervention to resolve Zimbabwe's conflict in 2008-2018.

4.3 CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN ZIMBABWE

The conflict in Zimbabwe highlights the challenges that SADC faced with regards to conflict resolution in the region. The June 2008 presidential elections in Zimbabwe were won by the Morgan Tsvangirai led opposition party MDC which garnered 100 seats in the Parliament

against the ruling ZANU-PF party's 98 seats (Mutambudzi, 2015). Moreover, the official presidential results showed that Tsvangirai led with 47% against Mugabe's 43% (Mutambudzi, 2015: 7). However, critics argue that Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF manipulated the votes so that there would be no outright winner to form a government (Hove & Ndwana, 2017).

Table 1: Zimbabwe 2008 Election Results- First Round

Candidate	Party	Votes	% Votes
Tsvangirai, Morgan	MDC-T	1 195 562	47.87
Mugabe, R.G.	ZANU-PF	1 079 730	43.24
Makoni, Simba, H.S	Independent	207 470	8.31
Towungana, L	Independent	15 503	0.58
Total	-----	2 497 265	100.00

Source: Vollan (2008:32)

The constitution of Zimbabwe (2013: Chapter 7, Section 158 on Elections) stipulates that the winner of presidential elections must have 51% of the votes. Since there was no outright winner in the first round of presidential elections in 2008, a run-off election was an alternative. The presidential run-off elections were conducted in June 2008. The elections were marred by violence mostly perpetrated by the ruling ZANU-PF in collaboration with some sections of the security forces (Hove & Ndwana, 2017). The target of the violence was the opposition MDC members and leaders. Due to the violence that left 300 members of the MDC dead, its leader Tsvangirai pulled out of the race. Mugabe proceeded alone and was declared winner of the run-off election which the SADC described as a sham election (Vhumbunu, 2015).

Table 2: Zimbabwe 2008 Presidential Election Results- Second Round.

Nominee	Mugabe, R.G	Tsvangirai, M.R.
Party	ZANU-PF	MDC-T
Popular Vote	2 150 269	233 000
Percentage	85.5%	9.3%

Source: Vollan (2008:43)

Table 2 shows the Zimbabwe 2008 Presidential election results for the second round. According to Gagare (2012), the second round of elections was held on 27 June 2008. On the 23rd June, 2008, Tsvangirai withdrew from contesting the runoff election citing acts of violence and intimidation perpetrated by ZANU-PF militias, security forces and war veterans against his supporters, MDC-T (Vollan, 2008). The elections went ahead and on the 29th June, Mugabe was declared the winner with 90% of the electorate. He took an office as the President of Zimbabwe. However, some members in the SADC and AU were not satisfied with the election. This resulted in the GNU.

Among the 300 MDC-T supporters murdered during the 2008 re-run elections, some the deceased names were released. The names are Farai Mudimu, Musafare Mudimu, Karombe Benson Chipungu, Ruth Mashayahembe and Brighton Mabwera, a child of 5 years old whose mother was also murdered (Gambakwe, 2019). Munhende (2019) also released the names of people shot by the security forces in the post 2018 Zimbabwe elections. Except one person, Challenge Tauro aged 20, all the others namely Silvia Maphosa aged 53, Ishmael Kumire (43), Gavin Dean Charles (45), James Chikandira (21) and Brian Zhuwawo (26) were all members of the MDC-T.

Soon after the 2008 presidential run-off elections in Zimbabwe, the AU Assembly Summit discussed the events but together with the majority of SADC states leadership shied from condemning ZANU-PF's political violence and tampering with elections against SADC principles guiding the conduct of elections that compel all member states to allow all citizens to participate freely, citizens should be accorded human rights and freedoms of association, expression, and assembly and that elections must be conducted in a free and fair environment where member states prevent bribery, corruption, favoritism, intimidation, intolerance and political violence among others (SADC, 2015: Section 4.1: Principles for Democratic Elections). Very few leaders in the SADC publicly voiced their concerns against violence and misconduct of elections in Zimbabwe. It was only a handful of SADC leadership comprising the former President of Botswana, Lieutenant General Ian Khama and the former President of Zambia Levi Mwanawasa who publicly criticized Zimbabwe. Hove and Ndawana (2017) concur with this view by stating that Khama and Mwanawasa openly criticized the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe for poor conduct of elections and murder of innocent civilians leaving some of them fleeing to neighboring countries with some going to Europe and America.

