Assessment of the Impacts of Intervention by the African Union and Regional Economic Communities in 2018 in the frame of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)

APSA IMPACT REPORT 2018

german cooperation
DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENARBEIT

Implemented by

giz
Deutsche Gesellschaft
für Internationale
Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH

IPSS | Institute for Peace
& Security Studies
Addis Ababa University

Highlights

Involves a 3-step methodology

- Assess quality and effectiveness of interventions
- Identify violent conflicts
- Map intervention(s) deployed

Conflict in 2018

374 global conflicts

102 in Africa

27%
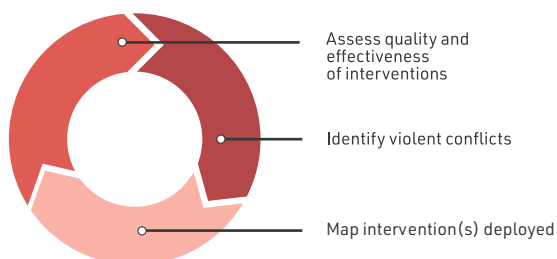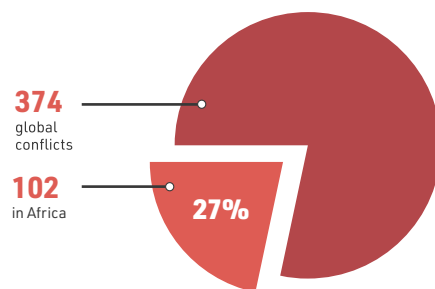
10% increase in organized political violence from **10,600 in 2017 to 11,080 in 2018**

Main findings

Types of violent conflicts

52 **violent crises**
57 in 2017

10 **limited wars**
5 in 2017

9 **wars**
12 in 2017

71 Violent conflicts in 2018
Violent conflicts = war, limited war, violent crisis, intensity levels 3-5 according to HCB

Conflict items most frequently fought over
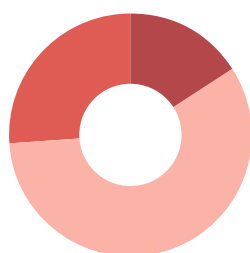
National power **27%**
System/ideology **21%**
Subnational predominance **20%**
Resources **15%**
but featured in 63% of highly violent conflicts

4 intervention tools

Diplomacy
31 conflicts

Mediation
14 conflicts

PSOs
6 conflicts

PCRD
1 conflict

Quality of interventions*

mostly high **16%**
medium **58%**
mostly low **26%**

Effectiveness of interventions**

overall successful **13%**
partly successful **45%**
rather unsuccessful **42%**
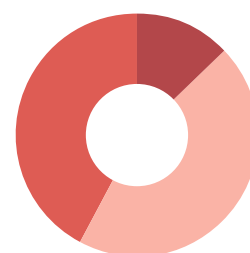
*Quality is assessed based on the contribution and coordination by AU/RECs, and the appropriateness to the nature of the threat.

**Effectiveness was assessed based on the AU/RECs' timeliness, responsiveness, achievement of intended results, and contribution to de-escalation of the conflict.

AU/RECs interventions

**53 violent conflicts
qualified for intervention
by AU/RECs**

53
violent

24
non-violent

29
conflicts
addressed by
AU/RECs

24
conflicts not
addressed by
AU/RECs

2
non-violent
conflicts
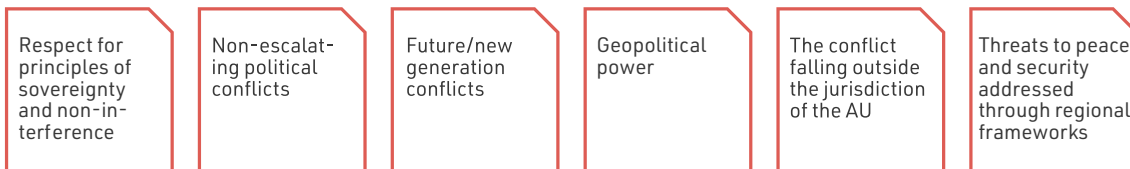addressed by
AU/RECs*

21 elections scheduled 6 postponed
AU/RECs deployed election observation missions to all countries that held elections

AU and/or RECs mediated or facilitated the process in 13 (35%) out of 37 peace agreements in 16 conflicts

6 factors for intervention/non-intervention*

| Respect for principles of sovereignty and non-interference | Non-escalating political conflicts | Future/new generation conflicts | Geopolitical power | The conflict falling outside the jurisdiction of the AU | Threats to peace and security addressed through regional frameworks |

*In most cases, these factors overlap

May 2020.

Contents

Abbreviations

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APC	All Progressives Congress
APC	All People's Congress
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ARDUF	Afar Revolutionary Democratic Front
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AUC-PCRD	African Union Centre for Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development
AUTSTG	African Union Technical Support to The Gambia
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
CAR	Central African Republic
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMIB	ECOWAS Mission in Guinea Bissau
ECOMIG	ECOWAS Mission in The Gambia
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECPF	ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework
EU	European Union
FC-G5S	G5 Sahel Joint Force established by Chad, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Mali and Niger
FLEC	Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (The Mozambique Liberation Front)
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German Development Cooperation)
HCB	Heidelberg Conflict Barometer
HIIK	Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research
ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IS	Islamic State Jihadist Group
JMEC	Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission
LAS	League of Arab States
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
RCI-LRA	Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
MPLA	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MUJAO	Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa
PCRD	Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PSC	African Union Peace and Security Council
PSO	Peace Support Operation
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)
RMs	Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution
RSADO	Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPMIL	SADC Preventive Mission in Lesotho
SLPP	Sierra Leone People's Party
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
SPLM/A-IO	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army-in-Opposition
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNOCA	United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

Foreward

Established in 2007 with the vision of becoming a premier African institute for knowledge production and dissemination in the field of peace and security, the Institute for Peace and Security Studies at Addis Ababa University has over the years excelled in the areas of research, training and policy dialogues, ranking among the top 50 think tanks in Sub-Saharan Africa since 2014.

The annual APSA Impact Report is a flagship IPSS publication that garners wide interest from research organizations, the African Union (AU), Regional Economic Communities (RECs)/ Regional Mechanisms (RMs), practitioners in peace and security, development partners of Africa, students and academics. It therefore gives me great pleasure to formally present the 2018 edition of the APSA Impact Report, an assessment of the impacts of intervention by the AU and RECs in the frame of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA).

The annual APSA Impact Report is a relevant reference tool that captures the efforts and challenges faced by the AU, RECs/RMs and member states in their regional and continental efforts in conflict prevention, management and transformation. This report covers AU/REC interventions that took place in 2018.

The report serves as a tool to take stock and assess the successes and challenges of the various instruments in meeting peace and security priorities on the continent and aims to provide data and analysis on the state of conflict in Africa as well as on the quality and effectiveness of the interventions conducted by the AU and RECs in de-escalating or resolving these conflicts.

While the APSA Impact Report has been housed at IPSS since 2017, this 2018 edition marks the first time the report has been produced entirely by IPSS researchers. Previous editions (2016, 2017) were produced with backstopping from the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM). IPSS is pleased to produce this report with support from the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

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Preface

Since the establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), the AU and RECs/RMs have made significant progress in preventing, managing and transforming conflicts, with the latter increasingly playing a central role in addressing security threats.

IPSS, as part of its mission to foster peace and security in Africa through research, education and policy dialogues, publishes the annual APSA Impact Report to regularly take stock of the successes and challenges of the AU and RECs/RMs in addressing security threats. This publication is a comprehensive report on the findings of an annual study assessing the quality and effectiveness of AU and/or REC/RM interventions in violent conflicts in Africa.

This edition assesses 31 conflicts in Africa by using publicly available sources and a fit-for-purpose methodology to identify violent conflicts, map the interventions deployed in these conflicts, and assess the impact of these AU/REC engagements by measuring the quality and effectiveness of instruments used.

While numerous publications analyze the impact of interventions by focusing on specific conflicts, countries, and at times sub-regions and actors, this report's entry point and added value is that it is the only comprehensive African study that aggregates these disjointed analyses on AU/REC interventions and offers a continental view of all APSA interventions in violent conflicts. In sum, this publication is presented as a 'report card' on how APSA actors performed in fulfilling their mandate on a yearly basis.

Previous editions of the report have been presented to, and received with keen interest by, a wide range of policy audiences including members of the AU Peace and Security Council, RECs, development partners, embassies, researchers, academics and peace and security stakeholders.

I am sincerely grateful to the team of researchers for their diligent work and dedication in implementing the APSA Impact Monitoring Methodology, from which the findings in this report were extracted. Supervised by Melhik Abebe Bekele, Research Coordinator of the APSA Monitoring Project, the team was comprised of: Cynthia Happi, Muluka Hassen Shifa, Tigist Kebede Feyissa, Pia Podieh, and Pezu Catherine Mukwakwa. I would also like to acknowledge Olawale Ismail (PhD) for supporting the preparation of the final report, Michelle Mendi Muita for providing editorial support, and Abel Belachew for leading the design and print process of this publication. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude for the support we continue to receive from BMZ and GIZ, including from the GIZ African Union team that provided support throughout the project's duration.

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Executive Summary

The APSA Impact Report's entry point into and added value to the existing body of policy research on conflict in the continent is that it is a comprehensive African study that aggregates disjointed analyses produced by other publications on AU and/or REC interventions and offers a continental view of all APSA interventions. The report serves as a relevant reference tool or report card that captures the efforts and challenges faced by the AU, RECs/RMs and member states in their regional and continental efforts in conflict prevention, management and transformation. The main findings of the implementation of the fit-for-purpose methodology and the study that produces this report are as follows.

In 2018, Africa continued to be home to a little more than a quarter of all conflicts worldwide. 27% of violent and non-violent conflicts recorded in the world took place in Africa. National power, system/ideology, subnational predominance and resources were the most prominent conflict drivers on the continent, with system/ideology overtaking subnational predominance as a conflict driver for the first time. While this may be a result of the Heidelberg Conflict Barometer (which this report uses as a source material to identify conflicts) tweaking its definition of what constitutes system/ideology as a conflict item, it may also be an indication that conflicts in the region, particularly those in Sub-Saharan Africa which traditionally are predominantly fought over national power, subnational predominance and resources, are developing an ideological edge.

The APSA Impact Report presents the findings of an annual study analyzing the state of conflict in Africa and the quality and effectiveness of interventions conducted by the AU and/or RECs in de-escalating or resolving these conflicts. The clustering exercise in the methodology of this report clustered 107 conflicts recorded in Africa in 2018 into 71 conflicts, 18 non-violent conflicts and 53 violent conflicts, the latter forming the units of analysis of this study's assessment on the quality and effectiveness of AU and/or REC interventions.

The implementation of the next step of the report's fit-for-purpose methodology revealed that AU and/or RECs intervened through diplomacy, mediation, PSOs or PCRD, or a combination of two or more of these APSA instruments in 29 of 53 conflicts that were violent and thus qualified for intervention by AU and/or RECs. With 45% of violent conflicts not addressed through interventions, 2018 saw a reduction in the proportion of violent conflicts that were not addressed by AU and/or RECs as compared to 2017 where 48% of violent conflicts were not addressed, or not addressed visibly by AU and/or RECs. Put in other words, there was a 2% increase in the tendency for APSA actors to intervene in violent conflicts in 2018. The AU and/or RECs appear to be addressing more conflicts; 2018 is the second successive year in which the number of conflicts addressed by AU and/or RECs is more than those not addressed in a calendar year. As in previous years, the AU and/or RECs were more likely to intervene in high-intensity conflicts (wars or limited wars) and continued to focus on conflict management rather than preventive interventions, a pattern that continued from previous years.

There were a range of factors for AU/REC non-intervention in the 24 violent conflicts identified for 2018. The reasons that could arguably explain non-intervention at varying degrees include respect for principles of sovereignty and non-interference; little chance of escalation in some political conflicts; emergence and changing nature of future or new generation conflicts and states' geopolitical power and influence in APSA actors' decision-making bodies. It is important to note however that that this study does not consider AU and/or RECs first responders whenever there is a conflict in the continent. The report acknowledges that the primary onus of managing conflicts lies on the states in which these conflicts occur, and infuses the implementation of its methodology with this key acknowledgement. APSA actors' failure to intervene even where there

is violence, therefore, should not be seen as an absolute indictment of APSA's record but should be taken as one input into assessing the overall performance of APSA.

In addition to the 29 violent conflicts, the study covering 2018 also included interventions in two non-violent conflicts on an exceptional basis because the interventions were continued from previous years in which the conflicts were violent. This puts the number of assessments conducted on quality and effectiveness of interventions at 31. In all 31 conflicts assessed, diplomacy was used as an instrument of intervention, while mediation and PSOs were deployed in 14 and 6 conflicts, respectively. In one conflict, in The Gambia, PCRD was used. In 61.3% of cases where conflicts received interventions, a combination of two or more of these instruments (diplomacy, mediation, PSOs and PCRD) was used. In 38.7% of cases, the only instrument deployed was diplomacy. A combination of diplomacy and PSOs was used in 12.9% of cases, mainly in conflicts involving terrorist groups, while a combination of diplomacy and mediation efforts was deployed in 38.7% of cases. A combination of three instruments (diplomacy, mediation and PSOs) was deployed in 6.5% of interventions, while in one conflict (3.1%), a combination of diplomacy and PCRD efforts was used.

The overall findings from the assessments conducted in 31 conflicts that attracted AU and/or REC interventions in 2018 shows that the quality of intervention was of 'overall high' or 'medium' in 74% of conflicts assessed, presenting a decline from the 78% recorded in 2017. This continues the trend of a gradual deterioration in quality that started in 2017 following the 86% recorded in 2016. As regards effectiveness, 'overall successful' and 'partly successful' interventions accounted for 58% of all interventions assessed, down from the 63% recorded in 2017, and 78% recorded in 2016. This shows that overall quality and effectiveness have continued to decline year by year since the favourable numbers seen in 2016.

The findings on specific APSA instruments out of which the above indicated overall results were aggregated indicate that while diplomacy was used in all 31 conflicts that received interventions, in 74% of these cases, diplomacy was found to be of 'overall high quality' or 'medium quality'. In 2017, diplomatic interventions in 77.8% of conflicts assessed were adjudged as 'overall high quality' or 'medium quality'. Of the 14 cases where mediation was used as an instrument of intervention, 64% were found to be of 'medium quality' or 'overall high quality', marking a slight recovery from the sharp drop recorded in 2017 (61.5%) compared to 2016 (90%). Six PSOs were assessed in 2018 and all but one of them were found to be 'medium quality', while one was adjudged as 'overall high quality' and no PSO (0%) was assessed as 'mostly low quality'. This marks an increase in quality of PSOs as compared to 2017 where 25% of PSOs assessed were adjudged as 'mostly low quality'. The generally medium to high quality nature of PSOs continues the trend of previous years and underlines the continued investment and political support for and by AU, RECs and their partners in strengthening Africa's capacity to respond to security challenges in the continent. However, assessing these disaggregated findings in light of the increased efforts and attention paid to PSOs, arguably at the expense of diplomacy and mediation, suggests that the AU and RECs continue to focus on conflict management rather than conflict prevention (preventive diplomacy and mediation) when intervening in violent conflicts.

The other leg of the assessment in this study looks at the effectiveness (success) of each instrument and shows that in 58% of the 31 conflicts in which diplomacy was used, diplomatic interventions were found to be 'overall successful' or 'partly successful', marking a sharp decrease from the 77% recorded in 2017. However, diplomacy is on its own rarely likely to cause a de-escalation or resolution to the conflict. In 57% of the 14 cases where mediation was used as an instrument of

intervention, 'overall successful' and 'partly successful' results were recorded, showing an increase from the 46.2% recorded in 2017, but falling short of the 71% recorded in 2016. On PSOs, 66.7% of the six PSOs assessed in 2018 were 'partly successful' in conflict mitigation and stabilization efforts. Although there were no PSOs adjudged as 'overall successful', this still marks an increase from 2017 where combined cases of 'overall successful' and 'partly successful' interventions accounted for 62.5% of PSOs assessed. In 2017, one PSO was found to be 'overall successful'.

Even though PSOs were more successful in 2018 than they were in 2017, the general correlation between quality and effectiveness observed year after year including in 2018 in relation to mediation and diplomatic interventions did not feature as strongly in the case of PSOs. Indeed, despite being moderately robust, concerted African engagements in long-spanning, intractable and highly violent conflicts (especially those involving violent extremist groups) fell short in effecting the desired change or outcome. While in all cases where a combination of diplomacy and PSOs was used, interventions were found to be of 'medium quality', it was only in half of them that this translated into partial success, with 'medium quality' interventions (through diplomacy and PSO) in the AQIM/IS and Boko Haram conflicts being 'rather unsuccessful'.

A mixed picture emerges when looking at a possible correlation between the number/type of instruments used to intervene in conflicts and the levels of quality and effectiveness recorded: while the number of instruments is not an exact predictor of outcome, as was the case in previous years, interventions do appear to be particularly less effective and of lower quality when only one tool (typically diplomacy) is used; and the higher the quality, the greater the chances of overall or partly successful outcomes.

While exceptions exist, the latter correlation (between quality and effectiveness) is a well-established trend observed over the years that has endured in 2018. All conflicts with 'overall high quality' interventions also recorded overall or partly successful interventions, while 66.7% of conflicts with 'medium quality' interventions also recorded 'partly successful' findings. All 'mostly low quality' interventions were also adjudged as 'rather unsuccessful'. Two-thirds of those cases in which medium quality' interventions produced unsuccessful outcomes (which only account for 33.3% of all 'medium quality') involved some of Africa's most intractable and highly violent conflicts. These were the conflicts involving Boko Haram and Al-Qaida in the Maghreb/Islamic State (AQIM/IS) and the protracted conflict in eastern DR Congo and the conflict in Somalia involving the federal government, federal member states and various militias. This shows that the phenomenon of modestly robust (or 'medium quality') interventions failing to de-escalate conflict is unique to such types of violent, long-spanning and intractable conflicts.

The APSA Impact Report aims to provide data and analyses on the state of conflict in Africa as well as on the quality and effectiveness of the interventions conducted by the AU and RECs in de-escalating or resolving these conflicts.

Methodology

The annual APSA Impact Report measures the impact of interventions within the framework of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) on conflicts in Africa. The impact of APSA interventions is measured by using a fit-for-purpose methodology that is designed to assess the quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions. The main focus or preoccupation of the APSA Impact Monitoring Methodology is therefore APSA interventions. It is important that what constitutes APSA interventions or APSA actors under the methodology be informed by APSA's evolution since its establishment. Following the adoption of the AU Peace and Security Protocol in 2002, APSA has become a central framework for conflict prevention, management and resolution, as well as post-conflict reconstruction and development across the continent. As the African Union's (AU) decision-making body in the area of peace and security, the Peace and Security Council (PSC) is in the driver's seat in the implementation of APSA instruments. APSA draws on the AU Commission, the Panel of the Wise, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), the African Standby Force (ASF), and the Peace Fund. In line with the principle of subsidiarity, Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as well as other Regional Mechanisms (RMs) constitute important building blocks of APSA. APSA is thus based on a vertical as well as horizontal interplay between various actors.

In addition to these, in more recent years, regional mechanisms and security initiatives that do not formally belong within the APSA framework have become more prominent across Africa's peace and security landscape. The Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram (MNJTF), for instance, is an ad-hoc coalition between Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Nigeria and Benin, which operates under the political authority of the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC). The LCBC does not belong to the eight RECs formally recognized by the AU. Although the MNJTF is mandated by the AU and receives financial resources from it, it does not form part of the APSA framework. Similarly, the G5 Sahel Joint Force, an ad-hoc coalition between Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Chad operates under the authority of the G5 Sahel. In light of the AU's support to these coalitions including notably through its ongoing efforts to fully operationalize the African Standby Force (ASF) and the harmonization of activities of all ad-hoc coalitions namely, MNJTF, Group of Five Sahel Joint Force and RCI-LRA Task Force with the ASF Framework, the methodology includes these mechanisms as APSA interventions, alongside those conducted by RECs.

The impact of APSA interventions is assessed by measuring the quality and effectiveness of the interventions deployed by these APSA actors to address conflicts. Since APSA's establishment, interventions by APSA actors have not taken the same form, nor have they been deployed in the same way. Instead, a diverse toolset or means of intervention has been devised and used by the AU and/or RECs in conflict resolution and transformation. In recognition of this fact, the fit-for-purpose methodology of the study categorizes APSA interventions under different instruments, namely diplomacy, mediation, peace support operations (PSO) and Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD). This exercise of identifying and recording APSA interventions is called 'mapping of interventions'. APSA interventions through these instruments are mapped using an internal methodological tool called 'Indicative Table of Interventions' (See Annex I) as a guide to categorize a given statement, decision or action as diplomacy, mediation, PSO or PCRD and to rate its intensity on a scale of 1 to 3, 3 being the most intense or robust engagement. Categorizing the intensity level of engagement is useful in the next phase of the methodology which involves assessing the quality and effectiveness of these interventions.

Assessments on quality of interventions and effectiveness of interventions are done separately. The assessments are also further disaggregated under each instrument of intervention that was used. This means an assessment on the quality of each instrument of intervention used (diplomacy, mediation, PSO and PCRD) is conducted for each conflict under consideration. An assessment on the effectiveness of these same instruments is also conducted, under separate sections analyzing each instrument used in the conflict. Three criteria or 'lines of inquiry' are used to assess the quality and effectiveness of interventions. These are:

I.   **Effectiveness:** (i) whether/ the degree to which the intervention was timely and responsive to the conflict, (ii) whether/the degree to which the intervention achieved its intended result/s, and (iii) whether/the degree to which it led or contributed to the de-escalation of the conflict.

II. **Quality:** (i) the relative contribution of AU/REC interventions compared with interventions by other (international) actors, (ii) level and quality of cooperation and alignment between different actors, and (iii) whether/the degree to which the interventions were appropriate or commensurate with the nature and intensity of the conflict.

There are further sub-questions under these three lines of inquiry that seek to assess different elements that feed into the overall assessment under each line of inquiry. For instance, a sub-question under the second line of inquiry that assesses effectiveness (i.e., whether/the degree to which the intervention achieved its intended results) is what were the intended results of the interventions carried out? Another is, were these results achieved or to what extent was progress made in achieving them? To answer the lines of inquiry on quality and their sub-questions, the analysis uses researchers' own analyses of the intensity of engagement and the conflict background as well as expert analyses and public sources, including conflict databases and official documents (AU/REC reports and communiqués). In answering the lines of inquiry for effectiveness (and their sub-questions), publicly available sources documenting the interventions conducted by AU and/or RECs and the situation on the ground and the impact the interventions had are examined by researchers. Using these lines of inquiry and their sub-questions, the assessments on quality and effectiveness are conducted and then a 'judgement' is given under each instrument for quality and effectiveness. The judgements are extracted from the analyses done on each indicator of impact (quality and effectiveness) and for each instrument used (diplomacy, mediation, PSO, and PCRD). The judgment categories for quality are 'overall high quality', 'medium quality' or 'mostly low quality', whereas the judgment categories for effectiveness/successfulness are 'overall successful', 'partly successful', 'rather unsuccessful', and 'too early to tell'.

An instructive way for readers of this report to better appreciate or understand the findings presented in this study is to see quality of interventions as being about the process, nature and point of contact of a given AU/REC decision, action or engagement and effectiveness about being outcomes or results.

While the study's main preoccupation or focus is AU and/or REC interventions in violent conflicts in Africa, the logical departure point or starting point is identifying the violent conflicts in which APSA actors have a mandate to intervene in. The conflicts covered under this report (for an assessment of quality and effectiveness of AU and/or REC interventions, if there were any) are identified by using the annual Heidelberg Conflict Barometer (HCB) as a baseline. This is a methodological decision made with the view to create consistency and lessen subjectivity year on year. The HCB

categorizes conflicts into five different intensity levels: 'disputes' (level 1), 'non-violent crisis' (level 2), 'violent crisis' (level 3), 'limited war' (level 4) and 'war' (level 5). The first two levels are 'non-violent conflicts', whereas the last three are 'violent conflicts'. As the aim of this study is to assess APSA interventions in violent conflicts, this report looks only at interventions conducted in conflicts with intensity levels of 3 and above according to HCB. The rationale behind using the HCB as a baseline lies in the HCB's annual nature, which lends itself comfortably to an annual study like the APSA study that also conducts comparison over years; that it is a comprehensive report that covers the whole year and the whole of the African continent. Another rationale is that there is a need for a tangible starting point for the APSA methodology to ensure consistency from year to year. While there are a few challenges faced when using HCB as a point of reference for the APSA report (for example, some countries are not included in the HCB), the methodology corrects for such oversight buy customizing the HCB list by adding conflicts that were not addressed in HCB. This shows that even though the study relies heavily on HCB data to identify violent conflicts, it does from time to time supplement its data to make it speak better to an African context.

Above and beyond this kind of exceptional alteration to HCB data to include conflicts that were overlooked, a more systemic means has been devised in the methodology to customize HCB data to the needs of the APSA Impact Monitoring Methodology. The methodology has a key step or exercise of 'clustering' in which conflicts listed by HCB as separate or stand-alone conflicts are clustered together or considered as one conflict when they have close linkages with each other in terms of i) the actors involved, ii) the conflict dynamics and drivers of conflict at play, and iii) how these conflicts are addressed by AU/RECs. It was necessary to add a 'clustering' exercise in the process of identifying conflicts to be covered by the study in which, on the basis of these three criteria, conflict units in the HCB are clustered together when it is illogical to look at them separately from each other. These combined conflict units, which are named 'Conflict Clusters' (CCs), formed the units of analysis of this study. However, to avoid confusion, in this final report, 'conflict' is used in place of 'conflict clusters'. If there was more than one conflict unit in a Conflict Cluster, it was assigned the highest level of intensity from the conflict units that cluster comprises. At the end of this clustering exercise based on the three criteria indicated above, the 102 conflict units identified by HCB were clustered into 71 conflict clusters (see Annex II). Of these 71 conflict clusters, 53 were of intensity levels 3-5, and are thus the focus of this analysis, while 18 clusters were below level 3. 29 of the 53 violent clusters and 2 non-violent (level 2) conflict clusters were addressed by the AU and/or RECs, while 24 violent conflict clusters were not addressed by the AU and/or RECs. It is interventions in these conflicts that this report assessed for quality and effectiveness (see Annex III).

Following the mapping of interventions in these (29 violent and two non-violent) conflicts, assessments of the quality and effectiveness of these efforts was conducted on the basis of the three lines of inquiry discussed above. The findings of these assessments are presented in section 2 of this report, while section 1 provides an overview of peace and security trends in Africa in 2018. It outlines data on the conflict situation in Africa such as conflict trends, items and dynamics.

Sub-section 2.1 provides an overview of the overall findings on effectiveness and quality of AU/RECs interventions, whereas sub-section 2.2 analyzes the effectiveness and quality per each instrument of intervention - diplomacy, mediation and Peace Support Operations (PSOs) in more detail. The remaining sub-sections in section 2 cover peace agreements signed in 2018 and violent conflicts where there were no interventions.

Section 3 provides final conclusions and recommendations.

The annual APSA Impact Report is a relevant reference tool that captures the efforts and challenges faced by the AU, RECs/RMs and member states in their regional and continental efforts in conflict prevention, management and transformation.

APSA has become a central framework for conflict prevention, management and resolution, as well as post-conflict reconstruction and development across the continent.

Overview of Peace and Security in Africa in 2018

1.1 Conflict Trends

Overall number of conflicts

In 2018, the number of conflicts in Africa aligned with global patterns, by following a general downward trend, though marginal, since 2016. According to the Heidelberg Conflict Barometer (HCB), the number of conflicts in the world decreased from 385 in 2017 to **374 in 2018** (a 3% decrease).[1] Africa recorded **102 conflicts in 2018**,[2] and this represents a 5% reduction from the 107 recorded in 2017, and a 9% drop from the 112 recorded in 2016. This also meant that Africa's share of conflicts in the world decreased marginally from 28% in 2017 to **27% in 2018**.

When disaggregated, however, the number of **wars** (**intensity level 5**) and **limited wars** (**intensity level 4**) in Africa increased to **19** (10 limited wars and 9 wars) **in 2018** from the 17 recorded in 2016 and 2017. 2018 saw the emergence of a new limited war in Cameroon between the government, representing the French-speaking majority of the country, and the English-speaking minority in the Northwest and Southwest Regions. Africa also continued the year-on-year marginal decrease in the number of **violent crises** (**intensity level 3**) with **52 cases in 2018**, compared with 57 in 2017, and 65 in 2016. In contrast, Africa recorded 31 cases of **non-violent crises and disputes** (**intensity levels 2 and 1** respectively) in 2018, compared to 33 in 2017 and 28 in 2016.

