

Peace Agreements 1975-2011

- Updating the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset

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Introduction

This chapter presents an updated version of the UCDP Peace Agreement dataset, consisting of all peace agreements signed in armed conflicts active after 1975. The dataset contains information on a total of 216 peace agreements for the period 1975-2011. One third of all conflicts recorded by the UCDP have had agreements during the period. The article looks at the trend in peace agreements and finds that a relatively high number of agreements were concluded in the 1990s and 2000s, however since 2008 the number of agreements have declined to the Cold War levels.

In the years from 1975 to 2011, 216 peace agreements have been concluded in conflicts where the violence, in many cases, had been going on for years. In these cases the parties together had decided to, at least try, to move from voicing their incompatibilities with arms to fighting the battle on a new arena in peace. This is a major shift and we can learn a lot from these experiences, both from those that have failed to end conflict permanently and from those that have proven more durable. This can be done in many ways, both by looking more in-depth on specific failed or successful cases of conflict resolution processes, or by finding ways to investigate all peace agreements to see if specific settings, terms, or combinations of agreements seem more prone to lead to durable peace. The UCDP Peace Agreement dataset can be used for studies assessing the relationship between the conflict and the peace agreement.

This chapter presents an updated version of the UCDP Peace Agreement dataset consisting of all peace agreements signed in armed

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conflicts active 1975-2011. The article will start by a short presentation of UCDP's data on conflict resolution. Then it will describe the Peace Agreement dataset by giving the definition of peace agreement and peace process and describe important terms in the data. Thereafter the paper will look at the general trend in the data to see if the data supports the general notion that more is being done today than during the Cold War period. Lastly the paper will discuss possible options when looking at the outcome of peace agreements.

Peace in the UCDP data

In order to be able to better study conflict resolution, how to accomplish durable solution of conflict and the steps on the way there, UCDP has provided the research community with a number of different datasets over the years. These datasets or data sources have information on conflict termination, peace agreements, negotiations and third party involvement undertaken in conflicts recorded by the program.

The first UCDP article concerned with peace agreements was published in *Journal of Peace Research* (JPR) in 1997.² The article focused on conflict termination with peace agreements being one of the types of termination presented.³ The article introduced the concept of different types of agreements, full, partial and peace process agreements, something that has been developed further in the Peace Agreement dataset. In 2004, the UCDP online database was launched including further variables connected to conflict resolution.⁴ It included yearly information on negotiations and third party involvement and all peace agreements signed between warring parties active in the conflict. For the first time the data included both those accords that formally ended the conflict and those signed in a peace process, a major development for researchers interested in studying failed

2 Wallensteen, Peter and Margareta Sollenberg (1997) "Armed Conflicts, Conflict Termination and Peace Agreements, 1989–96", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 339-358.

3 The article defined peace agreements as "arrangements entered into by warring parties to explicitly regulate or resolve the basic incompatibility" p.342. The article also introduced the concept of different types of agreements, full, partial and peace process agreements, "Full agreements are those where all warring parties make an agreement to settle the incompatibility and where there is no continued fighting." "Partial agreements are those concluded between some of the parties, but not all. The incompatibility is regulated between the parties concluding the agreement. Sometimes fighting will cease, but on other occasions a party not included will continue the conflict." "peace process agreements, which do not settle the incompatibility, but instead out-line a process whereby the issue will be settled."

4 www.ucdp.uu.se

peace processes. UCDP also advanced into dyadic data, while previous datasets had focused on the conflict level. The UCDP database now offers its users information for each dyad in a conflict. The variables on conflict resolution have also been recorded in inactive conflict years, furthering the UCDP data from being primarily concerned with years with more than 25 battle-related deaths. Additionally the database contains information on conflict termination and codes a new termination each time the conflict becomes inactive. In 2006 this data on conflict termination was specifically reviewed and UCDP subsequently launched a separate dataset that focuses solely on this concept. The UCDP Conflict Termination dataset has been continuously updated and is now available with data from 1946-2009.⁵

In 2005, UCDP also launched a new project that focused on conflict prevention, which began to collect event data on third party activities. This time the focus was on disaggregating data over time, thus leaving the focus on the year as the main unit of analysis. This culminated in the Managing Intrastate Low-intensity Conflict (MILC) dataset where all third party actions taken in low intensity dyads are recorded. This dataset has now been expanded to include third party activities in *all* conflict years.⁶

In 2006, UCDP shifted its attention to the peace agreement data in the online database. This resulted in the first UCDP Peace Agreement dataset, which was presented in an article in JPR in 2006.⁷ The Peace Agreement dataset has been used by many researchers and has been the foundation for two other datasets at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research called TOPAD (Terms of Peace Agreements Data) and IMPACT (Implementation of Pacts), respectively. TOPAD was developed to study the effect of peacekeeping operations and include coding of power-sharing pacts in the agreements. Following this, IMPACT was created to enhance studies on the implementation of power-sharing agreements. Both these dataset remain with the researcher.⁸

5 Kreutz, Joakim. 2010. How and When Armed Conflicts End: Introducing the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* 47(2): 243-250. Here agreement is defined as "Peace Agreement: Agreement, or the first or last in a series of agreements, concerned with resolving or regulating the incompatibility – completely or a central part of – which is signed and/or accepted by all or the main parties active in last year of conflict. The agreement is signed either during the last year of active conflict or the first year of inactivity."