In an attempt to resolve the conflict in Zimbabwe, the AU Assembly Summit supported the SADC facilitation and made recommendations that SADC must carry out mediation process, to establish a local mechanism to speed up negotiations so as to bring the crisis to an end. Behind the scenes, there was an ongoing stalemate in Zimbabwe between Mugabe and Tsvangirai. During the course of the Zimbabwe crisis other prominent African leaders called for a strong action against Mugabe. For example, Raila Odinga, the then Prime Minister of Kenya called for the AU to oust Mugabe (Vhumbunu, 2015). Odinga suggested that the then AU Chair, President Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania should employ his authority as AU Chair to speedily implement a remedy to the Zimbabwean conflict (Vhumbunu, 2015).

The 2008 Zimbabwe conflict witnessed competing epistemological debates on the method to use in solving the problem. The arguments were between Jakaya Kikwete the then President of Tanzania, Thabo Mbeki the President of South Africa and SADC Chair who was selected to mediate in Zimbabwe, former President of Botswana Ian Khama and Mwanawasa the then President of Zambia. Khama and Mwanawasa advocated for a more robust role of the UN and an

expansion of mediation team. According to Crisis Group (2008) Mbeki resisted all these efforts. SADC tasked Mbeki to lead in Zimbabwe crisis mediation.

Mbeki's mediation style in Zimbabwe conflict centred on quiet diplomacy was not welcome by the opposition MDC leadership and some members of the public in Zimbabwe (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). Mbeki's mediation efforts culminated into the formation of the government of national unity (GNU) in Zimbabwe that saw Mugabe of ZANU-PF retaining his position as state President with all his executive powers with Morgan Tsvangirai given the position of Prime Minister of Zimbabwe.

The Zimbabwe conflict also shows that the ruling ZANU-PF government utilized the principles of Social Darwinism theory of the survival of the fittest. Through manipulation of votes and violence, ZANU-PF managed to stay in power. Certain statistical evidence shows that Tsvangirai performed much better than the 47% official results (Hove & Ndawana, 2017:6). Gagare (2018), for example, reveals that Tsvangirai had garnered more votes to allow him to form the government in Zimbabwe. However, due to the fact that the opposition MDC in Zimbabwe has little power compared to the ruling ZANU-PF which controls the Defence Forces, the opposition could not take over the leadership of the country. Adrian and Moore (2009) argue that Social Darwinism can be used to justify genocide such as that which was perpetrated by Adolf Hitler in Germany. ZANU-PF used a similar strategy to murder the MDC members whom it accused as sellouts that are eager to reverse the gains of the liberation by supporting neo-colonialist ideologies.

The failure to effectively settle the misunderstandings in Zimbabwe continued throughout the 2013 Presidential elections. There were security reforms to be implemented in Zimbabwe in order to establish a leveled playing field before the next round of elections was conducted in 2013. Though Zuma, the President of South Africa who took over as SADC mediator in Zimbabwe after Mbeki was vocal compared to his predecessor, he also did not succeed in convincing to accommodate the concerns of the opposition. Even without reforms as mandated by the SADC (2009) that included the security sector reform, electoral reforms that would create a level playing field suitable for free and fair elections, removal of the deceased electorate from the voters' roll among others. Mugabe, however, unilaterally called for the elections in 2013

which he won (International Crisis Group, 2013). Mugabe never consulted with the Prime Minister Tsvangirai as required by the Global Political Agreement (GPA), an initiative by SADC that recommended for the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in Zimbabwe (Mutambudzi, 2015: 9). SADC had the power to stop the elections in Zimbabwe until security sector reforms were implemented. Instead, it was SADC which also commented that the elections were free and revealing the expectations of the majority of the people in Zimbabwe (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). This is the stance taken by SADC despite the evidence of irregularities that marred the elections (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). The conflict in Zimbabwe continued as shown through disputed elections in 2013 and the failed economy (Mutambudzi, 2015).

