

African Journal of Terrorism and Insurgency Research (AJoTIR)

ISSN: 2732-4990(Print) ISSN: 2732-5008(Online)

Indexed by IBSS, EBSCO and SABINET

Volume 7, Number 1, June 2026

Pp 103-115

Debriefing the Geostrategic Dynamics: The Case of Rwanda's Military Intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31920/2732-5008/2026/v7n1a6>

Felix Makonye

*Njenge Group of Schools, Seke, Chitungwiza, Zimbabwe,
makonyenjenge3@gmail.com
+250792047422*



Henrietta Makonye

*Njenge Group of Schools, Seke, Chitungwiza, Zimbabwe,
Henriettamakonye80@yahoo.com
+250728883791.*

Abstract

This paper examines Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, through the lens of geostrategic dynamics, utilising the geostrategic theory as a theoretical framework. The objective of the paper is to unpack the motivations behind Rwanda's intervention and the implications for regional security and Mozambican sovereignty. Employing a qualitative research approach, the paper relies on secondary sources, including academic literature, news articles, and official documents, among others. A case study research design is adopted to provide an in-depth analysis of the complex dynamics at play. The paper addresses a significant gap in the current literature regarding Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, which has predominantly concentrated on the conflict's humanitarian consequences. The findings suggest that Rwanda's intervention is driven by a desire to secure its economic interests, particularly in

the extractive sector, and to counter the influence of other regional powers, among others. The paper contends that Rwanda's actions are additionally driven by an ambition to showcase its proficiency as a regional security provider. The paper highlights the complexities of external military interventions in resource-rich countries and the need for a more nuanced understanding of the complex factors driving Rwanda's actions.

Key words: *Debriefing, Geostrategic Dynamics, Rwanda, Military Intervention, Cabo Delgado, Mozambique*

Introduction

Rwanda's military deployment to Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, in July 2021 has prompted significant debate and speculation regarding the underlying motivations for the intervention. On one hand, Rwanda's government claims that its troops are in Mozambique to combat terrorism and stabilise the region (Rwanda Ministry of Defence, 2021). On the other hand, critics argue that Rwanda's intervention is driven by a desire to secure its economic interests, particularly in the extractive sector, and to counter the influence of other regional powers (Vines, 2019; Fabricius, 2021). Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado is closely tied to France's interests, particularly through TotalEnergies, a French energy conglomerate with significant investments in the region's liquefied natural gas (LNG) projects. TotalEnergies has a \$20 billion LNG project in Cabo Delgado, which was suspended in 2021 due to insurgent attacks. Rwanda deployed troops to the area, securing key locations, including those near TotalEnergies' facilities, and has been working to secure the LNG among other critical earth regions only. The connection between Rwanda's intervention and France's interests is evident; Rwanda's military presence has helped secure TotalEnergies' LNG project, allowing for potential resumption of operations. The African Development Bank (ADB, 2025) estimates the project could resume within 18 months from the time of the writing of this paper.

A Rwandan security company, Isco Seguranca, has been contracted to provide unarmed guarding services at TotalEnergies' LNG development in Cabo Delgado. TotalEnergies faces a complaint in France for alleged complicity in war crimes linked to its Mozambique LNG project, with accusations of providing support to Mozambican military units involved in human rights abuses. These developments highlight the intricate relationship between Rwanda's military involvement, the strategic economic interests of France, and the broader security challenges within the region. The Institute for Security Studies Africa (ISSA, 2023) contends

that Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, is funded by the European Union (EU) through the European Peace Facility (EPF), with an initial contribution of \$21.4 million in December 2022 and a proposed additional \$42.8 million for non-lethal military equipment and airlifts (ISSA, 2023). The EU's funding is aimed at supporting their proxy, Rwanda's, efforts to combat terrorism and stabilise the region, which is crucial for securing TotalEnergies' \$20 billion LNG project (ISSA, 2023).