6 Managing Intrastate Conflict (MIC) dataset will be available online in April 2013.

7 Harbom, Lotta, Stina Högladh and Peter Wallensteen. 2006. 'Armed Conflict and Peace Agreements', *Journal of Peace Research*. 43 (5): 617-631. Also in Peter Wallensteen 2011. *Peace Research: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, pp 143-153

8 For more information on these datasets please contact Desiree Nilsson, desiree.nilsson@pcr.uu.se

In 2009, UCDP finished extending the online database back to 1975. This article is the first presentation of the data that has been made available in the online database, now called the UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia. To make the information in the Conflict Encyclopedia more easily available for the research community the data has been assembled into an updated version of the Peace Agreement dataset.

The Peace Agreement dataset, defining and assessing peace agreement

In the UCDP data a peace agreement refers to an agreement between two or more primary warring parties in a conflict, which addresses the disputed incompatibility, either by settling all or part of it, or by clearly outlining a process for how the warring parties plan to regulate the incompatibility.

The separate elements are defined as follows:

An *agreement* is a binding mutual deal signed or publically agreed to.

Primary Warring Parties are two governments of a state in an interstate armed conflict; or a government and any opposition organization or alliance of organizations that uses armed force to promote its position in the incompatibility in an intrastate armed conflict. The primary parties are the parties that have formed the incompatibility.

An *armed conflict* is a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year.

The disputed *incompatibility* is the stated (in writing or verbally) generally incompatible positions. In UCDP data these are categorized as either concerning government or territory.⁹

This paper will also use the term *peace process*. A peace process is defined as a formal process including more than one peace agreement, in which the warring parties either have decided to settle the incompatibility through a process where one issue at the time is regulated by an agreement, or settings where the peace agreements concluded explicitly build on previous peace agreement/s.

⁹ See UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset Codebook version 2.0 for more definitions

The new Peace Agreement dataset, that covers peace agreements in all armed conflicts from 1975 to 2011, is compatible with the UCDP Dyadic Dataset v. 1-2012, and UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset v.4-2012. It has been constructed to allow researchers to analyze the different peace agreements. The unit of analysis is the peace agreement; consequently more than one agreement can be registered for one conflict- or dyad-year in the UCDP data. Each agreement is categorized as a comprehensive agreement, a partial agreement or a peace process agreement¹⁰, depending on if the agreement is seen as a final product in a peace process or if the parties still have outstanding issues that have to be solved. Each agreement is also attributed with conflict, dyad and actor IDs from the other UCDP data to enhance the merging of different UCDP data collections.

The Peace Agreement dataset includes 216 peace agreements in 60 conflicts, meaning that 34% of the conflicts in the UCDP data have had at least one peace agreement in the period. The vast majority of peace agreements have been signed in intrastate conflicts. This fact is not surprising since only 23 of the 173 armed conflicts, recorded by UCDP in the period, were interstate. 20 of 216 agreements were signed in interstate conflicts. These were found in the conflicts: North Yemen – South Yemen, Iran-Iraq, Eritrea-Ethiopia, Ecuador-Peru, Djibouti-Eritrea, Chad-Nigeria, Chad-Libya and Cameroon-Nigeria.

UCDP also categorizes conflicts according to type of incompatibility, distinguishing between conflicts fought over government and territory. So-called governmental conflicts are fought over the regime type, the composition of the government or with an aim to replace the government. Territorial conflicts, on the other hand, concern the status of a territory and may include demands for secession or autonomy, or, in the case of interstate conflict, the location of international borders. Of the 216 peace agreements included in the dataset, a vast majority – 72 % – were concluded in intrastate governmental conflicts. 47 accords were concluded in conflicts over territory; 7 in interstate conflicts, and 40 in intrastate conflicts. A few conflicts have been categorized as concerning both conflict issues. These conflicts have had 13 peace agreements, all of them in interstate conflicts. As much as 12 of these were part of the Iran-Iraq peace process.