SADC missed an opportunity to settle the election disputes in 2008 when Mugabe lost power to Tsvangirai and used the security forces whose actions violated human rights of the members of the opposition. SADC remained quiet when Mugabe unilaterally called for elections in 2013 without agreeing with Tsvangirai of the opposition. Moreover, the 2013 elections were conducted without reforming the Zimbabwe security sector who publicly support the ruling ZANU-PF against democratic principles of good civil-military relations.

The worst conflict that tested the effectiveness of SADC in conflict resolution in the region took place on 15 November 2017 when the Zimbabwe's military intervened into politics, and helped in bringing regime change. The Zimbabwe Defence Forces (ZDF) through its intervention popularly known as Operation Restore Legacy, put President Mugabe and his wife under house arrest. The military intervention came after some misunderstandings and factionalism in the ruling ZANU-PF party. Due to the factional disagreements within in ZANU-PF, Mugabe's regime expelled one of the vice-presidents, E.D. Mnangagwa from power. Some of the military commanders were pro-Mnangagwa particularly the ZDF commander General Chiwenga (Gagare, 2018). General Chiwenga deployed the military into the streets of the capital, Harare, in a show of force and government takeover (Gagare, 2018). In the course of events in Zimbabwe, Mugabe finally resigned from power due to mounted military pressure and also planned impeachment against him by the members of parliament (Cook, 2017).

SADC did not intervene to settle the dispute in Zimbabwe that saw Mugabe relinquishing power. Zuma of South Africa convened a SADC delegation to Zimbabwe to get a full understanding of the problem. Apart from sending the delegates, SADC did not take any further action to stop the removal of a constitutionally elected leader, Robert Mugabe from power (Gagare, 2018). This was the case despite the fact that in 2013, SADC accepted Mugabe as the outright winner of the elections. *Coup d'état's* are not accepted internationally. However, the Zimbabwe's Operation Restore Legacy is unique in the sense that SADC, AU and UN ended up agreeing to Mugabe's removal from power and Mnangagwa's elevation as the President (Cook, 2017). Moreover, under Mnangagwa, Zimbabwe experienced another disputed election in 2018 (Gagare, 2018). Despite the irregularities that marred the 2018 election in Zimbabwe, SADC commended that the elections were fairly conducted (Gagare, 2018). Furthermore the military shot and killed about 7 civilians some of whom were protesting against the delay in the release of presidential election results (Gagare, 2018:2).

4.4 TO INVESTIGATE THE PROBLEMS FACED BY ZIMBABWE WHICH CALL FOR SADC INTERVENTION

The major problem in Zimbabwe that calls for SADC intervention is the disputed elections that started way back around 2002, 2008 and 2013 (Mutambudzi, 2015). The elections in Zimbabwe are marred by violence mostly perpetrated by the ruling ZANU-PF against members of the opposition, MDC. For many years, elections in Zimbabwe have been characterized by irregularities, vote rigging and intimidation of those who oppose the ruling party. Moreover, the security forces support the ruling party publicly and often threaten to kill those who oppose ZANU-PF.

The problem of violating SADC principles regarding the good conduct of elections in Zimbabwe calls for SADC intervention. The term SADC intervention in this study implies the use of SADC Standby Force alongside dialogue to stop the security forces in Zimbabwe from shooting civilians. These internal challenges in Zimbabwe call for SADC to intervene using both hard power and soft diplomacy depending on the situation. Since SADC used these strategies in Lesotho as Matlosa (2007) has argued that, it is also appropriate to use them in Zimbabwe's conflict if the conflict is to be resolved effectively.