Methodology

This paper employs a qualitative secondary methodology to examine the geostrategic dynamics surrounding Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. The research design involves a comprehensive review and analysis of existing literature, including academic articles, reports, and news sources, to identify patterns, themes, and relationships relevant to the research objective (Bryman, 2016). Data were collected through a systematic search of online databases, including academic journals. Relevant reports from international organisations such as the European Union (EU) and think-tanks were consulted. News articles from reputable sources, including BBC, Al Jazeera, Reuters and CGTN, among others, were used to provide contemporary insights and updates on the situation (Yin, 2018). The collected data were subjected to thematic analysis, a process that involved identifying, coding, and categorising recurring themes and patterns concerning Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. The analysis focused on identifying the motivations behind Rwanda's intervention, the role of external actors, and the implications for regional security and geostrategy (Brown and Clarke, 2006). The paper acknowledges the limitations of relying on secondary data, including potential biases in the existing literature and the possibility of missing information. However, efforts were made to triangulate data from multiple sources to increase the validity and reliability of the findings (Denzin, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

The paper is grounded in geostrategic theory, which emphasises the importance of geographic location and resource competition in shaping international relations (Mackinder, 1904). Other proponents of the geostrategic theory include Vladmir Karyakin, a leading Russian researcher who proposed the concept of geopolitics of the third wave and Henry

Kissinger, a prominent figure in international relations. Kissinger has written extensively on geostrategy, including *Diplomacy* (1994) and *China* (2011). These thinkers have played a pivotal role in the development of geostrategic theory, influencing contemporary discourse on global power structures and the complexities of international relations. The analysis will explore how Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado reflects the country's geostrategic ambitions and how it is influenced by external actors, including the EU, China and other regional powers.

The geostrategic theory can be applied to the paper by analysing Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, through the lens of geographic location, resource competition, and great power rivalry. Cabo Delgado's location provides access to the Indian Ocean, making it a crucial point for global trade and security. Rwanda's intervention militarily secures this strategic location. Mozambique's natural gas reserves in Cabo Delgado are a significant factor; multiple global powers, such as the EU, China, Japan and India, compete for influence. The involvement of these external actors reflects broader geostrategic competition in Africa and access to resources (Friedman, 2010).

Literature Review

Reuters (2024) reports that the EU is looking to diversify its gas imports and reduce reliance on Russia due to the Ukraine war. Mozambique's LNG projects, particularly in Cabo Delgado, are seen as a key alternative. Rwanda was chosen to lead the military intervention in Cabo Delgado, supporting the EU's interests, due to existing relationships with Western countries. By funding the Rwandan intervention, the EU seeks to ensure the security of strategic LNG projects, which are vital for its long-term energy diversification and regional stability. The EU's support for Rwanda's intervention is seen as a way to counter Russian, Chinese, Indian and Japanese influence in Mozambique. TotalEnergies, a French company, is leading the LNG project in Cabo Delgado, and the EU is keen to ensure its success. China has invested heavily in Mozambique's natural gas sector, with companies like China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and China National Offshore Oil (CNOOC) holding stakes in LNG projects. This investment could give China leverage in the region. India has shown interest in Mozambique's LNG, with companies like ONGC Videsh Ltd, and Bharat Petroleum Corporation Ltd exploring opportunities. India's strategic partnership with Mozambique could lead to increased cooperation in the energy sector. Japan has invested in Mozambique's coal

and gas sectors, with companies like Mitsui & Co, and JOGMEC involved in projects. Japan's interests in the region are primarily motivated by its requirement for energy security and the stability of its fuel supply chains (Reuters, 2024).