The primary sources of information for coding terms in the peace agreements have been copies of the agreements in full text for 91% (196 of 216) of the cases. For the rest, UCDP has consulted news articles

¹⁰ To see a discussion of these different types of peace agreements see “Armed Conflict and Peace Agreements” *Journal of Peace Research*, 43 (5):617-631, 2006

that best described the details of the agreements, found in Keesings, BBC Monitoring, Africa Research Bulletin, UN reports, All Africa, South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR) and in the Christine Bell appendix “*A decade of Peace Agreements*”¹¹. All agreements that UCDP has found in full text can be assessed in the UCDP Conflict Encyclopedia. Direct links to the different peace agreements are presented in the updated Peace Agreement dataset.

Terms of the Agreement

The UCDP Peace Agreement dataset includes information on 5 main characteristics of the peace agreement: these are provisions on military, political, territorial, justice matters and, finally, provisions concerned with the implementation of the accords. For each characteristic a number of variables are coded which will be described below.

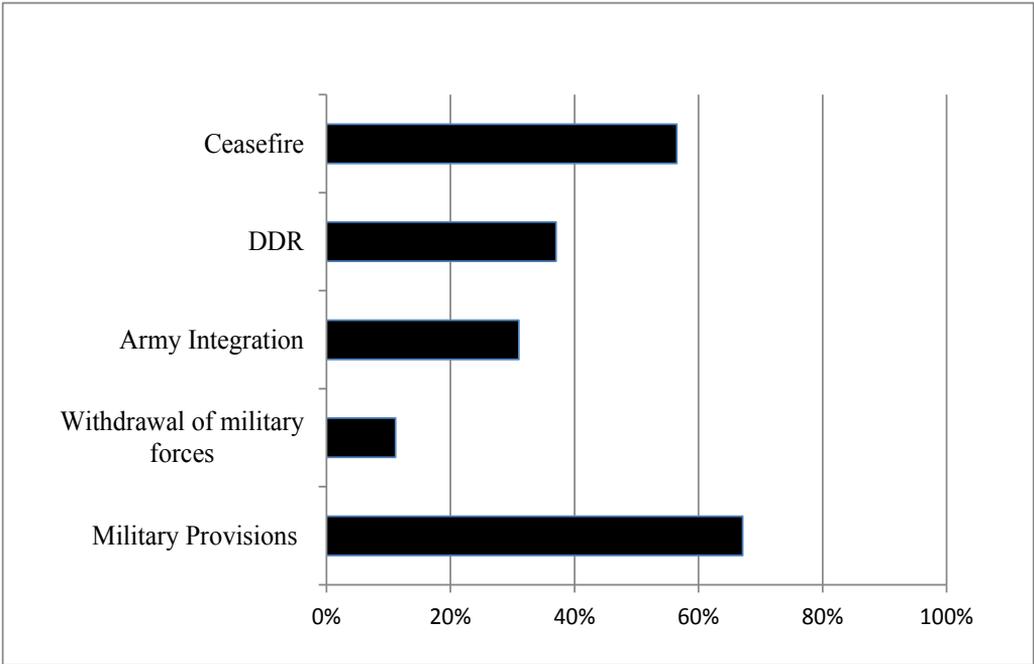
Military Provisions

67% of all peace agreements include one or more military provision. The military provisions deal with the behavior of the warring parties. These variables aim to capture how the behavior of the parties was solved or regulated by the agreement. Military provisions can include ceasefires, integration into the national army, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of the army and/or militia and withdrawal of foreign forces. Figure 1 shows the percentages of the peace agreements with these different terms.

Formal ceasefire was the most common term in a peace agreement, more than half of all agreements included this feature. 37% of all peace agreements included some requirements regarding DDR. One third of all agreements provided for the rebel groups to be integrated into the government army, whereas 24 peace agreements included provisions for the withdrawal of foreign military forces. The Lusaka Agreement in the Democratic Republic of Congo is an example of the latter. In this case armies from at least six different countries had been involved in the fighting, and their withdrawal was seen as a necessity for solving the conflict.

¹¹ Bell (2001)