4.5 TO EXAMINE THE FACTORS THAT INHIBIT SADC FROM SOLVING ZIMBABWE'S CONFLICT EFFECTIVELY

There are several factors that hinder SADC from solving Zimbabwe's problems effectively. Data has revealed that most governments in SADC countries are led by liberation parties whose military wings participated in armed struggles against the colonizers. This view is also held by several scholars among them Hove and Ndawana (2017) who state that Mbeki and Zuma's facilitation in Zimbabwe's conflicts was hindered by their relationship with Mugabe that started long back during the liberation struggles of their country, South Africa. ZANU under the leadership of Mugabe fought against the British colonial government which led to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. Likewise, the African National Congress (ANC) among other liberation movements fought for the liberation of South Africa and liberated the country from the apartheid regime in 1994 (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). There is that brotherhood relationship between ZANU, the ANC and the other liberation parties which rule most of the SADC member states. Therefore, this brotherhood still binds these parties to support each other against opposition political parties.

The above view is summed up by Ancas (2011:3) who states that "an organization's effectiveness in conflict resolution and peacemaking is dependent on whether the member states truly have the political will to make the organization effective and whether enough political power cohesion exists to create a lasting and sufficiently strong consensus on peace and security in the region." The issue of political will with regards to resolving conflict in the SADC, particularly in Zimbabwe is lacking among several member states in the SADC save for the handful such as Botswana during President Ian Khama and Zambia's administrations of Presidents Mwanawasa and Rupiah Banda. The liberation brotherhood and the support that the frontline states offered to their colleagues who were fighting colonization still bind them today.

Adejebo (2010) also posits that what hinders SADC to carryout effective conflict resolution and peacekeeping is the organization's solidarity politics and liberation legacy. This hinders member states from making disagreements publicly known. This creates obstacles to progress among SADC leaders in finding solutions to conflict in the region. According to Hammerstad (2010), though SADC has so far established strong protocols on security cooperation and safeguards on

human rights and democracy, it continues to operate on absolute solidarity and sovereignty pillars as well as traditional norms of non-interference even in situations such as that of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's conflicts require the SADC to use principles of humanitarian intervention and the responsibility to protect (RtoP) particularly in the case of the 2008 run-off election which led to some sections of the security forces killing members of the opposition MDC. Moreover, the SADC Standby Force could have been deployed to Zimbabwe after the shooting of protestors and non-protesting members in 2018 elections.

Another factor that hinders SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively is that SADC member states have deliberately kept the SADC Secretariat weak so as to avoid the "creation of an interventionist bureaucracy" capable of interfering in their sensitive security issues (Adebajo, 2010:12). These limitations on capacity and political will continue to undermine the effectiveness of SADC to solve conflicts not only in Zimbabwe but in other parts of the region.

4.6 TO ESTABLISH THE POSSIBLE WAYS BY WHICH SADC CAN USE TO SOLVE ZIMBABWE'S PROBLEMS EFFECTIVELY

There are recommendations raised by several scholars as possible ways by which SADC can resolve Zimbabwe's problems effectively. Hove and Ndawana (2017) suggest that SADC should put aside the liberation brotherhood and confront ZANU-PF when it comes to resolving Zimbabwe's problems effectively. For instance Mbeki and Zuma failed to solve Zimbabwe's electoral disputes due to the fact that they over-respected Mugabe whom they treated as senior brother in the liberation struggle (Hove & Ndawana, 2017). Mugabe violated the GNU agreements and he unilaterally called for elections in 2013 without the reforms that were agreed upon by parties involved in the GNU. SADC could have been robust enough to stop the 2013 elections before reforms and also to impress upon Mugabe to agree with some members of the GNU before he announced the election date. Similarly, SADC should have forced Mugabe to concede defeat in 2008 after he lost to Tsvangirai who according to evidence won the majority votes with a margin above 51% required by the constitution for a leader to form a government (Mutisi, 2011).