It should be noted that this study assesses the impact of interventions by the African Union (AU) and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) or Regional Mechanisms (RMs) in conflicts that are violent i.e. conflicts with intensity levels 3-5 according to HCB's classification, thus qualifying for intervention by AU and RECs/RMs.

In 2018, Africa had **71 conflicts** with an intensity of level between 3 and 5; that is wars, limited wars or violent crises. This number is slightly lower than the 74 recorded in 2017 and much lower than the 82 recorded in 2016. The numbers in this section reflect conflicts as they appear in the HCB before the clustering exercise carried out in this study that decreased the number of violent conflicts from 71 to 53.[3]

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1   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer 2018, p. 13.
2   The Heidelberg Conflict Barometer (HCB) only reports 101 conflict units across Africa in 2018. This is because the conflict unit Lesotho (military factions) is not included in the HCB 2018. However, based on the research conducted for the study presented here, the conflict is deemed as a conflict with an intensity level of 3. Furthermore, SADC and the AU continued to intervene in Lesotho through-out 2018. For that reason, as was the case in previous years, the decision was made to include the conflict in Lesotho in the analysis of this study.
3   The total number of conflict clusters includes two exceptions; Kenya (opposition) and Morocco (POLISARIO/Western Sahara), both of which were a non-violent crisis according to HCB, but were addressed by the AU in 2018, and thus included in the analysis as an exception to the rule in the methodology of the study.

FIGURE 1 Conflict
Intensity in Africa,
2014-2018

Dispute
HIIK Level 1 — 27, 22, 13, 13, 16

Non-violent Crisis
HIIK Level 1 — 19, 19, 15, 20, 15

Violent Crisis
HIIK Level 2 — 55, 51, 65, 57, 52

Limited War
HIIK Level 3 — 11, 13, 8, 5, 10

War
HIIK Level 4 — 10, 10, 9, 12, 9

Total — 122, 115, 110, 107, 102

Legend: 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018
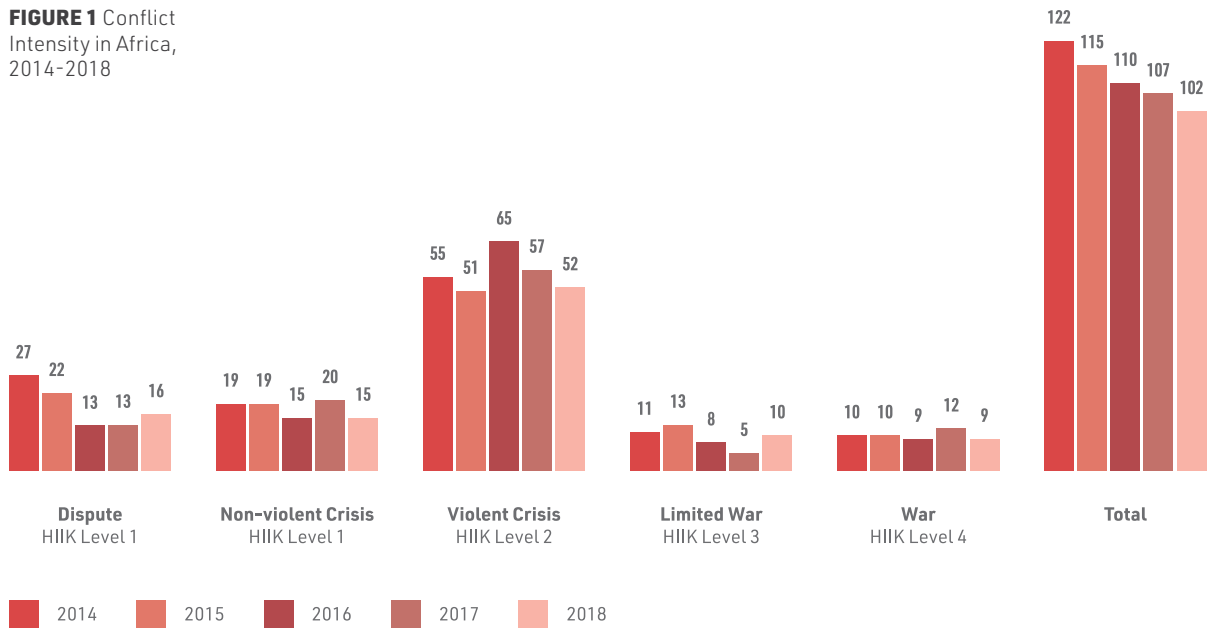
High Intensity Conflicts: Limited Wars (level 4) and Wars (level 5):

In 2018, the world saw a slight increase in the number of highly violent conflicts with the number of wars and limited wars rising to 41, compared to the 36 recorded in 2017. Of the high intensity conflicts recorded worldwide in 2018, 19 were fought in Africa, an increase from the 18 recorded in 2017 and the 16 cases in 2016. As indicated in Figure 1 above, Africa has consistently maintained an overall decline in the number of conflicts since 2014, with slight variations when disaggregated by the levels of intensity.

When disaggregated, the 19 highly violent conflicts in Africa in 2018 included nine wars and 10 limited wars. A comparison with 2017 shows a mixed picture as the number of **wars in Africa reduced from 12 to nine**, while the number of **limited wars increased from five to 10**. This mixed pattern is due to the escalation and de-escalation of some wars and limited wars and the emergence of one new limited war. Most highly violent conflicts in 2017 remained at the same level of intensity in 2018.

Wars (Level 5)

In 2018, the nine wars in Africa comprised of eight conflicts that continued at the same level of intensity from 2017 and one conflict that escalated from a limited war to a war. The latter is the conflict between the Egyptian government and Sunni militant groups in the Sinai Peninsula. The eight other conflicts categorized as wars were: the conflict in the Central African Republic (CAR) between the Anti-Balaka, Ex-Séléka and the government; the conflict between various ethnic groups in different regions of Ethiopia; the war between farmers and pastoralists in Nigeria; the war with Boko Haram; the conflict in the Darfur region in Sudan; the conflict between Al-Shabaab and the Somali and Kenyan governments in Somalia; the war between the Islamic State (IS) and the governments of Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia and Libya; and the war between rival state institutions and various militant groups in Libya.

Limited wars (Level 4)

Between 2017 and 2018, the number of wars dropped from 12 to nine. This was as a result of the de-escalation of 3 out of the 12 wars to limited wars and one of them to a violent crisis. These are two conflicts in DR Congo and another two in South Sudan. In DR Congo, the conflict between Kamuina Nsapu militias and the government; and the conflict between 100-plus armed groups in eastern DR Congo and the government, supported by MONUSCO. These two conflicts de-escalated to a violent crisis and a limited war, respectively. Two interlinked conflicts in South Sudan were fought at war-level in 2017, namely the inter-communal rivalry between and among the Murle, Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups; and the conflict between the government and SPLM/A-IO. Both de-escalated to limited wars.

Of the 10 limited wars that were counted for 2018, four conflicts escalated from previous levels in 2017; three conflicts from the level of violent crisis and one conflict from the level of non-violent crisis. Three conflicts de-escalated from a war-level to a limited war (see preceding paragraph). One new limited war emerged while two conflicts remained at the same level of intensity (limited war) as 2017. The newly emerged limited war is the conflict in Cameroon between the government and the English-speaking minority in the Northwest and Southwest Regions.

The four conflicts that escalated to a limited war in 2018 from the relatively less violent level displayed in 2017 were: the conflict between the regional governments of Somaliland and Puntland in Somalia (sharp escalation from a non-violent crisis to a limited war); the conflict in the south of Libya, especially in Sebha district, among various ethnic groups over the control of trafficking routes and scarce resources (from a violent crisis to a limited war); the inter-communal conflict in central Mali between nomadic Fulani herders, Bambara militias known as Dozo and Dogon farmers, which in 2018 spiraled to unprecedented levels with a vast majority of incidents occurring in the country's central Mopti region (from a violent crisis to a limited war); and the violence between Lendu and Hema communities in DR Congo's Ituri province (from a violent crisis to a limited war).

Besides the conflict in Ituri province, two other conflicts in DR Congo were also fought at a limited war level. These are the conflict in the eastern part of the country between various armed militia and the government, which de-escalated from a war level (see first paragraph under this sub-heading), and the conflict in Beni territory between the Islamist armed group Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and the governments of Uganda and DR Congo, which continued at the same level of intensity it had in 2017. Another limited war that continued at the same level is the conflict between JNIM (including AQIM, Al-Mourabitoun, ISGS, Ansar Dine, MLF, Ansaroul Islam, and OIC) and the governments of Libya, Chad, Algeria, Mauritania, Niger, Burkina Faso, and Mali.

Other Violent Conflicts (Level 3)

Africa recorded 52 violent crises (level 3 intensity) in 2018. This represents a 9% decrease over the 57 recorded in 2017, and a 20% decline in relation to the spike (65 conflicts) recorded in 2016. As indicated in Figure 1 above, Africa has recorded a year-on-year decrease in the number of Level 3 conflicts since 2014, except for 2016.

Like in previous years, the core of Level 3 conflicts in Africa are political contestations between governments (incumbents) and opposition groups, conflicts commonly referred to in this report as 'opposition' conflicts. This type of conflict crisscrosses regions and countries with varying socio-economic and political trajectories. It occurred in countries such as DR Congo, Egypt, Mali and Sudan, which also recorded other types and mostly more intense levels of conflicts involving armed groups. It also occurs as a distinct and defining political crisis in a given country (often as the only conflict of note in that country). This was the case in countries such as eSwatini, Togo, Kenya, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Algeria and Zimbabwe.

Methodology:

Assessing AU and/or REC Interventions in 2018

To analyze the effectiveness and quality of AU and/or REC interventions, the research team clustered the conflict units in HCB into conflict clusters. For the year 2018, 102 conflict units were clustered into 70 conflict clusters. Of these 70 conflict clusters, 53 were of intensity levels 3-5, while 17 clusters were below level 3. 29 of the 53 violent clusters and 2 non-violent (level 2) conflict clusters were addressed by the AU and/or RECs, while 24 violent conflict clusters were not addressed by the AU and/or RECs.

After the clustering exercise that forms part of the methodology of the study that produces this report,[1] the units of analysis for the assessment on the quality and effectiveness of interventions are conflict clusters, not conflict units as they appear in the HCB. In subsequent sections of report, the term 'conflict' is used instead of 'conflict cluster' in the interest of brevity. All references to a conflict in sections 2 and 3 should therefore be understood as a conflict cluster.

1   As with previous years, the clustering exercise was done on the basis of three criteria, namely, similarities in terms of actors, conflict dynamics, and on whether AU and/or REC interventions address the conflicts as one conflict or separately. For more on the clustering exercise in this study and other methodological information, see methodology above.

Indeed, conflict is an inherent feature of all human societies, as well as a common denominator in social relations. Conflict, if it is properly managed and non-violent, can have positive effects, for example as a driver of change and reform.

There are also Level 3 conflicts arising from cases of decreased intensity (de-escalation) in previously intense conflicts such as in DR Congo between Bantu militias and Twa militias, Kamuina Nsapu (KN) militia and government in Kasai region; and the limited war in Sudan between various cattle-herding (pastoral) tribes, all of which de-escalated to Level 3 in 2018.

While an overview of the above trends indicates a marginal drop in the total number of conflicts, and a notable decrease in violent crises and wars, the marked rise in the number of limited wars as compared to 2017 (from 5 to 10) dampens the overall positive trend for 2018.

An overview of conflict trends in Africa including previous years does not suggest that the continent is uniquely conflict-prone. Indeed, conflict is an inherent feature of all human societies, as well as a common denominator in social relations. Conflict, if it is properly managed and non-violent, can have positive effects, for example as a driver of change and reform.

This report focuses on conflicts that were, or could have been, addressed by AU and/or RECs. Consequently, it is limited to conflicts that are violent (with intensity levels 3-5) and thus qualify for an intervention from one or more of the APSA actors. In line with our methodology, this report categorizes the conflicts units in Africa into conflict clusters. As indicated in Box 1 below, this report re-categorized 102 conflicts in Africa in 2018 into 53 clusters with intensity levels 3-5, and 18 clusters with level 1-2 intensity. In order to analyze the effectiveness and quality of APSA interventions, this report focuses on the 53 conflict clusters with intensity levels 3-5.

1.2 Conflict Items

The conflict item most frequently fought over across the continent in 2018 was control over national power, which accounted for 27% of all conflicts. It was followed by contestations over system/ideology which accounted for 21% of conflicts, subnational predominance with 20%, and resources with 15%. In nearly three quarters (63%) of the 19 wars and limited wars fought in Africa in 2018, resources featured as a conflict item, continuing the trend observed in previous years in which resources are the most common item of conflict in the most violent conflicts.

Conflicts over system/ideology mainly involved Islamist militant groups such as Boko Haram in Nigeria, al-Shabaab in Somalia, and al-Qaeda and Islamic State-affiliated groups in Algeria, Burkina Faso, Chad, Libya, Mali, Mauritania and Niger. It was also a factor in other conflicts such as the war over national power and orientation of the political system between the government and opposition in Burundi, eSwatini, Guinea and Zimbabwe; in the conflict between rival state institutions backed by their loyal or loosely affiliated militias and armed groups in Libya; and in the conflict between the SPLM/A-IO and the government in South Sudan.

The regional pattern (spatial distribution) between conflict items in Sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa mirror trends in previous years. In North Africa, system/ideology continued to be the main conflict item across the spectrum (42.9%), followed by subnational predominance and resources (both 14.3%), while national power accounted for 9.6%. In Sub-Saharan Africa, like previous years, the major conflict drivers were national power (29.8%), followed by subnational predominance (20%), system/ideology (17.4%) and resources (14.9%). This is the first time that system/ideology has overtaken resources as a conflict item in Sub-Saharan Africa. While this may be a result of HCB tweaking its definition of what constitutes system/ideology as a conflict item, it may also be an indication that conflicts in the region are developing an ideological edge to them.

FIGURE 2
Conflict Items
in Africa, 2018
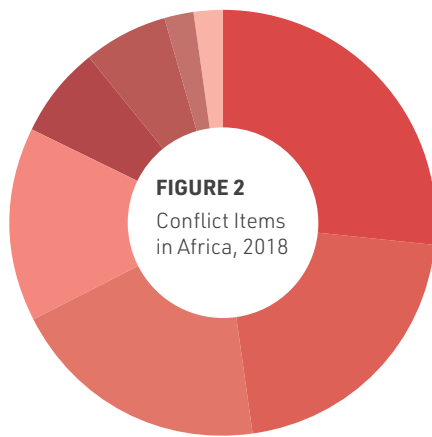
- National Power 26.6%
- System/ Ideology 21.0%
- Subnational 19.6%
- Resources 14.7%
- Autonomy 7.0%
- Secession 6.3%
- Territory 2.1%
- International Power 2.1%

FIGURE 3
Conflict Items
in North
Africa, 2018
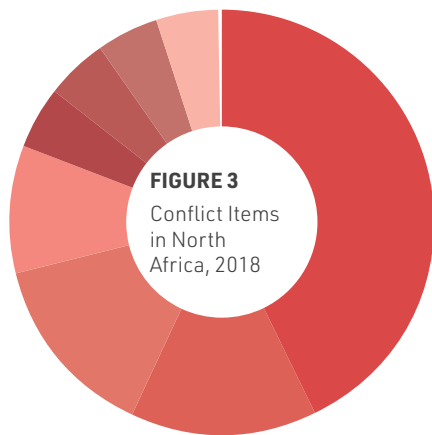
- System/ Ideology 42.9%
- Subnational 14.3%
- Resources 14.3%
- National Power 9.5%
- Autonomy 4.8%
- Secession 4.8%
- Territory 4.8%
- International Power 4.8%

FIGURE 4
Conflict Items
in Sub-Saharan
Africa, 2018
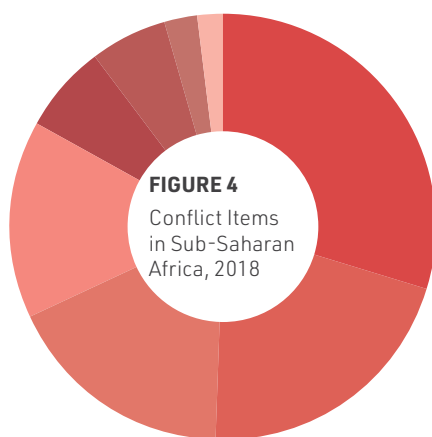
- National Power 9.5%
- Subnational 14.3%
- System/ Ideology 42.9%
- Resources 14.3%
- Autonomy 4.8%
- Secession 4.8%
- International Power 4.8%
- Territory 4.8%

1.3 Africa's Security Dynamics and Future Risks

This section outlines the major dynamics in selected conflict trends/themes and lays out the potential risks for conflicts in Africa.

1.3.1 Elections in Africa

In 2018, at least **21 countries** in Africa were scheduled to have presidential, parliamentary and Local/Gubernatorial elections.[4] Six of these elections were postponed to 2019 and, in the case of South Sudan, to 2021.[5] The AU and/or RECs deployed Election Observation Missions (EOMs) to all countries that held elections in 2018, including notably **Cameroon, eSwatini, Togo, DR Congo, Egypt, Mali, Sierra Leone, and Zimbabwe among others.**

Seven presidential elections (see figure 5 below) took place in countries that had experienced or are still experiencing political instability or recovering from armed conflict. As such, the presidential elections had critical implications for national and regional stability, especially in countries such as Cameroon, DR Congo, Egypt, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe.[6]

In **Cameroon** for instance, the re-election of President Paul Biya after 35 years of consecutive rule took place amid worsening insecurity because of the protracted crisis between the government and Anglophone regions of the Northwest and Southwest, ongoing threats from Boko Haram in the far North and in the East, and violence by armed groups from the Central African Republic.[7]

In **Zimbabwe**, the first presidential election in the post-Mugabe era generated high expectations as an historic opportunity to entrench multi-party democracy and usher in a regime that could effectively address the country's socio-economic challenges.[8] This made it a highly charged atmosphere.

In **Egypt,** controversy and criticism trailed the re-election of President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, including references to the pervasive climate of intimidation and fear before and during the elections, and the fact that genuine opposition candidates were barred (arrested or intimidated) from the polls.[9] The campaign of intimidation, violence and arrest against political opponents, civil society activists, and others who criticized the government continued following the elections.[10]

In **DR Congo,** presidential elections took place in December 2018 after a two-year delay, resulting in the election of Felix Tshisekedi as president. However, controversies trailed the exercise with allegations of fraud and result manipulation levelled against the Commission Electorale Nationale Independante (CENI).[11]

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4   This includes presidential elections in 7 countries; national assembly elections in 8 countries; local/gubernatorial elections in 3 countries; and referendums in 2 countries. See Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, 2018 African election calendar, January 2019; National Democratic Institute, Global Elections Calendar, 2018.
5   Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, Comprehensive African Election Calendar, July 2019.
6   Crisis Group, Three Critical African Elections, 4 December 2017.
7   Crisis Group, Uncertainties Deepen in Cameroon after Divisive Election, 5 November 2018.
8   R. Chikohomero, Elections and stability in SADC: the Zimbabwe case, Institute for Security Studies, 12 June 2019.
9   Reuters, Egypt's Sisi wins 97 % in election with no real opposition, 2 April 2018.
10   Human Rights Watch, Egypt Events of 2018.
11   S. Wolters, Will this election change the DRC?, 15 January 2019; S. Wolters, 'Slamming the door on democracy in the DRC', Institute for Security Studies Today, 18 February 2019.

In many African countries, elections have become tension-filled, controversial and disputed to the extent that varying degrees of violence are commonplace. Put simply, the stakes are high because elections have become the primary means of political and economic contestation, due to the underlying zero-sum logic (winner takes all) that pervades political systems in Africa.

FIGURE 5
Presidential
Elections in Africa,
2018

Cameroon
DRC
Egypt
Madagascar
Mali
Sierra Leone
Zimbabwe
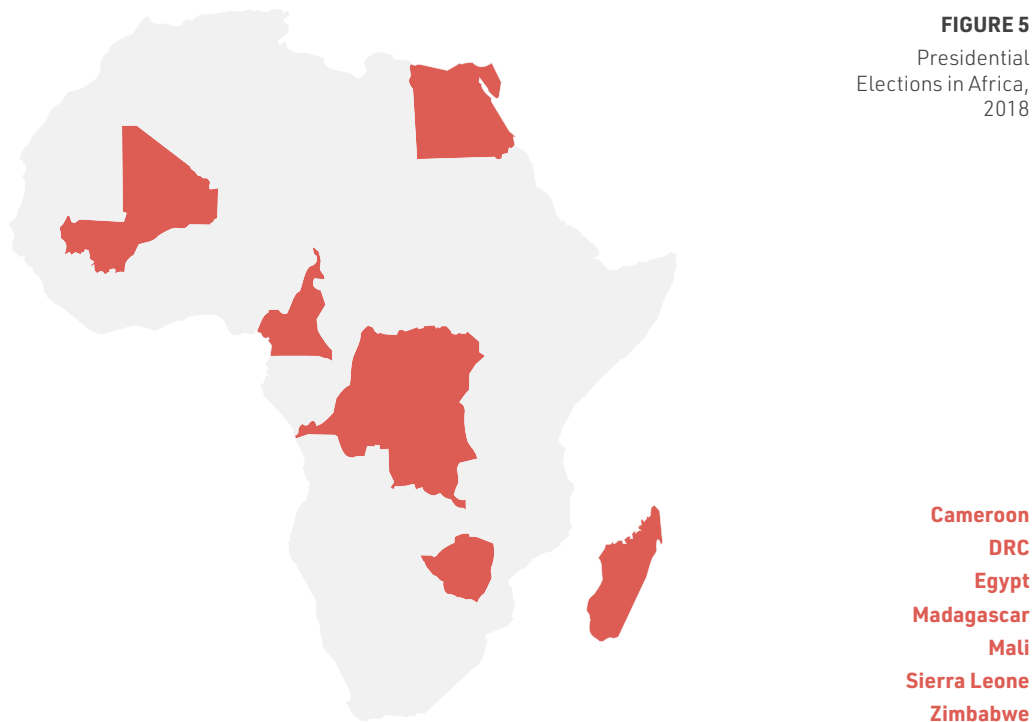
The elections in two post-conflict countries, namely Mali and Sierra Leone were generally viewed as peaceful and credible. In Mali, President Ibrahim Keita was re-elected with expectations of renewed efforts to end violence in the northern and central parts of the country and to revitalize the 2015 Bamako peace agreement.[12] The general election in Sierra Leone was a landmark vote as the first to be organized solely by the government since the end of the civil war in 2002 and the 2014 withdrawal of the UN peacekeeping mission (UNAMSIL).[13] The election was judged to be generally competitive (16 presidential candidates), free and fair across the two rounds of voting.[14] The opposition candidate Julius Maada Bio defeated Samura Kamara of the ruling APC party over the first and second rounds of voting, claiming 51.8% of votes in the run-off election.[15]

In many African countries, elections have become tension-filled, controversial and disputed to the extent that varying degrees of violence are commonplace. Put simply, the stakes are high because elections have become the primary means of political and economic contestation, due to the underlying zero-sum logic (winner takes all) that pervades political systems in Africa.[16] Several elections held in 2018 evoked protests and demonstrations, some of which turned violent including presidential elections in Egypt, DR Congo and Cameroon, legislative elections in Togo and local elections in Guinea.[17]

The underlying political atmosphere and the nature of elections (especially contentious referendums over constitutional amendments) can and do contribute to violence. For instance, in **Burundi**, a constitutional referendum over amendments to allow President Pierre Nkurunziza to stand for another two terms evoked violent reactions.[18] Similarly, the constitutional referendum in **Togo** scheduled for December 2018 was postponed on ECOWAS's recommendation to reduce political tension, avoid violence, and enable dialogue with opposition groups and the implementation of reforms.[19]

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12   Crisis Group, Mali's Elections Are an Opportunity to Reboot the Peace Process, 19 July 2019.
13   J. L. Hirsch and L. Cano, Sierra Leone's Election: New Opportunities, New Challenges, , 20 March 2018.
14   J. L. Hirsch and L. Cano, 'Sierra Leone's Election: New Opportunities, New Challenges', International Peace Institute, 20 March 2018.
15   Africa News, 'Opposition candidate Julius Maada Bio wins Sierra Leone presidential runoff (Official)', 5 April 2018.
16   J. Cilliers, Violence in Africa Trends, drivers and prospects to 2023, Institute for Security Studies, Africa Report 12, August 2018.
17   France24, Concern mounts over Togo elections after violence, 13 December 2018. See also Human Rights Watch, Zimbabwe: At Least 6 Dead in Post-Election Violence, 3 August 2018; and Human Rights Watch, Guinea: Deaths, Criminality in Post-Election Violence, 24 July 2018.
18   C. Winter, Burundi president says he won't stay beyond third term, DW, 7 June 2018.
19   K. Bado, Togo's continuing constitutional crisis and ECOWAS's failed mediation effort, International IDEA, 30 January 2019.

1.3.2 Political Violence, and Violent Protests and Riots

Violent political protests and/or demonstrations as dominant conflict events in Africa continued in 2018, according to the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) 2018 Year in Review Report. The report separates organized political violence (perpetrated by the state, rebel groups, and other organized armed actors) from unorganized political violence (which are spontaneous events such as demonstrations, a category that consists of riots and protests).

The number of organized political violence events in Africa increased from 10,600 in 2017 to 11,080 in 2018, a 10% increase in 2018.[20] Demonstrations remained a dominant type of political violence in 2018 with global incidences increasing by 33% over the level recorded in 2017. The spatial distribution of protests and riots also increased globally, affecting 7,891 locations in 2018 versus 6,340 locations in 2017. In Africa however, the number of protests and riots reduced by 218 events, representing a decline of 4% over the level recorded in 2017.[21] Much of decline in Africa is linked to the decrease in violent protests and riots in **Libya** by 24% and **South Sudan** by 36% in 2018.[22]

In 2018, **South Africa** recorded the highest number of protests, followed by Nigeria and Ethiopia. In fact, Nigeria experienced the highest rate of increase (35%) in 2018.[23] **Ethiopia** and **Nigeria** had the highest number of protest-related fatalities with 238 and 110 fatalities in 2018, respectively. The countries with the highest rate of increase in fatalities from demonstrations in 2018 include **Cameroon** as a result of the Anglophone crisis, and **Mali** due to the dramatic increase in the intensity of inter-communal conflict.[24] Ethiopia tops the list of countries where peaceful demonstrations were targeted and forcefully put down by armed groups, as opposed to situations where demonstrators engaged in violence; it recorded 51 of such events, followed by **DR Congo** (28) and **Sudan** (15).

The scale of violent protests and riots in **Ethiopia** presents an intriguing case. The country recorded a 143% increase in violent clampdowns on protests and riots in 2018. The swearing-in of the reform-driven Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in April might have impacted demonstration rates in a paradoxical way. According to ACLED, as at October 2018, despite Ahmed's tenure being heralded as a pacifying influence, the number of violent events and protests had increased by over 8% in the first six months of his ascension to office versus the prior six months, and reported fatalities increased by 48% in the same period. However, much of this relates to the lifting of the state of emergency which included a ban on public protests. Nonetheless, there was a remarkable 56% decline in the number of confrontations between rioters (that engage in violence) and state forces and an 82% decline in confrontations between protesters (that are peaceful) and state forces. This led to a decline in reported fatalities, including an over 95% decline in fatalities from military-rioter confrontations and a 67% decline in fatalities from military-protestor confrontations.[25] These figures represent a seismic shift in government policy from using lethal force against peaceful protesters.

1.3.3 A Tale of Two Sub-Regions: Inter-State Relations in the Horn and the Great Lakes

In 2018, contrasting developments were witnessed in inter-state relations in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes regions. In the Horn, there was a strong rapprochement and a general warming of inter-state relations, which is remarkable given the history of strained, sometimes near-war relations in a climate of instability and mutual suspicion among some states. In contrast, inter-state dynamics in the Great Lakes progressively worsened as countries grew more distrustful and

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20   ACLED (2018) ACLED 2018: The Year in Review.
21   ACLED (2018) ACLED 2018: The Year in Review; J. Cilliers,Violence in Africa Trends, drivers and prospects to 2023, Institute for Security Studies, Africa Report 12, August 2018.
22   Ibid, pp. 11-12.
23   Ibid, pp. 12-13.
24   Ibid, p. 14.
25   H. Matfess, 'Change And Continuity In Protests And Political Violence In Pm Abiy's Ethiopia', ACLED, 13 October 2018.

antagonistic towards each other, in a manner reminiscent of past periods where such strained relations directly contributed to inter-state conflicts and war in DR Congo.