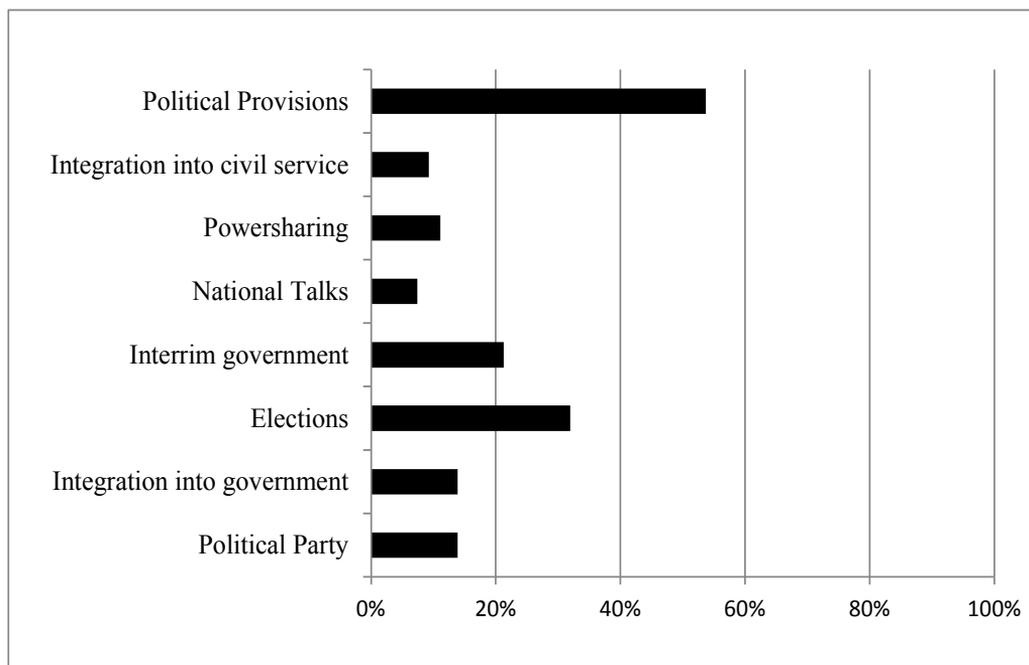
Figure 1. Percentage of Peace Agreements with Military Provisions 1975-2011



Political Provisions

The political provisions primarily deal with the regulation of conflicts with a governmental incompatibility. These variables aim to capture how the incompatibility was solved or regulated in the agreement. The variables include integration in government, integration in civil service, power-sharing in government, interim government, political party, elections, and national talks. The most common condition in the political sphere was elections. In 32% of all peace agreements the parties agreed to the holding of elections. Some agreements, such as e.g. the Ohrid Agreement between the Government of Macedonia and UCK (National Liberation Army), include an exact date for the election. Local elections have been used as a means in agreements in conflicts over territory; this was for example the case in the Aceh agreement after the tsunami in 2004, which states “1.2.3 Free and fair local elections will be organised under the new Law on the Governing of Aceh to elect the head of the Aceh administration and other elected officials in April 2006 as well as the legislature of Aceh in 2009.”

Figure 2. Percentage of Peace Agreements with Political Provisions 1975-2011



While power-sharing is a wide concept that can relate to a broad scope of issues, it is in this dataset used in a more narrow sense, relating solely to the sharing of governmental power. All terms in a peace agreement that deal with governmental power could be seen as relating to power-sharing since they all, in different ways, allow the other to somehow participate in the political process. In order to separate between them this dataset has more than one variable coded for this concept.

The definition of power-sharing here is narrow. Power-sharing is coded either when the agreement specifies a specific quota/s for the integration of the armed group or for different ethnic groups in the government, or the political representation on all levels of government. 11% of all agreements included a major power-sharing deal. Figure 2 also shows that an equal number of agreements, 14% provided for the integration of the opposition into the government and allowing the rebel organization to transform into a political party. 20 peace agreements provided for the integration into the civil administration. In 21% of the settlements the

parties agreed on a new interim government. A national dialogue to find a broad based solution to the conflict would be convened after 7% of the settlements. Some of these, for example the Declaration of Fundamental Principles for the Inter-Congolese dialogue (2001) led to a final solution of the conflict. Others, for example the Banjul IV Agreement (1990) which provided for an All Liberia Conference, managed to convene a dialogue without achieving agreement on the incompatibility.

Territorial Provisions

Territorial provisions in peace agreements primarily deal with the regulation of conflicts with a territorial incompatibility. These variables aim to capture how the incompatibility was solved or regulated in the peace agreement. The variables are autonomy, federalism, independence, referendum on the future status of the disputed region, local power-sharing, regional development, border demarcation, and local self-government.