SADC should move away from endorsing poorly conducted elections such as those of Zimbabwe in 2008 and 2013 (Mutambudzi, 2015). By endorsing elections that are marred by irregularities SADC undermines its principles that guide democratic electoral process and principles of good governance. Moreover, SADC should respect the will of the majority of Zimbabweans after an election rather than paying attention to concerns of their fellow comrade in arms in the name of ZANU-PF. By so doing, SADC compromises its capacity as the sub-regional organization which should promote democratization of member states.

In addition to ineffective capacity and limited political will, Ancas (2011) also observed that divisions among some member states in the SADC have negatively affected the organization's attempts to foster cooperation. A tension arose between Zimbabwe which favored military solutions in resolving the DRC conflict and South Africa which suggested the use of soft diplomatic efforts to deal with DRC conflict. SADC's intervention in DRC in 1998 revealed this bipolar entity whereby some member states favored Zimbabwe's military approach while others favored South Africa's soft diplomacy. Therefore incompatible strategies and inconsistencies in terms of policy and plans of action hinder the effectiveness of SADC in conflict resolution not only in the DRC, but even in Zimbabwe and other parts of the region.

4.7 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter has analyzed data and presented the findings of the study. The chapter established that the level of SADC's effectiveness in solving conflict in the region is fair in some contexts such as Lesotho and Malagasy and lacks commitment in situations such as the 2008-2018 in Zimbabwe. Moreover, the chapter revealed that Zimbabwe's internal challenges which call for SADC intervention are centered on irregularities associated with the conduct of national elections leading to disputes and violence. Additionally, the chapter revealed that there are several factors that hinder SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively. Among the factors is the liberation brotherhood that exists between the governments in SADC most of which are led by the former liberation political movements. Lack of capacity and will are among the factors that hinder SADC's success in conflict resolution in Zimbabwe. SADC should be robust and shun favoring undemocratic leaders who might have played major roles in liberating the region from colonialism.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations on the impact of SADC in regional conflict resolution in Zimbabwe, 2008-2018. Conclusions are drawn in light of the four objectives of the study namely: to explore the impact of SADC in solving conflict in its member states; to investigate the problems faced by Zimbabwe which call for SADC intervention; to examine the factors that inhibit SADC from solving Zimbabwe's conflict effectively and to establish the possible ways by which SADC can use to solve Zimbabwe's problems effectively.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

This study found that there are cases when SADC is effective in resolving conflicts particularly in other member states. SADC's success in resolving conflicts such as those in Lesotho was due to its use of diplomatic mediatory actions and the use of the military in some cases. In other cases SADC employed both soft diplomacy and the military. However, when it comes to solving conflict in Zimbabwe, SADC has so far proved to be ineffective since the Zimbabwean conflict is ongoing and it becomes more complex. In Zimbabwe, SADC prefers to use dialogue and negotiations even in situations where the use of SADC Standby Force would remain consistent with the provisions of the Treaty. Regarding the Zimbabwe crises, SADC has demonstrated its weaknesses in terms of capacity and lack of will among the majority of leaders of the organization's member states.

5.3 CONCLUSION

5.3.1 THE IMPACT OF SADC IN SOLVING CONFLICT IN ITS MEMBER STATES

The study concluded that there are mixed findings concerning the impact of SADC in resolving conflicts in member states. There are cases and contexts in which SADC's intervention in conflicts of member states is effective. The case of Lesotho conflicts shows that SADC was effective in bringing peace and stability. SADC deployed the militaries from South Africa and Botswana in 1998 and it managed to restore order in Lesotho in 1998 after conflict broke up. Furthermore, there was an attempted military coup in Lesotho in 2014 which saw the Prime Minister fleeing to South Africa to take refuge. Again the same year, one of the Lesotho Defence Force chief Brigadier Mahao was assassinated. In all the conflicts described SADC managed to use both hard power and soft diplomacy to attain peace in Lesotho. SADC monitored a peaceful election in 2014 in Lesotho whose results were less contested. The Lesotho conflict in its diversity shows that the contestants were influenced by the principles of Social Darwinism. The factions in Lesotho politics tried to deal with their differences using the survival of the fittest approach. Due to its power as an institution, the military in Lesotho determined who was to be the leader of the country.