The transformation of inter-state relations in the Horn came on the heels of the appointment of Abiy Ahmed as Prime Minister of **Ethiopia** in April 2018. From the start, Ahmed initiated internal pro-peace policies and a disposition that served to calm the highly tensed political climate in Ethiopia. Specifically, the Ethiopian government lifted the state of emergency, freed political prisoners, delisted former rebel groups such as Ginbot 7, the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) as terrorist organizations, and lifted media censorship measures.[26] However, this period also saw a sharp increase in domestic political instability with the intensification of inter-communal violence between various ethnic groups and their subgroups resulting in the internal displacement of at least 3 million people, the highest number of IDPs globally.[27] The worst case of forced displacement due to ethnic violence has been the Guji-Gedeo crisis in southern Ethiopia with an estimated 800,000 displaced persons, mostly Gedeos, reported to have fled.[28] Other conflicts have escalated, for instance between the OLF and government, or remained at violent crisis level such as the conflict between opposition groups and government.[29]

Prime Minister Ahmed's ascension to power triggered renewed efforts to promote regional peace, as witnessed with the signing of a peace deal with **Eritrea** in October 2018. The peace deal ended a 20-year "no-war, no-peace"[30] impasse occasioned by deadly border clashes, and led to the reopening of land borders with Eritrea and the resumption of full diplomatic relations.[31] In **South Sudan**, a new impetus for peace was brought about by Prime Minister Ahmed, using his leverage as chairman of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to accelerate the signing of the peace process between President Salva Kiir and opposition leader Riek Machar.[32] Prime Minister Ahmed also spearheaded AU-IGAD intervention and negotiations with **Sudanese** parties (military and civil society groups) after an April 2019 military putsch ousted President Omar al-Bashir from almost 30 years in power.

By contrast, the Great Lakes Region witnessed deterioration in inter-state relations as a result of old and new tensions between the core countries, specifically between Rwanda and Burundi, and between Rwanda and Uganda. Relations between Rwanda and Burundi deteriorated over accusations and counter accusations of tacit support to their respective armed opposition groups.[33] For instance, President Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi accused President Paul Kagame of Rwanda of sponsoring the 2015 coup attempt against him as well as training armed groups to undermine his country's security, accusations Rwanda denies.[34] The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) observes that "tensions between Uganda and Rwanda, and Rwanda and Burundi, may not spark a war between these countries, but they could lead to another proxy conflict in eastern DRC, [and] certainly further undermine cooperation on peace and security in this volatile area."[35] A clear indication that tensions and relations between Rwanda and Burundi have significantly deteriorated was Burundi's boycott of the 30 November 2018 East African Community (EAC) Summit, and the failure of the EAC to acknowledge and act (issue official statement) on relations between the two countries.[36]

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26   Al Jazeera, Ethiopia removes OLF, ONLF and Ginbot 7 from terror list, 5 July 2018; A. Soliman and A. A. Demissie, Can Abiy Ahmed Continue to Remodel Ethiopia?, Chatham House, 12 April 2019.
27   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer, 2018; Emergency Response Coordination Centre, Ethiopia | Internal displacement (December 2018), 22 January 2019.
28   The Guardian, Shadow falls over Ethiopia reforms as warnings of crisis go unheeded, 14 March 2019.
29   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer, 2018.
30   M. Woldemariam 'No war, no peace" in a region in flux: crisis, escalation, and possibility in the Eritrea-Ethiopia rivalry' Journal of Eastern African Studies, Volume 12, 2018 - Issue 3, 11 June 2018.
31   BBC, Abiy Ahmed: Ethiopia's prime minister, 14 September 2018.
32   Crisis Group, Salvaging South Sudan's Fragile Peace Deal, Report No. 270, 13 March 2019.
33   S. Wolter, The Great Lakes can't afford more instability, Institute for Security Studies, 18 March 2019.
34   'Open hostility at EAC Heads of State summit', The Star, 1 February 2018.
35   S. Wolter, The Great Lakes can't afford more instability, Institute for Security Studies, 18 March 2019.
36   Ibid.

1.3.4 Foreign Military and Security Presence in Africa: Strategic Relevance or Conundrum?

The increasing presence and perhaps encirclement of Africa by foreign military and security forces, bases and facilities over the past decade presents strategic opportunities and challenges. Much of contemporary foreign military presence and security activities in and around Africa started in the wake of global concerns with increased piracy activities in the Gulf of Aden (2003-2008), and subsequently with issues of countering transnational terrorism and organized crime. Foreign military presence and facilities in Africa are rapidly becoming a ubiquitous feature of the international relations of some African states and regions, especially in the Horn of Africa and West Africa (e.g. Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and states in the Sahel). Foreign military bases and unilateral/bilateral security activities and the risks and challenges they pose are unlikely to diminish in the near future.

The AU has not been oblivious to the rising presence of foreign military bases in and around Africa; in 2016 the Peace and Security Council (PSC) expressed concerns during its 601st meeting, noting "...with deep concern the existence of foreign military bases and establishment of new ones in some African countries, coupled with the inability of the Member States concerned to effectively monitor the movement of weapons to and from these foreign military bases. In this regard, Council stressed the need for Member States to be always circumspect whenever they enter into agreements that would lead to the establishment of foreign military bases in their countries."[37] The issue has been on the PSC agenda and communiques every year since, including in its 776th meeting in May 2018 and its 868th meeting in August 2019.[38]

Recent research and analyses indicate the direct or indirect presence and security activities of major powers such as the United States, China, France, United Kingdom and Russia. Other relevant powers include India, Italy, Germany, Turkey, Japan, and some Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Some of these states have large military bases and active military personnel and hardware, and undertake military-security operations (surveillance, air-based combat operations through drones and other types of aircrafts, naval missions, etc.). These include the USA Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti, the UK, France, China, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Others use their military facilities and deployed personnel in Africa to conduct training and capacity building exercises for the military and security forces of host countries such as Turkey and USA in Somalia, USA and UK in Kenya, and France for a variety of former colonies in Africa.

For foreign countries, presence in the form of a military base or forward operating facilities, or through agreements and access to military facilities of host states, or as part of multinational military/naval taskforces in Africa, have obvious strategic advantages. This includes: to protect investments and other economic interests; to exert influence on policies of host states; to position and project power as a global or regional actor; and to sustain coalitions and war efforts. Others include to conduct surveillance and gain intelligence, monitor threats by disrupting plots and interdicting suspects, achieve faster response times, conduct disaster and humanitarian relief efforts, and contribute to regional stability.[39]

There are positives for host countries in Africa, including financial receipts (rents), strengthening of economic and political ties, and the consummation of new military and security agreements that could include the supply of equipment, training and capacity building, and enhanced security and defense on account of the presence and deployment of foreign troops. For instance, Djibouti is reported to earn about $300 million annually from hosting 6 of the 10 foreign military bases in the Horn of Africa, and has territorial defense included in its 2011 Defence Cooperation Agreement

37   See "Press Statement: The 601th meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council on early warning and horizon scanning", African Union Peace and Security Council, 8 June 2016.
38   For example, see "Communique of the 868th meeting of the PSC on the state of foreign military presence in Africa, held on 14 August 2019", African Union Peace and Security Council, 15 November 2019.
39   Gasinksa, K. et al. (2019). Foreign military bases and installations in Africa, Sweden Ministry of Defence Research Agency, FOI Total Defense Research Institute, FOI-R-4658-SE, pp. 6-7.

with France.[40] The potential benefits for Africa (and APSA actors and processes) include provision of training and capacity building, operational support to states and regional brigades, and participation and support for multilateral peace operations e.g. Japan's support to the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) in 2012-17.[41]

More concerning are the risks, challenges and implications for security in Africa emanating from the upsurge in foreign military presence and security activities in Africa. First, the competition between major powers is reminiscent of the Cold War era, with the real possibility of incidents and accidents occurring. Second, the trend represents active militarization of regions/states and security issues in Africa as indexed by events in the Horn of Africa over the last decade. Third, it raises transparency and accountability issues given the secrecy and lack of consultation of citizens and civil society groups over agreements authorizing foreign military presence and security operations, and rents collected from such enterprises. Broader governance and accountability issues include the unclear governance arrangement for events and activities inside the foreign military bases, including the lack of knowledge about the range of weapons and equipment and activities undertaken. In fact, there is no information on the appropriate laws that govern activities within those bases.

Fourth, the foreign military bases risk dragging host countries and regions into events and controversies elsewhere. For instance, there are reports of foreign military bases in Eritrea and Djibouti being used by the Saudi Arabia-led Gulf coalition against the Houthis in Yemen. Finally, foreign bases in Africa further complicates security issues, sometimes upsetting delicate national and regional power dynamics in some parts of Africa. For instance, a military-related agreement between the Seychelles and India sparked domestic criticism and protests and the subsequent suspension of the deal in 2018.[42] In addition, Sudan's 2017 agreement with Turkey over the development of the Suakin Tourist Hub and a naval facility led to regional tensions and strained relations between Sudan and Egypt.[43] It is also possible that terrorist groups could exploit foreign military presence and security activities to further radicalize narratives or awaken violent nationalist sentiments in vulnerable African states.

1.3.5 New Patterns of Political Interference in Africa by External Actors: A Case Study of Gulf States in the Horn

As highlighted in the preceding section, the Horn of Africa manifests the clearest impact of the rising cases of foreign military bases in and around Africa. One key element of this is how external actors' presence translates into influence through interference in the national and regional socio-political, economic and geo-strategic dynamics in the Horn. To be clear, external influence and interference in Africa is not new, however, the current trend is a marked departure from previous patterns. The identity of external actors (states) with a history of influence and interference in Africa are former colonial powers and Cold War era power blocs and their allies, including France, the United Kingdom, the United States, the former Soviet Union, Belgium, Cuba, etc. However, emerging trends point to a new set of external actors, largely composed of states from the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, exerting political interference in Africa, especially in the Horn. This includes the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) axis, namely the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Bahrain allied with Egypt against the Qatar-Turkey-Iran axis. It is this new set of external actors and the tactics they use in exerting influence and political interference (and the implications for peace and security) in the Horn that raise the most concern among analysts and policy actors in Africa. It is not impossible that this trend could accelerate in the Horn and expand to other parts of Africa in years to come.

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40   Ani, C.N. (2019). Implications of foreign bases on the Horn of Africa's stability, Tana Forum News, 24 May 2019.
41   Melvin, N. (2019). The Foreign Military Presence in the Horn of Africa region, SIPRI Background Paper, April 2019, p. 11.
42   Ibid, p. 6.
43   Ibid, p. 15.

There is an engagement-interference logic at play in the Horn; external engagement with the Horn region is marked by an aggressive combination of access to commercial air and sea ports and naval bases, acquisition of agricultural land and real estate, investments in infrastructure, military-security training and cooperation agreements, and the provision of development assistance, humanitarian aid and scholarships. For instance, between 2000 and 2017, Middle Eastern states invested $13 billion in the Horn region, especially Sudan and Ethiopia. In 2019, the UAE deposited $1.4 billion and $1.3 billion at the Central Bank of Sudan and Ethiopia, respectively; and the new Ethiopian Prime Minister secured $3 billion in aid and investment from the UAE immediately upon assumption of office in April 2019.[44] Turkey devotes 80% of its development assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa, it has a military base in Mogadishu where it trains members of the Somali National Army, Turkish firms are active in infrastructural developments,[45] and Turkey has agreements with Sudan to develop the Port and Island of Suakin.[46] The UAE's DP World has concessions to manage a string of ports across the Horn such as Barbera (Somaliland), Bosaso (Puntland), Kismayo (Jubaland), and Barawe (Southern Somalia), and its Fund for Development provides loans and grants to fund infrastructure projects in Somalia and Kenya.[47] The intensive and penetrating nature of this engagement has become the basis for hard and soft power that manifest in political interference in the socio-political, economic and security dynamics of the Horn.

The reasons for external influence and interference by traditional and new (Middle Eastern states) actors are easily discernible - the Horn is a strategic location for international trade as a substantial percentage of international trade flows through the Red Sea's 20-mile wide Southern Gate; and it is geographically close to the Middle East with its volatile security dynamics and effect on international energy supply. Domestic realities of Middle Eastern states, such as food security concerns (especially after the spike in food prices in 2008), necessitate the aggressive search for agricultural land and food supply sources outside of the region, especially Sudan and Ethiopia. In addition, seismic shifts in global geopolitics signposted by an emerging multipolarity, including China's Belt and Road Initiative, continue to reshape the national interests and strategies of Middle Eastern states, especially their attempt to preposition themselves. Finally, the long duration of political instability in the Horn, marked by authoritarianism, protracted armed conflicts, inter-state tensions, population movements, displacements and humanitarian emergencies, create new opportunities for Middle Eastern states to penetrate and exert influence.

The political interference by external states in the Horn is most apparent in elections and political transition processes.[48] In Sudan, the UAE and Saudi Arabia played key roles in the political upheaval, including giving tacit support to the ouster of the Bashir regime, and provided strong backing to the transitional military council to resist popular demand for democratic governance by civil society groups.[49] The Gulf States were focused on preserving Sudan's stability and their influence on its security establishment and keeping Sudan in its coalition. The Saudi Arabia-UAE backing for the military council, including the pledge of $3 billion worth of aid, emboldened the security apparatus (the Rapid Support Forces) to unleash violence against pro-democracy demonstrators, as well as deadlocked negotiations and the demand for the control of key government portfolios by the military as part of the power sharing arrangement with civil society groups.[50]

44   The Economist. 2019. Why are Gulf countries so interested in the Horn of Africa? Available at: https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2019/01/16/why-are-gulf-countries-so-interested-in-the-horn-of-africa.
45   International Crisis Group.2019. Intra-Gulf Competition in Africa's Horn: Lessening the Impact Middle East Report N°206 | 19 September 2019 Available at: https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/206-intra-gulf-competition-africas-horn-lessening-impact p 28.
46   International Crisis Group.2019. Intra-Gulf Competition in Africa's Horn: Lessening the Impact Middle East Report N°206 | 19 September 2019 Available at: https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/206-intra-gulf-competition-africas-horn-lessening-impact p 29.
47   Rashid Abdi.2017. A Dangerous Gulf in the Horn: How the Inter-Arab Crisis is Fuelling Regional Tensions. International Crisis Group Commentary. Available at: https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/dangerous-gulf-horn-how-inter-arab-crisis-fuelling-regional-tensions p 4.
48   Zach Vertin (2019). Toward a Red Sea Forum: The Gulf, the Horn of Africa, & Architecture for a New Regional Order. Brookings Doha Centre Analysis Paper Number 27, November 2019.
49   Tom Wilson and Andrew England (2019). Middle East's power struggle moves to the Horn of Africa (30 June 2019).
50   International Crisis Group.2019. Intra-Gulf Competition in Africa's Horn: Lessening the Impact Middle East Report N°206 | 19 September 2019 Available at: https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/206-intra-gulf-competition-africas-horn-lessening-impact pp. 11-12.

SECTION 2

Interventions by AU and/or RECs in Violent Conflicts

In Somalia, the two Gulf coalitions (Saudi-UAE and Qatar-Turkey) interfered in successive elections in Somalia through support for rival candidates and in the dispute between the Federal Government and quasi-independent regional governments. Qatar funded the election and government of erstwhile President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud and incumbent President Farmajo, while the UAE financed regional government against the President. It is reported that Qatar openly funded Farmajo's campaign for the federal presidency in February 2017, including large cash payments to Somali MPs for their votes. Qatar consolidated its influence and interference thereafter through the supply of 68 armoured vehicles to strengthen Somalia's military in 2019, and the appointment of several Qatari-linked advisors in the Farmajo government.[51] On the other hand, the UAE consolidated its support for regional governments in Somalia in furtherance of its economic interests (port deals with Puntland and Somaliland), thereby creating and exacerbating tensions in Somalia between the Doha-aligned centre and Abu Dhabi-aligned periphery.[52] The instances of embedded political influence and interference in political transition and governance processes in the Horn (Ethiopia and Eritrea) by Gulf states suggest this is a growing trend.

This chapter provides a detailed look at the results of the assessment of the quality and effectiveness of interventions conducted by the AU and/or RECs in violent conflicts in Africa in 2018. It assesses the quality and effectiveness of AU and/or REC interventions in conflicts with intensity levels 3-5 in 2018. In each section, the preliminary findings and trends are illustrated with specific examples of interventions in selected violent conflicts.

The analytical framework categorizes AU and/or REC interventions (tools of intervention) into three types of engagements: diplomacy, mediation, and peace support operations (PSOs).[53] Post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD) is presented as a separate category in the qualitative analysis as it is less commonly used compared with other instruments. For instance, only one conflict (in The Gambia) was addressed through PCRD in 2018.

2.1 Overview of AU and/or REC Interventions in Violent Conflicts in 2018

As outlined in Section 1, the 102 conflicts recorded in Africa in 2018 were clustered into **71 conflict clusters of which 53** (75%) were violent (intensity level 3-5), while **18 clusters** (25%) were non-violent (intensity level 1-2). The 71 conflict clusters for 2018 is marginally higher than the 70 recorded in 2017, however, the number of violent conflicts eligible for intervention increased slightly from 52 in 2017 to 53 in 2018. As with previous years, the **clustering** exercise was guided by similarities in terms of actors, conflict dynamics and AU and/or REC interventions.[54]

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51   Abhishek Mishra (2019). Gulf's involvement in Horn of Africa: Lessons for African countries. Observer Research Foundation (May 18, 2019).
52   International Crisis Group.2019. Intra-Gulf Competition in Africa's Horn: Lessening the Impact Middle East Report N°206 | 19 September 2019 Available at: https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/206-intra-gulf-competition-africas-horn-lessening-impact p 24.
53   An 'Indicative Table of Interventions' (see Annex I) was used as a guide to categorize a given statement, decision or action as diplomacy, mediation, PSO or PCRD and to rate its intensity on a scale of 1-3.
54   For more on the clustering exercise in this study and other methodological information, Methodology, above.

Of the 53 violent conflicts considered eligible for AU and/or RECs intervention in 2018, 29 conflicts (54.7%) attracted interventions through one or more of the following instruments: **diplomacy, mediation and PSOs.** In addition to the 29 violent conflicts, interventions in two non-violent crises, namely in Morocco and Kenya, were assessed as an exception to the rule in the methodology of the study which only looks at AU and/or REC interventions in violent conflicts. These two interventions were extensions from previous years.

Conversely, 24 violent conflicts (45.3%) that were eligible for AU and/or REC intervention were not addressed, or at least not addressed visibly in 2018.[55] When compared to 2017, where AU and/or RECs intervened in 27 out of 52 violent conflicts (52%), there was a 2% increase in the tendency for APSA actors to intervene in violent conflicts in 2018. It should be noted that the results in the sections that follow on quality and effectiveness of interventions present findings with respect to the 29 violent conflicts that were recorded for 2018, as well as the two non-violent conflicts which received interventions that continued from previous years.

Diplomatic interventions were used in all 31 conflicts in which the AU and/or RECS intervened in 2018. This study incorporates a range of activities with various levels of intensity under diplomatic activities, including, issuing a cautionary wording in a communiqué to parties e.g. "expresses grave concern", "deeply concerned" (level 1), deploying an Election Observation Mission (EOM) or "strongly condemning" a conflict (level 2), or issuing sanctions (level 3).

Mediation was used in 14 of the 31 violent conflicts that attracted intervention by the AU and/or RECs in 2018. Mediation involves several activities, such as deploying initial visits to a country to consult conflicting parties (level 1), concluding a roadmap agreement to conduct further mediation efforts (level 2), or contributing to the signing of a peace agreement as a leading mediator (level 3).

Peace Support Operations (PSOs) were deployed by the AU and /or RECs in six violent conflicts in 2018, including one or more of military, police and civilian components.[56]

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55   For more on the 24 violent conflicts that were not addressed, see section 2.5. Non-intervention by the AU and RECs in violent conflicts, below.
56   This is a reduction from the 8 violent conflicts in which AU and/or RECs intervened through PSOs in 2017. The ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau (ECOMIB) is not included in this report as the Guinea Bissau (opposition) conflict had de-escalated sharply from a violent crisis (level 3) to a dispute (level 1) in 2018. Second, in respect to the ECOWAS Mission in Gambia

Figure 6:
Violent conflicts (HCB 3-5) with and without interventions (2013-2018)
Bubble indicates the number of conflicts in which no interventions took place

Violent Crisis (HBC 3)

Limited War(HBC 4)

War(HBC 5)
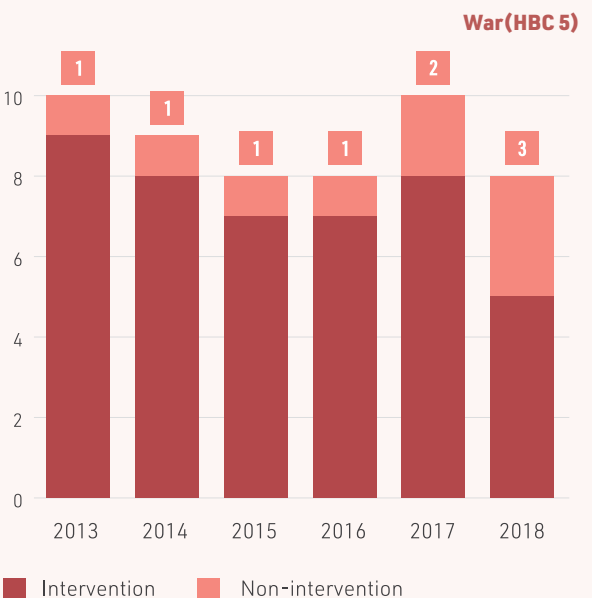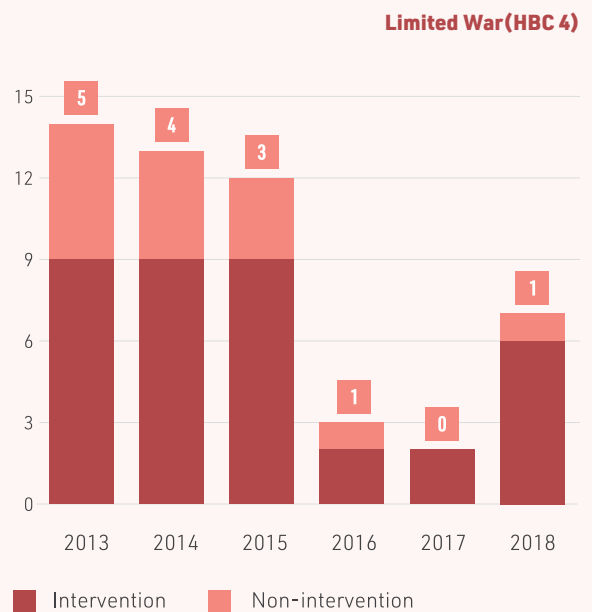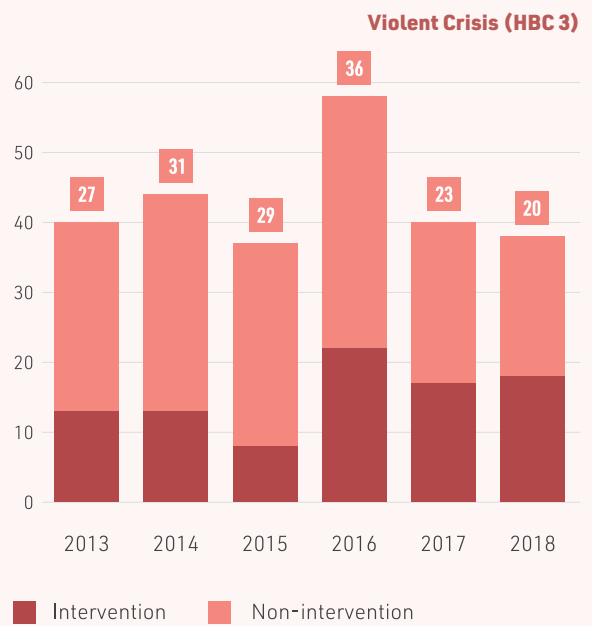
Indicator

The number of conflict clusters in which the AU and/or RECs were involved by means of conflict prevention and transformation (diplomacy, mediation, PSOs)

Diplomacy 31   **Mediation 14**   **Peace Support Operations 6**

Overall, including PCRD efforts, the AU and/or RECs used a combination of instruments in 19 (61.3%) of the 31 conflicts addressed over the course of 2018. In 12 violent conflicts, the only instrument deployed was diplomacy. A combination of diplomacy and PSOs was used in four conflicts, mainly those involving terrorist groups, while a combination of diplomacy and mediation efforts was deployed in 12 conflicts. As the distinction between diplomacy and mediation is never clear-cut, this report uses cross-country comparisons to establish consistency in categorizing interventions throughout the assessment. A combination of three instruments (diplomacy, mediation and PSOs) was deployed in two conflicts, namely the conflicts in Lesotho (military factions) and Sudan (Darfur/inter-communal violence). In The Gambia's (opposition) conflict, a combination of diplomacy and PCRD efforts were used.

Of the six PSOs deployed or in operation in 2018, four were mandated or executed directly by the AU or RECs, namely the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM); the African Union-led Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA); the Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram (MNJTF); and the G5 Sahel Joint Force (FC-G5S) that was established by Chad, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Mali and Niger. The two other PSOs in operation in 2018 were the United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and the SADC Preventive Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho (SAPMIL), which drew-down its operations in November 2018.

The comparison of the use of instruments in APSA interventions between 2016 and 2018 (as indicated in Table 2 below) reveals four key observations:

I.   The sustained rise and dominant use of two instruments, especially diplomacy and mediation.
II.   A mixed picture in terms of the use of a single instrument, especially diplomacy, in conflict interventions. In 2016, APSA actors used a single instrument in 11 conflicts. This fell to 9 cases in 2017, and rose to 12 in 2018.
III. A gradual decline in the use of three or four instruments by the AU and/or RECs in violent conflicts in Africa since 2016.
IV.   When individual instruments are assessed, diplomacy remains the most used instrument, followed by mediation and peace support operations.

However, the use of diplomacy, mediation and PSOs in 2018 either marginally dropped or remained at the same level as 2017, compared with higher numbers recorded in 2016. The explanation for the observed trends includes variations in the nature of the violent conflicts, increased government-opposition conflicts and mass protests (tend to require diplomacy and mediation), increased protractions of some conflicts (usually asymmetrical conflicts such as those involving violent extremist groups), and the fact that Africa has witnessed gradual reduction in the number of violent conflicts since 2016.

(ECOMIG) deployed in early 2017, no publicly available sources documenting its activities in 2018 were found, apart from media sources reporting that its mandate was renewed for one year in May 2018 as the extension was deemed necessary to assist the country in reforming its security sector. For this reason, the extension of the mandate is subsumed as part of the analysis on support to Gambia's PCRD efforts in 2018.

Table 1: Overview of deployed instruments, 2018

Use Of Instruments		31
Single instrument*	Two instruments*	Three instruments*
12 conflicts	17 conflicts	2 conflicts
*Only diplomacy	*Either diplomacy and mediation (12), or diplomacy and PSOs (4), or diplomacy and PCRD (1)	*Diplomacy, mediation and PSOs

Table 2: Three-Year Overview of Use of APSA Instruments

Instrument	2018	2017	2016
One instrument	12	9	11
Two Instruments	17	14	9
Three Instruments	2	3	4
Four Instruments	0	1	3

FIGURE 7 Quality of interventions, 2018
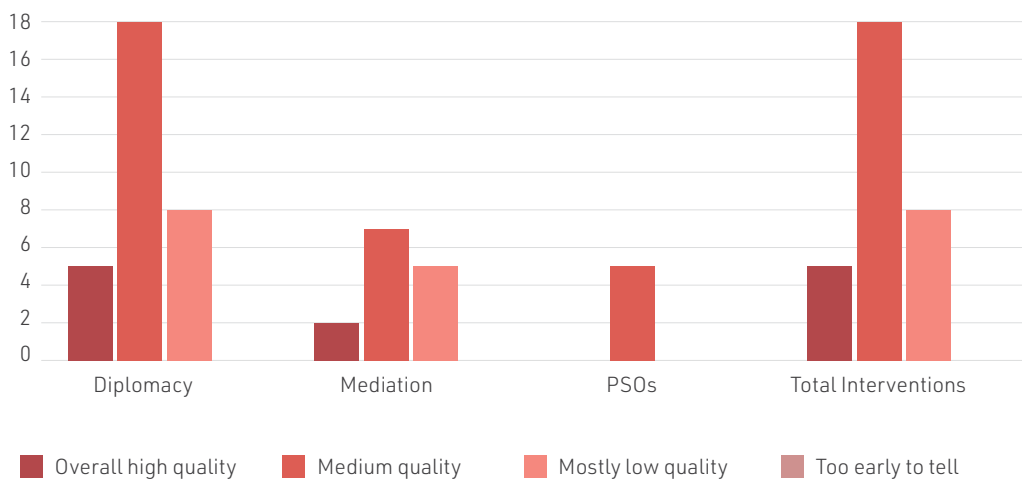
Overall high quality ◼ Medium quality ◼ Mostly low quality ◼ Too early to tell ◼

This suggests that despite being moderately robust, concerted African efforts that seek to address long-spanning, intractable and highly violent conflicts (especially those involving violent extremist groups) often fall short of the requirements to effect the desired change or outcome in such conflicts.