Figure 3. Percentage of Peace Agreements with Territorial Provisions 1975-2011

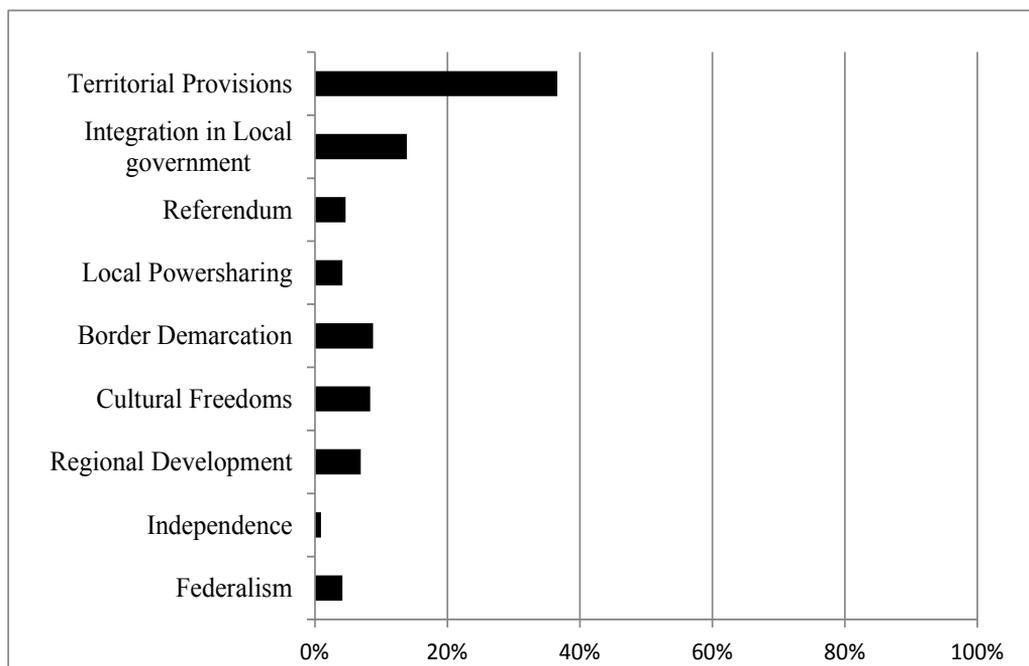
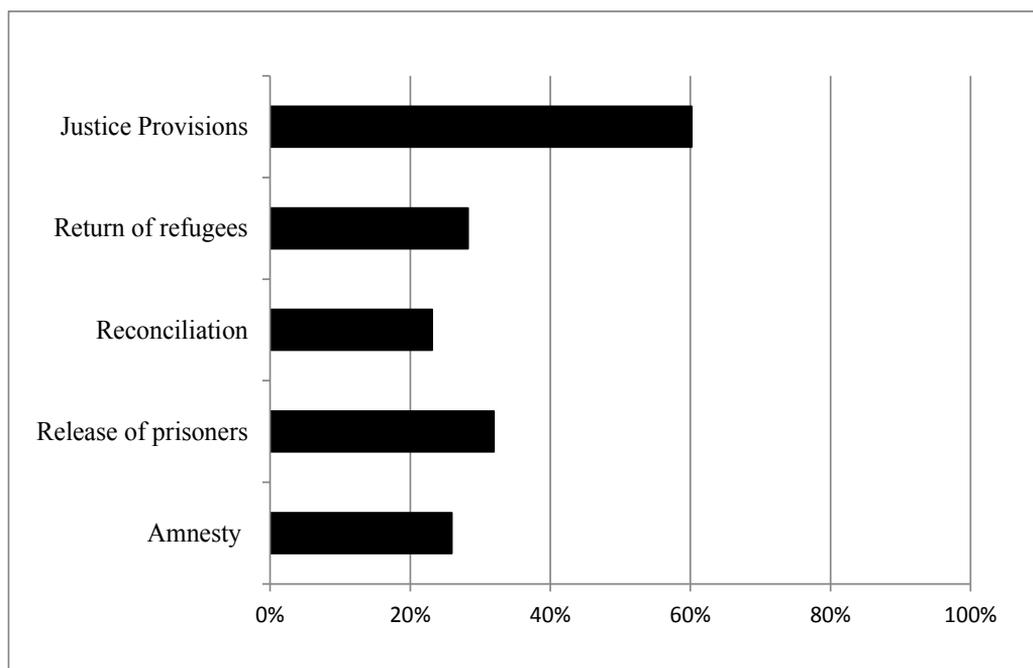


Figure 3 demonstrates a large range of solutions to territorial issues; most agreements only included one of these. Two agreements in the period provided for full independence, the Western Contact Group (WCG) Settlement Proposal which granted Namibia independence and the Lancaster House Agreement which decided on the process to full independence for Rhodesia.

Justice Provisions

Justice provisions are arrangements for how justice issues should be resolved after the conflict. The dataset records when amnesty, release of prisoners, national reconciliation and return of refugees were part of the agreement. Figure 4 shows the occurrence of these.

Figure 4. Percentage of Peace Agreements with Justice Provisions 1975-2011



Implementation Provisions

Implementation provisions deal with the peace process, and reducing the security dilemma. The variables are: reaffirm earlier agreements, outlining peace process, deployment of peace-keeping operation, and establishment of a commission or committee to oversee the implementation of the agreement.