The Zimbabwean case of 2008-2018 is different from how SADC resolved conflicts in Lesotho, Malagasy and the DRC. In 2008, Zimbabwe had a contested election which led to the loss of life among members of the opposition MDC party. The study concluded that to a greater extent, violence was perpetrated by members of the ruling ZANU-PF who were supported by some units of the security forces. After the contested election in 2008, SADC intervened in order to find a lasting solution to the problem. At first, SADC requested the then President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki to mediate the conflict. Later, SADC appointed Mbeki's predecessor, Jacob Zuma to take over the mediation responsibilities. The study has established that the mediation styles of Mbeki and Zuma were negatively affected by the close relationship between the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and South Africa namely ZANU-PF and the ANC respectively. These nationalist movements assisted each other in fighting colonial regimes in their respective countries. Close ties between these ruling parties influenced the outcomes of the mediation efforts.

As facilitators and mediators, both Mbeki and Zuma, particularly Mbeki favored Mugabe of ZANU-PF during dialogue and negotiations. Though the leadership of South Africa managed to help to bring some form of stability and peace through the establishment of the government of national unity in Zimbabwe, the conflict was not effectively solved. Due to the ineffectiveness of SADC, Mugabe unilaterally announced the dates for the 2013 election without consulting his counterpart, Tsvangirai of the opposition MDC-T party. Moreover, SADC failed to impress upon Mugabe to reform the Zimbabwe security forces that publicly continued to support ZANU-PF and also perpetrated violence against the opposition party members. SADC could have employed the principles of Neo-Darwinism together with the use of soft power and hard power in the Zimbabwe conflict resolution endeavours.

The 2013 election in Zimbabwe was again marred by irregularities instigated by the ruling ZANU-PF party. Due to these problems, the 2013 election was contested by members of the opposition party. However, SADC endorsed the 2013 election and announced that it was free and fair and reflected the will of the majority of the electorate in Zimbabwe. The stance taken by SADC in 2013 made the Zimbabwe conflict worse. The government of Zimbabwe through the police force continued to inflict violence against the members of the opposition party. This happened continuously through 2017 the year Mugabe was forced by the military to step down from power; followed by the post Mugabe 2018 elections characterized by irregularities. Moreover, SADC endorsed the 2018 election in Zimbabwe despite the escalation of the conflict and irregularities thereof.

5.3.2 THE PROBLEMS FACED BY ZIMBABWE WHICH CALL FOR SADC INTERVENTION

The study concluded that Zimbabwe faced several problems which call for SADC intervention. The first problem that Zimbabwe faced which calls for the intervention by the SADC is the poor conduct of elections that lead to contested results. This is the root cause of conflict in Zimbabwe. The 2008, 2013 and 2018 elections in Zimbabwe were marred by gross irregularities due to rigging and an unfair system that favored the ruling ZANU-PF at the expense of the opposition parties. The 2008 and 2018 elections were characterized by violence and loss of life of the members of the opposition MDC party.

The other problem that called for SADC's use of the Standby Force was the involvement of Zimbabwe security forces in the elections and unleashing of violence against the civilian electorate particularly members of the opposition party. When the state military instigates violence against unarmed and defenseless civilians SADC should invoke its treaty to institute humanitarian intervention and responsibility to protect. Moreover SADC's intervention was needed when the Zimbabwe government violated the SADC principles and guidelines on democratic conduct of national elections among member states.