Fabricius (2021) posits that Rwanda has deployed around 5000 troops in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, as part of its efforts to combat terrorism and stabilise the region. These troops are deployed in at least five districts, including Mocimboa da Praia, Palma, Ancuabe, Macomia, and Quissanga. The initial deployment of 1000 personnel in July 2021 has expanded to support Mozambique's security forces in protecting key areas, especially those with significant natural resources like natural gas and graphite. The mandate for Rwandan forces involves the restoration of state control alongside the delivery of combat support and the restructuring of local security institutions. Their presence has helped reduce insurgent activity, with estimates suggesting that over 90% of Cabo Delgado is now under government control. The deployment is part of a broader effort to support Mozambique's stability and economic development, particularly in the extractive industries. Rwandan forces helped retake Mocimboa da Praia, a strategic town, and other areas from insurgent control, improving security and stability in the region. The intervention led to a significant decrease in insurgent numbers, from an estimated 3000 to 280 jihadists. Rwanda's presence has helped secure LNG projects, crucial for Mozambique's economy, and reassured investors like TotalEnergies and ExxonMobil. Rwandan forces have prioritised civilian protection, with a relatively low record of civilian targeting compared to other forces in the region. Despite these successes, the insurgency persists, with insurgents adapting to asymmetric warfare tactics, such as improvised electronic devices (IEDs) and ambush attacks. The conflict has displaced thousands, and aid convoys remain vulnerable to attacks, limiting effective response to food insecurity and health crises. Mozambique's reliance on Rwandan forces raises concerns about the country's security capacity and potential undermining of its legitimacy. Rwanda's intervention has sparked concerns about its growing influence in the region and potential encroachment on Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) prerogatives (Fabricius, 2021).

Hanlon (2021) observes that SADC countries have had a mixed response to Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. While some member states like South Africa and Botswana contributed troops to the SADC Mission in Mozambique (SAMIM), others have expressed concerns about Rwanda's unilateral intervention.

Mozambique's President Daniel Chapo has maintained a close relationship with Rwanda, renewing the military partnership to combat insurgency in Cabo Delgado. However, some SADC members, like South Africa, have been cautious, emphasising the need for regional coordination and cooperating. Overall, SADC's response reflects a balance between addressing the security crisis in Cabo Delgado and maintaining regional cohesion. Rwanda justifies its military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, as a response to the request from the Mozambican government to help combat the jihadist insurgency threatening the region's stability and security. The intervention aims to restore state authority, protect civilians, and safeguard economic interests, particularly the LNG projects crucial for Mozambique's economy (Hanlon, 2021).

Makonye (2022) contends that Rwanda's involvement is seen as an opportunity to promote to its 'Kigali Principles on the Protection of Civilians', emphasising minimising harm to civilians during military operations. The Rwandan forces have been praised for their perceived counter-insurgency strategy and relatively low record of civilian targeting. The intervention is formalised by a bilateral agreement and a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) signed in August 2025, which establishes the legal and operational framework for Rwandan troops stationed in Mozambique. Civil society groups in Mozambique have expressed concerns and criticisms about Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado. Some groups question the transparency and financing of the deployment, while others argue that the intervention undermines Mozambique's sovereignty and security sector reform. Some community members in Cabo Delgado have mixed views about Rwanda's involvement, with some appreciating the security provided, while others are sceptical about the long-term intentions of the Rwandan soldiers. The intervention has also raised concerns about the potential for prolonged foreign military presence and the impact on local communities. While the SADC has acknowledged Rwanda's role in regional stabilisation, it maintains that a holistic approach is essential, addressing the military and humanitarian dimensions of the crisis with equal priority (Makonye, 2022). Democracy in Africa (2024) argues that relations between Rwanda and South Africa have been tense, especially after their involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. The tensions stem from South Africa's contribution to the SADC Mission in the DRC (SAMIDRC), which Rwanda saw as counterproductive, and Rwanda's support for the March (M23) rebel group, which South Africa opposed. In January 2025, M23 rebels captured Goma, killing 14 South African soldiers, leading to a heated exchange between Presidents Cyril

Ramaphosa and Paul Kagame. Rwanda labelled SAMIDRC a belligerent force, and South Africa accused Rwanda of supporting M23 rebels. Diplomatic efforts to repair relations were initiated in April 2024, when President Ramaphosa met with Paul Kagame to discuss strategies for easing bilateral tensions. However, issues of Rwanda's support for M23 and South Africa's harbouring of Rwandan dissidents remain unresolved. In Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, Rwanda deployed troops in 2021 to combat insurgents, followed by a SADC contingent. While both achieved some success, there were concerns about coordination and transparency. Mozambique and Rwanda signed a Status of Forces Agreement in August 2025, formalising Rwanda's continued presence.