2.1.1 Quality of Interventions in 2018

This section presents the overall aggregated findings of the assessment on the quality of interventions in 2018.[57] The quality of the AU and/or REC interventions is assessed on the basis of: i) the relative contribution by the AU and/or RECs, also compared to other international actors, ii) the level of coordination and alignment between the AU and RECs as well as with other international actors, and iii) the degree to which the intervention was appropriate and commensurate with the nature and level of the threat. The judgment categories are 'overall high', 'medium' or 'mostly low' quality. The sources used for this assessment include in-house analyses of the intensity of engagement (levels 1-3) and the conflict background as well as expert analyses and opinions, and public sources, including conflict databases and official documents (AU and/or REC reports and communiqués).

Table 3: Quality of interventions in 2018

	Total Interventions	Diplomacy	Mediation	PSOs
Total Number	31	31	14	6
Quality				
Overall high quality	5	5	2	1
Medium quality	18	18	7	5
Mostly low quality	8	8	5	0
Too early to tell	0	0	0	0

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57   These overall findings on quality are an aggregation of the separate findings on the quality of the different instruments that AU and/or RECs used to intervene in a given conflict. Disaggregated findings on the quality diplomacy, mediation and PSO are presented in the sections further below.

The assessment of the 31 conflicts (29 violent and two non-violent conflicts) that attracted AU and/or REC interventions in 2018 shows that the quality of intervention was of **'overall high'** or **'medium'** in **23** cases (74%). This is a decline from the 78% recorded in 2017, and it continues the trend of a gradual deterioration in the quality of AU and/or REC interventions that started in 2017 following the high levels (86%) recorded in 2016. It also continues a mixed pattern where the quality of interventions intermittently improves (e.g. in 2016) and then again declines for a few years.

When the results for 2018 are disaggregated further, AU and/or REC interventions were found to be of 'overall high quality' in five conflicts (16%), and 'medium quality' in 18 interventions (58%). Interventions by the AU and/or RECs were found to be of 'mostly low quality' in eight conflicts (26%) in 2018. The comparison with the assessment for 2016 and 2017 shows a radical decline in the proportion of AU and/or RECs interventions that were of high quality (e.g. from 48% in 2016 to 16% in 2018), while interventions of 'medium quality' increased from 35% in 2016 to 58% in 2018. Interventions with low quality also increased from 17% in 2016 to 26% in 2018. The combination of declines in high quality interventions and increases in low quality interventions signpost an overall picture of deterioration in the quality of AU and/or RECs interventions since 2016.

In a repeat of trends observed over past years, the overall findings on the quality of interventions largely correlate with the success (effectiveness) of interventions; all five conflicts with overall high quality interventions also recorded overall or partly successful interventions. For instance, 'overall high quality' interventions in government-opposition conflicts in Mali, Sierra Leone and The Gambia, and the civil war in South Sudan recorded 'overall successful' outcomes. The fifth conflict with high quality intervention (Lesotho) also yielded a 'partly successful' outcome. Furthermore, 12 of the 18 conflicts with 'medium quality' interventions were also found to be 'partly successful' in de-escalating conflict, while all 8 conflicts with 'mostly low quality' interventions were also adjudged as 'rather unsuccessful'. This suggests that high quality interventions by AU and/or RECs tend to be successful in de-escalating conflicts as they generally increase the chances of effective outcomes.

However, there are a few exceptions. Some interventions show that high quality interventions may not necessarily translate into a de-escalation of conflicts. In six conflicts, for instance, interventions by AU and/or RECs that were deemed of 'medium quality' produced unsuccessful outcomes. This category of interventions includes continental and sub-regional efforts in relation to two of the continent's most intractable and highly violent conflicts involving terrorist groups (Boko Haram and Al-Qaida in the Maghreb/Islamic State (AQIM/IS)). In two other highly violent conflicts with a relatively long history as well, 'medium quality' interventions were 'rather unsuccessful'. These are the DR Congo (eastern Congo/militias violence) conflict and the Somalia (federalization process/ inter-militia rivalry) conflict, both of which were at a limited war level in 2018. This was also the case with respect to interventions in the government-opposition conflicts in Burundi and Togo.

The five conflicts that recorded 'overall high quality' interventions by AU and/or RECs in 2018 are the Lesotho (military factions) conflict, the civil war in South Sudan, and the government-opposition crises in Mali, Sierra Leone and The Gambia. With the exception of Mali, these conflicts involved the use of at least two instruments, either diplomacy and mediation, or diplomacy and peace support operations, and in the case of Lesotho three instruments (diplomacy, mediation and PSOs).

Out of the 18 'medium quality' interventions, the AU and/or RECs used a combination of diplomacy and mediation in seven conflicts. These conflicts are Burundi (opposition), CAR (anti-Balaka/ex-Séléka), Libya (opposition), Mali (Azawad/Northern Mali), Somalia (federalization/inter-militia), Sudan (SPLM/A-North/South Kordofan) and Togo (opposition). In the conflict in Sudan (Darfur), the combined use of diplomacy, PSO and mediation by the AU also yielded a 'medium quality' finding. A combination of diplomacy and PSOs, a common recipe of intervention in dealing with terrorist groups, was also used in the efforts against AQIM/IS, Boko Haram, LRA and Al-Shabaab.

In six conflicts, diplomacy alone was used but was nonetheless found to be 'medium quality'. This was the case in interventions dealing with the inter-state tensions between Rwanda and DR Congo, the EOMs deployed to elections in eSwatini and Zimbabwe, efforts to resolve the Sudan-South Sudan conflict over Abyei, the AU's diplomatic engagement with parties to address lingering post-election tensions in Kenya, and efforts to resolve the conflict in eastern DR Congo. With regard to the last conflict in this category however, 'medium quality' interventions were deemed 'rather unsuccessful' in de-escalating conflict, while interventions in the rest of the conflicts were 'partly successful', further supporting the view that quality and effectiveness/success are generally correlated.

When disaggregated by APSA instruments, a wide variety of interventions were judged as 'medium quality', continuing to present the mixed picture observed in 2017 regarding what typically yields a 'medium quality' finding. All four conflicts in which a combination of diplomacy and PSOs was used (the conflicts involving AQIM/IS, Boko Haram, LRA and Al-Shabaab), the finding was of medium quality, although it was only in the conflicts with LRA and Al-Shabaab that this translated into partial success. The interventions in AQIM/IS and Boko Haram conflicts were of 'medium quality' but were nonetheless adjudged as 'rather unsuccessful'. This suggests that despite being moderately robust, concerted African efforts that seek to address long-spanning, intractable and highly violent conflicts (especially those involving violent extremist groups) often fall short of the requirements to effect the desired change or outcome in such conflicts.

This phenomenon of 'medium quality' interventions failing to de-escalate conflicts is something unique to conflicts involving violent extremist groups, while in virtually all other types of conflicts (12 to be exact), 'medium quality' interventions generally translated into partial success in de-escalation. These are 'medium quality' AU and/or REC interventions addressing violence from the LRA, Al-Shabaab, continued efforts to resolve the war level conflicts in CAR and Libya, and the conflict in Northern Mali involving rival militants. Others are efforts to address the inter-state conflict between Rwanda and DR Congo, EOMs sent to observe elections in eSwatini and Zimbabwe, efforts to resolve the political crisis in Togo (including through deployment of EOMs by the AU and ECOWAS, the latter of which also engaged in mediation), AU's interventions in the three conflicts in Sudan: SPLM/A-North/South Kordofan, Darfur/inter-communal rivalry, and Sudan, South Sudan (Abyei); and the AU's continued diplomatic engagement with Kenya's lingering post-election tensions.

The eight interventions deemed to be 'mostly low quality' in 2018 include interventions in the inter-state conflict between Burundi-Rwanda, the newly emerged limited war in Cameroon involving the government and English-speaking regions of the country, the conflict in central Mali characterized by inter-communal rivalry, and the continued conflict between Morocco and the POLISARIO over Western Sahara. The remaining four are 'opposition conflicts' in Guinea, Sudan, DR Congo and Egypt, and in the latter two, interventions mainly involved the deployment of EOMs to observe highly controversial elections that were held in the year. This seems to be a continuation of a trend observed in 2017, where 'mostly low quality' findings were given in respect to interventions in opposition conflicts (in Burundi, Zimbabwe and DR Congo). That Burundi and DR Congo are still included in this category shows that the quality of interventions by the AU, SADC and EAC in these conflicts had not improved. Comparing these with the 'overall high quality' judgment given to ECOWAS (and AU) interventions in opposition conflicts in Sierra Leone and Mali (which also had elections in 2018) bolsters the validity of a widely held view that there is disparity in the capacity and willingness of RECs to intervene in crises of a political nature.

In two cases, interventions in conflicts involving two AU member states were also deemed 'mostly low quality' as well as 'rather unsuccessful'. These were the conflict between Morocco and Western Sahara and the inter-state conflict in the Great Lakes Region between Burundi and Rwanda. Observers largely criticized a July 2018 AU Assembly decision limiting the AU's own role in resolving the Morocco-Western Sahara crisis by deciding that the conflict would be discussed by the PSC only at the heads of state level while also creating a Troika consisting of the outgoing, current and incoming AU Chairpersons, and the AUC Chairperson.

The creation of the Troika was criticized because AU high-level committees made up of heads of state often lack the political will or influence to record any major milestones in either agenda setting for peace or effectively resolving crises. Further, they are not mechanisms envisaged in the AU Constitutive Act. The criticism was valid as the Sahrawi issue in Western Sahara has not been addressed by the AU in any of these mechanisms since July 2018, and, as at August 2019, no heads of state level meeting on the crisis had been convened, and the Troika was yet to hold its inaugural meeting a year after its creation. The AU Assembly, which routinely addressed this conflict in virtually all ordinary summits in the past, did not mention it. This shows that contrary to the stated objective of the intervention (ensuring the AU's active and renewed support to UN-led efforts), the AU actively limited its own involvement in the crisis.

Figure 8 Effectiveness of interventions in 2018
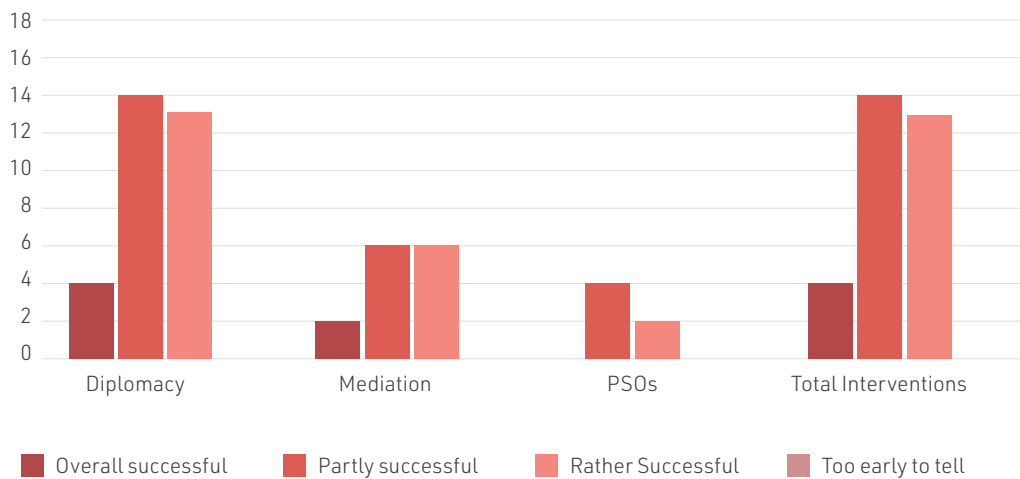
In the case of the conflict between Burundi and Rwanda, the conflict is rooted in accusations and counteraccusations that led to tensions and strained relations as reflected in Burundi's boycott of the EAC Heads of State Summit in late 2018. Burundi's President Nkurunziza accuses Rwanda's President Kagame of sponsoring the 2015 coup attempt against him, as well accusations that Rwanda was training armed groups to undermine Burundi's security. Rwanda denies these accusations. Nonetheless, the crisis was not adequately addressed by the AU or the EAC.

Finally, in the conflict in Cameroon, the AU has yet to properly engage in the crisis even as it continues to deteriorate. The AU has only deployed diplomatic interventions (a visit from the AUC Chairperson), but has neither discussed it at the PSC nor mentioned it in AU Assembly decisions. Observers have been united in their dismay at the PSC's silence on Cameroon pointing to the politics around getting a particular country on the PSC agenda and the gap between early warning and early action. In addition, it does not appear from publicly available sources that the 33-member EOM that the AU deployed to the October 2018 elections in Cameroon used the opportunity to engage with the government about the violence in the Anglophone regions, at least in the context of disrupted voting in the English-speaking regions.

All the above cited examples reaffirm the observation that the quality of interventions and their success in de-escalating conflicts are largely correlated.

2.1.2. Effectiveness of Interventions in 2018

This section presents the overall aggregated findings of the assessment on the effectiveness of interventions in 2018.[58] The degree to which interventions were effective was assessed based on three criteria: i) the timeliness and responsiveness of the intervention to major developments in the conflict, ii) whether the intervention achieved its intended result, and iii) whether the intervention contributed to the de-escalation of the conflict. Publicly available sources documenting the interventions conducted by AU and/or RECs were examined by researchers to evaluate each intervention along the three lines of inquiry. The judgment categories for effectiveness/successfulness are 'overall successful', 'partly successful', 'rather unsuccessful', and 'too early to tell'.[59] However, given the number of exogenous variables that influence the outcome of an intervention, the assessment should be considered as indicative rather than absolute.

Table 4: Effectiveness of interventions in 2018

	Total Interventions	Diplomacy	Mediation	PSOs
Total Number	31	31	14	6
Effectiveness				
Overall successful	4	4	2	0
Partly successful	14	14	6	4
Rather unsuccessful	13	13	6	2
Too early to tell	0	0	0	0

In 2018, out of the 31 conflicts assessed, interventions in four (12.9%) were deemed to be **'overall successful'** in de-escalating conflict, while in 14 conflicts (45%), interventions were found to be **'partly successful'**. AU and/or REC interventions in 13 conflicts (41.9%) were considered as **'rather unsuccessful'**. The 18 combined cases of 'overall successful' and 'partly successful' interventions account for 58% of all interventions assessed and this marks a noticeable decrease from the 63% recorded in 2017, and 78% recorded in 2016. These overall findings are further disaggregated per instrument (diplomacy, mediation and PSOs) in section 2.2 below.

The interventions adjudged 'overall successful' include opposition conflicts in Mali, Sierra Leone and The Gambia, and the civil war in South Sudan. The opposition conflicts in Mali and Sierra Leone had EOMs deployed by ECOWAS and the AU, thus emphasizing the strength of the AU and/or RECs (especially ECOWAS) in addressing conflicts associated with elections. The success of the ECOWAS and AU continued engagement, including support for the implementation of Security Sector Reform (SSR) initiatives in The Gambia, also underlines the importance of post-conflict reconstruction and development. Interventions by the AU and IGAD in South Sudan's civil war was

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58   This section presents the overall aggregated findings of the analysis on the effectiveness of interventions in de-escalating conflicts in 2018. These overall findings on effectiveness are an aggregation of the separate findings on effectiveness of the different instruments that the AU and/or RECs used to intervene in a given conflict. Disaggregated findings on the effectiveness of diplomacy, mediation and PSOs are presented in the sections further below.
59   It should be noted that these judgment categories on effectiveness were introduced in 2016 following a methodological change broadening the highest judgment category from 'Yes (Successful)' to 'Overall successful' and lowest category from 'No' (Not successful) to 'Rather unsuccessful'. This change was introduced because especially the highest category was too rigid and unable to accommodate the so-called 'high end' results in the 'Partly successful' category. In these cases, the AU and/or RECs were 'overall successful', despite some points of critique. Therefore, the new and broader category 'Overall successful' was introduced and contains those conflicts where AU and/or REC interventions were mostly successful, but where some points of ineffectiveness or obstacles were nevertheless reported. Similarly, for quality, the highest and lowest categories were broadened to 'Overall high quality' and 'Mostly low quality' for the same reason.

rated 'overall successful' because their intense diplomatic and mediation engagement led to the signing of a number of key agreements in the year which incrementally culminated in the signing in September of the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS). Consistent with the established correlation between the quality and effectiveness of interventions, all the above interventions were of 'overall high quality' as well.

Four out of the 14 'partly successful' interventions involved opposition conflicts in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Togo and eSwatini. Of these, Zimbabwe, Togo and eSwatini held elections to which EOMs were deployed by the AU and/or RECs. All of these 'partly successful' EOMs were also adjudged as 'medium quality' interventions. The AU, COMESA and SADC EOMs that observed elections in Zimbabwe, and AU and SADC EOMs in eSwatini were not supplemented by mediation and did not respond or respond adequately to pre- or post-election violence or escalation, which in this study is a rather typical example of 'partly successful' and 'medium quality' diplomatic interventions. In the case of Togo, although AU and ECOWAS EOMs were not the only interventions as they were supplemented by mediation efforts by ECOWAS, the mediation was criticized for failing to push for term limits and for calling for elections too hastily before reforms envisaged under ECOWAS' own roadmap were implemented.

In two conflicts involving terrorist groups (LRA and Al-Shabaab), concerted efforts by the AU, and in the case of LRA by the AU together with ECCAS, to avoid the creation of a security vacuum when the respective PSOs (RCI-LRA and AMISOM) exit, were deemed to be 'partly successful' as well. In the case of AMISOM, the AU was preoccupied with capacitating Somali national security forces to assume security responsibilities from AMISOM. On the LRA, efforts have begun to create a regional (ECCAS) contingent of the African Standby Force to fill the security vacuum. It is also noteworthy that, among the interventions that were deemed 'partly successful', five involved interventions to address some of the continent's most violent, long-spanning and intractable conflicts. These are the conflicts in Somalia (Al-Shabaab), CAR, Libya, and two conflicts in Sudan (Darfur and the South Kordofan/Blue Nile).

The AU and RECs have tended to use a combination of instruments in conflicts they have been engaged in for longer periods. This is because AU and/RECs have these conflicts high on their agenda and as such have ongoing mediation and/or PSO efforts besides addressing them in diplomatic statements that come out of regular PSC meetings, or AU or REC Heads of State and Government summits. The conflict in CAR, like those in Libya and Sudan (two areas), was addressed by a combination of diplomacy and mediation efforts under the auspices of the African Initiative for Peace and Reconciliation. The Darfur conflict continued to be addressed through a combination of diplomacy, mediation and a PSO (UNAMID). As already indicated in the section on quality above, a combination of diplomacy and PSOs, a common recipe of intervention in dealing with terrorist groups, was used in the AU's efforts against Al-Shabaab (Somalia), and was judged as 'partly successful'.

The intervention against Al-Shabaab stands out as an exception in that diplomatic and PSO interventions against two other highly deadly and active terrorist groups (namely Boko Haram and AQIM/IS) were found to be 'rather unsuccessful', despite being 'medium quality'. This is largely due to the latter's asymmetrical nature, cross-regional dimensions (across two or more REC areas), and increased internationalization that serve to make the conflicts and their resolution more complex and thus elusive. Lastly, in the case also of 'partly successful' interventions, there is a correlation between quality and effectiveness as all but one conflict (Lesotho) in this category also had 'medium quality' interventions, with AU's diplomacy and SADC's mediation and PSO efforts in Lesotho being adjudged as 'overall high quality'.

Interventions in 13 (41.9%) of the 31 conflicts assessed were found to be 'rather unsuccessful'. In four of these cases, interventions that were deemed to be of 'medium quality' were nonetheless 'rather unsuccessful' in de-escalating conflicts. These cases were interventions in the conflict in eastern DR Congo, the conflict between the federal government of Somalia and the federal

member states, and the conflicts involving Boko Haram and AQIM/IS. As noted above in the section on overall quality, modestly robust (or 'medium quality') interventions failing to de-escalate conflict is a phenomenon unique to such types of violent, long-spanning and intractable conflicts.

Crucially, opposition conflicts involving political crises between incumbents and opposition groups, accounted for 5 'rather unsuccessful' interventions. These were the opposition conflicts in Egypt, Burundi, DR Congo, Togo and Sudan. For instance, the EOMs deployed by SADC and the AU to DR Congo and the AU EOM deployed to Egypt's elections were both rated as 'rather unsuccessful', and 'mostly low quality'. In Egypt, the EOM was the only engagement that the AU had with developments in Egypt in the entire year, as no other intervention was deployed in respect to two other violent conflicts in Egypt, namely between Christians and Muslims as well as the conflict in the Sinai Peninsula involving Islamist militants.[60] In addition to the AU's failure to capitalize on the rare opportunity of physical presence in Egypt, its 40-member EOM failed to engage the government in respect to these two conflicts. The assessment in the study criticized the EOM for its reticence in the pre-election environment in which opposition party leaders were arrested, resulting in low voter turn-out on the day of the election. In Burundi, the AU and EAC were criticized for not adopting a stronger stance against a constitutional referendum that was held in May 2018 that extended presidential term-limits. The criticism was especially strong against the AU which, despite finding coups unacceptable, and having the relevant framework with which to take stronger action, remains half-hearted on constitutional changes that allow incumbents to stay in power.

On mediation, EAC's Inter-Burundian Dialogue was frustrated by President Nkurunziza's boycott of the 5th dialogue in October 2018 and the EAC Heads of State Summit that was scheduled for late 2018. President Nkurunziza's actions were not adequately addressed by the AU and not at all by the EAC, including when the EAC finally convened its Summit in February 2019 after having to postpone it twice because of Burundi's absence.

The remaining conflicts that had 'rather unsuccessful' interventions were the inter-communal conflict in central Mali, the conflict in Cameroon with Anglophone separatists, the conflict between Morocco and Western Sahara, and the inter-state conflict in the Great Lakes Region between Burundi and Rwanda.

Like previous editions, this report questions what makes interventions overall or partly successful. In reflecting on this, we explore different possibilities and observations, including the existence of a correlation between the number/type of instruments and levels of effectiveness/outcome recorded. The answer is mixed: while the number of instruments is not an exact predictor of outcome, as was the case in previous years, interventions appear to be particularly less effective and of lower quality when only one tool is used; and the higher the quality, the greater the chances of overall or partly successful outcomes.

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60   See Section 2.4 Non-intervention by the AU and/or RECs in violent conflicts below for more on violent conflicts where there were no interventions by AU and/or RECs.

In six of the 13 conflicts that recorded 'rather unsuccessful' interventions, AU and/or RECs used a single instrument (mostly diplomacy). For instance, the inter-communal conflict in central Mali was only addressed through diplomacy by ECOWAS/AU. This conflict is separate from the conflict in northern Mali that is the subject of continued mediation efforts under the auspices of the Monitoring Committee of the Peace Agreement (Comité de suivi de l'accord/CSA). The conflict in Cameroon with Anglophone separatists was only addressed by a visit from the AUC Chairperson, which is considered a diplomatic engagement under this study's methodology. The inter-state conflict in the Great Lakes Region between Burundi and Rwanda was only addressed by diplomacy (AU, ICGLR and SADC, as part of the PSC Framework on DRC and the Region), as was the opposition conflict in Egypt where the AU deployed an EOM. Conflicts that were addressed with diplomacy alone account for the largest share of simultaneous 'rather unsuccessful' and 'mostly low quality' findings, with six out of the 12 conflicts addressed through diplomacy alone being adjudged as such. In four out of the 12 conflicts where a combination of diplomacy and mediation were used, interventions were found to be 'rather unsuccessful' and of 'mostly low quality'.

In general, most overall or partly successful interventions include either a combination of diplomacy and a PSO (e.g. in the conflict with Al-Shabaab in Somalia and the conflict with the LRA), a combination of diplomacy and mediation (for instance in South Sudan and Sierra Leone) or a combination of three instruments (such as in Lesotho). The combination of diplomacy and a PSO, or diplomacy, mediation and a PSO, or diplomacy and PCRD efforts, did not yield a double negative finding on both quality and effectiveness.

Conversely, there were cases where AU and/or RECs used two or more instruments and recorded 'rather unsuccessful' outcomes. For instance, APSA actors used diplomacy and mediation in three opposition conflicts (Burundi, DR Congo and Sudan), the Morocco-POLISARIO crisis, and the conflict between the federal government of Somalia and the federal member states, all of which were found to be 'rather unsuccessful'. The AU and/or RECs also used diplomacy and PSOs in the conflicts involving AQIM/IS and Boko Haram and recorded 'rather unsuccessful' outcomes.

In 2017, six (66.7%) out of the nine cases rated as 'rather unsuccessful' included a combined use of two or more instruments. In 2018, the proportion decreased to 53.8% (seven out of 12 cases) of 'rather unsuccessful' interventions involving the use of a combination of two instruments. There are cases that demonstrate a more positive finding is possible when diplomacy is the only instrument used. This category mainly consisted of EOMs that were deployed to elections in Zimbabwe (partly successful), Mali (overall successful) and eSwatini (partly successful). However, the EOM deployed by the AU to Egypt was adjudged as 'rather unsuccessful'. This further concretizes the view reflected in earlier editions of this report that the use of a combination of instruments generally increases effectiveness. Therefore, the year 2018 continues to present a mixed picture about the effectiveness of interventions and their combination, as was the case in 2017.

One observation that emerged from a closer study of the conflicts is that the quality of intervention might not exactly predict the effectiveness/outcome recorded. For instance, four interventions that were deemed to be of 'medium quality' were nonetheless 'rather unsuccessful' in de-escalating conflicts. These include interventions in the conflict in eastern DR Congo involving militias, the conflict between the federal government of Somalia and the federal member states, and the conflicts involving two of the deadliest terrorist groups in the continent, Boko Haram and AQIM/IS.

Finally, the above findings on overall effectiveness in 2018, with 58% of interventions being overall or partly successful marks a noticeable decline as compared to 2017, where the rate was 63%. This decreased result for effectiveness is worrying as it reinforces and continues the trend of decreasing effectiveness, despite it being smaller compared to the sharp decline from 78% to 63% observed between 2016 and 2017. This is more concerning when disaggregated along individual instruments. For instance, in 2018 only 57% of mediation interventions and 58% of diplomatic interventions were found to be 'overall successful' or 'partly successful'. The results for PSOs were more favourable with 66.7% of PSOs found to be overall or partly successful.

Assessing these disaggregated findings considering the increased efforts and attention paid to PSOs at the expense of diplomacy and mediation suggests that the AU and RECs continue to focus on conflict management rather than conflict prevention (preventive diplomacy and mediation) when intervening in violent conflicts. The fact that opposition conflicts at the level of a violent crisis (intensity level 3) featured prominently among 'rather unsuccessful' interventions that involved the use of diplomacy alone attests to the validity of this observation. This is similar to and a continuation of the observations and conclusions reached in 2016 and 2017.

2.2 Assessment of APSA Instruments

This section disaggregates the above overall results and further reflects on the quality and effectiveness of AU and/or REC interventions through the three main APSA instruments used, namely diplomacy, mediation and PSOs. It is important to note that in conflicts where more than one instrument was used, the overall findings are an aggregation of the results on all instruments.

2.2.1 Diplomacy

Diplomacy was used in all 31 conflicts that were assessed (received interventions). The results of the assessment on the effectiveness of diplomatic interventions in 31 conflicts yielded **'overall successful'** in four conflicts (13%), **'partly successful'** in 14 (45%), and '**rather unsuccessful**' in 13 (41.9%) conflicts.

As regards quality, diplomatic interventions by the AU and/or RECs were found to be of '**overall high quality'** in five (16%) conflicts, '**medium quality**' in 18 conflicts (58%), and **'mostly low quality'** in eight conflicts (26%).

In all but one of the five cases where diplomatic interventions were found to be of **'overall high quality',** they were also found to be **'overall successful',** thus underlining the correlation between quality and effectiveness.

It is also notable that in none of these interventions was diplomacy alone used, instead, the AU and/ or RECs deployed diplomacy in combination with or to support mediation efforts. In cases where diplomacy is used in combination with mediation and/or PSOs, the assessment on the quality of diplomacy considers the degree to which diplomatic efforts actively supported and stayed abreast with developments in mediation and PSO efforts on the ground. The conflict in Lesotho was an outlier in that it attracted 'overall high quality' interventions by the AU and SADC but only yielded partial success in de-escalating the conflict.