Trends

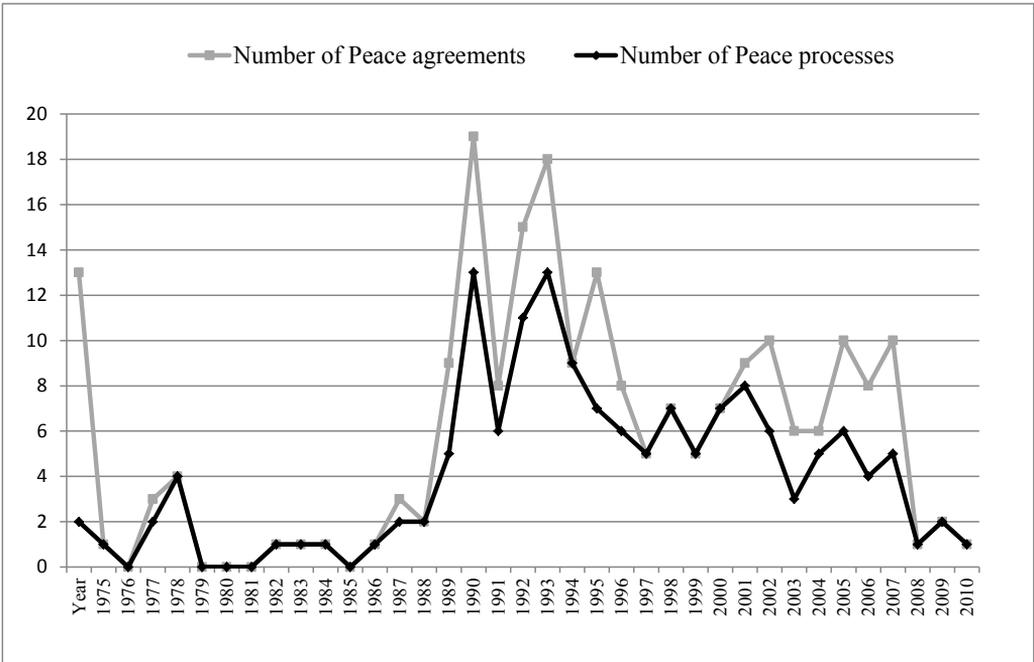
In the first Human Security Report (2005) it was suggested, partly based on UCDP data, that both the number of conflicts and conflict related deaths had declined globally, mainly as a cause of an increase in different peace-making activities rendered possible as a result of political changes at the end of the Cold War. The report showed that UN peace-making activities, UN peacekeeping operations and international tribunals had increased dramatically after 1990 and the Human Security Report argued that data on these aspects confirmed their assumption.

To a large extent the trend in the number of peace agreements and peace processes in the UCDP Peace Agreement dataset confirms this understanding. In general, relatively few agreements, 0-2 per year, were concluded between 1975 and 1989. There were, however, exceptions, with peaks in 1975 due to 12 agreements concluded in the Iran-Iraq peace process, and 1979 which had 4 settlements.¹² The number then rose dramatically in the 1990s. 1991 alone had 19 agreements which were more than the total for the period 1976-1989. This was a time with important processes, that all ended long and violent conflicts, such as the ones in Guatemala, El Salvador, South Africa and Mozambique. The peace-making trend continued through the larger part of the 2000s and not one single year in the period 1990-2008 recorded less than 5 peace agreements. After 2008 the data shows a marked decline and the number of settlements are back to the level of the Cold War era. In 2011 only one agreement was concluded, in Sudan, and even that one failed. The recent decline in the number of peace agreements have occurred in a setting where the number of conflicts at the same time has been on the rise after a steady decline from the mid-1990s. This implies that the decline in peace-making is real and not caused by a decline in the number of conflicts.

¹² Chad Kano Accord, Zimbabwe Lancaster House Agreement, Mauritania Algiers Agreement, Yemen Kuwait Agreement

Figure 5 illustrates that the yearly number of peace processes shows a similar change. The low number of peace-making in the 1970s becomes even more marked and the decline in the number of peace processes shows a continual downward trend from the mid-1990s. This development is interesting and could possibly be explained by a change in attitudes from the international community. The new Peace Agreement dataset could inspire studies to focus on explaining this recent decline.

Figure 5. Number of Peace Agreements and Peace Processes 1975-2011



Peace Agreement Outcomes

One of the main reasons for developing the original UCDP Peace Agreement dataset was that all earlier efforts only included cases that terminated the violence in the conflict for at least one year. UCDP believed that it was necessary to have variation in the outcome of the peace agreements, i.e. to include both successful and unsuccessful cases, in order to learn more about why some agreements fail while others succeed. UCDP subsequently decided to include all peace agreements that were signed between the warring parties and that dealt with the incompatibility in the Peace Agreement dataset. By doing this researchers would be able to study if, for example, a resolution of the incompatibility is enough to lead to peace, or if other components such as formal ceasefires and disarmament of the parties are necessary. Or if peace agreements that include for example amnesties tend to be more durable than other agreements.¹³

However, even though peace agreements often share similar structures and characteristics, agreements are signed in very different contexts. Some agreements are signed long after the use of armed force in the conflict has ended while others are signed with full-scale war still raging. The Peace Agreement dataset both includes agreements signed in the context of a peace process where the parties have agreed to end hostilities first after a final settlement, and agreements concluded as a solitary product that are meant to end conflict immediately upon signature. The broad inclusion of cases makes it difficult to measure success according to a uniform standard.