Shinn (2024) observes that the EU's funding for Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, has raised questions about its morality and motivations. On one hand, the EU provided 20 million euros to support Rwanda's efforts to fight insurgency and terrorism to restore stability in the region, citing the need to protect civilians and promote peace. However, critics argue that the EU's support for Rwanda is inconsistent with its stance on other conflicts, particularly in Ukraine, where it has imposed sanctions on Russia for its invasion. Rwanda's alleged support for the M23 rebel group in the DRC has led to tensions with the DRC and raised concerns about the EU's priorities. While the EU asserts its dedication to international legal frameworks and human rights, some observers argue that its actual interventions do not always align with these official values. The DRC has accused the EU of waging war by proxy and exploiting the region's natural resources.

According to the International Crisis Group (2024), Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, has several demerits that raise concerns about its impact on the region. Rwanda's involvement may compromise Mozambique's authority and legitimacy, potentially creating dependency on foreign forces. This could undermine the government's ability to assert its sovereignty and also makes it difficult to assess the effectiveness of Rwanda's intervention. The bilateral agreement between Rwanda and Mozambique remains a secret, raising concerns about accountability and the potential for unchecked power. This lack of transparency also makes it difficult to assess the effectiveness of Rwanda's intervention. The conflict has displaced an estimated 800 000 people, with civilians facing recruitment pressure, extortion, and reprisals. Rwanda's intervention has been criticised for not doing enough to address these humanitarian issues. Rwanda's intervention has strained relations with SADC member states, particularly South Africa, which has led to tensions

between Rwanda and regional powers. Rwanda's intervention has raised concerns about its economic interests in Mozambique, particularly in the natural gas and graphite sectors. Concerns have been raised that Rwanda's involvement is driven primarily by its own economic interests, potentially at the expense of the needs of the local community. The intervention has also raised concerns about the distribution of resources, with some arguing that Rwanda's involvement is primarily benefiting its own economy rather than supporting Mozambique's development (International Crisis Group, 2024).

Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, has been a significant development in the region's security dynamics. In 2021, Rwanda deployed 1000 military and police personnel to support Mozambique's efforts to restore state authority and combat terrorism in the province. SAMIM also deployed in July 2021, with a mandate to support the Mozambican government in combating terrorism and violent extremism. SAMIM was deployed under Scenario 6 of the African Standby Force, with troops from South Africa, Malawi, Tanzania and others (Pigou, 2022). Rwanda's intervention has been notable for its effectiveness in pushing back insurgents and restoring stability in key areas like Mocimboa da Praia and Palma. The Rwandan Defence Force (RDF) has been praised for its professionalism and discipline, earning the trust of some local populations (Cilliers et al, 2021). In contrast, SAMIM's deployment was initially hampered by limited troop numbers and coordination challenges (Dzinesa, 2023). However, the mission has contributed to the overall stabilisation efforts in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. The geostrategic implications of Rwanda's intervention are significant, with Kigali emerging as a key player in regional security dynamics. Mozambique's reliance on Rwandan forces raises questions about the country's long-term security capacity and the role of external actors in shaping regional security outcomes (Nhamirre, 2023).

Pigou (2022) observes that SAMIM has achieved significant milestones in combating terrorism and stabilising Cabo Delgado province. Some of its notable achievements include successfully capturing villages and towns previously occupied by insurgents such as Macomia, Mocimboa da Praia, and Palma. The mission dislodged terrorists from their bases and seized weapons and warfare materials, creating a relatively secure environment for humanitarian support. By facilitating the resettlement of 570 000 displaced individuals and ensuring safe passage for humanitarian aid, SAMIM bolstered peace and security in the region.

Cilliers et al. (2021) state that SAMIM faced several challenges, including poor coordination among stakeholders, including SADC member states

and other regional actors, hindered the mission's effectiveness. SAMIM encountered significant financial constraints, which hampered its operational effectiveness and compelled participating nations to bear their own costs. The mission's military component was ill-prepared to respond to threats of terror and violent extremism in Cabo Delgado. SAMIM's transition from Scenario Six (military operations) to Scenario Five (multidimensional approach) posed operational difficulties.