The four 'overall high quality' diplomatic interventions that also recorded 'overall successful' outcomes were EOMs deployed (by the AU and ECOWAS) in two opposition conflicts in which elections featured in 2018 (in Mali and Sierra Leone), the continued efforts by the AU and ECOWAS to support Gambia's democratic transition following its post-election crisis, and the AU and IGAD's diplomatic efforts in South Sudan heavily supporting IGAD's mediation efforts and successfully revitalizing the 2015 peace agreement. This was a reversal of what was observed in 2017 with respect to South Sudan where high quality diplomatic (and mediation) engagements had not yet translated into success and were therefore deemed 'rather unsuccessful'.

Of the 18 'medium quality' diplomatic interventions, 13 (72%) were 'partly successful' in de-escalating conflict, while 5 'medium quality' interventions were 'rather unsuccessful'. The latter category mainly consists of diplomatic engagements in 2 conflicts against terrorist groups, namely AQIM/IS and Boko Haram, where 'medium quality' diplomatic engagements by the AU, G5 Sahel (for AQIM/IS), and ECOWAS, ECCAS, and LCBC (for Boko Haram) were found to be 'rather unsuccessful' in diminishing the threats of these terrorist groups in the respective regions. The 3 other cases of 'medium quality' diplomatic interventions leading to 'rather unsuccessful' outcomes include interventions in the opposition conflict in Burundi, the violent conflict in Eastern DR Congo involving militias, and the conflict between the federal member states and the federal government in Somalia.

Of the 13 cases where 'medium quality' diplomacy was 'partly successful', five were continued AU and regional efforts to address some of the continent's longest-spanning and most intractable conflicts. These were diplomatic efforts by the AU, ECCAS and ICGLR in the conflict in CAR; and the AU's continued engagements in Libya, where the it mainly vied for a more prominent role in the UN-led mediation efforts; its efforts with respect to the fight against Al-Shabaab, and its diplomatic engagements in support of its own mediation efforts in two conflicts in Sudan (in Darfur and the Two Areas). 'Medium quality' interventions in four opposition conflicts in Kenya, Togo, Zimbabwe and eSwatini were also 'partly successful', with the latter three attracting EOMs deployed to elections, which are considered diplomatic interventions in this study. This category also includes a third conflict in Sudan involving Sudan and South Sudan over Abyei and between tribes in Abyei; the AU's engagement in the conflict between DR Congo and Rwanda; and the AU and ECOWAS's continued engagement with conflict in Northern Mali. It also includes diplomatic engagements with respect to the fight against the LRA, notably the AU PSC's efforts seeking to start a process of possibly creating an ECCAS contingent of the African Standby Force to take up the fight against the LRA once RCI-LRA exists as envisaged; diplomatic statements that came out of engagements by the PSC Framework on DRC and the Region speaking to the mistrust between DR Congo and Rwanda in the Great Lakes Region; and AU and ECOWAS' continued engagement with conflict in Northern Mali.

All the eight 'mostly low quality' diplomacy interventions were found to be 'rather unsuccessful'. The fact that no low-quality intervention produced overall or partly successful outcomes is strong evidence of the correlation between quality and effectiveness. The interventions in this category include four opposition conflicts, in Guinea, Sudan, DR Congo and Egypt, with the last two also having elections in 2018 that were observed by EOMs. Notable in this regard are the EOMs deployed in DR Congo and Egypt during their 2018 elections, both of which were 'mostly low quality' and 'rather unsuccessful'. While Egypt's experience was discussed in the previous section, the EOMs deployed by SADC and the AU in DR Congo, the only international observers accredited by the government, were criticized. Although the SADC EOM had engaged in mediation between the parties 48 hours before the election date and the AU had made an unprecedented request for DR Congo to suspend the announcement of the final results, the welcoming by both the AU and SADC of Félix Tshisekedi's controversial election victory was criticized as viewed as legitimizing a contested and possibly fraudulent election result.

In two cases, interventions in conflicts between two AU member states were found to be 'mostly low quality' and 'rather unsuccessful'. These were the crisis between Morocco and Western Sahara and the inter-state conflict in the Great Lakes Region between Burundi and Rwanda. In the former, the AU used diplomacy and mediation, while the latter only attracted diplomacy (by the AU, ICGLR and EAC). The last two interventions in this category are the conflict in Central Mali, which, unlike the conflict in Northern Mali was only addressed through diplomacy from ECOWAS and the AU; and the conflict in Cameroon, which was only addressed by the AU Commission through a visit by its Chairperson. While Cameroon held presidential elections in 2018 to which the AU deployed an EOM, the deployment of observers is not considered under the methodology of this study as a diplomatic intervention in the conflict between the government and Anglophone separatists, which is the only violent conflict in Cameroon in 2018.

As already noted in the section on overall effectiveness above, a rather typical example for 'partly successful' and 'medium quality' diplomatic intervention tends to only involve the use of an EOM that does not respond to pre- or post-election related violence or escalation. This was the case in the elections in eSwatini and Zimbabwe, while in contrast, the AU's EOM in Egypt was considered as 'mostly low quality' and 'rather unsuccessful'. In addition to using only diplomacy (an EOM) to address the opposition conflict, the AU failed to make use of the rare opportunity of being physically present in Egypt to engage the crisis and address government-opposition tensions. According to experts, the elections in Egypt were objectively more contentious than the elections in eSwatini and Zimbabwe.

In DR Congo, diplomatic engagements (EOMs) by the AU, ICGLR and SADC, and mediation efforts by SADC failed to prevent controversies and the alleged manipulation of election results. Moreover, the decision of the AU and SADC to welcome the contested victory of Félix Tshisekedi was criticized by experts as dampening in the democratic aspirations of the people of DR Congo.

The case of Togo is somehow different. Mediation and diplomacy (including an EOM from ECOWAS) had made considerable headway in the search for solutions to the political crisis but failed to adopt a stronger stance with respect to presidential term limits, a situation that prompted opposition parties to boycott legislative elections in 2018. It is uncertain that opposition parties will participate in presidential elections in 2020. For these reasons, the interventions by ECOWAS were considered only 'partly successful' and 'medium quality'. For the AU, which, apart from deploying its own EOM, continued to be virtually absent/silent on Togo (arguably because Togo became a member of the PSC in January 2018), the judgement was 'mostly low quality' and 'rather unsuccessful'.

It is important to note that, the methodology of this study provides that in the event of different judgements given to interventions by two or more actors, the cumulative/aggregate finding on quality and effectiveness for that conflict should reflect the most favourable or positive judgement. Therefore, for the case of Togo, an overall judgement of 'partly successful' is given on diplomacy.

2.2.2 Mediation

Out of the 14 conflicts where **mediation** was used by AU and/or RECs, a judgment of either **'medium quality'** or **'overall high quality'** was given in nine conflicts (64%). This marks a slight recovery from the sharp drop recorded in 2017 (61.5%) compared to 2016 (90%). However, it is the number of 'medium quality', as opposed to 'overall high quality' mediation interventions that increased with 'overall high quality' findings recorded in two conflicts in 2018, as compared to the four recorded in 2017. Conversely, seven (50%) 'medium quality' interventions were recorded in 2018 marking an increase from the four (30.8%) in 2017, although this is still less than the nine (64%) recorded in 2016. On the other hand, the number of low-quality mediation interventions increased from four (30.8%) in 2017 to five (35.7%) in 2018. The trend for 2018 shows some recovery in the quality of mediation efforts, and although not yet matching the high levels recorded in 2016, this is still a good indication that the declining trend observed in 2017 is starting to be reversed.

'Overall high quality' mediation efforts were recorded in two conflicts, namely the opposition conflict in Sierra Leone and South Sudan's civil war. These mediation efforts were also found to be 'overall successful'. The AU and/or RECs recorded 'medium quality' mediations in seven conflicts, namely the opposition conflict in Togo, and conflicts in CAR, Mali (Azawad), Somalia (Federalization), Sudan (SPLMA/A-North/South Kordofan, Blue Nile), Sudan (Darfur) and Lesotho (military factions). The five cases of low quality mediation efforts took place in four opposition conflicts in Burundi, DR Congo, Libya and Sudan, and in the conflict between Morocco and POLISARIO.

The generally medium to high quality nature of PSOs continues the trend of previous years and underlines the continued investment and political support for and by AU, RECs and their partners in strengthening Africa's capacity to respond to security challenges in the continent.

In terms of effectiveness, mediation activities were found to be '**overall successful**' in two out of 14 conflicts, '**partly successful**' in six conflicts, and '**rather unsuccessful**' in six others. When compared with the preceding two years, the number of 'overall successful' and 'rather unsuccessful' cases of mediation were unchanged from 2017, while 'partly successful' cases increased from four (30.8%) in 2017 to six (42.8%) in 2018; and the combination of positive outcomes (overall and partly successful mediation) increased from six (46.2%) in 2017 to eight (57%) in 2018, but fell short of the 71% recorded in 2016. There is evidence of a modest recovery in the effectiveness of mediation efforts by AU and/or RECs in 2018 (due to the increase in number of positive outcomes), but it is yet to match the level of effectiveness attained in 2016.

When effectiveness is correlated with quality of mediation, the two cases of 'overall high quality' mediation efforts recovered in 2018 (see above) were also found to be 'overall successful', namely the opposition conflict in Sierra Leone and the civil war in South Sudan.

In Sierra Leone, the EOMs deployed by the AU and ECOWAS to the two rounds of voting in presidential elections successfully mediated and diffused tensions between the ruling and main opposition parties. Sierra Leone's 2018 elections showed that ECOWAS was intent on maintaining its reputation and momentum in supporting democratic transitions in its region. However, ECOWAS' inability to push for term limits in Togo in the lead up to presidential elections in 2020 was a notable, if minor, blemish on its stellar record in this regard.

Mediation efforts by IGAD, supported by the AU and international actors, were successful in revitalizing the 2015 R-ARCSS. All seven of IGAD's Council of Ministers extra-ordinary sessions in 2018, and one other meeting on the side-lines of the July 2018 AU Summit, addressed and followed up on the mediation process as a priority, including by mandating IGAD Heads of State to convene meetings with President Kiir and Riek Machar.

All but one of the seven 'medium quality' mediation efforts also had 'partly successful' findings on the parallel assessment on effectiveness. In one case (the federalization conflict in Somalia), 'medium quality' mediation was found to be 'rather unsuccessful', and in another case (the conflict in Libya), 'mostly low quality' mediation was conversely, and unusually, found to be 'partly successful'. The six conflicts where 'medium quality' mediation was also 'partly successful' were the conflicts in CAR, Togo (opposition), Lesotho (military factions), Mali (Azawad/northern Mali), and two conflicts in Sudan (Darfur and SPLM/A).

'Medium quality' mediation efforts that continued from previous years were 'partly successful' in three cases: the AU's continued engagement through its High-Level Panel on Sudan and South Sudan (AUHIP) in two conflicts in Sudan (in Darfur and the Two Areas) and continued mediation within the AU-ECCAS-ICGLR framework of the African Initiative for Peace and Reconciliation (African Initiative) in CAR.

The 'partly successful' finding on mediation in CAR is an improvement compared to the 'too early to tell' categorization in 2017. This was because in 2018 the African Initiative managed to set up a relevant platform for negotiations between armed groups and the government, which led to the signing of a peace agreement between 14 recognized armed groups and the government in February 2019. Besides those in CAR and Sudan, 'medium quality' and 'partly successful' mediation efforts include ECOWAS' efforts in Togo through the dialogue process (led by its two co-facilitators) between the government and 14-member opposition coalition; SADC's continued mediation in Lesotho; and AU and ECOWAS' engagement with the conflict in (northern) Mali as part of the Monitoring Committee of the Peace Agreement (Comité de suivi de l'accord/CSA), which monitors the implementation of the 2015 Algiers Peace and Reconciliation Agreement.

All but one of the five cases of 'rather unsuccessful' mediation efforts were also 'mostly low quality'. These were mediation efforts in three opposition conflicts (Burundi, DR Congo and Sudan) and the conflict between Morocco and Western Sahara. The conflict between the federal member states

and the federal government of Somalia was the one case where 'medium quality' mediation (by IGAD and the AU) was however found to be 'rather unsuccessful'. Conversely, Libya was the only case where 'mostly low quality' mediation was nonetheless found to be 'partly successful'.

In the case of Somalia, mediation was 'rather unsuccessful' due to several factors, including the inability of the AU and IGAD to build on the momentum from earlier consultations with the federal member states during which the latter had expressed a willingness for external mediation by the AU and IGAD. This led to worsened relations between the federal member states and the federal government, culminating in the suspension of cooperation in September and a sharp escalation with the December elections in South-West State, in which the federal government was accused of interfering by arresting an opposition candidate. The AU's failure to use its own PSC field mission in November to follow up and exploit the groundwork laid by its own mediation efforts earlier in the year was notably criticized.

In the case of Libya, the AU's mediation efforts were deemed 'mostly low quality' because the AU was less visibly and intensely engaged with the conflict in comparison to 2017 when its High-Level Committee on Libya held three meetings, as compared to one meeting in 2018. There was also limited cooperation with the UN (which is the lead on Libya) including in the activities of the Quartet, in whose only meeting in the year the High-Level Committee was not represented. However, these efforts were deemed to have achieved partial success in that, even if the AU failed to organize a national reconciliation conference as planned and did not succeed in securing a more central role in Libya, it arguably contributed to the decision by the UN to postpone elections that were envisaged for late 2019 by rightly stressing the need to convene the reconciliation conference as a precondition for holding elections.

The remaining four cases of 'rather unsuccessful' mediation were also 'mostly low quality'. Three of these cases involved mediation in opposition conflicts (Burundi, DR Congo and Sudan). In Burundi, mediation efforts by the EAC Facilitator were frustrated by Burundi's boycott of the 5th dialogue in the Inter-Burundian Dialogue, and the EAC Heads of State Summit, forcing its postponement twice.

In DR Congo, whose opposition conflict featured contentious elections held on 30 December 2018, mediation considered too little, too late by analysts was conducted by SADC's EOM between the opposing parties 48 hours before the elections. Although the AU had called on DR Congo to suspend the announcement of the results after the elections, both the AU and SADC later welcomed Félix Tshisekedi's contested election victory, undermining and rendering futile their earlier mediation efforts.

In Sudan, the AUHIP's effort to amend the roadmap agreement between opposition groups and government was similarly frustrated by the signatories' insistence on the participation of non-signatories in the consultations. Showing that the AU's mediation efforts had failed, unaddressed political discontent and protests that continued from 2018 led to a dramatic escalation in 2019 and the ouster and arrest of President Omar al Bashir.

The conflict between Morocco and Western Sahara, which has been discussed in other parts of the report, also falls in this category of conflicts in which mediation interventions were 'mostly low quality' and 'rather unsuccessful'.

2.2.3 Peace Support Operations

This report assessed **six** African-led peace support operations (PSOs) that were in operation in 2018, a reduction from the eight PSOs assessed in 2017.[61] All PSOs in 2018 were either high or medium quality. SADC's Preventive Mission in Lesotho (SAPMIL) was found to be of 'overall high quality', while the remaining five PSOs were of 'medium quality', namely the United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) against Al-Shabaab, the AU-led Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA) against LRA, the AU and LCBC-led Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) against Boko Haram, and the G5 Sahel Joint Force (FC-G5S) against AQIM/IS in the Sahel. The generally medium to high quality nature of PSOs continues the trend of previous years and underlines the continued investment and political support for and by AU, RECs and their partners in strengthening Africa's capacity to respond to security challenges in the continent.

When PSOs are assessed for effectiveness, four PSOs (66.7%) were 'partly successful' in conflict mitigation and stabilization efforts in 2018, while two were 'rather unsuccessful'. There was no PSO that was adjudged as 'overall successful' in 2018. UNAMID, RCI-LRA, SAPMIL and AMISOM were 'partly successful'. Two PSOs, both in relation to the conflicts involving terrorist groups, were found to be 'rather unsuccessful' in 2018. MNJTF and FC-G5S were deemed 'rather unsuccessful' because of their relative inability to mitigate, stabilize, de-escalate or bring about prospects for change regarding security arrangements in their respective regions of operation.

The correlation between quality and effectiveness of PSOs reveals mixed results. For instance, three of the five PSOs rated as 'medium quality' were analyzed as 'partly successful', namely AMISOM, RCI-LRA and UNAMID. Two PSOs rated as 'medium quality' are classified as 'rather unsuccessful'; the FC-G5S and the MNJTF. Also, the one PSO rated as overall high quality (SADC's SAPMIL mission in Lesotho) led to a 'partly successful' outcome.

The comparative analysis of PSOs in 2018, 2017 and 2016 shows continued improvements in the quality and effectiveness of PSOs mandated by the AU and/or RECs. For instance, 100% of PSOs were either overall high or medium quality in 2018 versus the 75% recorded in 2016 and 2017. Although 'overall successful' PSOs reduced from two in 2017 to zero in 2018, the number for 'partly successful' PSOs at the same time increased from three in 2017 to four in 2018. Moreover, while the proportion of 'overall successful' and 'partly successful' PSOs was 63% in 2017, this number is 66.7% in 2018 (with four 'partly successful' PSOs and zero 'overall successful' PSOs).

The analysis of PSOs in 2018 invites a natural reflection on why and what accounts for the degree of quality and level of effectiveness, as well as why some PSOs succeed in mitigation, stabilization and /or de-escalation, and others fail. The answer is never straight forward as different contexts present different opportunities, challenges, actors and varying levels of political will and commitment. The following profiling of the PSOs in operation in 2018 will show where and how each were 'partly successful' or 'rather unsuccessful'.

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61   For an explanation on why two PSOs that, despite still being operational (the ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau (ECOMIB) and the ECOWAS Mission in Gambia (ECOMIG)), did not form part of analysis covering 2018 unlike in 2017, see footnote 48 above.

I. SADC Preventive Mission in Lesotho (SAPMIL)

SADC's SAPMIL, which closed its operations in 2018 after a year's deployment, was considered an 'overall high quality' PSO intervention, which however yielded partial success in fulfilling its mandate. SAPMIL increased SADC presence in Lesotho and offered more opportunities to intervene more swiftly by supporting the establishment of the National Security Forum, and the return of weapons that were seized from the Lesotho Mountain Police during the 2014 raids. SADC also supported the re-training of Lesotho's personnel, especially in Civil Military Relations (CIMIC), International Conflict Management, and capacitation of 400 personnel from the country's military, police, correctional services and intelligence branches. In addition, compared to 2016 and 2017, in 2018 there were limited reports of political attacks and killings, particularly targeting higher officials.

Beyond Lesotho, the deployment of SAPMIL was a significant continental milestone in efforts to expedite the harmonization of the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC) activities within the ASF. The AU PSC even went as far as praising SAPMIL as a successful rapid deployment of the SADC Standby Brigade, under Scenario 4 of the ASF and calling on other regions' ASF standby arrangements to emulate the success in SAPMIL. Despite this, the actual drawing up of a new constitution and reforming the security sector, which are part of the reforms proposed by SADC, whose implementation SAPMIL had a mandate to support, were not undertaken in 2018, hence it was judged to be 'partly successful'.

II. United Nations-African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID)

The completion of the first phase of UNAMID's reconfiguration and the start and progress into the second phase, which were done with a view to allowing the Mission's envisaged exit in 2020 in a manner that does not create a security vacuum, were deemed 'medium quality' and 'partly successful'. While complications and questions remain on the appropriateness of UNAMID's gradual drawdown and exit as a result of the April 2019 military coup d'état in Sudan, efforts to avoid creating a security vacuum in Darfur were on course as at the end of the year. This is evident from the peacebuilding component of the reconfiguration leading to the development by state governments of North and South Darfur of stabilization plans, and the peacekeeping aspect of the reconfiguration busying itself with the establishment of the Jebel Marra task force.

III. Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA)

The PSO efforts against the LRA were also found to be of 'medium quality' and 'partly successful'. While the AU's decision to begin the phase-out of RCI-LRA might appear to contradict the AU's own assessment of the situation (where it underscored the importance of RCI-LRA's presence on the ground to prevent a security vacuum from being created), that it parallelly sought out and took concrete measures to devise a regional security arrangement within ECCAS as a successor to the RCI-LRA and as part of a progressive exit strategy to be developed by the AU Commission was deemed as 'medium quality' PSO engagement. This rating relates to AU's efforts to devise an alternative to the RCI-LRA, and does not necessarily hold true for the RCI-LRA itself. The reason is that the mission is exiting (for reasons to do with funding) essentially without fulfilling its mandate, as its exit strategy includes plans for another mission (regional force) under ECCAS to take its place.

IV. African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM)

On AMISOM, the AU's efforts were deemed 'medium quality' due to its key efforts to mobilize funding for AMISOM, postpone the planned drawdown of AMISOM from October 2018 to February 2019, conduct jointly with the UN the fourth review of AMISOM, and develop a new AMISOM CONOPS. AMISOM also supported the development and implementation of a

Transition Plan, and capacitated Somali security forces to take over security responsibility from AMISOM. However, only partial success was achieved as funding uncertainties for AMISOM continued in 2018 with UNSC still refusing to directly fund AMISOM through UN assessed contributions and the EU announcing its commitment to fund AMISOM beyond 2018 only in April 2019. While it is too early to fairly assess whether security forces have been adequately capacitated to take over security responsibility, external actors' support to Somali security forces continued to be uncoordinated, thereby allowing the factional and clan-based nature of the Somali National Army (SNA) to persist. There have, however, been a few encouraging signs with reforms to enhance accountability in security forces and the handing over of Mogadishu Stadium and the Jaalle Siyaad Military Academy from AMISOM to Somali security forces.

V. Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF)

In respect of two missions engaged in stabilization efforts in response to terrorist groups operating in the Sahel and Maghreb region, namely AQIM/IS and Boko Haram, 'medium quality' PSO interventions by the G-5 Sahel and the MNJTF were found to be unsuccessful in de-escalating the conflicts. This failure is explained by a variety of factors. With regard to the MNJTF, the AU, the LCBC and troop contributing countries launched a Regional Stabilization, Recovery and Resilience Strategy for Areas Affected by Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin Region in August 2018. This strategy and the series of conferences that were held are steps in the right direction of developing a comprehensive regional stabilization strategy that should guide the transition from a military-oriented approach towards recovery and development. The MNJTF continued to play an instrumental role in coordinating military action, thereby bridging regional divisions between MNJTF members that belong to ECOWAS and others that are part of ECCAS. However, cooperation was criticized as generally being restricted to the military sphere, with non-military responses so far being largely ad-hoc and uncoordinated across the region. Regarding success in de-escalating violence, conventional wisdom among reputable observers of Boko Haram violence is that in 2018, particularly the rivalry and competition precipitated by Boko Haram's split into two factions led to even more extreme violence in the Lake Chad Basin as the two groups demonstrated their strength particularly in Chad, Niger and Nigeria. As a result, despite deploying 'medium quality' efforts, regional actors were 'rather unsuccessful'.

VI. G5 Sahel Joint Force (FC-G5S)

In respect of the G5 Sahel Force, the troop contributing countries and the AU made progress in raising funds for the Force, with significant amounts pledged at two donor conferences in 2018 and a Trust Fund established to channel these funds. However, the Force still faces funding problems in practice due to challenges in donors honouring their pledges, and the UNSC continuing to decline to fund the Force through UN assessed contributions (which is also the case for all African PSOs for which similar requests have been made, to no avail). Funding challenges are worsened by the fact that the AU, despite signing an MOU with G5 Sahel in March 2018, does not provide financial or logistical support to the Force, nor does it channel financial support from the EU to it, as it does in the case of the MNJTF. Furthermore, as was also the case with the MNJTF, the G5 Sahel Force has been criticized as being too militaristic with efforts to move beyond a military approach hampered, notably by the influence of France, which built the Force as part of their exit strategy for Operation Barkhane forces. While these efforts were deemed to be of 'medium quality', they were also 'rather unsuccessful'. Reputable observers are unanimous in indicating that violence from AQIM/IS is no longer confined to the Sahelian states and are instead gradually spilling-over into the northern regions of West African coastal states such as Benin, Ghana and Togo.

2.2.4. Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD)

PCRD is used by the AU to intervene in post-conflict situations to consolidate peace and to prevent a relapse into violence by promoting sustainable development and regeneration in regions that were affected by violent conflicts. However, as in previous years, PCRD activities are used very sparingly in interventions. While this might change in the coming years in light of the establishment of the African Union Centre for Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (AUC-PCRD) in Cairo, Egypt,[62] experts note that despite having a policy on post-conflict reconstruction and development since 2006, the AU has long struggled to turn it into a practical and effective tool.[63] For this reason, PCRD has not been included in the report's detailed evaluation thus far and is covered only in one section here.

PCRD efforts in 2018 were conducted even more sparingly than in 2017 and 2016. PCRD activities were deployed by the AU in only one conflict in 2018, namely The Gambia (opposition) conflict. As a continuation of efforts already underway in 2017 (with the deployment of a needs assessment mission to The Gambia under the framework of the AU Inter-Departmental Task Force on PCRD), the AU provided technical support to The Gambia, at the request of its government in the areas of Security Sector Reform (SSR). The African Union Technical Support to The Gambia (AUTSTG) was launched in 2018 to provide advice to The Gambia's government on the rule of law, democracy, transitional justice and security sector transformation. Consisting of technical experts in human rights and rule of law, military officers and a defence reform adviser seconded from AU member states, the AUTSTG was praised as a move "away from the traditional AU PCRD approach of establishing liaison offices in countries' which are bigger missions, towards an approach of deploying a small technical support team which focuses on PCRD and supports and works directly with government".[64] The former approach has been criticized as having little impact given the lack of capacity to effectively coordinate the AU's goals on the ground and link them to decisions made at the AU.[65] Given this and the fact that eight of the 10 experts were deployed to The Gambia Armed Forces, National Security Agency, National Human Rights Commission and the Ministry of Interior, the PCRD efforts of the AU in The Gambia in 2018 were considered as 'overall high quality' and 'overall successful'.

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62   This came about following a July 2018 AU Assembly Decision to this effect and the signing between Egypt and the AU of an agreement for hosting the AUC-PCRD in Cairo. See Thirty-First Ordinary Session, 1-2 July 2018, Nouakchott, Mauritania - 'DECISION ON HOSTING THE AFRI-CAN UNION CENTRE FOR POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT ASSEMBLY OF THE UNION', para 4 and 'Egypt to host African Union center on post-conflict reconstruction, development' Xinhua, 11 December 2019.
63   Institute for Security Studies, Will The Gambia be a turning point for AU peace efforts?, 13 May 2019.
64   Ibid.
65   Ibid.

... the AU and/or RECs appear to be addressing more conflicts; it is the second successive year in which the number of conflicts addressed by AU and/or RECs is more than those not addressed in a calendar year.

2.3 Peace Agreements Mediated by the AU and/or RECs

The assessment on the impact of mediation on conflicts is supplemented by a tally of the peace agreements mediated by the AU and/or RECs. In implementing the methodology of the study, a more positive judgement (on effectiveness and quality) is given to mediation efforts that resulted in the signing of a peace agreement. In addition to the findings on the quality and effectiveness of mediation efforts presented in the above sections, the number of peace agreements mediated by the AU and/or RECs is included as an indicator of the impact of mediation efforts on a continental level. The focus here is restricted to peace agreements mediated by the AU and/or RECs which have lasted for more than one year i.e. which had not been violated for this duration. By the time of finalizing this study (July 2019), an assessment of peace agreements signed after June 2018 was not possible since the one-year duration had not been reached. Therefore, all peace agreements signed after 31 July 2018 are excluded from this tally/indicator.

Accordingly, there were 37 peace agreements signed over the course of 2018 in 16 conflicts. This is an improvement over 2017 which had 23. The AU and/or RECs mediated or facilitated the process in 13 (35%) peace agreements. The data for 2018 represents an improvement (recovery) following the dip in 2017 when the AU and/or RECs were involved in 13% of peace agreements. However, the improvement in 2018 is still below the high levels recorded in 2016 and 2014 when AU and/or RECs were involved in 56% and 75% of peace agreements signed, respectively.

Out of the 37 peace agreements signed in 2018, six were found to have held (were actively implemented) for more than one year as at 1 July 2019. Only three (23%) of the 13 peace agreements mediated by the AU and/or RECs in 2018 held for a year as at July 2019, while 10 (77%) collapsed before the one-year mark. This continues the trend of decline observed in past years. In 2017 and 2016, 33% and 47% of peace agreements mediated by the AU and/or RECs held for at least a year, respectively. This indicator also points to or agrees with the overall decline in the quality and effectiveness of AU and/or REC mediation interventions in 2018.