The termination of violence is a common measure for the success of an agreement. Many researchers have used a five year period as a measure of successful termination. Of the 216 peace agreements included in the dataset 125 was followed by the termination of violence for at least 5 years in the dyads signing the agreement. This would indicate that more agreements succeed than fail to terminate armed conflicts.

Of the 216 peace agreements signed in conflicts 1975-2011, 141 were signed in active years of the conflict and 75 after the conflicts reached a lower level of violence than 25 battle-related deaths or where violence had ended. After the signing of 15 of these 75 agreements, the conflicts restarted with the same actors within 5 years. This was the case

¹³ The latter question was investigated in Wallensteen, Peter, Erik Melander and Stina Högbladh, 2012. Peace agreements, justice and durable peace, in Karin Aggestam & Annika Björkdahl, eds. *Rethinking Peacebuilding. The Quest for Just Peace in the Middle East and the Western Balkans*. London: Routledge pp 125-139.

after the Dougla Accord between MDD (Movement for Democracy and Development) and the Chadian government, the Honiara Declaration between Papua New Guinea and BRA (Bougainville Revolutionary Army), after the Iran-Iraq process with 12 agreements, and in the Cabinda conflict in Angola. Of the 141 agreements concluded in years of conflict activity 98 peace agreements were signed in less intensive conflict years¹⁴. In some of these cases the violence had de-escalated before an agreement was concluded, other cases were concluded after a long period of low intensive conflict. 43 peace agreements were signed in years of war¹⁵.

66 of the 156 agreements concluded in conflicts over government, restarted with the same parties within 5 years. More peace agreements over territory managed to end the violence. In conflicts over territory the violence recurred after only 12 of 47 agreements with the same parties within 5 years.¹⁶

In 8 conflicts where full and comprehensive agreements had been signed violence resumed within 5 years: Angola (1994), Cambodia (1991), Guinea Bissau (1998), Ivory Coast (2004), Rwanda (1993), Sierra-Leone (1996), Uganda (1985), Chad (1979).

Another aspect that is central to determining if an agreement was successful or not is the actors. The discussion above concerned whether violence continued or restarted with the same parties in the same dyads or not. The UCDP Peace Agreement dataset also includes a variable that looks more broadly on termination of the violence in the conflict (over the same issues). In some cases the conflict would continue with excluded actors, in other new spoiler groups have appeared after the settlement. In yet other cases the parties of the agreement have reconstituted themselves and started to fight under a new banner and for a different agenda. This illustrates that for some studies a focus on the dyadic violence is too narrow and then conflict termination can be more a appropriate approach.

For some of the peace agreements signed after the conflict was terminated, negotiations to reach the agreement had been ongoing since the conflict was active. Ceasefires had in some cases been concluded and the agreement was signed for peace building purposes. The Agreement on the Transitional Arrangements in the Comoros was signed first after 6 years of

14 Between 25 and 1.000 battle-related deaths.

15 In years with over 1.000 battle-related deaths. In Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia Herzegovina (Serb), Burundi, Chad, Colombia, DR. Congo, Eritrea-Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa (Namibia), Sudan, Uganda, Yugoslavia (Kosovo), Zimbabwe.

16 12 of 13 restarted in conflicts with a dual incompatibility all of them being in the Iran-Iraq process.

conflict inactivity, with the agreement dealing with final issues of military control and customs before establishing a federal structure of the country. In cases where the violence had ended years before an agreement was concluded, the termination of armed force might not be the best measure of success.

Therefore another important factor for measuring the success of a peace agreement is its full implementation. Many agreements that have been concluded are never fully implemented e.g. Rwanda, Haiti and Mexico. However, a failure to implement does not always lead to recurrence of violence. In Mexico the conflict never restarted even though the San Andres Accords concluded in 1996 were never implemented.

Implementation of an agreement is often protracted. However in many cases where the implementation breaks down the parties continue to say they are bound by the agreement. Failure of an agreement can also be operationalized by finding a statement by the parties that they no longer adhere to the agreement. Some agreements include conditions for the termination of the agreement. The Honiara Declaration on Peace, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation on Bougainville stated it would terminate, either when it was completed or if any acts of sabotage inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Declaration was committed by any of the parties. The accord broke down on 1 February 1991 when BRA attacked an army patrol boat.