Al Jazeera (2024) reports that the Mozambican army, also known as the Mozambique Defence Armed Forces (FADM), has played a significant role in combating terrorism in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. With the support of international partners, including Rwanda and the SADC, the FADM has made notable progress in reducing insurgent activity. The FADM, together with Rwanda and SADC forces, has recaptured key areas, including Mocimboa da Praia and Palma, and pushed insurgents into the Catupa Forest. The number of Ansa al Sunna insurgents has decreased from about 2500 to approximately 280, according to a 2023 United Nations Security Council (UNSC) report. The FADM has also eliminated several senior insurgent leaders, including Bonomade Machude Omar, the operational leader of the insurgency.

The BBC (2025) adds that the FADM faces equipment shortages and inadequate training, hindering its effectiveness against the insurgents. The insurgents' use of improvised explosive devices has caused panic among civilians and destabilised the region. The conflict has been exacerbated by systemic corruption and instances of misconduct by state security forces, which have collectively eroded the level of trust established with local populations. The FADM's efforts are crucial to stabilising Cabo Delgado, but addressing underlying socio-economic issues and improving governance will be essential to lasting peace.

This literature review has examined the geostrategic dynamics of Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, and the role of SAMIM, including FADM. As the region navigates the complexities of counter-terrorism, Africa-led initiatives and partnerships with regional organisations will be crucial in addressing security challenges and promoting lasting peace in the Cabo Delgado province. The FADM's efforts to combat terrorism have yielded successes, but underlying socio-economic issues and governance challenges persist. The Mozambican authorities are encouraged to deal with the curse of natural gas and armed groups such as Ansar al-Sunna to bring lasting peace to Cabo Delgado province. This will ensure that all citizens live in peace and harmony in the mineral-rich northern province of Cabo Delgado (Makonye, 2022).

Discussion of Findings

Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, has been a significant development in regional security dynamics. This section of the paper examines the context, motivations, and implications of Rwanda's intervention, highlighting key themes and findings.

Broad Themes:

Regarding regional power dynamics, Rwanda's intervention reflects its ambition to assert influence in Southern Africa, potentially reshaping regional power structures. Economic interests and control over natural resources (gas and graphite) drive Rwanda's engagement, with implications for regional economic integration. Security architecture and Rwanda's unilateral action challenge SADC's role, highlighting tensions between national interests and regional coordination. Another key theme identified is Great Power Competition: The EU, Russia and China, among other countries, leverage the situation, underscoring Mozambique's position in global strategic calculations. Humanitarian and Governance Impacts: Local consequences of intervention raise questions about sovereignty, accountability, and long-term stability.

Key Findings

Rwanda's intervention protects its investments while addressing security concerns but risks exacerbating regional rivalries. This buttresses the submission of the International Crisis Group (2024), which states that Rwanda is interested in its own economic advancement over Mozambique's development. Additionally, it states that Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, has heightened rivalries with South Africa.

The external funding of Rwanda's military involvement in Mozambique by the EU influences regional dynamics, prioritising short-term stability over Mozambican ownership. This finding echoes the submissions of Shinn (2024) in the literature review section of this research, where he states that the funding of Rwanda's military in Mozambique by the EU is inconsistent with its stance elsewhere; for example, it imposed sanctions on Russia for invading Ukraine. Additionally, Shinn (2024) concurs with other critics that claim that Rwanda is a proxy, protecting EU interests in the region, particularly TotalEnergies LNG interests in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique.

Rwanda's model of intervention sets a precedent for external engagement in regional conflicts. This finding agrees with the observations of Makonye (2022), who states that Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado has the potential to prolong the conflict, thereby having a negative impact on local communities. Moreover, the involvement of Rwanda in the conflict has stoked regional rivalries with South Africa, which is a regional power in Southern Africa.