Below is a table listing the peace agreements mediated by the AU and/or a REC that held for more than one year. The first row indicates agreements that were signed in 2018 and held for more than one year. The second row indicates agreements signed after July 2017 but before 2018 and which held for more than one year. The latter are included in this report (which covers 2018) because an assessment of whether they held for more than a year could not be conducted in the report covering 2017 as at the time of writing of the previous report, a year had not yet passed since they were signed.

Table 5: Peace Agreements mediated by the AU and/or RECs that held for a year

Indicator	
Peace agreements concluded in 2018 through mediation by AU and/or RECs that held for more than one year as at 31 July 2019	**Mali (Azawad/Northern Mali)** 22 March 2018: Malian parties signed the Roadmap for the implementation of the Timeline of Priority Actions (Chronogramme d'actions prioritaires) in the implementation of Agreement on Peace and Reconciliation in Mali, signed in Bamako in May 2015, in respect of which the AU and ECOWAS are part of an international mediation team. [66] **Sierra Leone (opposition)** 27-28 March 2018: In a meeting between the Sierra Leonean National Electoral Commission NEC and the two flag bearers (APC and SLPP) and their party leaders, witnessed by the Heads of International Observers Missions (including EOMs sent by the AU and ECOWAS), an agreement was reached to conduct runoff presidential elections on 31 March 2018.[67] **South Sudan (civil war)** 27 June 2018: The Khartoum Declaration on a permanent ceasefire and on key security arrangements was signed with IGAD leading the mediation.[68]
Peace agreements concluded from 31 July to 31 December 2017 through mediation by the AU and/or RECs that held more than one year[69]	Somalia (federalization process/inter-militia rivalry)) 6 December 2017: Power sharing agreement signed between the Galmudug state and the Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama'a (ASWJ), mediated by IGAD.[70]

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66   Nouveau chronogramme dans la mise en œuvre de l'accord – Les Mouvements signataires participeront à la sécurisation des opérations électorales, 29 March, 2018. This was done under the auspices of the Monitoring Committee of the Peace Agreement (Comité de suivi de l'accord/CSA), which is made up of the AU, ECOWAS, EU, UN, the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as well as Algeria, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Chad and Niger.
67   It was deemed that the AU and ECOWAS mediated partially – as there were mediation efforts by the AU and ECOWAS EOMs (and the ECOWAS Commission President) ahead of this agreement to diffuse tensions as a result of uncertainty (on the date of run-off elections) created by an Interim Injunction from the High Court that suspended the activities of the NEC. See ECOWAS 'Sierra Leone 2018 – Run-Off Presidential Election Preliminary Declaration', 3 April 2018.
68   Crisis Group, Salvaging South Sudan's Fragile Peace Deal, Report No. 270, 13 March 2019. IGAD, with the support of AU mediated this agreement.
69   These peace agreements signed between July and December 2017 are included in the tally for 2018 because as at July 2018, when the study covering 2017 was concluded, it was too early to assess whether or not they held for more than a year as the one-year mark since they were signed had not passed yet.
70   African Union, AU Special Representative for Somalia applauds power-sharing agreement between Galmudug state and Ahlu Sunna Wal Jama'a, 8 December 2017.

2.4 Non-intervention by the AU and/or RECs in Violent Conflicts

As indicated in section 1, the focus of this study is on violent conflicts that qualify for AU and/or REC intervention because they have intensity levels 3, 4 and 5. As with previous years, the AU and/or RECs do not intervene explicitly or visibly in all conflicts in Africa, including those that warrant intervention on account of their intensity level.

In 2018, out of 53 conflicts with intensity levels 3-5 and thus were **eligible for intervention**, the AU and/or RECs **did not address 24**. However, interventions may and do occur in conflicts that are not violent. At times, and on an exceptional basis, the study assesses these interventions when they have been on-going in past years and it is deemed that an assessment should be conducted. In 2018, this was the case in the conflict between Morocco and Western Sahara and the opposition conflict in Kenya. Therefore, while this section provides an overview of the 24 violent conflicts the AU and RECs failed to address in 2018, it is important to note that in these two cases where they addressed conflicts that were not violent, an assessment on quality and effectiveness of the interventions was conducted. This is not the first-time interventions in non-violent conflicts were assessed in this study as earlier editions also did so in situations where it was deemed appropriate to cover ongoing interventions in level 2 conflicts.

The breakdown of conflicts addressed by the AU and/or RECs in 2018 include 29 conflict clusters of intensity 3-5, and two conflict clusters with intensity level 2. In comparative terms, the data for 2018 indicates a marginal increase in the number and proportion of conflicts addressed by the AU and/or RECs, and a drop in those not addressed. In 2018, the AU and/or RECs did not address 45% of conflicts eligible for intervention, versus 48% and 57% in 2017 and 2016, respectively. As such, the 2018 data continues the trend of year-on-year decrease in the number of conflicts eligible for intervention (on account of being violent) that were however not addressed by the AU and/or RECs. This represents a positive development as the AU and/or RECs appear to be addressing more conflicts; it is the second successive year in which the number of conflicts addressed by AU and/or RECs is more than those not addressed in a calendar year.[71]

When disaggregated further, 20 (83.3%) of the violent conflicts that were not addressed by interventions were violent crises (intensity level 3), while one was a limited war (intensity level 4 in Libya's inter-tribal tension), and three were wars (intensity level 5 in Ethiopia's inter-communal conflicts, Nigeria's interlinked Christian/Muslim, farmer/pastoralist, and northerner/southerner conflict, and the conflict in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula with extremist groups).

When analyzed by archetypes, the eligible but unaddressed conflicts contain three typologies of violent conflicts, namely those involving opposition groups, armed groups including militants, and inter-communal/tribal/group conflicts. There were nine cases of opposition conflicts unaddressed by AU and/or RECs in 2018 in Algeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad, Morocco, Niger, South Africa, Tanzania, Tunisia and Uganda. The seven cases of conflicts involving armed groups include those in Angola, Egypt/Sinai Peninsula, Chad, Nigeria (Ijaw), Senegal, and two in Mozambique (RENAMO and ASWJ). Eight cases involve inter-group/communal conflicts and these conflicts are Egypt (Muslims-Christians), Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Mauritania (anti-slavery), South Africa (xenophobic violence) and two cases in Nigeria (inter-group and pro-Biafra conflicts).

The Constitutive Act of the African Union, specifically Article 4, provides the normative basis for intervention by APSA actors. According to Article 4(g), the "non-interference by any Member State in the internal affairs of another", and Article 4(h), which explicitly permits an intervention through "the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in

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71   In 2017, there was a tweak in the methodology in relation to the clustering of conflict units in Ethiopia and Nigeria as changes in dynamics and actors in the different conflicts in these countries made a clustering exercise necessary. This reduced the number of conflicts not addressed by the AU and/or RECs. For more on what the clustering exercise according to the methodology used in this study involves, refer to 'Methodology' above.

respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity."[72] In most cases, the choice between intervention and non-intervention is complex. In addition, some interventions might take place behind the scenes, and some conflicts simply fall outside the jurisdiction of the AU and/or RECs.

The rest of this section provides logical insights and possible explanations into non-intervention in eligible violent conflicts in 2018. For the purpose of analysis, we have distinguished a subset of reasons that could be at play, which in most cases overlap. These factors at play could be:

I.   Respect for principles of sovereignty and non-interference;
II.   Non-escalating political conflicts;
III. Future/new generation conflicts;
IV.   Geopolitical power;
V.   The conflict falling outside the jurisdiction of the AU; and
VI.   Threats to peace and security addressed through regional frameworks.

This report discusses the first four in the context of eligible but unaddressed conflicts by APSA actors in 2018. It must be noted that the categories discussed are not exclusively attributable to one conflict. Rather, in most cases a variety of reasons will be at the core of a decision not to intervene in a conflict and as a result, some countries and conflict will be cited as examples under more than one subset of reasons.

I.   Respect for principles of sovereignty and non-interference

Many conflicts that were not addressed by the AU and/or RECs in 2018 were those considered internal to member states and covered by principles of sovereignty and non-interference as enshrined in the statutes of the AU and/or RECs. While the AU has a strong mandate to intervene in matters of serious human rights violations or where there is risk of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity (Art. 4(h) as per the AU Constitutive Act), the principles of sovereignty, non-interference and territorial integrity are equally important.

A clear majority of conflicts not addressed by APSA actors involved relatively small, localized conflicts that could be considered a matter of national, rather than international concern, especially when the potential for their escalation or spill-over is low. Some of the unaddressed conflicts in 2018 that fall under this category include separatist conflicts in Angola, Nigeria, and Senegal; inter-communal/tribal conflicts in Kenya, Libya and Nigeria; conflicts between anti-slavery activists and government authorities in Mauritania; and opposition conflict in Tunisia, Uganda, Tanzania and Chad. We analyze three cases as follows.

As was the case also in 2017, the conflict between the Cabinda Independence Movement (MIC), the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) and the government of Angola over issues of secession and resources was not addressed by APSA actors in 2018. The most likely explanation for the non-intervention of the AU and/or RECs include limited potential for the conflict to escalate or spill-over across borders and regions. Moreover, Angola's election in January 2018 for a two-year term as a member of the AU PSC, therefore giving it leverage for non-intervention (influence on the PSC agenda including blocking discussion, for instance), could also be a factor for non-interference.

There is no evidence to suggest Kenya's spate of inter-communal violence was addressed by APSA actors, including IGAD, EAC or the AU in 2018. Despite Kenya's recent political history that includes post-election violence and the reporting of inter-communal conflict at a violent crisis level, the pressure to address the inter-communal violence by AU and/or RECs remains minimal. The non-intervention may potentially be due to the AU's age-long adherence to the principle of national sovereignty and non-interference, which allows and classifies certain

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72   Constitutive Act of the African Union.

political developments, including conflicts, as internal political-security issues, therefore entrusted to national governments to resolve without recourse to international attention. Furthermore, the existence of more pressing and strategic conflicts that have regional implications in the Horn of Africa, such as the threat of terrorism from Somalia and the protracted conflicts in Sudan and South Sudan, often overshadow and reduce the appetite of AU and/or RECs to intervene in inter-communal conflicts in Kenya.

In Mauritania, the conflict between anti-slavery activists, particularly between the Initiative for the Resurgence of the Abolitionist Movement (IRA) and the government, remained a violent crisis and was not addressed by APSA actors in 2018. The possible explanation for non-intervention lies in respect to the principle of sovereignty and non-interference in matters considered as internal political issues of a member state. Admittedly, Mauritania officially abolished slavery in 1981 and recently strengthened anti-slavery laws in 2015, although the phenomenon of modern slavery remains a challenge in the country. The 2018 Global Slavery Index shows that an estimated number of 90,000 men, women and children are living in modern slavery in Mauritania,[73] and the country remained in the top 10 countries in 2018 with the highest prevalence of modern slavery.[74] The tension between the IRA and the government remained high in 2018, including the arrest of a prominent IRA leader in August 2018.[75] It is therefore possible that the AU, similarly to the aforementioned conflicts, considered this conflict a national matter by assuming that the incumbent government would handle any escalation of violence.

II.   Non-escalating political conflicts

Another group of conflicts that were not addressed by APSA actors concerned political conflicts or crises between government and opposition parties with little potential for escalation. To a large extent, political conflicts between national governments and opposition groups are classified as internal affairs and unless such conflicts escalate rapidly and violently, APSA actors are less likely to intervene. An exception is the sending of election observation missions by the AU and RECs when elections are scheduled, which has become a routine mode of engagement. In 2018, the list of eligible but unaddressed opposition conflicts with low escalation potentials include those in Cote d'Ivoire, Morocco, Chad, Niger, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Tunisia. We analyze three case studies as follows.

In Côte d'Ivoire, the conflict between the opposition group Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) and the government remained a violent crisis and was unaddressed by the AU and ECOWAS in 2018. The non-intervention persisted notwithstanding rising tensions in 2018, including reported violence during local elections in October, tensions within the ruling coalition, and tensions between President Ouattara's Rally of Republicans (RDR) and former President Henri Konan Bédié's Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI) over the merger of all six coalition members into one party ahead of the 2020 presidential election.[76] An additional explanation for non-intervention by ECOWAS might be that the July 2018 inauguration of Jean Claude Brou (former Minister of Industry and Mines) as the President of the ECOWAS Commission possibly gave Cote d'Ivoire some diplomatic and political leverage to block intervention by ECOWAS.[77]

73   Global Slavery Index, Mauritania, 2018.
74   Ibid.
75   The Guardian, Mauritanian presidential hopeful arrested amid fears of political foul play, August 2018.
76   Crisis Watch Database, Côte D'Ivoire, 2018.
77   ECOWAS, Jean-Claude Kassi Brou to officially be sworn-in as ECOWAS Commission president on 31 July 2018, 27 July 2018.

In Tanzania, there was no APSA intervention with respect to the conflict between the two main opposition parties, Civic United Front (CUF) and the Party for Democracy and Progress (Chadema) on the one hand, and the ruling Party of the Revolution (CCM) on the other. This conflict continued at the level of a violent crisis and tensions intensified in the capital Dar es Salaam within the first quarter of 2018. However, it is likely that there were no interventions by the AU, COMESA and notably, SADC, because the conflict does not constitute a major threat to national and regional security and it is perhaps seen as a national political issue that can be solved internally.

In Mozambique, two conflicts were not addressed by APSA actors in 2018 possibly because the conflicts did not escalate or trigger major deterioration in the security situation in the country and region. This includes the conflict between RENAMO and the government and the conflict between the state and the Islamic militia group Ahlu Sunna Wal Jammaa (ASWJ) over the orientation of the political system. Although the AU under the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) commissioned a report in 2018 to help identify governance-related issues,[78] in technical terms, the APRM does not form part of the APSA, thus it is not considered an APSA intervention. Despite South Africa as an individual state raising concerns over the possibility of extremist activity in Mozambique's far north,[79] such concerns were not escalated at the regional level. Moreover, the unclear position by SADC on the RENAMO conflict and the decision to resort to silent diplomacy may be due to the perception that the conflict is of a domestic nature and does not warrant regional intervention. Regarding ASJW, observers have noted that "the militants are still militarily weak, and the violence could still be contained."[80] The belief that the government has the capacity to deter ASWJ and prevent further escalation may be a reason for non-intervention.

III. Future/new generation conflicts

The inability of APSA actors to address some eligible conflicts in Africa could also be explained by the peculiarities of those conflicts, beyond the above highlighted reasons. Africa appears to be witnessing the gestation of a new kind of conflict called 'Future' or 'New Generation' conflicts that are defined by their unorthodox nature and features such as their straddling of generational divides and tensions, heavy use of technology including the sophisticated use of ICT resources, and the massive involvement of diaspora communities. In most cases, the new generation conflicts are about new visions of society and state, conflicts over democratic ideas and ideals, and contestations over leadership dynamics. They stand out for their fungibility, the capacity to swing from one issue to another to form a cascade of grievances and coherent narratives that connects different elements within a society and between the past, present and future. Moreover, they tend to lack clearly defined political leads (that could be a basis for engagement by APSA); they are often spontaneous and based on a loose coalition but united by strategic goals linked to a new vision for society, social justice issues or agendas, or demand for a leadership change. This type of conflict also overlaps and often gets embedded with other types or causes of conflict.

The unorthodox nature of new generation conflicts often challenges national governments and the AU and/or RECs in ways the 'Arab Spring' moment did. They do not conform to conventional types of conflicts in which APSA instruments (especially mediation and diplomacy) could be deployed. Thus, there are genuine gaps in ways and approaches that APSA could use to respond or address new generation conflicts. In most cases, new generation conflicts appear as opposition conflicts, however they also transcend them; the groups involved do not conform to normal organizational structures and decision-making processes associated with orthodox civil society groups or political parties. New generation conflicts are powered by mass movements that exist outside of political party configurations, they often lack a central figure or lead (in the same frame as a normal opposition group), and they tend to seek radical changes to political-economic structures. Practical examples of new generation conflicts include the xenophobic violence and student protests in South Africa; youth-led protests in Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Uganda and Zimbabwe; pro-Biafran conflicts in Nigeria; etc. We illustrate three cases below.

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78   Institute for Security Studies, The AU urges Mozambique to get its act together, March 20 2019.
79   Daily Maverick, Mozambique's apparent Islamist insurgency poses multiple threats, 20 November 2018.
80   S. Haysom, 'Where crime compounds conflict: Understanding northern Mozambique's vulnerabilities', Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, October 2018, p. 22.

In Tunisia, the conflict between the incumbent government and opposition groups, particularly the Popular Front, was reported as a violent crisis and was not addressed by APSA actors in 2018. The existence of citizens' dissent, marked by socio-economic unrest across the country triggered by austerity measures, high rates of unemployment and human rights violations, justify the categorization as a future or new generation conflict, and thus has yet to trigger widespread violence significant enough to justify APSA intervention. Although it can be said to be an internal conflict, occurring largely within Tunisia with little room for intervention in line with APSA principles of sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other member states. Still, the practical question would be, at what point, how and what instruments could APSA address this conflict?

In the case of Uganda, the violent crisis between the government and the opposition, specifically the Bobi Wine-led People Power Movement, was not addressed by APSA actors in 2018. The existence of the People Power Movement and its huge followership among youth suggests it is different from normal opposition conflicts, thus requiring new strategies and instruments by APSA to address it when or even before it escalates. While the intensity level of the conflict is low, it has potential to escalate and overlap with other political conflicts such as the violent crisis over national power between various opposition parties, and the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM) especially ahead of the 2021 elections. APSA actors consider this an internal issue for Uganda to resolve, owing to the fact that it has little to no regional dimension or effect, and that President Museveni of Uganda was the chair of the EAC in 2018, giving it leverage to prevent intervention.

In South Africa, there was no APSA engagement on xenophobic conflicts/violence in 2018. The reality of xenophobic violence affecting nationals of other African states raises concerns on the broader impacts of the conflict as it seems to no longer be an internal issue for South Africa. Arguments and requests are emerging for a more regionally embedded approach to tackle the underlying causes of this type of violence, along the lines of the interventions AU and SADC deployed in the April 2015 episode of xenophobic violence in South Africa.[81] Although the AUC Chairperson in his New Year's message in 2018 stated that the AU would remain resolute in the fight against xenophobia and racism, the AU did not specifically release any statement throughout the year targeted at the South African xenophobic attacks and killings.[82] The follow-up concern is how and through what instrument(s) is APSA able to address this conflict beyond engaging with the government of South Africa?

IV.   Geopolitical power and reasons for non-intervention

Research suggests that the political economy of decision-making within APSA elements, specifically the AU and/or RECs, plays a role in APSA's response to conflicts, especially when the conflicts are in states seen as 'regional leaders' that could influence decision-making by APSA actors. The subtle, yet substantial considerations that shape decision-making processes at the AU and/or RECs include the country and its incumbent's diplomatic clout and pedigree, proximity to decision-making ensembles (secretariat or commission offices), strategic presence of nationals as professional staff (especially at senior management levels) at AU and/or RECs offices, the relative standing and financial contributions of a country to AU and/or RECs, and the peculiarities of conflicts. Historically, some states have been considered regional hegemons, namely Nigeria (under President Olusegun Obasanjo), South Africa (under President Thabo Mbeki), Ethiopia (under Prime Minister Meles Zenawi) and Libya (under former President Muammar Gaddafi), on account of the individual and collective influence they held on policies and political decisions by the AU and RECs.

In the peace and security field, these so-called hegemons are crucial in agenda-setting, including actions to promote or block the consideration of certain issues, conflicts or countries

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81   Institute for Security Studies, Xenophobia again jeopardises South Africa's interests in Africa, 2 March 2017.
82   AU, New Year's Message of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Moussa Faki Mahamat, 31 December 2018.

by the AU PSC. In this regard, South Africa, Nigeria, Chad, Ethiopia, Egypt and Algeria all deserve mentioning as they are some of the biggest funders of the AU (South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt and Algeria), and naturally wield some influence over policy direction and choices. According to ECDPM, these countries' roles have involved "providing or mobilising finance, troops and logistical support, breaking deadlocks, ensuring diplomatic cover and political steer, as well as deliberating and imposing sanctions".[83] The strong involvement of these countries in continental issues enables them to insulate their domestic political issues and conflicts from regional and continental intervention. We analyze three cases of how and where geopolitical factors linked to the regional and continental clout of a conflict-affected state was a possible reason for non-intervention by APSA actors.

The opposition conflict in Algeria was not addressed by APSA in 2018. While it is likely that the AU regarded the conflict as a national (internal) issue, it is also important to reflect on Algeria's geopolitical profile, especially as a prominent member and a core financial contributor to the AU. Algeria has historically supported efforts to strengthen AU institutions, such as playing an important role in designing APSA, and only Algerians have served as the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security at the AU Commission since its creation in 2002.[84] Furthermore, Algeria is also a counter-terrorism coordinator for the AU and it hosts important AU agencies such as the African Centre for Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) and the African Police Organization (Afripol). Algeria is also very active in peace processes in the Sahel, especially in Mali where it initiated the 2015 Algiers Process and Nouakchott Process, and is the anchor for the current peace process. Against this background, it is hardly a surprise that Algeria's ongoing political crisis was not part of the consultations with various stakeholders during a working visit by AUC Chairperson Moussa Faki in March 2018.[85] These attest to Algeria's influence on the AU, especially on peace and security issues.

The AU and/or RECs non-intervention in Ethiopia's inter-communal/group conflicts, despite being at level 5 intensity (war) in 2018, is also another signpost of underlying geopolitical influence. Conflicts in Ethiopia over subnational predominance and resources between various ethnic groups such as the Oromo, Amhara, Somali, Gedeo, Guraghe, Gamo, Tigray and Kimants, as well as between their sub-groups, remained at a level 5 intensity in 2018. According to UNHCR, Oromia experienced several waves of inter-communal violence that led to the displacement of approximately 1.2 million people by September 2018.[86] Ethiopia also recorded the highest number of IDPs worldwide in 2018.[87]

Notwithstanding the existence of conflicts, it must be said that the ascension of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed impacted on the political-security dynamics of Ethiopia. The Ahmed government initiated, among other reforms, a peace process and signed peace agreements with the country's militant groups such as the OLF and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF).[88] The OLF and the government signed a peace agreement in August 2018, terminating hostilities and allowing the OLF to return to Ethiopia and to conduct their political activities in Ethiopia through peaceful means. Moreover, the parliament passed a resolution that removed the ONLF, among other rebel groups from the national list of terrorist organizations.

83   J. Vanheukelom, The political economy of regional integration in Africa - The African Union, Maastricht: ECDPM, 2016.
84   Ibid.
85   'Communique on the working visit of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission to Algeria, 10-12 March 2018' 12 March 2018.
86   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer, 2018.
87   Ibid.
88   Ibid.

Beyond Ethiopia's geopolitical strength however, the reform-oriented, pro-peace manifestation of the Ahmed government with domestic and regional actors, including a new peace agreement with Eritrea, could be considerations for non-intervention by the AU or IGAD. Still, observers point to Ethiopia's regional hegemon status, its hosting of AU institutions and its diverse contributions to the AU and region as 'soft power' elements and influence on APSA processes.[89] Ethiopia is home to the AU headquarters, and the country is "a security anchor for the Horn of Africa…a broker on conflicts on the continent and one of the largest refugee-hosting countries in the region."[90] The country is a strong power in an unstable part of Africa and thus an important ally in counter-terrorism and anti-illegal migration efforts. It is also one of the largest contributors to UN and AU peacekeeping missions in the world.[91] This image, plus recent pro-peace initiatives in the region are capable of conveying the impression that Ethiopia is more than capable of handling internal conflicts, without interventions from IGAD or the AU.[92]

Nigeria's numerous protracted internal conflicts and non-intervention by AU and/or RECs in 2018 are hardly new to observers and analysts. Different conflicts in Nigeria have different levels of intensity with the farmer-pastoralist conflict at level 5 intensity, while those involving groups such as Ijaw (Niger Delta) and pro-Biafra (Igbos in the East) are at intensity level 3. The farmer-pastoralist conflict reached precarious levels in 2018, with the Heidelberg Conflict Barometer indicating that the conflict accounted for 1,123 conflict-related deaths which is twice as much as in 2017.[93] But for peculiar reasons, APSA actors did not intervene in this, as well as other intra-Nigerian conflicts in 2018. Nigeria's hegemon status in West Africa and at the continental level is hardly questionable.[94] It has the strongest economy, a 'strong' military, it is the most populous, and plays a leading role on development-security issues, including peace operations and stabilization missions in Africa. Nigeria's profile as a dominant geopolitical actor, a force of stabilization for countries in need of peace operations buys it a latitude of framing and presents its domestic conflicts as internal security challenges that it can handle on its own.

89   Horn Affairs, Africa's next hegemon: behind Ethiopia's power plays, 13 April 2015; TRT World, Civil strife in Ethiopia has the potential to destabilise the whole region, 9 March 2018.
90   The East African, Ethiopia is on the brink, we should all be concerned, 28 March 2018.
91   Institute for Security Studies, Why the AU needs a stable Ethiopia, 16 March 2018.
92   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer, 2018.
93   Ibid.
94   Olusola Ogunnubi & Ufo Okeke-Uzodike, Can Nigeria be Africa's hegemon?, African Security Review, 24 March 2016.

Figure 9 Quality of Interventions (2013-2018)

Legend: Mostly low quality · Medium quality · Overall high quality
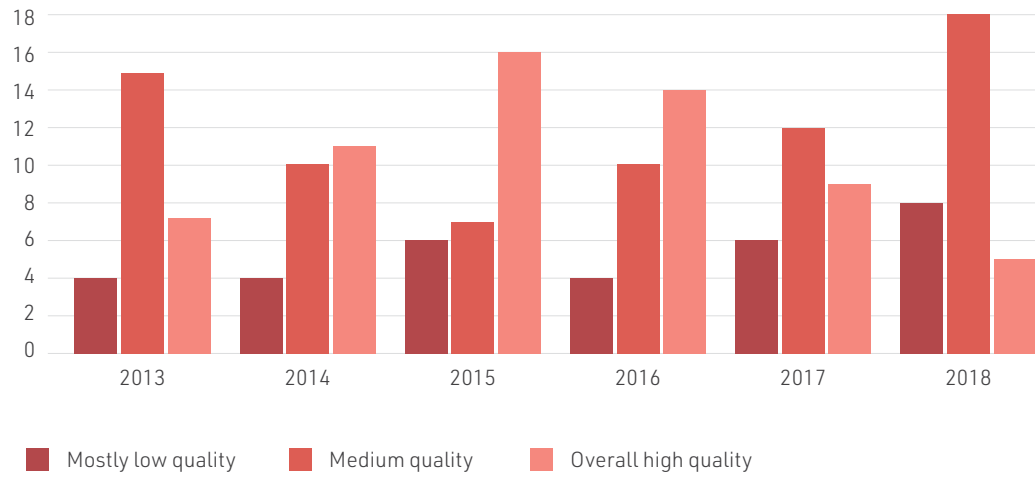
Figure 10 Effectiveness of Interventions (2013-2018)

Legend: Rather unsuccessful · Partly successful · Overall successful · Too early to tell
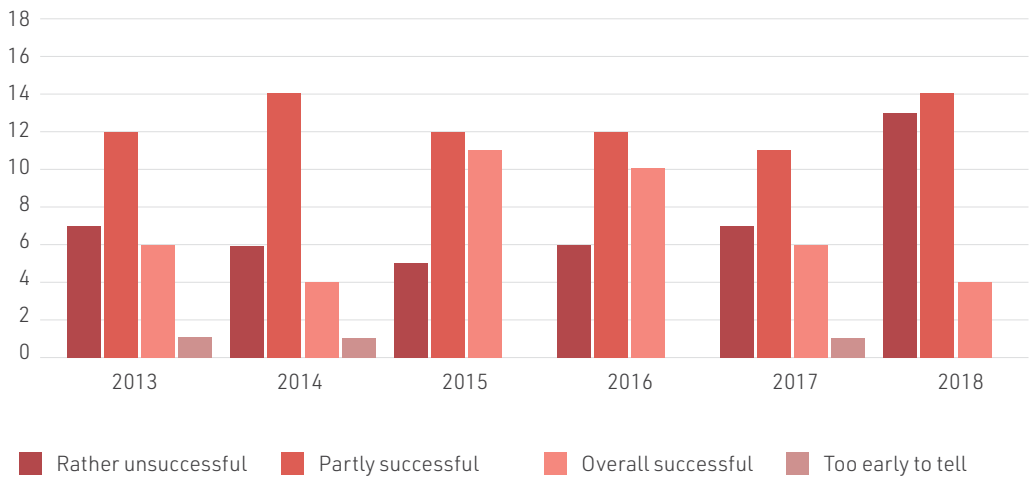
SECTION 3

Conclusion and Recommendations

3.1 Development of AU and/or REC Interventions (2013-2018)

Building from the data and material assembled above, several preliminary observations can be presented. While the data and analyses presented above explore relatively short-term comparisons of trends, typically covering 2018, 2017 and 2016, this section presents a more comprehensive five-year, medium-term assessment to see how the 2018 trends fare in relation to previous years.