77 of the 216 agreements were never implemented. In 19 of these cases violence with the same parties did not restart even though the agreement was not implemented.¹⁷ These cases suggest that the issue of the actual implementation of peace agreements should be put more firmly on the peace research agenda.¹⁸

A case that can illustrate the difficulty in measuring outcomes is the 23 March 2009 agreement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In this case the implementation has been progressing as expected and the dyadic violence ended immediately upon signature – still an in depth case study would probably consider the agreement to be failed due to recent developments.

The 23 March 2009 agreement was concluded after a short peace process involving primarily the governments of DRC and Rwanda.

17 Afghanistan 1996, Central African Republic 2008, Chad 1994, 1999, 2002, Comoros (Anjouan) 2000, DR. Congo 2009, Haiti 1993, Liberia 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, Mali (Azawad) 1991, 1992, Mexico 1996, Niger 1993, Somalia 1997, Sudan 2006

18 UCDP is now cooperating with the Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame, in the Peace Accords Matrix that is focusing on the implementation of major peace agreements.

Rwanda was not a warring party in the conflict but had been accused of supporting the Congolese rebel group CNDP (National Congress for the Defence of the People) while DRC was accused of supporting Rwanda's main enemy FDLR (Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda).

A first agreement between the two countries, the Ihusi Agreement, was concluded on 16 January 2009. The details of the agreement are unknown but subsequent to its conclusion, Rwanda removed the main leader of CNDP, Laurent Nkunda, and the two countries launched a joint offensive against FDLR.

An official peace agreement was signed between the Government of DRC and CNDP on 23 March 2009. At the same time an agreement was signed with smaller groups active in different non-state conflicts in the region. The 23 March 2009 agreement allowed for the integration of all CNDP combatants into the national army and police and stipulated for the government to recognize the ranks of the CNDP's military and police officers. CNDP was to be transformed into a political party, CNDP officials to be integrated into national politics and CNDP as a party to be able to participate in the political activities of the country. The parties also agreed on an evaluation of the Electoral Act. In addition the parties reaffirmed the national sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of national borders and the human rights and fundamental freedoms and duties of citizens and of the state as well as the Republican and apolitical nature of the armed forces and national police. Furthermore, the agreement also provided for the restoration of state authority in the areas formerly under rebel control. The government was to promote the repatriation of refugees from neighboring countries, and both parties were to participate in a National Follow-up Committee as well as in an International Follow-up Committee with mandates to oversee the implementation of the agreement.¹⁹

The violence between CNDP and the Congolese Government ended immediately upon signature, but violence within the country continued as CNDP, now as part of the government army, could continue their fight against FDLR. Former CNDP rebels also continued to attack the civilian population. Still the Government of DRC - CNDP dyad was no longer relevant and the implementation of the peace agreement progressed. In total CNDP integrated around 5,300 soldiers and received over a quarter of all high-level command positions in Nord- and Sud-Kivu, the provinces where the armed conflict has been fought.

¹⁹ "Peace agreement between the Government and the Congres national pour la defense du peuple (CNDP), Goma 23 March 2009" <http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/peace/DRC%2020090323.pdf>

Administration-wise, the rebel group never received any prominent positions in Kinshasa but the group was given several posts in the territorial administration, a provincial ministry, and positions as provincial advisors. The repatriation progressed slowly but on 17 February 2010 an agreement was concluded between the governments of DRC and Rwanda and UNHCR on the issue. Most ranks were confirmed in 2010 and a follow-up committee was convened. Implementation-wise the peace agreement thus looked as if it was progressing in the right direction at the end of 2010.²⁰ CNDP transformed themselves into a political party and even joined the ruling alliance after the latest elections.

In the beginning of 2012 a new actor appeared on the scene, a group calling themselves M23, comprising former fighters in the Congolese army and claiming to mutiny because Kinshasa did not respect the 23 March 2009 agreement. Their main concern with the implementation was the slow repatriation of refugees and that they claimed to be mistreated and underpaid in the Congolese army. Most of the group's rank and file was former CNDP rebels, even though many CNDP officials stayed with the government. On 20 November 2012, M23 managed to take control over Goma, the provincial capital in Nord-Kivu. On the same date they rallied new forces and claimed they would fight their way to Kinshasa, immediately connecting this conflict with the big wars of 1996-1997, and 1998-2002.²¹ Both these wars started their struggles in the same area with related groups. Still M23 is seen by the UCDP as a new group, with a slightly different ethnic composition and a new stated incompatibility. The start of this new conflict can, and maybe should, be seen as the failure of the 23 March 2009 peace agreement although implementation did not fail and the violence with the same warring parties did not recur.

20 Stearns (2012) p. 41

21 BBC News DR Congo President Kabila to study M23 rebel grievances 21 November 2012 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-20437106>

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