SADC's response to Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, has been cautious, with some member states expressing concerns about Rwanda's unilateral action. While the SADC has recognised Rwanda's role in bringing stability to the region, it has concurrently stressed the importance of a unified and coordinated regional strategy. SADC's response further highlights institutional weaknesses in managing transnational security challenges. This finding is supported by Makonye (2022), who suggests that the SADC block advocated for a holistic approach to quell the insurgency in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Rwanda's military intervention in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, reflects the complex interplay of regional ambitions, economic interests, and great power competition. While Rwanda's engagement has stabilised parts of the insurgency-ravaged region, it has also exposed deeper structural challenges: SADC's coordination gaps, Mozambique's reliance on external actors, and the overshadowing of local grievances by geopolitical manoeuvring. The EU and other funding partners must balance immediate security successes with the promotion of long-term Mozambican sovereignty; simultaneously, regional entities like the SADC should bolster their frameworks to address transnational threats in a manner that avoids entrenching a culture of external dependency. Ultimately, sustainable peace in Cabo Delgado requires addressing governance deficits, ensuring inclusive dialogue, and aligning external strategies with the aspirations of Mozambicans. The case highlights that security in Africa cannot be outsourced; instead, regional solutions must empower local actors to reclaim agency over their future. The paper recommends that regional actors must balance national interests with collective security frameworks.

References

- Al Jazeera (2024) Rwanda deploys its army in Mozambique. Available on: <https://www.aljazeera.org> Accessed on 5 January 2026.
- BBC (2025) Rwanda sends its soldiers to Mozambique. Available on: <https://www.bbc.org> Accessed on 19 January 2026.
- Bryman, A. (2016) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press.
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, Volume 3 (2), 77-101.
- Cilliers, J, Louw-Vaudran, L, Walker, T, Els, W. and Ewi, M. (2021) What would it take to stabilise Cabo Delgado? Institute of Security Studies.
- Democracy in Africa (2024) The (bad) politics behind the EU's new 20 million euro for the Rwandan Army.
- Denzin, N, K. (2017) *The Research Act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. Routledge.
- Dzinesa, G, A. (2023) The Southern African Development Community's Mission in Mozambique (SAMIM): Policymaking and Effectiveness. *International Peacekeeping*, 30 (2).
- Fabricius, P. (2021) Rwanda's military Intervention in Mozambique: A new chapter in regional security? *African Arguments*.
- Friedman, G. (2010) *The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21st Century*, Amazon. Com, Available on: <https://www.amazon.com> Accessed on 30 December 2025.
- Hanlon, J. (2021) Mozambique's gas-rich north: A new battleground for regional powers? *African Arguments*.
- International Crisis Group (2024) What Future for Military Intervention in Mozambique. Available on: <https://www.icg.org> Accessed on 29 December 2025.
- Institute for Security Studies Africa (ISSA, 2023) EU disburses 20 million euros for Rwanda's military operations in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique.
- Mackinder, H, J. (1904) Heartland Theory, The Geographical Pivot of History. Available on: <https://www.jagiroadcollegelive.com> Accessed on 10 December 2025.
- Makonye, F. (2022) Dissecting the Franco-Rwandese Alliance in Southern Africa: Case of Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, *Journal of African Foreign Affairs (JoAFA)*, Volume 9, Number 3, December 2022, Pp. 161-172.
- Nhamirre, B. (2023) Rwanda expands its protection of Mozambique's natural resources, *Institute of Security Studies Today*.

- Pigou, P. (2022) Regionalism and the Fight Against Terrorism in Southern Africa: Reflection on Cabo Delgado in Mozambique, ACCORD.
- Reuters (2024) Amid Energy Crisis, EU plans to help gas-rich Mozambique boost security. Available on: <https://www.reuters.org> Accessed on 17 December 2025.
- Rwanda Ministry of Defence (2021) Rwanda Defence Force in Mozambique. Available on: <https://www.mod.gov.rw> Accessed on 12 December 2025.
- Shinn, D, H. (2024) The Scramble for Africa's natural Resources: Implications for US policy, Africa Centre for Strategic Studies.
- Vines, A. (2019) The rise of Rwanda's military: Explaining Rwanda's foreign military presence., *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 13 (2).
- Yin, R, K. (2018) Case Study Research: Design and Methods. Sage Publications.