I.   Decline in the quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions in 2018

The overall results indicate a decline in the effectiveness and quality of interventions by AU and/or RECS in 2018. The results on overall effectiveness and quality of interventions both show a decline in 2018 as compared to 2017. The data and analysis for 2018 indicate that 58% of all interventions were found to be 'overall successful' or 'partly successful', as compared to the 63% and 78% recorded in 2017 and 2016, respectively. On quality, the proportion of interventions that were 'overall high' or 'medium quality' was 74%, compared with the 78% recorded in 2017, and 86% in 2016. This decline in quality and effectiveness from 2017 to 2018 is at a smaller scale than the bigger decline witnessed between 2016 and 2017. While the gradual reduction in the rate of decline could be seen as possibly signalling a prospect for the direction of change to be reversed in the coming years (to one of recovery instead of decline), the continuation of the declining trend even if at a lesser rate presents a worry. The reduction of effectiveness and quality observed in 2018 indicates the persistence of a pattern that has already been observed in previous years, where the effectiveness and quality of interventions tends to intermittently increase for one year after having declined continuously in the previous three years.

II.   Trend of continuous decline in the quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions since 2015/2016

When the overall pattern is disaggregated, it can be observed from Figures 9 and 10 below that 'overall high quality' interventions have been declining since 2016, reversing the direction observed since 2013. This reduction in 'overall high quality' interventions is mirrored by an opposite trend in the number of 'medium quality' interventions, declining between 2013 and 2015 and increasing between 2016 and 2018. 'Mostly low quality' interventions show a mixed pattern of change, with a generally increasing direction, except for a dip in 2016 and remaining unchanged between 2013 and 2014. In terms of effectiveness, after a sharp rise in 2015, 'overall successful' interventions have returned to a declining trend that was seen in the years prior. 'Partly successful' interventions are rather mixed as they were unchanged in 2015 and 2016, declined in 2017 and returned to an increasing direction in 2018; and 'rather unsuccessful' interventions have been rising since 2015 with the rise in 2018 being the biggest. The charts below illustrate the results on overall effectiveness and quality from 2013-2018.

III. Increased intervention at the expense of quality and effectiveness?

The decline in the quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions are taking place in the context of slight reductions in the number of violent conflicts in Africa, increasing interventions by APSA actors, and a reducing number of peace agreements brokered by the AU and/or RECs that managed to hold for at least a year since 2016. This raises questions and concerns as to the opportunity cost of increased engagement by AU and/or RECs; are the quality and effectiveness of AU and/or REC interventions declining as a result of increased instances of intervention?

IV. The limits of assessing APSA's impact

In 2018, the study covers interventions that were carried out by the AU and/or RECs in 29 out of the 53 violent conflicts and in two non-violent conflicts (the opposition conflict in Kenya and Morocco's conflict with Western Sahara) that despite not being violent in 2018, were included in the analysis as it was deemed that continuing engagements by the AU should be assessed. The assessment of quality and effectiveness of interventions therefore only presents the findings on conflicts where the AU and/or RECs did intervene and does not account for the remaining 24 conflicts with a level of intensity of 3 or above, besides providing possible explanations for non-intervention in these cases (see Section 2.5 above). This report, therefore, does not measure the institutional and operational quality and effectiveness of AU and/or REC engagements in peace and security in Africa in general. This study is based on publicly available official documents of the AU and/or RECs (such as communiques, press statements, etc.). Behind-the-scenes engagements on violent conflicts through negotiations and meetings that are not made public, such as "silent diplomacy", could not be considered in this report.

V. Focus on conflict management vs prevention and instruments used affect quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions

In general, the trend seems to show that the AU and/or RECs focus more on conflict management (reactions) rather than conflict prevention. Only in a few individual cases did successful and high-quality interventions take place, mostly through a combination of several instruments like in Lesotho or South Sudan. This suggests that the combination of robust instruments influences the probability that interventions will be more successful and of higher quality.

VI. Strong evidence of correlation between quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions

The data and analyses of trends for 2018, and the last five years pinpoint strong evidence of correlation between the quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions. In over 90% of cases, high quality interventions have resulted in 'overall successful' outcomes, and there is no single case of high-quality interventions leading to 'rather unsuccessful' outcomes. Medium quality interventions have tended to produce 'partly successful' outcomes in at least 65%-70% of cases, while there has not been a single case of 'mostly low quality' interventions producing positive outcomes, with where overall results are concerned. In short, the higher the quality, the higher the chances for success.

3.2 Recommendations

- The instances of APSA intervention in violent conflicts are increasing. However, at least as far as the findings for 2018 are concerned, increased engagement seems to come at the expense of quality and effectiveness. This requires a more result-oriented approach in the use of APSA instruments to relate efforts and resources (inputs) to outputs and impacts recorded. This will assist in improving the quality and effectiveness as well as accountability and value for money of APSA instruments. Without excluding the capacity for adaptation and flexibility in the use of the instruments, the result-oriented approach could include developing and using clearly defined objectives, indicators, milestones and timelines to guide the use of instruments. Apart from helping the AU and/or RECS and other stakeholders to track progress (or otherwise), it would also assist in framing a theory of change that shows how each instrument and mission contributes to the realization of the APSA vision.

- The protracted nature of some conflicts and the emergence of new generation violent crises raise questions and challenges, as well as opportunities for rethinking and adapting APSA instruments and processes. An independent review is recommended to investigate how APSA could engage in the early stages of conflicts despite principles of sovereignty and non-interference, how to enhance the leverage of AU and/or RECs in interventions, how to vitiate the capacity of states to block or influence PSC agenda in ways that prevent issues affecting them from being addressed, etc.

- Recent breakthroughs in peace processes in The Gambia, Ethiopia, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Sudan and South Sudan underscore the importance of political will and investment by AU and/or RECs. It is recommended that APSA actors undertake a review (by an independent panel of experts) to identify common denominators, including contextual factors, decision-making processes, and the peculiar ways APSA instruments were deployed. This will provide further insights into how APSA could improve the quality and effectiveness of its interventions.

- Contestations over constitutional terms limits, and the whole spectrum of elections and election-related activities are increasingly the source of violent crises in Africa. This requires APSA to rethink and broaden the standard mandate of all election observation missions (EOMs) to include pre-election, election and post-election dynamics, as well as combine EOMs with mediation efforts where substantial conflicts subsist in a target country. In fact, APSA should consider migrating from EOMs to election observation and mediation missions (EOMMs). With the exception of ECOWAS, which, through EOMs and high-level diplomatic engagements, maintains a good record on democratic consolidation in its member states, EOMs deployed by other RECs and the AU have more to do to constructively engage member states particularly on contentious elections. The same holds true for constitutional changes that extend term limits, on which the AU needs to be bolder.

- There are gaps in approaches to conflict prevention by APSA. This is a need to integrate and leverage additional resources and initiatives on conflict prevention that currently remain outside of the mainstream APSA processes. This includes processes and outcomes of APRM, vulnerability and resilience initiatives by AU Commissions, RECs and civil society networks, and the activities of the African Court on Human and People's Court, Pan-African Parliament, RECs regional parliaments, etc. Admittedly, the AU reform process already highlighted plans to integrate the APRM into AU processes, the declining quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions makes it imperative to speed up the process of translating and mainstreaming APRM and other relevant conflict prevention initiatives into APSA.

- Part of the reasons for the decline in the quality and effectiveness of APSA interventions and the fact that a low proportion of peace agreements fail before the one-year mark is the predominance of a political settlement (elite bargain) approach. Notwithstanding some consultation with civil society groups, the core of most diplomatic and mediation efforts, as well as peace agreements remains top-down, focused on key political elites. APSA actors should consider more organic approaches to using diplomacy and mediation in its interventions, specifically to increase the level of inclusivity and put the voices and concerns of citizens at the core of interventions and peace agreements.

- Young people are playing increasing roles in conflicts and efforts to build peace in Africa, however they are yet to feature centrally in APSA processes. The AU-PSC will need to speed up on-going plans for a youth, peace and security initiative for Africa that contains strategies and plans for integrating youth into APSA processes, including their training and capacity building to be part of AU diplomacy, mediation and PSO efforts, participation in decision-making and consultation during APSA interventions, and the development of resources (tool kits, guidance notes, etc.) on how AU and/or RECs could engage youth and vice versa in conflict prevention in Africa.

- APSA actors and processes remain focused on preventing and managing violent crises and conflicts in Africa, however, there remains little or no attention by APSA on addressing the impacts of conflicts, especially as they affect human security, including displacements, humanitarian emergencies and disaster issues. It is recommended that the capacity building programmes, the reporting frameworks for APSA, and the methodology of this report, incorporates the human security consequences of conflicts and measures the performance of APSA in addressing the impacts of violent conflicts.

- The upsurge in Africa's geostrategic importance, as reflected in the increased number of foreign military bases and security operations in and around Africa, is a reality that is unlikely to leave anytime soon. The APSA (i.e. the PSC) has remained seized on this development, emphasizing the risks and challenges it poses to peace and security in Africa. Analysts and civil society groups have reinforced the implications of foreign military presence and activities in Africa. However, the opportunities that could be inherent in foreign security presence and activities in Africa has yet to be fully explored. The AU and RECs could seek multilateral engagement with home and host countries of foreign military bases and security activities in Africa to see how foreign military assets deployed to Africa could contribute to enhanced operational capacity and effectiveness of APSA interventions, especially peace support operations.

Indicative Table of Interventions with Levels of Engagement

Please note that this is not an exhaustive table of all interventions. It is an indicative table with typical interventions, and is used to as a calibration tool, to maintain consistency throughout the countries.

Diplomacy

Type of instrument	Level	Description of possible interventions at different levels
Diplomacy (diplomatic measures taken by PSC or the equivalent in a REC)	1	Cautionary wording in a PSC/AU/REC communiqué to parties in a conflict (e.g. 'grave concern', 'deeply concerned')
		Special/extraordinary AU/REC meeting on the conflict situation
		Appointing envoys / special representatives, appointing Joint Special Representatives and Head of Missions (e.g. UNAMID)
		'Routine' fact-finding visits/missions by envoys/special representatives; possibly also Panel of the Wise (e.g. trust missions to Tunisia in 2013)
		AU/REC express support to other actors' efforts ('other actors' refers both to other elements of APSA; e.g. the AU expressing support to IGAD; or ECOWAS expressing support to the AU, or other actors, such as the UN or EU)
		AU/REC asks for support by other actors (if it addresses other important key multilateral bodies, such as the UN or other elements of APSA; i.e. not AU/REC asking the international community in general for financial support, but includes AU/REC asking the UN or other donors for financial support to a specific interventions)
		Specific mention of the country in reports / communiqués of the Panel of the Wise
		Panel of the Wise is briefed on the situation in a country
		Calling for the establishment of an International Contact Group/Forum on the country (e.g. Burkina Faso)
		Publication of a draft or interim report (e.g. presentation of the interim Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan)
		Authorizing the deployment of an election observation mission or a pre-election assessment mission
		Urging parties to facilitate and support for smooth operation of humanitarian assistance
		Reaffirming commitment to AU Constitutive Act (including Article 4 (o)) and the relevant provisions of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union
		Decision to deploy military experts to verify/monitor processes of disarmament; or human rights observers
		Welcoming the extension of a UN mandate or the strengthening of a UN mandate (e.g. UNMISS in South Sudan)
		Calling for the resumption of the cooperation between a peacekeeping mission and the national military (e.g. between MONUSCO and FARDC in DRC)
		Agreeing to deploy an peace support operation if needed (e.g. South Sudan)

Type of instrument	Level	Description of possible interventions at different levels
Diplomacy (diplomatic measures taken by PSC or the equivalent in a REC)	2	Use of the words 'condemning' 'strongly condemning', or 'strongly reject' or 'extreme concern' by Peace and Security Council (PSC), the African Union Commission (AUC), the African Union Assembly of Heads of State and Government
		Extraordinary AU/REC meeting at heads of state level
		Establishment of a country-specific office / task-force / international contact group / commission on the country; also for region (e.g. MISAC for CAR and Central Africa);
		High-level fact-finding mission by the AUC Chairperson/ PSC / Peace and Security Commissioner / Panel of the Wise
		Deploying an election monitoring mission; Deciding not to deploy election observation mission because necessary conditions are not met.
		Deployment military experts to verify/monitor processes of disarmament
		Deployment of human rights observers
		Threatening with sanctions / setting ultimatum
		Urging the parties to return to negotiations/ political processes immediately/without delay/with specific timeline
		Supporting and calling for a non-AU military action
		Calling for and welcoming the UNSC to impose sanctions
		Calling for the establishment of an International Commission of Inquiry; or an AU/REC Commission of Inquiry (e.g. AU Commission of Inquiry for South Sudan) and taking necessary steps to prepare the establishment.
		Publication of a report by a Commission of Inquiry
		Calling for the 'withdrawal of the (unconstitutional) ruling party', urging for withdrawal of armed groups and all allied forces or troops; demanding armed belligerents to end all acts of violence
		Calling for an international observation and security force
		Asking for deferral of ICC prosecution or indictment
		Recalls principled position on the total rejection of unconstitutional change of government and the recourse to armed violence to advance political claims
		Reach an agreement from a government on allowing Peace Support Operations to operate on a country's territory (ex. LRA in DRC)
		Welcoming a UN SC resolution mandating a peace-keeping operation (e.g. Mali)
		Declaring an organization a terrorist group (e.g. LRA) or welcoming UN declaring a group a terrorist organization
		Formation and/or active participation of the AU/RECs in International Contact Group / Forum on the country
		Requests the strengthening of the mandate of a peace support operation (e.g. DRC, CAR; MINUSMA)
		Calling for the authorization of an international (e.g. UN) mission or for the authorization of an African led mission (e.g. MNJTF)
Diplomacy (diplomatic measures taken by PSC or the equivalent in a REC)	3	Suspension from decision-making bodies - re-admitting / lifting suspensions
		Issue sanctions - lifting suspension
		Implementation of UNSC resolutions with sanctions (asset freezing, travel/visa bans, etc.)
		Issuing an arms embargo
		Barring a politician from being eligible for elections
		Declaring null and void all measures of constitutional, institutional and legislative nature taken by the military authorities following a coup d'état
		Establishing a Commission of Inquiry (e.g. AU Commission of Inquiry for South Sudan)
		Extending the mandate of Commission of Inquiry (e.g. AU Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan)
		Establishment of peace agreement monitoring mission (e.g. MVM in South Sudan)
		Decides not to deploy a peace support operation (cf. Burundi and MAPROBU)

Mediation

Type of instrument	Level	Description of possible interventions at different levels
Mediation activities undertaken by the AU/REC/RMs.	1	AU/REC establishes a delegation to initiate dialogue or appoints a mediator Initial visit to the country / initial discussions held by AU/REC/RM Consultations held with relevant parties in preparation for mediation meetings Consultations by EOM with stakeholders (government, CSO, political parties) before elections Consultations held for the implementation and follow-up of a peace agreement (e.g. Mali Algiers Peace Agreement) AU/REC availing a budget for mediation activities
	2	Appointing a high-level mediator (e.g. former and/or current president) Numerous visits to a country for mediation purposes (including fact-finding missions, for mediation purposes) Consultations held with both parties with the aim of reaching an agreement Fully supporting the mediation efforts when not itself being the chief mediator Formation and/or active participation of the AU/RECs in an inter-institutional body to deal with mediation AU delegation/representative is mandated to take the lead role in a mediation team Agreeing on a road map to end a crisis (E.g. CAR), or a draft agreement for negotiations (e.g. Sudan) Organizing a workshop to help identify the practical steps to be taken by the AU in support of a peace agreement
	3	Mediation is led by the AU/RECs, or the AU/REC is playing the key role in the mediation efforts. AU/REC/RM representative in high-level mediation team Through AU/REC mediation, or with its active support, a key peace, power sharing or security agreement is reached Extending mediation activity (e.g. African Union High-Level Implementation Panel on Sudan (AUHIP))

Peace Support Operations

Type of instrument	Level	Description of possible interventions at different levels
Peace support operations (including ASF and its precursors)	1	Preparatory meetings for a peace support operation Needs assessment mission for stabilization purposes Convening of a resource mobilization meeting/conference for conflict transformation / stabilization AU/ RECs attending ceremonies marking the handover of troops to PSO Request the AU Commission to undertake contingency planning [...];
	2	Authorizes or mandates the deployment of a peace support operation Formalization of peace support operation with the transitional government Formalizing formal directives (strategic directives, rules of engagement, operational procedures, etc.) (e.g. LRA) Providing financial assistance by the AU/RECs to conflict transformation / stabilization
	3	Deployment of a peace support operation Extending mandate of a peace support operation

Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development

Type of instrument	Level	Description of possible interventions at different levels	69
Engagement of PRCD actors from AUC/RECs	1	Meeting on PCRD organized/attended by the AU/REC PCRD Assessment mission Capacity building workshops are organized and led by the AU/REC (e.g. counterterrorism workshops in Algeria, Central African Republic (CAR) and Tunisia)	
	2	Establishment of a multi-actor committee/office/institution on PCRD. Donor conference on PCRD organized by AU/REC	
	3	AU/REC PCRD programmes or Quick Impact Project implemented by AU/REC Commission implements recommendations from PCRD Needs Assessment Mission.	

Overview of All Conflict Clusters in Africa

#	Name of conflict cluster	Conflict units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity in conflict cluster	Addressed by AU/REC
1	Algeria (opposition)	CU 2: Algeria (opposition)	3	3	No
2	Algeria (Berbers / Kabylia)	CU 1: Algeria (Berbers / Kabylia)	2	2	No
3	Angola (FLEC et al./Cabinda)	CU 1: Angola (FLEC et al./ Cabinda)	3	3	No
4	Angola (opposition)	CU 2: Angola (Opposition)	2	2	No
5	AQIM/IS - Egypt (Militant groups / Sinai Peninsula)	CU 3: Egypt (Militant groups / Sinai Peninsula)	5	5	No
6	AQIM/IS (Algeria, Mali, Egypt, Tunisia et al.)	CU 1: Algeria, Mali, et al. (AQIM et al.) CU 2: Algeria, Egypt et al. (IS)	4 5	5	Yes
7	Burkina Faso (opposition)	CU 1: Burkina Faso (opposition)	2	2	No
8	Burundi – Rwanda	CU 2: Burundi – Rwanda	3	3	No
9	Burundi (opposition)	CU 1: Burundi (opposition) CU 3: Burundi, DR Congo (FNL)	3 3	3	Yes
10	Cameroon (English-speaking minority)	CU 1: Cameroon (English-speaking minority)	4	4	Yes
11	Central African Republic (anti-Balaka - ex-Séléka)	CU 1: Central African Republic (anti-Balaka - ex-Séléka)	5	5	Yes
12	Central African Republic, DR Congo, South Sudan, Uganda (LRA)	CU 1: Central African Republic, DR Congo, South Sudan, Uganda (LRA)	3	3	Yes
13	Chad (Militant groups)	CU 2: Chad (militant groups)	3	3	No

#	Name of conflict cluster	Conflict units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity in conflict cluster	Addressed by AU/REC
14	Chad (opposition)	CU1: Chad (opposition)	3	3	No
15	Côte d'Ivoire (militant groups/ opposition)	CU 1: Côte d'Ivoire (militant groups) CU 2: Côte d'Ivoire (opposition)	3 3	3	No
16	Djibouti – Eritrea	CU 1: Djibouti – Eritrea	2		No
17	Djibouti (FRUD/opposition)	CU 1: Djibouti (FRUD) CU 2: Djibouti (opposition)	2 2	2	No
18	DR Congo - Rwanda	CU 8: DR Congo – Rwanda	3	3	Yes
19	DR Congo (eastern Congo / militias violence)	CU 1: DR Congo, Uganda (ADF) CU 2: DR Congo (Bantu - Batwa) CU 3: DR Congo (ex - M23) CU 4: DR Congo (Ituri militias) CU 5: DR Congo (Kata Katanga) CU 6: DR Congo (Mayi-Mayi et al.) CU 9: DR Congo, Rwanda (FDLR, CNRD) CU 10: DR Congo (Kamuina Nsapu (KN)	4 3 1 4 1 4 3 3	4	Yes
20	DR Congo (opposition)	CU 7: DR Congo (opposition)	3	3	Yes
21	Egypt – Ethiopia, Sudan (GERD)	CU 1: Egypt – Ethiopia, Sudan (GERD)	2	2	No
22	Egypt – Sudan	CU 3: Egypt – Sudan	1	1	No
23	Egypt (Muslims - Christians)	CU1: Egypt (Muslims - Christians)	3	3	No
24	Egypt (Opposition)	CU 2: Egypt (opposition)	3	3	Yes
25	Eritrea (RSADO)	CU 1: Eritrea (RSADO)	1	1	No
26	eSwatini (Opposition)	CU 1: eSwatini (Opposition)	3	3	Yes
27	Ethiopia (ARDUF/TDPM)	CU 1: Ethiopia (ARDUF) CU 2: Ethiopia (TPDM)	2 1	2	No

#	Name of conflict cluster	Conflict units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity in conflict cluster	Addressed by AU/REC
28	Ethiopia (inter-communal rivalry/OLF/ONLF/opposition)	CU 2: Ethiopia (inter-communal rivalry) CU 3: Ethiopia (OLF / Oromiya) CU 4: (ONLF / Ogaden) CU 5: Ethiopia (opposition)	5 3 3 3	5	No
29	Gabon (opposition)	CU 1: Gabon (opposition)	2	2	No
30	Gambia (opposition)	CU 1: Gambia (opposition)	3	3	Yes
31	Guinea (opposition)	CU 1: Guinea (opposition)	3	3	Yes
32	Guinea Bissau (opposition)	CU 1: Guinea Bissau (opposition)	1	1	No
33	Kenya (inter-communal rivalry)	CU 1: Kenya (inter-communal rivalry	3	3	No
34	Kenya (MRC / Coast)	CU 2: Kenya (MRC / Coast)	1	1	No
35	Kenya (opposition)[95]	CU 3: Kenya (opposition)	2	2	Yes
36	Lesotho (military factions)	CU 1: Lesotho (military factions)	3	3	Yes
37	Libya (inter-tribal tensions)	CU 1: Libya (inter-tribal tensions)	4	4	No
38	Libya (opposition)	CU 2: Libya (opposition)	5	5	Yes
39	Mali (Azawad/Northern Mali)	CU 1: Mali (CMA et al/ Azawad) CU 2: Mali (inter-militant rivalry / Northern Mali)	1 3	3	Yes
40	Mali (inter-communal rivalry/ Central Mali)	CU4: Mali (inter-communal rivalry/ Central Mali)	4	4	Yes
41	Mali (opposition)	CU 3: Mali (opposition)	3	3	Yes
42	Mauritania (anti-slavery activists)	CU1: Mauritania (anti-slavery activists)	3	3	No
43	Morocco (opposition)	CU1: Morocco (opposition)	3	3	No

95   While the conflict between the Kenyan government and the opposition was rated by the HCB as a non-violent crisis in 2018, having de-escalated from a violent crisis in 2017, a decision was made to analyse the interventions nonetheless (as an exception to the rule in the methodology of the study which only looks at AU and/or REC interventions in violent conflicts) because there are continued interventions from the AU in the post-election political developments in Kenya.

#	Name of conflict cluster	Conflict units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity in conflict cluster	Addressed by AU/REC
44	Morocco (POLISARIO/ Western Sahara)[96]	CU 2: Morocco (POLISARIO / Western Sahara)	2	2	Yes
45	Mozambique (ASWJ)	CU 2: Mozambique (ASWJ)	3	3	No
46	Mozambique (RENAMO)	CU 1: Mozambique (RENAMO)	3	3	No
47	Niger (opposition)	CU 1: Niger (opposition)	3	3	No
48	Nigeria (Christians - Muslims / Farmers - Pastoralists/Islamic Movement/Northerners - Southerners)	CU 1: Nigeria (Christians - Muslims) CU 2: Nigeria (farmers - pastoralists) CU 4: Nigeria (Islamic Movement) CU 5: Nigeria (Northerners - Southerners)	3 5 3 3	5	No
49	Nigeria (Ijaw groups/Niger Delta)	CU 3: Nigeria (Ijaw groups/ Niger Delta)	3	3	No
50	Nigeria (Pro- Biafra Groups/ Biafra)	CU 6: Nigeria (Pro- Biafra Groups/Biafra)	3	3	No
51	Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger (Boko Haram)	CU 1: Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger (Boko Haram)	5	5	Yes
52	Republic of Congo (opposition)	CU 2: Republic of Congo (opposition)	1	1	No
53	Rwanda (opposition)	CU 1: Rwanda (opposition)	1	1	No
54	Senegal (MFDC/Casamance)	CU 1: Senegal (MFDC/ Casamance)	3	3	No
55	Sierra Leone (opposition)	CU 1: Sierra Leone (opposition)	3	3	Yes
56	Somalia - Kenya (Islamist actors, Al-Shabaab/ISS)	CU 3: Somalia (ISS) CU 7: Somalia, Kenya (Al-Shabaab)	3 5	5	Yes

96   While the conflict between Morocco and SADR was rated by the HCB as a non-violent crisis in 2018, having de-escalated from a violent crisis in 2017, a decision was made to analyse the interventions nonetheless (as an exception to the rule in the methodology of the study which only looks at AU and/or REC interventions in violent conflicts) as it was deemed that 2018, the year following Morocco's readmission into the AU, was too important a year in the relationship between the two parties not to assess AU's engagements. And despite the "non-violent" rating given to the conflict by HCB, the year saw a continuation of decades-long tensions between the parties.

#	Name of conflict cluster	Conflict units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity in conflict cluster	Addressed by AU/REC
57	Somalia (federalisation process/inter-militia rivalry)	CU 1: Somalia (ASWJ) CU 2: Somalia (Hiraale militia - Jubaland) CU 4: Somalia (Somaliland - Puntland) CU 5: Somalia (Somaliland) CU 6: Somalia (Subclan rivalry)	2 1 4 1 3	4	Yes
58	South Africa (opposition/ socioeconomic protests)	CU 1: South Africa (opposition) CU 3: South Africa (socioeconomic protests)	3 3	3	No
59	South Africa (xenophobes)	CU 2: South Africa (xenophobes)	3	3	No
60	South Sudan (civil war)	CU 1: South Sudan (inter-communal rivalry) CU 2: South Sudan (opposition) CU 3: South Sudan (SPLM/A-in-Opposition)	4 3 4	4	Yes
61	Sudan (Darfur/inter-communal Rivalry)	CU 1: Sudan (Darfur) CU 2: Sudan (inter-communal rivalry)	5 3	5	Yes
62	Sudan (opposition)	CU 3: Sudan (opposition)	3	3	Yes
63	Sudan (SPLM/A-North/South Kordofan, Blue Nile)	CU 4: Sudan (SPLM/A-North/ South Kordofan, Blue Nile)	3	3	Yes
64	Sudan, South Sudan (Abyei)	CU 5: Sudan - South Sudan CU 6: Sudan, South Sudan (Abyei)	2 3	3	Yes
65	Tanzania (Opposition)	CU 1: Tanzania (opposition)	3	3	No
66	Togo (opposition)	CU 1: Togo (opposition)	3	3	Yes
67	Tunisia (opposition)	CU 1: Tunisia (opposition)	3	3	No
68	Uganda (Bakonzo / Rwenzururu)	CU 1: Uganda (Bakonzo / Rwenzururu)	2	2	No

#	Name of conflict cluster	Conflict units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity in conflict cluster	Addressed by AU/REC
69	Uganda (inter-communal rivalry / Rwenzururu)	CU 2: Uganda (inter-communal rivalry / Rwenzururu)	1	1	No
70	Uganda (opposition)	CU4: Uganda (opposition)	3	3	No
71	Zimbabwe (opposition)	CU 1: Zimbabwe (opposition)	3	3	Yes

All Conflict Clusters ≥3 Addressed by AU and/or RECs

#	Name of conflict cluster	Conflict units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity in conflict cluster
1	AQIM/IS (Algeria, Mali, Egypt, Tunisia et al.)	CU 1: Algeria, Mali, et al. (AQIM et al.) CU 2: Algeria, Egypt et al. (IS)	4 5	5
2	Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger (Boko Haram)	CU 1: Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger (Boko Haram)	5	5
3	Burundi (opposition)	CU 1: Burundi (opposition) CU 3: Burundi, DR Congo (FNL)	3 3	3
4	Burundi – Rwanda	CU 2: Burundi – Rwanda	3	3
5	Cameroon (English-speaking minority)	CU 1: Cameroon (English-speaking minority)	4	4
6	Central African Republic (anti-Balaka - ex-Séléka)	CU 1: Central African Republic (anti-Balaka - ex-Séléka)	5	5
7	Central African Republic, DR Congo, South Sudan, Uganda (LRA)	CU 1: Central African Republic, DR Congo, South Sudan, Uganda (LRA)	3	3
8	DR Congo (eastern Congo / militias violence)	CU 1: DR Congo, Uganda (ADF) CU 2: DR Congo (Bantu - Batwa) CU 3: DR Congo (ex - M23) CU 4: DR Congo (Ituri militias) CU 5: DR Congo (Kata Katanga) CU 6: DR Congo (Mayi-Mayi et al.) CU 9: DR Congo, Rwanda (FDLR, CNRD) CU 10: DR Congo (Kamuina Nsapu (KN)	4 3 1 4 1 4 3 3	4
9	DR Congo (opposition)	CU 7: DR Congo (opposition)	3	3
10	DR Congo - Rwanda	CU 8: DR Congo - Rwanda	3	3
11	Egypt (Opposition)	CU 2: Egypt (opposition)	3	3
12	eSwatini (Opposition)	CU 1: eSwatini (Opposition)	3	3
13	Gambia (Opposition)	CU 1: Gambia (Opposition)	3	3
14	Guinea (Opposition)	CU 1: Guinea (Opposition)	3	3
15	Kenya (Opposition)[1]	CU 3: Kenya (Opposition)	2	2

1   While the conflict between the Kenyan government and the opposition was rated by the HCB as a non-violent crisis in 2018, having de-escalated from a violent crisis in 2017, a decision was made to analyse the interventions nonetheless (as an exception to the rule in the methodology of the study which only looks at AU and/or REC interventions in violent conflicts) because there are continued interventions from the AU in the post-election political developments in Kenya.