5.3.3 THE FACTORS THAT INHIBIT SADC FROM SOLVING ZIMBABWE'S CONFLICT EFFECTIVELY

There are a number of challenges that SADC faces in its attempt to deal with Zimbabwe's problems. It is necessary to point out that SADC is not consistent in the way it deals with conflict within member states. The expectation is in situations where there are violent conflicts and gross human rights abuse which warrant SADC's deployment of a Standby Force. The first challenge that SADC faces in dealing with Zimbabwe conflict emanates from the weaknesses of the SADC Secretariat which according to critics, member states have kept weak so that it does not have much authority to deploy the Standby Force in situations that call for military intervention. For example, in Zimbabwe, 2008, 2017 and 2018, the military instigated violence against unarmed civilians killing several numbers. Zimbabwe's case was treated differently from that of Lesotho in 1998 and 2014 where the military was deployed to work alongside diplomatic personnel.

The other challenge that SADC faces in dealing with Zimbabwe's conflict is that of SADC's traditional norms of non-interference, solidarity and respect of each member state's sovereignty. Solidarity politics and liberation legacy are some of the challenges in the SADC region and are obstacles to finding solutions to resolve conflict. Due to solidarity and non-interference, SADC finds it difficult to recommend the use of the military in some member states even where the magnitude and type of conflict calls for military intervention. Comradeship and patriotism among those who fought wars of liberation inhibit effective resolution of conflict in Zimbabwe and the region. This has cultivated a mindset that views opposition politicians as sellouts and agents of regime change.

Another obstacle that hinders SADC from solving conflict effectively in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the region is the member states' failure to agree on appropriate strategies to take in an effort to solve conflict. In some cases there is no consensus among the SADC member states on peace and security in the region. SADC member states lack political cohesion when it comes to conflict resolution and preservation of peace.

5.3.4 POSSIBLE WAYS BY WHICH SADC CAN USE TO SOLVE ZIMBABWE'S PROBLEMS

To solve Zimbabwe's problems, there are possible alternatives that SADC can use. Firstly, SADC must involve different partners such as the AU, UN and different stakeholders in Zimbabwe particularly those drawn from political parties and the society at large. The leading mediators must be chosen from the AU while leading facilitator in negotiations and dialogue must be SADC Chairperson. The UN should help in directing the process of negotiations since it is the international organization entrusted with the role of maintenance of international peace and security.

Secondly, SADC member states should unanimously agree to deploy SADC Standby Force in violent conflict situations such as the use of the military by a member state to brutalize defenseless and unarmed civilians as in the 2008 and 2018 situation in Zimbabwe and 2018 situations.

For SADC to resolve Zimbabwe's conflict effectively, member states should have political will to maintain peace and security. The implication is that SADC should put aside solidarity politics and liberation legacy which lead other member states leaders to violate the guidelines set by SADC. Moreover, SADC should allow the Secretariat to act freely on the prosecution of offenders and deployment of Standby Force in violent conflict situations such as the Zimbabwe 2008 and 2018 situations in which the military killed civilians.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the conclusions drawn on the impact of Southern Africa Development Community in regional conflict resolution case study of Zimbabwe, 2008-2018, this study recommends that:

- SADC is implored to use robust and sometimes mediatory methods against ZANU PF which ended with the coup.
- Member states in the SADC region must agree to use military to intervene in Zimbabwe's conflict situations that call for humanitarian intervention and responsibility to protect (RtoP).
- SADC member states should impress upon Zimbabwe to implement principles of good civil military relations.
- SADC should put pressure on Zimbabwe to adhere to principles that guide democratic elections.
- SADC should refrain from solidarity politics and liberation legacy mentality that make it fail to solve the conflict in Zimbabwe effectively.
- SADC Chair should be impartial when mediating over conflict to find solutions in Zimbabwe.
- SADC's member states should strive to attain political cohesion and will to solve problems in Zimbabwe.
- The use of Neo-Darwinism insights in Zimbabwe conflict resolution can help SADC mediators achieve desired goals.

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