16	Lesotho (military factions)	CU 1: Lesotho (military factions)	3	3
17	Libya (opposition)	CU 2: Libya (opposition)	5	5
18	Mali (Azawad/Northern Mali)	CU 1: Mali (CMA et al/ Azawad) CU 2: Mali (inter-militant rivalry / Northern Mali)	1 3	3
19	Mali (opposition)	CU 3: Mali (opposition)	3	3
20	Mali (inter-communal rivalry/ Central Mali)	CU4: Mali (inter-communal rivalry/ Central Mali)	4	4
21	Morocco (POLISARIO/ Western Sahara)[2]	CU 2: Morocco (POLISARIO / Western Sahara)	2	2
22	Sierra Leone (opposition)	CU 1: Sierra Leone (opposition)	3	3
23	Somalia (federalization process/ inter-militia rivalry)	CU 1: Somalia (ASWJ) CU 2: Somalia (Hiraale militia - Jubaland) CU 4: Somalia (Somaliland - Puntland) CU 5: Somalia (Somaliland) CU 6: Somalia (Subclan rivalry)	2 1 4 1 3	4
24	Somalia - Kenya (Islamist actors, Al-Shabaab/ISS)	CU 7: Somalia, Kenya (Al-Shabaab) CU 3: Somalia (ISS)	5 3	4
25	South Sudan (civil war)	CU 1: South Sudan (inter-communal rivalry) CU 2: South Sudan (opposition) CU 3: South Sudan (SPLM/A-in-Opposition)	4 3 4	4
26	Sudan (Darfur/inter-communal Rivalry)	CU 1: Sudan (Darfur) CU 2: Sudan (inter-communal rivalry)	5 3	5
27	Sudan (opposition)	CU 3: Sudan (Opposition)	3	3
28	Sudan (SPLM/A-North/South Kordofan, Blue Nile)	CU 4: Sudan (SPLM/A-North/South Kordofan, Blue Nile)	3	3
29	Sudan, South Sudan (Abyei)	CU 5: Sudan - South Sudan CU 6: Sudan, South Sudan (Abyei)	2 3	3
30	Togo (Opposition)	CU 1: Togo (Opposition)	3	3
31	Zimbabwe (Opposition)	CU 1: Zimbabwe (Opposition)	3	3

2   While the conflict between Morocco and SADR was rated by the HCB as a non-violent crisis in 2018, having de-escalated from a violent crisis in 2017, a decision was made to analyse the interventions nonetheless (as an exception to the rule in the methodology of the study which only looks at AU and/or REC interventions in violent conflicts) as it was deemed that 2018, the year following Morocco's readmission into the AU, was too important a year in the relationship between the two parties not to assess AU's engagements. And despite the "non-violent" rating given to the conflict by HCB, the year saw a continuation of decades-long tensions between the parties.

Conflict Clusters > 3 Not Addressed by AU and/or RECs

#	Name of Conflict Cluster	Conflict Units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity conflict cluster	Addressed by AU/REC
1	Algeria (Opposition)	CU 2: Algeria (Opposition)	3	3	No
2	Angola (FLEC et al. /Cabinda)	CU 1: Angola (FLEC et al. / Cabinda)	3	3	No
3	Côte d'Ivoire (militant groups/ opposition)	CU 1: Côte d'Ivoire (militant groups) CU 2: Côte d'Ivoire (opposition)	3 3	3	No
4	AQIM/IS - Egypt (Militant groups / Sinai Peninsula)	CU 3: Egypt (Militant groups / Sinai Peninsula)	5	5	No
5	Chad (Opposition)	CU 1: Chad (Opposition)	3	3	No
6	Chad (Militant groups)	CU 2: Chad (militant groups)	3	3	No
7	Egypt (Muslims - Christians)	CU1: Egypt (Muslims - Christians)	3	3	No
8	Ethiopia (inter-communal rivalry/ OLF/ONLF/opposition)	CU 2: Ethiopia (inter-communal rivalry) CU 3: Ethiopia (OLF / Oromiya) CU 4: (ONLF / Ogaden) CU 5: Ethiopia (opposition)	5 3 3 3	5	No
9	Kenya (inter-communal rivalry)	CU 1: Kenya (inter-communal rivalry	3	3	No
10	Libya (inter-tribal tensions)	CU 1: Libya (inter-tribal tensions)	4	4	No
11	Mauritania (anti-slavery activists)	CU1: Mauritania (anti-slavery activists)	3	3	No
12	Morocco (opposition)	CU1: Morocco (opposition)	3	3	No

#	Name of Conflict Cluster	Conflict Units included	Level of intensity	Max level of intensity conflict cluster	Addressed by AU/REC
13	Mozambique (RENAMO)	CU 1: Mozambique (RENAMO)	3	3	No
14	Mozambique (ASWJ)	CU 2: Mozambique (ASWJ)	3	3	No
15	Niger (opposition)	CU 1: Niger (opposition)	3	3	No
16	Nigeria (Christians - Muslims / Farmers - Pastoralists/Islamic Movement/Northerners - Southerners)	CU 1: Nigeria (Christians - Muslims) CU 2: Nigeria (farmers - pastoralists) CU 4: Nigeria (Islamic Movement) CU 5: Nigeria (Northerners - Southerners)	3 5 3 3	5	No
17	Nigeria (Ijaw groups/Niger Delta)	CU 3: Nigeria (Ijaw groups/ Niger Delta)	3	3	No
18	Nigeria (Pro- Biafra Groups/Biafra)	CU 6: Nigeria (Pro- Biafra Groups/Biafra)	3	3	No
19	Senegal (MFDC/Casamance)	CU 1: Senegal (MFDC/ Casamance)	3	3	No
20	South Africa (opposition/ socioeconomic protests)	CU 1: South Africa (opposition) CU 3: South Africa (socioeconomic protests)	3 3	3	No
21	South Africa (xenophobes)	CU 2: South Africa (xenophobes)	3	3	No
22	Tanzania (Opposition)	CU 1: Tanzania (Opposition)	3	3	No
23	Tunisia (opposition)	CU 1: Tunisia (opposition)	3	3	
24	Uganda (Opposition)	CU4: Uganda (Opposition)	3	3	No

Master Table - Overview of Findings of Assessment on Quality and Effectiveness of AU and/or REC Interventions

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
	Name of country/ conflict	Name of conflict cluster	(e.g. AU: 1, IGAD:2)	(e.g. AU: 1, IGAD:2)	(e.g. AU: 1, IGAD:2)	(e.g. AU: 1, IGAD:2)	
1	AQIM/IS	AQIM/IS (Algeria, Mali, Egypt, Tunisia et al.)	AU: 2 G5 Sahel: 2 ECOWAS: 2 ECCAS: 2	N.a.	AU: 3 G5 Sahel: 2	N.a.	
2	Boko Haram	Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger (Boko Haram)	AU: 2 G5 Sahel: 2 ECOWAS: 2 ECCAS: 2 LCBC: 2	N.a	AU: 3	N.a	

	Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
	(Describe, if any)	Overall/Partly/Rather unsuccessful or 'too early to tell' (use latter very sparingly)	Overall high/ Medium/ Mostly low quality or 'too early to tell' (use latter very sparingly)	Description + Held > 1 year (if applicable)
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful G5 Sahel: Rather unsuccessful ECOWAS: Rather unsuccessful ECCAS: Rather unsuccessful PSO: AU: Rather unsuccessful G5 Sahel: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality G5 Sahel: Medium quality ECOWAS: Medium quality ECCAS: Medium quality PSO: AU: Medium quality G5 Sahel: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful G5 Sahel: Rather unsuccessful ECOWAS: Rather unsuccessful ECCAS: Rather unsuccessful LCBC: Rather unsuccessful PSO: LCBC/AU: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality G5 Sahel: Medium quality ECOWAS: Medium quality ECCAS: Medium quality LCBC: Medium quality PSO: LCBC/AU: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	None

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
3	Burundi	Burundi (opposition)	AU: 2 EAC: 1 ICGLR: 1 SADC: 1	EAC: 3	N.a.	N.a.	
4	Burundi	Burundi – Rwanda	AU: 1 ICGLR: 1 SADC: 1	N.a.	N.a.	N.a.	
5	Cameroon	Cameroon (English-speaking minority)	AU: 1	N.a	N.a	N.a	
6	Central African Republic	Central African Republic (anti-Balaka - ex-Séléka)	AU: 2 ECCAS: 2 ICGLR: 1	AU: 2	N.a	N.a	
7	LRA	Central African Republic, DR Congo, South Sudan, Uganda (LRA)	AU: 2 ICGLR: 2 SADC:2	N.a.	AU: 3	N.a.	

97   The five-day talks were not attended by the government of Burundi and the ruling CNDD-FDD party but, according the the EAC Facilitator, their views were taken in through the Kayanza Roadmap of
98   Defence Post, Central African Republic militias sign agreement brokered by Russia and Sudan, 29 August 2018.
99   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer, 2018.
100   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer, 2018.
101   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer, 2018.

Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful EAC: Rather unsuccessful ICGLR: Rather unsuccessful SADC: Rather unsuccessful Mediation: EAC: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality EAC: Medium quality ICGLR: Medium quality SADC: Medium quality Mediation: EAC: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	On 29 October 2018, during the fifth and final round of the EAC-led Inter-Burundian dialogue, which the government did not attend, produced a Roadmap for elections in 2020[97]
None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful ICGLR: Rather unsuccessful SADC: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Mostly low quality ICGLR: Mostly low quality SADC: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Mostly low quality	None
None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Mostly low quality	None
None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful ECCAS: Partly successful ICGLR: Partly successful Mediation: AU: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality ECCAS: Medium quality ICGLR: Medium quality Mediation: AU: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	- Ex-Seleka and anti-Balaka militia leaders create a common framework for dialogue and action to 'converge towards peace'[98] - 29 AuLocal peace agreement between the anti-Balaka group, led by Diandi and the FPRC.gust 2018[99] - 2 October 2018 - Anti-Balaka and the 3R militia signed a commitment to peace in Khartoum[100] - 3 October 2018 - Leaders of the local 3R and anti-Balaka group signed an agreement in Bouar, Nana-Mambéré, ensuring their commitment to peace and encouraging displaced persons to return. [101] - 6 October 2018
None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful ICGLR: Partly successful SADC: Partly successful PSO: AU: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality ICGLR: Medium quality SADC: Medium quality PSO: AU: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	None

2018. See: EAC, 5th and Final Round of Inter-Burundi Dialogue comes to a Close, 29 October 2018.

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
8	DR Congo	DR Congo (eastern Congo /militias violence)	AU: 2 SADC: 2 ICGLR: 2	N.a.	N.a.	N.a.	
9	DR Congo	DR Congo (opposition)	AU: 2 SADC: 2 ICGLR: 2	SADC: 1	N.a	N.a.	
10	DR Congo	DR Congo – Rwanda	AU: 2 SADC: 2 ICGLR: 2	N.a	N.a	N.a	
11	Egypt	Egypt (Opposition)	AU: 2 CENSAD: 2 COMESA: 2	N.a	N.a	N.a	
12	eSwatini	eSwatini (Opposition)	AU: 2 SADC: 2	N.a	N.a	N.a	

	Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful SADC: Rather unsuccessful ICGLR: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality SADC: Medium quality ICGLR: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful SADC: Rather unsuccessful ICGLR: Rather unsuccessful Mediation: SADC: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Mostly low quality SADC: Mostly low quality ICGLR: Mostly low quality Mediation: SADC: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Mostly low quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful SADC: Partly successful ICGLR: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality SADC: Medium quality ICGLR: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful CENSAD: Rather unsuccessful COMESA: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Mostly low quality CENSAD: Mostly low quality COMESA: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Mostly low quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful SADC: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy AU: Medium quality SADC: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	None

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
13	Gambia	Gambia (Opposition)	AU: 1 ECOWAS: 1	N.a	ECOWAS: 3	AU: 1	
14	Guinea	Guinea (Opposition)	ECOWAS: 2	N.a	N.a	N.a	
15	Kenya	Kenya (Opposition)	AU: 1	N.a.	N.a.	N.a.	
16	Lesotho	Lesotho (military factions)	AU: 2 SADC: 3	SADC: 3	SADC: 3	N.a.	

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102   President Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga held surprise talks - for the first time since the disputed 2017 elections and after months of escalating tensions. This was followed by reconciliation talks in the following months that reduced tensions. The parties pledged to work together to unify the country, including by creating joint office to tackle political divisions. Crisis Watch Database, Kenya 2018.
103   Standard Digital, Two people killed in renewed banditry attack in West Pokot, 12 October 2018.
104   SADC, Lesotho National Leader's Forum Convened: 23 – 24 August 2018, 31 August 2018.
105   The two day gathering of the National Leaders' Forum facilitated by SADC culminated in the signing of the Lesotho National Leaders Forum Declaration on Comprehensive Reforms (LNLFDCR) in the presence of representatives of the ruling coalition, opposition political parties, civil society, religious organisations, traditional leaders and leaders from other sections of the Lesotho society. All signatories pledged to fully and effectively implement the declaration and committed to convening the National Dialogue without undue delay.

	Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Overall successful ECOWAS: Overall successful PCRD: AU: Overall successful Overall judgment: Overall successful	Diplomacy AU: Overall high quality ECOWAS: Overall high quality PCRD: AU: Overall high quality Overall judgment: Overall high quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: ECOWAS: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: ECOWAS: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Mostly low quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	Surprise political negotiation and reconciliation talks held between President Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga for the first time since the disputed 2017 elections, during which they pledged to work together to unify the country, including by creating joint office to tackle political divisions.[102] – 9 March 2018 – Truce between Pokot and Marakwet.[103] – 8 October 2018
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful SADC: Partly successful Mediation: SADC: Partly successful PSO: SADC: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Overall high quality SADC: Overall high quality Mediation: SADC: Medium quality PSO: SADC: Overall high quality Overall judgment: Overall high quality	Signing of the Lesotho National Leaders Forum Declaration on Comprehensive Reforms (LNLFDCR).[104][105] – 24 August 2018

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
17	Libya	Libya (opposition)	AU: 3	AU: 2	N.a.	N.a.	
18	Mali	Mali (Azawad/Northern Mali)	AU: 2 ECOWAS: 2	AU: 3 ECOWAS: 3	N.a.	N.a.	
19	Mali	Mali (opposition)	AU: 2 ECOWAS: 2	N.a	N.a	N.a	
20	Mali	Mali (Inter-communal rivalry/Central Mali)	AU: 1 ECOWAS: 1	N.a	N.a	N.a	
21	Morocco	Morocco (POLISARIO/ Western Sahara)[110]	AU: 2	AU: 1	N.a.	N.a.	

106   Heidelberg Conflict Barometer 2018, IPSS, State of Peace and Security in Africa 2018, April 2018.
107   UN News, Ceasefire agreement reached in Libyan capital, announces UN mission, 04 September 2018.
108   Nouveau chronogramme dans la mise en œuvre de l'accord – Les Mouvements signataires participeront à la sécurisation des opéra-tions électorales, 29 March, 2018.
109   Security Council, Report on the Secretary-General on the situation in Mali, 28 December 2018.
110   While the conflict between Morocco and SADR was rated by the HCB as a non-violent crisis in 2018, having de-escalated from a vio-lent crisis in 2017, a decision was made to analyse the interventions nonetheless (as an exception to the rule in the methodology of the study which only looks at AU and/or REC interventions in violent conflicts) as it was deemed that 2018, the year following Morocco's readmission into the AU, was too important a year in the relationship between the two parties not to assess AU's engagements. And despite the "non-violent" rating given to the conflict by HCB, the year saw a continuation of decades-long tensions between the parties.

	Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful Mediation: AU: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality Mediation: AU: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	- Tebu and Awlad Suleiman negotiated a non-aggression pact, which was signed on 20 May in Niger under French auspices. [106] - 20 May 2018 - Rival groups in and around the capital signed a ceasefire agreement with UN envoy Salamé[107] - 4 September 2018
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful ECOWAS: Partly successful Mediation: AU: Partly successful ECOWAS: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality ECOWAS: Medium quality Mediation: AU: Medium quality ECOWAS: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	- Roadmap for the implementation of the Timeline of Priority Actions (Chronogramme d'actions prioritaires)[108] - 22 March 2018 (Yes it held; Yes - AU and ECOWAS mediated as part of the CSA) - Pact for Peace signed between the government of Mali and MINUSMA, armed groups signed on to the Pact through an annex signed on the same day and agreed to launch the (A-DDR-I) process of the Operational Coordination Mechanism elements in Gao, Kidal and Timbuktu[109] - 15 October 2018 (No AU/REC involvement, only UN)
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Overall successful ECOWAS: Overall successful Overall judgment: Overall successful	Diplomacy: AU: Overall high quality ECOWAS: Overall high quality Overall judgment: Overall high quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful ECOWAS: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Mostly low quality ECOWAS: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Mostly low quality	None
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful Mediation: AU: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Mostly low quality Mediation: AU: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Mostly low quality	None

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
22	Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone (Opposition)	AU: 2 ECOWAS: 2	AU: 3 ECOWAS: 3	N.a.	N.a.	
23	Somalia	Somalia (federalisation process/inter-militia rivalry)	AU: 1 IGAD: 1	AU: 1 IGAD: 3	N.a.	N.a.	
24	Somalia	Somalia - Kenya (Al-Shabaab)	AU: 2 IGAD: 2	N.a.	AU: 3	N.a.	

111   The Carter Center 'PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONSIN SIERRA LEONE: FINAL REPORT' 23 March, 2018.
112   The Carter Center 'PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONSIN SIERRA LEONE: FINAL REPORT' 23 March, 2018; See also 'EISA Election Observation Mission to the 2018 Elections in Sierra Leone Preliminary Statement' 9 March 2018.
113   ECOWAS 'President Koroma receives head of ECOWAS observation mission, promises successful transition' 28 February 2018.
114   ECOWAS 'Sierra Leone 2018 – Run-Off Presidential Election Preliminary Declaration' 3 April 2018.
115   Partially - as there were mediation efforts by the AU and ECOWAS EOMs (and the ECOWAS Commission President) ahead of this agreement to diffuse tensions as a result of uncertainty (on the date of the run-off elections) created by an Interim Injunction from the High Court that suspended the activities of the NEC. See ECOWAS 'Sierra Leone 2018 – Run-Off Presidential Election Preliminary Declaration' 3 April 2018.
116   "At the end of July, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development and UNSOM conducted a joint mediation mission to Somaliland and Puntland, resulting in a ceasefire agreement. However, neither of the two rivaling sub-states publicly supported the terms until the end of the year." Heidelberg Conflict Barometer, 2018.

	Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Overall successful ECOWAS: Overall successful Mediation: AU: Partly successful ECOWAS: Overall successful Overall judgment: Overall successful	Diplomacy: AU: Overall high quality ECOWAS: Overall high quality Mediation: AU: Medium quality ECOWAS: Overall high quality Overall judgment: Overall high quality	- 'Freetown Declaration' signed by 15 of the 16 candidates contesting the presidential election which included a pledge to conduct a peaceful campaign and accept the outcome of the elections.[111] This process was facilitated by the Political Parties Registration Commission (PPRC) of Sierra Leone[112] and the signing witnessed by international election observers, including ECOWAS' EOM.[113] - 28 February 2018 (No, AU, and ECOWAS did not mediate, but only witnessed the signing; Yes it held) - In a meeting between NEC and the two flag bearers (APC and SLPP) and their party leaders, witnessed by the Heads of International Observers Missions, an agreement was reached to conduct the runoff election on 31 March 2018.[114] - 27-28 March (AU and ECOWAS EOMs partially mediated;[115] Yes it held)
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful IGAD: Rather unsuccessful Mediation: AU: Rather unsuccessful IGAD: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality IGAD: Medium quality Mediation: AU: Medium quality IGAD: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	- Ceasefire agreement between Somaliland and Puntland.[116] - End of July 2018 (Yes, IGAD (with UNSOM) mediated; no the ceasefire didn't hold)
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful IGAD: Rather unsuccessful PSO: AU: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality IGAD: Mostly low quality PSO: AU: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	None

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
25	South Sudan	South Sudan (civil war)	AU: 3 IGAD: 2	AU: 3 IGAD: 3	N.a.	N.a.	
26	Sudan	Sudan (Darfur/inter-communal Rivalry)	AU: 2	AU: 3	AU: 3	N.a	

117   Crisis Group, Salvaging South Sudan's Fragile Peace Deal, Report No. 270, 13 March 2019.
118   S.Okiror, All you need to know about South Sudan's new power-sharing accord, The New Humanitarian, 14 August 2018.
119   Crisis Group, Salvaging South Sudan's Fragile Peace Deal, Report No. 270, 13 March 2019.
120   Sudan Tribune, Armed groups renew unilateral ceasefire in Darfur.
121   Sudan Tribune, Three armed groups extend unilateral ceasefire in Darfur.
122   Sudan Tribune, Sudan extends unilateral ceasefire until end of 2018.
123   Sudan Tribune, Three armed groups extend unilateral ceasefire in Darfur.
124   Sudan Tribune, Darfur armed groups extend unilateral ceasefire for three months.
125   'JEM, SLM-MM sign pre-negotiation agreement with Sudan government in Berlin today' Dabanga, 6 December 2018.

	Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Overall successful IGAD: Overall successful Mediation: AU: Overall successful IGAD: Overall successful Overall judgment: Overall successful	Diplomacy: AU: Overall high quality IGAD: Overall high quality Mediation: AU: Overall high quality IGAD: Overall high quality Overall judgment: Overall high quality	- Khartoum Declaration, agreeing on a permanent ceasefire and on key security arrangements.[117] 27 June 2018 (Yes, IGAD, with the support of AU mediated; Yes, it held) - Agreement on Outstanding Issues on Governance and Security Arrangements[118] - 5 August 2018 (Yes, GAD, with the support of AU mediated) - Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS)[119] - 12 September 2018 ((Yes, GAD, with the support of AU mediated)
	None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful Mediation: AU: Partly successful PSO: AU: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality Mediation: AU: Medium quality PSO: AU: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	- Extension of Unilateral cessation of hostilities for three months by Sudan Liberation Movement -Transitional Council, Justice and Equality Movement, SLM-Minni Minnawi until 30th of April 2018.[120] 1 February 2018 (Did not hold) - Extension of Unilateral cessation of hostilities for three months by armed groups in Sudan's Darfur region (Sudan Liberation Movement -Transitional Council, Justice and Equality Movement, SLM-Minni Minnawi) until 6th of August 2018.[121] - 7 May 2018 (Did not hold) - Extension of Unilateral ceasefire by Sudanese Government in Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile until December 31, 2018.[122] - 12 July 2018 - Extension of Unilateral cessation of hostilities for three months by armed groups in Sudan's Darfur region (Sudan Liberation Movement -Transitional Council, Justice and Equality Movement, SLM-Minni Minnawi) until 06 of November 2018.[123] - 7 August 2018 - Extension of Unilateral cessation of hostilities for three months by Sudan Liberation Movement -Transitional Council, Justice and Equality Movement, SLM-Minni Minnawi until 8th of February 2019.[124] - 9 November 2018 - Pre-Negotiation Agreement between the Government of Sudan, the Justice and Equality Movement-Gebril Ibrahim and the Sudan Liberation Movement-Minni Minnawi.[125] - 6 December 2018 (Yes, AU mediated)

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
27	Sudan	Sudan (opposition)	AU: 2	AU: 3	N.a.	N.a.	
28	Sudan	Sudan (SPLM/A-North/ South Kordofan, Blue Nile)	AU: 2	AU: 3	N.a.	N.a.	
29	Sudan	Sudan, South Sudan (Abyei)	AU: 2	N.a.	N.a.	N.a.	

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126   Africa News, Sudan's Bashir extends ceasefire with rebels for 3 months, 4 January 2018.
127   Dabanga, SPLM-N declares ceasefire in South Kordofan, 30 January, 2018.
128   Joint Statement on Unilateral Ceasefire, Cessation of Hostilities and Completion of Negotiation, 4 February 2018. Also see Sudan Tribune, AUHIP Communiqué on Sudan & SPLM-N talks for cessation of hostilities agreement, 5 February 2018.
129   Sudan Tribune, Sudan extends unilateral ceasefire until end of 2018.
130   Dabanga, SPLM-N extend ceasefire after talks to revive Sudan peace process, 28 November, 2018.
131   FAO, Ngok Dinka and Misseriya Communities Sign Peace Agreement at Three-Day Migration Conference.

Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful Mediation: AU: Rather unsuccessful Overall judgment: Rather unsuccessful	Diplomacy: AU: Mostly low quality Mediation: AU: Mostly low quality Overall judgment: Mostly low quality	None
None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful Mediation: AU: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality Mediation: AU: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	- Extension of Unilateral ceasefire by Sudanese Government in the Blue Nile and South Kordofan states for three months.[126] - 4 January 2018 - Unilateral declarations of a ceasefire and cessation of hostilities by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) in the South Kordofan region for four months starting from 1st February until 31st May.[127] - 1 February 2018 - Joint Statement on Unilateral Ceasefire, Cessation of Hostilities and Completion of Negotiations, by the Government of Sudan and the SPLM-N[128] - 4 February 2018 (Yes, AU mediated; no it did not hold) - Extension of Unilateral ceasefire by Sudanese Government in Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile until December 31, 2018.[129] - 12 July 2018 - Extension of Unilateral ceasefire and cessation of hostilities by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N) for a period of one month from December 1 until December 31, 2018.[130] - 1 December 2018 (Yes, AU mediated)
None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	- Ngok Dinka and Misseriya Community Peace Agreement.[131]- 5 March 2018 (No, AU/RECs did not mediate; it did not hold)

No	Country	Conflict Cluster	Highest level diplomacy	Highest level mediation	Highest level PSO	Highest level PCRD	
30	Togo	Togo (Opposition)	AU: 2 ECOWAS: 2	ECOWAS: 2	N.a.	N.a	
31	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe (Opposition)	AU: 2 SADC: 2 COMESA: 2	N.a.	N.a.	N.a.	

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132   VOA, 26 June 2018; Peace Pledge was a code of conduct that committed presidential candidates and their political parties to campaign peacefully and tolerate other political parties.

Acts of explicitly prevention	Effectiveness of interventions	Quality of interventions	Mediation and peace agreement
None	Diplomacy: AU: Rather unsuccessful ECOWAS: Partly successful Mediation: ECOWAS: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Mostly low quality ECOWAS: Medium quality Mediation: ECOWAS: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	None
None	Diplomacy: AU: Partly successful SADC: Partly successful COMESA: Partly successful Overall judgment: Partly successful	Diplomacy: AU: Medium quality SADC: Medium quality COMESA: Medium quality Overall judgment: Medium quality	- Peace Pledge/code of conduct that committed presidential candidates and their political parties to campaign peacefully and tolerate other political parties.[132] -26 June 2018 (Not mediated by AU/RECs; did not hold)